

At **WHITEHALL PALACE**

Jan 1, Sun New Year gifts.

The exchange of gifts at New Year was a general custom, replaced in later centuries by exchanging gifts at Christmas. Although the new year officially began on March 25, gifts were exchanged on January 1.

New Year Gift Rolls list gifts to and from the Queen, in order of the giver or recipient's rank, from a Duchess, or the Lord Chancellor, down to some of the kitchen staff. The Rolls survive only for 24 years of the reign.

Archbishops and Bishops gave a purse of money, as did many lords, ladies, and knights. Others gave jewellery, items of wearing apparel, books, pictures, food, wine, musical instruments, or more exotic gifts. A servant came to the palace with the gift to the Queen and received a monetary 'reward'. The gifts were displayed on long tables for the Queen to see. The royal official who took custody of a gift was listed on the Roll.

During the next few days the Queen's gift was delivered to those who had made gifts to her, who in turn rewarded the bringer. The Queen invariably gave gilt plate, usually in the form of a cup or bowl; the weight in ounces was noted.

A small selection only of the gifts to her is given here, and includes the books, maps, and pictures (as most likely to have survived), and animals, and a few of the other gifts. The Rolls are published in *The Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges 1559-1603*, edited by Jane A. Lawson (Oxford, 2013).

*Among the 221 gifts to the Queen in 1559:*

*(1st) by [Frances], Duchess of Suffolk: 'One fair cushion all over richly embroidered and set with pearl and one book covered with purple velvet garnished and clasped with silver and gilt of Ecclesiastes';*

*by Sir Thomas Parry: 'Two musk cats with liams [leashes] and collars of silk and gold...Delivered to the Keeper at Hampton Court';*

*by Edward Atkinson, Yeoman Purveyor of Wine: 'Twenty and four English books of sundry writers upon the Scripture';*

*by John Ayleworth: 'Two tables [pictures] the one of King Henry the Eight, the other of King Edward the Sixth';*

*by William Bayard: 'A table painted of a king with certain scriptures belonging to the same';*

*by Jean Belmain, 'late schoolmaster to King Edward, a book finely printed De la Vie de la Morte covered with crimson satin all over embroidered with gold';* *by John Caverley: 'Thirteen Song-books covered with leather';*

*by John Cawood, printer: 'Josephus, in Greek';*

*by Bartholomew Compaigne: 'One piece of cloth of silver stained with the half picture of King Henry the Eight';*

*by George Comy, musician: 'Two round globes of Asia and Europa';*

*by Thomas Gemini: 'Two pictures of the Queen's Majesty';*

*by Richard Jugge, printer: 'One map, Ptolemy's tables in Italian';*

*by Thomas Kent: 'A Song-book';*

*by Robert Kingston and George Rotheridge (a Portuguese): 'One fair lion of the age of two years' [lions were kept in the menagerie at the Tower];*

*by Nicholas Lizard: 'A table painted of the history of Assuerus';*

*by Thomas Phaer: 'A book written of Aeneid, in English verses';*

*by Levina Teerlinc: 'The Queen's picture finely painted upon a card';*

*by Edward Whitchurch: 'Three books, one of the Common Prayer covered with crimson velvet, another of the Homilies covered with leather, the third of a letter covered with leather';*

*by Reginald Wolfe, printer: 'One Bible covered with crimson velvet';*

*by John Young: 'A book of certain Devices for the Advancement of the state of a Realm, covered with black velvet edged with silver passamain'.<sup>NYG</sup>*

Courtiers exchanged New Year gifts among themselves, and made gifts to some of the Royal Household officials.

Lord Robert Dudley's New Year rewards included:

'Given to the Guard for New Year's gift, 25s4d; in reward for [bringing] the Queen's New Year's gift, one gilt cup, 38s'.<sup>L</sup>

Dudley gave the Queen 'a fair chain set with pearl'. He received 'one gilt bowl given to the Queen by Sir Henry Jerningham the same day'.<sup>NYG</sup>

Henry 2nd Earl of Rutland gave the Queen £10 'in a purse of red silk and silver knit in half sovereigns'; the Countess of Rutland gave £10 'in gold'. In return the Earl received a gilt cup, the Countess a gilt cruse.

Their payments included: Jan 1: 'To the Queen's Majesty by my Lord and my Lady for the New Year's gift, £20; and for exchange thereof in gold, 3s4d'; to the Queen's trumpeters, 15s; to the musicians, 10s'.<sup>RT(4)</sup>

New Year: Jasper Heywood dedicated to the Queen:

'The Sixth Tragedy of the most grave and prudent author Lucius Anneus Seneca, entitled Troas, with divers and sundry additions to the same.

Newly set forth in English by Jasper Heywood, Student in Oxford'.

'To the most high and virtuous princess, Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, her Highness most humble and obedient subject Jasper Heywood student in the University of Oxford wisheth health, wealth, honour, and felicity'...

'If the learning with which GOD hath endued your Majesty had not been to me a comfortable persuasion of your gracious favour toward the simple gift and duty of a scholar, I would not have incurred so dangerous note of presumption, in attempting a subject to his princess, a simple scholar to so excellently learned, a rash young man to so noble a Queen, by none other sign to signify allegiance and duty toward your Highness save by writing'...

'But now, to see (most gracious Lady) that thing come to pass which to the honour of him and for the wealth of us God hath ordained, a Princess to reign over us, such one to whom great freedom is for us to serve, what joy may serve to triumph at that blissful day, or what should we spare with pen to preach abroad that inward gladness of heart that floweth from the breasts of us your most loving subjects? beseeching God that it may please him to grant your Grace long and prosperous governance of the imperial crown of England'.

'Then well understanding how greatly your Highness is delighted in the sweet sap of fine and pure writers, I have here presumed to offer unto you such a simple New Year's gift as neither presenteth gold nor pearl, but duty and good will of a scholar, a piece of Seneca translated into English which I rather enterprise to give to your Highness, as well for that I thought it should not be unpleasant for your Grace to see some part of so excellent an author in your own tongue (the reading of whom in Latin I understand delights greatly your Majesty), as also for that none may be a better judge of my doings herein, than who best understandeth my author: and the authority of your Grace's favour towards this my little work may be to me a sure defence and shield against the sting of reprehending tongues'.

'Which I most humbly beseeching your Highness end with prayer to God to send us long the fruition of so excellent and gracious a Lady'. 86p.(London, 1559).

Jasper Heywood (1535-1598) was a son of John Heywood, playwright.

Jan 2, Mon, Westminster: Privy Council order: 'Sir Ralph Grey, knight, having charge of 100 men in the North, because he came away without licence of the Lord Warden, as himself confessed, was committed to the Porter's Lodge'.

Jan 3: Sir Ralph Grey 'was this day, upon his humble submission and promise of amendment, set at liberty'.<sup>APC</sup>

Jan 3, Tues, Westminster, Queen to Sir Thomas Cawarden, Master of the Revels:  
 'Whereas you have in your custody and charge certain apparel as officer for our masques and revels, this shall be to will and command you immediately upon the sight hereof that you deliver or cause to be delivered to John Gresham and John Elliot, citizens of our City of London, such and so much of the said apparel as they shall require for the setting forth of those pageants which be appointed to stand for the show of our City at the time we are to pass through the same towards our Coronation'.

Cawarden delivered to Gresham and Elliot, mercers, on January 13 numerous garments, some of yellow and blue cloth of gold, to be redelivered January 16.  
 [G.Warkentin, ed. *The Queen's Majesty's Passage* (Toronto, 2004), 121-3].

*Jan 4: Earl and Countess of Rutland paid: 'To one of the Queen's servants for bringing of the Queen's New Year's gift to my Lady, 26s8d'.*

*'To 20 of my Lord's yeomen and grooms, to buy them new hose against the Coronation, each 5s, £5'.<sup>RT(4)</sup>*

Jan 6, Fri knighting: Lord Mayor of London, Thomas Leigh, mercer.

As was customary, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen came to Whitehall by barge, the Recorder of London (Ralph or Ranulph Cholmley) made a speech presenting the Mayor to the Queen, Lord Keeper Bacon replied, and the Lord Mayor was knighted.  
 [SPF.i.45].

Also Jan 6: play, anti-Catholic 'farce': priests, in russet; vergers. also: masque, Papists; with pairs of Cardinals, in crimson; bishops, in purple; monks or abbots, in black; summoners, in yellow. With pairs of friars in black, russet, yellow, white.

Il Schifanoia to the Castellan of Mantua, Jan 23: 'As I suppose your Lordship will have heard of the farce performed in the presence of her Majesty on the day of the Epiphany, and I not having sufficient intellect to interpret it, nor yet the mummy performed after supper on the same day, of crows in the habits of Cardinals, of asses habited as Bishops, and of wolves representing Abbots, I will consign it to silence, as also the new commencement of ritual made in her Majesty's Chapel with the English Litanies, which omit Saint Mary, all the saints, the Pope and the Dead'.  
 [Revels; Ven.vii.11].

c.Jan 8: Guido Cavalcanti with the Queen. Cavalcanti, a native of Florence, had lived in both England and France, and was employed on a number of confidential missions between the two countries. King Henri II sent him to the Queen at the beginning of January, concerning the Peace Treaty being negotiated.

Jan 8: The Queen sent Cavalcanti back at once with instructions on the need for secrecy, and to stress that King Philip began the war, and drew England into it by means of his wife (her sister Queen Mary).  
 [Forbes, i.14-15].

Jan 10: King of Spain's proposal of marriage to his deceased wife's sister. Jan 10, Brussels, Philip II to Count de Feria, Spanish Ambassador to England: I 'am resolved to render this service to God and offer to marry the Queen of England...You should satisfy yourself that the Queen will profess the same religion...as I do...so that when I marry her she will be a Catholic...In this way it will be evident and manifest that I am serving the Lord in marrying her and that she has been converted by my act...You must commence to broach the subject with the Queen alone'.  
 [Span.i.22-23].

Jan 10, Tues new appointment:  
John Tamworth, a Groom of the Privy Chamber: Keeper of the Privy Purse.

Jan 11, Wed new appointment: Lord Robert Dudley: Master of the Horse, having been acting Master since the Queen's Accession. 100 marks p.a.

Jan 12, Thur new appointment: Sir Thomas Parry:  
Master of the Court of Wards.<sup>P</sup>

*Jan 12: Livery Companies hired barges and musicians to attend on the Queen as she went by water to the Tower. A selection of payments:*

*Butchers' Company: 'For the hire of the barge when the Queen did come from Westminster to the Tower, 20s; to him that played on the flute, 2s'.*

*Founders' Company: 'To the bargemen for hire of a barge...14s; to the watermen for a reward...2s4d; for carrying the instruments and home again, 4d; to the singing men in the barge, 4s; the bargemen and singmen's breakfast, 2s'.*

*Grocers' Company hired a barge for 53s4d. 'Paid to the minstrels singing and playing in the barge at the same time, 10s'.*

*Vintners' Company: 'Given to the bargemen to drink, 2s'.*

Jan 12, Thur **TOWER OF LONDON**, by water.  
Anthony Light, Gentleman Usher, with three Yeomen and four Grooms, made ready 'the Queen's lodging at the Tower'.<sup>T</sup>

*Il Schifanoia, Jan 23, describing how the Queen left Whitehall for the Tower: 'The necessary ships, galleys, brigantines, etc, were prepared as sumptuously as possible to accompany her Majesty and the court thither by the Thames, which reminded me of Ascension Day at Venice, when the Signory go to espouse the sea. At 2 p.m., the flood-tide then serving to pass under London Bridge, her Majesty, accompanied by many knights, barons, ladies and by the whole court, passing through the private corridor, embarked in her barge, which was covered with its usual tapestries, both externally and internally, and was towed by a long galley rowed by 40 men in their shirts, with a band of music, as usual when the Queen goes by water. Her Majesty having passed the bridge, in sight of the Tower, some pieces of artillery were fired; she landed at the private stairs, and entering by a little bridge, was seen but by very few persons'. [Ven.vii.11-12].*

*Holinshed: 'The Queen's Majesty removed from her palace of Westminster by water unto the Tower of London, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in their barge, and all the citizens with their barges decked and trimmed with targets and banners ...attending on her Grace. The Bachelors' barge of the Lord Mayor's Company, to wit the Mercers, had their barge with...artillery aboard, gallantly appointed to wait upon them, shooting off lustily as they went, with great and pleasant melody of instruments, which played in most sweet and heavenly manner'.*

*'Her Grace shot the bridge about 2 o'clock in the afternoon at the still of the ebb, the Lord Mayor and the rest following after her barge, attending the same, till her Majesty took land at the Privy Stairs at the Tower Wharf, and then the said Lord Mayor with the other barges returned, passing through the bridge again with the flood, and landed at the wharf of the Three Cranes in the Vintry'.*

Also Jan 12: First Coronation Feast, at the Tower.<sup>C</sup>

Also: Chapter of the Order of the Garter held at the Tower, attended by the Queen as Sovereign of the Order, and 11 Garter Knights, concerning placing of Garter insignia at Windsor. [BL Add MS 10110, f.135v].

Jan 13, Fri Peerages created or restored; at the Tower.  
 William Parr, restored as Marquis of Northampton.  
 Edward Seymour, restored as Earl of Hertford.  
 Thomas Howard, created Viscount Howard of Bindon.  
 Henry Carey, created Baron Hunsdon of Hunsdon.  
 Oliver St John, created Baron St John of Bletsoe.

Also Jan 13: Second Coronation Feast, at the Tower.<sup>c</sup>

Jan 13-14: Eleven new Knights of the Bath:  
 John 2nd Lord Darcy of Aston; John 2nd Lord Darcy of Chiche;  
 John 2nd Lord Sheffield; John Berkeley; Roger North;  
 Nicholas Poyntz; Robert Rich; George Speke;  
 Edward Unton; Henry Weston; John Zouche.

*Herald's description*: 'The making of Knights of the Bath' in the White Tower:  
 'The said Knights having a banquet in the said White Tower before their entering  
 to the Bath. The said Knights entered into a Hall in the said White Tower and  
 then and there was prepared eleven field beds, which beds closed with curtains  
 of silk and gold, before every field bed a bath covered with red say and white  
 linen cloth. And upon every bath the Arms of every Knight'.

'Every of the said Knights sitting before their baths there being barbers  
 ready to wash and trimming them to have shaven the Knights' beards, the Queen's  
 Majesty pardoned for their beards. And so being washed and trimmed entered into  
 their baths naked, and the Musicians played upon their instruments'.

'Immediately the Lord Arundel being Lord Steward of England, the Lord William  
 Howard being Lord Chamberlain, who were brought in by the Herald at Arms and  
 Sir [Edward Warner] Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir Ambrose Cave, and Sir William  
 Sackville. The Lord Steward and the Lord Chamberlain went with the Herald at  
 Arms to every Knight and gave them their oaths, and so kissed the book. And that  
 done the Lords departed and the Knights went out of their baths and went to bed  
 and to every Knight was brought a bowl with hippocras [wine]'.

'At 4 o'clock in the morning the said Knights of the Bath rose out of their  
 beds and were clothed in long side gowns of russet cloth with hoods over their  
 heads, who were with Heralds at Arms, gentlemen, and the Musicians playing, and  
 so conducted with torch-staves to the Church in the Tower. And the Knights  
 sitting in the Quire. And then and there the Parson of the said Church kneeling  
 said the procession in English, and all that were there answered the Parson.  
 One of the Queen's Chaplains said Mass, and at the consecration he heaved not  
 up the Host'.

'And when Mass was done all the said Knights every of them had a perch of  
 wax in their hands with half a groat, and so offered the said perch kneeling  
 upon their knees and kissed the paten, and so returned to their places'.

'And immediately the Musicians played, and there the Knights were served  
 with bread, suckets, comfits, and hippocras, and that done were conducted  
 to the White Tower, and there the Knights dancing and leaping, and after that  
 went to bed'. [Bodleian Ashmolean MS 862, f.299].

During this reign Knights of the Bath were made only at the Coronation.

Jan 14, Sat new appointments:  
 Sir Francis Knollys: Vice-Chamberlain, and Privy Councillor.<sup>APC</sup>  
 Sir Thomas Parry: Treasurer of the Household.  
 Sir Edward Rogers: Controller of the Household.  
 Sir William St Loe: Captain of the Guard.

Also Jan 14: Third Coronation Feast, at the Tower.<sup>c</sup>

Jan 14, afternoon **Queen's procession through London to Whitehall.**

*Herald:* 'At her Majesty's going out of the Tower of London there was a great shot of guns and chambers to the number of 900 shot'.

*Machyn:* 'The Queen came in a chariot from the Tower, with all the lords and ladies in crimson velvet, and their horses trapped with the same, and trumpeters in red gowns blowing, and all the Heralds in their coat armour, and all the streets strewed with gravel'.

*Il Schifanoia:* In the morning 'the whole court so sparkled with jewels and gold collars that they cleared the air, though it snowed a little. During this assemblage the Queen dined. The houses on the way were all decorated; there being on both sides of the street from Blackfriars to St Paul's wooden barricades on which the merchants and artisans of every trade leant, in long black gowns lined with hoods of red and black cloth...with all their ensigns, banners and standards, which were innumerable and made a very fine show. Owing to the deep mud caused by the foul weather, and by the multitude of people and of horses, everyone had made preparation by placing sand and gravel in front of their houses'.

'The number of horses was in all 1000, and last of all came her Majesty in an open litter trimmed down to the ground with gold brocade, with a raised pile, and carried by two very handsome mules covered with the same material, and surrounded by a multitude of footmen in crimson velvet jerkins all studded with massive gilt silver, with the arms of a white and red rose on their breasts and backs, and laterally the letters E.R. for *Elizabetha Regina* wrought in relief, the usual livery of this Crown, which makes a superb show'...

'The Gentlemen Pensioners...walked at the sides...clad in crimson damask, given them by the Queen for livery...Her Majesty was dressed in a royal robe of very rich cloth of gold...and on her head over a coif of cloth of gold... a plain gold crown'. She was 'covered with jewels, and nothing in her hands but gloves. Behind the litter came Lord Robert Dudley, Master of the Horse, mounted on a very fine charger and leading a white hackney covered with cloth of gold'.

'Then came the Lord Chamberlain and other lords...followed by nine Pages [the Henchmen] dressed in crimson satin on very handsome chargers richly caparisoned'.  
[Ven.vii.11].

*Coronation processional entry. Described in The Queen's Majesty's Passage through the City of London to Westminster the day before her Coronation. Published Jan 23. Richard Mulcaster was paid for 'making of the book', April 4.*

*Modern edition: The Queen's Majesty's Passage and Related Documents, ed. Germaine Warkentin, with translations of Latin verses and speeches. (Toronto, 2004). Also edited, with descriptions of the Coronation, in Nichols, Progresses (2014), i.112-146.*

*Much abridged here, omitting numerous verses and speeches.*

'In the Tower...her Grace, before she entered her chariot, lifted up her eyes to Heaven and said "O Lord, almighty and everlasting God, I give thee most hearty thanks that thou hast been so merciful unto me as to spare me to behold this joyful day. And I acknowledge that thou hast dealt as wonderfully and as mercifully with me as thou didst with thy true and faithful servant Daniel thy Prophet, whom thou deliveredst out of the den from the cruelty of the greedy and raging lions: even so was I overwhelmed, and only by thee delivered.

To thee therefore only be thanks, honour and praise, forever. Amen"...

'About two o'clock at afternoon...our most dread Sovereign Lady Elizabeth...marched from the Tower to pass through the City of London toward Westminster, richly furnished, and most honourably accompanied as well with gentlemen, barons and other the Nobility of this Realm, as also with a notable train of goodly and beautiful ladies, richly appointed. And entering the City was of the people received marvellous entirely, as appeared by the assembly's prayers, wishes, welcomings, cries, tender words, and all other signs which argue a wonderful earnest love of most obedient subjects towards their Sovereign'.

'And on the other side, her Grace, by holding up her hands, and merry countenance to such as stood far off, and most tender and gentle language to those that stood nigh to her Grace, did declare herself no less thankfully to receive her people's goodwill than they lovingly offered it unto her'.

'To all that wished her Grace well she gave hearty thanks, and to such as bade God save her Grace she said again God save them all, and thanked them with all her heart...The people again were wonderfully ravished with the loving answers and gestures of their Princess, like...at her first coming to the Tower from Hatfield. This her Grace's loving behaviour...implanted a wonderful hope in them touching her worthy government in the rest of her reign. For in all her passage she did not only show her most gracious love toward the people in general, but also privately, if the baser personages had offered her Grace any flowers or such like...or moved to her any suit, she most gently...stayed her chariot and heard their requests'...

'The Queen's Majesty passed from the Tower till she came to Fenchurch...Near into Fenchurch was erected a scaffold richly furnished, whereon stood a Noise of instruments, and a child in costly apparel, which was appointed to welcome the Queen's Majesty in the whole city's behalf...She commanded the chariot to be stayed...till the child had uttered his welcoming oration, which he spoke in English metre', offering gifts of 'blessing tongues' and 'true hearts', and ending "God thee preserve we pray, and wish thee ever well". At which words of the last line the whole people gave a great shout, wishing with one assent as the child had said'...

'When the child had pronounced his oration, and the Queen's Highness so thankfully had received it, she marched forward toward Gracious [Gracechurch] Street, where at the upper end, before the sign of the *Eagle*, the City had erected a gorgeous and sumptuous ark'...

'A stage was made which extended from the one side of the street to the other', with over the middle 'three several stages'...

'Upon the lowest stage was made one seat royal, wherein were placed two personages representing King Henry VII and Elizabeth his wife'...

'King Henry VII, proceeding out of the House of Lancaster, was enclosed in a red rose, and...Queen Elizabeth, being heir to the House of York, enclosed with a white rose...Out of the which two roses sprang two branches gathered into one, which were directed upward to the second stage...wherein was placed one representing...King Henry VIII...and by him sat one representing the right worthy lady Queen Anne...mother to our most Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth that now is... From their seat also proceeded upwards one branch directed to the third and uppermost stage...in the which was set one representing the Queen's most excellent Majesty Elizabeth'...

'Out of the forepart of this Pageant was made a standing for a child, which at the Queen's Majesty's coming declared unto her the whole meaning of the said Pageant. The two sides of the same were filled with loud Noises of music. And all empty places thereof were furnished with sentences concerning unity. And the whole Pageant garnished with red roses and white, and in the forefront...in a fair wreath was written the name and title of the same, which was

'The Uniting of the two Houses of Lancaster and York'...

'Her Grace...thanked the City, praised the fairness of the work, and promised that she would do her whole endeavour for the continual preservation of concord, as the Pageant did import...When the Queen's Majesty had heard the child's oration, and understood the meaning of the Pageant...she marched forward toward Cornhill...The Conduit...was curiously trimmed...with rich banners adorned and a Noise of loud instruments upon the top'.

The second Pageant 'standing in the nether end of Cornhill, was extended from the one side of the street to the other...and over the middle part thereof was erected one chair or seat royal...wherein was placed a child representing the Queen's Highness...In the front of the same Pageant was written the name and title thereof, which is The Seat of Worthy Governance'.

Four personages representing Virtues 'did tread their contrary Vices under their feet...Pure Religion did tread upon Superstition and Ignorance; Love of Subjects did tread upon Rebellion and Insolency; Wisdom did tread upon Folly and Vain-glory; Justice did tread upon Adulation and Bribery'...

'The two sides...had in them placed a Noise of instruments, which immediately after the child's speech gave an heavenly melody'...

'The Queen's Majesty...most graciously promised her good endeavour for the maintenance of the said Virtues, and suppression of Vices; and so marched on till she came against the Great Conduit in Cheap, which was beautified with pictures and sentences'...

'Against Soper Lane's end was extended from the one side of the street to the other a Pageant, which had...three several stages whereon sat eight children...each having the proper name of the blessing that they did represent...placed above their heads. In the forefront of this Pageant...was a convenient standing, cast out for a child to stand, which did expound the said Pageant unto the Queen's Majesty...And on the forepart of the said Pageant was written in fair letters the name of the said Pageant...The eight Beatitudes expressed in the 5th chapter of the Gospel of St Matthew, applied to our Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth. Over the two side ports was placed a Noise of instruments. And all void places in the Pageant were furnished with pretty sayings commending and touching the meaning of the said Pageant'...

'When all that was to be said in this Pageant was ended, the Queen's Majesty passed on forward in Cheapside. At the Standard in Cheap...was placed a Noise of trumpets, with banners...The Cross likewise was also made fair and well trimmed. And near unto the same, upon the porch of St Peter's Church door, stood the Waits of the City, which did give a pleasant noise with their instruments as the Queen's Majesty did pass by, which on every side cast her countenance, and wished well to all her most loving people'.

'Soon after that her Grace passed the Cross she had espied the Pageant erected at the Little Conduit in Cheap...and it was told her Grace that there was placed Time. "Time?" quoth she, "and Time hath brought me hither"...

'And so passed forward till she came against the Aldermen in the high end of Cheap before the Little Conduit, where the Companies of the City ended, which began at Fenchurch, and stood along the streets one by another enclosed with rails hanged with cloths, and themselves well apparelled with many rich furs, and their livery hoods upon their shoulders in comely and seemly manner, having before them sundry persons well apparelled in silks and chains of gold as whifflers and guarders of the said companies, beside a number of rich hangings, as well of tapestry, arras, cloths of gold, silver, velvet, damask, satin and other silks, plentifully hanged all the way as the Queen's Highness passed from the Tower through the City'.

'Out at the windows and pent-houses of every house did hang a number of rich and costly banners and streamers, till her Grace came to the upper end of Cheap'.



'And there by appointment...Ranulph Cholmley, Recorder of the City, presented to the Queen's Majesty a purse of crimson satin richly wrought with gold, wherein the City gave...a thousand marks in gold, as Mr Recorder did declare briefly...that the Lord Mayor, his brethren and commonalty of the City, to declare their gladness and goodwill towards the Queen's Majesty, did present her Grace with that gold, desiring her Grace to continue their good and gracious Queen, and not to esteem the value of the gift, but the mind of the givers'.

'The Queen's Majesty with both her hands took the purse and answered to him again marvellous pithily..."I thank my Lord Mayor, his Brethren, and you all. And whereas your request is that I should continue your good lady and Queen, be you sure that I will be as good unto you as ever Queen was to her people. No will in me can lack, neither do I trust shall there lack any power. And persuade yourselves that for the safety and quietness of you all I will not spare, if need be, to spend my blood. God thank you all". Which answer of so noble an hearted Princess...moved a marvellous shout and rejoicing'...

'When her Grace had thus answered the Recorder she marched toward the Little Conduit, where was erected a Pageant with square proportion, standing directly before the same Conduit'...

'In the same Pageant was advanced two hills or mountains of convenient height. The one of them being on the north side...was made cragged, barren and stony; in the which was erected one tree, artificially made, all withered and dead... And under the same tree...sat one in homely and rude apparel, crookedly and in mourning manner, having over his head...in Latin and English, his name, which was...A decayed Commonweal'...

'The other hill on the south side was made fair, fresh, green and beautiful, the ground thereof full of flowers and beauty; and on the same was erected also one tree very fresh and fair, under the which stood upright one fresh personage, well apparelled and appointed...A flourishing Commonweal'.

'In the middle, between the said hills, was made artificially one hollow place or cave...out of the which...issued one personage whose name was Time, apparelled as an old man with a scythe in his hand, having wings artificially made, leading a personage of lesser stature than himself, which was finely and well apparelled, all clad in white silk, and directly over her head was set her name...The Daughter of Time...And on her breast was written...Veritas, Truth, who held a book in her hand, upon the which was written...the Word of Truth'.

'Out of the south side of the Pageant was cast a standing for a child, which should interpret the same...When the child had thus ended his speech he reached his book towards the Queen's Majesty, which a little before Truth had let down unto him from the hill; which by Master Parrat [Sir John Perrot] was received and delivered unto the Queen. But she as soon as she had received the book kissed it, and with both her hands held up the same, and so laid it upon her breast, with great thanks to the City therefor'...

'The matter of this Pageant dependeth of them that went before. For as the first declared her Grace to come out of the house of unity, the second that she is placed in the seat of government, stayed with virtues, to the suppression of vice, and therefore in the third the eight blessings of Almighty God might well be applied unto her; so this fourth now is to put her Grace in remembrance of the state of the Commonweal, which Time with Truth his daughter doth reveal, which Truth also her Grace hath received, and therefore cannot but be merciful and careful for the good government thereof'.

'From thence the Queen's Majesty passed toward Paul's Churchyard, and when she came over against Paul's School a child appointed by the schoolmaster thereof pronounced a certain oration in Latin, and certain verses'...

'When the Queen's Majesty had heard all that was there offered to be spoken, then her Grace marched toward Ludgate, where she was received with a Noise of instruments, the forefront of the gate being finely trimmed up against her Majesty's coming'.

'From thence by the way as she went down toward Fleet Bridge, one about her Grace noted the City's charge, that there was no cost spared. Her Grace answered that she did well consider the same, and that it should be remembered'...

'In this manner, the people on either side rejoicing, her Grace went forward toward the Conduit in Fleet Street, where was the fifth and last Pageant... From the Conduit, which was beautified with painting, unto the north side of the street was erected a stage...and upon the uppermost degree was placed a chair or seat royal, and behind the same seat...was erected a tree of reasonable height...beautified with leaves as green as art could devise...and containing thereupon the fruit of the date, and on the top of the same tree...was set the name thereof, which was 'A palm tree', and in the aforesaid seat or chair was placed a seemly and meet personage richly appavelled in Parliament robes, with a sceptre in her hand, as a Queen, crowned with an open crown, whose name and title was...Deborah the judge and restorer of the house of Israel'...

'On either side were...six personages, two representing the nobility, two the clergy, and two the commonalty. And before these personages was written... Deborah, with her estates, consulting for the good government of Israel. At the feet of these...was ordained a convenient room for a child to open the meaning of the Pageant'...

'The ground of this last Pageant was that forasmuch as the next Pageant before had set before her Grace's eyes the flourishing and desolate states of a Commonweal, she might by this be put in remembrance to consult for the worthy government of her people; considering God oftentimes sent women nobly to rule among men; as Deborah which governed Israel in peace the space of forty years; and that it behoved both men and women so ruling to use advice of good counsel'.

'When the Queen's Majesty had passed this Pageant she marched toward Temple Bar; but at St Dunstan's Church, where the children of the Hospital [Christ's Hospital] were appointed to stand with their governors, her Grace perceiving a child offered to make an oration unto her stayed her chariot...and so turned her face toward the child, which in Latin pronounced an oration to this effect:

'That after the Queen's Highness had passed through the City, and had seen so sumptuous, rich and notable spectacles of the citizens, which declared their most hearty receiving and joyous welcoming of her Grace into the same, this one spectacle yet rested and remained, which was the everlasting spectacle of mercy unto the poor members of Almighty God, furthered by...King Henry VIII, her Grace's father, erected by the City of London, and advanced by...King Edward VI...doubting nothing of the mercy of the Queen's most gracious clemency, by the which they may not only be relieved and helped, but also stayed and defended; and therefore incessantly they would pray and cry unto Almighty God for the long life and reign of her Highness, with most prosperous victory against her enemies. The child, after he had ended his oration kissed the paper wherein the same was written, and reached it to the Queen's Majesty, which received it graciously both with words and countenance, declaring her gracious mind toward their relief'.

'From thence her Grace came to Temple Bar, which was dressed finely with the two images of Gogmagog the Albion, and Corineus the Briton, two giants big in stature...which held in their hands even above the gate a table wherein was written in Latin verses the effect of all the Pageants which the City before had erected...Which verses were also written in English metre'...

'On the south side was appointed by the City a Noise of singing children, and one child richly attired as a Poet, which gave the Queen's Majesty her farewell, in the name of the whole City'...

'While these words were in saying, and certain wishes therein repeated for maintenance of truth and rooting out of error, she now and then held up her hands to heavenward and willed the people to say Amen. When the child had ended she said "Be ye well assured I will stand your good Queen".

'At which saying her Grace departed forth through Temple Bar toward Westminster, with no less shouting and crying of the people than she entered the City, with a noise of ordnance which the Tower shot off at her Grace's entrance first into Tower Street'...

