

At **WHITEHALL PALACE**

Jan 1, Sun New Year gifts.

Also: play, by Earl of Derby's Men.<sup>T</sup>

Revels provided 'one city; one battlement; 13 pair of gloves'.

Among 207 gifts to the Queen: by the Countess of Bedford:

'A fair long cushion embroidered with verbum Dei [word of God] and pictures lined with purple tinsel and her Majesty's own picture';

by Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter King of Arms:

'A Book of Arms of the Earls in the time of King John and King Henry the Third';

by Sir Owen Hopton, Lieutenant of the Tower: '31 Counters of gold with the Queen's Arms on the one side and a sun on the other side';

by William Absolon, Clerk of the Closet [a chapel]:

'The Bible in four tomes being in Latin, covered with crimson velvet';

by Christopher Barker, Queen's Printer:

'A Bible in English covered with crimson velvet embroidered';

by John Bridges, Dean of Salisbury: 'A Testament in English of old written hand, covered with purple velvet and garnished and clasped with gold';

by George Gower, her Majesty's painter:

'A fair table painted being a lily pot';

by Mrs Othomer: 'A long bodkin of crystal for the Queen's hair, being a ragged staff with three bars of gold enamelled with a picture of her Majesty';

by Philip Sidney: 'A jewel gold being a whip garnished with small diamonds in four rows and cords of small seed pearl';

by Petruccio Ubaldini: 'An Italian book of a physician touching man's complexion and physick'.<sup>NYG</sup>

Jan 1: 'A Politique Platt for the honour of the Prince, the great profit of the public State, relief of the poor, preservation of the rich, reformation of rogues and idle persons, and the wealth of thousands that knows not how to live. Written for a New Year's gift to England, and the inhabitants thereof: by Robert Hitchcock late of Caversfield in the County of Buckingham, Gentleman'.

Printed, Jan 1 [1581]. Running title: 'Hitchcock's New Year's gift to England'.

On the final page Hitchcock writes: 'I perceive nothing but good success is like to come of this Platt. To further the same I gave a copy hereof to my Lord of Leicester six years past, one other copy to the Queen's Majesty four years past. Also to sundry of her Majesty's Privy Council certain copies'.

A tract on the fishing trade, with a plan for developing the Newfoundland herring fisheries that was brought before Parliament in 1576, but failed to make further progress. During 1581 the Queen made Hitchcock a grant of lands.

Court news. Jan 3, London, George North to William Herle: On December 29

'Lord Harry Howard, Charles Arundel, and Southwell were examined at the Lord Chancellor's; now Howard is at the Lord Chamberlain's, Arundel at the Vice-Chamberlain's, Southwell in the Fleet. My Lord Chamberlain and my Lady was not at the court on New Year's Day for his Lordship is sick at Barmsey'.

Earl of Sussex, at Bermondsey. [BL Cotton Vespasian C.VII, f.383].

Jan 6-March 28: Thomas Randolph was special Ambassador to Scotland.<sup>WA</sup>

Randolph, who took £1000 in gold for King James, was sent to intercede for the Earl of Morton, a former Regent of Scotland.

James Douglas, 4th Earl of Morton, had been imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle on 31 December 1580, charged with high treason for complicity in the murder of the King's father in 1567.

Jan 6, Fri play: *A story of Pompey*, by the Children of Paul's.  
 Revels: 'In the hall; one great city; a Senate house; 18 pair of gloves'.

'A great Challenge of Jousts was signified by way of device before her Majesty on Twelfth Night', to take place on January 15.<sup>HOL</sup> [Deferred to Jan 22].

'The Earl of Arundel, calling himself Callophissus...with his assistant Sir William Drury challenged all comers'.

'A Challenge at the Tilt proclaimed on Twelfth Night and performed by the Earl of Arundel the 22nd January following, during all which time the Master of the Revels attended for the presenting of divers devices which happened in that mean season'. Revels purchased three small lights 'for them which were stolen at Twelfth tide'. [Segar, *Honor; Revels*, 336,338].

*January 8: Duke of Savoy's special Ambassador arrived in London.*

*Carlo Emanuele had succeeded his father Emanuele Filiberto, K.G., as Duke of Savoy and Piedmont. He now sent Count de Monreal (or Montreal), his Chamberlain, to return the deceased Duke's Garter insignia, as was customary, and to request the Queen to favour the new Duke, as she had favoured his father.*

*Richard Brackenbury, Gentleman Usher, with two Sewers, one Yeoman Usher, 22 Yeomen, four Grooms of the Chamber, one Groom of the Wardrobe and one Groom-Porter, 'being all commanded by her Majesty to give their attendance upon Monsieur le Count de Montreal and his train, being Ambassador from the Duke of Savoy, at London at Sir William Allen's house in Tower Street'.<sup>T</sup>*

*Allen, a mercer, was Lord Mayor of London 1571-1572.*

*The Count's audience: January 11.*

Court news. Jan 9, London, Spanish Ambassador, Mendoza, to Philip II:

Francis Drake gave the Queen a crown made in England. 'She wore it on New Year's Day. It has in it five emeralds...from Peru. He has also given the Queen a diamond cross as a New Year's gift, as is the custom here'...

'The Queen shows extraordinary favour to Drake and never fails to speak to him when she goes out in public, conversing with him for a long time. She says that she will knight him on the day she goes to see his ship. She has ordered the ship itself to be brought ashore'.

Jan 9 [2nd letter], Mendoza: Edward Stafford 'brings news that the Commissioners [for marriage with the Duke of Alençon] were preparing to come hither...The Queen displayed great delight at the news'...

'The Queen has recently ordered the arrest of Lord [Henry] Howard, brother of the Duke of Norfolk, and two other gentlemen, Charles Arundel and [Francis] Southwell, who were formerly great favourites at court...What adds to the mystery of the matter is their having been taken to the Tower, and Leicester's having spread the rumour that they were plotting a massacre of the Protestants, beginning with the Queen'...

'The Ambassador of the Duke of Savoy arrived here yesterday'...

'The Queen has ordered him to be welcomed warmly, and is sending four persons of rank to receive him on the road'. [Span.iii.75-8].

Jan 9, French Ambassador, Mauvissière, to Henri III, of Lord Henry Howard and Francis Southwell [who were not in the Tower]:

'It was to her great regret, as the Queen herself told me, that she was obliged to place them under restraint in the custody of some of her Councillors: Lord Henry under the charge of Sir Christopher Hatton, Captain of the Guard; and Francis Southwell under the charge of Sir Francis Walsingham'...

'Lord Henry Howard, Arundel, and Southwell, although Catholics at heart, are nevertheless much esteemed and favoured by her'.<sup>BT</sup>

Charles Arundel, a second cousin of the Queen, who was in the custody of the Captain of the Guard, with Lord Henry Howard, brought numerous accusations against the Earl of Oxford.

He later answered 'slandorous accusations' by the Earl against him, including bringing a Jesuit to see the Queen dance in her Privy Chamber. He described the Earl's ill will towards him, Lord Henry, and Francis Southwell, and his undutiful dealings to the Queen.

Those in custody were released later in the year, without trial.  
[For a detailed description of the whole complicated affair, see Alan Nelson, *Monstrous Adversary*, chapters on 'Denunciations', 'Tables Turned', 'Prisoners'].

Jan 9, Sir Henry Cobham (Ambassador to France) to Sir Francis Walsingham, of news from a messenger sent to the exiled Earl of Westmorland from the Countess, who had remained in England. She desires the Earl to write to the Lady Margaret his daughter, for she will not believe but that he is dead. Likewise to signify to him that the Lady Margaret had been the Queen's bedfellow at the Earl of Surrey's house; that the Earl was much esteemed by her Majesty. [SPF.xv.16].

The Queen stayed at the London house of the Earl of Arundel (formerly Earl of Surrey) in November 1580.

Lady Margaret Neville (born c.1564) was the daughter of Charles Neville Earl of Westmorland, a leader of the Northern Rising in 1569.

Jan 11, Wed Ambassador of Savoy at Whitehall for audience.<sup>WA</sup>

The Count de Monreal came to return the insignia of the Order of the Garter worn by Emanuele Filiberto, Duke of Savoy and Piedmont, who became a Knight of the Garter in 1554 during Queen Mary's reign, and who died 30 August 1580. (born c.1564) The Jewel-house received a Collar of gold 'containing 19 roses and garters enamelled and 19 knots and a George hanging at it, sent from the Duke of Savoy; a Garter of the Order garnished with gold letters, with a ruby and a pearl pendant'. [Jewels, 1489,1490].

Jan 13: death: Walter Hedd alias Hedley. On January 10 at Ratcliff, Middlesex, Hedd, 'one of the Yeomen of the Queen's Majesty's Guard', then wearing her coat or livery, was assaulted by four men, three with halberds, one with a drawn sword. William Whitemore with a halberd slew and murdered him, giving him the wound of which he died. [Jeaffreson, i.122].

Jan 14, Chester, Sir William Gerard, Lord Chancellor of Ireland (recently arrived from Ireland because of ill-health), to the Queen, with thanks for her care of his health in sending him a learned physician. [SP63/80/6].

Gerard remained at Chester, writing to Walsingham, April 15: I mind 'by easy journeys...to crawl thither...to unfold unto her Majesty my knowledge'. [SP63/82/28]. Gerard died at Chester: May 1.

Court news. Jan 15, Mendoza to Philip II:

'In consequence of the arrest of Morton and others by the King of Scotland, this Queen has summoned Parliament for the 16th'...

'The Ambassador of the Prince of Piedmont has had audience and has restored the Garter. The Queen told him it was not worthwhile for him to have come such a long journey for this purpose, the meaning of this being that he was not to go on to Scotland, for which he had requested licence'...

'The Queen has ordered Drake to be given £10,000 of the money lodged in the Tower...The Queen frequently has him in her cabinet, and never goes out in public without speaking to him; often, indeed, walking with him in the garden'. [Span.iii.79-80].

Jan 16, Mon Parliamentary deputation at Whitehall with the Queen.  
A new session of Parliament had begun. As it was a Parliament prorogued from 1576 there was no ceremonial opening by the Queen, but the Speaker of the Commons, Sir Robert Bell, had died in 1577 after the Oxford 'Black Assize'.

*Journal of Thomas Cromwell (c.1540-c.1611), son of Gregory 1st Lord Cromwell and grandson of Thomas Cromwell, King Henry VIII's Secretary:*

'Considering that we were destitute of a Speaker...it was moved that the Privy Council and certain other of the House should go to the Lords and desire them to join with us in motion to the Queen's Majesty that it might please her to give us licence to choose a Speaker...The Lords agreed that certain of them with four of the Privy Council, being of our House, should move her Majesty therein'. [Parl.i.524].

Court news. Jan 17, London, Mendoza to Philip II: 'Last night an Englishman arrived here to tell the Queen that he had come with Don Antonio from Bayonne, where he had embarked in a poor disguise, and had arrived on the coast of Brittany in great want of money, whereupon he, the Englishman, had immediately left without the knowledge of Don Antonio to inform the Queen'. [Span.iii.80].

Don Antonio: King of Portugal June-Aug 1580, now Pretender to the Throne.

Jan 17, Queen's gift: To Count Montreal: a chain of gold small links.<sup>NYG</sup>

Jan 18, Wed, in Parliament: 'Certain of our House went up to the Lords, whereas there was a Commission read under the Great Seal by which her Majesty did license the House to proceed to the choice of a Speaker'. [Parl.i.524].

**Jan 20, Fri Queen at Parliament for presentation of new Speaker of Commons.**

John Popham (c.1532-1637), Solicitor-General. The Queen went by water.

The Speaker-elect made the customary 'disabling' speech, answered by Lord Chancellor Bromley on behalf of the Queen, accepting him as Speaker.

*Thomas Cromwell's Journal:* 'Mr Popham, being now Speaker, declared that in ancient use it had been used that such as were Speakers should enter into discourses of commonwealths...He entered into comparison of our happy state with foreign governments, most unhappy. He proceeded in comparing of this commonwealth to a natural body, whereof each part and member is assistant to other, and all governed and guided by the head...And each particular member had their several functions in the commonwealth'.

'The common rustical persons he likened to the feet, without whose travail and labour notwithstanding it could not have continuance. The martial men he likened to the hands, by whose prowess the realm ought to be defended. Those which be near unto her Majesty, some of them to the eyes and some to the ears, namely those of the nobility present; the Council of State the heart, the Prelates to the mind, who ought to assist her Majesty with counsel of God's book, preaching, discipline, administration of the Sacraments, and relief of the poor'.

The Speaker went on to request the traditional freedoms of speech, access to the Queen, freedom from arrest.

The Lord Chancellor by the Queen's command admonished the Speaker that the Commons 'should not deal or intermeddle with any matters touching her Majesty's person or state, or Church government'. [Parl.i.525-6].

*Richard Scarlet, 'one of her Majesty's shipwrights, for repairing and mending one of her Majesty's barges called The Lizard, being broken upon the stairs going unto the Parliament House', 58s2d.<sup>T</sup>*

Jan 21, Sat, in the Commons:

Peter Wentworth moved for 'a public fast and daily preaching...  
The preaching to be every morning at 7 o'clock before the House did sit'.  
The motion was carried. The House appointed to meet on Sunday Jan 29  
'in the Temple Church there to hear preaching and join in prayer together  
with humiliation and fasting for the assistance of God's spirit in all their  
consultations during this Parliament, and for the preservation of the Queen's  
Majesty and her Realms'. [D'Ewes, 282-3]. The Queen's response: Jan 23-25.

Jan 22, Sun      Tournament: Tilt, at Whitehall.

Two Challengers:

Earl of Arundel, 'Callophissus'; Sir William Drury, the Red Knight.

17 Defendants:

Earl of Oxford, the Knight of the Tree of the Sun;

Lord Windsor, the White Knight;      Philip Sidney, the Blue Knight;

Edward Norris;      Henry Knollys;      Robert Knollys;      Fulke Greville;

Thomas Knyvett;      Thomas Kellaway;      Ralph Bowes;      George Goring;

George Gifford;      Anthony Cooke;      Henry Brouncker;      Edward Denny;

Richard Ward;      Sir Thomas Perrot, the Frozen Knight.

Judges: Earls of Leicester, Northumberland, Pembroke, Worcester.

Prize: Earl of Oxford, a chain of gold. [College of Arms MS M.4,f.22].

Description of Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, introducing a speech by his Page: 'By the Tilt stood a stately tent of orange tawny taffeta, curiously embroidered with silver, and pendants on the pinnacles very sightly to behold. From forth this tent came the noble Earl of Oxford in rich gilt armour and sat down under a great high bay-tree, the whole stock, branches and leaves whereof were all gilded over, that nothing but gold could be discerned. By the tree stood twelve tilting staves, all which likewise were gilded clean over. After a solemn sound of most sweet music, he mounted on his courser, very richly caparisoned, when his Page ascending the stairs where her Highness stood in the window', delivered a speech (explaining the significance of the bay-tree).

Then 'with great honour he ran, and valiantly broke all the twelve staves. And after the finishing of the sports both the rich bay-tree and the beautiful tent were by the standers by torn and rent in more pieces than can be numbered'.

*Holinshed*: 'Through the great concourse of people thither repairing, many of the beholders, as well men as women, were sore hurt, some maimed and some killed, by falling of the scaffolds overcharged'.

The Page's 'sweet speech' at the Tilt was printed in 1592.  
This speech, and the Challenge by Callophissus, and responses by the Blue, Red, and White Knights, and the Knight of the Tree of the Sun, are all edited in Nichols, *Progresses* (2014), iii.40-56.

Jan 23, Mon      Speaker of the Commons at Whitehall with the Queen.  
The Queen gave the Speaker, John Popham, a message for the Commons, who had infringed her prerogative by ordering a public fast and daily preaching.

Jan 23, in the Commons: 'Nothing was done but only the prayer said, by reason Mr Speaker all the forenoon attended upon her Majesty; only came to the House and read the prayer'. [Thomas Cromwell's *Journal*].

Jan 24: Lost 'in the Privy Lodgings at Whitehall one silk point with two gold tags enamelled black'. 'Found and delivered back again'. [Lost, 294].  
The only 'lost' item listed as found again.

Jan 24, Tues, in the Commons: Thomas Cromwell's *Journal*:

'Mr Speaker declared her Majesty's great mislike...that we contrary to her commandment had intermeddled in causes of religion'. He declared that it had fallen out in such sort as he before did fear it would do, and advised the House to make a submission, and further moved them to bestow their time and endeavour in matters proper and pertinent for this House to deal in.

Sir Christopher Hatton brought a rebuke from the Queen to the House for its rashness 'in committing such an apparent contempt against her Majesty's express commandment'.

The whole House consented that their submission should be taken to the Queen by Vice-Chamberlain Hatton.

Jan 25, Wed, in the Commons: Hatton reported 'how thankfully her Majesty accepted the submission made by our House', but she wished them to note 'the cause of her misliking, which was not for that they desired fasting and prayer', but for commanding a public fast without order and without her knowledge, which was to intrude upon her authority ecclesiastical. [Parl.i.526-528].

*A double-sided emblematic portrait of Sir Christopher Hatton, c.1580, includes on the reverse the figure of Father Time, with a Dialogue of Time.*

*Reproduced: Tarnya Cooper, ed. Elizabeth I & her People, 86-89, with a translation of the Latin Dialogue. Attributed to William Segar's workshop.*

Jan 30, Mon Countess of Huntingdon at Whitehall.

Catherine (Dudley), wife of Henry Hastings 3rd Earl of Huntingdon and sister of the Earl of Leicester; she arrived from the North on Jan 29.

Jan 31, Sir Francis Walsingham to the Earl of Huntingdon:

The Countess was 'very graciously received and welcomed by her Majesty'.

*The Earl and Countess of Huntingdon were the guardians of Lady Penelope Devereux (1563-1607), daughter of Walter Devereux 1st Earl of Essex, deceased, the Queen's god-daughter; and of her younger sister Lady Dorothy Devereux.*

*The Countess is presumed to have presented Penelope on this occasion.*

*[Sally Varlow, The Lady Penelope (2007), 64,291].*

Feb 2, Thur play, by Earl of Sussex's Men.<sup>T</sup>

Revels provided: 'one city; one battlement; 12 pair of gloves'.

Feb 3: Arthur Throckmorton, who was in Prague, noted in his Diary:

'We heard how my Lord of Arundel and others should conspire to kill her Majesty and other Lords of the Council in a masque, by letters from Antwerp'.<sup>TH</sup>  
[No more is known of this. It was Charles Arundel who had been arrested].

Feb 5, Shrove Sunday knighting, Whitehall: Lord Mayor, John Branch, draper.<sup>M</sup>

also: play, by Children of the Chapel Royal.

Revels provided: '17 new suits of apparel; two new hats of velvet; one city; one palace; 18 pair of gloves'.

Feb 7, Shrove Tuesday play, by Earl of Leicester's Men.<sup>T</sup>

Revels: 'in the hall, whereon was employed one great city and 12 pair of gloves'.

Court news. Feb 13, London, Mendoza to Philip II: When the Queen knew of the arrival of Don Antonio in France 'she dispatched instantly again the two Englishmen who brought the news, with orders that they were to remain with Don Antonio and report his movements'. On February 3rd she sent Captain Perrin 'bearing letters containing great promises to him'. [Span.iii.82].

Feb 16, Delft, William of Orange to the Queen, warning her of the Catholic League formed against her by the Pope and the King of Spain, who had offered in 1580 a reward for the Prince's assassination. [Illustrated: Pryor, No.32].  
The Prince also sent a copy of his answer, circulated throughout Europe.

16 Feb 1581-Jan 1583: *Duke of Alençon's envoy, Marchaumont, in England.*  
*Pierre Clausse, Sieur de Marchaumont; regarded as the Duke's Ambassador.*  
He arrived in Dover on February 16, and in London on February 19.

With Marchaumont as his secretary came Jean Bodin (1530-1596), the Duke's Master of Requests and Councillor, already a well-known political philosopher.

He later wrote: 'The English were once very fierce, but due to the lasting peace they have devoted themselves to culture (I speak from experience) so that no one could be more gentle or polished'...

'The Queen of the English maintains her Kingdom in unbelievable magnificence, and collects immense wealth in her treasury'...

'When I went over there with the embassy I took great interest in attending the Parliament'. [The Republic, trans. B.Reynolds, 810,1055].

Bodin was also in England with Alençon in winter 1581-1582.

Feb 20, Blois, Sir Henry Cobham to the Secretaries: The French Commissioners preparing to come to England have their full instructions. They asked 'that her Majesty might be moved to favour them with a ship or two by means of which they may be safely wafted over', and 'as they had not commodity to transport their horses and carriages, her Majesty would vouchsafe that they might be in some way furnished, having in their train some 200 or 300'.

They 'are discontent because Marchaumont was sent before'. [SPF.xv.65].

Feb 22, Stationers entered a book by Henri Estienne, published as:

'The Stage of Popish Toys: containing both Tragical and Comical parts: played by the Romish roisters of former age: notably describing them by degrees in their colours. Collected out of H.Stephanus in his Apology upon Herodotus. With...a brief admonition of the sundry benefits we receive by her Majesty's blessed government over us. Compiled by G.N'. [George North].

Dedicated to Sir Christopher Hatton.

Estienne ends by addressing England's enemies: If 'no milk or meat can please your palates, unless it come from Rome: if you cannot abide the blessed light of her Majesty's life...I say...fly to your Pope, leave both Court and Country, and shun the light of the sun...Your own experience showeth that no practice will prevail to harm one hair of her head whom next God you hate most: for the Lord of hosts doth keep her, he hath set legions of Angels about her, they hover over her, they march with her, they go before her, and guard her from all treasons: they make known your ways, they deliver her your drifts, and they discover your very thoughts unto her. This you assuredly see, that the whole course of her Majesty's life is miraculous...But God of his mercy make you to know him, to love our gracious Queen, and in the duty of true subjects to honour her and obey her, and to give her a Methusaleh's age to govern us. Amen'. (1581).

Henri Estienne (1528-1598), alias Henry Stephanus.

Feb 22: Stationers entered a book by Thomas Lupton, published as: 'A Persuasion from Papistry. Written chiefly to the obstinate, determined, and disobedient English Papists, who are herein named and proved English enemies and extreme Enemies to England. Which persuasion all the Queen's Majesty's subjects favouring the Pope or his religion will read or hear advisedly and thoroughly, especially such as would be counted friends to ENGLAND, that wish our Prince's prosperity, the safeguard of the Nobility, the concord of our Communalty, and the continuance of this our happy state and tranquillity'.

Lupton's Dedicatory Epistle 'To the most merciful and prudent' Queen:

'As heretofore (my most gracious Sovereign) I troubled your Highness...in a thing that was necessary, reasonable, and commodious to many, and hurt to none. Even so I have now (not troublingly, but lovingly) framed an earnest persuasion to such of your subjects as fear not God as they ought, regard not his word as they should, nor obey your Highness as they are bound'...