'Certain notes of the Queen's Majesty's great mercy, clemency and wisdom used in this passage...In Cheapside her Grace smiled for that she had heard one say, Remember old King Henry the Eighth...How many nosegays did her Grace receive at poor women's hands? how oft times stayed she her chariot, when she saw any simple body offer to speak to her Grace? A branch of rosemary given to her Grace with a supplication by a poor woman about Fleet Bridge was seen in her chariot till her Grace came to Westminster'...

'All English hearts and her natural people must needs praise God's mercy, which hath sent them so worthy a prince, and pray for her Grace's long continuance amongst us'.

Hayward: 'The people, to whom no music is so sweet as the affability of their prince, were so strongly stirred to love and joy, that all men contended how they might most effectually testify the same; some with plausible acclamations, some with sober prayers, and many with silent and true-hearted tears'. [Annals].

*Livery companies made numerous payments, e.g. the Coopers' Company:*

'Paid 14th January, when the Queen came from the Tower to her Coronation, for setting up our standing, 2s; cord for the banner-staves, 2d; carriage and recarriage of our standing, 16d; silk for mending our streamers, 4d; carriage and recarriage of a broad cloth, 4d; dinner for me and the Beadle, 1s'.

St Michael Cornhill: 'Paid to the ringers at the Coronation, 2s'; same account: 'Paid for pricking 4 song-books for the church, 6s8d'.

St Dunstan in the West churchwardens: 'Paid for tenterhooks to hang the cloths upon the church wall the same day the Queen passed by, 1d'.

[Cloths or tapestries ornamented churches at royal entries].

St Paul's School: 'For the hire of a blue cloth for their standing against the Coronation, 3s4d'. [M.McDonnell, *History of St Paul's School* (1909), 117].

By January 15: Coronation preparations included:

Anthony Wingfield, Gentleman Usher, with four Yeomen and three Grooms, 'attending the apparelling and making ready of the lodging and church at Westminster against the Coronation by the space of 20 days', £18.6s8d.<sup>T</sup>

Works: 'Taking down the courts in Westminster against the Coronation and setting up of the same again'. The law courts in Westminster Hall.

Sir Richard Sackville's account-book for the Coronation has a great many miscellaneous payments, including silk delivered to Sir Thomas Cawarden 'for the use of the Queen's Majesty's masques and revels'.

Sackville lists the many courtiers and officials who received liveries, or cloth for robes. Amongst them were: Earl of Arundel, Lord Steward; Sir Edward Dymoke, the Queen's Champion; Sir Gawain Carew, Master of the Henchmen, and nine Henchmen; Gentlemen Pensioners and Gentlemen at Arms.

'The Queen's Majesty's chamber': Ladies of the Bedchamber; Ladies of the Privy Chamber; Maids of Honour; Mother of the Maids. See: 'Court': Women.

John Astley, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber and Master of the Jewel-house. Dru Drury, Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber. Grooms of the Privy Chamber.

*Gentlemen Ushers daily waiters: Edmund Forster, Anthony Light, Anthony Wingfield. Gentlemen Ushers quarterly waiters (8).*

*Light and Wingfield represented the Dukes of Gascony and of Guyenne.*

*Lord Robert Dudley, Master of the Horse, with Riders, including Alexander Zinzan, and two 'Riding Children'. Two Groom-Porters.*

*Richard Hampden, Chief Clerk of the Kitchen. Walter Fish, Queen's Tailor.*

*Elizabeth Smyth, Laundress for the Queen's tablecloths.*

*William Somers, the Queen's Fool: 'purple gold tinsel for a frock for him, orange coloured velvet for a gown'. [TNA LC/2/4/3].*

Jan 15, Westminster. Proclamation (451.5): Announcing the Queen's Regnal Style as: 'The most high and mighty Princess, our dread Sovereign Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the true, ancient, and Catholic faith, most worthy Empress from the Orkney Isles to the Mountains Pyrenée'.

Also Jan 15: Proclamation (452): Announcing a Coronation Pardon. For numerous categories of offences before All Saints Day (November 1) 1558.

*Jan 15: Anecdote told by Francis Bacon, son of Lord Keeper Bacon:*

*'Queen Elizabeth, the morrow of her Coronation, went to the Chapel; and in the Great Chamber Sir John Rainsford, set on by wiser men (a knight that had the liberty of a buffoon), besought the Queen aloud: That now this good time when prisoners were delivered, four prisoners, amongst the rest, might likewise have their liberty, who were like enough to be kept still in hold [in prison]. The Queen asked who they were? And he said: Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, who had long been imprisoned in the Latin tongue; and now he desired they might go abroad among the people in English. The Queen answered with a grave countenance: It were good (Rainsford) they were spoken with themselves, to know of them whether they would be set at liberty?'. [Apophthegms New and Old (1625)].*

*Sir John Rainsford, of Essex, died in September 1559.*

Jan 15, Sun **Coronation**, at Westminster Abbey.

*'All the trumpets, and knights and lords, and Heralds of Arms...and all the Bishops in scarlet, and the Queen, and all the footmen waiting upon the Queen to Westminster Hall; there met all the Bishops and all the Chapel with three crosses and in their copes, the Bishops mitred, and singing *Salva festa dies*; and all the street laid with gravel, and blue cloth unto the Abbey, and railed on every side, and so to the Abbey to Mass, and there her Grace was crowned'.<sup>MA</sup>*

*Il Schifanoia: The Abbey 'was decorated with the handsomest and most precious tapestries that were ever seen, they having been purchased by Henry VIII, representing on one side the whole of Genesis, and on the other the Acts of the Apostles...and the chambers were hung with the history of Caesar and Pompey'...*

*'The Queen was received under the canopy by the Archbishop and another Bishop, they having previously perfumed her with incense, giving her the holy water and the pax, the choristers singing'.*

*'Then the Earl of Rutland followed her Majesty with a plain naked sword without any point, signifying Ireland, which has never been conquered', followed by three other peers with swords, and the Duke of Norfolk with the orb.*

*Three Kings of Arms 'bore the three sceptres, with their three crowns of iron, of silver and of gold on their heads, and in their hands three naked iron swords signifying the three titles of England, France, and Ireland'.*

*'In this way they proceeded to the church, the Queen's long train being carried by the Duchess of Norfolk, after whom followed the Lord Chamberlain, upon purple cloth spread on the ground; and as her Majesty passed the cloth was cut away by those who could get it'.*

'Then followed the Duchesses, Marchionesses, Countesses..going two by two, and being exquisitely dressed, with their coronets on their heads, and so handsome and beautiful that it was a marvellous sight'.

'On her Majesty's arrival at the church, all the bells in London ringing, she ascended the lofty tribune erected between the high altar and the choir, being thus exhibited to the people, of whom it was asked if they wished her to be their crowned Queen? Whereupon they all shouted "Yes"; and the organs, fifes, trumpets and drums playing, the bells also ringing, it seemed as if the world were come to an end'.

'Descending from the tribune, the Queen placed herself under her royal canopy; and then the choristers commenced the Mass, which was sung by the Dean of her Chapel...the Epistle and Gospel being recited in English. After the Epistle the Bishop of Carlisle [Owen Oglethorpe] commenced the Coronation'. [Ven.vii.16-17].

**Coronation, described by an anonymous English eye-witness:**

'First her Grace sat in a chair of state in the middle of the church before the high altar; and immediately her Grace was conducted from the said chair and led between two lords to be proclaimed by a Bishop Queen of England at four places, and the trumpets blowing at every proclamation'.

'And immediately the Queen's Majesty was brought to the chair of state and immediately her Grace was led before the high altar, and there sitting a Bishop the Queen's Majesty kneeling before the Bishop and kissed the paten; her Grace offered money and the Bishop laid it in the basin and immediately offered a part [pall] of red silk wherein the paten was covered'.

'And immediately her Highness sat in a chair before the altar, there being a Bishop in the pulpit preaching a sermon before the Queen's Majesty and all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal. And after the sermon done, the Bishop bade the beads [made the bidding prayer]...and said the Lord's Prayer. And after that her Grace sat in her chair and the Bishop gave her a book which she had taking her oath'.

'And after that the Bishop kneeling before the altar read in two books and her Grace gave a little book to a lord to deliver unto the Bishop. The Bishop returned the book to the lord, and read other books'.

'And immediately the Bishop took the Queen's book and read it before the Queen her Grace. And after that her Grace kneeled before the altar. And the Bishop read a book before her Grace. And immediately her Grace went to shift her apparel'.

'The Bishop sang the...Mass in a book which was brought in before the Queen and then and there was a carpet with cushions of gold spread before the altar. And Secretary Cecil delivered a book to the Bishop, and there was a Bishop standing at the left hand of the altar. And the Queen's Majesty being new apparelled came before the altar and leant upon the cushion and over her was spread a red silken cloth. And then and there the Bishop anointed her'.

'And that done, changing apparel, her Grace returned and sat in her chair. And there was a sword with a girdle put over her and upon one of her shoulders and under the other, and so the sword hanging by her side. And after that two garters [bracelets] upon her hands. And after that one Bishop put the crown upon her head, and then trumpets sounding'.

'And the Bishop put a ring upon her finger and delivered the sceptre in her hand, and then after the Bishop set a [second] crown upon her head, and the trumpets sounding. And after that her Grace offered the sword and laid it upon the altar and returned, kneeling. And the Bishop reading upon a book and she having a sceptre and a cross in her hand, and after that her Grace returned to the chair of state. And then the Bishop put his hand to the Queen's hand and read certain words to her Grace'. 'And then the lords went up to her Grace kneeling upon their knees, and kissed her Grace. And after the lords had done, the Bishops came one after another kneeling and kissing her Grace'.

'After that the Bishop began the Mass, the Queen's Majesty having the sceptre in the right hand and the world [orb] in the left hand, the Epistle read first in Latin and after that in English'.

'And after that the Bishop brought her Grace the Gospel, which also was read first in Latin and after in English and she kissed the words of the Gospel'.

'And immediately after her Majesty went to the offering, and before her Grace was borne three naked swords and a sword in the scabbard. And her Grace kneeling before the altar kissed the paten and offered certain money into the basin, and then and there was read to her Grace certain words. And then her Grace returned into her Closet [a chapel], hearing the Consecration of the Mass, and her Grace kissed the pax. And when Mass was done her Grace removed behind the high altar, and then and there her Majesty changed her apparel, and so her Majesty was conducted from the Abbey to Westminster Hall and there dined'. [SP15/9/9].

**Final Coronation Feast**, at Westminster Hall.

*Il Schifanoia*: 'They returned into Westminster Hall in the same order as at first, except that the clergy and the bishops remained in the Abbey; her Majesty carrying in her hands the sceptre and orb, and wearing the ample royal robe of cloth of gold. She returned very cheerfully, with a most smiling countenance for everyone, giving them all a thousand greetings, so that in my opinion she exceeded the bounds of gravity and decorum'. The Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal, and the Earl of Arundel, Lord Steward, arranged the Feast.

'After inspecting the Hall and excluding many persons, and carefully attending to the tables and the kitchen, the Queen during this interval having divested herself of her heavy robe, they dressed themselves again in short capes... the Earl of Arundel in cloth of gold, and the Duke of Norfolk in silver tissue, both their capes being lined with sables. They then mounted two fine chargers'.

Norfolk had a silver truncheon in his hand, Arundel a silver staff.

'After 3 p.m., when the Queen commenced washing her hands, the water and the napkin were given her by the noblemen who had waited on her Majesty as server and as carver', Lord Howard of Effingham and the Earl of Sussex 'the former carving, and the latter placing and removing the dishes, both of them serving on their knees'...

'Beside her Majesty there stood...Shrewsbury and Pembroke, with the sceptre and orb in their hands' and other lords with the swords. They all remained covered with their coronets on their heads, and although her Majesty spoke occasionally to some of them, they never uncovered, except when she drank all their healths, thanking them for the trouble they had taken...No one served but peers and the sons of peers. Much music was performed'...

'Four tables were prepared, but divided in the centre to facilitate the waiting of the servants, who all had red liveries'.

The Barons 'with the Council and Aldermen, Mayor, Sheriffs, and other men of the law, servants of the court, Baronesses, Duchesses, ladies, etc. sat at the first table, the peeresses having their coronets on their heads, there being also numerous knights and gentlemen of all sorts. At each table there sat upwards of 200 persons'.

'After the second course, which was brought like the first one to the trumpets' sound, and preceded by the Earl of Arundel and the Duke of Norfolk on horseback, a knight in steel armour, spear on thigh, and on a very handsome barbed charger, after saluting the Queen, proclaimed three times to the people that if there was any person...who denied, disputed or contradicted that the Queen his Sovereign (pointing at her) was not the true and legitimate crowned Queen of England, France and Ireland, he was ready to maintain it by force of arms to the death, throwing down his gauntlet each time; and as no one answered him, he took leave of her Majesty, who drank his health and thanked him, giving him a silver-gilt cup worth 200 crowns. This was a country gentleman whose family has long been privileged to do this at all Coronations'.

'The banquet being ended the collation was brought in by three Earls... Shortly afterwards her Majesty rose, and by a covered way returned to her Palace of Whitehall by water'. [Ven.vii.17-18].

*Holinshed's description of the Coronation Feast:*

The Queen 'dined in Westminster Hall, which was richly hung, and everything ordered in such royal manner as to such a regal and most solemn feast appertained'.

'In the meantime, whilst her Grace sat at dinner, Sir Edward Dymoke, her Champion by office, came riding into the Hall in fair complete armour, mounted upon a beautiful courser richly trapped in cloth of gold, entered the Hall, and in the midst thereof cast down his gauntlet, with offer to fight with him in her quarrel that should deny her to be the righteous and lawful Queen of this Realm. The Queen, taking a cup of gold full of wine, drank to him thereof, and sent it to him for his fee, together with the cover'.

'Now after this, at the serving up of the wafers, the Lord Mayor of London went to the cupboard, and filling a cup of gold with hippocras bore it to the Queen, and kneeling before her took the assay [tasting], and she receiving it of him, and drinking of it, gave the cup with the cover unto the said Lord Mayor for his fee, which cup and cover weighed 16 ounces Troy weight'.

'Finally, this feast being celebrated with all royal ceremonies and high solemnities, due and in like cases accustomed, took end with great joy and contentation to all the beholders'. [Chronicle, 1577].

*For the four Coronation Feasts the Cofferer of the Household paid a total of £1310.18s8¼d.<sup>c</sup>*

*Vintners' Company spent £4.4s at The Bishop's Head in Lombard Street for a dinner 'when the Queen was crowned'.*

'Taken for fees at our Coronation', listed in New Year Gift Roll:

Lord Ambrose Dudley, Chief Pantler:

one standing trencher of silver and gilt;

one spoon of gold with...the Queen's Arms enamelled at the end;

one salt of silver and gilt with a cover enamelled of the history of Job;

one broad knife and one carving knife, the hafts of silver and gilt;

one small knife, the haft of silver enamelled; one strainer of silver gilt;

one fork with a spoon at the end of silver and gilt.

Earl of Oxford, Chief Ewer: one pair of covered basins gilt;

one gilt cup of assay.

Sir Robert Dymoke, Champion: one cup of gold with a cover new made of an ingot of gold.

Mayor of London: one cup of gold with a cover new made of the said ingot.

Sir Giles Alington: one cup of silver and gilt with a cover, bought of the late Cardinal Pole's executors.

Mr Bray, Chief Almoner: one ship of silver and gilt.

*Sir Giles Alington's duty was to present the first cup at a Coronation. Sir Edward Bray received an alms-dish. As Queen's Champion (hereditary in the Dymoke family) Sir Edward Dymoke (c.1508-1567) received robes, and is named by Holinshed, but his son Sir Robert Dymoke is listed as receiving a cup.*

*Pantler, Ewer: ceremonial positions, in charge of the Pantry and Ewery.*

*There is a miniature of the Queen in her Coronation robes. Drawings were made of the Procession on January 14, including the Queen in her canopied litter.*

*A Coronation Portrait of the Queen, holding orb and sceptre, was painted in 1600 or later; National Portrait Gallery, London.*

*[All reproduced in Elizabeth, ed. Susan Doran, 32,42-43].*

Jan 15, Geneva, John Calvin dedicated to the Queen: *Commentarii in Isaiam Prophetam.* Latin dedication; with a previous dedication, Geneva, 1551, to the Queen's brother, King Edward VI.

*Commentaries in Latin on the Prophet Isaiah.* 560p. (Geneva, 1559).

Calvin later wrote to Sir William Cecil from Geneva that the messenger who took his book to the Queen reported that it 'was not kindly received by her Majesty, because she had been offended with me by reason of some writings published in this place'. I am exceedingly grieved that 'the ravings of others...prevent my book from being accepted'. [Zurich, 76-77; undated].

The books referred to by Calvin, published in Geneva in 1558, during Queen Mary's reign, were by John Knox and Christopher Goodman. (See April 6).

During January Knox hastily wrote a tract welcoming Elizabeth's Accession as an act of divine mercy, to establish true religion.

Jan 16, Mon Coronation **Tournament**, at Whitehall. First day: Tilt.

Four Challengers:

Duke of Norfolk; Lord Ambrose Dudley; Sir George Howard; Sir Henry Neville.

20 Defendants:

Henry Earl of Huntingdon;	Henry Lord Scrope;	James Lord Mountjoy;
John Lord Sheffield;	John Lord Darcy of Chiche;	
Lord Henry Seymour;	Charles Howard;	Sir William Stanley;
Sir Robert Rich;	Sir Roger North;	William Howard;
Barnaby Fitzpatrick;	Sir Walter Hungerford;	Sir John Pollard;
Sir John Perrot;	Francis Carew;	John Arundell;
Thomas Markham;	[Richard] Chetwode;	[Henry] Norris.

Prizes: Challengers: Duke of Norfolk; Sir Henry Neville.

Prize: Defendant: Sir John Perrot.

Also Jan 16: masque 'shown the morrow after the Coronation'.

Six Turks and Hungarians, in blue and purple cloth of gold;

Six Torch-bearers, in cloth of gold and crimson damask;

all the costumes had feathers. [Revels].

Jan 16, Zurich, Rodolph Gualter to the Queen: 'I send your Majesty my homilies upon the general Epistle of the apostle John, dedicated to King Edward of pious memory, but never read by him...I therefore request your Majesty that, if only for the most delightful remembrance of your brother, you will deign to receive and honour them with your patronage'. [Zurich Letters, 10-11]. The homilies: *In Joannis Apostoli et Evangelistae Epistolam Canonicam Homiliae.* (Zurich, 1553).

Jan 17, Tues Coronation **Tournament**. Second day: Tourney.

'Tourneying at the Barriers at Whitehall'.<sup>MA</sup>

Three 'Challengers at the Tourney on horseback':

Duke of Norfolk; Sir George Howard; Sir Henry Neville.

19 'Defendants at the Tourney on horseback':

Earl of Huntingdon;	Lord Henry Seymour;
Charles Howard;	Sir William Stanley;
Sir Roger North;	William Howard;
Barnaby Fitzpatrick;	Sir Walter Hungerford;
Sir Arthur Champernown;	Sir John Perrot;
Francis Carew;	John Arundell;
Thomas Markham;	[Henry] Norris;
Robert Constable;	Thomas Warcop;
[Richard] Chetwode;	Thomas Cornwallis;
Edward Ormesby.	

[Tilt and Tourney lists: College of Arms Portfolio].



*Jan 17: Corporation of London order after the Coronation:*

'It was ordered and agreed that Master Chamberlain should cause all the pageants to be taken down with speed and to save as much of the stuff of them as may be to serve at another time'. [London: Repertory 14, f.110].

*Jan 22, Sun new appointments:*

Anthony Browne: a Justice of the Common Pleas (formerly Chief Justice).

Robert Catlin: Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, and knighted.

Sir James Dyer: Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

Gilbert Gerard: Attorney-General (knighted in 1579).

Sir Edward Saunders: Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

Also Jan 22: masque 'shown on the Sunday seven night after the Coronation'.

Six Moors, in cloth of gold and blue velvet, with gilded darts, and much black velvet, 'whereof the lords that masked took away part'.

Eight Torch-bearers: Moorish Friars, in white. [Revels].

*Jan 23, Il Schifanoia to the Castellano of Mantua: I will not record*

'the levities and unusual licentiousness practised at the court in dances and banquets, nor the masquerade of friars in the streets of London'...

As to the joust 'They could not finish it on the first day, the challengers... having as many hits as the adventurers. The judges therefore could not award the prize, which, as they jousted for love, was a diamond'. [Ven.vii.11,19].

*Jan 23, in Parliament: Lord Keeper Bacon announced to the assembly a postponement for two days, as her Majesty is 'not feeling herself in good disposition of body, nor unmindful of the peril that her too much boldness by coming abroad might ensue'. [Lords Journal].*

*Jan 24: christening. Queen was godmother to 'Lord Williams of Thame's daughter'.<sup>T</sup> Parents: John Lord Williams of Thame; 2nd wife: Margery (Wentworth), daughter of Thomas 1st Lord Wentworth. Queen's gift, January 24: one gilt cup with a cover.<sup>NYG</sup> John Frankwell, Gentleman Usher, received 100s, February 3, 'to be by him delivered as of the Queen's reward to the nurse and midwife'.<sup>T</sup> Other godparents: Duchess of Norfolk; Earl of Bedford. During January Lord Williams was appointed Lord President of the Council in the Marches of Wales.*

*Lord Williams' infant daughter died before he made his will, March 18; he made bequests relating to the christening. (Details: Oct 14, his own death).*

**Jan 25, Wed Queen at Opening of Parliament.**

Ceremonial procession from Whitehall Palace to Westminster Abbey for a sermon, as customary, and to Parliament. A Gentleman Usher, with three Yeomen and three Grooms 'giving attendance and dressing up the Parliament House'.<sup>T</sup>

Works prepared 'The Parliament House and the Abbey of Westminster against the Queen's Majesty's coming to the Holy Ghost Mass'.

St Margaret Westminster: 'Taking up and setting in the post at the church stile when the Queen's Majesty came to the Mass of the Holy Ghost, 6d'.

*Description by Il Schifanoia to Vivaldino, January 30:*

Those who sit in Parliament 'awaited the arrival of her Majesty at the church as usual for the Mass of the Holy Ghost, which custom was not observed this year, the Mass having been sung at an early hour in Westminster Abbey'...

'The court having dined rather earlier than usual, her Majesty came to the Abbey, attended by...all the peers in their Coronation robes...in her ordinary litter, wearing a royal crimson robe lined with ermine...and a round cape of ermine...with a cap of beaten gold'...

'The populace knelt, shouting "God save and maintain thee"; she turned first to one side and then to the other, answering "Gramercy, good people", and smiling most sweetly on all of them'.

'The Earl of Arundel carried the royal sword...and her Majesty was followed by the ladies...on horseback, with their footmen'...

'This procession was neither more nor less than on the entry into London, with the trumpets, Kings at Arms, Heralds and mace-bearers'.

'On arriving at Westminster Abbey, the Abbot...with all his monks in procession, each of them having a lighted torch in his hand, received her as usual, giving her first of all incense and holy water; and when her Majesty saw the monks who accompanied her with the torches, she said "Away with those torches, for we see very well"; and her choristers singing the Litany in English, she was accompanied to the high altar under her canopy'.

'Thereupon Dr Cox, a married priest...ascended the pulpit and preached the sermon, in which after saying many things freely against the monks, proving by his arguments that they ought to be persecuted and punished...for having caused the burning of so many poor innocents under pretext of heresy...he then commenced praising her Majesty'...

'This sermon lasted an hour and a half, the peers standing the whole time, after which they went to the place prepared for the Parliament, which is a handsome chamber, furnished with very fine hangings and benches all round as seats for the peers, and the royal canopy and throne with its cushions of cloth of gold for her Majesty; and in the centre there were some scarlet woollacks'.

The Lord Keeper 'delivered an eloquent speech', after which the Queen 'rose and went to her palace by water'. [Ven.vii.22-23].

Lord Keeper Bacon had declared the causes for summoning Parliament as chiefly:

First 'well making of laws for the according and uniting of these people of the Realm into a uniform order of religion, to the honour and glory of God, the establishing of the Church, and tranquillity of the Realm'.

Second 'for the reforming and removing of all enormities and mischiefs that might hurt or hinder the civil orders and policies of this Realm'.

Third 'to weigh and consider the state and condition of this Realm and the losses and decays that have happened of late to the Imperial Crown thereof, and therefore to advise the best remedies to supply and relieve the same'.

After expanding on these subjects, Bacon turned to praise of the Queen, 'a Princess to whom nothing, what nothing? no, no worldly thing under the Sun is so dear as the hearty love and goodwill of her nobles and subjects'.

As for the great necessity to ask for a Subsidy to be granted, 'Her Highness hath commanded me to say unto you, even from her own mouth, that were it not for the preservation of yourselves and the surety of the state, her Highness would sooner have adventured her life (which our Lord long preserve) than she would have adventured to trouble her loving subjects with any offensive matter, or that should be burdalous or displeasing unto them', and that 'her Majesty's will and pleasure is that nothing shall be demanded or required of her loving subjects but that which they of their own free wills and liberalities be well contented, readily and gladly, frankly and freely to offer'.

Bacon concluded, as was customary, with the Queen's request for the Commons to elect someone 'grave and discreet' as their Speaker.

The Commons returned to the Lower House, where they elected Sir Thomas Gargrave as Speaker. They sent to know from the Queen when he should be presented to her; she appointed January 28 at 1 p.m.

Jan 26, Thur First Great Seal of the reign brought into use.

The old Seal was delivered to the Queen in her Privy Chamber at Whitehall, and was taken to an outer room to be broken. The new Seal was produced, and was given by the Queen to Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper. [Campbell, ii.216-217].

*The new Seal was in use till replaced in 1585. Bacon retained the Great Seal of Philip and Mary, which was made into 3 silver-gilt cups, for his houses at Gorhambury, Redgrave, and Stiffkey. All the cups are extant. [Jewels, 1566].*

**Jan 28, Sat Queen at Parliament for presentation of new Speaker of Commons.**

Sir Thomas Gargrave (1495-1579), a Yorkshireman.

Gargrave came to the Upper House with many of the Commons, was led up to the Bar of the House, made three bows to the Queen, and as was customary made a speech purporting to 'disable' himself as inadequate to be Speaker.

The Lord Keeper, also as customary, replied on behalf of the Queen, accepting him as Speaker. Gargrave in turn made a second speech, expressing 'the great blessedness now accrued to the Realm...by her Majesty's attaining the Crown; being a Princess so richly endued with piety, wisdom, mercy, justice and tender care of her people's good and safety, and with all other gifts of mind and body requisite for the government of so great a Kingdom'.

Gargrave concluded by asking on behalf of the Commons, as was customary, for freedom to have access to the Queen 'upon all urgent and necessary occasions'; for pardon for any mistakes made by himself; for freedom of speech; and for freedom from arrest for Members and their servants during Parliament.

Lord Keeper Bacon replied on behalf of the Queen, giving 'most hearty thanks' for his commendation of her. She 'is right well contented' to grant his four petitions. The Speaker returned to the Commons, and the Queen and the Lords 'rose and departed'. [Parliament, Jan 25, 28: *Parl.* i.33-45].

c. Jan 29: Guido Cavalcanti with the Queen, on return from France.

The Queen had sent Cavalcanti to King Henri II on January 8; the King sent him back again with his refusal to restore Calais to England.

The Queen returned Cavalcanti with instructions, January 29, mainly concerned with Calais, which 'hath been parcel of the Crown of England beyond memory of all men'. [Forbes, i.31-36].

*Calais had belonged to England since 1347. It was recovered by the French in January 1558 during the reign of the Queen's sister Queen Mary.*

*This loss of the last English possession in France grieved Queen Mary so greatly that, according to Holinshed's Chronicles, she declared:*

*"When I am dead and opened, you shall find 'Calais' lying in my heart".*

*Jan 29, 31: Seditious words by two men of High Halden, Kent.*

*Peter Hall, clerk, said on January 29 'The Queen is not worthy to bear rule or to be Supreme Head of the Church'. On January 31 these words were reported to John Hall, husbandman, who responded 'Said he nothing but this? He might lawfully say these words'. Peter Hall had also said 'The Queen's proceedings are not of God'. Both found guilty; bailed. [Assizes, Kent, 7].*

Court news. Jan 31, Count de Feria to Philip II: Since Jan 20 'I have only seen the Queen once, in the little chamber leading out of the Privy Chamber. She conversed with me very gaily. She has not been very well lately and the opening of Parliament was postponed...They have proposed three things, first that the religion should be reformed or changed; secondly, that all laws recently passed should be revoked; and thirdly, to ask for money'...

'I thought best to wait for the Parliament to press the Queen to marry, as I hear from her that they will, and she wishes to await it, although I do not believe she will declare her choice whilst Parliament is sitting'...

A person who 'had been in hiding in the Treasurer's chambers in the palace I now know to have been Guido Cavalcanti'. [Span.i.25-26].

Feb 1, Wed Queen recalled Edward Carne, Ambassador to Rome. [SPF.i.113].  
Dr Carne, a staunch Catholic, was unwilling to return; Pope Paulus IV  
appointed him Head of the English College in Rome; he died in Rome in 1561.

Feb 1, Basle, John Herold dedicated to the Queen his edition of a chronicle  
history of the world by Marianus Scotus (1028-1082, Irish Benedictine monk).  
Latin. Herold praises the Queen's learning and avoidance of innovations in  
religion. [Herold wrote to the Queen: 16 March 1561].

Feb 2, Thur Lord Mayor of London at Whitehall. (See letter, March 30).

Feb 3: Celio Magno to the Queen, congratulating her on her Accession,  
and sending two sonnets in her praise. Italian. [SPF.i.114].

Feb 4, Sat, in the Commons: It was resolved to petition the Queen to marry.

Feb 5, Shrove Sunday new appointment:  
Sir Walter Mildmay: Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Also Feb 5, Whitehall: masque. Eight Swart Rutters [Black Riders], in black  
and white. Six Torch-bearers: Almaines [Germans], in cloth of gold jerkins.  
Drum and fife in crimson and yellow sarcenet.

Feb 6, London, Il Schifanoia to Vivaldino: 'There are yet many frivolous  
and foolish people who daily invent plays in derision of the Catholic faith,  
of the Church, of the clergy, and of the religion, and by placards posted at  
the corners of the streets they invite people to the taverns to see these  
representations, taking money from their audience'...

'Last evening at the court a double mummerly was played: one set of mummers  
rifled the Queen's ladies, and the other set, with wooden swords and bucklers,  
recovered the spoil. Then at the dance the Queen performed her part, the Duke  
of Norfolk being her partner, in superb array'.

'About the marriage, it is still said by the vulgar that one Master Pickering  
[Sir William Pickering] will be her husband'. [Ven.vii.27].

Feb 6, Shrove Mon Commons deputation at Whitehall with the Queen.  
The Queen received Speaker Gargrave and more than 30 Members of Parliament.  
The Speaker made 'request to her Highness for marriage', and to settle the  
succession to the Crown.

After stating that she did not wish to marry, the Queen continued: 'Yea, to  
satisfy you I have already joined myself in marriage to a husband, namely the  
Kingdom of England. And behold (said she, which I marvel you have forgotten),  
the pledge of this my wedlock and marriage to my Kingdom. (And therewith she  
drew the ring from her finger and showed it, wherewith at her Coronation she  
had in a set form of words solemnly given herself to her Kingdom)'.

[Camden, *Annals*]. This passage, written after the Queen's death, does  
not appear in contemporary reports of her reply. Official reply: Feb 10.

Feb 7, Shrove Tues masque: Fishermen, Fish-wives, Market-wives.  
Six Fishermen, in green cloth of silver and purple cloth of gold.  
Six Torch-bearers to the Fishermen, in cloth of gold jerkins.  
Six Fish-wives, in red cloth of gold; silvered wicker head-pieces  
wreathed in red and black sarcenet, with hats within them.  
Eight Market-wives, in 'sundry sorts of cloth of gold and silver',  
six with head-pieces wreathed in white and black sarcenet, with hats.  
Six Minstrels to Fish-wives and Market-wives, in yellow damask.  
Drum and fife, in crimson satin. [Revels].

Feb 8, Ash Wednesday first Lent sermon, Whitehall: Richard Cox.  
Parliament adjourned to attend this sermon at court before the Queen.  
Cox preached again during Lent; he was nominated Bishop of Ely, July 1559.  
[Henry Machyn listed the Lent sermons].

Feb 10, Fri sermon, Whitehall: Matthew Parker.  
Parker preached again later in February. He was nominated Archbishop of  
Canterbury, July 1559.

Feb 10, in the Commons: Sir John Mason read the Queen's official reply to the  
Parliamentary deputation on February 6, in which she said:

'I give you all my hearty thanks for the good zeal and loving care you seem to  
have as well towards me as towards the whole state of your country...I may say  
unto you that from my years of understanding...I happily chose this kind of life  
in the which I yet live; which I assure you for mine own part hath hitherto best  
contented myself...Whomsoever my chance shall be to light upon, I trust he shall  
be such as shall be as careful for the Realm as you...And albeit it might please  
Almighty God to continue me still in this mind, to live out of the state of  
marriage, yet it is not to be feared but he will so work in my heart, and in  
your wisdom, as good provision by his help may be made whereby the Realm shall  
not remain destitute of an heir that may be a fit Governor, and peradventure  
more beneficial to the Realm than such offspring as may come of me...In the end,  
this shall be for me sufficient, that a marble stone shall declare that a Queen,  
having reigned such a time, lived and died a virgin'. [Parl.i.44-45].

*Feb 10, Geneva, was dedicated to the Queen: 'The Book of Psalms, wherein are  
contained prayers, meditations, praises and thanksgiving to God for his benefits  
toward his church; translated faithfully according to the Hebrew'.*

*(Geneva, 1559). Translated by English Protestants who had been living abroad  
during Queen Mary's reign; some remained to complete the 'Geneva Bible', 1560.*

Court news. Feb 12, London, Sir Anthony Cooke to Peter Martyr, in Zurich:  
'Your letter...together with that of master Bullinger, I have myself placed  
in the Queen's hands. How exceedingly she was affected by the perusal of them,  
Cecil bears witness, who saw her tears arise as she was reading them'...  
'We are now busy in Parliament about expelling the tyranny of the Pope,  
and restoring the royal authority, and re-establishing true religion'.  
[Zurich, 18-19]. Peter Martyr's book dedicated to the Queen: March 1.  
Heinrich or Henry Bullinger also later dedicated books to the Queen.

Feb 12, Sun sermon, Whitehall: John Scory.  
Elected Bishop of Hereford, July 1559.

Court news. Feb 13, Il Schifanoia to Vivaldino: 'The affairs of the religion  
in this kingdom are going from bad to worse'. At 'the sermon preached yesterday  
at the court' Dr Scory 'said so much evil of the Pope, of the bishops, of the  
prelates...of the Church, of the mass, and finally of our entire faith, in the  
presence of the Queen and of her Council, the rest of the congregation consist-  
ing of more than 5000 persons, that I was much scandalised, and I promise never  
to go there again, after hearing the outrageous and extravagant things which  
they say; and yet more was I surprised at the concourse of people who madly  
flocked to hear such vain things'. [Ven.vii.30-31].

Feb 14, Câteau-Cambrésis, Lord Howard, the Bishop of Ely, and Dr Wotton  
(Peace Commissioners), to the Queen, describing the progress day by day  
from February 6 of the difficult peace negotiations with French and Spanish  
Commissioners, over which the Duchess of Lorraine presided. [Forbes, i.40-58].

Feb 14, Brussels, Venetian Ambassador in France: Guido Cavalcanti 'arrived here clandestinely...and was sent back immediately' to the Queen with the King's reply and 'a diamond worth 12,000 crowns as a present'. [Ven.vii.31].

Feb 15, Wed sermon, Whitehall: David Whitehead (c.1491-1571). Whitehead declined a bishopric.

Francis Bacon: 'He came one day to the Queen, and the Queen happened to say to him: I like thee the better, Whitehead, because thou livest unmarried. He answered again: In truth, Madam, I like you the worse for the same cause'. [Bacon, *Apophthegms New and Old* (1625)].

Feb 17: News of one of the royal Purveyors: 'One of the takers of fresh fish for the Queen was set on the pillory in Cheap, in the Fish-market, for buying smelts for 12d the 100 and selling them again for 10d the quarter, which punishment with more was by commandment of the Queen by her own mouth appointed, as a good example of justice'. [Wriothesley, *Chronicle*].

Feb 18, Sat Spanish Ambassador at Whitehall for audience. De Feria to Philip II, Feb 20, London, after three previous audiences, mainly about the King's marriage proposal.

'I soon understood what the answer would be, namely, that she did not think of marrying, and so to shelve the business with fair words'.

On February 18, after news came from the Peace Commissioners, we discussed the difficult peace negotiations with France, particularly over Calais.

When the peace is settled 'I can attend to the other two questions of religion and marriage'. 'Wickedness...is being planned in this Parliament' by persons 'perverse and heretical. The Queen has entire disposal of the upper Chamber in a way never seen before in previous Parliaments, as in this there are several who have hopes of getting her to marry them' and others 'whom she has made barons to strengthen her party, and that accursed Cardinal left 12 Bishoprics to be filled which will now be given to as many ministers of Lucifer instead of being worthily bestowed'. [Span.i.28-32].

Feb 19: Sir William Cecil accepted to be Chancellor of Cambridge University, where he had been a member of St John's College, 1535-1541. [Parker, 54].

Feb 19, Report by Guido Cavalcanti of his mission to France; he had taken a portrait of the Queen to King Henri II: 'I showed him the portrait, and he was much pleased; he thought her very beautiful, and said that she was like her father, the great King Henry of famous memory...The King wished me to leave it that it might be copied, and I did so'. [SPF.i.141-2].

Feb 21, Tues Spanish Ambassador at Whitehall for audience. Count de Feria to the Spanish Ministers at Cambrai, Feb 29 [sic], London: The Queen showed me a copy of the dispatch she had sent to her Commissioners 'and told me the contents as it was in English', the substance being that 'they were to make peace with the French on their promise to return Calais to her within six years'. King Philip is to appoint 'arbitrators to settle the differences between her and the King of France'. 'The war in Scotland shall be pacified within two months and hostages given to her', and 'your Lordships should propose these conditions as from yourselves'. [Span.i.32].

Feb 22, Wed sermon, Whitehall: Edmund Grindal. Nominated Bishop of London, June 1559.

February 22-March 3: **Emperor's Ambassador**, Count Helfenstein, in London.

Count George von Helfenstein (1518-1571), Governor of Upper Austria, one of Emperor Ferdinand's Councillors. He came from the Emperor ostensibly with assurances of friendship, but primarily to discover whether the Queen and her Lords 'have a preference for one of our sons'. He had instructions to answer any queries about the 2nd and 3rd sons, Archdukes Ferdinand and Charles, 'as to their age, person and morals'.

The Count was first to be certain that King Philip or his son the Prince of Spain did not desire to marry the Queen; he was to send word secretly 'who else aspires to a marriage' with her, and endeavour to prevent a marriage with the King of Denmark's son [now King].

He was to enquire as to what changes in religion might be expected. Count Helfenstein left Brussels on February 14 with 10 servants, sailed from Dunkirk on February 19, arrived at Dover on February 20, at Greenwich next day, and on February 22 at London, where 'by order of the Queen splendid and magnificent lodgings had been prepared for me'...

'On the same day some of the nobles of the realm and also some Germans who are trading here in England came to greet and welcome me'.

Anon: The Ambassador 'was a very handsome gentleman and a good courtier. He was in great hope, but after he was revoked'.<sup>YL</sup>

The Count's instructions and his reports are quoted here from the translation in Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners, ed. Klarwill, 25-48; shown as <sup>K</sup>.

Feb 23, Thur Count Helfenstein was visited by the Earl of Sussex, accompanied by many other nobles, who 'with many civil words bade me welcome in the name of the Queen'. Later came Count de Feria, Spanish Ambassador.<sup>K</sup>

Feb 25, Sat Cavalcanti and La Marque at Whitehall.

Queen to the Commissioners at Câteau-Cambrésis, Feb 28: 'Upon Saturday last came hither with Cavalcanti one La Marque, a valet of the French King's chamber, bringing a letter with credit. However...his credit declared only all the previous proceedings...His coming is somewhat strange'. [SPF.i.151].

Count de Feria to the Spanish Ministers at Cambrai, Feb 29 [sic]: 'Guido Cavalcanti arrived here from France, and the Queen received him at once and was with him for a long time. He brings with him a little Frenchman...Guido has brought the Queen a portrait which she gazed upon intently'. [Span.i.33].

Cavalcanti and La Marque returned to the French court on March 3.

Also Feb 25: Emperor's Ambassador at Whitehall for first audience.

Feb 26, Count Helfenstein's report: The Earl of Sussex, with his brother, Lord Morley, and many nobles, accompanied me to the royal palace. A large number of councillors and courtiers there welcomed me 'with the greatest friendliness'.

The Queen sent to ask whether I wished for private or public audience; I left the decision to her. [The audience was in Latin].

I was escorted to a 'magnificent chamber' where the Queen was awaited by her ladies. She entered, carrying herself with 'regal dignity' and with 'an expression of restrained joy'. I delivered my letter of credentials.

'After she had kissed it she read and re-read it with skill, prudence, and such admirable poise'. She read the Emperor's letter, then retired, 'very kindly giving me a sign to follow her' so that I might talk with her 'secretly and confidentially'. 'I did not doubt that she assumed for certain that I should propound something about her marriage and His Highness the Archduke'.

I spoke as instructed, assured her of the Emperor's goodwill and affection, congratulated her on her Accession, and prayed happiness and blessings on her.

The Queen 'listened silently, affably, eagerly, and most attentively'.

'At once, and without conferring with her Councillors', she replied. It gave her great joy that the Emperor congratulated her, 'who had erstwhile been hidden away in the solitude of forests, and then, though guiltless, had long been held captive in jail by her relations'. She solemnly promised 'to preserve friendship and amity' with the House of Austria, and hoped this would be reciprocated.

'After she had thus replied...speaking extempore and with many brilliant, choice and felicitous phrases, and rare benevolence', she enquired after the Emperor and his children, and about affairs in Germany. She read the Emperor's letter again 'and then waving her hand most graciously to me said that she would speak to me again about the matter'...

'I was conducted out of the palace by the Duke of Norfolk, and with the same escort as had accompanied me to the palace brought back with great honour to my house'. On the way many expressed their belief that I should woo the Queen as proxy for Archduke Ferdinand. The Earl of Sussex said that she 'was willing to grant me a private and secret audience'. Many think that one of the Archdukes 'would soon become Consort of the Queen and rule her and England'.

At my lodgings the Earl asked 'what impression the Queen had made upon me, to which I replied truthfully that I could not to myself sufficiently extol her'... 'He blurted out "Is she not worthy to wed a great Prince and Emperor's son?"... "It were my wish that our Queen should, D.V., marry the Archduke Ferdinand".<sup>K</sup>

Feb 26, Sun sermon, Whitehall: Edwin Sandys.  
Nominated Bishop of Worcester, November 1559.

Feb 28: christening. Queen was godmother to the Swedish Ambassador's child. Dionisius Burreus, known as Mr Dennys.

Anthony Wingfield, Gentleman Usher, received 100s 'for the Queen's reward to the nurse and midwife at the christening of a child of Mr Dennys', Feb 28.<sup>T</sup>

March 1, Zurich, Peter Martyr dedicated to the Queen: 'Defensio Doctrinae veteris et Apostolicae de sacrosancto Eucharistiae Sacramento'.

A Defence of the old doctrines of the Lord's Supper.

Latin, with Latin dedication. Divided into four books. 821p. (Zurich, 1559). Pietro Martire Vermigli (1499-1562), known in England as Peter Martyr, lived in England 1547-1553, and was Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford 1548-49.

He was Professor of Old Testament at Zurich, 1556-1562.

He sent Sir William Cecil a copy of his book as a present for the Queen.

She praised the book, as Jewel informed Peter Martyr: November 5.

c. March 3: Emperor's Ambassador at Whitehall to take leave.  
Count Helfenstein's final audience was in a garden.

'The Queen during our walk' told me that if I had any further commission from the Emperor 'I might do it freely then, as the Maid of Honour on duty did not understand Latin'. She particularly questioned me about Archduke Ferdinand, and whether he was to marry the Princess of Portugal.<sup>K</sup>

Count Helfenstein, to whom the Queen gave 'a princely present', was at Dover on March 6, at Brussels on March 16.

One of his Secretaries remained in London to keep him informed.

March 4, Basle: John Bale dedicated to the Queen: Scriptorum Illustria maioris Britanniae. A Catalogue of British Books. Latin dedication.

With the original dedication, 1557, to Otto, Palatine of the Rhine. 1000p.

John Bale (1495-1563), former Bishop of Ossory in Ireland, was one of the Protestant exiles 1553-1559.



*The Queen wrote to Ireland in 1559 for Bale's books and writings to be sent over to England, he being 'a man that hath been studious in the search for the history and antiquities of our realm', which he left behind him 'in the time of our late sister Queen Mary', needed 'for the illustration and setting forth of the story of this our realm by him'. [SP63/1/85].*

*The books and writings were not retrieved.*

March 12, in France: Preliminary Treaty of Peace between England, France, Scotland, and Spain, at Câteau-Cambrésis. [Treaty: April 2].

Mar 13, Mon, in Parliament: In the Upper House a Bill for restoring the Supremacy was read for a second time. Third reading: March 18.

Mar 14, Tues Spanish Ambassador at Whitehall for audience. De Feria to Philip II, March 19: Last Tuesday I found the Queen 'resolved about what was yesterday passed in Parliament [for her to be Supreme Head of the Church]...She said after a time that she could not marry your Majesty as she was a heretic. I was much surprised to hear her use such words'...

'She kept repeating to me that she was heretical and consequently could not marry your Majesty. She was so disturbed and excited and so resolved to restore religion as her father left it'...

'She said she would not take the title of Head of the Church, but that so much money was taken out of the country for the Pope every year that she must put an end to it'...

'After we had been talking for half an hour Knollys [Sir Francis Knollys, Vice-Chamberlain] came in and said supper was ready...I took my leave saying that she was not the Queen Elizabeth that I knew...and if she did what she said she would be ruined. This was Tuesday evening, and the next day there was no sermon at the palace as she was unwell'. [Span.i.37-38].

Court news. March 14, London, Il Schifanoia:

'The court preachers in the presence of her Majesty and the people are doing their utmost to convert the latter, seeking to prove by their false arguments that the Pope has no authority, and uttering the most base and abominable things that were ever heard against the Apostolic See'. [Ven.vii.46].

March 16: death. Sir Anthony St Leger (c.1496-1559), K.G., died at Ulcombe, Kent. Funeral: April 5, at Ulcombe.

March 16, in France: Sir John Mason arrived to join the other English Commissioners, just as Charles Howard left with the first news of the Peace.

Mason delivered to the Commissioners a strongly worded letter from the Queen expressing her 'discontentation' with them for a letter in which they reported that the French required her title to the Crown to be examined. [SPF.i.175].

March 18, Câteau-Cambrésis, Lord Howard and the other two Commissioners to the Queen, of their grief at her recent letter. They desire rather to be out of the world than that she should continue to have any such opinion of them. They humbly beseech her forgiveness.

March 18, Sir John Mason to the Queen: The Commissioners were 'very much appalled'; nothing 'can breed any comfort in them, lamenting that by ten lines inaptly penned they have run in danger of your indignation'.

March 18, Mason to Sir William Cecil, 'from the vale of misery':

'For the love of God, Mr Secretary, help to salve this sore, and move the Queen to heal the wounds which she hath given, with some comfortable letter'.

Queen to the English Commissioners in France, March 22, upon their humble request remitting her former displeasure with them. [SPF.i.175-9,184].

March 18: John Jewel (later Bishop of Salisbury) returned from Strasbourg. He subsequently reported the Queen's undated 'charge to the judges':

'Have a care over my people. You have my people - do you that which I ought to do. They are my people. Every man oppresseth and spoileth them without mercy. They cannot revenge their quarrel, nor help themselves. See unto them - see unto them, for they are my charge. I charge you, even as God hath charged me. I care not for myself; my life is not dear to me. My care is for my people. I pray God, whoever succeedeth me, be as careful as I am. They who know what cares I bear, would not think I took any great joy in wearing a crown'.

Jewel: 'These ears heard her Majesty speak these words'. [John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1820-40), 4 vols. i(2), 308].

Mar 19, Palm Sunday Charles Howard at Whitehall on return from France. De Feria to Philip II, March 24: On Palm Sunday 'there were great rejoicings at the palace on the arrival of a son of the Chamberlain with news of the peace, and also because Parliament had passed on the previous day the Act...against the authority of the Pope'. [Span.i.42].

Also March 19: William Maitland of Lethington at Whitehall for audience. Maitland came from Scotland, from Mary of Guise, Dowager Queen and Regent.

March 19, London, De Feria: 'A Secretary of the Queen Regent of Scotland has arrived here, who they say governs her body and soul. He came last year and they have now given him leave to go over to France, which was not done before'. [Span.i.38]. Maitland had audience as soon as he arrived, and left for France after a few days, returning to London late in April.

Mar 20, Mon Spanish Ambassador at Whitehall for audience. De Feria to Philip II, March 24: On Monday the Queen 'was indignant with her own representatives for agreeing to such terms [for restoration of Calais]... but her anger was all pretended and she is really very much pleased and her people as well...They tell me that the common people laugh at the idea of the French giving up Calais to them again...I said to the Queen that I was surprised that she had allowed Parliament to go so far in the matter of religion... She replied that she did not think of calling herself Head of the Church'... 'The next day I wrote to her begging her not to take any step in the Parliament business until I had seen her after the holidays'. [Span.i.43].

March 21: Easter 'wyth' or 'with' brought to court.  
'Sports and pastimes of old time used in this city...In the week before Easter had ye great shows made for the fetching in of a twisted tree, or with, as they termed it, out of the woods into the King's house; and the like into every man's house of honour or worship'. [Stow, Survey of London].

Mar 21, Tues Queen's Easter 'wyth' brought from Mile End to Whitehall. Followed by military displays in St James's Park, bear-baiting, Morris dancing. 'The Queen's Master Cooks and other her officers...at Mile End there they dined, with all manner of meat and drink; and there was all manner of artillery, as drums, flutes, trumpets, guns, morris-pikes, halberds, to the number of 500; the gunners in shirts of mail and...pikes in bright harness, and many swords and five great pieces of guns and shot...which did much hurt unto glass windows; and came a great giant dancing, and after that a Morris dance dancing, and guns and morris-pikes; and after came a cart with a great wyth and two bears within the cart, and beside went...great mastiffs; and then came the Master Cooks riding in coats embroidered and chains of gold, and many of the Queen's servants in their livery, to the court, and there they shot their pieces, and within the park was 200 chambers great and small shot, and the Queen's Grace standing in the gallery'.

'And so every man went into the park, showing them in battle array, shooting and playing about the park; and afore the Queen was one of bears was baited, and after the Morris dancers went into the court, dancing in many offices'.<sup>MA</sup>

Mar 23, Maundy Thursday ceremonies and alms-giving.

By the Queen, with Dr Bill, Queen's Almoner; 25 poor women each received 20 shillings in a red purse in lieu of the Queen's gown and 25 pence in a white purse in memory of the Queen's age.<sup>T</sup> It was customary for numerous other gifts to be given to each poor woman: see the Maundy in 1573 and 1595.

Court news. March 24, De Feria to Philip II: 'Last night the Queen sent to say she would see me at 9 o'clock this morning, and just as I was ready to go a message came for me to put off my visit, as she was very busy'.

'She had resolved to go to Parliament today at one o'clock, after dinner... to confirm what they had agreed to in the matters they have discussed'...

'Her going was however postponed till next Monday week the 3rd April'.

Lady Catherine Grey 'who is a friend of mine and speaks confidentially to me, told me that the Queen does not wish her to succeed in case of her death without heirs. She is dissatisfied and offended at this, and at the Queen's only making her one of the Ladies of the Presence, whereas she was in the Privy Chamber of the late Queen'. [Span.i.44-45]. Lady Catherine Grey was a Maid of Honour, hence was based in the Presence Chamber with the other Maids.

*March 24-April 3: Parliament adjourned for Easter. When it met again it was presented with a new Bill of Supremacy, and a new Bill of Uniformity, to which the Queen gave her assent on May 8, when Parliament was dissolved.*

March 25: new appointment: John Fortescue: Master of the Great Wardrobe. Patent dated July 22; appointed with effect from March 25.<sup>P</sup>

Fortescue, Master 1559-1607, received annually for his livery: black velvet, black satin, black damask, a fur, scarlet for a cloak. [Arnold, *Wardrobe*, 163].

Mar 26, Easter Day service at Whitehall.

Newsletter, March 28, London: 'Her Majesty came on Easter Day into the Chapel, where Mass was sung in English according to the mode of her brother King Edward, and communicated on her knees'. The priest 'was vested but in the surplice, having laid aside the vestments in which he had sung Mass'. [Ven.vii.57].

Easter customs at court, throughout the reign: at Easter the Treasurer of the Chamber paid a reward of £6.13s4d each to the Queen's Cooks, to the Pastry, to the Scullery, and to 'the Porter at the Gates'. The Heralds received largesse from the Treasurer every year at Easter, St George's Day, St George's Feast, Whitsun, All Saints [November 1], Christmas, and Twelfth Day [January 6].<sup>T</sup>

March 30, Privy Council to the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Thomas Leigh:

'The Lords are informed of an outrageous disorder of late committed in Bow Church in London, as in pulling down of images and the sacrament and defacing the vestments and books, and not hearing of any order by him taken for redress hereof, they find it very strange; he is therefore put in remembrance of the exhortation made by the Queen's Majesty unto him on Candlemas Day last [Feb 2], and straitly commanded to use the best means he can to bolt out the doers hereof, and to cause them to be apprehended and committed to ward'.<sup>APC</sup>

Mar 31, Fri visit, Greenwich Palace, Kent.

The Queen wrote to Lord Chidioc Paulet from Greenwich, March 31. [SP12/3/55].

April 2, in France: Treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis.

Peace Treaty concluded by England, France, Scotland, and Spain.

The terms included that France was to restore Calais to England after eight years (April 1567) or pay 500,000 crowns of the sun.

Four French hostages were to be sent to England, not to be detained in custody but to take oath not to depart without the Queen's licence.

King Philip II was to marry Elisabeth de Valois, daughter of King Henri II; Emanuele Filiberto, Duke of Savoy, was to marry Marguerite de Valois, King Henri's sister. The marriages took place in June and July.

The Peace Commissioners returned to their respective countries.

April 4, *Tues: Corporation of London noted:*

'The Queen's alms to the poor'.

The Queen's Sub-Almoner brought £10 'which her Highness hath given toward the relief and comfort of the most poorest persons within the City's hospital'.

Also: 'The Chamberlain shall give unto Richard Mulcaster for his reward for making of the book containing and declaring the histories set forth in and by the City's pageants at the time of the Queen's highness coming through the City to her Coronation 40s, which book was given unto the Queen's Grace'.

[London: Repertory 14, f.143]. Richard Mulcaster was Headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School, London, 1561-1586.

April 6, *Dieppe, John Knox, author of The First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women, was returning to Scotland; the Queen had refused him permission to travel through England. He wrote to Anna Lock: 'My First Blast has blown from me all my friends in England...I understand my book is to be written against...England hath refused me'. [SPF.i.204].*

His book begins: 'To promote a woman to bear rule, superiority, dominion or empire above any realm, nation, or city, is repugnant to nature, contumely to God, a thing most contrarious to his revealed will and approved ordinance, and finally it is the subversion of good order, of all equity and justice'.

Published in Geneva, anonymously, 1558, during Queen Mary's reign. 57p. After he returned to Scotland Knox wrote to Sir William Cecil, June 28:

'By narration of many I understand that I am become so odious to the Queen and her Council that the mention of my name is displeasing in their ears'.

I ask you to tell the Queen 'that willingly I never offended her'.

Sir William Cecil to Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Croft, Oct 31:

'Of all others, Knox's name, if it be not Goodman's, is most odious here; and therefore I wish no mention of him'. [SPF.i.339; Sadler, i.532].

Christopher Goodman (c.1521-1603) had published (Geneva, 1 Jan 1558): 'How Superior Powers ought to be obeyed of their subjects: and wherein they may lawfully by God's Word be disobeyed and resisted. Wherein also is declared the cause of all this present misery in England, and the only way to remedy the same'. Goodman's main target was Queen Mary Tudor.

Among his marginal notes: 'The infinite slaughter of martyrs in England'; 'The government of women is against nature, and God's ordinance'; 'Women by civil policy are excluded from all offices in a commonwealth'.

The new Queen's antipathy to Knox and Goodman continued; Knox spent most of the rest of his life in Scotland, Goodman spent most of his in Cheshire.

By April 6: Envoy from Denmark at Whitehall.

King Christian III of Denmark and Norway had died on January 1 and was succeeded by his son, King Frederick II. John Spithovius went to condole and congratulate. The widowed Queen Dorothy sent him back to condole on the death of Queen Mary, and to congratulate Queen Elizabeth on her Accession. On April 6 she sent back Spithovius, described as her servant and Queen Dorothy's messenger. [SPF.i.204].

Apr 7, Fri, Westminster. Proclamation (455):  
Announcing Peace with France and Scotland.

Also April 7: Spanish Ambassador at Whitehall for audience.

Count de Feria to Philip II, April 11: On the 7th 'Sir John Mason arrived with news of the Peace...On the same day I went to the palace with the son of the Portuguese Ambassador, who came to visit the Queen...We went in to see the Queen, who received us graciously'.

When the Portuguese had left talk turned to the King's forthcoming marriage.

I told the Queen 'I could not rejoice to see your Majesty married to anyone else but her...To this she retorted that it was your Majesty's fault it had fallen through and not hers as she had given me no reply'...

'I told her...I understood what kind of answer she would give me'.

She 'went on to say that your Majesty could not have been so much in love with her as I had said, as you had not had patience to wait four months for her, and many things of the same sort'. [Span.i.48-49].

Apr 10, Mon Swedish secretary at Whitehall for audience.

April 11, De Feria to Philip II: 'The Swedish Ambassador has again pressed the matter of the marriage [with Prince Eric]...and asked for a reply to the letter he brought last year. The Queen replied that the letter was written when she was Madam Elizabeth, and now that she was Queen of England he must write to her as Queen and she would give an answer. She did not know whether his master would leave his kingdom to marry her, but she would not leave hers to be monarch of the world, and at present she would not reply either yes or no. With this message a secretary who came here this winter was dispatched'...

'About a week ago this secretary came back and brought a grand present of tapestries and ermine for the Queen, and says that his master will send very shortly one of the principal lords of his kingdom to treat of the marriage'.

'He had audience of the Queen yesterday'. [Span.i.51-52].

Apr 13, Thur Count Helfenstein's secretary at Whitehall.

Augustin Gyntzer, who was with the Count in London in February-March, arrived on April 10 from Brussels with an answer from Emperor Ferdinand.

Sir Thomas Chaloner escorted him to the palace garden, where the Queen was surrounded by her ladies. She received a letter from the Emperor, then went 'to the farthest end of the garden, where she read and re-read the letter'.

She found its contents to be the Emperor's pleasure at her goodwill shown to the Count, and his own goodwill towards her. He asks if he may send his Ambassadors. After some further talk the Queen said "I have learned from Chaloner that your master praised and extolled me as a woman has never yet been". She asked Gyntzer to await her answer (written on April 15).<sup>k</sup>

*Sir Thomas Chaloner had received portraits of the Archdukes Ferdinand and Charles, which the Queen was shown soon after their arrival. A few days later Augustin Gyntzer returned to Count Helfenstein in Brussels with the Queen's answer, and then went to the Emperor, at Augsburg. The Emperor decided to open formal marriage negotiations, and on April 28 wrote to inform the Queen that he was sending Count Helfenstein to England again. [Klarwill, 56-65].*

*Baron Breuner arrived from the Emperor in May.  
Count Helfenstein returned in December.*

By April 15: Portuguese envoy at Whitehall for audience.

Dom Joam Pereira, a gentleman of the royal household, came to condole with the Queen on the death of her sister and to congratulate her on her Accession. King Sebastian of Portugal was a child, and his grandmother Queen Catherine, Queen Regent, sent Pereira. On April 15 the Queen wrote to Queen Catherine: The messenger and the letters were most welcome, and we listened to the one, and read the other, with the utmost satisfaction. [SPF.i.216].

*April 15-August: Armagil Waad was special Ambassador to the Duke of Holstein, concerning matters of trade. The Duke came to England himself in 1560.*

*April 16, Horsley, James Calphill dedicated to the Queen his translation into Latin verse of The Wisdom of Solomon. 45 folios. [BL Royal MS 2.D.II].*

*James Calphill (c.1529-1570) clergyman, was living at West Horsley, Surrey. In his dedication he describes a meeting with the future Queen in 1554 at Hanworth, Middlesex, when he pledged his loyalty to her.*

*He became Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford in 1564.*

Court news. April 18, Count de Feria to Philip II, of Lord Robert Dudley: 'During the last few days Lord Robert has come so much into favour that he does whatever he likes with affairs, and it is even said that her Majesty visits him in his chamber day and night. People talk of this so freely that they go so far as to say that his wife has a malady in one of her breasts, and the Queen is only waiting for her to die to marry Lord Robert'. [Span.i.57-8].

Lord Robert Dudley (c.1532-1588), had married in 1550 Amy Robsart (c.1532-1560), who at this time lived mainly in Hertfordshire.

*April 22,Sat: Trial: Lord Wentworth, at Westminster Hall.*

*Thomas 2nd Lord Wentworth (1525-1584), was Lord Deputy of Calais 1553-January 1558, when Calais surrendered to the French. He was a prisoner in France until March 1559, when he was permitted to return to England. After one night in the Tower he was tried for high treason for surrendering Calais, and was acquitted.*

*Apr 22,Sat Eve of Garter ceremonies, Whitehall.*

At a Chapter of Garter Knights the Queen appointed a Lieutenant, as was customary, to preside over those parts of the ceremonies which she did not attend in person. It was also customary for there to be an evening service for the Knights, sometimes attended by the Queen.

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

Queen's Lieutenant: Edward Lord Clinton. The Queen was in processions and at service, and at dinner with the Knights of the Garter.

'The Queen went about the hall, and all the Knights of the Garter that went singing in procession, and about the court'.<sup>MA</sup>

Il Schifanoia to Vivaldino, April 25: 'The Knights of the Order kept the feast as usual...only eleven being present...They made the procession through the whole court in their usual robes, not preceded by the cross, her Majesty being present...She asked where the crosses were, and was told that being of gold and silver they were kept in the Tower. She desired them to be sent for, but as the Tower was too far off, and the time late, they hastily sent to Westminster for some, but found that those had in like manner been removed for safety'...

'After Mass they dined all together in their usual manner, each of them being served with a dish in the Presence Chamber, her Majesty being in their presence, but in a separate place'...

'On the morrow Mass for the dead was sung, all the Knights attending it, and her Majesty was also to have been present, but she changed her mind, objecting perhaps to the Mass for the dead'. [Ven.vii.74].

Apr 24, Mon Final 1559 Garter ceremonies, Whitehall.

At a Chapter of Garter Knights four new Knights were elected: Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk; Henry Manners, 2nd Earl of Rutland; Lord Robert Dudley; William Parr, Marquis of Northampton (re-elected, being degraded in 1553).

All were installed at Windsor on June 6.

Court news. April 25, London, one of Count Helfenstein's secretaries, George Neumetzger, to the Count: 'It is the general talk of the town in London, that the Archduke Ferdinand will marry the Queen...The whole town and almost everybody else has pronounced in favour of it'. The Earl of Bedford said that the Queen 'after seeing the two portraits, had conceived a greater liking for the younger' [Archduke Charles]. Count de Feria 'has remarked to many eminent persons that the affair is now practically settled'...

'Some still hold with Sir William Pickering, and say that they wish that he would be the chosen one, but that nothing will come of it'.<sup>K</sup>

Apr 25, Tues supper, Baynard's Castle, London; Earl of Pembroke.