'As that which before I made to your Majesty was by your Grace only to be authorised for the great relief and succour of your subjects, so this that I have now written to your subjects is to be allowed and practised by them, to the great comfort and joy (I hope) of your Highness. And though I have penned it for them to perform, yet I have dedicated it to your Grace to peruse'.

Under your protection 'this may the more safely pass abroad, and thereby be the better accepted, the more desired, the gladlier received, the more willingly perused...and the better credited'. 300p. (London, 1581).

Lupton's book, full of tributes to the Queen's mercy in dealing with Papists, relies heavily on Foxe's Acts and Monuments, and Jewel's Defence of an Apology of the Church of England.

In the Epistle Lupton apparently refers to a scheme he had previously devised for a general collection to provide funds for repair of bridges and coastal defences, requiring the rich to pay annual sums to support the poor and sickly, including poor scholars at Oxford and Cambridge. He had presented this to the Queen, prefaced by verses. [Bodleian MS Jones 16: undated].

Feb 23, Dr John Dee noted: 'I made acquaintance with Joannes Bodinus, in the Chamber of Presence at Westminster, the ambassador being by from Monsieur'.<sup>D</sup>

Feb 24, court, Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Henry Sidney:

'Here is at this present one Marchaumont come out of France from Monsieur, who very earnestly soliciteth her Majesty's resolution in the matter of the marriage, but what the end thereof will be God knoweth. Though her Majesty herself seem to hearken very much thereunto, yet when it shall come to a conclusion it may peradventure be as doubtful as heretofore'.<sup>SD</sup>

Court news. Feb 27, London, Mendoza to Philip II: Marchaumont 'arrived on the 19th accompanied by many gentlemen...The Queen sent word to the French Ambassador that he was to entertain him and give him good cheer, as she knew what a favourite he was of Alençon. She herself has received him well and gives him lengthy audience nearly every day alone'. He has come partly 'to clear the way for the coming Commissioners'. He said they would not come 'until the Queen sent her wishes by a gentleman who had accompanied him by Alençon's orders for that purpose...M.de Nery. He has now left with a letter from the Queen written by herself, without any of her ministers knowing the contents. They are equally in the dark as to her conferences with Marchaumont, and only know that she has given him a wedding ring for Nery to take to Alençon'.

'She also said publicly that she was so anxious for the Commissioners to come that every hour's delay seemed like a thousand years to her, with other tender speeches of the same sort, which make most people who hear them believe that the marriage will take place'. [Span.iii.84-85].



Feb 27: death. Robert 2nd Lord Rich (c.1537-1581) died in Essex.  
 Funeral: March 4: Felsted Church, Essex, where the Rich monument remains.  
 His son Robert Rich (1559-1619) became 3rd Lord Rich.  
 He married Lady Penelope Devereux later in 1581. (See March 10).  
 The widowed Elizabeth Lady Rich married (c.1590) Dr Robert Forth; she died 1591.

c.March 1/4: christening. Queen was godmother to 'Mr Edward Stafford's son'.<sup>T</sup>  
 Parents: Edward Stafford, a Gentleman Pensioner; wife: Lady Sheffield; she was Douglas (Howard), widow of John 2nd Lord Sheffield. At Westminster Abbey.  
 Piers Pennant went 'from the court at Whitehall to wait, attend and make ready at Westminster church', March.<sup>T</sup> Queen's gift 'to Edward Stafford esquire: a double bowl of silver gilt'.<sup>PS</sup> 1st child: not further identified.

March 3: death. John 2nd Lord Darcy of Chiche (c.1532-1581), widower.  
 Funeral: St Osyth's Church, Essex, where his monument remains.  
 His son Thomas Darcy (c.1565-1640) became 3rd Lord Darcy of Chiche.

March 5: christening. Queen was godmother to 'Lord Willoughby's daughter'.<sup>T</sup>  
 Parents: Peregrine Bertie, 13th Lord Willoughby de Eresby, of Lincolnshire and the Barbican, London; wife: Lady Mary Vere, sister of the Earl of Oxford.  
 Richard Brackenbury made ready, March.<sup>T</sup> Queen's gift, March 5: a bowl of silver gilt with a cover.<sup>NYG</sup> 1st child: Elizabeth, died May 1584.

March 6: Stationers entered: 'Positions whereupon the training up of children and so consequently the whole course of learning is grounded. Provided always that if this book contain anything prejudicial or hurtful to the book of Master Ascham...called The Schoolmaster, that then this licence shall be void'.  
 [Roger Ascham's book The Schoolmaster was published posthumously in 1570].

Richard Mulcaster dedicated to the Queen: 'Positions wherein those primitive circumstances be examined which are necessary for the training up of children, either for skill in their book, or health in their body'.

Epistle Dedicatory: 'To the most virtuous Lady, his most dear and sovereign' Queen: I 'presume so far as to present it, being my first travail that ever durst venture upon the print, unto your Majesty's most sacred hands'...

'Who is more sufficient than your excellency is, either for cunning to commend, or for credit to command?'...

'I have entituled the book POSITIONS, because intending to go on further, for the advancement of learning I thought it good at the first to put down certain grounds very needful for my purpose, for that they be the common circumstances that belong to teaching and are to be resolved on, ere we begin to teach'...

'The very end of my whole labour...is to help to bring the general teaching in your Majesty's dominions to some one good and profitable uniformity'.

After Latin verses by Mulcaster to his book, there follow 'The Arguments handled in every particular title' of the 45 chapters, 300 pages.

Some long chapters deal with general principles, e.g. why 'young maidens are to be set to learning'. Brief chapters deal with 'exercise', e.g. Singing; Reading; Talking; Dancing; Wrestling; Fencing; Walking; Running; Leaping; Swimming; Riding; Hunting; Shooting [archery]; 'Of the ball'.

Richard Mulcaster (c.1531-1611), was the first Headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School, 1561-1586; he was High Master of St Paul's School, 1596-1608.

In 'The First Part of the Elementarie, which entreateth chiefly of the right writing of our English tongue' (1582), dedicated to the Earl of Leicester, he defends his decision to write his books in English, declaring 'I honour the Latin, but I worship the English'.

March 10, Newcastle, Earl of Huntingdon to Lord Burghley: 'God hath taken to his mercy my Lord Rich, who hath left to his heir a proper gentleman and one in years very fit for my Lady Penelope Devereux if with the favour and liking of her Majesty the matter might be brought to pass...Her Majesty was pleased the last year to give me leave at times convenient to put her Highness in mind of these young ladies'. [Wallace, 246]. The marriage took place in November 1581.

March 14: Stationers entered a book published as: 'A Brief Confutation of a Popish Discourse lately set forth, and presumptuously dedicated to the Queen's most excellent Majesty, by John Howlet, or some other Bird of the night under that name'. By Dr William Fulke. Also entered, Aug 26: 'A check or reproof for Master Howlet's untimely screeching in her Majesty's ears'. [Brief Discourse, by Robert Persons, 1580, had a dedication allegedly by John Howlet].

Court news. March 17, Mendoza to Philip II, with details of how Don Antonio had escaped from Portugal. He 'would come to England as soon as possible and give an account of himself to the Queen...These reports are entirely credited here, and Leicester took Juan Rodriguez de Souza, who is still here, to speak to the Queen secretly, with whom he stayed two hours'. [Span.iii.89-90].

De Souza, Don Antonio's envoy, was first sent August 1580. Queen's gift, 1581: To De Souza, 'Ambassador for King Anthony of Portugal, a chain of gold'.<sup>NYG</sup>

March 18: 'To Robert Bowes esquire, for the army, £3000'. [Scot.xiii.202].

#### **Mar 18,Sat Queen at Closing of Parliament.**

Thomas Cromwell's Journal: 'About 5 o'clock in the afternoon the Queen's Majesty came to the Higher house and being set under the cloth of state the Speaker came to the House accompanied with the rest of the Lower House, bringing with him the subsidy and pardon, and came to his usual place, where after his three solemn *congés* made he made an oration'. [Parl.i.546].

Speaker Popham beseeched the Queen to 'have a vigilant and provident care of the safety of her most royal person against the malicious attempts of some mighty foreign enemies abroad, and the traitorous practices of most unnatural disobedient subjects both abroad and at home, envying the blessed and most happy and quiet government of this Realm under her Highness, upon the thread of whose life only, next under God, dependeth the life and whole State and stay of every her good and dutiful subjects'. He concluded by offering the Subsidy. In reply Lord Chancellor Bromley delivered the Queen's 'most hearty thanks unto both Houses for their great and good care for the safety of her Highness's person and also of her honour, good fame and dignity; not yet comprehending within those general thanks such Members of the House of Commons as have this Session dealt more rashly in some things than was fit for them to do'. [D'Ewes, 310].

Acts passed included: Act against Seditious Words and Rumours uttered against the Queen. It became unlawful to cast the Queen's nativity, to calculate when she might die, or speculate about her successor.

Act to retain the Queen's Majesty's subjects in their due obedience. Fine for non-attendance at Church of England services was increased from one shilling a week to £20 a month. Parliament was prorogued. It was dissolved on 19 April 1583 without meeting again. Next Parliament: November 1584.

Parliament had been prorogued 25 times from 1576-1581. Payment, 1581: To William Norris 'Gentleman Usher of the Honourable Order of the Garter and of the High Court of Parliament, for the allowance of himself and his men attending in the higher house of Parliament for 25 Prorogations past by the space of five years, every Prorogation two days', 50 days at 5s per day, £12.10s.<sup>T</sup>

*Francis Bacon: 'Mr Popham, when he was Speaker, and the Lower House had sat long, and done in effect nothing: coming one day to Queen Elizabeth, she said to him, Now, Mr Speaker, what hath passed in the Lower House? He answered, If it please your Majesty, seven weeks'. [Apophthegms New and Old (1625)].*

Mar 20, Mon **ST JAMES'S PALACE.**

St Martin in the Fields: 'For the ringing at her Majesty's remove from Whitehall to St James the 20th day of March, 8d'.

Mar 21, Tues: Court scandal involving Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, and Anne Vavasour (c.1561-1627), a Maid of Honour 1580-1581. The Earl was married to Anne (Cecil), daughter of Lord Burghley, the Lord Treasurer.

March [22], Maurice Browne to John Thynne:

'There happened a great misadventure at court yesterday, being Tuesday, that one of the Maids of Honour called Mistress Vavasour was delivered of a good boy begotten by my Lord of Oxford, who in consideration of the mishap by offering him that kindness hath given her £2000 and hath given the child £100 land. There is much ado and little help about the matter. The Queen's Majesty is greatly offended, and it is thought my Lord of Oxford shall be committed to the Tower, who has absented himself from the court'. [Longleat Thynne, VI.173].

March 23, Sir Francis Walsingham to the Earl of Huntingdon:

'On Tuesday at night Anne Vavasour was brought to bed of a son in the Maidens' Chamber. The Earl of Oxford is vowed to be the father, who hath withdrawn himself with intent, as it is thought, to pass the seas. The ports are laid for him and therefore if he hath any such determination it is not likely that he will escape. The gentlewoman the selfsame night she was delivered was conveyed out of the house and the next day committed to the Tower. Others that have been found anyways party to the cause have also been committed. Her Majesty is greatly grieved with the accident, and therefore I hope there will be some such order taken as the like inconvenience will be avoided'. [Hastings, ii.29-30].

*London newsletter, April 29: The Earl of Oxford is in the Tower 'for forgetting himself with one of the Queen's Maids of Honour, who is in the Tower likewise. This in spite of his having a pretty wife, daughter of the Treasurer. But he will not live with her'. [Fugger, 55]. Sequel: June 8. Anne Vavasour, who married twice, was Sir Henry Lee's mistress for twenty years.*

Mar 23, Maundy Thursday ceremonies and alms-giving, Westminster Abbey.

By John Piers, Bishop of Salisbury, Queen's Almoner;  
to 47 poor women, each 20s in a red purse and 47d in a white purse.

Richard Brackenbury made ready 'the Church at Westminster for her Majesty in Passion Week against her Highness' Maundy'.<sup>T</sup>

Mar 24, Good Friday sermon, St James: Dr Tobias Matthew, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford. Text: Hebrews 10:19-21, 'touching the divinity and humanity, the natures and persons, the office and priesthood of Jesus Christ'.

*March: Traitorous words in Norfolk about the Queen and the Earl of Leicester. Thomas Scot to Leicester: 'Being by profession a preacher, by birth an Englishman and by baptism a Christian, I thought it my duty (right honourable) to discover unto you certain traitorous speeches revealed to me concerning her Majesty and yourself. A plain fellow in Norfolk called Robert Frezar cometh to me and told me that he heard one Henry Hawkins speak these words:*

*"My Lord Robert hath had five children by the Queen, and she never goeth in progress but to be delivered". Who so soon as he had uttered to me, I presently disclosed them to the next Justice of Peace, who convented the party accused before him, and bound him to appear at the next Sessions to be kept in Norwich'.*

*Endorsed with the date.*

*[SP12/148/34].*

March 26-April 18: A new Banqueting-house for the Commissioners' visit.

The French Commissioners were coming to negotiate the terms of a marriage between the Queen and the Duke of Alençon.

Description by Holinshed: On March 26:

'A banqueting-house was begun at Westminster, on the south-west side of her Majesty's Palace of Whitehall, made in manner and form of a long square, 332 foot in measure about...The walls of the house were closed with canvas, and painted all the outsides of the same most artificially with a work called rustic, much like to stone. This house had 292 lights of glass'.

'The sides within the same house was made with ten heights of degrees for people to stand upon: and in the top of this house was wrought most cunningly upon canvas works of ivy and holly, with pendants made of wicker rods, and garnished with bay, rue, and all manner of strange flowers garnished with spangles of gold, as also beautified with hanging toseans made of holly and ivy, with all manner of strange fruits, as pomegranates, oranges, pompions [pumpkins], cucumbers, grapes, carrots, with such other like, spangled with gold, and most richly hanged'.

'Betwixt these works of bays and ivy were great spaces of canvas, which was most cunningly painted, the clouds with stars, the sun, and sunbeams, with divers other coats [of arms] of sundry sorts belonging to the Queen's Majesty, most richly garnished with gold'.

'There were of all manner of persons working on this house to the number of 375: two men had mischances, the one broke his leg, and so did the other'.

'This house was made in 3 weeks and 3 days, and was ended the 18th day of April; and cost £1744.19s and odd money; as I was credibly informed by the worshipful Master Thomas Grave, Surveyor unto her Majesty's Works, who served and gave order for the same, as appeareth by record'. [Chronicles].

Office of Works purchased for the Banqueting-house: 'Trees and herbs, viz. holly, ivy and mistletoe, rosemary and vines, birch and divers flowers'.

For 'repairing and painting the holes that was cut in the walls', 40s. Rewards, viz. to Robert Picknay carver in recompense of a fall he had from a scaffold 40s and to Henry Thomas of St Katherine's in recompense of his hurt taken...60s'. Works total payment £1886.12s8½d. Also payments at the Cockpit, including 'for paint of her Majesty's Privy Gallery'.<sup>w</sup>

April 1: Revels Office was allowed money for properties including 'a mount with a castle upon it', dragon with fireworks, artificial tree with 46 painted shields, hermitage and hermit, savages, enchanter, chariot.

One or more masques were prepared, but were not used. [Revels, 340-1,345].

April: Charles Smyth was 'sent between Whitehall and London to the artificers of the Robes, as the Tailor, the Embroiderer, Shoemaker and Silkwoman, with divers others, to see her Majesty's robes'.<sup>t</sup>

Goldsmiths' work: 'Plate new made by Mr Alderman Martin, one of her Majesty's Goldsmiths, and delivered into the office of her Highness's Jewels and Plate to her Majesty's use against the coming of the French Commissioners': 48 deep bowls, with 4 covers; 24 flatter bowls, with 2 covers; 6 deep bowls with covers; 12 lairs; 72 trenchers; 12 chargers; 60 platters; 60 demi-platters; 84 dishes; 84 demi-dishes; 60 small dishes; 48 saucers. All with the Queen's Arms.

Hugh Keal, another of the Queen's Goldsmiths, made: 6 deep demi-platters; 6 deep dishes; 46 small dishes; 84 spoons 'with pinnacles at their ends'; 'two setting sticks of silver white to set ruffs'. [Jewels, 1497-1514].

Apr 4, Tues **dinner, Deptford, Kent; visit to Drake's Golden Hind.**

Richard Brackenbury with nine men made ready 'a dining house at Deptford'. Charles Smyth, Page of the Robes, was sent from St James's to Deptford Strand, 'and for boat-hire to carry her Majesty's stuff to and from'.<sup>T</sup>

For 'Dry docking and repairing *The Golden Hind*' payments included: house carpenters, at 12d per day; ship carpenters at 16d; sawyers at 15d and 16d. Shipwrights, Peter Pett and Matthew Baker, winding up the ship into the dock, and making stairs etc. 'for the better and easier conveying her Highness' into the ship.<sup>N</sup> St Botolph Aldgate: 'Paid for ringing for the Queen's Majesty when she went to Deptford, 6d'. She 'lost the 4 of April at Deptford...two pansies of gold from a black velvet cap, parcel of upon the same cap 78'. [Lost, 308].

In the morning the Sieur de Marchaumont and the Sieur de Nery, who had brought messages from the Duke of Alençon, had audience at St James's, then accompanied the Queen to Deptford; on the way they were joined by Mauvissière, the resident French Ambassador. All dined at a house at Deptford (Crown property), before going aboard Francis Drake's *Golden Hind*, in which he had circumnavigated the globe, and in which he was to be knighted.

Mendoza, April 6: 'The Queen went to a place a mile from Greenwich to see Drake's ship, where a grand banquet was given to her, finer than has ever been seen in England since the time of King Henry. She knighted Drake, and told him she had there a gilded sword to strike off his head. She handed the sword to M.de Marchaumont, telling him she authorised him to perform the ceremony for her, which he did. Drake...gave her a large silver coffer, and a frog made of diamonds, distributing 1200 crowns amongst the Queen's officers'. [Span.iii.95].

Mauvissière to Henri III, April 9: 'As the Queen passed by on the river in front of my house she sent to invite me to a nautical dinner, Marchaumont and Nery being already with her since morning. We arrived at the place where the ship was, two and a half leagues from London, where dinner was prepared in a little house there near the big English ships, where the Queen was very animated and happy...Drake gave her many presents, with the map of his whole voyage, and a large piece of parchment depicting many kinds of fish not found in these seas, and showed several boys dressed as Indians who danced in the fashion of the country'...

'At about two o'clock the Queen went aboard Drake's ship, which is all worm-eaten...There were many good captains there, including Captain Frobisher who has twice tried to find the Northern Passage to Cathay...The Queen spent about four hours aboard the ship, talking of Drake's voyage...She commanded that as a memorial for posterity the ship should be put under cover and preserved... Then with a smile she asked me if I did not want to get my sword ready to cut off Drake's head, and then took it, although another one was offered to her, to knight him'.<sup>BT</sup>

Camden quotes Latin verses written by scholars of Winchester College and others in praise of Drake which 'were set up the same day upon the main mast'.

Stow: 'A bridge that her Majesty had passed over broke, being upon the same more than 200 persons, and no man hurt by the fall'. [Annals].

Drake's 'silver coffer' for the Queen was listed by her Jewel-house Officers as: 'one very fair basket of silver to take up a table, graven with her Majesty's Arms, roses and portcullises and divers other works'. [Jewels, 1515].

The 'Drake Locket Jewel' by tradition was presented to Drake by the Queen aboard *The Golden Hind*; this opens to reveal her portrait. Drake is depicted wearing it in his portrait by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, 1591.

Both jewel and portrait are reproduced in *Elizabeth*, ed. Susan Doran, 136, 150. Nicholas Hilliard painted a miniature of Drake, aged 42, 1581. Reproduced in *Elizabeth I & her People*, ed. Tarnya Cooper, 96.

Court news. April 6, Mendoza to Philip II, of preparations for the French Commissioners: 'They are working away furiously at the building of a gallery in the houses at Westminster wherein to entertain them, and 14 coaches have been ordered for the ladies. A great joust has been arranged for the 16th, and £10,000 sterling of silver plate is being made to divide amongst the ambassadors. This is being taken from the bars brought by Drake. The Queen has ordered one of her houses to be prepared for them, where they will be splendidly lodged. Much desire is being professed to them that the marriage should take place, which however is quite incredible to most Englishmen'...

'Lord Cobham, as Warden of the Cinque Ports, the Earl of Pembroke, and other lords, have been ordered to meet them; and the peers who were attending the Parliament have been ordered to remain here with their wives. They are also collecting all their servants and trains'.

As for considering any points for a Treaty 'the Queen takes less notice of them than she does of whether there are any new devices in the joust, or where a ball is to be held, what beautiful women are to be at court'...

'She has even issued an order in Council that shop-keepers are to sell all their stuffs, cloth of gold, velvet, and silks, at a reduction of one quarter from the price per yard'.

Captain Perrin had returned from Don Antonio. The Queen sent De Souza to France with 'instructions from Leicester to invite Don Antonio to come hither'.

Archduke Matthias [in Antwerp; aged 24] 'wrote a letter to a physician of the Queen's by one of his chamberlains...The substance of the letter was to ask the physician to propose marriage with the Queen [on behalf of Matthias], and to point out some of the evils which might befall her if she married Alençon'.

[*Span.iii.91-93*].

*April 10: 'The order for the entertaining of the Commissioners'.*

*First audience to be on April 16, several dinners, running at the tilt on April 24, course of the field and tourney on April 25. [SPF.xv.115]. All arrangements were altered when the French arrived later than expected, having been delayed awaiting the Prince Dauphin.*

Court news. April 11, London, Mendoza to Philip II:

The Queen has dispatched Nery 'with a letter in her own hand, written without the knowledge of any of her ministers, to Alençon'...

'Marchaumont also sent with it a purple and gold garter belonging to the Queen, which slipped down and was trailing as she entered Drake's ship. Marchaumont stooped and picked it up, and the Queen asked for it, promising him that he should have it back when she reached home as she had nothing else with which to keep her stocking up. Marchaumont returned it and she put it on before him, presenting him with it when she got back to Westminster'.

[*Span.iii.101*].

Alençon wrote to the Queen: 'I have received a garter which I will never part with as long as I live, and have also seen your Majesty's picture, which ravished my senses'; he wrote on September 4: 'I have the beautiful garter, which alone is the cause of all my victories'. [*HT.ii.424; 478 (undated)*].

April 12, Ludwig Landgrave of Hesse to the Queen, commending the bearer, Heinrich Westphal, who has lived long in my court and held some principal court offices. He now desires to visit foreign parts, and your realm first of all; he is deemed worthy of the favour with which you are wont to receive noblemen.

He is to buy horses for myself and my wife. [*SPF.xv.115; Latin*].

Apr 16, Sun Challenge for Tournament at Whitehall on April 24.

Four Challengers, 'the Four Foster-Children of Desire':

Earl of Arundel; Lord Windsor; Fulke Greville; Philip Sidney.