Baynard's Castle, beside the Thames; owned by William Herbert, 1st Earl of Pembroke (c.1506-1570); 2nd wife: Anne (Talbot) (1524-1588), daughter of George Talbot 4th Earl of Shrewsbury and widow of Peter Compton.

The Earl, a Privy Councillor, had been Lord President of the Council in Wales.

'The Queen's Grace supped at Baynard's Castle at my Lord of Pembroke's place, and after supper the Queen's Grace rowed up and down Thames, and a hundred boats about her Grace, with trumpets and drums and flutes and guns, and squibs hurling on high to and fro, till 10 at night, ere her Grace departed...with a thousand people looking on her Grace'.<sup>MA</sup>

April 26, was printed *John Aylmer's response to John Knox's First Blast.*

*'An Harborowe for faithful and true subjects, against the late blown Blast, concerning the Government of Women, wherein be confuted all such reasons as a stranger of late made in that behalf, with a brief exhortation to obedience'.*

*Dedicated to Francis Russell Earl of Bedford, and Lord Robert Dudley.*

*Aylmer includes many marginal notes summing up the text, the first being: 'England hath hitherto taken greater loss by men's rule than by women's'.*

*He compares the condition of England with that of France, Italy, and Germany, showing that 'We live in paradise'. 'You have God, and all his army of angels on your side'.*

*[Marginal note: 'God is English'].*

*In his praise of the Queen and her mother Anne Boleyn Aylmer asks:*

*'Was not Queen Anne, the mother of this blessed woman, the chief, first, and only cause of banishing the beast of Rome, with all his beggarly baggage?'*

*The book concludes: 'Let us seek to requite her with thankfulness, which studieth to keep us in quietness. Let us daily call to God with lifted up hearts and hands, for her preservation and long life: that she may many years carry the sword of our defence, and therewith cut off the head of that Hydra, the Anti-Christ of Rome, in such sort as it never grow again in this realm of England, that God's glory may flourish, good men's conscience may be at rest, this noble Realm in honour, and the Queen's Majesty in long felicity, which God grant'.*  
*[Published anonymously; ostensibly printed in Strasbourg, actually in London].*

*The Queen found parts of Aylmer's book offensive, e.g. his criticism of women in general, and his assertion that government by a woman could be tolerated because it would be less her government than in her name and on her behalf. He failed of a bishopric until becoming Bishop of London, 1577.*

Apr 28, Fri Spanish Ambassador at Whitehall for audience.  
 April 29, Count De Feria to Philip II: We spoke of religion, and the Queen said 'she differed very little from us...and only dissented from three or four things in the Mass. After this she told me she did not wish to argue about religious matters...She was very emphatic in saying that she wished to punish severely certain persons who had represented some comedies in which your Majesty was taken off...I knew that a member of her Council had given the arguments to construct these comedies, which is true for Cecil gave them, as indeed she partly admitted to me...At the end of the colloquy she said she hoped to be saved as well as the Bishop of Rome'...

'They talk a great deal about the marriage with Archduke Ferdinand and seem to like it...Sometimes she appears to want to marry him, and speaks like a woman who will only accept a great prince, and then they say she is in love with Lord Robert and never lets him leave her'. [Span.i.62-63].

Proclamation prohibiting Unlicensed Interludes: May 16.

*April: French envoy, La Marque, in England with King Henri II's ratification of the Peace Treaty. William Maitland of Lethington was also in England, sent from France by Mary Queen of Scots and her husband the Dauphin with their ratification of the Peace Treaty, for the Queen Regent of Scotland.*

c.April: visit, Chelsea, Middlesex.  
 Chelsea manor-house; Crown property.

Jane, Duchess of Northumberland, Lord Robert Dudley's mother, died at Chelsea in 1555; her monument remains in Chelsea Old Church.

In 1559 the manor was leased for life to Anne, Duchess of Somerset (c.1510-1587), widow of the Duke of Somerset (executed in 1552).

*Lord Robert Dudley paid (after Easter): 'To the watermen by your Lordship's command that rowed the Queen to Chelsea, 12s8d'. Earlier in 1559 Dudley 'paid to the shipwright...for making your barge, £10'; he also paid 'to the watermen that rowed the barge when your Lordship see her first, 8s'.*

*Also, c.April: 'Paid to Cook the perfumer for certain gilt buttons set upon a pair of gloves which your Lordship gave to the Queen's Majesty, 18s4d'.<sup>L</sup>*

May 1, Mon evening 'Maying' on river before the Queen, Westminster.

'There was two pinnaces was decked with streamers, banners, and flags, and trumpets and drums and guns, going a-Maying, and against the Queen's palace at Westminster, and there they shot and threw eggs and oranges one against another, and with squibs, and by chance one fell on a bag of gunpowder and set divers men afire, and so the men drew to one side of the pinnacle, and it did overwhelm the pinnacle, and many fell in the Thames, but thanked be God there was but one man drowned, and a hundred boats about her, and the Queen's Grace and her lords and ladies looking out of windows. This was done by 9 o'clock on May Even last'.<sup>MA</sup>

Court news. May 2, London, Il Schifanoia to the Castellan of Mantua:

'Monsieur de la Marque, Valet of the Chamber' to the King of France 'was here the other day by post...and now he has been sent back. Also at the same time a gentleman came by post from Calais, having been sent by the Vidame, Lieutenant and Governor of Calais [Vidame de Chartres], and an Ambassador from Scotland'...

'The Count de Feria will very soon depart hence, owing to the anticipated confinement of the beautiful Lady Dormer, who was greatly beloved by him, and is now his wife, they having been married secretly. He wishes to take her to Flanders before the event...Here nothing is said of marriage, the Queen amusing herself by going here and there for pastime by the beautiful River Thames, and the other evening she supped at Lord Pembroke's house; and every day there are dances at the court'. [Ven.vii.80].



May 3: Sir George Howard left as special Ambassador to France, taking the Queen's ratification of the Peace Treaty. He was accompanied by La Marque. Howard returned on May 15 in The Bark of Boulogne.

May 3: Sir Nicholas Throckmorton was appointed resident **Ambassador** to France. Throckmorton was Ambassador from May 1559-January 1563.

May 6: The Jewel-house issued to Throckmorton a large quantity of plate (bowls, dishes, trenchers, etc, in all 1683 ounces). The plate was passed on from one Ambassador to another for the rest of the reign. [Jewels, p.548-9].

May 6, Sat Queen to Lord Cobham (Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports), appointing him her Lieutenant in Kent, to prepare for coming of French special Ambassadors. Thomas Wotton, Sheriff of Kent, with 6, 8 or 10 gentlemen, shall meet them at their landing and accompany them to Canterbury, where Cobham shall meet them, who shall keep company with them continually until they come into her presence. Dover shall be prepared in the best manner for their receiving. [SPF.i.239].

Also May 6: Sir William Pickering secretly at Whitehall. (See May 10).

#### **May 8, Mon Queen at Closing of Parliament.**

The Queen went by water. As was customary, Speaker Gargrave came from the Commons to the Upper House to make an oration offering a Subsidy as the 'free gift' of the Queen's subjects.

Lord Keeper Bacon, after consulting the Queen as to her answer, replied on her behalf with a long oration, giving the Commons thanks for their wisdom and diligence, and liberality and benevolence, and setting out what they should do for 'the good execution of the laws'.

Their readiness in granting a Subsidy 'proceeded from the benevolent minds and hearty affections that you bear to your Sovereign Lady and country: which benevolence and affection her Majesty accepteth, and taketh for the greatest benefit and most precious jewel that a subject can present to his Sovereign'.

As to 'the well executing of laws', they are to see to 'Conservation of the Queen's Peace...Administration of Justice between subject and subject... Observation of one uniform order of Religion'.

The customary ceremonial proceeded with the Clerk of the Crown reading out the titles of public Bills, to which the Clerk of the Upper House replied in French, giving the Queen's assent or veto.

Acts passed included: 'Act of Recognition of the Queen's Highness Title'. It became a felony 'to say, publish, maintain, declare or hold opinion', that she was not rightly Queen. To 'compass' her death was high treason.

There was an Act punishing 'false, seditious or slanderous news, rumours, sayings or tales'.

Act of Supremacy: 'An Act restoring to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same'. The Queen takes the title of 'Supreme Governor of the Church of England', not 'Supreme Head'. Clergy and royal officials are to swear on oath that they accept her title.

Act of Uniformity: 'An Act for the Uniformity of common prayer and divine service in the Church, and the administration of the sacraments'.

All churches are to use a Book of Common Prayer in English. Homilies are to be read in church. Attendance at church on Sundays and Holy Days is to be compulsory, on pain of a fine of one shilling for each absence. Orders are made for church ornaments, and vestments worn by ministers.

The same ceremonial followed with private Bills, and then thanks were given for the Subsidy. The Clerk of the Crown, in French, gave thanks to the Queen and prayed for her long and happy life. 'Her Majesty retired and put off her Parliament robes, and so returned to her court at Whitehall'. [D'Ewes, 32-35].

Parliament was dissolved. Next Parliament: January 1563.

May 8, London, Lord Cobham to Thomas Wotton, to receive 'certain personages of honour which are thought to be coming over', requiring him to repair to Dover 'to take order, as well for lodgings, horses, and carriages, for the said noble personages and their trains'. The Lieutenant of Dover Castle will assist you. You are required 'as soon as they shall arrive at Dover to dispatch an express messenger unto me by post with advertisement'.

Endorsed 'To my loving friend Mr Thomas Wotton esquire, High Sheriff of Kent. Haste, haste, haste, with diligence'. [Forbes, i.85-6].

French special Ambassadors reached London on May 23.

May 9: Commissioners left London for France.

William Lord Howard of Effingham, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton (new Ambassador to France), and Dr Nicholas Wotton were to witness in Paris the oaths by King Henri II, and Mary Queen of Scots and the Dauphin, to observe the Peace Treaty.

Their large company included Lord Ferrers, Lord Rich, and Lord Strange, and Sir William Cecil's son Thomas Cecil, who was accompanied by a tutor.

May 9, Tues Sir William Pickering at Whitehall with the Queen. Pickering (c.1516-1575), unmarried, was a former Ambassador to France.

May 10, Count de Feria to Philip II: 'Pickering arrived here on the night of Ascension Day [May 4] and has been much visited by the Queen's favourites. She saw him secretly two days after his arrival, and yesterday he came to the palace publicly, and remained with her for four or five hours. In London they are giving 25 to 100 that he will be King'.

'They tell me Lord Robert is not so friendly with him as he was, and I believe that on the first day that the Queen saw him secretly Lord Robert did not know of it, as he had gone hunting'...

'They are now making fewer presents to the Swedish ambassador, and he is still very constant in giving great gifts to the Queen and her adherents...to try and forward the marriage with his master'. [Span.i.67].

Court news. May 10, London, Il Schifanoia to the Castellano of Mantua:

'Yesterday the three Ambassadors departed hence...with a very grand and noble company. Those from France are expected here after the feasts of Pentecost... Preparations are being made to lodge them in the Palace of Lambeth'...

'Meanwhile her Majesty will go to Greenwich, to give time for cleansing the Palace of Whitehall, where she now is; and then she will return directly'.

Sir William Pickering 'is regarded by all the people as the future husband of her Majesty' and is 'courted by many Lords of the Council, and by very many other lords and knights...It was said that they wished to settle in Parliament what title they should give him, and what dignity; but nothing was done. Many deem this to be a sign that she will marry Prince Ferdinand'...

'Meanwhile my Lord Robert Dudley is in very great favour, and very intimate with her Majesty'. [Ven.vii.84-5].

May 10, Alvaro de Quadra, Bishop of Aquila, to the Duke of Alva: 'Yesterday they took the sacrament away from the Palace chapel and some sort of mass was performed in English, as they are doing in many parish churches. The Bishops are ordered not to leave London without the Queen's consent'. [Span.i.69].

May 12, Fri: 'Began the English service in the Queen's chapel'.<sup>MA</sup>

May 14, Whit Sunday: 'The service began in English in divers parishes in London, after the last book of service of Common Prayer used in the time of King Edward the VI'. [Wriothesley, *Chronicle*].

May 15,18: News of the French special ambassadors.

The French were to witness the Queen's oath to observe the Peace Treaty.

[May 15], Boulogne, John Somers (Throckmorton's Secretary) to Thomas Wotton: 'These French gentlemen will scant be here yet this sennight...Their Harbingers be not yet come hither...and then must they have a time for embarking of themselves and horses...They look to have 20 carts provided'. Encloses names, including M.de Montmorency with 30 gentlemen, M.de Vielleville with six, a new Ambassador and his household, four hostages [as required by the Peace Treaty].

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to Sir William Cecil, May 18, Abbeville:

The ambassadors will be at Boulogne tonight, 'for the furniture of whose train they demanded of us 300 horses'. [Forbes, i.94-7]. They arrived at Dover May 20.

May 16,Tues, Westminster. Proclamation (458): Prohibiting Unlicensed Interludes and Plays, especially on Religion or Policy.

'Forasmuch as the time wherein common interludes in the English tongue are wont usually to be played is now past until All Hallowtide [Nov 1], and that also some that have been of late used are not convenient in any good ordered Christian commonweal to be suffered: The Queen's Majesty doth straitly forbid all manner interludes to be played either openly or privately, except the same be notified beforehand and licensed' [by local officials or Justices].

'None to be played wherein either matters of religion or of the governance of the estate of the commonweal shall be handled or treated, being no meet matters to be written or treated upon but by men of authority, learning and wisdom, nor to be handled before any audience but of grave and discreet persons'.

'Her Majesty giveth special charge to her nobility and gentlemen...to take good order in this behalf with their servants being players, that this her Majesty's commandment may be duly kept and obeyed'.

May 17,Wed visit, Greenwich Palace, Kent.

The Queen wrote to King Philip II from Greenwich, May 17. [KL.i.522].

Also May 17: The Queen decided on Matthew Parker as Archbishop of Canterbury.

May 17, court, Sir Nicholas Bacon to Dr Parker, of this day's 'resolution made in the Queen's highness's presence'.

On May 19, and on May 28, Bacon and Sir William Cecil wrote to summon Matthew Parker to come up to court (from Cambridge) 'with all convenient speed'. In May or June Parker wrote to the Queen of his 'great unworthiness for so high a function', beseeching her not to appoint him. He recalled 'the great benefits which sometime I received at your Grace's honourable mother's benevolence'.

He had been Chaplain to Queen Anne Boleyn, and told Cecil (19 May 1572): 'If I had not been so much bound to the mother, I would not so soon have granted to serve the daughter in this place, and if I had not well trusted to have died ere this time, your honours should have sent thrice for me before I would have returned from Cambridge'. [Parker, 68-70, 391]. He was nominated in July 1559, and consecrated in December.

c.May 21,Sun New Spanish Ambassador at Whitehall for audience.

Alvaro de Quadra, Bishop of Aquila (c.1510-1563); with Count de Feria, who had been recalled (and who left London on May 23). [Span.i.69].

The Bishop resigned his See soon after becoming Ambassador.

He was for some time referred to either as Bishop of Aquila or as De Quadra.

To avoid confusion he is thenceforth here referred to as De Quadra.

Court news. May 22, London, John Jewel to Henry Bullinger, in Zurich:

'Nothing is yet said respecting the Queen's marriage...The public opinion however inclines towards Pickering, an Englishman, a wise and religious man, and highly gifted as to personal qualities'. [Zurich, 42].

May 23: Count de Feria left London for Brussels with a suite of about 250. Il Schifanoia, May 30: At his departure the Count asked the Queen 'as a special favour, instead of gifts, a passport for passage to Flanders of all the monks, friars and nuns now here'. Most left England in June.

Before he married Jane Dormer the Count had obtained a Papal dispensation to marry his wealthy young niece. June 11, Venetian Ambassador in Brussels: 'The Count de Feria in a transport of love took for his wife Jane Dormer...about which so much complaint has been made. He kept the matter secret as long as he could, but after returning to Brussels it was necessary to divulge it. By this marriage he will have lost upwards of 40,000 crowns revenue, which by wedding his niece he would have had as her dowry, for which purpose he had already obtained the dispensation'. [Ven.vii.93,97]. The niece married his brother. The Countess's departure: July 26.

May 23-28: **French special Ambassadors** in London.

François de Montmorency (1531-1579), son of Anne, Duke de Montmorency, K.G., Constable of France; and François de Scépeaux, Sieur de Vielleville (1509-1571).

Their large company included Montmorency's youngest brother Guillaume, Sieur de Thoré (1544-1591), and 34 Gentlemen of the King's Chamber.

With them was a new resident Ambassador to England, Gilles de Noailles. They arrived at Dover on May 20, and were received by Lord Cobham; next day he took them to his house (Cobham Hall) for two days of hunting and hawking. On May 23 Lord Admiral Clinton met them at Gravesend with barges to take them to London. At the Tower they were met by 'all the nobility of the court', who rode through Cheapside with them amid large crowds to their lodgings in houses near St Paul's belonging to the Bishop of London, the Dean, and others.

James Harman, Keeper of the Standing Wardrobe at Westminster, made ready 'the house and gallery there against the coming of the French Ambassadors in May'.<sup>T</sup> The Revels built a temporary banqueting-house at Whitehall.

Il Schifanoia sent the Castellano of Mantua on May 30 a description of the week's events. [Calendar of State Papers Venetian, vii.91-94].

The new French Ambassador's dispatches, 1559-1560, are given here in English versions, from the Baschet Transcripts, PRO 31/3/24,25 (at TNA); shown as <sup>BT</sup>.

Those portions referring to Scotland are printed by Teulet, ed. Relations Politiques de la France (1862), vol i; also given here in English versions.

May 24, Wed French Ambassadors at Whitehall for first audience.

Machyn: 'The French were brought from the Bishop's Palace by land through Fleet Street unto the Queen's palace...by the most noble men there was about the court, and there was the Hall and the Privy Chamber and the great Chamber of Presence hanged with rich cloths of arras, as ever was seen'.

Il Schifanoia: 'After dinner...they went to the court at Whitehall Palace... and having entered the great hall on the ground floor, hung with very choice tapestries, with the canopy, throne, and royal cushions, they were received by the Earl of Arundel, the Lord Steward, with all the rest of the Lords of the Privy Council, and mounting the stairs they went to kiss [hands] and do reverence to the Queen, who received them very joyfully and graciously, going to meet them as far as the Guard Chamber at the head of the stairs; and being conducted to the Presence Chamber, they presented their credentials and explained their embassy, everybody standing'.

'After conversing for an hour her Majesty withdrew, and they were taken to the park of the said palace to see a pair of bucks killed, one by dogs, the other by archers, very much to their diversion, till the hour for supper, to which the Queen had invited them'.

'Meanwhile a sumptuous feast was being prepared in the garden...under the long and wide gallery on the ground floor, which was all hung with gold and silver brocade, and divided into three apartments, in the centre of which was the table prepared for her Majesty, and at a short distance from it another for the Ambassadors. There was also a table 54 paces in length for the other lords, gentlemen and ladies'.

'The whole gallery was closed in with wreaths of flowers and leaves of most beautiful designs, which gave a very sweet odour and were marvellous to behold, having been prepared in less than two evenings so as to keep them fresh'.

'On returning from the hunt at 6 p.m. they entered the garden by a private gate, where they were met by her Majesty, dressed entirely in purple velvet, with so much gold and so many pearls and jewels that it added much to her beauty. She took M.de Montmorency with her right hand and M.de Vielleville with the left, and they walked in the private orchard for more than a full hour, her Majesty speaking with them most sweetly and familiarly in French, as readily as she does Italian, Latin, and Greek, all which tongues she uses at pleasure, and in so loud a tone as to be heard by everybody. From what I myself heard, she discoursed about her tribulations in past times'...

'The supper hour having arrived, the trumpets sounded, and her Majesty went to the door of the gallery, which was however an artificial one made of flowers, leaves and roses. In the two corners of the gallery were two semicircular cupboards, laden with most precious and costly drinking cups of gold and of rock crystal and other jewels'.

'The Queen, having washed her hands, and being at table under her canopy, insisted on having M.de Montmorency at her little table, which stood crosswise at the head of the other tables. On the same platform, at the second table, the other two Ambassadors were seated, with the younger son of the Constable'.

'At the large table all the rest of the French lords and gentlemen sat on one side, and on the other all the ladies, of whom there was no small number, and who required so much space on account of the farthingales they wore that there was not room for all, so part of the Privy Chamber ate on the ground on the rushes...The banquet was wonderful for large and excellent joints...It lasted for two hours, with music of several sorts'.

'After supper, the tables being removed, they danced till the eleventh hour of the night, and when her Majesty retired everybody went to their lodgings'.

*Machyn*: 'They had...great cheer at supper, and after a banquet as goodly as has been seen, with all manner music till midnight'.

Also May 24: masque: Six Astronomers, in crimson cloth of gold gowns, with capes of cloth of gold figured with red, white and green velvet.

Eight Torch-bearers: Mariners, in green and red.  
Eight blue and gilt globes were provided. [*Revels*].

May 25, Thur French Ambassadors at Whitehall with the Queen.

To witness the Queen's oath for performance of the Treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis.

[May 25], Queen to Lord Howard, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, and Dr Wotton: 'This present day, being Corpus Christi Day, the French King's Ambassadors... having commission express to require an oath of us for the performance of the Treaty of Peace...heard and saw us with very good will take an oath upon the Evangelists; and that done, somewhat unlooked for required the like oath for the Peace of Scotland. Whereunto we answered, as we well understood, there was no article nor covenant in the Treaty of Scotland that required the same... and for proof thereof we caused them presently to see the Treaty; and yet... we, to gratify them, was contented to take an oath for observation of the same Treaty, and so did it, wherewith they were much satisfied'. The English Ambassadors are to demand 'the like oath' from the 'King and Queen Dolphin'.

Mary Queen of Scots and her husband, the Dauphin. [*Forbes*, i.108-9].

*De Quadra to Philip II, May 30:* Montmorency 'went to the palace to take the oath from the Queen. The latter seated herself near the altar and ordered Montmorency and the others to sit by her. Several prayers and psalms were said in English and the terms were then read, although the Queen ordered many of them to be passed over as she said she was well informed about them'.

'When they were finished she and Montmorency rose and advanced to the altar, where he took a Bible which was resting on it and asked the Queen whether she was willing to swear the observance of these terms, as the King his master was to do that very day before her Ambassadors. She answered with both her hands resting on the book that she would do so, and a great deal more in proof of her friendship with his King. They dined and supped there that day, and the usual rejoicings took place'. [Span.i.70].

Also May 25: bear-baiting, at Whitehall.

The French Ambassadors 'were brought to the court with music to dinner, for there was great cheer. After dinner to bear and bull-baiting, and the Queen's Grace and the ambassadors stood in the gallery looking on the pastime till six at night; and after they went by water unto Paul's Wharf and landed, and...unto their lodging to the Bishop of London's to supper, for there were gorgeous apparel as has been seen in these days'.<sup>MA</sup>

May 25, Westminster, Privy Council to Thomas Wotton: 'Because these noblemen and their trains do mind to be at Canterbury in their journey homewards on Sunday next by noon [May 28], her Highness's pleasure is you do put yourself in readiness, and give warning to all the gentlemen and others that were with you at their receiving, to meet them the said day at Canterbury (whither our very good lord the Lord Cobham conducteth them) and to accompany them from thence unto Dover, in such good sort as you may: whereof we pray you not to fail'.

Endorsed 'Haste haste haste Post haste haste with all diligence. Post of Sittingbourne, see this delivered according to the direction'. [Forbes, i.107].

May 26, Cobham Hall, Lord Cobham to Sir Wm Cecil: 'I have appointed 7 gentlemen, well acquainted with languages, to attend the Ambassadors'. [SP12/4/28].

May 26, Fri: The French Ambassadors 'went from the Bishop's house to Paul's Wharf and took barge, and so to Paris Garden, for there was both bear and bull-baiting, and the Captain with a hundred of the Guard to keep room for them to see the baiting'.<sup>MA</sup> At Paris Garden, Southwark, Surrey.

Also May 26: Three French hostages arrived in London.

*Il Schifanoia:* The French had arranged 'to go on a pleasure excursion to Hampton Court...and in the evening they were to lodge at Richmond', but this did not take place because of the coming of the hostages on that day.

By the Peace Treaty four hostages were required. May 19, Amiens, Throckmorton to Cecil, explaining that the fourth hostage, M.de Nantouillet, disliked his mother's second husband, who had given him a box on the ear; he declared that he could not 'go for a hostage till such time as he were revenged'. [Forbes, i.98].

*De Quadra, May 30:* On May 26 'three of the hostages arrived, the fourth, who was the Provost of Paris, having been wounded in a quarrel with his father-in-law [step-father], as Cecil told me, making a joke of it'. [Span.i.70].

The Vidame of Amiens was named in June to be the fourth hostage; he arrived in 1560. The hostages, who were often troublesome, were replaced at intervals by others; the Provost of Paris did not arrive until August 1562.

All left in 1564 after a new Treaty.

May 27, Sat French Ambassadors and French hostages at Whitehall.

The hostages who had arrived were: the Count de Candalle;  
the Marquis de Nesle; the Marquis de Trans.

Montmorency took the hostages to the palace and presented them to the Queen. They took an oath to observe the Treaty, and not to leave England without the Queen's permission. Montmorency and his companions took leave. [SPF.i.283].

For the Ambassadors' expenses at the Bishop of London's Palace and at Westminster the Cofferer of the Household paid £594.18s9¼d.<sup>c</sup>

May 28, Sun: 'The ambassadors of France went away, and took barge toward Gravesend and they had...gifts given them and they carried many mastiffs with them for the wolf'.<sup>MA</sup>

May 28, Sir William Cecil to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton:

'This morning our Monsieurs depart, accompanied to Gravesend by the Earl of Worcester, thence to Canterbury with Lord Cobham, and thence to the sea by Mr Wotton and the gentlemen of the county'.

The Queen 'has given to Montmorency a cupboard of stately plate, about the weight of 100 oz in gold and 1563 oz in gilt, in value £884.14s, and to the second [Vielleville] another cupboard of 1000 oz about the value £500' and to M.Thoré 'a chain of gold garnished with pearl, and a fair gelding'. [SPF.i.286].

Il Schifanoia listed the gifts as: To Montmorency: a tankard and basin of gold; 15 silver-gilt cups with 5 covers; 24 silver-gilt spoons and forks; two of the best and most beautiful hackneys; mastiffs, hounds, and setters.

To Vielleville: similar articles but of less value, without spoons, forks, hackneys or dogs. To Thoré, Montmorency's young brother: valuable clothes which had belonged to the Queen's brother King Edward VI, who was of the same age.

All the principal gentlemen received gold chains.

*May 28: Baron Breuner, Emperor's special Ambassador, had first audience.*

*Caspar Breuner, Baron von Rabenstein; one of Emperor Ferdinand's Council; in England from May 1559-January 1560; known as Baron Breuner.*

*The Baron arrived in London on May 26. He stayed with the Spanish Ambassador at Durham Place, Strand, where the Countess de Feria was still in residence*

*He was instructed to say that the Emperor ardently desires to bring about a marriage between the Queen and his 3rd son Archduke Charles (1540-1590), not, as previously proposed, his 2nd son Ferdinand, who does not wish to marry.*

*Archduke Ferdinand had in fact made a clandestine morganatic marriage in 1557 to a merchant's daughter, Philippine Welser; he refused to discard her.*

*The Baron's dispatches are quoted from the translations by Victor von Klarwill, Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners, 67-106. Shown as <sup>K</sup>.*

*Klarwill has portraits of Archduke Ferdinand and Philippine Welser.*

May 28, Sun Emperor's Ambassador at Whitehall for first audience.

With the Spanish Ambassador, who presented Baron Breuner to the Queen.

De Quadra to Philip II, May 30: 'We were received on Sunday at one and found the Queen very fine in her Presence Chamber looking on at the dancing. She kept us there a long while and then entered her room', where 'I asked her... to consider how suitable in all respects would be her marriage with a son of the Emperor...I did not name the Archduke, because, as I suspected, she would reply excluding both of them...She at once began as I feared to talk about not wishing to marry' but I 'begged of her to hear the Ambassador...I then stood aside a little and left her alone with the German'.

I understood from Sir William Cecil 'that the Queen would refuse the match with one of the Emperor's sons, thinking that the Archduke Ferdinand would be proposed, as he is the only one that these people have any knowledge of, and they have quite made up their minds that he would upset their heresy'.

The Ambassador 'ended his interview with the Queen, quite despairing of the business, but dismissed with great compliments and polite phrases. When I saw this I returned to her'. I said that 'although both brothers were comely, this one who was offered to her now was the younger and more likely to please her than the other'. I wanted to find out whether she desires 'not to marry at all or simply to avoid a Catholic husband...She was all attention at this and asked me of whom I was speaking. I told her the younger brother and not Ferdinand... She was a long while demurring and doubting, and telling me she was sure I was mistaken as they had spoken to her only of Ferdinand'...

'When she was quite satisfied about this...she went back again to her nonsense and said she would rather be a nun than marry without knowing with whom and on the faith of portrait painters' and 'was resolved not to marry except to a man of worth whom she had seen and spoken to, and she asked me whether I thought the Archduke Charles would come to this country that she might see him...I really believe she would like to arrange for this visit in disguise'...

'Finally it was settled that she should call the German back again and tell him that at my prayer she was pleased to depute some of her Council to hear his proposal and to give her their advice, although she was resolved not to trust painters, but was determined to see and know the man who was to be her husband. We thereupon left; the German very well pleased that the affair had been set on foot again after he had been as he thought dismissed'.

Sir William Pickering 'entertains largely and is very extravagant. He himself always dines apart, with music playing. He asked after the Ambassador on the day he arrived, and said the Queen would laugh at him, and all the rest of them, as he knew she meant to die a maid'.

May 29: Six Councillors conferred with the Ambassadors, showing pleasure at the Baron's proposal. [Span.i.71-74].

May 29, Mon Swedish Ambassador at Whitehall for audience.  
Dionisius Burreus, resident Ambassador.

Baron Breuner to Emperor Ferdinand, June 7: 'For the last 15 months the King of Sweden has had an Ambassador here who is urging a marriage between the Queen and the King's eldest son, to whom the Queen seems to show great favour'.

At an audience on May 29 he 'begged for a gracious and final decision, his King having besought her while she was yet in prison and desired her in marriage for his son'. He said that 'in a few days a splendid embassy...would arrive to treat finally with Her Royal Highness in the matter of the marriage', and he requested her 'not to give a refusal'. She replied that 'she was willing to acknowledge the friendship received at the hands of the King of Sweden with gold and lands and all friendly means, except marriage, for she had till now no wish to marry'. The Ambassador replied that his King 'desired nothing but her royal self'. She intimated 'that she was not pleased to hear' of the embassy, and desired him to write to the King not to send it. The Ambassador answered that it 'was already on the way and would arrive in a few days'. [Arrived in July].

He has presented a Maid of Honour 'with a trinket worth 300 crowns', and has made presents to tradespeople 'of more than 40,000 crowns'...

'There is also an Ambassador from Denmark, where a marriage with the Queen is much counted upon, but only in secret. Further from France on behalf of Duke William of Savoy, and the Duke of Nemours. Likewise a Scot, who is of good family and very handsome, but of not very great repute [Earl of Arran]'...

'In England itself there are the Earl of Arundel...who is labouring hard to this end, and further another nobleman of but little eminence and fortune. He is a very handsome man, knows many languages and is a great favourite of the Queen. His name is Pickering, and it is said that the Queen prefers him to all the others that are in England. Despite his small fortune, he lives at times in great state'.<sup>k</sup>



May 29: Bishop of London (Edmund Bonner) was deprived.  
 He was succeeded as Bishop in December by Edmund Grindal.  
 Dean of St Paul's (Henry Cole), was deprived.  
 He was succeeded as Dean in June by William May.

May 30, Paris, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to Sir William Cecil:  
 'My Lord Chamberlain [Lord Howard] hath received a very large and honourable present of plate...of very fair and stately plate gilt, amounting (as he saith) to 4140 ounces; which he esteemed to be worth in value £2066.13s4d'.  
 'And Mr Wotton hath also received as much gilt plate as amounteth to 1500 ounces and more; which my Lord Chamberlain esteemeth to be worth 2000 crowns of the sun'. [Forbes, i.116].