'The Gallery or place at the end of the Tilt-yard...was called, and not without cause "The Castle or Fortress of Perfect Beauty", for as much as her Highness should be there included, whereto the said Foster-Children laid title and claim ...to belong unto them...They vowed to vanquish and conquer by force who so should seem to withstand it. For the accomplishing whereof they sent their challenge or first defiance to the Queen's Majesty: which was uttered by a boy ...as her Majesty came from the Chapel, who being apparelled in red and white, as a martial messenger of Desire's fostered children...uttered...speeches of defiance, from his masters to her Majesty'. The Challengers would besiege 'the Fortress' on April 24, and would meet any of the 'worthy knights of your court' at the Tilt, and at 'the Course of the Field with lance and sword'.

[Goldwell's description of the Tournament, which was deferred to May 15-16].

Court news. April 16, London, Mendoza to Philip II:

'Leicester has been pressing the Queen very much to consider deeply before marrying Alençon. She replied that as the matter was so far advanced, if she placed before the Commissioners the reasons for not effecting the marriage greater evils might result than if she told them to Alençon verbally...For this reason she had written asking him to come a few days after the arrival of the Commissioners, and to bring but a small company with him'. [Span.iii.102].

Apr 18, Tues, St James. Proclamation (656):

Commanding Honour to be shown to the French Ambassadors.

'The Queen's most excellent Majesty, foreseeing that in such resort and concourse of people as commonly at the repair of great ambassadors into this her Highness's realm from foreign princes is usually wont to be, there may some disorder fall out amongst the inferior and meaner sort, which...might turn greatly to the dishonour of her Majesty...at this time of the repair of so honourable personages hither as the like in such numbers hath not of long time been sent unto any of her predecessors from any foreign prince or potentate':

'Doth therefore...charge and command that no person or persons, during the time of the continuance of the said ambassadors and their retinue within this her Majesty's realm, presume...to offer violence by drawing of any weapon, or to strike, hurt, or move quarrels to any person of what nation soever he be; upon pain of death to be inflicted upon any person so offending'...

'Also that all lords and masters having company of servants attending upon them will so direct their companies to observe the peace at this time, not only towards all strangers but also all others their own countrymen, her Majesty's subjects, so as on no part by any means her Majesty's peace be broken during the abode of the said ambassadors here'.

*Burghley noted: 'This Proclamation being made by the Queen was turned into French by the Commissioners, according to which they made another agreeable for their companies'. The Prince Dauphin exhorted all Frenchmen to pay attention to it, so that they may take back a character for good behaviour. [SPF.xv.126].*

April 18, Lord Mayor's Precept to the Livery Companies, e.g.

To Merchant Taylors' Company: The Privy Council has delivered 'her Majesty's pleasure and commandment that at the instant assembly of great estates of Strangers of the Nation of France and their retinue to repair to her Majesty's court and to this city there should be especial care taken for the good courteous and quiet passage of her subjects towards the same strangers'.

'These are therefore...to charge and command you...that you appoint two discreet persons of your Company daily to attend at Aldgate there to look to the execution of the said orders, that you assemble your Company at your Common Hall and give them warning that they well and courteously demean themselves towards the said strangers, and that they look to their servants for their good behaviour in that behalf without offensive doing towards them in deed word or countenance or other occasion of unkindness or quarrel and especially without a fray or breach of peace. And if any shall happen that they do their best in quietest manner to appease the same'. [Merchant Taylors' Court Minutes].

April 20: James Painter, the French Post, 'guiding and safe conducting of 12 Portingalls the 20th April from the court at St James to Rouen and riding from thence with letters for her Majesty's affairs to Paris'; £10 payment, June 28.<sup>T</sup>

April 20-June 14: **French Commissioners** in London and at court.

The Aid (John Cobham, Captain) and The Scout (Henry Bellingham, Captain) brought 'divers noble personages of France Commissioners' from Calais to Dover.<sup>N</sup>

They were headed by the Prince Dauphin: François de Bourbon (c.1539-1592), a Prince of the Blood, son of the Duc de Montpensier, the King's uncle.

Among those with him were the Duc de Bouillon; the Prince de Sedan; Marshal de Cossé; Barnabé Brisson, a President of the Parliament of Paris; Messieurs Carrouges, Lansac, Pinart, Sancerre; La Mothe Fénelon, former Ambassador to England; from Alençon's household De Vray and Marchaumont; in total about five hundred gentlemen and servants.

The Commissioners landed at Dover on April 16, and via Canterbury, Sittingbourne, Rochester, and Gravesend, arrived in London on April 20.

Robert Cotton and Hugh Underhill, Officers of the Wardrobe of Beds, were 'sent to fetch hangings, beds, carpets, chairs and other wardrobe stuff from divers her Highness' Standing Wardrobes, as the Tower, Greenwich and Westminster, to furnish Somerset House for the French Ambassadors; also for their attendance there during the time of the said Ambassadors' abode... and for the washing of 30 pair of sheets and 12 pillowberes four several times'.

Richard Brackenbury and his many men made ready 'by her Majesty's commandment at Somerset House for the Prince Dauphin and the rest of the French Commissioners' and attended on them, 62 days, April-June.<sup>T</sup>

Burghley had drafted new arrangements for the Commissioners. Harbingers are to appoint lodgings in the Strand, Fleet Street, Chancery Lane, Holborn. On April 30 and May 1: 'The Triumphs, at the Queen's pleasure'. [SPF.xv.144].

The Commissioners kept a Journal in French of part of their stay, quoted below in English. [Referred to as 'Journal': PRO 31/3/28, f.273-371 (at TNA)].

Thomas Randolph wrote to Lord Hunsdon, April 29, describing the events of the first week. [Referred to as 'Randolph'; *Border Papers*, ii.67].

Sir Francis Walsingham made numerous notes in his Journal.<sup>WA</sup>

Apr 20, Thur **WHITEHALL PALACE.**

St Martin in the Fields: 'Paid the 20th day of April for ringing at her Majesty's remove from St James's to Whitehall, 8d'.

'This day the Commissioners were received at Gravesend by the Earl of Hertford, etc, and from thence conveyed to London, landing at Somerset House, where they were welcomed by the Earl of Worcester, etc'.<sup>WA</sup>

Journal: There was a 200 gun salute as we arrived at London Bridge.

22 April 1581-October 1582: Stephen Lesieur was Agent to the German States, attempting to obtain the release of Daniel Rogers, who was captured in 1580.



April 22: Stationers entered a book published as: 'The Oration and Sermon made at Rome, by commandment of the four Cardinals, and the Dominican Inquisitor, upon pain of death. By John Nichols, lately the Pope's scholar'.  
*Latin Dedication to the Queen (14p). Epistles: 'To the courteous and well disposed Reader', and 'To the worshipful Company of Merchant Adventurers, at Emden and at Antwerp', describing the author's life, and dated 25 April 1581. The sermon was preached on 27 Aug 1578 in Latin; now translated into English.*

*[For details of Nichols see Sept 4, his second book dedicated to the Queen].*

Apr 22, Sat Eve of Garter ceremonies, Whitehall.

At a Chapter held in the Great Closet (a chapel) the Queen appointed a Lieutenant, as customary. He went to evening service with the other Knights.

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

Queen's Lieutenant: Edward Clinton, Earl of Lincoln. Nine other Garter Knights.

'The Lord Lieutenant with all the Lords did meet in the Chamber of Presence by 9 o'clock in the morning, and from thence went down to the Chapel to morning prayers through the Hall as they did the night before. Service being done they came up again into the Chamber of Presence and there tarried until the Queen's Majesty was ready and then waited on her to the Great Chapel through the Hall and after a few prayers being sung the procession began to go forwards through the Hall and round about the Great Court and so to the Chapel again. The Queen had a canopy borne over her in this procession. Then she offered and went her way presently up to her Closet, it was so hot, and the Lord Lieutenant with the Lords went up into the Closet to her Majesty. And so waited on her to the Chamber of Presence and so to dinner. The Queen dined not abroad that day'.

The Knights went to evening service. [Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 468].

Also April 23: bear-baiting, at Whitehall.<sup>T</sup> 'The game of Paris Garden'.<sup>APC</sup>

Apr 24, Mon Final 1581 Garter ceremonies, Whitehall.

No new Knights were elected. The Queen deferred the Tournament from April 24 to May 1, 'for certain urgent occasions'. [Goldwell's description].

Also April 24: French Commissioners at Whitehall for first audience.

'The Commissioners had audience at 3 in the afternoon, being conducted to the court by the Lord Admiral, etc'.<sup>WA</sup>

*Journal:* Admiral Lincoln and Lord Derby escorted the Commissioners by boat to Whitehall Palace where the Queen awaited them. An immense chamber, entirely hung with tapestries of cloth of gold and silver, had been prepared to receive them.

The Queen's throne, surmounted by a silken canopy strewn with roses made with pearls, was placed on a high dais. She was surrounded by all her ladies of honour; she wore a gown of cloth of gold, ornamented with diamonds and rubies. The gentlemen of the Commissioners' suite, richly clad, passed first before the Queen; they preceded the Prince Dauphin, who was followed by Marshal de Cossé. The Queen rose, came down from the dais, and according to custom, kissed the Prince Dauphin on the mouth, then addressed a few gracious words to President Brisson, to Carrouges, and to La Mothe. The Prince Dauphin remained uncovered, although twice she invited him to don his headgear again.

The crowd was so dense, the heat so stifling, that the Queen did not wish to return to the dais, and went to stand near a window which overlooked the Thames. Lansac took the opportunity to present to her a French painter, charged by the Queen Mother to paint her portrait. She said smilingly that he should paint her with a veil over her face, so that they did not find her too old.

*Randolph:* 'The chief of the whole company had presence of her Majesty in the Banqueting-house, with their great contentment to them all, the honour was so great as more could not be wished'. Simon Bowyer made ready 'for her Majesty the banqueting-house at Whitehall divers and sundry times with alterations'.<sup>T</sup>

April [24], court, George Bohun to William Herle:

'The expectation of the event of our Commissioners drowneth all other news... Some think the resolution of the marriage is only a pretence, and that their intent is to treat of a union between France and us for the restitution of Don Antonio [former King of Portugal], and for invading the Low Countries'...

'This day they had their first audience, and tomorrow they are feasted by her Majesty, and after by my Lord Treasurer, my Lord Chamberlain, and my Lord of Leicester; and my Lord of Arundel instead of feasts entertaineth them at tilt and tourney'...

'Mr Drake hath made a very profitable journey, both for himself and the rest of the adventurers...The treasure he brought...was better than £600,000. He is a right *magnifico*, hath given her Majesty presents of rich jewels, and also to other of the Council, feasted her Majesty at Deptford'. [Wright, ii.133-5].

Apr 25, Tues Commissioners at Whitehall for dinner with the Queen.

'Conducted to the court by the Earl of Bedford, etc'.<sup>WA</sup>

*Journal*: At dinner the Queen had at her table the Princes of the Blood, Lansac, Carrouges, and Mauvissière.

After dinner 'when the tables were cleared away, there was a ball in which the dancers were the principal young lords and gentlemen of the court'.

The Queen was in a nearby room where she could see everything, and she talked familiarly with all the Frenchmen around it; when the ball was over she went into her apartments, taking with her the Prince Dauphin, the Duke of Bouillon, M.de Sancerre and three or four other gentlemen. She showed them a fine portrait of Henry VIII, and referred to the friendship between her father and the great King François I. Before they left, when the Prince Dauphin asked her to designate the Commissioners with whom they would have to treat, she chose the Earls of Sussex, Bedford, Leicester, Sir Christopher Hatton, and Walsingham.

*Randolph*: 'I can say too little of anything that was done to honour them that day'.

*There was an imposing portrait of Henry VIII by Holbein at Whitehall Palace.*

*There is a list of provisions headed 'A Diet...served to her Majesty and the Commissioners of France in the banqueting-house at Whitehall Tuesday dinner'.*

[BL Add MS 34320, f.115v]. *The dinner was similar to that for the Queen at Lord North's house, Kirtling, Cambs, in 1578. Details: 2 Sept 1578.*

Apr 26: French Commissioners presented their credentials to a committee of seven Privy Councillors. The Council required 'to have some intelligence of the cause of their coming. A long oration was made by President Brisson setting forth the commodities of uniting of these two realms'. [Randolph].

Apr 27, Thur dinner, Leicester House, Strand; Earl of Leicester.

'The Commissioners dined with my Lord of Leicester, where her Majesty was present, and used some long speech to them, opening the whole course of proceeding in the marriage cause', in presence of seven Councillors.<sup>WA</sup>

*Journal*: 'The Prince, Marshal de Cossé, and the other Commissioners were taken to a feast given by the Earl of Leicester in his house, where they and all the French noblemen who are here were very honourably and well received. The Queen, knowing of this gathering, came to the house to a little pavilion which looks onto the water, where she dined separately and stayed there for a long time after dinner without the Prince or the other Commissioners knowing. Then she sent to tell them that she would be very pleased to see them'.

*Randolph*: 'There wanted nothing that might be had. Her Majesty, to honour the feast, took part of their dinner in the banqueting-house in the garden, where she saw the Treasurer in conference with these noblemen'.

*Mendoza*: 'In the evening she was on the water until very late'.

April 27, Cologne newsletter: 'Such a triumphal entry into England has never been seen...The rooms in the Palace are said to be so covered with gold and silver hangings that everyone is amazed'. [Fugger, 54].

Apr 29, Sat, Randolph noted: 'This day Saturday the younger sort of the noblemen are hunting in Waltham Forest with my Lord of Leicester'.

Journal: 'The Queen is still planning to hold a Tournament on Monday [May 1], for which they are making great preparations'.

Apr 30, Sun Commissioners dined with Lord Burghley, Cecil House, Strand. Journal: The first conference was held after a dinner given by Burghley.

Sir Francis Walsingham spoke first, but instead of the expected speech in favour of the marriage, he alleged that (since Bacqueville's embassy in 1578) the Pope had sent Jesuit priests to England and Spanish troops to Ireland; this marriage project had raised the hopes of English Catholics. He dwelt on the dangers of the Queen giving birth at her age, and complained that the Duke of Alençon was negotiating with the Dutch States-General, so that the marriage could bring England into a war. The Queen had therefore written with her own hand to the Duke and was awaiting a response.

The Commissioners looked at Walsingham with astonishment; they replied that they had considered the marriage as settled. Bitter words were exchanged.

For this dinner Lord Burghley paid £362.19s11d, his expenses including 'the Queen's picture, 20s'; hire of cooks with labourers, hire of scalders, 'women scouring and making clean vessel', 'carrying fowl and venison from Burghley' [near Stamford]. Rewards included 'to the Queen's musicians, £6.5s; to the Prince's harbinger, 40s'. The 83 'servants to wait' were 49 gentlemen and 34 yeomen. Those 'to attend upon the Frenchmen for language' included Burghley's son Thomas Cecil and nephew Francis Bacon. [BL Lansdowne 33/70].

May 1, Mon Commissioners at Whitehall; bear-baiting.

'The Commissioners had access to her Majesty, and saw the bear-baiting'.<sup>WA</sup>

'The game of Paris Garden'.<sup>APC</sup>

Journal: The Queen sent barges for the Commissioners after dinner. She 'spent some time watching dancing, then, going to the windows, she invited the Prince and the other Commissioners to approach, and for a long time they had the pleasure of seeing dogs fighting with bears and bulls. Then she led them to a large gallery full of beautiful paintings and maps, where she asked for three lutes to be played, and afterwards entered her Privy Chamber, where the music of the three lutes continued for some time. She herself played the spinet'.

Also May 1: Herald's Proclamation adjourning Tournament again.

'The Jousts appointed to have been performed at the Queen's Majesty's palace at Westminster on Monday the 1st of May are by her Highness's express commandment for sundry respects adjourned to Sunday the 7th of May, and the Tourney with other martial exploits to the Monday the 8th of the same month'.

'As for the Course in Field which likewise the valiant Challengers and Defendants were desirous to accomplish, her Highness's pleasure is that the same shall be...left unattempted for this time'.

'And for the avoiding of disorder otherwise like to ensue if the persons agents in these enterprises should not be known and marshalled accordingly, her Majesty doth straitly charge and command every of them being Defendants to signify and deliver in their names to the Earl Marshal's Deputy for the time being at any time before two o'clock in the afternoon of Sunday next, as they regard her Highness's pleasure, and the decent and seemly order meet to be observed in the execution of such deeds of Honour and Chivalry'.

'God save the Queen'. [College of Arms MS M.4]. Tournament: May 15-16.

May 1: *death, at Chester: Sir William Gerard, Lord Chancellor of Ireland. Will (Feb 1581): much concerned with money owed him by the Crown in Wales and Ireland. 'A note of my bequests' includes (to Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton):*

*'Gold, silver or other precious jewel have I not to give or bestow upon my most dear good Lord the Lord Deputy of Ireland. And therefore do I leave and give unto his Lordship the treasure of a true heart with...all my notes and collections which I have begun touching the state of Ireland'.*

*Funeral: Chester Cathedral.*

*New Lord Chancellor of Ireland: Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin.*

May 2, Tues: Privy Council, 'appointed to treat with the Commissioners, went to Somerset House and showed their commissions'.<sup>WA</sup>

Court news. May 4, London, Mendoza to Philip II, of the Commissioners:

*'The Prince Dauphin comes to represent the King, the Duc de Bouillon and his brother the Prince de Sedan, both of whom are very young men, come only for ostentation, whilst the business is to be managed by M.de Lansac, M.de Crévecour, M.de Mothe Fénelon, formerly Ambassador here, Secretary Pinart, and President Brisson of the Parliament of Paris. In representation of Alençon come Marshal de Cossé, Marchaumont, and M.de Vray, his Secretary. They are all followed by trains of gentlemen, to the number in all of 500'...*

*'When they were not banqueting they have had constant meetings...No formal commission has been given to the English ministers, by which it is clear that the Queen is simply procrastinating about the marriage, in order to draw the French into an offensive alliance, without burdening herself with a husband, whilst the French wish first to make sure of the marriage'. [Span.iii.110-111].*

May 4, Thur supper, Arundel House, Strand.

*'The Commissioners had access to her Majesty, and supped with the Lord Chamberlain'.<sup>WA</sup> Thomas Radcliffe, 3rd Earl of Sussex, gave a supper for the Queen and the Commissioners at Arundel House, the Earl of Arundel's house, his own house being across the Thames in Bermondsey, Surrey.*

*Journal: The Queen had a conversation with La Mothe (the former resident Ambassador), but declined to discuss the marriage.*

*The Earl of Sussex had sent a servant, Smith, to the Lord Mayor of London, stating that the Queen had commanded him 'to put off my dinner for the French Commissioners [on May 2] to a supper this night' and asking that 'a lantern of glass' which had been made for him and which he wished to use at the supper should be delivered to Smith. [London: Remembrancia, I.252].*

May 6, Sat: *'The Commissioners went to Hampton Court, accompanied with the Earl of Leicester and Pembroke, etc'.<sup>WA</sup> Richard Todd, Keeper of the Standing Wardrobe and Privy Lodgings at Hampton Court, 'making ready and airing...Hampton Court for Prince Dauphin and his train', and 'attendance during their abode there'.<sup>T</sup> Works made purchases 'against the noblemen of France coming thither'.*

Court news. May 7, London, Mendoza to Philip II:

*'The Queen has signed the commission for the ministers who are to treat with the French'. She told La Mothe the marriage 'was in the hands of God, and she had nothing to say about it until she had received a reply from Alençon'...*

*'This procrastination and suspense on the part of the Queen is beginning to annoy the Frenchmen, notwithstanding that she tries to cajole them with feasts and hunting parties to extend their stay here'. [Span.iii.113-114].*

May 7, Sun Commissioners at Whitehall with the Queen.

'Commissioners had access to her Majesty, accompanied with the Earl of Northumberland'.<sup>WA</sup>

*Journal*: 'The Queen invited us to see the ball after dinner, which went on until five o'clock in the afternoon'. Then she took the Commissioners into the Presence Chamber and made a long discourse on the necessity of a league with France, the only means of keeping the King of Spain in check. As to the marriage, she again made the pretext that she was waiting to hear from Alençon.

At night the Queen sent De Vray to Alençon with a private letter. Marchaumont wrote urging the Duke to come to England.

May 11, court at Whitehall, Lord Burghley to the Lord Mayor (Sir John Branch):

'Her Majesty this present day hath required me to give you to understand of the good report made unto her Highness by the noblemen of France, the French Commissioners, of the courteous and kind entertainment and usage that they and their company have at all times since their being here received in the City, the which...her Highness hath accepted it as a great honour to herself'.

'And therefore her pleasure is that your Lordship should know how thankfully she accepteth thereof, and...should cause the same...to be known to the Aldermen your brethren and to others the principals of that City, so as they may understand how the good behaviour of her citizens to those strangers at this time is notably by the said noblemen of France recommended to her Majesty as an argument of their love and obedience to her Majesty'...

'She willed me expressly to write unto your Lordship that she will retain this good act...in her memory to be rewarded upon any just occasion to be presented to her on your behalf'. [London: Remembrancia, I.201].

May 12, Fri Conference with Commissioners, addressed by Lord Burghley. Resolutions as to the form of the marriage. [SPF.xv.169-170].

Negotiations continued at Somerset House until June 11.

Court news. May 12, London, Mendoza to Philip II: 'On the night of the 7th Marchaumont, by order of the Queen, dispatched M.de Vray with a letter written by the Queen herself, in the sealing-wax of which was embedded a diamond'...

'She has also arranged for Marchaumont to go and live in a house adjoining her gardens, and in one of the rooms they are making an appearance of having a man hidden, taking in his meals, and so forth. The Queen herself has twice come alone to the garden; and this has given rise to the belief that there is some great personage there: some say Alençon, others Don Antonio or Count Vimioso... It is nothing but a cunning trick of the Queen's to learn how the people would accept the coming of Alençon, and also, in case he should come, to have a place ready where she can see him without his being known. With the same end she has deferred from the 7th to the 15th some great entertainments which were to be given to the Commissioners'. [Span.iii.116-117].

*By May 14: Preparations for Tournament on May 15-16.*

*Whitehall*: 'Repairing of an old bridge over against the Tilt-yard, gravelling of the same and all the highway between the Mews-gate and Whitehall Gate to bring over the Earl of Arundel's pageant and other noblemens' pageants; making a new timber bridge against the Triumph for the bringing over sundry noblemens' pageants'.

*Tilt-yard*: 'New framing and setting up a great long scaffold under the Queen's window; removing of the Judge-house out of the Tilt-yard to the Court Gate, and making of two new Judge-houses; making up of scaffolds under the Banqueting-house for Frenchmen; gravelling a causeway in the Tilt-yard; painting and new laying in black and white colours sundry pole-boards about the Tilt-yard'.<sup>W</sup>

May 15-16: Tournament, Whitehall.

Description: Henry Goldwell, 'A Declaration of the Triumph showed before the Queen's Majesty and the French Ambassadors on Whitsun Monday and Tuesday'. (London, 1581). With additional details from a French spectator, Monsieur Nallot, in a letter of May 19, partially translated in Raumer, History of the 16th and 17th Centuries (1835) i.431-434. Modern edition of Goldwell, with excerpts from Monsieur Nallot: Nichols, Progresses (2014), iii.66-94.

May 15, Mon **Tournament**, at Whitehall: first day: Tilt.

Four Challengers, 'The Four Foster-Children of Desire', v 22 Defendants, defending 'The Fortress of Perfect Beauty'.

Challengers: Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel; Frederick 4th Lord Windsor; Fulke Greville; Philip Sidney.

The Challengers prepared a frame of wood covered with canvas, painted to resemble earth, called a 'rolling trench', which went on wheels. On top were two painted wood cannons, with two gunners and an ensign-bearer, all in crimson.

Inside 'was cunningly conveyed divers kind of most excellent music'.

Earl of Arundel came from the stable and entered the Tilt-yard in gilt and engraven armour, with 63 attendants in crimson and yellow: 2 Gentlemen Ushers; 4 pages on spare horses; 20 gentlemen; '6 trumpeters that sounded before him, and 31 yeomen that waited after him'.

Lord Windsor, also in gilt and engraven armour, entered with 90 attendants in orange-tawny: 4 pages on spare horses; 24 gentlemen; 4 trumpeters; 2 footmen; 4 Grooms of his Stable leading 4 horses; 60 yeomen.

Philip Sidney, in armour part blue, part gilt and engraven, entered with 38 attendants in gold and silver: 4 pages on spare horses; 30 gentlemen and yeomen; 4 trumpeters.

Fulke Greville, in gilt armour, entered with 28 attendants in tawny taffeta: 4 pages on spare horses; 4 trumpeters; 20 gentlemen and yeomen.

'Having thus all entered the Tilt-yard, they proceeded on with the rolling trench before them, which stayed against the Queen, and they passed by, as though they would behold the Fortress of Beauty, and so went about the tilt. At last the boy that uttered the first defiance pronounced...speeches to her Majesty' [summoning the Fortress to yield]. Then 'the rolling trench or mount of earth was moved as near the Queen's Majesty as might be; which being settled, the music played very pleasantly and one of the boys being then accompanied with cornets summoned the Fortress with this delectable song':

'Yield, yield, O yield, you that this Fort do hold,  
Which seated is in spotless honour's field.  
Desire's great force, no forces can withhold:  
Then to Desire's desire, O yield, O yield...  
Yield, yield, O yield, now is it time to yield,  
Before the assault begin, O yield, O yield'.

'When that was ended, another boy, turning himself to the Foster-Children and their retinue, sung this Alarm with pleasant voice and seemly countenance:

'Alarm, alarm, here will no yielding be,  
Such marble ears no cunning words can charm.  
Courage, therefore, and let the stately see  
That naught withstands Desire, alarm, alarm...  
Alarm, alarm, when once the fight is warm,  
Then shall you see them yield, alarm, alarm'.

'Which ended, the two cannons were shot off, the one with sweet powder, and the other with sweet water...And after that was store of pretty scaling ladders, and the footmen threw flowers and such fancies against the walls, with all such devices as might seem fit shot for Desire'...

'Then came in the Defendants in most sumptuous manner, with every one his servants, pages, and trumpeters...with every one his sundry invention', and with speeches to the Queen by the pages.

22 Defendants, in order:

Henry Grey; Sir Thomas Perrot and Anthony Cooke with armour 'with apples and fruit, the one signifying Adam, and the other Eve, who had hair hung all down his helmet'; their page as an Angel.

Thomas Radcliffe, as a Hermit or 'Desolate Knight'.

Henry, William, Robert, and Francis Knollys, brothers, as the Four Sons of Despair, with a page, Mercury. Ralph Bowes.

Thomas Kellaway; George Goring; William Tresham;

Robert Alexander; Edward Denny; Hercules Mewtas;

Edward More; Richard Skipwith; Richard Ward;

Everard Digby; Henry Noel; Henry Brouncker.

'Afterwards in the midst of the running came in Sir Henry Lee, as unknown, and when he had broken his six staves, went out in like manner again'.

The speeches being ended, they 'marched about the tilt, and...prepared themselves to run, every one in his turn, each Defendant six courses against the former Challengers: who performed their parts so valiantly on both sides...and worthily won honour both to themselves and their native country'...

'When this day's sport was thus accomplished, the boy that uttered the defiances, in these few speeches took his goodnight of the Queen'.

The boy referred to the coming of 'night, the ordinary truce-maker', and declared that 'they will continue this hard and hardy enterprise tomorrow'.

'The Knights in very comely and convenient order (as they came) departed'.

*Description by Nallot:* 'On both sides and at either end...scaffolds were erected for the numerous spectators. First appeared forty lords and gentlemen, very richly dressed and adorned with jewels, on Italian and Spanish horses sumptuously caparisoned. Then eight Heralds who bore the Arms of England, and four Trumpeters dressed in yellow and red velvet. Four Marshals and Judges of the lists, accompanied by seven gentlemen'.

[Nallot describes the 'rolling trench', and the four Challengers' entrance].

'The four troops having run the entire career with lances in rest and closed visors drew themselves up in order before the Queen. An antique tower was now rolled forward by machinery, at the top of which was a triangular golden lantern with a light burning. Out of an opening in the tower a great snake rolled itself, which attempted to climb certain trees at the side richly laden with fruit. Behind the tower went six eagles, well counterfeited, but with feathers of various colours. In the interior of each eagle were concealed trumpeters and other musicians, who played to admiration'.

'Then followed two horses without saddles, all gilded over, and upon each was mounted an Irish youth with his long flowing hair also gilded, and dressed in loose flying silver tiffany. Then knights, trumpeters, pages'.

'Then a triumphal car, which to appearance moved backwards, and upon it the sisters the Fates, who held prisoner in a great golden chain a knight who wore a suit of brown velvet and golden armour. Behind, musicians with wide sleeves, great false beards, and high caps'.

'Then a knight. Next to him a learned doctor, who showed him the picture of a lady, and when the knight looked towards it sighing the doctor comforted him with gestures, and promised him good fortune'.

'Every knight, as he passed, saluted the Queen, who was placed with the Dauphin and the French Ambassador at one end of the lists. With her many ladies, dressed for the most part in the French fashion'.

May 16, Tues **Tournament**, second day: conclusion: Tourney and Barriers.

*Monsieur Nallot*: 'On the following day was a combat with swords, to match that with lances of the first, and there was no lack of numberless other inventions and sports. Thus for example there were to be seen little coaches drawn by asses, the latter so sewed up in white satin as to make spectators believe it their natural skin'.

*Goldwell*: 'The Four Foster-Children of Desire entered in a brave chariot (very finely and curiously decked) as men fore-wearied and half overcome... Upon the top the four Knights sat, with a beautiful Lady representing Desire ...whereunto their eyes were turned, in token of what they desired'.

In the chariot was 'a full consort of music, who played still very doleful music as the chariot moved. The chariot was drawn by four horses...apparelled in white and carnation silk, being the colours of Desire. And as it passed by the upper end of the tilt a Herald of Arms was sent before to utter these speeches in the Knights' behalf to her Majesty'...

"They must confess (alas) that...they are not greatly companied with Hope, the common supplier to Desire's army. So as now, from summoning this castle to yield, they are fallen lowly to beseech you to vouchsafe your eyes out of that impregnable fortress to behold what will fall out betwixt them and your famous Knights...Sooner their souls shall leave their bodies than Desire shall leave their souls...They are brought to this fair pass, to desire no more, but that this death or overthrow may be seen by those eyes who are only unhappy in that they can neither find fellows nor see themselves".

'Which speech being done, the Defendants came in, in such order as they came in the day before...Then went they to the Tourney, where they did very nobly, as the shivering of the swords might very well testify. And after that to the Barriers, where they lashed it out lustily and fought courageously'...

'Which sport continued all the same day. And towards the evening, the sport being ended, there was a boy sent up to the Queen, being clothed in ash-coloured garments in token of humble submission, who having an olive-branch in his hand, and falling down prostrate on his face, and then kneeling up, concluded this noble exercise with these words to her Majesty:

"Most renowned Princess of Princes, in whom can nothing obtain victory but Virtue. The Foster-Children of Desire...send me to deliver in such words as sorrow can afford their most humble-hearted submission...They do acknowledge themselves overcome, as to be slaves to this Fortress for ever"...

"For witness thereof they present this olive-branch to your presence, in token of your triumphant peace, and of their peaceable servitude, whereby they present themselves as bondmen"...

"Only from out of that which was theirs they crave thus much, to give some token to those Knights which may be judged to have done best in each kind of weapon, or who by his Device hath come in best sort in this desirous strife".

They "wish from the bottom of their captived hearts, that while this Realm is thus fortified and beautified, Desire may be your chiefest adversary".

'Which speech being ended, her Majesty gave them all praise and great thanks.. And so they departed each one in order..And thus ceased those courtly triumphs'.

*May 17: death. Sir William Cordell (c.1522-1581), Master of the Rolls since 1557, died at the Rolls House, Chancery Lane. Burial: June 19, Long Melford Church, Suffolk. Funeral: June 20, Christ Church, Newgate, London.*

*His monument remains at Long Melford Church; it includes the figures of Fortitude, Justice, Prudence, and Temperance.*



May 20: *death*. Dr Thomas Wilson (1523-1581), one of the Queen's Principal Secretaries, Privy Councillor, Master of St Katherine's Hospital, London.

Funeral: June 17: St Katherine Cree Church. Dr Wilson had stipulated in his will 'without any charge or pomp at all'.

May 21, Sun Commissioners at Whitehall with the Queen.  
Journal: The Commissioners went to the Queen after dinner, speaking to her initially during the dancing.

May 23, Duke John Casimir to Francis Walsingham, in French: 'I am sending you this book which if you think good you will show to the Queen. It is the refutation which my people have published to that Book of Concord, which five or six ambitious and turbulent theologians printed 8 or 9 months ago'. [SPF.xv.182].

May 26, Fri: Commissioners began a short stay at Windsor Castle, dining at Hounslow, Middlesex, on their way there and back. Francis Coot made ready 'at Windsor against the coming of the French Commissioners thither' and 'a dining house at Hounslow for the French Commissioners'.

Richard Brackenbury made ready 'a dining house for the Prince and the rest of the Commissioners two sundry times at Hounslow going to London from Windsor and returning back again'; and 'three standings at Windsor Forest in the Park there for the Prince Dauphin and other the French Commissioners'.<sup>T</sup>

Court news. May 29, London, Thomas Milles to William Davison: 'The world is little altered here since your departure, save the triumphs that are ended, and with great honour accomplished at all hands. The Tilt I saw from the beginning to the ending, and cannot but report great honour to be won at all hands'.

'The men are already gone to Windsor, and then it is generally reported that their departure will not be long after. The general fear of the marriage is well laid down, and to say the truth the time hath been at all hands so spent in pastimes that their other proceedings have been little intended'. [SP12/149/10].

May 30, Wed new appointment:  
Sir Gilbert Gerard, Attorney-General, was made Master of the Rolls.  
Also: the Queen lost 'one bunch of gold tags containing four in the bunch from a gown of black satin'. She also lost in May from a black velvet gown 'two buttons of gold like tortoises with pearls in them'. [Lost, 311,320].

May/June: hunting, Hyde Park and Marylebone Park.  
Works, May 26-31, at Hyde Park and Marylebone Park made 'two new standings there for the Queen's Majesty and the noblemen of France to see the hunting'; cost £8.10s7d. Simon Bowyer made ready 'for her Majesty in Hyde Park', May.<sup>T</sup>

May/June: fencing, at Whitehall.  
Works, at the Tilt-yard: 'Gravelling of a place for the bear-baiting and another for the fencers and railing of the said places'.  
[See: 'Miscellaneous': Challenges by Masters of Defence].

June 1, Thur new appointment: John Popham, Solicitor-General, was made Attorney-General.

June 1, in Scotland. James Douglas, 4th Earl of Morton, Regent of Scotland 1572-1578, was tried in Edinburgh for high treason.

June 2: Morton was executed, contrary to a promise by King James to the Queen, who called him 'that false Scotch urchin', and complained of his 'double dealing'. [Span.iii.207-8].

Court news. June 2, Mendoza to Philip II: 'The changes in the marriage negotiations have been so sudden and frequent on both sides...Vray arrived with letters from Alençon saying that for his part he would do whatever the Queen wished...The Queen told the envoys that Alençon and she were the persons who were to be married and they understood each other very well, so that there was no need for the signing of capitulations, nor for their acceptance by the King. It is to be believed that she took up this position in the certainty that Alençon was coming hither. He embarked at Dieppe on the 28th...Contrary weather however drove him back to land...I believe that the Queen is expecting him and that at this moment he may have landed on the coast. The Queen...has dispatched Marchaumont and Vray to meet him'. [Span.iii.119-121]. Unknown to Mendoza bad weather prevented the Duke from setting out again.

*June 4: Duke of Alençon's supposed secret arrival at Whitehall.*

*On June 5 Mendoza informed King Philip that Alençon had arrived in London at midday on June 4, had entered the house adjoining the Queen's garden, and that Marchaumont had sent Leicester a jet ring as the signal of his arrival.*

*Mendoza reported on June 15 that the Queen had promised the Duke that when he came back publicly she would marry him. He was not seen by any of the Frenchmen 'and I am assured that he only stayed here two nights. This has given the French an opportunity for saying that he has not been here'. King Philip himself wrote from Lisbon to Mendoza, July 22: 'Your information about Alençon's secret arrival at the English court must be incorrect'. [Span.iii.126-7,131,150].*

*June 6, Whitehall: The Queen lost from 'the gown of striped taffeta one aglet of gold enamelled white'. [Lost, 312].*

*June 6: birth, at Leicester House: Robert Lord Denbigh, son of Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester by Lettice Knollys. Lord Denbigh displaced Philip Sidney as heir to the Earls of Leicester and Warwick, but died in 1584.*

*June 8: The Earl of Oxford, who had been imprisoned in the Tower since April after Anne Vavasour, a Maid of Honour, gave birth to his son at court, was released 'by her Majesty's commandment', it being stated that he 'was not committed thither upon any cause of treason or any criminal cause'.<sup>APC</sup>*

*He was for a time confined to his house; he was reconciled with the Queen in May 1583. His son Edward Vere became a soldier, was knighted, died in 1629.*

*June 8: Archibald Douglas, 8th Earl of Angus, nephew of the executed Earl of Morton, fled to England, arriving in Carlisle, Cumberland, on June 8 'with the two bastard sons of the late Earl of Morton (the Laird of Maynes and the Laird of Carmichael), accompanied by 23 or 24 servants'. The Queen directed that they were to be received 'with all courtesy and favour' for their devotion to the Crown of England. [Scot.vi.28]. The Earl of Angus was at the English court from c.September 1581-August 1582.*

*June 10: Council 'Placard to John Wells for 100 hackneys to be taken up within the City of London, and such other convenient numbers of hackney horses as may conveniently be found in the cities of Canterbury and Rochester and the towns of Gravesend, Sittingbourne and Dover, to be taken up for the use of the Prince Dauphin and the rest of the Commissioners presently departing the Realm towards France, as also for the taking up of 17 carts for the conveyance of their stuff and utensils'. 'Five letters to certain gentlemen' in Kent 'to make their repair unto Gravesend' on June 12 'there to receive the Commissioners returning towards France and to conduct them unto Dover, there to attend and accompany them until they shall be embarked'.<sup>APC</sup>*

June 11, Sun Treaty of Marriage between the Queen and Alençon was signed by the Commissioners, provisional on various conditions being fulfilled.

Detailed arrangements, in Latin, as to the marriage ceremony.

June 12, Mon Commissioners at Whitehall to take leave.<sup>WA</sup>

Late on June 12 the Commissioners received letters from their King. Henri III wrote that if the Queen would consent to marry, he would agree to assist his brother in the Low Countries and to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with her.

June 13, Tues Commissioners at Whitehall for final audience.

The Queen ascertained that the Commissioners had no authority to treat upon the particulars of an alliance. [Journal].

Also June 13: The Queen's gifts of plate were delivered to the Commissioners.

'To the Prince Dolphin sent out of France as a Commissioner':

a bowl of gold with a cover; a pair of flagons of silver gilt; a pair of pots gilt; a nest of bowls with a cover gilt; three basins and ewers gilt; a pair of flagons gilt; two bowls with two covers gilt; a pair of vases or lairs gilt; a pair of salts gilt with a cover; and two candlesticks gilt.

Large cupboards of plate were also delivered to: Marshal de Cossé; Monsieur Lansac; Monsieur Carrouges. Smaller cupboards went to: Monsieur La Mothe; President Brisson; Monsieur Pinart; and Monsieur De Vray.<sup>NYG</sup>

June 14: The French left London.

The Scout (John Cobham, Captain) took them from Dover to Calais.<sup>N</sup>

Court news. June 15, Mendoza to Philip II: The Commissioners' departure 'was deferred from day to day, and on the 12th, after they had shipped their belongings and taken leave, they sent to ask for another audience, which delayed them until the 14th, when they departed without any other decision' except that they have signed the Treaty, 'the Queen reserving three or four points by letter to Alençon'. These points were whether he might exercise his Catholic religion, the question of his being crowned, what he is to receive if the Queen dies, and the liberation of the Queen of Scots. 'The Queen says that these points they will settle between them...a period of six weeks being given for this purpose, during which it is to be decided whether Alençon is to come and be married or not...The negotiations are thus left open'. The French are 'much offended at the Queen having enticed them here on the assurance of the marriage, whereas they are going back with empty words'. [Span.iii.131].

June 17, Sat Spanish Ambassador at Whitehall for audience.<sup>WA</sup>

Mendoza to Philip II, June 24: My audience had been deferred three times.

The Queen 'sent to say that if I wished to see her, I was to go by water and she would await me in a gallery overlooking the river. I arrived there and landed at a private door, and on ascending to the gallery was met and entertained by Hatton, Captain of the Guard, being shortly afterwards joined by the Queen, who was accompanied only by the Earl of Sussex, and had no lady with her. The others retired to the end of the gallery, leaving me alone with the Queen. I suspect that the reason why she did not give me audience before her ladies and other courtiers was for fear I might be very angry, which she did not wish them to see'. She complained in particular about soldiers sent to Ireland from Spain in 1580 by the Pope, and discussed Low Countries troubles. [Span.iii.134].

June 20, Tues **GREENWICH PALACE**, Kent.<sup>WA</sup>

Works, 1581-82: 'making bridges four several times at Blackwall for her Majesty to pass out of her barge'.

June 20-c.Sept 20: John Somers was special Ambassador to France. Somers, Clerk of the Signet, went to King Henri III and the Duke of Alençon.

The King 'urgeth that the marriage already contracted may be solemnised out of hand, and that now there remaineth nothing else behind. Somers sheweth to the contrary by the writings that there was first a league defensive and offensive to be entered into; the French King denieth it. Walsingham is dispatched [in July] to compound these differences'. [Camden, Annals].

June 20: Sir Francis Drake's coat of arms was granted by the Queen, being: 'Of sable a fess wavy argent between two stars argent, the helm adorned with a globe terrestrial, upon the height whereof is a ship under sail, trained about the same with golden hawesers by the direction of a hand appearing out of the clouds all in proper colour, a red dragon volant showing itself regarding the said direction, with these words Auxilio divino [by divine aid]'.

Stow, Annals: 'For reward of his service his arms were given him, the world in a ship, which ship by her Majesty's commandment is lodged in a dock at Deptford, for a monument to all posterity of that famous and worthy exploit'.

June 22-Sept 30: **Don Antonio of Portugal** in England.

Don Antonio (1531-1595), King of Portugal from June-August 1580, when the King of Spain deposed him by force; Pretender to the Throne of Portugal 1580-1595.

He escaped by sea to France, with some of the Crown jewels, and arrived at Calais in a Flemish hulk, he and his companions being in disguise 'clad in russet' cloth. [SPF.xv.250]. He arrived at Dover with Diego Botello, hoping for ships to re-conquer Portugal, or to attack former Portuguese territories.

June 23, Rochester, Don Antonio to the Queen, in Portuguese, sending Don Rodriguez de Souza to ask when he may have audience. [HT.xiii.192].

June 25, court, Sir Francis Walsingham to Lord Burghley, at Theobalds, Herts: 'Her Majesty hath been of late somewhat troubled with a pain in her head and ache in her legs, but is now, thanks be given to God, quit hereof'...

'I am commanded to use with great secrecy the arrival of Don Antonio... He is like to return with as evil satisfaction as the poor Prince of Condé did [1580]...I guess his coming hither had the French King's assent...Her Majesty feareth that her reception of him will provoke the King of Spain to take some way of revenge, and therefore doth wish his speedy departure'. [SP12/149/53].

June 26, London, Mendoza to Philip II: He 'landed with the 8 or 10 Portuguese who accompanied him disguised as sailors'. He has 'a thin face and very dark, the hair and beard being somewhat grey, and the eyes green'. [Span.iii.138-9].

June 27, Earl of Sussex to Lord Burghley: 'The Queen's Majesty had licensed me to repair into the country, but...hath stayed me, which I do think doth grow upon the arrival of Don Antonio, whom the Queen would have to be kept secret, although indeed it be openly spoken of. My opinion is it had been better he had never come hither if her Majesty mean to do nothing for him'. [HT.ii.394].

June 27, at Oxford: Edmund Campion (1540-1581), Jesuit priest, had written a 'Challenge' to Protestants to debate on religion (July 1580). For a year he had been ministering secretly to Catholics. He had now written a pamphlet Rationes Decem, copies of which were secretly placed in St Mary's Church.

Campion gave Ten Reasons which he would have used in favour of the Catholic faith if his Challenge had been taken up. He ended by appealing to the Queen that 'the day will surely come that will show thee clearly which of the two have loved thee, the Society of Jesus or the brood of Luther'.

The search for Campion and other Jesuits led to his capture: July 17.

June 28, Wed new appointment: Thomas Egerton was made Solicitor-General.

June 29, Thur visit for hunting, Eltham, Kent.

Eltham Palace; Crown property. Keeper: Sir Christopher Hatton (1540-1591), Vice-Chamberlain, Captain of the Guard; Keeper of Eltham and Eltham Park, and Master of the Game at Eltham, 1568-1591. (See July 1, Mendoza's dispatch).

Court news. June 29, Sir Francis Walsingham to the Earl of Huntingdon:

Don Antonio has been 'these 4 or 5 days at Rochester, accompanied only with 5 or 6 persons, and there remains to put himself in some apparel to have access unto her Majesty, being now clad in mariner's weeds. The cause of his coming is not yet known, but supposed to be to require assistance against Spain'.

June 29, court, Walsingham to Lord Burghley: 'Yesternight late the new guest came to a lodging provided for him at Stepney. For lack of apparel he will not demand audience these two days'. [Hastings, ii.34; SP12/149/55].

June 30, Fri Don Antonio at Greenwich for first audience.

July 1, court, Walsingham to Lord Burghley: 'The strange [foreign] guest yesternight had audience'. He asked leave to provide at his own charge 10 ships, to take him to the Isle of Terceira in the Azores. [SP12/149/62].

c. July 1: Spanish Ambassador at Greenwich for audience.