May 30, Tues Emperor's Ambassador at Whitehall for second audience.  
 Baron Breuner. May 30, De Quadra to Philip II: 'This afternoon the Queen sent for this German Ambassador and he went alone, which I thought was best as she might want, as she did, to speak to him about religion. He says she plied him with a thousand silly stories' and said 'that one of her Fools told her that it was current in London that the gentleman who acted as the Ambassador's Chamberlain was really the Archduke Charles who had come thus in order to see the Queen. In my opinion this only meant that the Archduke might come in this fashion to see and be seen, which she hinted to me last Sunday'.

'She does not want the Ambassador to leave, but to write to the Emperor... she is writing as well'. She said 'she heard that Ferdinand was only fit to pray to God for his father and brothers as he was so strong a Catholic, which she laughed at, but that she knew nothing about Charles'...  
 'Amongst other qualities which she says her husband must possess is that he should not sit at home all day amongst the cinders, but should in time of peace keep himself employed in warlike exercises'. [Span.i.74-75].

May 31: Treaty of Upsetlington, Peace Treaty with Scotland.  
 The Queen had sent Commissioners to settle with the Scots certain matters left undecided by the Treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis, April 2.  
 The English Commissioners were: Thomas Percy 7th Earl of Northumberland; William 3rd Lord Dacre of Gilsland; Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham; Sir James Croft.

The Peace was made at the Kirk of Our Lady of Upsetlington, later called Ladykirk, near Norham, Northumberland. By its terms the Queen was bound not to aid the Scottish rebels, led by the Protestant lords.

May: supper, in tents in St James's Park.  
 Lord Robert Dudley and others made a supper for the Queen. Dudley's payments:  
 To a man 'that set up the tents in Covent Garden, 2s10d; for two carres for the carriage of the tents from the Covent Garden to St James's Park, 8d; to Mr Hampden for your part of the supper made unto the Queen in the park at St James's, £7.18s2d; for the banqueting stuff prepared at the Queen's highness being at your Lordship's tents within the park, £6.14s'.<sup>L</sup>

c.May: Lord Robert Dudley paid:  
 'To the Yeomen of the Barges at two several times, viz. for rowing the Queen's highness at one time and your Lordship at another time, 25s6d'.<sup>L</sup>

June 3, Sat Emperor's Ambassador at Whitehall for third audience. Baron Breuner had requested audience to discuss a letter which the Queen was sending to the Emperor with details of their negotiations; she informed him that he could remain longer in England if he wished.<sup>K</sup>

June 5, Westminster, Queen to Emperor Ferdinand (in Latin) thanking him for his goodwill and benevolence. 'When however we reflect upon the question of this marriage and eagerly ask our heart, we find that we have no wish to give up solitude and our lonely life, but prefer with God's help to abide therein'. But 'even so we cannot safely assert anything for the future...What life will bring us in the future we lay in God's hands'.<sup>K</sup>

*June 6, Tues, at Windsor: Installation of new Knights of the Garter:  
Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk; William Parr, Marquis of Northampton;  
Henry Manners, 2nd Earl of Rutland; Lord Robert Dudley.  
Installed by the Queen's Lieutenant: William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke.  
The French hostages went to Windsor to see the ceremonies.  
The Cofferer of the Household paid for St George's Feast at Windsor  
£138.13s10¼d.<sup>C</sup>*

c. June 7: Lord Howard and Dr Wotton at Whitehall on return from France. After a month's special embassy.

*Lord Howard sold the Queen a pair of gilt flagons from France; she gave these as a christening gift to Prince Henry of Scotland in 1594. [Jewels, p.98].*

Court news. June 7, London, Baron Breuner to Archduke Charles:

'I have thrice had an audience of the Queen, and yet have been unable to obtain any answer except her excuse that she has not yet made up her mind to marry anyone in this world. She had, it is true, not forsworn marriage, as her mind might for various reasons change, but she could not at the moment come to any resolution and was also unwilling to bind herself for the future'.

'To be brief, I believe that there is no Princess of her compeers who can match her in wisdom, virtue, beauty and splendour of figure and form; and she has besides a fine kingdom from which she, as is reported, can without harassing her subjects have three millions in gold annually'.

'Furthermore I have seen several very fine summer residences that belong to her, in two of which I have been myself, and I may say that there are none in the world so richly garnished with costly furniture of silk, adorned with gold, pearls and precious stones. Then she has some twenty other houses, all of which might justly be called royal summer residences. Hence she is well worth the trouble'...

'I am, God be praised, in her favour...On the 3rd of June she assigned her cousin to me and sent her best palfry, in fine trappings, to me...to use on the journey that I made to the summer houses'.

Breuner described his audiences with the Queen.<sup>K</sup>

June 10, Sat evening Queen on River Thames, with Emperor's Ambassador. Baron Breuner to Emperor Ferdinand, June 13: 'I after supper to refresh myself took a boat on the river, and the Queen came there too, recognised and summoned me. She spoke a long while with me, and invited me to leave my boat and take a seat in that of the Treasurer's. She then had her boat laid alongside and played upon the lute. The same evening Her Royal Highness herself commanded me to come to her palace, for which I thanked her' and went next day.<sup>K</sup>

June 11, Sun Baron Breuner with the Queen at Whitehall, and on the river. *Breuner*: At the morning service 'I had to converse with the Queen on many religious questions...She then invited me to breakfast with her, and after the meal spoke much and gaily and desired me to come on the river again in the evening. When I arrived there she invited me into her boat, made me take the helm, and was altogether very talkative and merry. Everybody kept saying that such honour had never been shown to anyone but me. On the barge she conversed with nobody else, and often of her own accord began to talk about the Archduke Charles...She frequently said that she was certainly not willing to marry before she had seen the wooer in person'.<sup>K</sup>

*Machyn*: 'About 8 o'clock at night the Queen's Grace took her barge at Whitehall, and many more barges, and rowed along by the Bankside by my Lord of Winchester's place, and so to Pepper Alley, and so crossed over to London side, with drums and trumpets playing hard beside, and so to Whitehall again to her palace'.

Court news. June 15, mémoire by the French Ambassador, Gilles de Noailles: 'The Queen should soon be going on a progress, in which she will not be further from London than 25 or 30 miles'.<sup>BT</sup>

June 16, Norham Church, Northumberland.  
Proclamation (459.5): Announcing Peace with Scotland.  
The Peace was confirmed by the Queen on August 30.

June 17: Queen's 'reward': To 'Thomas Seckford, esquire, one of the Masters of Requests...by way of the Queen's reward', £60.<sup>T</sup>

Court news. June 19, London, De Quadra to Philip II:  
'The Emperor's Ambassador is very delighted and is in high favour with the Queen in appearance. She makes her intimates think she is favourable to the Archduke's affair, and her women all believe such to be the case, but there is really no more in it than there was the first day'...  
'There has arrived here from Geneva a physician of Toledo, a great heretic... He has come here to live, and was to go today to the palace to speak with the Queen. He says he has come to know God'. [Span.i.77].

June 21, Wed **GREENWICH PALACE**, Kent.<sup>C</sup>  
Lord Robert Dudley paid five men for two days 'at Greenwich for hanging your Lordship's lodging and making of lodging there, 15s2d'.<sup>L</sup>

*June 21, King Henri II to Gilles de Noailles, his Ambassador:*  
*The Earl of Arran has adopted the reformed religion, has fled, and it is rumoured that he will take refuge in England. You are to demand from the Queen his extradition.* [Teulet, i.320].

*James Hamilton, 3rd Earl of Arran, was son of the Duke of Châtellerauld, heir presumptive to the Throne of Scotland. He was spoken of as a possible suitor to Queen Elizabeth. He secretly visited the Queen, Aug 29-31.*

*June 22, in France: marriage. King Philip II of Spain married by proxy (3rd wife) Henri II's daughter Elisabeth de Valois (1545-1568). Philip was at Brussels; he was married in person to Elisabeth in Spain, January 1560. King Henri's sister Marguerite de Valois (1523-1574) was 'affianced' on June 27 to Emanuele Filiberto, Duke of Savoy. They married in July. These marriages were required by the Peace Treaty of April 2. The new young Queen of Spain was dubbed there 'Isabel de la Paz'.*

June 23: Works preparations for the Queen's first summer progress.

June 23, Marquis of Winchester (Lord Treasurer) to Sir William Cecil:  
 'The Surveyor of the Queen's Works and his company have been with me for the repair of her Highness's houses to the which her Grace doth mind to resort, praying you I may have a copy of the gistes [itinerary], whereby I may know what reparations must be done...Reparations must needs be done at Windsor... There is much work to be done about the terrace for the Queen's going into the park where her Highness must needs make her walk'.

Report by Surveyor of the Works [Laurence Bradshaw, Surveyor 1547-1560].

'Pleaseth your honour to understand the state of those the Queen's Majesty's houses here underwritten, how they are in decay'.

'Windsor Castle: The chapel roof, the keep and the walk is caved in three several places now presently. The water was never perfectly brought home... Also a wharf at Eton will be washed away and by that means the whole stables and barns will fall down.

Guildford friar house [Surrey]: All in decay.

Woking [Surrey]: In the same case and without present help past remedy.

Oatlands [Weybridge, Surrey]: Wanteth a kitchen, which when the Queen's Majesty cometh thither is a great charge in repairing the sheds and ranges.

Hampton Court: The wharf upon the waterside, a wall to be made to save the Privy Bridge, if that be not done it will presently decay.

Richmond: The gallery will fall down or else it must be taken down.

Westminster Hall: The great chamber called the Court of Requests: the south end and the west side will fall down.

St James's: The water is quite gone, the old pipes is rotten. And more water to be brought together, for it is very scant, and a new cistern to be set in the kitchen court.

Palace of Westminster: The Cockfight in great decay. The great and small Brake called the Tennis Courts in such decays that no man can play in them. The Cockfight will fall down, if it be not presently helped.

Durham Place: The bridge is gone into the Thames. The foundation or wall upon the waterside will be the utter decay of the house.

Somerset House: The bridge is gone. The side of the hall will fall down into the garden without present help.

Tower of London: The wharf upon the Thames side is lamentable to see it in such decay, and also the walls round about within the ditch within the water. Divers towers in great decay.

Greenwich: The stables to be new joisted and planked.

Eltham [Kent]: The inner court is well repaired, saving only glass. The outer court must be new repaired, and the water to be brought perfectly home.

Dartford [Kent]: Like utterly to decay. I would it might please her Highness to give order that it might be taken down towards the repair of other houses.

Oxford [Kent]: Lacketh reparations.

New Hall in Essex: If it have not tiling and guttering it will be in worse case than any house her Grace hath.

Havering the Bower [Essex]: Well repaired by Sir Anthony Cooke [of Romford].

Enfield [Middx]: Wanteth a kitchen. The barn to be new repaired and the water to be brought home.

Grafton [Northants]: To be new repaired, and the gutters to be new cast... The pastry is fallen down and the ovens utterly decayed.

Amptill [Bedfordshire]: A side of the house taken down, the stone, glass, iron and lead laid up in store. The rest must be taken down, for there is no recovery of it.

Ashridge [Hertfordshire]: All the lodgings in the outer court with offices are utterly decayed. The lead thereof is of most value there.

Ewelme [Oxfordshire]: The whole house even in like case. Better it were to be taken down than to stand as it doth, for by the taking down there is a great deal of stuff to be put to another use.

The More [Rickmansworth, Herts]: The last time I was there it was well tiled, but the walls are so rent and torn that it is not possible for the house to stand, by means of the evil ground it standeth on. A gallery of 200 foot long and is like to fall.

Reading [Berkshire]: The stables in great decay and lacketh room. The lodgings are very simple for her Highness'. [SP12/4/56,57].

June 23, Greenwich, Bishop of Leighlin's Articles, abjuring the Pope's authority within the Queen's territories. He had taken an oath on May 28 'renouncing of his temporalities to the Queen's Highness'. [SP63/1/33,36].

June 24: To the Bishop of Leighlin in Ireland 'in way of her Highness reward', £30.<sup>T</sup> Bishop Thomas O'Fihely, who died in 1566.

c.June 24: Midsummer custom of bonfires at court.

Throughout the reign the Queen's Officers of the Woodyard were paid 10 shillings per annum 'for making of the bonfires at Midsummer'.<sup>T</sup>

June 25, Sun 'May-game' before the Queen at Greenwich.

*Machyn*: On June 24 'There was a May-game...and St John Zachary, with a giant, and drums and guns, and the Nine Worthies, with speeches, and a goodly pageant with a Queen...and divers others with speeches, and then St George and the Dragon, the morris dance, and after Robin Hood and Little John, and Maid Marian and Friar Tuck, and they had speeches round about London'.

On June 25 'The same May-game went unto the palace at Greenwich, playing afore the Queen and the Council'.

June 26: new appointment: Dr Richard Master: Physician-in-ordinary to the Queen. £100 p.a from last Christmas, and wine, wax, etc.<sup>P</sup>

*June 26: Seven Bishops were deprived, after refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy. It was several years before all vacant Bishoprics were filled.*

Court news. June 27, De Quadra to Philip II, with news of Dr Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury and York: Dr Wotton 'was summoned by the Queen the other day and was with her a long time. They say he took the Oath [of Supremacy], although it has not been made public, and I do not know for certain'...

'On Wednesday she went to Greenwich, where she is very solitary, as many of them have gone to their estates'.

'She has ordered [Sir William] Pickering, with whom she had long conversations lately, to be given lodgings in the palace'.

She has told Baron Breuner 'that she would die a thousand deaths rather than marry one of her subjects'.

The French hostages 'are doing their best here to make friends, and take great care to find out everything that is going on all over the country'.

'The Queen knows this well and dissembles with them'. [Span.i.79-80].

Court news. June 27, Il Schifanoia to Vivaldino: 'The court is at Greenwich and about to remove further off, her Majesty intending to pass this hot weather in the pleasure of visiting several of her places...The Emperor's Ambassador continues to go very often to the court, and is much honoured by her Majesty. Sometimes they converse together very pleasantly at great length'...

'Before leaving London her Majesty was blooded from one foot and from one arm, but what her infirmity is, is not known...On arriving at Greenwich she landed as cheerful as she ever was, and is now in good health'...

'The French hostages are intent on making good cheer, banqueting first one and then the other of the English lords and ladies of the court, sometimes in the house of their Ambassador, who dwells in the house lately inhabited by the Dean of St Paul's'. [Ven.vii.104-5].

June 27, Tues Emperor's Ambassador at Greenwich for audience.  
Baron Breuner. De Quadra to Philip II, June 28: 'Last night...the Emperor's Ambassador returned from audience with the Queen at Greenwich and he tells me ...she put him off with the usual excuses and delays, and that he understood from her that she was not really thinking of this marriage [with Archduke Charles], and if she thinks of any it is that with the Duke of Châtellerault, with whom, she told him, her father wished to betroth her when she was a child, but that she never liked him...She told him that the Duke was already out of the hands of the King of France and had escaped...The public talk is that she will marry this Duke and will help him to get possession of the Kingdom of Scotland, and all this to subdue the Catholics and spread her sect. She has heresy so implanted in her very bones'. [Span.i.80-81]. It was the Earl of Arran, the Duke's son, who had escaped, and was rumoured to be going to marry the Queen.

*June 27: London preparations for Muster before the Queen.*  
*Lord Mayor's Precept, June 27, to the Wardens of the London Livery Companies, e.g. To the Grocers' Company: 'On the Queen our Sovereign Lady's behalf we straitly charge and command you with all convenient speed to prepare and put in a readiness fourscore persons of the goodliest and tallest men of your said Company, or other that ye conveniently may get, whereof threescore to be pikes and 20 to be billmen, all well harnessed with fair corslets, and the residue to be arquebusiers, well trimmed with shirts or collars of mail and murrions with scarves of white and black upon the same murrions, and for lack of shirts of mail to have handsome cut jerkins. And also prepare two comely persons to be whifflers, well trimmed, apparelled and weaponed. And that ye have all the same men before us on Saturday next coming being the 1st day of July in the park belonging to Suffolk Place in Southwark at 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the same day. And from thence to march forward to such place as shall be appointed, not failing hereof as ye tender our said Sovereign Lady the Queen's good pleasure and will answer for the contrary at your perils'. [Musters: July 1,2].*

c. June 28: Thomas Randolph at Greenwich on return from France.

De Quadra to Philip II, July 1: 'About three days since Thomas Randolph... arrived here from France and at once went to see the Queen. He told her how the Dauphin had ordered the Arms of England to be emblazoned with his own in many places, and it was said he would shortly proclaim himself King of England. Randolph says that after the Queen had heard all about it she told him that she would take a husband who would give the King of France some trouble, and do him more harm than he expected. She gave him 200 ducats and ordered him to return to France immediately. He was due to leave last night'. [Span.i.81].

*Thomas Randolph secretly went to aid the Earl of Arran to escape to England and Scotland. He found the Earl; disguised as merchants and using pseudonyms they started on July 6 from Switzerland; the Earl met the Queen, Aug 29-31.*

June 28, Paris, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to Sir William Cecil:  
*'The French King hath lately sent certain commissioners to apprehend the Earl of Arran with great severity and extremity, to bring him either quick or dead. Whereupon the said Earl of Arran, to save his life, is fled, no one can tell whither'. Arran is a kinsman of the Queen of Scots, but the 'Queen Dolphyn' told a commissioner 'that he could not do her a greater pleasure than to use the Earl of Arran as an arrant traitor'.* [Forbes, i.147-8].

June 29, Thur Robert de Strozzi at Greenwich with the Queen.  
 Strozzi apparently came to England in May with the French special Ambassadors.  
 De Noailles to Henri II, July 1: *'Last Thursday...Monsieur Strozzi, finding himself disposed to return, went to take leave of the Queen at Greenwich. She made him good cheer, and as he left prayed him to present to you her most affectionate good wishes, and similarly to the Queen, and to the King and Queen Dauphin, and to tell you that your armour was begun, hoping you will find it beautiful, and also that she was awaiting an excellent painter from Brussels to paint her at full length and to send you afterwards the portrait as you desired, and as she promised M.de Montmorency; she assures you that you will be the first ever to see it, although the Emperor and King Philip have strongly urged her to give it to them'.* [Teulet, i.323].

June 30, in Paris: *Tournament in celebration of marriages.*  
*King Henri II was accidentally injured by one of his opponents, Gabriel de Lorges, Count Montgomery (1530-1574), Captain of the King's Scots Guard.*  
 Francis Bacon: *'When I was in France, I heard from one Dr Pena, that the Queen Mother, who was given to curious arts, caused the King her husband's nativity to be calculated, under a false name; and the astrologer gave a judgement that he should be killed in a duel; at which the Queen laughed, thinking her husband to be above challenges and duels; but he was slain upon a course at tilt, the splinters of the staff of Montgomery going in at his beaver [helmet]'. [Essay 'Of Prophecies' (1625)]. Montgomery was dismissed.*

Court news. July 1, De Noailles to Henri II: *'In two or three days' time the Queen wishes to go to see a fine and large ship which Messieurs Montmorency and De Vielleville saw and went inside on their way home. The Lord Admiral is to make her a great feast there, after which she will christen it with her name, Elizabeth'.<sup>BT</sup>*  
 Visit to *The Elizabeth Jonas*: July 3.

July 1, Sat: *Muster in Southwark, the day before the muster at Greenwich. 'All the crafts of London sent out...men of arms...whifflers in coat of velvet and chains, with guns, morris-pikes, and halberds and flags, and into the Duke of Suffolk's park in Southwark, and there they mustered afore my Lord Mayor. And there was a house for bread and drink, to give the soldiers to eat and drink, and they...mustered in St George's Field till 10 o'clock'.<sup>MA</sup>*

July 2, Sun *Muster before the Queen, Greenwich.*  
 Holinshed: *'The citizens of London had a muster before the Queen's Majesty at Greenwich in the Park of 1400 men, whereof 800 were pikemen all in fine corslets, 400 shot in shirts of mail...and 200 halberdiers...which were furnished and set forth by the crafts and companies of the City'.*  
*'They had to every hundred two whifflers richly appparelled, and twelve Wardens of the best Companies riding in coats of black velvet, to conduct them with drums and fifes, and six ensigns, all in jerkins of white satin, cut and lined with black sarcenet, with caps, hose and scarves according'.*  
*'The Captains Robert Constable and Captain Sanders brought them in battle array afore the Queen, even as they should have fought, which made a goodly show before her Majesty, the Emperor's and French King's Ambassadors being present'.*

*Machyn*: 'They removed towards Greenwich to the court there, and thence into Greenwich Park, where they tarried till 8 o'clock, and then they marched to the lawn, and there they mustered in harness [armour], and the gunners in shirts of mail. And at 5 o'clock at night the Queen came into the gallery of the Park gate, and the ambassadors and lords and ladies, to a great number, and my Lord Marquis, and my Lord Admiral, and my Lord Robert Dudley, and divers more lords and knights, and they rode to and fro to view them, and to set the two battles in array; and after came trumpeters blowing on both parts, and the drums and flutes; and three onsets in every battle. So they marched forward, and so the guns shot and the morris-pikes encountered together with great alarum, and after recoiled back again'.

'After the town army lost their pikes and their guns...they were stirred with alarum, and so every man took to their weapons again; by and by the trumpets and the drums and guns played, and shot, and so they went together as fast as they could. All this while the Queen's Grace and the ambassadors and the lords and ladies beheld the skirmishing; and after they recoiled back again'.

'And after Master Chamberlain [of the City] and divers of the commoners and the whifflers came to the Queen, and there the Queen's Grace thanked them heartily, and all the city. There was the greatest shout that ever was heard, and hurling up of caps, that her Grace was so merry, for there was above like a thousand people beside the men that mustered'.

Also July 2: Tournament: Tilt, at Greenwich.

'After there was running at the tilt, and after every man home to London and other places'.<sup>MA</sup>

*The Livery Companies made many payments for the Muster. A selection:*

*Carpenters' Company: for 11 men. 'For the carriage of the harness from Guildhall to our Hall, 4d; for 7 Scottish caps, 4s8d; armourer to help arm the men, 8d; to the Officers of the Tower for halberds, pikes and guns, 2s'.*

*Grocers' Company paid: 'The charges of 92 persons which was appointed to wear armour to show themselves as they did before the Queen's Majesty at Greenwich in a triumph...the most part of which persons was hired by sundry of the best of this Company who would not wear armour themselves'.*

*'Players of 2 drums and a flute before the soldiers...10s; to a tailor for making a velvet coat for...a whiffler, 3s; 20 yards of...black and white to make scarves for the gunners...10s; carriage of 20 corslets, 30 pikes, and 8 murrions and 8 shirts of mail from the Guildhall which was borrowed out of the Tower, 8d, and for carriage of it again to the Guildhall from the Grocers' Hall, 8d; for ale for the same persons on Saturday when they went hence, 2s; for a pound of candle for giving light in the Hall in attending and looking for the soldiers on Sunday at night when they came from Greenwich, 3d; 8 pound of cornpowder at 11d a pound, 7s4d'. Pewterers' Company fined John Boulting 20s for not coming to the muster 'but obstinately kept himself away'.*

*Stationers' Company: 12 men, 2 armourers. 'For making clean of 6 harness which was borrowed of the Queen's Majesty against the muster, 6s; drink fetched at the ale-house, 11d'. Many payments for food and drink. [Listed, Nichols, *Progresses* (2014), i.157-159].*

*Vintners' Company: 'For the Beadles' charges for going to and from the soldiers with drink and powder and for tending upon the armourers, 3s6d; given in reward to the armourers of the Tower for arming the 13 Porters, 12d; to the Porter of the Tower in reward, 4d; for cheese for the Porters that was eaten at the Hall, 15d; for bread, beer and ale for the soldiers, 4s2d; for the hire of 22 pikes and for the loss of one of them and changing of another, 13s4d; for 2 tipstaves for the Captains, 6d; for the drum-player for his pains, 2s6d'.*

*The Vintners had 13 wine-porters in the muster.*



Court news. July 2, Halnaker [Sussex], Lord John Grey to Lord Robert Dudley, 'Master of the Queen's Majesty's Horses':

Her Majesty's good health 'I daily pray for, wishing that she would not too much presume of her own strength as to be let blood both in the foot and arm all at one time, because it was more than ever I heard done to any'...

'It pleased the Queen's highness at my departure to give me two bucks in Halnaker and two in Goodwood, the warrants were left with Tom Ashley; if they be not signed then I pray your Lordship to get me signed and sent. I would also require you to get me a warrant for a stag in the forest of Walmer and send me a good hound that shall recover him when he is stricken and I will send you half of him'. Tom Ashley: Thomas Ashley or Astley, a Groom of the Privy Chamber.

[*Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine* 18 (1879), 24].

July 3, Mon visit to name *The Elizabeth Jonas*, Woolwich, Kent.

With supper on board with Lord Admiral Clinton, followed by fireworks. John Bridges, of the Wardrobe, made ready at Woolwich 'against the Queen's Majesty's coming thither'.<sup>T</sup>

*Machyn*: 'The Queen's Grace took her barge at Greenwich unto Woolwich to her new ship, and there it was named *Elizabeth Jonas*, and after her Grace had a goodly banquet, and there was great shooting of guns and casting of fire about made for pleasure'. (See July 9, French Ambassador's 'advice').

July 5: Archbishop of York (Nicholas Heath) and Bishop of Ely (Thomas Thirlby) were deprived.

'About the beginning of this month of July all the old Bishops...were called and examined afore the Queen's Majesty's Council; as York, Ely, London, with other, to the number of 13 or 14. And because they refused to take the Oath touching the Queen's Supremacy, granted by Act of Parliament, and other articles, they were deprived. And likewise were divers Deans, Archdeacons, parsons, and vicars, deprived from their benefices, and some committed to prison in the Tower, Fleet, Marshalsea, and King's Bench'.

'Also this month the Queen's Majesty appointed certain Commissioners to ride about the Realm for the establishing of true religion' [See July 19]...

'This month also, the houses of Religion erected by Queen Mary, as the monks of Westminster, nuns and brethren of Syon, the Black Friars in Smithfield, and the Friars of Greenwich, were all suppressed'. [Wriothesley, *Chronicle*].

After the monastery at Westminster surrendered to King Henry VIII in 1539 he founded a School, but the site had since reverted to the Catholic Church.

In July 1559 the Abbot and monks of the monastery 'were all put out, and Queen Elizabeth made the said monastery a College, instituting there a Dean, 12 Prebends, a Schoolmaster and Usher, 40 scholars called commonly the Queen's Scholars, 12 Almsmen; and so it was named the Collegiate Church of Westminster, founded by Queen Elizabeth, who placed Dr Bill first Dean'. [21 May 1560].

Dr Bill: William Bill, the Queen's Almoner. [Stow, *Survey of London*].

Westminster School's Foundation Charter was dated 1560, and the School dates its foundation from then; it celebrates the memory of the Queen on November 17, her Accession Day.

July 8, Sat Emperor's Ambassador at Greenwich for audience.<sup>K</sup> Baron Breuner had received new instructions from Emperor Ferdinand, dated June 22, Augsburg. He is to continue marriage negotiations until a new Ambassador arrives. He is to observe what changes there are in religion, how the Queen behaves towards other suitors, and to enquire 'on what foundation the somewhat discreditable rumours that are being spread from certain quarters touching the honour of the Queen, are based'.<sup>K</sup>

July 9, French Ambassador's 'advice' for Henri II: 'Last Monday the Queen was in her big ship which she christened with great solemnity and gave it the names *Elizabeth Jonas*. The first name is because it is her own name, and the other because she often calls herself Jonas in memory of having been, as she says, delivered like him from great dangers to her life. After that her Admiral gave her supper in the same ship, at which she drank to the King'...

'They are making ready one of her two galleys, and say it is to carry her along the river and to the Isle of Sheppey [Kent], which she would like to see'.<sup>BT</sup>

Court news. July 9, Sir William Cecil to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton:

'The Emperor's Ambassador continueth yet still here in his suit, but for aught I see, the tide runneth no way certainly. There shall another come very shortly to be resident here. Mr Chaloner departeth tomorrow towards the King Catholic...

'The Swedish Ambassadors are looked for daily from Antwerp'. [*Forbes*, i.156].

*10 July 1559-February 1560: Sir Thomas Chaloner was **Ambassador** in the Low Countries, accredited first to King Philip II at Brussels.*

July 10, Queen to King Henri II, of his injury; she praises God that the danger is so trifling, and sends Charles Howard to him. [*SPF*.i.368].

Howard arrived in Paris on July 13.

*July 10, in France: death: King Henri II (1519-1559) died of the injury he received at a tournament on June 30.*

*His eldest son, François, the Dauphin (1544-1560), became King **François II**; his wife Mary Queen of Scots (1542-1587), whom he married in 1558, became Queen of France. King Henri's widow, Catherine de Medici, was thenceforth known as *La Reine Mère* (and to the English as the Queen Mother).*

July 10: 'Was set up in Greenwich Park a goodly banqueting-house made with fir poles, and decked with birch and all manner of flowers of the field and gardens, as roses, gilliflowers, lavender, marigolds, and all manner of strewing herbs and flowers. There were also tents for kitchens and for all officers against the morrow, with wine, ale and beer'.<sup>MA</sup>

July 11, Tues Tournament: Course of the field, Greenwich Park.

Those present included De Noailles, French resident or 'lieger' Ambassador.

Challengers: Earl of Ormond; Sir Roger North; Sir John Perrot.

Defendants: Thomas Cornwallis and other Gentlemen Pensioners.

'There was made a place for the Queen's Pensioners to run...a tilt with spears. There were three Challengers, and there were - Defenders, both with spears and swords. About 5 o'clock at afternoon the Queen's grace came, and the ambassadors, and divers lords and ladies stood over the gate for to see; and after they ran one chasing the other'.<sup>MA</sup>

*Description by Sir John Perrot's son James:*

The Queen took the French Ambassador 'into the Park at Greenwich, where tents were set up and a banquet provided. As she passed through the Park Gate a Page presented a speech unto her, signifying that there were certain knights come from a far country, who had dedicated their services unto their several mistresses, being ladies for beauty, virtue, and other excellencies (as they deemed) incomparable; and therefore they had vowed to advance their fame through the world, and to adventure combat with such that should be so hardy as to affirm that there were any ladies so excellent as the saints which they served. And hearing great fame of a lady which kept her court thereabouts, both for her own excellency and for the worthiness of many renowned knights which she kept, they were come thither to try whether any of her knights would encounter them for the defence of their Mistress's honour'.

'When this speech was ended the Queen told the Page "Sir Dwarf, you give me very short warning, but I hope your knights shall be answered". And then looking about she asked the Lord Chamberlain "how say you my Lord shall we be out-bragged by a Dwarf? No an it like your Majesty", answered he, "let but a trumpet be sounded and it shall be seen that you keep men-at-arms enough to answer any proud challenges".

'Then was the trumpet sounded, and immediately there issued out of the east lane at Greenwich divers Pensioners gallantly armed and mounted'.

'The Challengers were the Earl of Ormond, the Lord North [*Sir Roger North, later 2nd Lord North*], and Sir John Perrot. Presently upon their coming forth the Challengers prepared themselves to run certain Courses in the Field against all comers'.

'Amongst the rest of the Defendants there was one Mr Cornwallis, a tall gentleman and a good man-at-arms, to whose turn it fell at length to run against Sir John Perrot. As they both encountered, Sir John Perrot (through the unsteadiness of his horse, and the uncertainty of Courses in the Field) chanced to run Mr Cornwallis through the hose, scarring his thigh and somewhat hurting his horse wherewith he being offended and Sir John Perrot discontented, as they were both choleric, they fell into a challenge to run with sharp lances without armour in the presence of the Queen, which her Majesty hearing of would not suffer them so to do but with good persuasions pacified them. So they were reconciled, and the combat ended after certain courses performed on both sides by the Challengers and Defendants'.

'And after the finishing of these field exercises her Majesty did invite the French lieger to the banquet provided in a pavilion in the park but he belike having received then advertisement of the King his Majesty's death, prayed pardon of her Majesty for refusing to be partaker of any pleasant banquet at that time'. [Perrott, 24-26].