Mendoza to Philip II, July 4: After previously being refused audience I wrote to the Queen. 'My secretary handed her the letter at the end of last month, when she was coming from hunting at Eltham, in a very good humour, Marchaumont, Leicester, and Hatton being with her. She seated herself and read it twice over...and it caused her to look very sad'. Hatton said she 'had not the slightest desire that I should leave her court, or that she should break with your Majesty'. Next day we arranged an audience for 3 o'clock.

'The Queen received me in her private chamber, to which I was conducted by a secret staircase. She ordered the room to be cleared of all but Leicester, Sussex, Hatton, and Walsingham, and her first words were that it was not too much to expect your Majesty to write to her giving some satisfaction about Ireland'. [The King had insisted that an expedition in 1580 concerned the Pope alone. Mendoza's responses angered the Queen]. 'She screamed out louder than before...saying that I was to blame for everything that had happened'...

I told her I had heard of Don Antonio's arrival, and knew he had left Calais for Dover on June 22. The Queen said 'he might be in her country...She did not know yet whether she should help Don Antonio or not, but she would not arrest or surrender anyone to be killed'. I made a formal request for his surrender. 'She replied that such a request could not be made verbally by the ambassador' [by Treaty with Spain].

'He is here...The rest of them have changed their names and keep close, like their master. When they passed through Rochester he went to see the Queen's ships...I do not hear that he brings much money or jewels, as they have had even to supply him with shirts here. There are six or eight men with him, for whom cloths and silks have been brought for clothing...The Queen has had him lodged two miles from Greenwich at a place called Stepney in the house of an Alderman who was Lord Mayor last year [Sir Nicholas Woodroffe]'...

'Leicester and Hatton went there to see him at night when the Queen was at Eltham at the end of last month, and he went secretly to see her next day. In the afternoon he was with Leicester and Walsingham; and Captains Drake, Winter and Hawkins, who are pirates and seamen, were present'. They discussed helping him, and getting ships ready. 'Your Majesty should instantly write to the Queen regarding the surrender of Don Antonio'. In August King Philip wrote a formal request to the Queen to surrender his 'rebel subject'. [Span.iii.140-144,159].

July 5: new appointment: George Gower: Serjeant Painter to the Queen.  
£10 p.a.<sup>P</sup> Gower had painted a self-portrait, holding his brush and palette,  
with verses referring to his 'pencil's trade', 1579. [Reproduced in *ODNB*].

July 5, Wed **LOUGHTON**, Essex; Mr Stoner.<sup>WA</sup>  
Loughton Hall.<sup>W</sup> Loughton manor-house; Crown property, leased by Robert Wroth  
(of Chigwell) and his wife Susan (Stoner), only child of the previous lessee  
John Stoner (who died in 1579). \*Occupied by John's brother Francis Stoner.

July 6, Thur Sir Francis Walsingham was summoned to Loughton.  
Walsingham to Lord Burghley, July 7, Greenwich, of ships for Don Antonio:  
'Yesterday by her Majesty's commandment I repaired to the court. The end why  
I was sent for was to give order for the stay of the preparation of the ships,  
but before my coming thither her Majesty had put on a determination that the  
said preparations should proceed'. [SP12/149/64].

July 6/8: dinner; Mr Fuller.<sup>T</sup> [Little Ilford, Essex].  
Aldersbrook manor-house, Little Ilford. Owned by Nicholas Fuller, lawyer  
(1543-1620); wife: Sarah, daughter of Nicholas Backhouse, London Alderman.  
Fuller sold Aldersbrook to the Earl of Leicester in 1585, and moved to  
Thatcham, Berkshire, where the Queen visited him in 1592.

July 6/8: dinner, Leyton, Essex; Lady Paulet.<sup>T</sup>  
Anne, Lady Paulet, was widow of (1) Richard Paulet; (2) a Mr Beer; (3) Sir Giles  
Paulet, died 1579. She married (4) Bernard Whetston, of Essex; she died in 1595.

July 8, Sat **GREENWICH PALACE**.<sup>WA</sup>

July 12, Wed Two Earls' quarrel at Greenwich.  
*John Dee*: 'The Earl of Leicester fell foully out with the Earl of Sussex,  
Lord Chamberlain, calling each other traitor, whereupon both were commanded  
to keep their chambers at Greenwich, where the court was'.<sup>D</sup>

July 12, court, Sir Francis Walsingham to Lord Burghley: 'My very good  
Lord, I had thought to have taken some time this afternoon to have seen your  
Lordship...but by reason of a quarrel fallen out between the Earl of Sussex  
and the Earl of Leicester, which her Majesty seeketh to take up in respect  
of the inconvenience that may fall out thereby, I am stayed by her Highness's  
commandment. The cause of the quarrel grew about Havering [in Essex]'.  
'The words of reproach that passed between them in the Privy Chamber were very  
bitter, but in whom the fault was it is very hard to judge, for that there was  
no witnesses of that which passed between them. They are both far out of tune  
and therefore are commanded both to keep their chambers until her Majesty takes  
some further order between them...Her Majesty is resolved in case they shall not  
yield to stand to her order to commit them both, which message the Earl of  
Bedford and I were commanded to deliver unto them both from her Majesty'...

'Her Majesty is resolved (upon some persuasion used) not to restore the Earl  
of Oxford to his full liberty before he hath been dealt withal for his wife'.  
[The Countess of Oxford was Burghley's daughter, mis-treated by the Earl.  
Burghley made a marginal note: 'This is more [less?] easier to be done than  
courtiers do think'].

July 12 [2nd letter]: 'Both the Earls, after the delivery of her Majesty's  
message unto them, and some persuasion used towards them, did both submit  
themselves to such order as it should please her Majesty to take in the cause  
between them'. Both requested 'that they might be licensed to retire home to  
their houses'. The Queen 'is not yet resolved what end this cause shall take'.  
[SP12/149/67-8].

July 13, Thur visit, Cecil House, Strand; William Cecil, Lord Burghley.

The Queen visited Lord Treasurer Burghley, who was unwell, the day after Leicester and Sussex quarrelled. July 13, Burghley to Sir Christopher Hatton: 'I am most sorry to hear of the disaster fallen out yesterday betwixt two great planets, but I hope they know their Jupiter, and will obey her Majesty, rather to content her than to follow their own humours'. [Wright, ii.144].

July 14, court, Sir Francis Walsingham to Lord Burghley:

'Her Majesty is determined to hold on her resolution touching the two Lords wherewith she did yesterday acquaint your Lordship'. [SP12/149/69].

Court news. July 14, Mendoza to Philip II: Don Antonio 'is now here publicly, as anyone may see him'. He has paid in cash for 3 or 4 ships. 'He signifies to the Queen...that he left more than a million in money and jewels hidden in the hand of his friends in Portugal'. The Queen gave £5000 for fitting out the fleet 'and munitions are being secretly brought from the Tower...Leicester has sent his silver plate to Don Antonio for his use, and said that the King Don Antonio was very welcome to England, as...he had a better right to the Crown than your Majesty, and would find in England 100,000 men willing to help him in his claim. He said...a King was not a rebel, and your Majesty could therefore not claim him. Don Antonio very frequently sees the Queen'. [Span.iii.145-6].

July 14, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate: 'Monsieur de Lansac, one of the ambassadors [French Commissioners], has been to see me and is full of praise of the Queen...He expatiated on the great obedience, respect, and love which her subjects show her, on her riches and her grandeur, assuring me that they and their suite of 800 persons were treated like so many kings, with feasts and tourneys and revels, in which the English had spent a great deal of money. They met with the greatest respect from the common people, who are usually insolent to all strangers, especially towards the French. And he had often seen the Queen on her way through the city receive such blessings from the people as though she had been another Messiah'. [Ven.viii.15-16].

Court news. July 15, Lambeth, William Herle to Leicester: 'Her Majesty went on Thursday to the Lord Treasurer's, accompanied only with the Lord of Effingham and Marchaumont'. July 15, London newsletter: 'This week at court here a violent quarrel broke out' between Sussex and Leicester 'over a question of precedence. The Queen has commanded both to remain within their houses and is striving to make peace'. [SP12/149/71; Fugger, 59].

July 17: Edmund Campion, Jesuit priest, was arrested in Berkshire after a year secretly ministering in England. Humphrey Forster, Sheriff of Berkshire, was appointed by the Privy Council 'to bring up one Edmund Campion Jesuit, three other priests, and eight other persons taken in that shire and by the said Council committed to the Tower of London'. £33 payment, July 25.<sup>T</sup>

July 19, Lord Burghley to John Somers, special Ambassador to France:

I 'am sure you will be glad if Mr Secretary shall come, who shall bring you to one end or other of this long maze'. [SPF.xv.267].

July 22, Greenwich: Queen's Instructions for Sir Francis Walsingham, to go on a special embassy to France; including Instructions for a League offensive and defensive. [Digges, 352-6].

July 22: death. Dr Richard Cox (1500-1581), Bishop of Ely.

Will (April 1581), bequest to son Richard Cox: 'one of the best bowls of silver and gilt that was last brought home for my New Year's gift, weighing 13 ounces or thereabouts'; to son Roger Cox a similar bowl 'weighing 11¾ ounces'.

Funeral: Ely Cathedral. New Bishop of Ely (1600): Martin Heton.

Court news. July 23, London, Mendoza to Philip II:

'De Vray, who had been sent by Marchaumont to France, has arrived here. On his arrival he and the Ambassador saw the Queen and requested an answer, as the six weeks had expired...whether she would marry or not'...

'She has now decided to send Walsingham with it to France'.

Walsingham and Leicester have both said that 'whilst the Queen of Scotland lived, and I was in the country, the Queen could not be sure even of her own personal safety, much less that of her Crown'. [Span.iii.151-2].

July 25, court, Roger Manners (Esquire for the Body) to the Earl of Rutland:

'The Queen's Majesty is determined this day to dispatch Mr Secretary into France. Upon Thursday she mindeth to make a voyage to Wanstead, which my Lord of Leicester hath redeemed from Skinner, and there to tarry till Saturday. The next week to go to Oatlands and so by degrees to Windsor'.

'The Lord Chamberlain [Earl of Sussex] mindeth to go to Newhall for a week. I will do all duties till within a week of Michaelmas [Sept 29]'.<sup>RT</sup>

July 25,Tues Sir Francis Walsingham at Greenwich to take leave.<sup>WA</sup>

*July 25-Sept 21: Sir Francis Walsingham was special Ambassador to France. Walsingham posted from Gravesend to Dover, then went first to the Duke of Alençon and then to King Henri III to continue negotiations about a mutual league without marriage, but he was instructed not to break off altogether the matter of the marriage. Most of the letters and dispatches to and from Walsingham are quoted from Dudley Digges, The Compleat Ambassador (1655).*

*July 27, Boulogne, Sir Francis Walsingham to Lord Burghley: 'I arrived here this Thursday morning somewhat distempered in body, as well for want of two nights' sleep, as by reason of our posting to Dover'. [Digges, 356; date: MS].*

July 27,Thur **WANSTEAD**, Essex; Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Wanstead manor-house. Leicester mortgaged Wanstead manor to Thomas Skinner in 1580, but redeemed it in 1581. Skinner, a clothworker, was Lord Mayor of London in 1596.

July 29, London newsletter: 'Every day many Portuguese notables come to Don Antonio here. He has with him now over thirty nobles of the best families. This week 50,000 crowns were brought to him by a Portuguese from France... They say he is having 50 ships equipped here. Don Antonio lives in a palace and it seems as though he would stay here for a long while yet'. [Fugger, 60].

July 29,Sat **GREENWICH PALACE**.

July 30, Earl of Leicester to Sir Francis Walsingham (whom the Queen called 'her Moor', and who was now in France): 'I imparted your letter to her Majesty, who expressed very great favour, with many gracious words towards you, and... she willed me to say thus to you that, as she doth know her Moor cannot change his colour, no more shall it be found that she will alter her old wont, which is always to hold both ears and eyes open for her good servants'...

'The Queen's Majesty was almost altered for her going to Wanstead by some thwart practice whatsoever, but at last she went, and hath been very well and merry there, and so returned yesternight best pleased with all things. And her Majesty resteth in good health, God be thanked, and hitherto never spoke word to me touching your negotiation. Marchaumont was with her this journey, and said little or nothing of these matters'.

'Her Majesty stayeth here till she hears from you. Marchaumont is gone this morning...to my Lord Chancellor [Sir Thomas Bromley]'. [HT.ii.403].



July 30, Privy Council to the Lieutenant of the Tower and three others, instructing them how to proceed with Edmund Campion. 'First, they shall demand of him whether he acknowledge himself to be her Majesty's subject or no'.<sup>APC</sup>

*This demand was alluded to by Campion at his trial in November in a way which later caused it to be supposed that he was questioned by the Queen in person. [Details: Marion Colthorpe, 'Edmund Campion's alleged interview with Queen Elizabeth I in 1581', Recusant History (May 1985), 197-200].*

Court news. Aug 1, Newhall [Essex], Earl of Sussex to the Earl of Rutland: 'Having been troubled with the colic, her Majesty gave me leave to take the air at my house here so soon as Mr Secretary was dispatched to the French King and Monsieur...Upon Mr Secretary's return from his negotiations her Majesty will grow to a resolution, which neither he carried, nor she will come to, before necessity compels. Whatever may be said in corners, this is as much as anybody yet knows'.<sup>RT</sup>

*c. August 6: Preparations for proposed stay, Windsor Castle, Berks. Richard Brackenbury made ready at Windsor, and 'two standings for her Majesty at Windsor, the one within the Toil [netted enclosure], the other without'.<sup>T</sup>*

Court news. Aug 6, Greenwich, Lord Burghley to the Earl of Shrewsbury: 'I think your Lordship hath heard how Campion the Jesuit was taken in Berkshire at one Yate's house and three other massing priests with him. He is in the Tower and stiffly denieth to answer any question of moment'...

'Her Majesty was purposed to have removed to Richmond, but the plague is in a house at Mortlake, and so I think she will tarry ten or twelve days and then to Oatlands and so to Windsor, without making any special progress'...

'Don Antonio, entitling himself King of Portugal...now lodgeth at Baynard's Castle...Some of my Lords of the Council that hath spoken with him report him to be very wise and modest, slow but grave of speech, and he meaneth to try his fortune, to be a King or nobody. He hath very rich jewels, having in France taken up great sums of money wherewith he hireth ships and men both in France and England, to repair to the Isles of Azores'. [Bath, v.35-36].

Aug 6, Lord Burghley to Sir Francis Walsingham, in France:

The Spanish Ambassador 'did yesterday, by her Majesty's appointment, speak at Leicester House with my Lord of Leicester and me, to expostulate for her Majesty's refusal to speak with him...He flung away after his hot manner'...

'Her Majesty is in very good health, thanked be God. Greenwich, where I am tied by your absence, and yet do little good'. [Digges, 359-360].

Aug 9, Wed Queen received Walsingham's first dispatches from France. Sir Francis Walsingham on August 6 sent long dispatches to the Queen and to Lord Burghley, after meeting 'Monsieur' - the Duke of Alençon.

Aug 10 [Greenwich], Lord Burghley to Sir Francis Walsingham:

'Your servant Bonham, this bearer, came hither yesterday, being Wednesday the 9th of this month about 4 o'clock, at which time I was on the north side of the water, to have gone to Theobalds, but by good fortune I had word of his arrival, so as I returned, being not gone from the waterside. Her Majesty had two or three days before spoken of you, marvelling that she could not hear from you... In the end she was content to hear the whole negotiation...She perceived that Monsieur would come hither and receive his answer himself'...

'We have gotten from Campion knowledge of all his peregrination in England, as in Yorkshire, Lancashire, Denbigh, Northampton, Warwick, Bedford, Buckingham, etc...We have sent for his hosts in all counties'. [Digges, 371].

Court news. Aug 12, Mendoza to Philip II: Walsingham has told the Duke of Alençon that 'as he had declared himself so openly against your Majesty', the Queen 'could not now marry him without adopting a similar course'. He replied 'that he did not accept this as an answer, and would receive none as regards the marriage, excepting from the Queen's own lips, for which purpose he would come to this country as soon as he had finished the business he had in hand'...

'Walsingham reports that if the Queen Mother had not been present he thinks he would have lost his composure entirely. I am told that when the Queen heard this she wept like a child, saying that she did not now know what to do'...

'She sent Lord Howard to Alençon to mollify him, writing most sweetly, so as not to lose him altogether'. Mendoza gives an account of the Queen's refusals to give him audience, and of hasty preparations of ships for Don Antonio, who was pawning Portuguese Crown jewels. [Span.iii.158-9].

Aug 13, Greenwich, Mauvissière to Sir Francis Walsingham, of the Queen:

'If she finds anyone who speaks coldly of the marriage, she does not hold him among her friends or servants. I see her...more and more redoubling her affection towards his Highness, which is something divine. And I will even tell you more: her Majesty has sworn to me that she would rather die...than discontent him in anything. She has, as she tells me, been thinking in these days of various means of getting him into this realm, to render him content'.

[SPF.xv.290].

Aug 16, Groningen, Bishop of Halberstadt to the Queen, referring to her friendship with the House of Brunswick; recommending three noble youths wishing to travel in England, asking her to give them safe access to various places within the realm. John von Arnim, Hermann Kotz, Christopher von Dorstet.

[SPF.xv.292].

Aug 18, at Leicester House: Council, comprising Lord Burghley, Earl of Sussex, Earl of Leicester: 'The Lord Vaux and Sir Thomas Tresham, knight, being sent for and severally in her Majesty's name required whether they would swear to their knowledge and thinking that Campion the Jesuit was at their houses according to his confession or no, refused to take an oath so propounded on her Majesty's behalf unto them, and thereupon were committed close prisoners to the Fleet'.<sup>APC</sup>

Aug 18, Lord Burghley to Sir Francis Walsingham: 'All this day...my Lord Chamberlain [Sussex] and my Lord of Leicester...were at Westminster to examine the Lord Vaux, Sir Thomas Tresham and Mr Griffin, of which three the first two are close prisoners in the Fleet, who deny Campion's being with them, but they will take no oath; the other confesseth plainly and simply'. [Digges, 390].

William 3rd Lord Vaux and his brother-in-law Sir Thomas Tresham, both staunch Catholics, remained in the Fleet Prison until April 1583.

Griffin was of a Catholic family in Northamptonshire.

Aug 22, Greenwich, Privy Council to the Bishop of Salisbury (John Piers), who has sent 'certain examinations of persons who do charge one Henry Beare to have uttered most lewd and slanderous speeches against the King of famous memory, her Majesty's father, not sparing also her Highness, whom he toucheth with like odious and insufferable slanders and untruths, affirming that Mass should be said daily in her Majesty's Chapel, etc; his offence therefore being of that quality that it deserveth sharp and severe punishment', we wish you, with skilful lawyers, 'to consider how far the said Beare may be touched either by the late Statute for slanderous speeches against her Majesty, or by some other Statute heretofore made for the punishing of the like', so that the Justices of Assize may proceed against him.<sup>APC</sup>

Court news. Aug 24, Lord Burghley to Sir Francis Walsingham:

'This day the French Ambassador, with the French Portuguese Consul Perdoná, were with her Majesty with letters from the Queen Mother, of great earnestness to her Majesty to aid Don Antonio (by that name, but not by that of the King Anthony)... but from the French King her Majesty had no letter. Thereupon her Majesty is scrupulous, doubting to give occasion of a war to be borne by herself alone'...

'This day Don or King Antonio hath pressed the Queen's Majesty to have restitution of his diamond...Her Majesty will not have it detained for her £5000, which I see she could be content to lose, so he were satisfied'...

'From my house the 24 night of August, at 11 o'clock'. [Digges, 394].

Don Antonio had left a 30-carat table diamond, 'the Mirror of Portugal', with Lady Walsingham, to be returned when he repaid money borrowed for him by her husband. He was unable to repay it and it remained in England. [SPF.xv.318].

Aug 25, Paris, Sir Francis Walsingham to Lord Burghley:

'I would to God her Highness would resolve one way or the other touching the matter of her marriage. The uncertain course that is now held in that behalf, besides that it doth offend the Prince here, and discredit her servants that deal therein...doth minister unto the secretaries of foreign princes matters of discourse greatly to her Majesty's dishonour and extreme grief of us here... as that when her Majesty is pressed to marry, then she seemeth to affect a league, and when a league is yielded to, then she liketh better of a marriage. And when thereupon she is moved to assent to marriage, then she hath recourse to the league, when the motion for the league or any request is made for money, than her Majesty returneth to marriage'.

'These things...are all conveyed and distributed into other courts throughout Europe, whereof her enemies will make their profit to throw her into the hatred of all the world. It shall be therefore most necessary for your Lordship and the rest of the Council...to move her Majesty earnestly to grow to some earnest resolution in that behalf'. [Digges, 408; date: MS].

Court news. Aug 27, Mendoza to Philip II: The Queen has said 'that none of her people were to enter the service of Don Antonio'...

'Don Antonio sees the Queen nearly every day with Leicester. He goes from London in a boat with two or three men...He is beginning to complain that the Queen is cooling towards him'. [Span.iii.161-3].

Aug 29: Lord Henry Seymour arrived at Boulogne, being sent to the Duke of Alençon with money, a loan of 50,000 gold crowns. [SPF.xv.305,331].

Aug 30, Wed Council's warrant for Sir Thomas Heneage (Treasurer of the Chamber) to pay £30 to George Spindelern, a German, 'being repaired into this realm with letters unto her Majesty from the Marquis of Brandenburg, by way of her Majesty's special reward'. Passport for him 'to pass out of this realm with one servant, etc, and to be provided of horses and shipping'.<sup>APC</sup>

The Marquis had recommended Spindelern to the Queen as an experienced soldier desirous to serve her. [SPF.xv.171].

September: visit, Eltham, Kent.

Eltham Palace; Crown property. Keeper: Sir Christopher Hatton.

Simon Bowyer, Gentleman Usher, 'making ready for her Majesty at Eltham', September.<sup>T</sup>

September: visit, Mr Isley.<sup>T</sup> [Sundridge, Kent].

Sundridge manor-house; Crown property.

Occupied by William Isley, widower, died 1591.

c. September 1581–August 1582: Earl of Angus at court.

Archibald Douglas, 8th Earl of Angus (c.1555–1588), left Scotland and took refuge in England in June after the execution of his uncle the Earl of Morton, a former Regent of Scotland.

After some weeks at Carlisle, he asked on July 29 'to be licensed to repair to her Majesty's presence for the declaration of my own cause'. [Scot.vi.41].

The Earl 'was kindly received, and honourably entertained by the liberality of Queen Elizabeth, partly in memory of his uncle, but no less for his own sake, being of so great hope and expectation'. Philip Sidney 'did scarce suffer any one day to slip, whereof he did not spend the most part in his company'.

Sidney was writing his 'Arcadia'. 'He delighted much to impart it to Angus, and Angus took as much pleasure to be partaker thereof'.

'He resided openly at court...He spent his time there in learning to ride great horses, and handling of his arms...But above all he was careful to observe the government of the country, and policy of that state and Kingdom'.

[James David, *The History of the House and Race of Douglas and Angus* (Edinburgh, 1743, 2 vols); ii.290–291].

Sept 2, Sat Don Antonio at Greenwich to take leave.

Sept 2, Burghley to Walsingham: 'At this present Don Antonio is come to take his leave of her Majesty; he will press to have his jewel, and so that you may be satisfied, I agree to it, and so sometimes doth her Majesty'. [Digges, 422].

[For Don Antonio's delayed departure see Mendoza's dispatch, September 10].

Sept 2, Walsingham to the Queen, after the Earl of Shrewsbury's allowance for keeping the Queen of Scots had been reduced: 'I pray God the abatement of the charges towards that nobleman that hath the custody of the bosom serpent hath not lessened his care in keeping of her'. [Digges, 427].

Sept 4: Stationers entered a book by John Nichols, published as: 'John Nichols Pilgrimage, wherein is displayed the lives of the proud Popes, ambitious Cardinals, lecherous Bishops, fat bellied Monks, and hypocritical Jesuits'. Latin Dedication to the Queen. Epistles: 'To the indifferent Reader', and 'To the Reader'. Also 'The Argument of the Dialogue'.

Trisander, a Christian Pilgrim, takes part in seven Dialogues:

1. With his father Pantaleon, on 'the corrupt lives of certain Popes'.
2. With his mother, 'on the lives of Cardinals and Bishops'.
3. With a wandering Papist: 'Wherein the lives of certain Monks, Friars, my Lady Nuns, and sister Nuns are discovered'.
4. Also with the Papist: 'Touching the hypocritical lives of Jesuits and Theatines'.
5. With a converted Christian, on 'the lives of certain Popish priests, with their Concubines'.
6. Also with the Christian, on 'the discussion that hath been in the English Seminary at Rome'.
7. With a Turkish merchant and 'a crafty Jew' on 'the Turks and Jews'.

John Nichols (1555–1584?), a Somerset curate, in 1578 in Rome recanted his Protestantism and was received into the Catholic Church and into the English College there. He returned to England in 1580, was arrested and imprisoned in the Tower 1580–1581; there he recanted his Catholicism and re-adopted Protestantism. He wrote four works of propaganda in 1581, two dedicated to the Queen. In 1582 he went to France, was arrested and imprisoned, and recanted his Protestantism again; he published an admission that the allegations he wrote against the Pope, Cardinals, and English Catholics, were lies. He died abroad.

*Sept 7, Thur: Queen's birthday celebrations, e.g.  
St Botolph Aldgate: 'For ringing for the Queen on her birthday, 1s'.*

Court news. Sept 7, Mendoza to Philip II: 'Marchaumont told the Queen that it was on her account that Alençon...had entered into war in your Majesty's dominions [the Low Countries] without means'. He 'will shortly retire to France, and will at once come thence to England in disguise to ascertain whether the Queen will really marry him or not'.

Sept 10, Mendoza to Philip II, of Don Antonio's leave-taking:

Don Antonio was notified 'that the Queen had prohibited the sale of any English ships to foreigners, and those that had already been sold were not to be allowed to leave port. She hoped Don Antonio would not take this amiss, but if he wished his ships to be allowed to sail he was to sign a bond... which the Judge of the Admiralty took to him in Latin, undertaking that his ships should do no injury to your Majesty's subjects'...

'After reading the bond brought to him...at 8 o'clock in the morning, he started out booted and spurred after dinner, with all his Portuguese, hastily putting his baggage into a boat, and went to take leave of the Queen'.

'He arrived at the court unexpected by her with the intention of at once proceeding on his journey, but the Queen spoke tenderly to him, although he was offended about the stoppage of his ships; and said that as he had now missed the afternoon tide and it was very dark, he had better return to London for the night and postpone his departure until the next day. He did so, and the same night she sent a Gentleman of her Chamber to tell Lord Howard and Philip Sidney to accompany Don Antonio. The four ships were ready to leave today by the midday tide, but a message from the Queen came at 10 o'clock, which further delayed them, and it is expected they will sail tomorrow. Four Portuguese came for him recently...They landed at Dover, and wore false beards'. [Span.iii.165,171-2].

Sept 11, Mon Queen granted the first Charter for the Turkey Company. Twelve London merchants were granted a seven year monopoly of trade with Turkey.

*Sept 11: Two German Counts arrived in London. Count John of Emden, who had an annual pension from the Queen since 1564, and Francis, Count Waldeck. This and other events were noted by Lord Burghley in an Almanac for 1581, shown below as <sup>HD</sup>. [HT.xiii.201].*

*During September Hampton Court and Whitehall Palace were both made ready by Simon Bowyer 'by her Majesty's commandment against the coming thither of the Count of Emden and his train to see the magnificence of the same'.*

*At Hampton Court: Richard Todd 'furnishing, taking down and airing all the Wardrobe stuff and Privy Lodgings after the departure of the two noblemen which came from Emden'.<sup>T</sup> Also at Hampton Court, 1581-1582, there were repairs to 'the gallery round about the bear-baiting court'.<sup>W</sup>*

Sept 12 [France], Sir Francis Walsingham to the Queen: 'If anything shall escape my pen that may breed offence, I most heartily beseech your Majesty to ascribe it to love...And first, for your Majesty's marriage. If your Majesty mean it, remember that by the delay your Highness useth therein, you lose the benefit of time, which (if years be considered) is not the least to be weighed. If you mean it not, then assure yourself it is one of the worst remedies you can use (howsoever your Majesty conceiveth it, that it may serve your turn)'...

'Sometimes when your Majesty doth behold in what doubtful terms you stand with foreign princes, then you do wish with great affection that opportunities offered had not been overslipped. But when they are offered to you (if they be accompanied with charges) they are altogether neglected'...

'Your Majesty's predecessors, in matters of peril, did never look into the charges, when their treasure was neither so great as your Majesty's is, nor subjects so wealthy nor so willing to contribute'...

'If this sparing and unprovident course be held still...no one that serveth in place of a Councillor...would not wish himself in the farthest part of Ethiopia, rather than enjoy the fairest palace in England'.

[Digges, 424; MS endorsed Sept 12].

Sept 13, Wed Don Antonio at Greenwich for final audience.

Mendoza to Philip II, Sept 27: On September 12 'they raised the stop placed upon his ships'. Don Antonio had been hunting with Leicester 'and on the 13th went to see the Queen, when she gave him a signed document binding herself to help and support him in the same way that the King of France and the Duke of Alençon may do. With this Don Antonio is determined to go to France'. [Span.iii.174].

Don Antonio left London on September 18, meeting Sir Francis Walsingham at Dover c. September 19, as described in Mendoza's dispatch of October 1.

Sept 13, Greenwich, Lord Hunsdon to Earl of Leicester: 'Yesterday her Majesty commanded me to visit the two Counts that are come...The one is the Count John of Emden, the other is the Count Waldeck, some younger brother that comes for some business of his own, and is recommended from the Duke of Bavaria. The Count of Emden seems to come only to see her Majesty and the country'. [SP12/150/14].

Sept 17, Sun Count of Emden and Count Waldeck at Greenwich with Queen.  
'Earl John of Friesland with the Count Waldeck'.<sup>HD</sup>

Sept 18, Greenwich, Richard Brackenbury (Gentleman Usher) to Earl of Rutland: 'Lord Henry [Seymour] is returned from Monsieur, where he was well used... Two German noblemen have come to see her Majesty - the Count of Emden, and the Count of Waldeck. They were here, and much made of. The first is her Majesty's pensioner. The court hath been often removing, but the 22nd of this month it goeth to Streatham the first night, on the next day to Nonsuch, how long there none knoweth. Marchaumont hath been sick which stayed us longer, though one whole household died here of the plague. There died in London the last week 75 of the plague. The Lord Chamberlain [Sussex] has not come to the court since his chaplain died of the plague'.

'My lady and mistress will be married about Allhallowtide [November 1] to Lord Rich'.<sup>RT</sup>

Lord Rich married Lady Penelope Devereux.

Sept 18, Pont Dormi, Duke of Alençon to the Queen: 'Having had much discourse with M.de Walsingham, the most honest man possible, and worthy of the favour of the greatest princess in the world, we found ourselves perfectly in accord... Moreover he finds no fault with my extreme desire to see you'. [HT.ii.428].

Sept 21, Thur Sir Francis Walsingham at Greenwich on return from France.<sup>WA</sup>  
Walsingham was special Ambassador to France, July to September.

Sept 21, Greenwich, Privy Council to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London: 'Her Majesty is given to understand that through their negligence the Plague is of late very much increased in that City and Liberty adjoining, in that such orders have not been observed with infected persons and houses as heretofore were published in print and appointed to be put in practice, insomuch as her Highness for that respect is forced...to remove at this present moment further off'. Similar letter to the Sheriff and Justices of the Peace of Middlesex.<sup>APC</sup>

Sept 22, Fri dinner, Streatham, Surrey; Dr Forth.<sup>T, W</sup>

Tooting Bec manor-house, Streatham; owned by Dr Robert Forth, Doctor of Civil Law, died 1595; 1st wife: Martha (Box) (1524-1589).

As the Queen had deferred her visit, Richard Brackenbury made ready 'at Mr Ford's' several times [for an overnight stay, as originally planned, and for dinner] 'because her Majesty kept not her first appointment'.<sup>T</sup>

Sept 22, Fri **NONSUCH**, Cheam, Surrey; Lord Lumley.<sup>W, WA</sup>

Built by Henry VIII; now owned by John Lord Lumley (c.1533-1609).

2nd wife: Elizabeth (Darcy), died 1617.

A deferred visit. 'Her Majesty broke her appointment there sundry times'.<sup>T</sup>

*Sept 26, Dover, Philip Sidney to Sir Christopher Hatton, of Don Antonio: 'The delay of this Prince's departure is so long as truly I grow very weary of it...The King [Antonio] himself being desirous I should be at the court to remember him unto her Majesty...He will see all his ships out of the Thames before he will remove. They are all wind-bound'. [Nicolas, 203].*

Court news. Sept 28, Lambeth, William Herle to R.Huddleston:

'Mr Secretary Walsingham returned to the court on Thursday night last, his negotiation is kept very secret...As Mr Walsingham saith to his friends, things be not better than they were by his going over, yet are they not in worse terms than they were. Monsieur [Duke of Alençon] presses for the marriage out of personal affection alone, and is coming to England'.

'The Queen's Majesty is at Nonsuch, the Earl of Leicester at Killingworth [Kenilworth], the Lord Treasurer [Burghley] at Theobalds, the Lord Admiral [Lincoln] at his house in Surrey, and Mr Secretary at Barn Elms, whereby the court is very small'.

'Marchaumont is lodged in the banqueting-house, and the gardens and byways towards the said banqueting-house are shut up from any access unto them, whereupon is conceived that Monsieur is looked for there within these four or six days at the furthest, whose coming is to be private, as it was the last time [in 1579]'...

'Lord Harry Seymour returned a dozen days ago from him and had in reward for £800 he brought him, from the Queen Mother but a diamond, for money there is none'...

'Don Antonio is still at Dover, attending the wind'. [SP12/150/15].

*Sept 30: marriage. Susan (Bertie), Countess of Kent (1554-early 1600s), widow of Reginald Grey, 5th Earl of Kent, married John Wingfield.*

*The marriage aroused the Queen's temporary displeasure for their disparity in rank.*

*Wingfield was knighted at Zutphen (1586) and killed at Cadiz (1596).*

*c.September 1581-February 1582: King of Navarre's Ambassador in England.*

*Philippe Duplessis-Mornay (1549-1623), previously in England as Ambassador 1577-1578, and in 1580. He was now sent with an appeal for aid.*

*Memoir by the Ambassador's wife: 'He got fifty thousand crowns from the Queen to be used in Germany, and she furthermore lent the weight of her authority by sending a special embassy to assist in the raising of troops. But in the middle of these negotiations the Prince [Alençon] arrived in England, before M.du Plessis had the slightest warning'.*

When Alençon left [February 1582] 'M. du Plessis wanted to stay behind in England to see if he could patch matters up... However, the Prince peremptorily forbade him. He told M. du Plessis that he would not have any Frenchman staying behind, and M. du Plessis least of all because the Queen had complained bitterly of his behaviour. So he was forced to follow the Prince. He wrote to the Queen on his departure expressing his grief at displeasing her. Whereupon she sent a messenger after him, post-haste, with a letter partly in her own handwriting... in which she declared that no foreign gentleman had ever visited England whom she esteemed more highly than she did M. du Plessis, that she had never spoken nor even thought of him in disparaging terms, and she put anything reported to the contrary down to the Prince's deafness'.

[Memoir by Charlotte d'Arbaleste, translated by Lucy Crump, *A Huguenot Family in the Sixteenth Century* (1924), 177-178].

Court news. Oct 1, Mendoza to Philip II, describing the Queen's refusals to give him audience. She is 'hunting at Nonsuch', but 'was moving to Richmond yesterday'. [She moved on October 4].

'I am every day getting further proofs that the Queen's refusal to receive me as formerly is owing to the bad offices of Leicester and Hatton'.

Leicester said 'that he would either turn me out of here or lose his own life and property; whilst Hatton... said before the Queen's servants that he would make every effort to expel me from the realm, for the Queen trembled every time that I asked for audience'. Hatton explained that 'no ambassador was more courteous and respectful, but I communicated affairs in such a way to her that she trembled to listen to me'...

'Don Antonio left here on the 18th... The French Ambassador accompanied Don Antonio in the barge from London to Gravesend, and on passing Greenwich he did not go ashore. He was joined shortly afterwards by Philip Sidney and Dr Lopez with a message from the Queen. They entered the barge, and the French Ambassador returned from Gravesend. Don Antonio travelled thence in a coach drawn by four Hungarian horses, which the Queen had sent to take him to Dover'.

'He passed the first night at Rochester, where he received news that Walsingham was coming over, and said on the following day that he would not cross until he saw him at Dover. He and Walsingham put their heads together for a long time, dispatches being posted off to the Queen constantly'...

'Don Antonio went to the house of the custom house officer Smith six miles from Dover'. ['Customer' Thomas Smith, at Westenhanger]. He 'embarked on the night of the 29th in a tender, and sailed for France on the following day, escorted by his ships'. [By chance he met the Duke of Alençon at Calais].

Walsingham confirmed 'that nothing had been effected in France; and the Queen has consequently not received him very graciously'.

Marchaumont wrote to Alençon 'that the Queen does not wish him to come, and he should consequently demand a definite reply with regard to the marriage. He did this, but no reply has yet been given; the Queen being extremely angry since the request came'. [Span.iii.175-181].

Oct 3, Tues dinner, Beddington, Surrey; Sir Francis Carew.<sup>T</sup>  
Beddington manor-house; owned by Carew (c.1530-1611), unmarried.

'The Queen at Benington', October 3.<sup>HD</sup>

Oct 4, Wed **RICHMOND PALACE**, Surrey.<sup>WA</sup>

On this day the Queen lost two small stones 'out of two gold buttons from a gown of black velvet'. [Lost, 334].



*Oct 4: death. Henry Wriothesley, 2nd Earl of Southampton (1545-1581), died at Itchel, Hants. Bequest to the Queen: 'One jewel of the value of 200 marks which I will my executors to buy...most humbly beseeching her...to accept the goodwill of the giver and not the value of the gift, with like humble petition that it may please her Highness of her abundant goodness to stand gracious Sovereign unto my little infants I leave behind me, whom I hope God will direct to prove good servants and subjects to her Majesty and state'.*

*Funeral: November 30, Titchfield Church, Hants; the Wriothesley Monument has the figures of the Earl and his parents.*

*The Earl's son Henry Lord Wriothesley (1573-1624) became 3rd Earl of Southampton. The widowed Mary (Browne) Countess of Southampton (c.1552-1607) married (1594) Sir Thomas Heneage; (c.1599) Sir William Harvey.*

Oct 7, Richmond, Council to the Bailiffs of Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey:  
 'It is greatly to be feared that by resort of the inhabitants of London and Westminster unto their markets weekly at Kingston...there may follow no small danger of the infection...if the infection should happen to be brought into that town, where a great part of her Majesty's train is now lodged that have continual recourse unto the court, and might endanger her Majesty's house and person if special care be not used for the preventing thereof'.

You are to forbid anyone from London and Westminster from going to Kingston on market days 'upon pain of her Majesty's high displeasure'.<sup>APC</sup>

Court news. Oct 9, Mendoza to Philip II: The Queen had news that Alençon was at Calais, and at once 'ordered Sion House [Sheen House] near Richmond, where she is, to be got ready for Alençon's reception, and after much conference, as she thinks she will be obliged to content him with some money, she has decided to send him £15,000 sterling. A gentleman of Alençon's was sent off yesterday with the dispatch, pressing him very much...not to come hither...If he should insist upon coming they will welcome him...They think he is in such urgent need that they can always stop his mouth with money, and thus prevent his resenting the Queen's not marrying him. The Queen...has made an appearance of being very angry with Walsingham', who wrote to the Earl of Sussex 'that Alençon was not fit to be the Queen's husband, or even her friend'. [Span.iii.185].

Oct 9: A royal ship was ready near Dover to take Jean du Bex to France with 50,000 gold crowns loaned to Alençon. The Queen had now loaned a total of 100,000 gold crowns, the crown being valued at 6 shillings. [SPF.xv.331-2].

Oct 10, Tues Count of Emden and Count Waldeck at Richmond to take leave. The Counts left England a few days later. Richard Allen esquire, 'her Majesty's servant, for his charges and pains going divers and sundry times in message from her Majesty from the court at Richmond to London to the Count of Emden and the Count of Waldeck, and for his attendance on them in the time of their sickness. And for his like attendance on them from London to the court at Richmond and back again, and from thence to Dover to see them embarked, and so returned back again with answer to her Highness at Richmond'. £20 payment, 20 May 1582.<sup>T</sup>

Oct 11: Spanish Ambassador had audience, Richmond. (See his dispatch, Oct 20).

Oct 20, Richmond, [Marchaumont] to Jean du Bex, of the Queen and Alençon:  
 'This princess asks a great many questions...I never saw anyone more desirous than she is to see the master...Let me know if he will sleep the first night in my bed or not. I would not sleep in his two rooms in the gallery, though I was urged to do so. He will be quite comfortable there. The Earl of Leicester is determined to make good cheer for him...The Queen has granted liberty to Lord Henry [Howard]...has sent to visit him, and ordered him to come'. [SPF.xv.341].

Court news. Oct 20, London, Mendoza to Philip II, of an audience on Oct 11:

I was told 'that when the Queen went from Nonsuch to Richmond she would give me audience...After the Queen had returned to Richmond I waited for some time' and 'sent again to ask for audience. They replied that the Queen was busy, and that if my servant returned on the 9th, he should have a reply'...

'My servant told me that he had seen the Queen go out in a litter, and on her return he asked the Lord Chamberlain when I should have audience, and was told that the Queen was not well...and they would send me word when I could see her'.

'Notwithstanding this, she passed all that day with Marchaumont, and the next day gave audience to the Count of Emden, who was here. On the 11th the Lord Chamberlain sent a very low officer of the Queen's household to say that the Queen would give me audience at two o'clock. It was already past 12, and it is ten miles to Richmond, but I made ready with all haste possible, and went to see her, suspecting that she had some bad news from Flanders' [which she had in fact received at 10 that morning]...

'When I arrived at Richmond I was met at the staircase by three Pensioners, who said when they received me that I had come very late, which the Lord Chamberlain also repeated when he saw me. I replied that I did not get notice of the audience until past 12, and that I could do no more than come post at once. They took me to the Presence Chamber, and after a short time there I was conducted to the Queen's chamber. I found her seated on a settee under the canopy with only two Councillors, namely the Lord Chamberlain and the Admiral [the Earl of Sussex and the Earl of Lincoln], and three ladies'...

'She took not the slightest notice of me when I advanced to make my bow, the first words she pronounced being that she had a pain in the hip which had troubled her for some time past'. She 'let me remain uncovered for a very long while. She then said "How about the letter which you have from his Majesty?"

I gave her a letter requesting the surrender of Don Antonio.

'She said that I knew Don Antonio had left her country before I asked for audience...I said that not only had she received him in her kingdom, but she had helped him with munitions, troops, arms, and money, which was all the support and aid that any prince could give to a rebel...and in addition to her welcome hospitality to Don Antonio, whom she had dubbed "King" in England, the ships he had bought here had sailed down the river, with arms and munitions from the Tower, and had actually passed her own windows at Greenwich covered with pennants of the arms of Portugal'...

'I had asked her to restore the million and a half which Drake had stolen from your Majesty and your subjects, but instead of this, fresh ships were being fitted out by her own ministers to go on the voyage to the Indies...I asked her whether it was possible for her to have done more than this if she had openly declared war against your Majesty'. I said 'that I had been here for more than three years and a half, and had been constantly telling her of these things, but as it appeared that during all this time she had heard nothing about them...it would be necessary to see whether cannons would not make her hear them better'.

'She told me I need not think to threaten and frighten her, for if I did she would put me into a place where I could not say a word. This she said without any passion...speaking very low'...

'She then continued, that in future I could communicate my business to the Council...After a little further talk she became more civil'...

'She then told the ladies to leave the room and called the two Councillors to whom she repeated...that I had said that as she did not listen to my many complaints it would be necessary to bring cannons to redress them. She said this in a very hectoring way and repeated that I need not to try to frighten her'.

'I smiled to hear her relate this with so much fury and perturbation, and replied that...I well knew that monarchs were never afraid of private individuals, and above all she who was a lady and so beautiful that even lions would crouch before her...Her anger was at once soothed at hearing this'.

She said 'that she would not give a final decision, as I requested, in the matter of Drake until your Majesty had given her entire satisfaction with regard to Ireland'. She 'took leave of me very drily. I told her that, in order to give her no more annoyance, I would in future communicate affairs to her Council'...

'After I had taken my leave and was two paces away from her, I heard her say [in Italian] with a great sigh "Would to God that each one had his own and was at peace"'...

On October 12 I sent the Queen a letter, enclosing one from your Majesty. It was not delivered for three days. 'In the meanwhile the Queen sent Wilkes, the Clerk of the Council, to me, to ask me to put my complaints in writing in order that her Council might consider them...The day after she received my letter she sent for Drake in a furious hurry'.

As to the Earl of Leicester and Sir Christopher Hatton: 'The Queen is completely in the hands of these two men'.

'Marchaumont is making every possible effort to persuade the Queen to the marriage...She had letters from Alençon on the 19th confirming his coming, but saying he would not come for another week. The Queen has a ship on the coast ready to escort him across...As well as preparing Sion [Sheen] House, she has had a lodging made ready for him at Richmond'...

'One of the Counts of Emden...recently left for his home through France... Leicester gave him two jewels worth 300 crowns'.

Mendoza requests to be recalled.

[Span.iii.185-193,198].

Mendoza's next (and last) audience: 24 Feb 1582; he was expelled January 1584.