Also July 11, evening: supper and masque, in new banqueting-house. 'The Queen's Grace came down into the park, and took her horse, and rode up to the banquet-house with the ambassadors and the lords and ladies, and so to supper and a masque, and after a great banquet, and after great casting of fire and shooting of guns till 12 at night'.<sup>MA</sup>

Court news. July 12, Sir William Cecil to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord President of the Council in the North, announcing the death of the King of France last Monday from the blow given by Montgomery; the news is known only to the Queen, who will inform the Privy Council. [LPL 709/172].

Court news. July 13, London, Baron Breuner to Emperor Ferdinand (in cipher): On July 8th I took the Queen a letter from Your Imperial Majesty. 'She read it with great care and some passages even two or three times', then 'most heartily thanked' you and related its contents to me in four parts... 'The Queen has not been here since the 21st of June and does not return until October; she moves from one summer residence to the other for change of air, it being very unhealthy here at this time of the year'. I wait upon her frequently, as she 'never removes so far that she cannot be reached within two days'.<sup>K</sup>

July 15: The Queen and the Poor Knights of Windsor. July 15, Queen to the Dean and Chapter of Windsor: I am desirous to give effect to the will of King Henry VIII, that certain Poor Knights should be continually maintained at the College within the Castle of Windsor. I have therefore transmitted certain rules signed by my own hand for the government of the Poor Knights. July 15: Establishment for thirteen Poor Knights, attached to the institution of the noble Order of the Garter. [With many rules. SP12/5/5,6]. [See also August 20 and 21].

July 16, Greenwich, Queen's numerous Instructions to the Earl of Sussex, prior to his return to Ireland as Lord Deputy. The new Great Seal for Ireland is delivered to the Earl 'sealed up by us with our signet'. [SP63/1/61].

July 17, Queen to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Ambassador to France:  
'Touching the Earl of Arran...we be desirous that he should be helped from Geneva into this realm or into Scotland'.

Memorial for Throckmorton: 'The safe conveying of the Earl of Arran hither into this realm, or Scotland, seemeth here a thing both profitable and needful. The doing of it...is referred to your discretion...It must be done secretly... Haste, so it be with discretion, is thought most necessary'.

To Throckmorton, July 19: 'Common charity, the honour of the party, and our own experience of such like calamities moveth us to have compassion'...  
'Both for God's cause and his parentage we cannot permit him to be oppressed with this calamity'. [Forbes, i.162-3,166-7. Another 'Memorial': July 21].

*July 17: The Queen left Greenwich at the start of her summer progress. Lord Robert Dudley paid 'for your men's lodgings the Queen's highness lying at Greenwich...four weeks, 76s8d'.*

*Dudley was with the Queen throughout the progress. He paid 'for your Lordship's horsemeat at Dartford on Monday night, 13s10d; for five of your Lordship's servants that night, 2s6d; for lodging there that night, 20d'.*<sup>L</sup>

July 17, Mon **DARTFORD**, Kent.<sup>C,W</sup>

Dartford manor-house; Crown property.

**Start of SUMMER PROGRESS** in Kent and Surrey.

July 18, Tues **COBHAM**, Kent.<sup>C</sup> Lord Cobham.

Cobham manor-house, Cobham Hall; owned by William Brooke, 10th Lord Cobham (1527-1597), Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and Lord Lieutenant of Kent. 1st wife: Dorothy (Nevill), daughter of George Nevill 4th Lord Abergavenny; she died Sept 22. Dudley paid: 'In reward to the boys of the kitchen at Cobham, 2s'. He had 'Playing Money': 'Delivered to your Lordship at Cobham being at dice with my Lord of Sussex and others, £6.3s4d'.<sup>L</sup>

*Francis Thynne (c.1542-1608) described the Queen's visit to Lord Cobham, in Holinshed's Chronicles, 2nd ed. (1587), in the year 1586.*

*Thynne's translation of Dr Haddon's Latin verses is printed by Rye, 257.*

'This lord did most honourably entertain the Queen with her train at his house of Cobham Hall with sumptuous fare, and many delights of rare invention'.

'Amongst which, one coming now to mind, which I being young beheld...was a banqueting-house made for her Majesty in Cobham Park, with a goodly gallery thereunto composed all of green, with several devices of knotted flowers, supported on each side with a fair row of hawthorn trees, which Nature seemed to have planted there of purpose in summer time to welcome her Majesty'...

'I will set down certain verses made by Dr Haddon, and placed in the forefront of the same banqueting-house, which do not only show the joyful welcome of her Majesty to this honourable lord, but also to the whole country of Kent'.

'The kingly progeny and stock of Brute's most famous race,

Elizabeth most welcome is to people of this place.

Which way thou casts thine eye thou mirth and joy doest see,

For joyful of thy princely face both men and women be.

The beardless boys, the hoaréd age, the maids of tender years,

All troop confus'd flocks to thy sight, in which their love appears.

We acknowledge thee our Queen, thy subjects true us know,

So unto thee, so unto us, all wishéd good shall flow'.

July 18, Paris, Sir Henry Paget to Lord Robert Dudley, with 'news of this country': 'As the Queen of Scots came from hearing evensong, the gentlemen made place for her by the name Queen of England, which showeth that they mean but unhappily to us ward'. [Bath, v.143-4].

July 18-mid August: Swedish special Ambassadors in London. King Gustav sent Gustav Johansson, Charles Holgersson, and Charles de Mornay, a Frenchman. They came as suitors on behalf of his son Eric, the King-Elect.

July 19: The Queen established an Ecclesiastical Commission, authorising Matthew Parker and 18 others to carry out a national Visitation to enforce the Royal Injunctions. Churches and clergy are to be inspected.

Royal Injunctions: Instructions as to the details of worship, including: The clergy are to teach the Royal Supremacy. Monthly sermons are to be preached. No preaching is to take place without official permission. Clergy are to wear distinctive dress indoors and outdoors, including white surplice. Clergy can marry with permission of their Bishop and two Justices of the Peace. Recusants - those refusing to attend Church of England services - are to be denounced to the Privy Council or to local Justices. Processions associated with the Catholic Church are banned; pilgrimages are forbidden; monuments to 'miracles' are to be destroyed; setting up of candles and praying upon beads tend to idolatry and superstition. All clergy must obtain a *New Testament* in Latin and English, and Erasmus's *Paraphrases* of the Gospel. Every Sunday one of the *Homilies* shall be read. As to singing in church:

'For the comforting of such as delight in music, it may be permitted that in the beginning or in the end of common prayers, either at morning or evening, there may be sung a hymn or such like song, to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised'.

Most clergy were restricted to reading from Books of Homilies, and from: 'Certain Sermons appointed by the Queen's Majesty, to be declared and read by all Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, every Sunday and holy day, in their Churches. And by her Grace's advice perused and overseen, for the better understanding of the simple people'. (London, 1559).

The first Book of Homilies includes 'An exhortation concerning good order and obedience to rulers and magistrates', the 'Homily on Obedience', beginning: 'Almighty God hath created and appointed all things in heaven, earth and waters, in a most excellent and perfect order...In earth he hath assigned and appointed kings, princes, with other governors under them, all in good and necessary order...God hath sent us his high gift, our most dear Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth, with godly, wise, and honourable Council, with other superiors and inferiors...Let us all obey even from the bottom of our hearts all their godly proceedings, laws, statutes, proclamations, and injunctions, with all other godly orders'. [Eleven editions, 1559-1595].

At the Visitation clergy who refused to take the Oath of Supremacy were deprived. Many images, relics, altars, and clerical vestments were destroyed.

One of the clergy who went on the Visitation, Edwin Sandys (who became Bishop of Worcester in December 1559) preached at York, saying of the Queen: 'She hath caused the vessels that were made for Baal and for the host of heaven to be defaced; she hath broken down the lofts that were builded for idolatry; she hath turned out the priests that burnt incense unto false gods; she hath overthrown all polluted and defiled altars; she hath abolished darkness and caused the eternal truth gloriously to shine as we see it doth in England at this day'. [J.Ayre, ed. Sermons of Edwin Sandys (1842)].

July 20, Thur dinner, Gillingham, Kent.<sup>C</sup>  
At Gillingham the Queen inspected her fleet.

*Lord Robert Dudley's payments: 'For your Lordship's servants' suppers at Rochester on Thursday night having part of your allowance from court, 8s8d; for our dinners the Queen's Majesty being at Gillingham, 9s6d'.<sup>L</sup>*

July 20: Bishop of Durham at London, on his way to the Queen.  
Cuthbert Tunstall (1474-18 Nov 1559), Bishop of Durham 1530-September 1559, one of the Commissioners who made the Peace Treaty with Scotland.

The Bishop to the Earl of Shrewsbury, July 14, Doncaster: 'I have made suit to the Queen's Majesty to come to her presence to make full relation of our said Commission, which I have obtained...I have promised to come with speed, which is but small journeys, though they be great to me carrying my old carcass with me'.

[LPL 3196/37]. July 20: The Bishop 'came riding to London with threescore horse, and so to Southwark unto Master Dolman's house, a tallow-chandler'.<sup>MA</sup>

July 20, Laurence Humphrey dedicated to the Queen: Optimates, sive De Nobilitate. Latin dedication (30p). Text: 350p. (Basle, 1560).  
Humphrey translated his book as The Nobles, or of Nobility; see 1563, end.

July 21, Memorial for Henry Killigrew, sent to assist Sir Nicholas Throckmorton. Ambassador to France:

'To devise the most secret and speedy ways to convey the Earl of Arran from Geneva either into this realm, or to his father...That he in no wise appear who he is, in all his journey...but either pass as a merchant or scholar... If he shall arrive in England, to continue unknown, as he did before, until the Queen's pleasure be understood'.

'He must be informed that this the Queen's Majesty's inclination to help him is of her princely nature to relieve such noble personages as be in adversity, upon the experience of her own like trouble, and for the preservation of the said Earl'. [Forbes, i.171].

July 21: The Queen left Cobham. The Queen's Almoner received 66s8d 'to distribute to the poor at her Majesty's remove from Cobham to Otford'. [HT.MS 230/9: Treasurer of the Household's account, shown below as <sup>H</sup>].

July 21, Fri **OTFORD**, Kent.<sup>C,W</sup>  
Otford manor-house; Crown property.

*Lord Robert Dudley paid: 'Carriage of your Lordship's tent from London to Otford, 77s8d; the drum and fife to pay their charges at Otford, 20d; carriage of two bucks from Otford to London, 6s8d; horsemeat at Otford, £6.3s4d'.<sup>L</sup>*

Court news. July 22, London, Giovanni Antonio of Valence to Count Helfenstein, having been ill after arriving in London:

'Only once could I go to court, just at the moment when the Queen was about to leave Greenwich, where she had been staying, in order to sail down the Thames to inspect the fleet. By the ardour she displayed she showed that she wished to have the fleet in good trim at an early date but I do not know for what purpose' ... 'Four days ago a relation of the King of Sweden appeared here...as ambassador to this Queen. He had with him many noblemen, many horses and many servants in a livery displaying some hearts pierced by a javelin on the lapels of their red velvet coats, symbolising the passion of their Sovereign'.<sup>K</sup>

July 23, Fri Queen's answer to be given to the Swedish Ambassadors.

I regret that the accommodation provided for you is so far distant from the city and so poor. This is occasioned by my summer progress.

Last night I discussed your embassy with some of my Councillors, and wish you to say that I accept with gratitude the goodwill of the King and his son, but regret that I cannot requite the same as they desire. I have no liking 'to change this kind of solitary life'. As I am resolutely averse from matrimony, I am willing to enter into any other alliance. [SPF.i.404-5].

Baron Breuner to Emperor Ferdinand, August 6 (in cipher):

'The King of Sweden sent one of his intimate friends here with two others, to bring about the marriage between his eldest son and the Queen of England. He offers to exchange all the copper coins in England for good silver, and will give his son as co-ruler of England 400,000 ducats a year...This he would carry into effect before his son comes to England, if only he be certain of the marriage...The Queen puts them off with specious words so that they do not know what to think of it. Those of most consequence at court speak derisively of them, inasmuch as the envoy can only speak ridiculously and has no sense of decorum. Surprise is expressed that the said King should have no worthier persons to send...The King intends sending one of his younger sons hither in person...The Swedes have brought a likeness of their young King [Eric] with them and shown it to the Queen, who praised the portrait highly'.<sup>k</sup>

Eric was King-Elect; his brother John arrived at court in October.

July 26: *Countess de Feria's departure from the English court.*

*Jane Dormer (1538-1612), the English wife of the Count de Feria, formerly Spanish Ambassador to England, left to join her husband abroad. King Philip had sent Don Juan de Ayala to escort her. The Countess had a passport for herself and 6 gentlewomen, a laundress, a yeoman of the wardrobe, 6 gentlemen, 2 pages, 2 chaplains, 7 gentlemen's men, 60 horses, 12 mules, plate value 5000 crowns, jewels £1500, money £2000, and 6 hounds and greyhounds for the Count.*

*Passport for 'the old Lady Jane Dormer' (widowed grandmother), with 2 gentlewomen, 4 serving men, a chaplain, £40 in money.*

*Passport for Mrs Clarentius, with her woman, 4 serving men, 2 horses, some plate, £20 in money.* [SP15/9/43].

*Mrs Clarentius: Susan, widow of Thomas Tonge, Clarenceux King of Arms.*

*'The Lady Jane Countess de Feria' had been in charge of the Queen's jewels, and before her departure had to account in detail for any deficiency in them when they were delivered to the custody of Blanche Parry, Lady Knollys, and Mrs Norris. She also accounted for 'the overplus of jewels delivered to the Queen by her'. [SP12/8/24,25]. Blanche Parry was Keeper of the Jewels to 1587.*

July 26, Wed Countess de Feria at Otford to take leave.

July 26, Otford, Queen to Sir Thomas Chaloner (Ambassador to Philip II, at Brussels): We have asked Sir William Cecil to inform you of the misdemeanour of De Quadra, Spanish Ambassador, at our court. [KL.i.571].

[July 26] Sir William Cecil to Sir Thomas Chaloner:

'This day about one o'clock after dinner came hither the Countess de Feria, conducted with King Philip's Ambassador and Don Juan de Ayala. Before her coming appointment was made for her to retire herself into my Lady Howard's chamber or my Lady Sidney's; but she very gently refused the same and seemed better content to tarry in the Chamber of Presence until she might see the Queen's highness'.

'This done, the Ambassador being welcomed by Mr Vice-Chamberlain, he required him to show the Queen that the Countess de Feria was there desirous to see her Majesty, and if she might not do it speedily, she should go before and he would tarry behind to make her excuse'.

'This being shown to her Majesty, the Lord Chamberlain came to him and prayed him to take patience awhile and her Majesty would speak with the Countess'.

"It were meet" quoth the Ambassador, "that the Queen should remember whose wife she is, and that the Count de Feria is not her vassal".

'With these manner of words he increased his passion, speaking them also so loud...Nevertheless my Lord Chamberlain answered him temperately that, since the Countess came hither to take her leave, it were more convenient for her to abide her Majesty's leisure, who knew of her coming and meant forthwith to have her into her Privy Chamber'...

'Herewith he was not content, but required that he might forthwith speak with her Majesty before the Countess should speak with her, which request being shown to her Highness, and being advertised by divers which stood by of his former disordered speech, her Majesty...sent the Lord Chamberlain to him, requiring to know of him whether he had any matter on his master's behalf, who said that he had none'...

'Hereupon her Highness forbore to speak with him, and sent for the Countess de Feria to come into her Privy Chamber, with whom her Majesty had very much familiar and loving talk; and indeed the said Countess showed herself to be very sorry that the Ambassador had been in such heat and used such disordered terms without just cause. Thus, the Countess having taken her leave, her Majesty sent for Don Juan de Ayala to come into her Privy Chamber, who as it should seem induced thereto by the Bishop, said he had commandment by his master to come to the Queen's presence only in the company of the said Bishop and not otherwise'.

The Queen again invited him to come to her, then sent the Lord Chamberlain to him with letters for King Philip.

'The Countess departed with very good contentation and was accompanied to her horse very honourably with the Lord Chamberlain and others the train of her Majesty's court'...

'Surely the Bishop forgot himself very much and gave great occasion to the Queen's Majesty of offence'...

'All that he can pretend is that the Countess was with child, and had to ride to Rochester, which was 12 or 13 miles off, both which were well considered by the Queen, and therefore she was dismissed about 3 o'clock, so as she had six hours before night to ride her journey'. [KL.i.572-3].

*Countess de Feria's son Don Lorenzo was born on September 28. Susan Clarentius died in Spain, 1567, Lady Dormer in Louvain, 1571. The Count de Feria, who became Duke de Feria in 1567, also died in 1571. The Duchess, a staunch Catholic, who never returned to England, died in Madrid in 1612.*

Court news. July 27, De Quadra to Philip II: 'I have lost all hope in the affairs of this woman...In religious matters she has been saturated ever since she was born in a bitter hatred to our faith, and her one object is to destroy it...Her language (learnt from Italian heretic friars who brought her up) is so shifty that it is the most difficult thing in the world to negotiate with her. With her all is falsehood and vanity'. [Span.i.89].

July 27, Paris, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to the Queen: 'The Earl of Arran, in his way to Geneva, hath endured great penury, and was constrained for 15 days together to hide himself in a wood'. July 29, to Cecil: 'I suppose you shall hear of the Earl of Arran there in England before I can now hear of him'.

[Forbes, i.173,183]. The Earl secretly reached Hampton Court on August 29.



c. July 28, Fri dinner, Lullingstone or Orpington, Kent; Sir Percival Hart. Lullingstone manor-house and Orpington manor-house were both owned by Sir Percival Hart (c.1496-1580), Chief Sewer and Knight Harbinger to the Queen and the previous three monarchs; wife: Frideswide (Bray), daughter of Edmund 1st Lord Bray. Their monument is in Lullingstone Church.

*Lord Robert Dudley paid: 'To George Martin for his dinner and others your Lordship's servants when the Queen's Majesty dined at Sir Percival Hart's, 4s4d'.<sup>L</sup>*  
*The Queen visited Hart at Orpington in 1573.*

Court news. July 29, London, De Noailles to the new King François II:

'As the Queen was on her way to the Isle of Sheppey (following her decision to continue her progress as far as that place), she became a little unwell at Lord Cobham's house after a great banquet made for her there. This caused her to cut short her journey, content to have been as far as Gillingham to see her fleet of 28 ships...She has reached Otford, eight miles from this town, and says that from there she will visit Eltham, Nonsuch, and Hampton Court, and will be at Richmond in a fortnight, and will stay there some time'.<sup>BT</sup>

*July: Whilst the court was at Otford Elizabeth Clive, a Gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber, died; she had made her will on July 18, appointing as 'trustees' Lady Clinton and John Baptist Castilion, also of the Privy Chamber. Funeral at Otford Church, attended by many courtiers and paid for by the Queen.*

*[Edward Kimber, The Peerage of Ireland (1768), ii.207].*

Aug 2, Wed Queen's reward 'To the Keepers of Otford House and Otford Park, 40s'. Also, at her remove from Otford to Eltham 10s to 'Mr Almoner...by her Highness's commandment to give and distribute to the poor'.<sup>H</sup>

Aug 2, Wed **ELTHAM PALACE**, Kent.<sup>C,W</sup> Crown property.

*Lord Robert Dudley paid for: 'your Lordship's supper at Eltham the 2nd of August, £9.18d; for Rhenish wine sent thither for the same supper, 5s8d'; for supper on August 3, and fresh sturgeon (10s) and Rhenish wine (5s10d).<sup>L</sup>*

Aug 3, Thur French Ambassador at Eltham for audience. After his audience De Noailles sent a messenger, the Sieur de la Croix, to the Queen Regent of Scotland. [Teulet, i.341].

Aug 4, Fri **CROYDON**, Surrey.<sup>C</sup> Archbishop of Canterbury's palace. Matthew Parker was nominated as Archbishop on July 18, consecrated December 17.

Aug 5, Sat dinner, Beddington, Surrey.<sup>C</sup> Sir Arthur Darcy. Queen's reward to 'Keeper of Beddington Park', 20s.<sup>H</sup>

Beddington manor-house; owned by Francis Carew (1530-1611), son of Sir Nicholas Carew, K.G. of Beddington, Master of the Horse and Privy Councillor to King Henry VIII (who had him executed for high treason in 1539).

*Thomas Fuller: 'Sir Nicholas built the fair house (or palace rather) at Beddington...which, by the advantage of the water, is a paradise of pleasure'. [Worthies, Surrey].*

*Beddington was occupied at this time by Sir Arthur Darcy, 2nd son of Thomas Lord Darcy (executed in 1537); wife: Mary (Carew), sister of Francis Carew.*

*Lady Darcy died on 31 December 1559 at Sir Arthur Darcy's London house on Tower Hill; Sir Arthur died at Beddington in 1561.*

*From 1576-1600 the Queen frequently visited Francis Carew at Beddington.*

Aug 5, Sat **NONSUCH**, Cheam, Surrey.<sup>c</sup> Earl of Arundel.

Nonsuch, Cheam, built by King Henry VIII; owned by Henry Fitzalan, 12th Earl of Arundel (1512-1580), Lord Steward of the Household; a widower.

Arundel's gift to the Queen was 'a cupboard of plate'. The Queen had 'great cheer every night, and banquets'.<sup>MA</sup>

There are accounts in Latin endorsed 'Charge of the house at Nonsuch defrayed by the Lord Steward, Earl of Arundel'. For August 5-10 over £1500 was paid out, including gifts to Officers of the Queen's Household. [SP12/6/7].

Aug 6, Sun At Nonsuch. Earl of Arundel made the Queen 'a great banquet at his cost...as ever was seen, for supper, banquet, and masque, with drums and flutes, and all the music that could be, till midnight'.<sup>MA</sup>

Court news. Aug 6, London, Baron Breuner to Emperor Ferdinand (in cipher):

As to the alterations made in religion, I gathered from the Queen that she would be 'open to reason', though in the Catholic church there was 'much abuse, that required reform'. As regards foreign affairs, the English 'are on the whole not pleased with any foreign nation; as yet they dislike the Germans least...The Queen told me so herself'.

After a report of Scottish news, the Baron continues: 'I have made most diligent enquiries into the calumnies that are current about the Queen not only abroad but also here in England; but have not been able to learn anything definite...I have employed as my agent a certain François Borth, who is on very friendly terms with the Ladies of the Bedchamber and all other persons who have been about the Queen and have brought her up since her childhood. They all swear by all that is holy that her Majesty has most certainly never been forgetful of her honour. And yet it is not without significance that her Majesty's Master of the Horse, my Lord Robert, is preferred by the Queen above all others, and that her Majesty shows her liking for him more markedly than is consistent with her reputation and dignity'...

'Her most intimate Lady of the Bedchamber, Catherine Ashley, some days ago fell at her Majesty's feet and...implored her in God's name to marry and put an end to all these disreputable rumours, telling her Majesty that her behaviour towards the said Master of the Horse occasioned much evil-speaking; for she showed herself so affectionate to him that her Majesty's honour and dignity would be sullied, and her subjects would in time become discontented. Her Majesty would thus be the cause of much bloodshed in this realm...Rather than that this should happen she would have strangled her Majesty in the cradle'...

'The Queen replied that she well knew that these were the outpourings of a good heart and true fidelity, and that she was quite willing to marry in order to console her and all her subjects. But she should reflect that she till now had had no wish to change her state, and that such a marriage must be well weighed'.

She said that 'in this world she had had so much sorrow and tribulation and so little joy. If she showed herself gracious towards her Master of the Horse, he had deserved it for his honourable nature and dealings. She had also never understood how any single person could be displeased, seeing that she was always surrounded by her Ladies of the Bedchamber and Maids of Honour, who at all times could see whether there was anything dishonourable between her and her Master of the Horse...This Master of the Horse is, I hear, married to a fine lady... Nevertheless since the Queen was crowned he has never been away from court. Moreover they dwell in the same house and this it is which feeds suspicion'.<sup>K</sup>

Aug 6, in London: Fray involving the servants of the Marquis de Nesle, one of the French hostages, and of a Mr Watson. On August 6 the Lord Mayor and the Marquis of Winchester reported a fray at the gate of Mr Watson's house in which one of his servants was killed and two others hurt. Enquiries were made.

[SPF.i.455-6]. This led to a Proclamation: August 13.

Aug 7, Mon At Nonsuch: hunting and coursing; a play.

'The Queen's Grace stood at her standing in the further park, and there was coursing after. And at night...a play of the Children of Paul's and their Master Sebastian, Master Philips and Master Heywood, and after a great banquet...with drums and flutes, and...dishes costly as ever was seen and gilded, till 3 in morning'.<sup>MA</sup> Sebastian: Sebastian Westcott, Master of the Choir of St Paul's; Heywood: John Heywood, playwright.

*August 7-c.Sept 15: Sir Peter Mewtas was special Ambassador to France. Sir Peter was sent to condole and to congratulate.*

Aug 9, Wed Queen gave directions for the honourable reception of King Philip, if he should come into one of her ports. He is about to embark 'to pass by long seas into Spain', and will 'pass by her narrow seas'. [SP12/6/4,5].

Also Aug 9: Queen's reward: 'To a servant of my Lord of Arundel's for a gelding he brought to her Majesty, 100s'.<sup>H</sup>

Aug 10, Thur **HAMPTON COURT**, Middlesex.<sup>C</sup> Crown property. The Queen told Baron Breuner on August 23 that 'on the 10th she had been seized with a burning fever which still plagued her'.<sup>K</sup>

*During August Lord Robert Dudley paid: 'To the Keeper of Bushy Park at Hampton Court in reward, 5s; to the Keeper of the Great Park of Hampton for his reward for a buck which your Lordship gave to the porters, 6s.4d'.<sup>L</sup>*

Aug 13, Sun, Hampton Court. Proclamation (462): Ordering Peace kept in London. 'The Queen's Majesty commandeth all manner her subjects...to keep the peace as they be bound, and specially towards all manner of persons of strange nations within her Majesty's city of London or elsewhere, without reproaches of words or like quarrels...And the like also her Majesty commandeth to all strangers born, to be observed on their part...The whole circumstance of certain frays in London betwixt her subjects and certain strangers shall be duly examined and tried, and according to the laws of the realm judged...For this is her Highness's determination, that no partial favour be showed to English or stranger, but that every of them shall live in the safety and protection of her laws'.

Court news. [Aug 13], London, De Quadra to Philip II:

'They are now carrying out the law of Parliament respecting religion with great rigour...They have just taken away the crosses, images and altars from St Paul's and all the other London churches'...

'The Bishop of Durham, a very aged and learned man, came up from his diocese solely to tell the Queen what he thought about these affairs. He showed her documents in the handwriting of King Henry against the heresies now received, and especially as regards the sacraments, and begged her at least to respect the will of her father if she did not conform to the decrees of the church; but it was all of no avail, and they only laugh at him'...

The Council 'all agree that she should marry the Scotsman [Earl of Arran] rather than the Archduke, in the hope of the former becoming King of Scotland'...

'A servant of the Marquis de Nesle, who is one of the French hostages here, killed an Englishman the other day, and he and the other Frenchmen have been in great straits as the townspeople took up arms against them and are pressing them closely'.

'The King of Sweden's Ambassadors...are being treated by the Queen in a manner that does away with any doubt about her marrying their master, for they are being made fun of in masques in their own presence'. [Span.i.89-91].

Aug 14, Escouen, François de Montmorency to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton:  
When last in England [in May] I noticed the pleasure which the Queen took in a diversity of songs. Thinking therein to do her a pleasure, I send you a dozen of the most beautiful which I could procure in France; and also some galliards obtained from the King's violin-players, which I think she will find very excellent. I entertain the greatest affection for the Queen. On August 25 Throckmorton sent the Queen a dozen galliards from Montmorency. [SPF.i.473,499].

Aug 15, Paris, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to the Queen, of a talk with the Constable of France (Anne Duke de Montmorency), who is always ready to do her service, saying 'being so qualified as no princess of long time hath been, in such sort as if I did not so honour and esteem her (seeing all the world doth so) I should show myself but a beast'...

'The King mine old master...loved her Majesty even from the bottom of his heart, and...hath divers times said these words unto me "*Mon compère*, when shall I have occasion to see that woman whom the world speaketh so much of?".

The Constable asked if 'he might be furnished of greyhounds for the hart, and for the wolf. I told him that there were no wolves in England'.

He said "those which be good for the hart will serve also for the wolf"... 'The Master of your Highness's Leash may be able to find the means to furnish the Constable of two or three brace of greyhounds (if it please your Majesty to command him), and to send the same over hither unto him'. [Forbes, i.197-8].

The Queen had a Master of Harthounds, a Master of Buckhounds, and also Yeomen and Children of the Leash.

Aug 15: Queen's reward: 'To the Lord Steward's musicians, £9.10s'.<sup>H</sup>  
Lord Steward: Earl of Arundel.

Aug 15, at my house in Holborn, Lord Ambrose Dudley to Lord Robert Dudley, asking for some hawks. PS. 'Pray you good brother, provide some good lodging for me when the Queen's Majesty cometh to Windsor, for that I would be loth to come afore her Highness were settled in some place'. [Bath, v.146].

By Aug 16: Swedish Ambassadors at Hampton Court to take leave.

Aug 16, Hampton Court, Sir William Cecil to Sir Thomas Chaloner:  
'The Queen was in doubt of a fever, and is now I trust clear thereof, which God hold!...The Ambassadors of Sweden have taken their leave'. [SPF.i.483].

De Quadra, Aug 18: 'The Swedish Ambassadors are leaving much aggrieved and offended, as I believe it was brought to their notice that they were being made fun of in the palace, and by the Queen more than by anybody'. [Span.i.93].

By August 17: Preparations by the Master of the Revels for the Queen's visit to Lord Clinton at West Horsley, Surrey. The Revels paid from July 24 for 'wages and hire of artificers, workmen and others working and attending upon the translation, garnishing and finishing of divers garments, apparels, utensils and properties of 'A Mask of Shipmen and Maids of the Country' then made and shown at Horsley', including: 'painters working upon the banqueting-house at Horsley ...making of pictures upon cloth in the front and the gallery'; 13 tailors.

'William Cleye for the carriage of the same Mask and divers other things concerning a banqueting-house made at Horsley and the attendance thereon from the Blackfriars to Hampton Court in his barge and thence back again by water and awaiting thereon, 20s; land-carriage of the same from Hampton Court to Horsley and thence back again to the waterside by cart, 10s; boat-hire of the officers and others...passing between London and Hampton Court by water in wherries and some in barge on errands and other business concerning the said Mask and Banqueting-house', 5s. [Revels, 105-107].

Aug 17, Thur **WEST HORSLEY**, Surrey.<sup>C</sup> Lord Clinton.

West Horsley manor-house; owned by Edward, 9th Lord Clinton (1512-1585), Lord Admiral 1558-85; 3rd wife: Elizabeth (FitzGerald)(c.1528-1590), daughter of Gerald FitzGerald 9th Earl of Kildare and widow of Sir Anthony Browne; she was the 'fair Geraldine' in poems by the Earl of Surrey in the 1540s.

'My Lord Admiral builded a goodly banquet-house for her Grace; it was gilded richly and painted, for he kept a great many of painters a great while in the country'.<sup>MA</sup> Charles Smyth, Page of the Robes, gave attendance at Hampton Court 'with certain of the Queen's stuff', she 'being at Horsley'.<sup>T</sup>

Sir Thomas Cawarden, Master of the Revels, died at Horsley: Aug 29.

*Lord Robert Dudley's payments: 'Given among your Lordship's footmen for their lodging and trimming at Horsley the Queen's Majesty being there, 2s6d; to the yeomen of Lord Clinton's stable in reward, 6s4d; for lodging and other charge of your Lordship's servants at Guildford, 5s'.<sup>L</sup>*

Aug 18/21: at West Horsley: masque: 'Shipmen and Maids of the Country'. Six Shipmen or Mariners, in green and blue; with Torch-bearers in red velvet. Two 'Graziers or Gentlemen of the Country', in black damask gowns. Country Maids, in cloth of silver and gold. [Revels].

Aug 18/21: at West Horsley: Running at the ring. The French Ambassador reported on August 22 that Lord Robert Dudley and others practised running at the ring before the Queen at Horsley.<sup>BT</sup>

*Lord Robert Dudley's payments: 'For one of your Lordship's yeomen's boathire being sent to London for your caparison, 3s10d; for two dozen ribbon points for your caparison against the running at Horsley, 12d; given to poor men for the carriage of your Lordship's armour at sundry times from your chamber to the place where your Lordship armed you, 18d'.<sup>L</sup>*

Court news. Aug 19, London, Bishop of Durham (Cuthbert Tunstall), to Sir William Cecil: 'I have been the last week at the Queen's Majesty's lying at Hampton Court somewhat importunate upon you to have brought me to the speech of her Majesty. And now she is departed thence, and by her gestes [itinerary] (as I am informed) should go to Horsley, Guildford, Chobham and Windsor, and in removings I know the time not to be convenient to make any suit until her Majesty shall come to some stay. I beseech your Mastership to send me word by this bearer where you think best for me to repair to her Highness at some resting place, wherein you shall do me singular pleasure'.

[The Bishop sent an identical letter to Sir Thomas Parry, Treasurer of the Household. SP12/6/22,23]. The Queen cut short her progress: Guildford, Chobham, and Windsor were not visited in 1559. The 'gestes' have not survived.

Aug 20, Marquis of Winchester to Sir William Cecil: 'I have this news from Windsor...The castle of Windsor is ready for the Queen's coming for this time, albeit...much of the principal timber is utterly decayed and must be amended this next year...The Knights' lodgings [for the Poor Knights], and the Knights in their apparel be likewise ready to continue their duty to God and the Queen, and to use their service and prayer as they are specially bound to do, lacking now nothing but a garnish of pewter vessel, 3 or 4 candlesticks, 3 salts... 3 table-cloths, 2 pots, 2 brushes, a pair of small racks, 2 small knives to chop their herbs and cut flesh, and for this they make suit for the Queen's Majesty's favour and help'. [SP12/6/25].

Aug 21: Poor Knights of Windsor re-established by an Indenture between the Queen and the Dean and Canons of St George's Chapel, Windsor.

The Knights had been established by King Edward III in 1352, but had lapsed under Henry VIII. They are now to be 'gentlemen brought to necessity, such as have spent their times in the service of the wars...having but little or nothing whereupon to live, to be continually chosen by us and our Heirs and Successors'. Their livery is to be a red gown with a blue or purple mantle with a cross of St George. The Poor Knights, also called Alms-Knights, later changed their name to Military Knights. The Queen first stayed at Windsor as monarch in 1560.

[E.H.Fellowes, *Military Knights of Windsor, 1352-1944* (Windsor, 1944)].

Aug 22, Tues **HAMPTON COURT.**<sup>c</sup>

Court news. Aug 22, London, De Noailles to François II: 'I returned here very late yesterday from Horsley, where the Queen is still in her Admiral's house, 24 miles from here. She had been very ill with three bouts of fever'.

Aug 23, De Noailles to the Cardinal of Lorraine: 'The Queen had resolved that when she left Horsley she would continue her progress to Windsor and to other places prior to that, but her indisposition has made her return to Hampton Court, and to determine not to leave there for some days'.<sup>BT</sup>

Aug 23, Wed Emperor's Ambassador at Hampton Court for audience. Baron Breuner to Emperor Ferdinand, Aug 31: On the 23rd 'I spoke with the Queen and found her somewhat dejected. She told me that she was daily pestered with petitions from her subjects desiring her for her honour's sake and for the welfare of her Kingdom and for other reasons to change her mind and to marry. She said she would rather be dead than that her realm should suffer harm or loss through her. She was prepared to marry even the vilest man in her Kingdom rather than give people occasion to speak ill of her...Through my spy I have also learnt from her ladies and Maids of Honour that her Majesty had been quite melancholy alone in her room of nights and had not slept half an hour. This was clearly to be seen in the mornings, for she was quite pale and weak'.<sup>K</sup>

Aug 23, Flushing, Bernardin de Granada to Lord Robert Dudley (Master of the Horse): 'The Marquis of Barrow hath told me that he will present a gennet unto the Queen's Majesty...and likewise the Rhinegrave will present unto her Majesty two horses, the one a courser and the other a gennet...He cometh to England to kiss her Majesty's hands'. In December the Rhinegrave's gift was described as a Spanish horse and an ambling Turkish horse. [Bath, v.146; SPF.ii.207].

Horses arrived in summer 1560. The Rhinegrave came to England in 1566.

Aug 23-26: There 'were burned in Paul's Churchyard, Cheap, and divers other places of London, all the roods and images that stood in the parish churches. In some places the copes, vestments, altar cloths, books, banners, sepulchres, and other ornaments of the churches were burned'. [Wriothesley, *Chronicle*].

Aug 24, Hampton Court, Sir William Cecil to Sir Ralph Sadler (in Berwick, surveying the fortifications): 'The Queen's Majesty is half whole, half in doubt of an ague. God send her as good health as she hath a heart'. [Sadler, i.404].

Aug 25, Hampton Court, Queen to King Gustav of Sweden:

In July his three Ambassadors 'in a long discourse expatiated upon the King's friendship towards her. On the one hand she rejoiced at the King's affection, on the other she was pained that he had solicited an alliance to which she could not by any means induce herself to assent'. [SPF.i.501].

The Queen also wrote to Gustav's son Eric, King-Elect.

Aug 25, Paris, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to the Queen, of private meetings with King Antoine of Navarre: 'He thanked God for you, that he had preserved such a Princess from so great perils and dangers as you had been in, to advance God's true religion and cause. He said there was no doubt but God did mean to serve himself by you to his glory and the benefit of Christendom, and for his part he would not fail to do the best he could; rejoicing that he had so good a colleague in so good a cause'....

'I perceive by his discourses to me, he would have you marry none of the House of Austria, neither the Earl of Arran, neither any that I have heard named. Methinketh he meaneth to make an offer unto you of some of his friends, for he desireth that you will be advised by him in your marriage. He saith that the whole family of Austria be great Papists, whatsoever anybody saith. He saith that your marriage is the making and marring of all. He said...is the Queen your mistress at liberty? Whereunto I used as good words as I could to persuade him that you were at liberty, and not yet resolved what you would do...After I had assured him of your Majesty's honour, secrecy, and wisdom...we parted'...

'I would wish your Majesty should honourably and very graciously receive the Earl of Arran in your court, giving him as good hope as any other, for...he is as well worthy as any other, so it may please you to give such order that his being in England be most secret, and that he be not known nor discovered to any but such as be staunch and you do well trust'. [Forbes, i.213-215].

*Aug 25: King Philip II embarked from the Low Countries to return to Spain after several years' absence; his new French Queen followed later by land.*

*Aug 27, Antwerp, Sir Thomas Chaloner to Sir William Cecil:*

'On Friday last the King embarked with his whole fleet towards Spain... The foolish Nostradamus, with his threats of tempests and shipwrecks this month, did put these sailors in a great fear'. [KL.ii.3-4].

*Nostradamus: Michel de Nostre-Dame (1503-1566), French astrologer.*

*Sir Thomas Chaloner, Ambassador to the Low Countries, was now accredited to the Regent, Margaret Duchess of Parma. She was King Philip's half-sister, being an illegitimate daughter of Emperor Charles V.*

*John Leigh to the Queen, 8 March 1560, Antwerp, of the Duchess: The Countess de Feria said that 'divers ladies told her that, though she were the Emperor's daughter, yet was she but a bastard, wherefore she was far unmeet to occupy that place'. [KL.ii.256].*

*Aug 29: death. Sir Thomas Cawarden (c.1514-1559), Master of the Revels.*

*Aug 29, Horsley, Lord Clinton to Lord Robert Dudley: Sir Thomas Carden died 'this last night about one o'clock'. [Longleat Dudley, V].*

*His corpse was carried by wagon to Bletchingley, Surrey.*

*Bletchingley Church: 'The 29 day of August was Thomas Carden buried'.*

*Funeral: Sept 5. His monument is in the church. [Funeral expenses: Kempe, 179-181].*

*Aug 29, Tues French Ambassador at Hampton Court for audience. De Noailles to the Queen Regent of Scotland, Sept 1, London: 'Sieur De La Croix brought your letters for the Queen, and I immediately sent to require audience, which was delayed until last Tuesday, because the Queen was ill'.*

*She protested that Scottish rebels had nothing to hope from her.*

*'She showed me your portrait which she has in her gallery at Hampton Court, and made many remarks on your kindness, honesty, and virtue, at the end charging me to present to you her very affectionate good wishes'. [Teulet, i.342-3].*

*August 29-31: Earl of Arran's secret visit to the Queen.*

*James Hamilton (1530-1609), 3rd Earl of Arran, was son of James Hamilton, Duke of Châtellerauld, who was Regent of Scotland 1542-1554, and in 1543 was declared Heir Presumptive to the Scottish Crown; in 1548 he received his French Dukedom. The father was living in Scotland, the son had been living in France until the King ordered his arrest. He was accompanied by Thomas Randolph, who on the Queen's instructions had helped him to escape.*

Aug 29, Hampton Court, Sir William Cecil to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, (in cipher): The Earl of Arran came yesterday to my house in Westminster, where he is concealed, and is today to have a private interview with her Majesty, and will leave tomorrow for Scotland. [SPF.i.508].

Aug 29, Tues Earl of Arran secretly at Hampton Court with the Queen. The Earl was using the pseudonym 'Beaufort', and Thomas Randolph 'Barnaby'.

Aug 31, Sir William Cecil to Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Croft (in Berwick; cipher): 'Tomorrow shall pass hence in post the Earl of Arran, and with him cometh Master Randall...The Queen's Majesty is clear of her ague'.

Aug 31, Hampton Court, passport signed by the Queen: 'To all Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables, Customers, Controllers, and Searchers, to our Wardens and Under Wardens of our Marches for anempst [concerning] Scotland, and to all other our officers, ministers, and subjects, to whom in this case shall appertain'.

'Whereas this bearer, Thomas Barnaby gentleman, appointed to accompany one Monsieur de Beaufort, a gentleman of our good brother the French King's, sent into Scotland to our good sister the Queen Dowager, there do at this present pass with our good favour and licence through this our realm into Scotland; we will and command you, not only to suffer the said Monsieur de Beaufort and Thomas Barnaby quietly to pass by you with their bags, baggage, and necessaries, without any your search, let, or trouble, both going and coming, but also to see them favourably used by the way, and furnished of their able post horses and of all other things that they shall need for their reasonable money, whereof we require you not to fail as you tender our pleasure, and will answer for the contrary at your perils. And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant in this behalf. Given under our Signet, at our honour of Hampton Court, the last of August, the first year of our reign'.

Aug 31, Hampton Court, Sir William Cecil: 'To all Bailiffs, Constables, Headboroughs, and to all the Queen's Majesty's Posts'.

'Although it needeth not to require any more favour for the furtherance of these gentlemen, having the Queen's Majesty's special passport, yet, because I know their journey requireth expedition, I do recommend them to you'.

Arran arrived safely and secretly at Hamilton. [Sadler, i.418,422].

Sept 1, Leipzig, Alexander Ales to the Queen, a 20 page Latin letter.

Ales, who had been in the employ of Thomas Cromwell in the 1530s, describes the events leading up to Queen Anne Boleyn's execution. He has written 'the history, or tragedy, of the death of your most holy mother, in order to illustrate the glory of God and to afford consolation to the godly'. Amongst his memories are:

On the day Anne Boleyn was imprisoned 'Never shall I forget the sorrow which I felt when I saw...your most religious mother carrying you, still a little baby, in her arms and entreating...your father, in Greenwich Palace, from the open window of which he was looking into the courtyard, when she brought you to him'.

On the day of the Queen's execution in 1536 Ales was at Lambeth Palace, where the Archbishop of Canterbury (Thomas Cranmer) told him 'She who has been the Queen of England upon earth will today become a Queen in heaven', and burst into tears. [SPF.i.524-534].



Court news. Sept 5, London, De Noailles to King François II: 'The Queen, not having had a fit of fever for 10 to 12 days, has now begun to feel so sure of her health that she is considering not taking any more medicine'.<sup>BT</sup>

Sept 6, De Noailles to Monsieur D'Oysel, French Ambassador to Scotland: 'I have been assured that the Queen has written to the governors of her Northern borders not to show any favour to your Protestants'. As for the Earl of Arran, the Queen denies having any news of him. [*Teulet*, i.345-6].

By Sept 7: Dru Drury, Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber, was dismissed.<sup>T</sup> Anon: 'Drury imprisoned in September 1559 for that it was suspected lest he would have slain the Lord Robert, whom he thought to be uncomely to be so great with the Queen'.<sup>YL</sup>

Sept 7, De Quadra to the Duchess of Parma: The Emperor's Ambassador and I were advised by 'a sister of Lord Robert, called Lady Sidney, that this was the best time to speak to the Queen about the Archduke'; she said 'if I broached the matter of the match to the Queen now she was sure it would be speedily settled. I tried to discover what this might mean, and find that the Queen is much alarmed at a plot which they have told her of against her and Robert, the object of which was to kill him at a banquet given recently to the Queen by the Earl of Arundel, where also the Queen was to be poisoned. This plot, together with the French war preparations for Scotland, seems to have decided the Queen to marry.. Lady Sidney said that if this were not true I might be sure she would not say such a thing as it might cost her her life, and she was acting now with the Queen's consent...All London looks upon the affair as settled'.

'Lady Sidney said the Queen wished the Archduke to come at once, and I ought to write to the Emperor to send him...Treasurer Parry also spoke to me...and from him I gathered that the Queen is driven to this by fear...and when next I went to the palace he hoped to give me good news...The Queen had summoned both of them the night before. Parry said the marriage had now become necessary'.

Sept 7, De Quadra to the Bishop of Arras: 'Lord Robert and his sister are certainly acting splendidly, and the King will have to reward them well, better than he does me...The question of religion is of the most vital importance, as is the manner of the Archduke's marriage and its conditions and ceremonies'.

'In view of these difficulties it would be better for the wedding to be a clandestine one'. [*Span*. i.95-96].

Sept 8, Breuner reported to the Emperor his dealings with Lady Sidney.<sup>K</sup>

Sept 9, De Quadra to the Duke of Alva, about the plot: 'A great friend of Robert's says that...the Queen was to be poisoned and he murdered'...

'It seems that [Sir William] Pickering is sending a challenge to the Earl of Bedford for having spoken ill of him at a banquet. Lord Robert, who is to be Pickering's second, has promised to deliver the challenge. I do not believe that Bedford will ever quarrel with anybody'. [*Span*.i.96].

*Sept 9, Sat, St Paul's Cathedral: Obsequies for King Henri II of France, who died on July 10. Chief Mourner: William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester.*

*'Afore noon they came to the church from the Bishop's Palace, the Heralds afore them...and there they had service...And after all done to the Bishop's Palace to dinner, for there was officers of the Queen's house, of every office some, for there was great cheer'.<sup>MA</sup> The Queen's Cofferer paid £789.<sup>C</sup> [Details of the Obsequies and expenses: Nichols, *Progresses* (2014), i.163-166].*

Court news. Sept 12, De Quadra to Emperor Ferdinand:

'The Earl of Arran (whom the Queen thinks of marrying) has been with her secretly here two or three times'. [Span.i.97].

Sept 15: Queen's reward: To Lord Ambrose Dudley's musicians, 20s.<sup>H</sup>

*Sept 18-October: Ambassadors from Saxony in London.*

*Volrad, Count Mansfield, and Francis Burchardt, sent by John Frederick II, Duke of Saxony, to treat for marriage with the Duke's brother, William.*

*Sept 18, London, De Quadra to the Bishop of Arras: Count Mansfield has arrived here on behalf of Duke John.* [KL.ii.28].

Sept 19, Rheims, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to the Queen: The Cardinal of Lorraine 'had heard assuredly that the Earl of Arran was gone into Denmark', and you had told their Ambassador that if he 'happened to arrive in England... that if your Majesty may lay hands of him, you would upon your honour cause him to be bound hand and foot, and sent unto them; such was your inclination... to the observance of the Treaty, and continuance of the amity'. [Forbes, i.230]. [Arran had secretly had audience of the Queen on August 29].

Sept 20, Hampton Court, Queen to numerous noblemen and their wives: to prepare to attend us in London at the coming of the great embassy from the King of Sweden. [SP12/6/47].

*Sept 22: death: Lady Cobham, wife of William Brooke, 10th Lord Cobham, died at Cobham Hall, Kent, where the Queen stayed in July. Funeral: Oct 3, Cobham. Lord Cobham married (25 Feb 1560) Frances Newton, at court.*

*By 23 Sept 1559-April 1560: Duke of Finland in England.*

*John Duke of Finland (1537-1592), who landed at Harwich, Essex.*

*He was second son of King Gustav of Sweden and was often called in England 'the Prince of Sweden'. He came to urge the Queen to marry his older half-brother Eric (later King Eric XIV). Sweden had an elective monarchy and Eric was already King-Elect.*

*With John was his uncle Steno Ericson, who returned home in November.*

Sept 24, Sun French Ambassador at Hampton Court for audience.

De Noailles to Queen Regent of Scotland, Sept 29: 'The Queen was laughing almost throughout the audience, and had a joyful countenance'. [Teulet, i.355-6].

Also Sept 24, Hampton Court, Queen's warrant to the Keeper of Westminster Palace, to deliver to the Spanish Ambassador 'one kirtle and a hood of crimson velvet lined with black satin belonging to the Order of *Toison d'Or*', to be sent to King Philip. [BL Add MS 5751A, f.57]. The Ambassador had been pressing for the return of King Henry VIII's insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece.

Sept 25, Hampton Court, Queen to the Duke of Finland: We wish you had landed at some port nearer London. We are sending Henry Knollys to you, and have commanded the Earl of Oxford to arrange your journey. [SPF.i.573].

Henry Knollys received 'for his charges sent from Hampton Court to Harwich to welcome the Duke of Finland', £10.<sup>T</sup>

Sept 27, Hampton Court: Council to the Archbishop-elect of Canterbury (Matthew Parker), sending the Bishop of Durham to remain with him, so that 'you may have conference with him in certain points of religion wherein he is to be resolved'. [Parker, 77]. Cuthbert Tunstall, now the former Bishop, died in the Archbishop's custody at Lambeth on November 18.

Sept 27, Hampton Court, Sir William Cecil to Sir Ralph Sadler:

'The French have sent a Great Seal into Scotland, graven with the arms of France, England, and Scotland, and with a style for the French King and Queen, naming them King and Queen of France, England, Scotland'...

'Tomorrow the Queen's Majesty removeth to Westminster'.

Endorsed 'Haste haste haste Post'. [Sadler, i.463-4].

[Sept] 27, Harwich, Henry Knollys to Sir William Cecil, of his first meeting with John Duke of Finland:

'At 7 o'clock in the morning this day I came unto Harwich, and at 9 o'clock ...was admitted unto the Duke's presence...The Queen's message he received very thankfully'...

'All that I spoke in declaring how much the Queen's highness rejoiced on his behalf that he had escaped the perils of the seas and was now safely arrived within her Majesty's realm, he interpreted it even as lovers do, applying it altogether for a testimony of the Queen's good inclination towards the liking of his embassy'...

'After dinner my Lord of Oxford had him forth on hawking, and showed him great sport, killing in his sight both pheasant and partridge, wherein he seemed to take great pleasure'...

'Afterwards, in talk of his removing towards London, I was very desirous... to know when he intended to take his journey that way. Whereunto he answered that by reason his horses were much impaired through the noisomeness of the seas, they were not yet able to serve him, but after four or five days he thought he should be ready to go'.

PS. The Duke has said 'that if the pilots of the town would have conducted forth his ships he would have gone by water...when the wind served'.

[SP12/7/72]. John de Vere, 16th Earl of Oxford, had estates in Essex.

Sept 28, Thur **WHITEHALL PALACE.**<sup>c</sup>

The Emperor's Ambassador accompanied the Queen by river from Hampton Court.

Baron Breuner to Emperor Ferdinand, Oct 22, London: 'I rode to court... There I heard that her Majesty...had a little hurt her thigh, and therefore could not ride...Her Majesty invited me to come into her boat and desired to play with me, and during the game she was very merry'.

'The game over she went apart from the courtiers and in the presence of the Mistress of the Bedchamber who does not know French she addressed me in the French tongue'...

'I let her speak on...(for it is her wont to make long digressions and after much circumlocution to come to the point of which she wishes to speak)'...

She told me "The son of the King of Sweden, who is styled the Duke of Finland, is to arrive here in four days. We shall then see what he is like".

I said 'she was desired in marriage by so many mighty potentates...and should no longer walk alone through life'...

She answered that 'it would end in her having to marry one of them, for if she were to refuse all who had hitherto desired her in marriage, she would scare away all others and would finally either have to remain in single blessedness or have to entreat someone for God's sake to marry her'.

A long conversation followed concerning Archduke Charles, mainly whether he would come, and if so openly or secretly.

'I had been warned by Lady Sidney that I...would never obtain a clear and definite answer from the Queen'.

Breuner gave the Spanish Ambassador details of this conversation.<sup>k</sup>

Court news. Sept 30, London, De Noailles to the Cardinal of Lorraine:  
 'The Queen has been here since Thursday on return from her progress, awaiting the arrival next Wednesday [October 4] of the young Prince of Sweden, whom the great ones of her court are making ready to welcome and to treat with honour'.  
 [Teulet, i.358].

Sept 30, Sat Spanish Ambassador at Whitehall for audience.

De Quadra to Emperor Ferdinand, Oct 2, concerning whether or not Archduke Charles should come: 'When the Queen came to London the [Emperor's] Ambassador went to accompany her, and I believe that in the barge the Queen herself began to speak about the business to him...saying that she thought she should be forced to marry. Breuner says that all her endeavour was to find out something about the Archduke's coming'.

On Saturday 'I was about to take my leave when she began to talk about the marriage...She would have liked to know whether the Archduke was coming, which is the only thing she thinks about'...

'I said that...the desire of your Majesty was to know whether she would marry the Archduke, and her answer was that she did not want to marry him or anybody else, and if she married at all it would only be to a man whom she knew'...

'At last she said the following words to me..."Shall I speak plainly and tell you the truth? I think that if the Emperor so desires me for a daughter he would not be doing too much by sending his son here without so many safeguards. I do not hold myself of so small account that the Emperor need sacrifice any dignity in doing it"...

'They think...your Majesty wishes your son to be supplicated and summoned, which she said she would never do; she would rather die a thousand deaths. She says it is not fit for a Queen and a maiden to summon anyone to marry her for her pleasure...I told her that if this was the only difficulty I thought none would be raised by your Majesty in sending your son hither' and 'begged her to tell me whether she would be pleased that he should come'...

'She told me that she would be glad for the Archduke to come, and asked me what languages he spoke. We chatted on the subject very pleasantly for some time...I asked her whether she thought the Archduke should come publicly or secretly' and she said 'he should do as he thought fit, and she did not want to know anything about his coming'. She 'protested again and again that she was not to be bound, and that she was not resolved yet whether she should marry; but this was after we had agreed about the Archduke's visit'.

She said she would write to King Philip, so that 'he might bear witness that she would bind herself to nothing and had not asked the Archduke to come'...

'Her words need not cause any alarm as they are certainly nothing but ceremony...I do not believe that Lady Sidney and Lord Robert could be mistaken, and the latter says he never thought the Queen would go so far'...

'She is really in grave fear, as she sees the French increasing their army in Scotland, and the Catholics here more steadfast and discontented than ever, and ...she is not safe against conspiracy...For these several reasons it is known that she is determined to marry, and will do so before Christmas according to the general opinion; indeed she told me herself that the people were troubling her about it so constantly that it was impossible for her to avoid satisfying them...As she is a woman, and a spirited and obstinate woman too, passion has to be considered, and...she might take into her head to marry a son of the King of Sweden, or some other heretic...I am therefore of opinion that your Majesty should be pleased to send the Archduke with your blessing'. [Span.i.97-102].

[The Queen's letter to King Philip: Oct 2].

September: was printed *Thomas Gemini's Compendiosa totius Anatomie delineatio. Illustrated Latin text-book of Anatomy, translated from Vesalius's 'Anatomy'.*

3rd edition. Title-page engraving of the Queen with her sceptre.

Dedicated to the Queen. 'To the most high and virtuous' Queen 'Thomas Gemini wisheth prosperous reign, health, and felicity'. 'We can no ways come sooner to the knowledge of God, than first to learn to know ourselves'. If 'thou art desirous to seek God the artificer, consider well the workmanship of man's body, whereby thou mayest learn who was the framer of so goodly an image...It is great impiety and void of all reason to think that the world was framed without a maker...So cannot we otherwise come to the knowledge of the constitution of man's body, than by the Anatomy (that is) dismembering of the same'.

Gemini had dedicated 'former impressions first to your father of famous memory, and then unto your brother (both which impressions are now wasted, and the same again earnestly required at my hands)'.

By your 'most gracious bounty I have my living and being here in your realm of England under your Grace's protection'. (London, 1559).

Gemini, a Fleming, came to England in 1540.

Lord Robert Dudley paid him £10 in 1559 'for an instrument of astronomy'.<sup>L</sup>

Several mathematical instruments made by him survive; an astrolabe made for the Queen in 1559 is at the Museum of the History of Science, Oxford.

Oct 1, Westminster, Sir William Cecil to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton:

'Here is great resort of wooers, and controversy amongst lovers. The King of Sweden's second son John Duke of Finland has arrived at Harwich with five hulks...The Duke shall come on Wednesday to Winchester House, and I think on Friday hither. He brings great plenty of silver, but yet much counterfeited; it is not valued, but her Majesty provides that the Swedes shall have current money at the Mint upon an exchange'...

'The Duke of Saxony's Ambassador Count Mansfield, and one Francisco, who was the old Duke's Chancellor, shortly return...It may not be much known that they motioned any matter of matrimony. The Chancellor of the Duke of Holstein is treating here for an intercourse of merchandise'. [SPF.ii.4].

Oct 1, Colchester, Earl of Oxford to Privy Council, of the Duke of Finland:

'This night he is come to Colchester with 11 carts and 44 horse, and of his own horse about 30. I must be fain to make shift and lay out money for them this night...He liketh the country very well. And I have prepared for him and his uncle handsome ambling geldings, and will do still for his journey'.

Oct 1, Colchester, Sir Thomas Smith to Sir William Cecil: The Duke 'may be well content with his entertainment here...I like him better every day because he beginneth more and more to learn our manners...and...to be a good fellow... Our country he liketh but too well...His halberdiers and Guard follow him, and hath with him eight footmen arrayed in black velvet jerkins after the manner of England, as I perceive some of his hath seen about London'. [SP12/7/1,2].

Oct 2, Mon Spanish Ambassador at Whitehall for audience.

Oct 2, De Quadra to Emperor Ferdinand: 'Cecil sent to say that if I wanted the letter [for King Philip] I was to go and see the Queen today at two. I did so and found her with the letter in her hand very merry'. She said 'she knew that this was the best marriage in Christendom for her, and I might be sure she would only take the best..She wanted to know where we were going to lodge his Highness ...I said here in my house until she received him in hers...I think I discover that she is really as much set on this marriage as your Majesty is'.

To Philip II, Oct 5: The Queen said she feared the Archduke 'might not be satisfied with her...He might not be dissatisfied with what he saw but with what he heard about her...This she said with some signs of shame'. [Span.i.102-104].

Oct 3, Westminster, Queen to John Frederick II, Duke of Saxony: The Count of Mansfield and Francis Burchardt have addressed me on two matters: religion, and marriage. Although I have always been opposed to marriage, I am indebted to you for the way in which you have recommended your brother to me, whose merits are well known. I have explained myself to your legates. [SPF.ii.8].

Oct 5, Thur Matthew Arundell's marriage, Whitehall Palace. Matthew Arundell (c.1534-1598), of Wiltshire, married Margaret Willoughby of Wollaton, Notts; she had been a member of Elizabeth's household at Hatfield and was now a Gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber.

Oct 5, Sir William Cecil to Sir Ralph Sadler: 'This day Matthew Arundell is married to Mistress Willoughby'.

Queen's Pantry lost: 'One gilt trencher plain...Lost at the marriage of Mistress Willoughby *anno primo*'. [Sadler, i.481; TNA E351/1953].

Matthew Arundell was knighted in 1574; he and his wife were in attendance at court until she died in 1584.

Oct 5: 'Came to London by Aldgate the Prince of Sweden, and so to Leadenhall, and down Gracechurch Street corner in a house stood the Lord Marquis of Northampton and my Lord Ambrose Dudley and other gentlemen and ladies; and my Lord of Oxford brought him from Colchester and my Lord Robert Dudley, the Master of the Queen's Horse; and trumpets blowing in divers places, and they had a great number of gentlemen rode with chains afore them, and after them 200 yeomen riding; and so riding over the Bridge unto the Bishop of Winchester's place, for it was richly hanged with rich cloth of arras, wrought with gold and silver and silk, and there he remaineth'.<sup>MA</sup> First audience: October 12.

*The Duke of Finland stayed until April 1560 at Winchester Place, Southwark, Surrey. Anon: He came 'to be a suitor to the Queen for his brother the Prince of Sweden elected King...He kept a very great house, great fare; his own mess was daily wholly given to the poor, and fresh meat prepared for his waiters. He was very liberal to the poor. In Southwark he gave before his departure to all poor households, some 6, some 8, some 12, some 20 dollars, which made him well spoken of. He spent here for the time above 20,000 dollars. He brought much bullion with him which was coined at the Tower and part he gave to the lords. The Earl of Hertford was very familiar with him and they used much play at tennis. He was a very proper man, well learned, well nurtured, and had the commendation of all men. He had his preacher...The Emperor nor Philip's Ambassador could not abide this Duke. He brought with him ships well armed and furnished...They would suffer none to enter them'.<sup>YL</sup>*

Oct 8, Sun sermon, Whitehall: John Veron, a Huguenot. 'Did preach within the Queen's chapel at Whitehall Parson Veron, the Frenchman...that the new bishops elected should have lands as the old bishops had, or else they were not able to maintain and keep good house'.<sup>MA</sup>

John or Jean Veron became Rector of St Martin's Ludgate; in 1561 he dedicated to the Queen *A Fruitful Treatise of Predestination*.

Court news. Oct 9, London, De Quadra to the Bishop of Arras:

'On Thursday the Queen had ordered the marriage of one of her lady servants to take place in her own chapel and directed that a crucifix and candles should be placed upon the altar, which caused so much noise amongst her chaplains and the Council that the intention was abandoned for the time, but it was done at vespers on Saturday, and on Sunday the clergy wore vestments as they do in our services, and so great was the crowd at the palace that disturbance was feared in the city. The fact is that the crucifixes and vestments that were burnt a month ago publicly are now set up again in the royal chapel'. [Span.i.105].

Oct 9: The Queen gave 'The Archbishop of Macedonia in Greece, in way of reward', £20.<sup>T</sup>

Oct 10: To Levina Teerlinc (painter, c.1483-1576): annuity of £40 for life; she already had £40 p.a. from 1546 'during the King's pleasure'.<sup>P</sup>

Oct 11, Queen to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Ambassador to France:

We are 'moved with the pitiful suit of your good wife, being vexed with an ague...to license you to come hither by post to see her...and not remain here past four or five days'. Henry Killigrew is to be left in charge.

[*Forbes*, i.251-2]. Throckmorton had been urging his need to see the Queen; his wife's ague was a pretext. He arrived on November 7.

Court news. Oct 12, London, De Noailles to Monsieur D'Oysel: Du Croc has just arrived, and we are going together to court. 'I know that the personage of whom you know [Earl of Arran] saw the Queen in passing, and that he was introduced to her by the Treasurer of her Household [Sir Thomas Parry, on August 29] in the garden at Hampton Court, where they were together for some time, and when he left there he was given five or six hundred crowns'. [*Teulet*, i.360-361].

Mary of Guise, Dowager Queen and Queen Regent of Scotland, had sent Du Croc to France on business, and asked for him to have audience in passing.

Another envoy, Carrouges, also had audience on his arrival from France.

Oct 12,Thur Duke of Finland at Whitehall for first audience.