Oct 23, Mon new appointment: Dr Roger Lopez, to be Physician to the Queen and her Household (£50 p.a.); succeeding Dr Julio Borgarucio deceased.<sup>P</sup>

*Gabriel Harvey (c.1552-1631) noted of three of the Queen's physicians:*

'Doctor Lopus, the Queen's physician, is descended of Jews, but himself a Christian, and Portugal. He none of the learnedest or expertest physicians in the court, but one that maketh as great account of himself as the best; and by a kind of Jewish practice hath grown to much wealth, and some reputation, as well with the Queen herself as with some of the greatest Lords and Ladies'.

'Doctor Burcot was in a manner such another'...

'Doctor Julio, the Italian, beside his courtly fineness, had wit and learning in him; and for his gallant practice deserved to be a prince's physician'.

[G.C.Moore Smith, ed. *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia* (Stratford, 1913), 158].

Oct 28,29: Controversy concerning an Accession Day sermon in Essex (1580). Altercation at the house of Robert 2nd Lord Rich, who died in February 1581.

Depositions were taken in Essex. The parson of Great Stambridge, Mr Barwick, had preached a sermon on the observance of Accession Day; an altercation ensued at the late Lord Rich's house between the preacher and Richard Rich and Robert Wright, who objected to the expression 'holy day' as applied to Accession Day, and to a comparison of the Queen with Romulus, Alexander, and Lycurgus. Barwick said he had not spoken of a 'holy day' but of a 'solemn day'.

On 14 June 1582 Richard Rich gentleman and 'Dick Wright' petitioned the Privy Council to be released from prison, into which they had been put upon the accusation of Barwick. He had compared the Queen to Romulus, Alexander, and Lycurgus, subjects of idolatrous worship, and preached that 'as their birthday was celebrated, we ought in like manner to solemnise Initium Regni [beginning of the reign]'. They alleged that the Bishop of London was not opposed to their release if the Queen's displeasure could be appeased, and denied being guilty of any disrespect to her. [HMC Rep 8, App II, 27]. Richard Rich was an uncle of Robert 3rd Lord Rich; Wright was Lord Rich's unlicensed chaplain. There were other reasons also for their imprisonment: see ODNB: Wright, Robert.

Oct 28: Nicholas Errington was dispatched as special Ambassador to Scotland.<sup>WA</sup> Errington, sent to King James with advice, was denied entrance to Scotland.

Court news. Oct 29, Mendoza to Philip II: 'Alençon is now openly expected every day, but the weather apparently has prevented his coming over'.

'The Queen has ordered some doors to be made in certain galleries, so that access may be afforded to her without the need of passing through the public courtyards, and £30,000 are being got ready in the Exchequer, by which it may be gathered that, the English having scoffed at the idea of the marriage, the principal object of his visit is to ask for money, which the Queen wishes to give him and send him off in a good humour. The ambassadors say he will not bring more than 40 horse and the Prince Dauphin'. [Span.iii.202].

Oct 29: Lord North paid for 'A cup to give my Lady Penelope to her marriage, £11.16s'.<sup>A</sup> Robert 3rd Lord Rich (1559-1619) married in November, probably c.November 1: Lady Penelope Devereux (1563-1607) daughter of Walter Devereux 1st Earl of Essex, deceased, and step-daughter of the Earl of Leicester.

The Queen was godmother to their 4th child (November 1588).

Lady Rich had five children by Lord Rich, and six children by Charles Blount, later 8th Lord Mountjoy, her lover from c.1590. She was divorced in November 1605, and married Mountjoy (by then Earl of Devonshire) in December.

After the divorce Mountjoy stated that in 1581 Lady Penelope 'being in the power of her friends, was by them married against her will unto one against whom she did protest at the very solemnity, and ever after; between whom from the first day there ensued continual discord...He did study in all things to torment her'. [W.A.Ringler, ed. The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney (Oxford, 1962), 435-6].

In Philip Sidney's 'Astrophil and Stella' sonnets (written c.1581-1583, first published in 1591), 'Stella' (star) represents Lady Rich; Astrophil: star-lover.

Sidney writes: 'Towards Aurora's court a nymph doth dwell,

Rich in all beauties which man's eye can see...

Who...Hath no misfortune, but that Rich she is'.

Two contemporary descriptions of Lady Rich: 'A lady in whom lodged all attractive graces of beauty, wit and sweetness of behaviour, which might render her the absolute mistress of all ages and hearts'. 'Outstanding in beauty, gifted in every quality of mind and body except for chastity'. [S.Freedman, Poor Penelope: Lady Penelope Rich, an Elizabethan woman (1983), 200].

By October 31 and in November: Preparations for Alençon and his companions. Simon Bowyer made ready 'the house at Sheen for certain Frenchmen' and also 'a house at Richmond called The Red Lion for certain Frenchmen'.<sup>T</sup>

At Richmond work included: 'new making of a high pale where the French Ambassadors lie; new matting of Monsieur's lodging'.

A garden was set with bay, eglantine, jasmine, and rosemary.

At The Red Lion and The Bell for 12 days ending November 13 work was done 'at the said inns against the coming of Monsieur and divers Frenchmen to lie there'.

Also for 13 days ending November 25 at 'Mr Bird's and Burton's houses' work was done 'for lodging divers of Monsieur's company'.<sup>W</sup>

Peter Buckland, royal waterman, 'for carrying of Mrs Blanche Parry and Mrs Scudamore from the court at Richmond to Westminster in a barge of six oars for her Majesty's service in fetching of jewels and bringing them back again in the night', October, 20s. [Gentlewomen of the Privy Chamber, Blanche Parry being Keeper of the Jewels]. John Pigeon, Jewel-house Officer, for his boat-hire from the Tower to Richmond 'with a small coffer of crystals and glasses garnished with gold, and also with vessel of silver and other things for the service and furniture of the noblemen of France at four sundry times'.<sup>T</sup>

31 October 1581-February 1582: **Duke of Alençon** in England.

François Duke of Anjou and of Alençon (1555-1584), brother of King Henri III; previously in England in August 1579. 'He was better known by the name of Monsieur, unto all sorts of people, than by all his other titles'. [Stow].

Alençon was accompanied by the Prince Dauphin (also in England in April-June), many other French nobles, and his Councillor Jean Bodin. With them came a Dutch envoy, Philippe Marnix, Monsieur de St Aldegonde, sent by the Prince of Orange.

The Duke landed at Deal, Kent, on October 31, after a stormy voyage.

Nov 1, Wed Duke of Alençon at Hances House, Westminster. [Crown property]. Occupied by Edward Stafford, a former special Ambassador to France.

Robert Cotton, Yeoman of the Wardrobe of Beds, with his man, was 'sent from Richmond to Westminster to deliver unto Mr Stafford hangings, beds, carpets and other wardrobe stuff for furnishing Hances House in Westminster for divers Frenchmen that lay there before their coming to the court at Richmond. And for the receiving in of the same stuff and making it clean after they were gone to the court'.<sup>T</sup>

Nov 1, Richmond: Queen lost 'one button of gold...for a doublet of straw colour satin laid with silver lace'. [Lost, 337].

Court news. Nov 2, London, Mendoza to Philip II:  
Alençon 'arrived yesterday here in disguise and remained in Stafford's house awaiting the Prince Dauphin, who had embarked in another ship; Alençon being obliged by the heavy weather to anchor in the Downs and disembark with some danger...He sent word to the Prince Dauphin, who arrived today and is lodged at the French Embassy, that he is to remain there until the Queen sends for him'...  
'St Aldegonde comes with Alençon, who met him at Boulogne; he having gone to meet Alençon with the 40,000 florins which Orange and the rebel States were sending him'. [Span.iii.203].

Nov 2, Thur Duke of Alençon arrived at Richmond Palace.  
Lord Burghley noted: 'Monsieur came by water to Richmond'.<sup>HD</sup>

Nov 4, Sat The Prince Dauphin moved to Richmond.

Court news. Nov 7, London, Mendoza to Philip II, of the Duke of Alençon:  
'The result of his interview is to inspire hopes that the marriage may be effected', but other indications 'portend that he will be disappointed. Alençon is lodged in the Queen's own house, although he enters by that in which March-aumont is lodged, which adjoins one of the principal galleries of the palace. The Queen's officers are not providing his maintenance'. He has been spending 'the money brought by St Aldegonde' [intended for Flemish infantry and cavalry].  
'There has been no show of bringing more people to court than usual, but the Queen went out to meet Alençon, on the excuse that she was going into the country, in order that he might catch sight of her before he arrived'...  
'Walsingham, in conversation lately with the Queen, had much to say of the good parts and understanding of Alençon, whose only fault, he said, was his ugly face. She replied "Well, you knave!...why have you so often spoken ill of him? you veer round like a weathercock". St Aldegonde tells the Flemish heretics here...that Alençon will certainly be married'. [Span.iii.206-7].

Nov 7: Robert Beale was 'dispatched to the Queen of Scots'.<sup>WA</sup>  
At Sheffield during a month's stay Beale made notes, Dec 3, of the 'Demands and sayings of the Scottish Queen, concerning her confinement', her servants, her expenses; and her Keeper the Earl of Shrewsbury's expenses. [HT.ii.443-446].

Nov 7, Lambeth, William Herle to the Earl of Leicester:  
*I have means to decipher the Spanish Ambassador's actions. The Ambassador has secret means for conveying intelligence beyond seas by a woman, the letters hanging from the woman's waist, next her skin, downwards. The Ambassador dare not negotiate with her Majesty or the Council before he be first well shriven, absolved, and holy watered, and he has £100,000 to his credit to corrupt instruments for intelligence. Upon Monsieur's coming he breathes nothing else but hot passions of threatenings of wars and revenge. [SP12/150/59].*

Nov 10: *death. William Stanley, 3rd Lord Monteagle; he left no direct heir. The widowed Anne (Spencer), Lady Monteagle, married (2) Henry 1st Lord Compton; (3) (1592) Robert Sackville, later 2nd Earl of Dorset; she died in 1618.*

Court news. Nov 11, London, Mendoza to Philip II:

Alençon is with the Queen 'every day from the time he rises until supper time, Sussex and Stafford only being allowed to be present; but I am assured that even they are not allowed to hear what passes between the two, and the Queen has not yet called a Council to decide anything' although 'as soon as she learnt that Alençon had arrived in England she said to certain of the Councillors separately that they must consider what would have to be done with him'. She says she is 'quite satisfied with the person of Alençon'. When he arrived here he told his adherents 'that he would not go out in public nor undertake any other affairs until he had settled with the Queen the subject about which he came...He now shows himself almost publicly, and appears to be in high spirits, all the principal people at court being allowed to see him at dinner and supper...

'The Frenchmen...look upon the marriage as an accomplished fact, but the English in general scoff at it, saying that he is only after money'...

The Queen 'has ordered three of her ships to be fitted out with great haste and secrecy' which 'may be to carry Alençon to Flushing and Antwerp'.

'I have been trying to devise some means by which I might get to see her... on the pretext that Antonio de Castillo [Portuguese Ambassador] had received his letters of recall from your Majesty and that I had orders to present him to her for the purpose of his taking leave...She appointed an audience for me, and said I should be welcome in two days. Thereafter, Alençon having then arrived, and I being just ready to get into the coach, she sent me word that she was not well'.

Castillo did not take leave until February 1582.

Nov 11 [2nd letter], Mendoza: 'The Queen has pressed Alençon to go over at once to Flanders with the three ships, and she will give him £30,000. When the States have taken the oath of allegiance to him he could return hither, and she would give him her promise that she would then marry him'.

The Earl of Sussex told him 'if once he went away without being married he might be quite sure that the marriage would never take place'...

'This has caused Alençon...to tell the Queen that not only will he not leave England, but he will not even leave the apartments where he now is until she tells him clearly the Yes or No of the marriage. When they are alone, she pledges herself to him to his heart's content, and as much as any woman could to a man, but she will not have anything said publicly'...

'The Queen has called a general meeting of the Council at court tomorrow in order that they may decide what should be done'. [Span.iii.211-212,217].

Nov 16, Thur dinner, Putney, Surrey; Mr [John] Lacy.<sup>T</sup>  
 Dr Dee noted: 'The Queen removed to Whitehall and Monsieur with her'. By water.

Nov 16, Thur **WHITEHALL PALACE.**

Robert Cotton, 'making ready of Westminster house for her Highness coming thither, and for making ready Monsieur and Marchaumont's their lodgings'.

Also with his man and two labourers 'making ready of certain chambers at Westminster for her Majesty's coming thither to see the triumph and running at the tilt, and for the hire of one boat from Richmond to Westminster at 10 o'clock in the night to give warning for the furnishing of the same.

And for taking down and making clean of the same stuff'.<sup>T</sup>

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

Allhallows London Wall: 'Paid the 17th day of November to the ringers, 3s4d; for two pound of candles for the church the same day, 6d; to Mr Parson for candle for his lantern, 12d'. [John Pitt, the Parson].

Allhallows Staining: 'For a dinner for the ringers for the Queen, 21d'.

St James Garlickhithe: 'To divers men for ringing the bells for a rejoicing in the memory of her Majesty's reign and for candles spent in that night, 18d'.

St Martin in the Fields: 'Paid unto Oliver the 17th day of November for ringing at the change of her Majesty's reign, 4s'. [Oliver Deeping, Sexton].

St Michael le Querne: 'For ringers at the commemoration of the Queen's Majesty's night, 4s'.

Bressingham Church, Norfolk: 'Paid toward a firkin of beer that was spent upon the Coronation day, 10d'.

Great Dunmow Church, Essex: 'For bell ropes at the Coronation day 24th of our now Queen, 5s'.

Northill Church, Beds: 'Paid on St Hugh's Day 1581 to the ringers, 12d'.

Norwich, St Peter Mancroft: 'Paid for ringing the Commotion day, 2s8d; paid for ringing the Crownation day, 2s'.

Note: Several Norwich churches rang annually for 'Commotion day' or 'Camp day', referring to a rebellion in 1549 led by Robert Kett, who was hanged at Norwich. St Gregory Church, 1576: 'To the ringers the 27th day of August for ringing in the remembrance for the delivery of the city from the miserable rebellion of Kett, 12d'.

Prescot Church, Lancs: 'Expended upon certain persons for ringing upon the day of the Coronation of the Queen's Majesty that now is, 12d'.

Rowington Church, Warwicks: 'To Roger Shaxsper for mending the bells against St Hugh's Day, 6s; for bread and wine for the Communion the same day, 17d'.

Warwick, St Nicholas: 'To the ringers the 17th day of November being called the Queen's holiday, 2s6d'.

Nov 17, Fri **Accession Day Tilt**, Whitehall, 1581. 13 pairs.

Earl of Arundel	v	Lord Windsor
Henry Grey	v	Henry Windsor
Sir Henry Lee	v	Philip Sidney
Sir Thomas Perrot	v	Thomas Radcliffe
Fulke Greville	v	Ralph Bowes
Edward Norris	v	Thomas Knyvett
Anthony Cooke	v	John Pakington
George Gifford	v	Thomas Kellaway
Robert Alexander	v	George Goring
Edward More	v	Henry Brouncker
William Tresham	v	Richard Ward
Everard Digby	v	[John] Tyrell
William Knollys	v	Robert Knollys.

Philip Sidney in his *Astrophil and Stella* sonnets wrote:

'Having this day my horse, my hand, my lance,  
Guided so well that I obtained the prize,  
Both by the judgement of the English eyes  
And of some sent from that sweet enemy, France'...  
[The 'true cause' for my success is]:  
Stella looked on, and from her heavenly face  
Sent forth the beams which made so fair my race'.

Sidney also tilted before Frenchmen on May 15-16; Stella: Lady Rich.

Camden noted: 'Philip Sidney, who was a long time heir apparent to the Earl of Leicester, after the said Earl had a son born to him [6 June 1581], used at the next Tilt-day following 'Speravi' [I hoped] dashed through, to show his hope therein was dashed'. [William Camden, *Remains concerning Britain* (1605)].

Tilt-list: Bodleian Ashmolean MS 845, f.165.

Nov 18, London newsletter: 'The Duke of Alençon is still here, and appeared yesterday standing at the window by the Queen's side. He has been attending a tourney held in honour of this Queen because 23 years ago yesterday she ascended the throne and has reigned happily hitherto'. [Fugger, 63].

Nov 18, Whitehall: The Queen gave Mr Brunckhorne 'one fan of orange and white feathers with a silver handle given to her Majesty by Mary Scudamore' [of the Privy Chamber; Henry Brouncker was in the Accession Day Tilt]. [Lost, 338].

Nov 20: Lord North paid for: 'Frogs and flies for the Queen's gloves, 50s; gloves for the Queen, 15s; for myself, 7s'.<sup>A</sup>

Court news. Nov 20, Mendoza to Philip II: Alençon sent a man to inform his brother King Henri III 'that he was satisfied with the Queen's pledges about the marriage', and that the King might send someone 'to settle the alliance'.

Sir Christopher Hatton 'had not seen or spoken to Alençon until yesterday, when he entered the room where he was with the Queen witnessing the jousts... Besides the Prince Dauphin, those who enter the palace with Alençon are Saint Aignan, Laval, Chateauroux, M.de Prunart and Marchaumont. He hears Mass at eight in the morning, rising from his bed in shirt and dressing gown to hear it, and returning to bed afterwards. At nine o'clock the Treasurer [Burghley], Sussex, and Leicester usually visit him on behalf of the Queen'...

The Queen 'treated me so rudely and violently at the last audience [Oct 11] and coolly referred me to her Council in future'...

'I have sent her as a present some gloves and needlework with which the Duchess of Alba provided me, of which things she is very fond, to soften her if possible...to hear me kindly as she used to do'. [Span.iii.221-3].

Nov 20, Mon: *Trial*, at Westminster Hall, of *Edmund Campion* and seven other Jesuit priests, for high treason.

They were charged that in 1580 at 'places beyond the seas' they 'had conspired the death of the Queen's Majesty, the overthrow of the religion now professed in England, the subversion of the state, and that for the attempt thereof they had stirred up strangers to invade this realm'; and that they arrived in England 'to persuade and seduce the Queen's subjects to the Romish religion, obedience to the Pope, from their duties and allegiance to her Highness'.

Edmund Anderson, the Queen's Counsel, began: 'With how good and gracious a Prince the Almighty hath blessed this land, continuing the space of 23 years, the peace, the tranquillity...but especially the light and success of the Gospel, wherewith since her Majesty's first reign this realm hath flourished above all other...yet hath there not from time to time been wanting amongst us mischievous and evil disposed enemies of her felicity'.



*The Pope has now sent 'men born and bred in our own nation' to 'endeavour our overthrow...They must come secretly into the realm, they must change their habit and names...they must wander unknown - to what end? To dissuade the people from their Allegiance to their Prince, to reconcile them to the Pope, to plant the Romish religion, to supplant both Prince and province'.*

*All pleaded not guilty; all were found guilty, and were sentenced to death. [State Trials, i.1049-1072]. Camden, Annals: During Alençon's stay 'the Queen, to take away the fear which had possessed many men's minds that religion would be altered and Popery tolerated', permitted Campion and others to be arraigned. [Alençon was criticised for not interceding for them]. Executions: December 1.*

Nov 22, Wed Queen's promise at Whitehall to marry the Duke of Alençon.

Nov 22, at night, Roger Manners to the Earl of Rutland:

*'This day, her Majesty has assured Monsieur that if the King, his brother, will perform certain conditions, which, they say, are almost already agreed upon, she will marry with him'.<sup>RT</sup>*

Mendoza to Philip II, Nov 24: On November 21 'Alençon and all his company displayed...entire disillusionment as to the marriage taking place'.

*'On the 22nd however, at eleven in the morning, the Queen and Alençon were walking together in a gallery, Leicester and Walsingham being present, when the French Ambassador entered, and said that he wished to write to his master, from whom he had received orders to hear from the Queen's own lips her intention with regard to marrying his brother'.*

*'She replied "You may write this to the King: that the Duke of Alençon shall be my husband", and at the same moment she turned to Alençon and kissed him on the mouth, drawing a ring from her own hand and giving it to him as a pledge. Alençon gave her a ring of his own in return, and shortly afterwards the Queen summoned the ladies and gentlemen from the Presence Chamber to the gallery, repeating to them in a loud voice, in Alençon's presence, what she had previously said'.*

*'Alençon and the French are all extremely overjoyed at this, and Alençon at once sent a gentleman to his brother with the news'. [Span.iii.226].*

*Camden: 'The standers by took it that the marriage was now contracted by promise, amongst whom Aldegonde Governor of the City of Antwerp sent letters presently into the Netherlands signifying as much. And Antwerp witnessed her public joy with bonfires and peals of ordnance'.*

*'At home the courtiers' minds were diversely affected, some leaped for joy, some were astonished, and some were cast down with sorrow'.*

*Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham 'fretted as if the Queen, the Realm, and Religion were now undone. The Queen's women with whom she was familiar wailed, and by laying terrors before her did so vex her mind with anguish, that she spent the night in doubtful care without sleep, amongst her women which did nothing but weep'. [Annals].*

*John Aubrey, c.1680, in a 'brief life' of Sylvanus Scory, says of Alençon 'whom her Majesty entirely loved; and as a signal of it, one time at St Paul's Church, London, openly kissed him in time of divine Service'. [Brief Lives].*

*This has misled several historians as to the location.*

Nov 23, Thur Queen repudiated her promise to marry Alençon.

*Camden: 'The next day she sent for the Duke...and they two, all standers by being removed, had long talk together. He at length withdrawing himself to his chamber, cast the ring from him, and soon took it again, taxing with one or two quips the lightness of women, and the inconstancy of islanders'.*

Nov 24: Stationers entered a book published as:  
*'A Brief Discourse of Royal Monarchy, as of the best Commonweal: Wherein the subject may behold the Sacred Majesty of the Prince's most Royal Estate'*.

*'Written by Charles Merbury Gentleman in dutiful Reverence of her Majesty's most Princely Highness'*.

*'Whereunto is added by the same Gentleman a Collection of Italian Proverbs. In benefit of such as are studious of that language'*.

*Dedication to the Queen, in Italian.*

*Epistle 'To the Reader': 'Shortly after my coming from beyond the Seas I first entered into this boldness of writing, provoked thereunto for not losing altogether the remembrance of those few studies which I had used in my late travels: enforced also by the vacantness of my time (as then attending in Court upon her Majesty's service), and not a little encouraged by the virtuous and learned company of my good friend Master Henry Unton'.*

*In this Treatise 'I took just occasion to prefer Monarchy above all other kinds of Commonweals, and...the best and most happy state of government... The matter tendeth unto the honour and dutiful reverence of our most gracious Mistress (her Majesty's highness)'.*

*With a commendation of the book by: 'Henry Unton, to the virtuous Reader'.*

*Merbury declares there is 'nothing more joyful unto all good subjects than to behold the Glory and Majesty of their sovereign Prince...The prosperous estate of the subjects is derived from the prosperity of the Prince, their honour from his honour, their estimation from his estimation'...*

*'It is no small comfort unto an English Gentleman, finding himself in a far country, when he may boldly show his face and his forehead unto any foreign Nation: sit side by side with the proudest Spaniard: cheek by cheek with the stoutest German: set foot to foot with the forwardest Frenchman: knowing that his most Royal Prince (her Majesty's highness) is no whit subject nor inferior unto any of theirs. But that she may also (if she please) challenge the superiority both over some of them, and over many other kings, and Princes more. As Master Dee hath very learnedly of late (in certain tables by him collected out of sundry ancient and approved writers) showed unto her Majesty, that she may justly call herself LADY and EMPRESS of all the North Islands'. 52p.*

*(London, 1581). For John Dee's statement of the Queen's title to foreign countries see 3 October 1580. Charles Merbury spent several years in Italy; in his will (1597) he describes himself as a royal servant. His friend Henry Unton was twice Ambassador to France. The 'Unton Portrait': National Portrait Gallery.*

Nov 29, Wed Secretary Pinart at Whitehall for first audience.<sup>WA</sup>  
 King Henri III's Secretary of State, in London 28 Nov 1581-Jan 1582.

Robert Beale to the Earl of Rutland, Dec 18, court: 'I hear that her Majesty's promise for marriage upon the terrace, in the presence of the French Ambassador and Marchaumont, was conditional, so as the French King would first declare open war unto the King of Spain, and bear the charges of his brother's enterprise into the Low Countries. Hereupon Pinart came...to desire her Majesty to marry without any further delay, and promising that then the King his master would do that which became him and should be for her Majesty's contentation. But her Majesty desireth to be assured of those points beforehand, whereto I think they will never yield'.<sup>RT</sup>

November: hunting. Anthony Wingfield made ready 'for her Majesty the standings for hunting in Hyde Park, Marylebone Park and St James's Park 4 several times'.<sup>T</sup>

Dec 1, at Tyburn: *Executions of Edmund Campion and two other Jesuit priests. Richard Stonley's Diary*: 'This day after morning prayer riding through Cheapside there came one Edmund Campion and [Ralph] Sherwin and [Alexander Briant] drawn upon hurdles to Tyburn and there suffered execution, at which time a pamphlet was read'. [Folger V.a.459].

The Queen's printer published '*A Particular Declaration or Testimony of the Undutiful and Traitorous Affection borne against her Majesty by Edmund Campion, Jesuit, and other condemned priests, witnessed by their own Confessions; in reproof of those slanderous books and libels delivered out to the contrary by such as are maliciously affected towards her Majesty and the State*'.  
 This set forth 'how justly they were condemned for Treason, and not for Points of Religion'. (London, 1582). [State Trials, i.1073-1084].

Court news. Dec 4, London, Mendoza to Philip II:  
 After the Queen gave the ring to Alençon, Hatton 'spoke with great boldness and many tears about it, saying in effect that even if she herself wished to marry she ought to consider the grief she would bring upon the country' and 'what might happen to her personally if she married against the wish of her people... This was a hint that she might be deposed. She...answered him very tenderly'.

Subsequently Leicester asked her 'whether she was "a maid or a woman", to which she replied that she was a maid, as the condition upon which she gave the pledge would never be fulfilled. He told her that she had not acted wisely in carrying the matter so far and so ostentatiously'. She sent asking Alençon 'to allow her to defer the matter'...

'In the meanwhile Secretary Pinart arrived...with a mission from the King to agree to all that is demanded of him, upon condition of his brother's marriage', although 'not only does the Queen demand that he shall break with your Majesty, but that Calais shall be restored, and an alliance entered into against the Queen of Scotland and her son'. She appointed as Commissioners the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Sussex and Leicester, to discuss Pinart's mission.

'Pinart has been with them every day, but I have not heard of any decision... The Queen frequently sees Alençon alone, but the French are getting disillusioned about the marriage'. Leicester 'has incited the London people to rise if the marriage is carried forward'. Last night the French said 'that if the marriage were not to take place all negotiations must cease'. [Span.iii.229-30].

Dec 4: *Walter Raleigh recommended from Ireland.*

Dec 4, Cork, Colonel John Zouche (new Governor of Munster) to Lord Burghley:

'The declaration of the present state of this country, and the conditions whereupon I received it, I refer to the report of this bearer, my cousin Rawley, whose sufficiency every way I can do no less but recommend'.

To Walsingham, of Rawley's 'valour, and good service done to her Majesty... He hath worthily deserved her Highness's good graces and reward'.

Raleigh came to court, and Lord Deputy Grey wrote to Burghley, 12 Jan [1582], Dublin: 'Having lately received...a plot delivered by Captain Rawley unto her Majesty for the lessening of her charges here in the Province of Munster'.

Lord Grey considered the 'plot' or plan impracticable. [SP63/87/2,3; 88/12].

Dec 4, Mon bear-baiting, at Whitehall.

Dec 5, Tues bear-baiting, at Whitehall.<sup>T</sup>

Dec 5, court, Roger Manners to the Earl of Rutland:

'Monsieur's cause stands as it did in suspense. He minds not to give over the cause, and does not make haste to return. Mr Norton, the great Parliament man, is committed for his overmuch and undutiful speaking touching this cause'.<sup>RT</sup>

Thomas Norton was in the Tower from December 1581-February 1582.

*Dec 5, Antwerp newsletter: 'The Count of Emden [Count John}, who has been in England and is to be Governor of Friesland, is said to be raising troops at Deventer in the name of the Queen of England'. [Fugger, 63].*

Dec 7, Thur Queen went hunting, with Alençon.  
Also: bear-baiting, at Whitehall.<sup>T</sup>

Court news. Dec 9, anonymous traveller's report:

'On the afternoon of December 7th I saw the Queen out hunting. Alençon was following immediately after. I stood so close by her that I heard her speak. She does not look so old as she is said to be. The Duke is alleged to be in high favour, some say that he is even allowed into her bedroom'...

'The Queen asked Monsieur de Saint Aldegonde last week what he had written to the Low Countries about her marriage. He replied that he had signified to His Excellency the Prince of Orange that he hoped it would take place. On this she seems to have smitten him laughingly on the mouth with her glove and to have said: *O, que vous êtes bon galant! [Oh, what a fine gallant you are!]*'.

'I saw the Duke yesterday and today at dinner. On Fridays he is served with fish and on Sundays with flesh. He lives in the Queen's palace and Mass is said daily in his chamber'. [Fugger, 64]. The traveller left for Antwerp December 10.

Dec 10, Sun Robert Beale at Whitehall on return from Queen of Scots.<sup>WA</sup>  
Beale wrote, Dec 18: 'Since my return hither I have not as yet spoken with her Majesty. Her Highness hath been so troubled with these other affairs'.<sup>RT</sup>

Court news. Dec 11, London, Mendoza to Philip II:

On December 4 the Councillors proposed among themselves that if the King of France would not enter into an arrangement to make war in the Netherlands

'Alençon was to be given £200,000 at once and the marriage negotiations dropped...When the Queen heard of this resolution she made a show of great anger and annoyance, saying that...as Alençon thought fit to forget her in exchange for her money, she would neither marry him nor give him any money'...

'She sent at once for him, Alençon, and told him this very angrily... and they parted very ill friends'. [Span.iii.233].

Dec 12: The Queen lost 'two pearls from a cloak of black velvet embroidered with branches of pearl'. She also lost at Whitehall in December 'three silk points with gold tags'. [Lost, 339,341].

Dec 14, court, Roger Manners to the Earl of Rutland:

'It was yesternight determined that Monsieur should return in God's peace and the Queen's and upon Saturday next her Majesty would bring him on his way to the Lord Cobham's [Cobham, Kent], but whether this determination will hold till tomorrow morning God knoweth'.<sup>RT</sup>

Dec 14, Mendoza: 'The Queen had ordered seven of her ships to be fitted out', but 'last night all the captains and mates who were in London were called out of their beds and ordered to set out at once, under pain of death, to be on board three ships belonging to the Queen, to leave Rochester tomorrow'. [Span.iii.238]

16 December 1581-12 January 1582: Three ships were ready 'intended for the transporting of the Duke of Alençon from Dover to Flushing'.

*The Foresight (William Borough, Admiral).*

*The Achates (John Austen, Master).*

*The Scout (Stephen Borough, Master).<sup>N</sup>*

Court news. Dec 17, London, Mendoza to Philip II: 'The three Queen's ships... are to carry Alençon across' to Dunkirk 'to encourage the rebel States, and accept their Oath of allegiance...I even fear that he may go to Flushing'...

'The Queen adopted this resolution on the 14th, and ordered the Lord Chancellor to put it in writing under the Great Seal; whilst with a profusion of sighs and tears she was begging Alençon not to go; and if he did so, to assure her that he would soon come back again...He replied that if she would give him her unconditional promise to marry him he would come back, but not otherwise. She replied to this that it was not at present possible for her to give such a promise. I suspect that...both the Queen's tears and his tender regrets are equally fictitious and feigned...The result of it is that he is leaving without money or alliance'. [Span.iii.239-240].

*c.December 18-24: Preparations in Kent for the Queen and the Duke.*

*John Wells, the Queen's courier, with his man and a guide, 'riding post from the court at Whitehall to Dover and back again from thence for the providing of a certain number of post-horses according to her Majesty's special appointment such time as Monsieur was minded to depart. And likewise from Gravesend to Sittingbourne and so back again. And further from thence at three several times to Cobham Hall'. £8.10s payment, 20 February [1582].*

*Simon Bowyer made ready for the Queen at Sittingbourne in December.<sup>T</sup> Works did repairs to unnamed houses at Gravesend and Northfleet, and at Cobham Hall, Lord Cobham's house.*

*Anthony Wingfield made ready 'a dining house at Deptford Strand', January; also dated as made ready in 'December and January'.<sup>T</sup>*

Dec 18, court, Robert Beale to the Earl of Rutland, of Alençon:

'At the earnest solicitation of St Aldegonde and other ambassadors of the Low Countries...he is resolved to pass the seas thither. Certain of her Majesty's ships are appointed to conduct him, under the charge of the Lord Howard, and the Lord Admiral departed hence on Saturday night to put all things in a readiness. His departure, tis thought, will be tomorrow. Commissioners are dispatched for taking up of post-horses in Kent. Divers of the Gentlemen Pensioners appointed to attend and be against tomorrow in readiness'.

'Her Majesty's horses and stuff are gone before: and it is said that her Majesty mindeth to bring him some part of the way. Some say to Canterbury, but I think it will be no further than Cobham Hall, for otherwise her Highness shall hardly return before Christmas'...

'Some say that he is to return about the beginning of the Parliament or about Candlemas [February 2]. But I believe it not, no more doth your friend Monsieur Bodin, who is sorry that he came over upon so little assurance of success and... will not so easily be brought to cross the seas again. It is thought that Marchaumont shall remain here'.

'Fervaques and Vitaux are still sequestered from coming to court. Simier hath had secret access to her Majesty, and it is said that her Highness hath dealt very earnestly for his restitution to favour. Monsieur hath seemed to be resolute against him'.<sup>RT</sup>

*Jean Simier had been in England on behalf of Alençon during 1579, but in 1580 fell into disfavour, partly because he was found to be receiving a pension from the King of Spain; he was now again in England, sent by King Henri III to report back secretly. He came with Baron de Viteau ostensibly to challenge Fervaques, a rival, who arranged with Leicester to have him killed. Simier was attacked in London but escaped; the Queen was so enraged with Leicester that she told him he was a murderous poltroon only fit to be hanged. Fervaques with a drawn dagger pursued another Frenchman into the presence of the Queen herself.*

[Span.iii.244, note; Hume, *Courtships*, 78].

Dec 19: Loan to Alençon: £60,000 sterling, or 200,000 French crowns.  
 £30,000 to be delivered within 15 days after the Duke has crossed the sea;  
 £30,000 within 50 days thereafter. [SPF.xv.409].

Dec 19: The Queen and Margaret Kennix, unlicensed medical practitioner.  
 Mrs Kennix was described as 'an outlandish, ignorant, sorry woman', and  
 'an ignorant foreign woman', living in Seacoal Lane [off Fleet Street].

Dec 19, court, Sir Francis Walsingham 'to my very loving friends Mr Dr  
 Gifford, President of the College of Physicians in London', and the Fellows:

'Whereas heretofore by her Majesty's commandment, upon the pitiful complaint  
 of Margaret Kennix, I wrote unto Dr Symonds, then President of your College...  
 signifying how that it was her Highness's pleasure that the poor woman should be  
 permitted by you quietly to practise and minister to the curing of diseases and  
 wounds, by the means of certain Simples [medicinal plants], in the applying  
 whereof it seemeth God hath given her an especial knowledge, to the benefit of  
 the poorer sort, and chiefly for the better maintenance of her impotent husband,  
 and charge of family, who wholly depend on the exercise of her skill'.

'Forasmuch as now I am informed she is restrained either by you, or some other  
 of your College, contrary to her Majesty's pleasure, to practise any longer said  
 manner of ministering of Simples, as she hath done'.

'Whereby her undoing is like to ensue, unless she may be permitted to continue  
 the use of her knowledge in that behalf. I shall therefore desire you forthwith  
 to take order amongst yourselves for the readmitting of her into the quiet  
 exercise of her small talent, lest by the renewing of her complaint to her  
 Majesty through your hard dealing towards her, you procure further inconvenience  
 thereby to yourself than perhaps you would be willing should fall out. Whereas  
 contrariwise it will be well taken that you afford her the like favour she hath  
 found at the hands of your predecessor. And so not doubting but that you will  
 therefore accordingly consider to leave the poor woman satisfied in this behalf,  
 I bid you heartily farewell...Your loving friend'.

Dec 22, President and Fellows to Walsingham: We 'have sent some of our company  
 to attend upon your Honour, and to deliver our most humble and dutiful answer'.  
 We will not suffer 'either her, or any other whatsoever (being not qualified  
 accordingly) to intrude themselves into so great and dangerous a vocation...  
 to the evident danger of the life and health of such her Majesty's most loving  
 subjects as shall be abused by their notorious and wilful ignorance'.

[Charles Goodall, *Royal College of Physicians of London* (1684) 316-317;  
*Annals of the College of Physicians*, vol.2. The College took action against  
 a number of unlicensed practitioners, men and women].

Dec 24, Queen's Commission licensing 'our well beloved Edmund Tilney  
 esquire, Master of our Revels...as well to take and retain for us...  
 as many painters, embroiderers, tailors, cappers, haberdashers, joiners,  
 carders, glaziers, armourers, basketmakers, skimmers, saddlers, wagon-makers,  
 plasterers, feathermakers, as all other property makers and cunning artificers  
 and labourers' as he 'shall think necessary' for the Revels.

'Also to take at price reasonable...any kind or kinds of stuff, ware or  
 merchandise, wood or coal or other fuel, timber, wainscot, board, lathe,  
 nails, brick, tile, lead, iron, wire, and all other necessities' for the  
 'office of our Revels'.

Also we authorise Edmund Tilney or his deputy to command 'every player or  
 players with their playmakers, either belonging to any nobleman or otherwise...  
 to appear before him with all such plays, tragedies, comedies or shows as they  
 shall have in readiness or mean to set forth, and them to present and recite  
 before' him or his deputy, whom we authorise 'to order and reform, authorise  
 and put down, as shall be thought meet or unmeet' to him. [ES.iv.285-6].

Court news. Dec 25, London, Mendoza to Philip II:

'On the 19th and 20th the barges were ready for Alençon's departure, some of the Frenchmen and the baggage having already started. The supper for the Queen and him was all prepared at Cobham, when a strong north-east gale sprang up, and has been blowing ever since. This being against the crossing, he has been delayed'.

The Queen had been 'anxious to expedite his departure in view of Flemish affairs. Although she displayed grief publicly at his departure, I understand that in her own chamber she danced for very joy at getting rid of him, as she desired of all things to get him away from here'. She 'with a hundred thousand false words and oaths assured him of her affection for him'.

Alençon told her "You are mine, as I can prove by letters and words you have written to me; confirmed by the gift of the ring, of which I have sent intelligence to the King my brother, my mother, and the Princes of France, all those who were present at our interviews being ready to bear testimony. If I cannot get you for my wife by fair means and affection I must do so by force, for I will not leave this country without you".

'The Queen was perturbed at these words', replying that the ring 'was only a pledge of perpetual friendship and of a conditional contract'.

She 'was desirous of remaining in her present state, until she could... overcome her natural hatred to marriage...After the holidays they would discuss what money should be given to him'.

The Queen 'sent secretly for Simier...To him she complained greatly of the annoyance she felt at Alençon's pressing her so closely'...

'Simier advised her that...she should stand firm in the conditions she was demanding from the King of France...The colloquy ended with great merriment as they said that Alençon was a fine gallant to sell his lady for money'...

'Alençon has been pressing the Queen greatly to send Simier away'. She said that 'he had managed better than anyone else' the marriage negotiations.

As another reason for hastening Alençon's departure 'they have represented how expensive it will be for him to stay here over New Year's Day, by reason of the presents he will have to give, according to the custom of the country'.

Lord Henry Howard, the brother of the executed Duke of Norfolk, and a good Catholic, wishes to serve King Philip. He 'is friendly with the Ladies of the Privy Chamber, who tell him exactly what passes indoors'. [*Span.iii.242-6*].

Lord Henry Howard (1540-1614), became Mendoza's chief informant at court.

Christmas 1581-Shrovetide 1582: Revels prepared 'five plays, two masques, one fighting at barriers, with divers devices showed before her Majesty'.

Fighting at barriers was on New Year's Day 1582.

Christmas week: masque, with gifts to the Queen.

'A flower of gold, garnished with sparks of diamonds, rubies and opals, with an agate of her Majesty's physiognomy and a pearl pendant, with devices painted in it. Given by eight Masquers in Christmas week'.

'An anchor of gold, garnished with sparks of diamonds, and a woman lying on it. Given by the said Masquers'.<sup>NYG</sup>

Dec 26,Tues play, by the Children of Paul's.

Dec 28,Thur feats of activity, by Lord Strange's Men.<sup>T</sup>

Court news. Dec 29, London, Mendoza to Philip II:

'The Queen displays every day further signs of her never having intended to marry Alençon, and in conversation with the Treasurer [Burghley] on the night of the 25th, she told him that even if it would make her empress of all the world she would not marry Alençon'.

'The Treasurer on the following day therefore urged upon Alençon that on no account should he miss this opportunity of going to the Netherlands and rescuing them from the hands of your Majesty. Alençon replied...that on account of England he had taken upon himself the defence of the Flemish rebels in the hope of marrying the Queen, but if the latter result were not to be attained he would...meddle no more with the Netherlands'.

The Queen 'begged him to accept her as a friend and sister, without thinking of her as a wife. Alençon was much offended at this...and said that he would rather lose his life now than leave here without marrying her'.

'The Queen asked him whether he meant to threaten a poor old woman in her own country...and added that...he had better take care not to lose the best friends he had by such words as these. Alençon replied "No, no, Madam", and...swore that rather would he tear himself to bits with his own hands than lose the hope of marrying her, and thus become the derision of the whole world. He thereupon burst into tears, and the Queen gave him a handkerchief to dry them, consoling him with words more tender even than the occasion demanded'.

Afterwards the Queen told the Earl of Sussex 'that she would rather be able to dismiss Alençon in a good humour than possess another crown'. She also told him that 'she hated the idea of marriage every day more, for reasons which she would not divulge to a twin soul, if she had one, much less to a living creature'.

Lord Harry [Howard] tells me that she pointed out to Alençon 'how difficult it would be for them to live together if he were of a different religion to her, whereupon Alençon assured her, with an oath, that he would abandon his religion for the sake of her love'...

'The Queen has hitherto refused to give him a final reply with regard to the marriage, but she now desires to do so with a decided negative, which he is evading'.  
[Span.iii.251-3].

Dec 31, Sun knighting, Whitehall: Charles Framlingham, of Suffolk.<sup>M</sup>

also Dec 31: bear-baiting, Whitehall;  
play, by the Children of the Chapel Royal.<sup>T</sup>

c.1581: The Queen's inscription in a New Testament.

Theodore Beza had translated the New Testament from Greek into French. The Queen owned Laurence Tomson's translation of this into English (c.1578).

Black velvet binding, covers embroidered by the Queen in silver thread with plant and flower motifs and Latin mottoes; size 4"x 3".

The Queen wrote on the first leaf a quotation from *A Right Christian Treatise. Entitled S. Augustine's Prayers*, translated by Thomas Rogers. (1581).

'August. I walk many times into the pleasant fields of the holy scriptures, where I pluck up the goodly green herbs of sentences by pruning. Eat them by reading, chew them by musing. And lay them up at length in the high seat of memory by gathering them together: that so having tasted thy sweetness I may the less perceive the bitterness of this miserable life'.

[Elizabeth I: Translations 1544-1589, 403-4].



1581: Broadside, attributed to William Elderton, entitled: 'A Triumph for true Subjects, and a Terror unto Traitors: By the example of the late death of Edmund Campion, Ralph Sherwin, and Thomas [Alexander] Bryan, Jesuits and Seminary priests. Who suffered at Tyburn, on Friday the first day of December'.

Opening stanza:

'Good subjects of England, rejoice and be glad,  
Give glory to God, with humble knees down,  
That Campion the Traitor his hire hath now had,  
Who fought for to spoil our Queen and her Crown,  
And all under colour of Jesuit's profession  
To persuade the Queen's Subjects to their own destruction,  
Therefore unto God for our Queen let us pray  
That the Lord may preserve her life many a day'.  
[Broadside reproduced in Elizabeth, ed. Susan Doran, 223].

1581: Sir Thomas Smith's 'Discourse of the Commonweal' was published. Smith (1513-1577), formerly the Queen's Secretary, wrote the Discourse in 1549, whilst he was Secretary to the Duke of Somerset, but it was first published in 1581, as: 'A Compendious or Brief Examination of certain ordinary complaints of divers of our countrymen in these our days, which although they are in some part unjust and frivolous, yet are they all by way of dialogues thoroughly debated and discussed. By W.S. Gentleman'.

Epistle Dedicatory: 'To the most virtuous and learned' Queen, offering 'this small and simple present'. Your Majesty's most faithful and loving subject, W.S.

The book, now known as A Discourse of the Commonweal of this Realm of England, analyses 'the manifold complaints of men touching the decay of this Commonweal'.

First 'what things men are most grieved with'; second, 'what should be the occasion of the same'; third, 'that known, how such griefs may be taken away and the state of the Commonweal reformed again'.

The book takes the form of Dialogues between a Knight, a Merchant, a Capper, and a Husbandman; answered by a Doctor, a learned civil lawyer.

It deals particularly with the causes of inflation, and has claims to be the most impressive piece of economic analysis produced in the sixteenth century.

W.S., who wrote the Epistle, was at one time taken to be the author of the book, and was identified as William Stafford; the book was edited by F.J. Furnivall in 1876 as by Stafford.

W.S. is now identified as William Smith, Sir Thomas Smith's nephew.

c.1581: There are prayers in English, French, Italian, Latin and Greek in a so-called 'Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book'. This includes miniature companion portraits of the Duke of Alençon and the Queen.

Reproduced by Elizabeth Goldring, Robert Dudley, 97; also, with translations of the prayers, in Elizabeth I: Collected Works, 311-321.