James Harman 'apparelling and hanging the hall and divers chambers at Westminster...against the coming of the Duke of Finland'.<sup>T</sup>

'Went by water unto the court the King of Sweden's son and his Guard, and there he was honourably received with many honourable men at the Hall door, where the Guard stood in their rich coats, unto the Queen's chamber, and there he was received of the Queen's Grace, and after he had great cheer as could be had'.<sup>MA</sup>

The French Ambassador, two French envoys, and the French hostages, were also at Whitehall.

Court news. Oct 12, Sir William Cecil to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton:

'The names of four new hostages have been presented to her Majesty'...

'Today the Duke of Finland has had access to the Queen, and has very wisely and readily declared the occasion of his coming to her in good Latin. The French hostages stood so nigh the cloth of state as they might hear what he said'.

Two new hostages arrived in April 1560.

Oct 12, Cecil to Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Croft:

'Hither is come one Monsieur Carrouges, now of the French King's chamber... His pretence is to bring the names of four new hostages, but his coming indeed is to consult here with the Ambassador what good advice may be sent to the Dowager; and to that end this day cometh in post one Anthony Guery, alias Protestant, a courier, with letters. God send him small speed'.

[*SPF*.ii.33-4; *Sadler*, i.495].

Oct 13 (midnight), Westminster: Cecil to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton:

'The secret coming of Don Carolo, the Archduke of Austria, is looked for here shortly...Tomorrow Carrouges shall take his leave. And so do I now take my leave, half asleep'. [*SPF*.i.37-8].

Oct 14,Sat French envoy at Whitehall to take leave. Monsieur Carrouges.

Oct 14, death: John Lord Williams of Thame (c.1500-1559), Lord President of the Council in the Marches of Wales, died at Ludlow, Shropshire.

In his will, March 18, he made numerous bequests to his wife, including: 'a standing cup with a cover gilt given by the Queen's Majesty at the christening of my Lady's child' [Jan 24], and similar cups given at the same time by the Duchess of Norfolk and the Earl of Bedford; also 'all such linen as was provided or bought against the christening of the child, and her lying in childbed'. Also 'a standing cup with a cover gilt given to me for a New Year's gift by the Queen's Majesty that now is'.

Also ten named geldings, viz: Morrell Williams, Sorrell Rufford, Cole Read, Roan Mullford, Great Bayard, Bayard Thomson, Cole Cantwell, Little Bayard, Roan Curtal, Grey Mulliner, and 'a grey gelding lately broken'.

Bequest to Lord Robert Dudley: 'A black mare called Maud Mullford, with her colt of the last year, which mare I take to be the best mare in England'.

Funeral: November 15, Thame Church, Oxfordshire, where his monument remains, with effigies of himself and his first wife, Elizabeth.

The title Lord Williams of Thame went into abeyance, two daughters by his first wife being co-heirs.

The widowed Margery Lady Williams (1528-1587) married:  
(Oct 1560): William Drury (died 1579); (1580): Captain James Croft.

Court news. Oct 16, London, De Quadra to Emperor Ferdinand: Archduke Charles should be sent at once. 'We told the Queen yesterday that we thought the Archduke would soon come and she was much pleased'. As for Count Helfenstein 'we think he had better stay in Flanders and bring his Highness over with him disguised as a member of his household'. [Span.i.107].

Oct 19, Thur Duke of Finland at Whitehall.  
'The Prince of Sweden went to the court again, for my Lord Robert Dudley gave him a great banquet'.<sup>MA</sup>

Oct 20, Westminster, Sir Wm Cecil to Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Croft: 'Here is the Duke of Finland, who on his brother's behalf showeth himself very politique to further the suit. He is very courteous and yet princely liberal... Well spoken in the Latin tongue. How he shall speed God knoweth, and not I'.

'We hear that the Archduke of Austria is on the way hitherward, not with any pomp, but...by post in stealth. The King of Spain is earnest for him. What may come time will shortly show. I would to God her Majesty had one, and the rest honourably satisfied'.

'The Count Mansfield, which came from the Duke of Saxe, is become the Queen's Majesty's pensioner, and shall have 2000 crowns pension. He is bound to bring 4000 footmen and 500 horsemen upon occasion'...

'The Laird of Lethington meaneth to come secretly'. [Sadler, i.507].

Volrad Count Mansfield and Francis Burchardt left for the Low Countries. Mansfield's pension was paid 1560-1561.

By Oct 20: Duke of Holstein's envoy at Whitehall for audience. Adam Thraciger. Oct 20, Queen to Adolph Duke of Holstein, commending Thraciger's zeal and diligence.

In December the Duke decided to come to visit the Queen in person.  
[SPF.ii.43,202].

Oct 20, Paris, *Pierre Boistuau* dedicated to the Queen: '*Histoires tragiques, extraictes de quelques fameux auteurs, Italiens et Latins, mises en Francais*'.  
With a sonnet in French to the Queen. (Paris, 1559).



Oct 20, Fri At the Queen's wish the Council published Articles 'For a Reformation in certain Abuses of Apparel'. This ordered every lord or master to take a census of his servants' clothes and to see that they do not wear clothes made illegal by the Statutes of Apparel, unless they are wearing them out. [SP12/7/12]. Statutes closely regulating men's apparel according to their wealth, rank, and occupation had been published in previous reigns.

Oct 21, Sat, Westminster. Proclamation (463): Enforcing Statutes of Apparel. Great numbers of the Queen's subjects have been 'wearing of such excessive and inordinate apparel as in no age hath been seen the like'. Statutes made in 1533 and 1554 'against excessive apparel' are to be enforced [men's apparel]. 'Brief content' of these Statutes 'against the inordinate use of apparel'.

1533 Statute: None shall wear in his apparel any:

*Cloth of gold, silver, or tinsel; satin, silk, or cloth mixed with gold or silver, nor any sables; except earls and all of superior degrees, and viscounts and barons in their doublets and sleeveless coats.*

*Woollen cloth made out of the realm; velvet, crimson, scarlet, or blue; furs; except dukes, marquises, earls or their children, barons, and Knights of the Order [of the Garter].*

*Velvet in gowns, coats, or outermost garments; furs of leopards; embroidery; pricking or printing with gold, silver, or silk; except barons' sons, knights, or men that may dispense £200 by year.*

*Taffeta, satin, damask or silk, in his outermost garments; velvet, otherwise than in jackets, doublets, etc; fur whereof the kind groweth not within the Queen's dominions...except a man that may dispense £100 by year.*

1554 Statute: None shall wear any silk in:

*Hat, bonnet, nightcap, girdle, scabbard, hose, shoes, spur leathers; except the son and heir or daughter of a knight, or the wife of the said son, a man that may dispense £20 by year, or is worth £200 in goods'.*

*The 1559 Proclamation makes other exceptions: 'for such as have licence by the Queen's Majesty, or such as shall run in any jousts, or shall serve in war, or shall have apparel given them to be worn by her Majesty'.*

Oct 21, Edinburgh: 'The Act of Deprivation of Mary of Guise'. [Queen Regent]. 'By us, the nobility and commons of the Protestants of the Church of Scotland'. To be publicly proclaimed. The leaders of the Protestants were known as 'the Lords of the Congregation'. (See Sir William Cecil's letter, Nov 2).

Oct 27, Fri: christening of Sir Thomas Chamberlain's son. At St Benet's at Paul's Wharf 'and the church hanged with cloth of arras, the godfathers' names the Prince of Sweden one and my Lord Robert Dudley, and the godmother was my Lady of Northampton; after the christening wafers, spice-bread, comfits, and divers other banquets, dishes, and hippocras and muscatel in great plenty'.<sup>MA</sup> Child: John Chamberlain (1559-1617; not the letter-writer).

Sir Thomas Chamberlain lived near St Paul's Cathedral; he was Ambassador to Spain 1560-1562; in March 1563 the Queen was godmother to his daughter.

Court news. Oct 28, London, De Noailles to the Cardinal of Lorraine, of the Queen's secret assistance to the Scottish 'rebels', to whom she had sent large sums of money: 'In the management of their business they do not admit the presence of a clerk; Cecil himself writes the dispatches, and ciphers and decipher those which are of consequence. The Queen herself, with one or two others at the most, frequently settles the most important pieces of business... This lady is wonderfully cautious, and is fully aware of the danger which might result to herself. Yet time will bring truth to light'. [Teulet, i.360].

Court news. Oct 29, London, De Quadra to Count de Feria:

'Here we are, ten or twelve Ambassadors, competing for her favour, and now they say the Duke of Holstein, brother of the King of Denmark, is coming, and as they tell me, not a worse-looking man than the Archduke. The King of Sweden's son, who is here, is fit to kill the Emperor's Ambassador, because he said his father was only a clown who had stolen his kingdom from the Crown of Denmark, and the matter has reached such a point that the Queen is careful they should not meet in the palace to avoid their slashing each other in her presence'...

'The other day when [Sir William] Pickering was going into the chapel, which is inside the Queen's apartments, the Earl of Arundel came to the door and told him he knew very well that that was a place for lords, and he must go to the Presence Chamber. The other answered that he knew that, and he also knew that Arundel was an impudent discourteous knave, which the Earl heard and went out without answering a word, leaving the other to enter'.

Oct 29, De Quadra to the Duchess of Parma:

'The Queen is very pleased and gay, as she thinks the Archduke is coming, but otherwise as fickle as ever, and as determined to see him before deciding. This woman's troubles are growing apace, and her house will be in a blaze before she knows it. I am sure if the Archduke comes she will marry him'...

'A plot was made the other day to murder Lord Robert, and it is now common talk and threat. The plot was headed by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Surrey, and all the principal adherents of the Archduke'. [Span.i.107-9].

Oct 29, Antwerp, Thomas Gresham to Sir William Cecil: *The news is that 'Don Carolo, the Emperor's third son, is coming into England with a great sort of noblemen and gentlemen, to the number of 4 or 500 horses; which is much rejoiced at here; and the arrival of the King of Sweden's son in England is nothing liked here, for they cannot to abide to hear of him, nor specially of his Father, for all the riches he hath and doth offer with his son, for they say he is a usurped King...If it stand with her Highness's pleasure to marry a stranger [foreigner], surely there is no one so meet as one of the Emperor's sons (for that he is noble born) and, in the marrying of him, we are sure to have peace with these two great princes, - I mean the King of Spain and the French King; beside, we shall have all Germany to our friend'*. [Burgon, i.316].

Oct 30, Westminster, Queen to Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Croft, in Berwick (words in italics in cipher): 'Where there was brought to you thither, about the 20th of this month, *three thousand pounds*, our pleasure is that ye shall, *in most secret manner*, see the same, or such part thereof as ye shall think needful, to be delivered to the Protestants of Scotland'. [Sadler, i.531].

The money was stolen before it reached the Protestant lords.

Nov 1, Wed All Saints' Day service at Whitehall.

Also: Proclamation before the Queen of a Tournament to be held November 5.

Nov 1: death. Richard Knyvett, one of the Queen's Gentlemen Pensioners. Funeral: November 7, Westminster Abbey.

Nov 2, Sir William Cecil to Sir Thomas Chaloner: 'The matters of Scotland remained thus at the end of October. On the 22nd by proclamation, the Duke [of Châtellerault] and the nobility, being at Edinburgh, have suspended the Regent's authority, surmising it to be abused. She has enclosed herself in Leith with the French, and prepared also the island of Inchkeith for further succour. The Scots for lack of artillery cannot expel the French out of the town'. [SPF.ii.75].

Court news. Nov 2, London, De Noailles to the Cardinal of Lorraine, of Scottish Protestants: 'Henry Balnaves, whom the Congregation sent here, has returned, without having had much encouragement from the Queen. Secretly she has put them in hope of her help, for which purpose the elder Melville [Robert Melville] remains at court'.

'Yesterday the Queen celebrated the Feast of All Saints with much solemnity, having in the great chapel at Westminster, during the service, had two candles lighted on the high altar, which she has had put back against the wall as it used to be, with the cross and silver crucifix on it. This has marvellously astonished the Protestants in this town and made them murmur; and if that continues the Scots will not be so sure of being favoured here for their religion. I do not know if this display is to open the way to some other marriage than those commonly spoken of. Nevertheless I am told that the suit of the Emperor's son is soon to receive some conclusion'...

'The Duke of Finland is continuing with his enterprise, often visiting the Queen, always well thought of and received by her. Even yesterday M.de Candalle [a French hostage] found him with her. The Duke wished to make a present to her of a ring worth 5000 to 6000 crowns, which she with several excuses has deferred accepting yet'.

'Yesterday was proclaimed in this court in the presence of the Queen a tournament next Sunday, with Lord Robert Dudley and Lord Hunsdon as Challengers, four blows of the lance against all comers. The Queen is giving two prizes for the best on each side'. [Teulet, i.368-9].

Nov 2, London, John Jewel to Peter Martyr: 'The Swede, and Charles, the son of Ferdinand, are courting at a most marvellous rate. But the Swede is most in earnest, for he promises mountains of silver in case of success. The lady however is probably thinking of an alliance nearer home'. [Zurich, 62].

Nov 3: *christening*. Queen was godmother to the Duke of Norfolk's child.

Parents: Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk; 2nd wife: Margaret (Audley), widow of Lord Henry Dudley (brother of Lord Ambrose and Lord Robert Dudley).

On Nov 3 Edmund Forster, Gentleman Usher, received £6.13s4d 'to give in reward to the nurse and midwife'.<sup>T</sup> Child: Lady Elizabeth ('Bess') Howard; she died young; she has a monument at St Michael's Church, Framlingham, Suffolk.

Nov 4, Vienna, Emperor Ferdinand to Baron Breuner, rebuking him for giving the Queen such great hopes that Archduke Charles would come to England. I will not send my son until my new Ambassador Count Helfenstein has sent word that the negotiations will have the desired result. My son cannot come incognito with the Count, which would be unworthy of the 'glorious House of Austria'.<sup>K</sup>

Nov 5, Count de Feria to De Quadra: 'If Duke Adolph goes thither the Queen will have no cause to find fault either as to his good looks or his heresy'. [Span.i.109]. Adolph, Duke of Holstein, arrived in March 1560.

Court news. Nov 5, London, John Jewel to Peter Martyr, in Zurich, who had sent the Queen a book in Latin (defending the old doctrines of the Lord's Supper; dedicated to her, March 1) and a letter:

The Queen 'eagerly perused both your letter and the book itself, and wonderfully commended both your learning and character in general'...

'Your book was made so much of by all men that I know not whether anything of the kind was ever so valued before'. [Zurich, 68]. Peter Martyr later declined an invitation to return to England to take up a university post.

Nov 5, Sun **Tournament:** Tilt, at Whitehall. [Challenge made Nov 1].

Challengers: Lord Robert Dudley and Lord Hunsdon.

18 Defendants, whom Lord Robert and Lord Hunsdon fought alternately:

Lord Ambrose Dudley;	Lord Scrope;	Lord Windsor;
Lord Darcy;	Charles Howard;	Sir Robert Rich;
Sir Roger North;	Edward Fitzgarrett;	William Howard;
Barnaby Fitzpatrick;	Sir Walter Hungerford;	Francis Browne;
Edward Hungerford;	Robert Constable;	[Henry] Harvey;
Thomas Cornwallis;	Thomas Warcop;	Edward Ormesby.

Prize-winners: the brothers Lord Robert Dudley and Lord Ambrose Dudley.

The French Ambassador was present (see his dispatch, November 9).

'There was great jousts at the Queen's palace, and there was my Lord Robert Dudley and my Lord of Hunsdon were the challengers, and all they were in scarves of white and black, both heralds and trumpeters; and defenders my Lord Ambrose with others, and the heralds and trumpeters and the footmen with scarves of red and yellow sarcenet'.<sup>MA</sup> [Score-cheque: College of Arms Portfolio].

Nov 6, Mon William Drury at Whitehall with the Queen.

Drury (1527-1579), brother of Dru Drury, had a command at Berwick.

Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Croft to Cecil, Oct 31 [Berwick], sending Mr Drury, who has been to Edinburgh and viewed the town of Leith; he is sent to declare what he has seen and heard. 'He is honest, wise, and secret'.

Nov 6, court, William Drury to Sadler and Croft: 'Mine ill success in obtaining post-horses by the way, and the rising of the waters, together did so prolong my travel as I could not arrive here before yesternight, being Sunday, and immediately upon my coming I awaited on Mr Secretary' and had 'a long discourse' with him. 'This morning I was brought unto the Queen's presence, who reviewed the matter again...Having arrived here wet and weary'...

'I am and will be here at your commandments'. [Sadler, i.531,549].

William Drury was not permitted to return to Berwick, and in December was in custody, suspected of implication in his brother Dru's alleged plot against Lord Robert Dudley.

Nov 7, Tues Sir Nicholas Throckmorton at Whitehall on return from France. Throckmorton stayed in England for two monthe.

Court news. Nov 7, Venetian Ambassador in Vienna, to the Senate:

Frederico Colorado, whom Baron Breuner sent to the Emperor, reports 'that the Queen preserved her exceeding beauty, and he has brought her portrait; and also states that she lives a life of magnificence and festivity such as can hardly be imagined, and occupies a great portion of her time with balls, banquets, hunting and similar amusements with the utmost possible display'. [Ven.vii.659].

Nov 8, Queen to King Gustav of Sweden, taken by Duke John's uncle Steno Ericson: (Summary). My reply is not what you might desire. Your friendship to me was greater before my Accession than that of any other prince, and began in the time of my adversity, and so had regard to my person, not to my kingdom.

Since God has imbued my mind with such a love of celibacy that I will not willingly suffer myself to be diverted from it, I hope that you will urge your son, Eric, to marry without further delay.

The Queen wrote also to Eric, King-Elect of Sweden. [SPF.ii.86-7].

Nov 9, Thur Emperor's and Spanish Ambassadors at Whitehall for audience. According to Baron Breuner, the Spanish Ambassador endeavoured to 'scare' the Queen and 'force' her into a marriage with Archduke Charles. [*Klarwill*, 164].

Court news. Nov 9, London, De Noailles to King François II:

'On November 3rd I asked for audience which the Queen granted me on November 5th, last Sunday, in the afternoon. I believe that this was in order that I should see the tournament held before her on the same day with Lord Robert and Lord Hunsdon as Challengers, four courses against all comers, where 18 Defendants presented themselves very well equipped, amongst whom were some who ran and broke their lances well. The Queen showed much favour to the two Challengers'.

'In the gallery from which she watched the sport were the Duke of Finland, the Emperor's Ambassador, the hostages, and myself, with many lords and ladies of the court...When the jousting was over, she graciously dispatched the Duke of Finland and the Emperor's Ambassador, to withdraw and speak to me aside'. We spoke of preparations to send French troops to Scotland. The Queen said 'that it was the custom of her realm to arm whenever her neighbours armed', and we discussed both English and French preparations. [*Teulet*, i.369-370].

Mémoire for François II: I 'suddenly had information that the Queen wished to be ready for war, and had sent her Admiral to Gillingham to visit her ships'.

De Noailles gives much detail of preparations being made, including 20 ships to be ready; instructions for Lord Cobham, the Earl of Rutland, for the ports, and for Sir Ralph Sadler; for five new galleys.

The Queen 'has sent a German engineer to visit the fortresses on the Northern borders, with orders to go to Scotland to reconnoitre Petit Leith'.

'Ambassador Throckmorton arrived here on Nov 7th, so unexpectedly that people did not know he was coming. Most of the courtiers and Londoners guess that this foretells war, so that those who had goods and merchandise in France have begun to give orders to remove them. Even Throckmorton's wife did not know that he was coming'...

'The Queen has carried out a transaction with the Duke of Finland for more than a million in gold for lead from her Kingdom, which she should send to Sweden for a billion of silver from that country...by which one guesses that most of the churches and monasteries will soon change their covering'. [*Teulet*, i.373-8].

Court news. Nov 12, Sir William Cecil to Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Croft, in Berwick: The Queen, advised by the Privy Council, wills me to write as follows: 'It seems manifest...that the French intend to break peace with England...Whensoever they shall make an end in Scotland they will begin with England'. 'To further the nobility of Scotland from ruin...it is thought meet the Scots be aided with money and counsel'...

'It is manifest that the scope of the French is against the Crown of England...The Scots declare that they in no wise withdraw their hearts from their Sovereign Lady, but only wish the country to be freed from all French governors'. They beseech Queen Elizabeth 'to receive them under her protection ...The Queen is in consultation whether aid shall be given openly or secretly to Scotland, and if openly, whether she will enter into the war which she fears will be the end'.

Nov 12, Westminster, Cecil to Sadler: 'As yet I have not manifested to the Queen's Majesty the loss of the money [sent to Scotland]...but only to certain Councillors, nevertheless her Majesty shall know of it tomorrow, though it will be too soon. I trust to hear of some better fortune'. [*Sadler*, i.566,573].

Court news. Nov 13, De Quadra to Philip II: 'I noticed Lord Robert was slackening in our business and favouring the Swedish match' and I also heard 'from a certain person who is accustomed to give me veracious news that Lord Robert has sent to poison his wife. Certainly all the Queen has done with us and with the Swede...is only keeping Lord Robert's enemies and the country engaged with words until this wicked deed of killing his wife is consummated. The same person told me some extraordinary things about this intimacy which I would never have believed' and 'I thought I ought not to delay longer in ascertaining the Queen's intentions' and said that 'the Archduke might be already on the road'. She said 'that what she intended was only to see and know him now, for when she might feel inclined to marry'.

Next day Baron Breuner and De Quadra were summoned by the Queen; they told her that they had advised the Archduke to come because of the assurances to them (by Lady Sidney and Parry, Sept 7) that if he came she would marry him.

'She answered that someone had done this with good intentions but without any commission from her'. The Baron, who was 'scandalised' at the news, sent off a courier to the Emperor.

The Duke of Norfolk, 'the chief of Lord Robert's enemies, who are all the principal people in the Kingdom...said that if Lord Robert did not abandon his present pretensions and presumption he would not die in his bed'. He would 'rejoice greatly' if the marriage with the Archduke could be brought about.

'The Queen has taken Count Mansfield and another Colonel who is in Denmark into her service and...thinks of providing herself in this way with the troops she requires. If she finds herself very much pressed she will rather marry the son of the King of Sweden, who is a heretic and offers her many millions, than the Archduke. The kinsman of the Swedish King has left to fetch the King's son whom the Queen says she wishes to see before making up her mind'.

PS. 'The son of the King of Sweden went today to visit the Queen, and being tired of waiting in an ante-chamber he went away to his house without saying a word to anybody. I think he is undeceived now after scattering large sums of money amongst these people, and showing himself off to this Queen'.*[Span.i.112]*.

Nov 14, Blois, Henry Killigrew and Robert Jones to the Queen:

'Carrouges, since his return, hath not only reported that your Majesty hath sworn not to aid the Earl of Arran, nor to assist the Scots, but also that your Majesty hath offered, that in case the French Queen will surcease to bear the arms of England, that your Highness will forbear to give the arms of France'...

'The Cardinal of Lorraine hath declared unto the Queen Mother that your Majesty doth already repent your altering of religion; and that your Highness hath both caused a new crucifix of silver to be made, and heareth mass secretly in your chamber'.

'It is certainly reported in this court that the Archduke of Austria shall marry with your Majesty, and that the matter is already concluded, which doth not...the best please the French'. *[Forbes, i.259-261]*.

Court news. Nov 18, De Quadra to Philip II: The Queen and Council have decided 'to give overt help to the Scots in casting out the French and to deliver the country to the Earl of Arran...She shows the same indecision in marrying the Earl of Arran as with the rest' but confesses that 'the match is the most desirable for the union of the island'...

'Some believe...that she is not in earnest but only wants to amuse the crowd with the hope of the match in order to save the life of Lord Robert, who is very vigilant and suspicious, as he has again been warned that there is a plot to kill him, which I quite believe, for not a man in the realm can suffer the idea of his being King'.

PS. 'The French have captured a sum of money that the Queen was sending to the Scots...This is the first open rupture'. *[Span.i.115-116]*.

Nov 18: *death*. Cuthbert Tunstall (1474-1559), formerly Bishop of Durham, died at Lambeth Palace.

Nov 18, Matthew Parker (Archbishop-elect of Canterbury) to Sir William Cecil, concerning 'my lord of Durham's' funeral', and his few possessions.

'There is one roll of books which he purposed to deliver to the Queen, which is nothing else but King Henry's Testament'. [Parker, 106].

Nov 19: Funeral: Lambeth Palace chapel.

Nov 21: *death*. Duchess of Suffolk (1517-1559) died at Sheen, Surrey. She was Frances (Brandon), widow of Henry Grey Duke of Suffolk (executed 1554), and mother of 'Queen' Lady Jane Grey, Lady Catherine Grey, and Lady Mary Grey.

Funeral: Dec 5, Westminster Abbey. Chief Mourner: Lady Catherine Grey. The Queen paid for the funeral.

The Duchess's monument remains in the Abbey (St Edmund's Chapel).

The Duchess was survived by her second husband Adrian Stokes (c.1533-1585), formerly her Master of Horse; he married (1572) Sir Nicholas Throckmorton's widow, Anne.

Nov 24: new appointment: Lord Robert Dudley became Lieutenant of Windsor Castle and Windsor Great Park.<sup>p</sup>

Nov 25, Westminster, R-ny to Sir Thomas Chaloner:

The Duke of Finland 'increases daily from a good to a better courtier, by applying himself in the use of apparel, familiarity, and by play at the tennis and other exercises'. [SPF.ii.137].

Lord Robert Dudley made payments, winter 1559, to Thomas Whiteley, Keeper of the tennis court at Whitehall, and to 'the Keeper of the tennis court in Southwark when your Lordship played against the Duke of Swethen', 9s.<sup>l</sup>

Nov 25: *French envoy* at Whitehall from Scotland.

Monsieur Rubay, en route to France on private business, was directed to have audience with the Queen to complain about her aid for Scottish rebels.

Ross Herald accompanied him, to take back an answer in writing.

Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Croft to Cecil, Nov 15 [Berwick]: 'Yesternight arrived here Monsieur Rubay, Master of the Requests ordinary with the French King, being directed to the Queen's Majesty from the Queen Dowager of Scotland. With him arrived here Ross, the Scottish herald...Rubay is this day departed hence towards you, making as we perceive no great journeys'. [Sadler, i.585-6].

Nov 25, Sat Monsieur Rubay at Whitehall for audience. Rubay came from the Queen Regent of Scotland, with Ross Herald.

Nov 25, Sir William Cecil to Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Croft, at Berwick: 'At this present Rubay is here, and hath spoken with the Queen's Majesty this day. His errand I think be to go into France, and by the way here to expostulate upon certain griefs in that Queen's name. He telleth many tales, and would very fain have the Queen's Majesty believe that he sayeth truth'.

He 'departeth tomorrow, and Ross stayeth for answer to Scotland'...

'If Lethington be not come, in any wise take order with him that more secretness be used both in his journey and arrival than hath been used'.

Endorsed 'For life, life, life'. [Sadler, i.600-601].

*November 1559-February 1560: Scottish envoys in England secretly.*

*The Lords of the Congregation sent envoys to the Queen to lay before her the distressed state of the Protestant nobles, and for help against the French.*

*William Maitland, Laird of Lethington, came 'secretly' with Thomas Randolph, the Queen's Agent with the Protestants, who again travelled as 'Thomas Barnaby'. Robert Melville was already in London.*

*Nov 25 [Berwick], Sir James Croft and Sir Ralph Sadler to Sir William Cecil: 'On Thursday last [November 23] arrived at Holy Island the Lord of Lethington and Thomas Barnaby, and when the night came I Sir James Croft received them into the castle here secretly...The Lords of the Congregation do stand fast... And from them the said Lord of Lethington is now specially dispatched to the Queen's Majesty with letters and instructions, to seek and sue for aid at her Highness's hands...This morning before day he and Barnaby are departed hence towards you, and intending to make all the speed they can; and if you think it meet to have them bestowed anywhere about the court secretly, it were not amiss that you sent some man to meet them at Ware or Waltham, to carry them to the place which you shall think meet for that purpose'. [Sadler, i.602-3].*

*Cecil provided a 'secret' residence, 'Mr Wade's house in Westminster'.*

*Mr Wade: Armagil Waad, a former Clerk of the Council.*

*November and December: Scottish envoys at Whitehall for secret audiences. Lethington had Instructions 'how to conceive and direct the suit and complaint of us the Nobles, Gentlemen and Burgesses of Scotland in this our distress'. He is first to declare 'the cruelty and tyranny of long time exercised by the French', the Dowager Queen 'bending herself and her power both with fraud, corruption and force, to the subversion of our nation, and to make a conquest thereof to the Crown of France'. [Sadler, i.604].*

*Dec 1, Fri 'Names of noblemen and others appointed officers in the North, if the army shall be levied'. Including the Earls of Cumberland, of Derby, and of Northumberland. [SPF.ii.156].*

*Dec 5, Strasbourg, Christopher Mount to Sir William Cecil:*

*'The report is generally current here (it comes from the court at Brussels, and is circulated everywhere by the Emperor's party) that the Queen is about to marry Charles Archduke of Austria'. [SPF.ii.163].*

*Court news. Dec 5, Baron Breuner to Emperor Ferdinand:*

*Recently 'her Majesty has been heard to say that she would liefer marry the Archduke...than any other foreigner'. The Duke of Norfolk told us 'that if it depended upon the Queen alone, she would never marry. But the need was so great that her marriage could not be deferred any longer'...*

*'The whole kingdom is for us, including the Protestants. It is only on the question of religion that they raise difficulties'.*

*As to the 'Scotch rebellion': 'The French have intercepted money and letters sent to the rebels from England...When these tidings reached the English court I remarked that they caused the Queen and her Councillors great embarrassment, for they often met together for long consultations'. The Spanish Ambassador and I are 'confident that our wooing will now have a successful issue'.*

*On November 28th the Duke of Norfolk called upon us, 'and confidentially informed us that he had spoken seriously to the Queen on the question of her marriage' to the Archduke. He said 'his hopes were greater than ever. He had intimated to the Queen that the marriage must take place'. When Count Helfenstein arrives it is time 'to demand a decisive answer of her Majesty'.*

*The Count 'is now but four German miles from here, waiting for his things to come from Antwerp'.<sup>k</sup> The Count reached London on Christmas Eve.*



Court news. Dec 5, London, Baron Breuner to Archduke Maximilian, King of Bohemia (eldest brother of Archduke Charles), of my 'formidable enemy', Lord Robert Dudley. 'The Queen shows a marked preference for him over all others...It is generally stated that it is his fault that the Queen does not marry...Although he is married to a beautiful wife he is not living with her, and as I have been told by many persons is trying to do away with her by poison. For this reason I think that the Queen and he have a secret understanding'.

If she marry Lord Robert 'she will incur so much enmity that she may one evening lay herself down as Queen of England and rise the next morning as plain Mistress Elizabeth...He is so hated by the knights and commoners that it is a marvel that he has not been slain long ere this, for whenever they behold him they wish he might be hanged'.<sup>K</sup> Dudley's wife Amy died on 8 September 1560.

Dec 9, London, William Maitland to Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Croft: I send Robert Melville, 'to understand the mind and resolution of the Lords in some points whereof her Highness is in doubt and I am not specially instructed'.

PS. 'He is named in the passport David Heiburne, to disguise the matter'. [Sadler, i.628-9]. In Scotland Robert Melville met the Duke of Châtellerauld and his Council; he returned to London at New Year 1560.

Dec 10, Sun Emperor's Ambassador at Whitehall for audience. Baron Breuner's audience concerned the delayed arrival of the new Ambassador, Count Helfenstein. He excused the Count's lateness; the Queen and courtiers still seemed sure that the Archduke was coming with him incognito.<sup>K</sup>

Also Dec 10: Questions by the Privy Council on the Invasion of Scotland, with answers drawn up by William Maitland of Lethington. [SPF.ii.174-7].

Dec 12: Thomas Randolph's questions for Sir Wm Cecil 'touching the affairs of Scotland, if it please the Queen that Thomas Randolph return again'.

Answers were drawn up by Cecil from his house in Cannon Row.

Dec 13: 'Barnaby' [Randolph] left for Scotland, via Carlisle.

[SPF.ii.180-1,186].

Dec 13, Wed Spanish Ambassador at Whitehall for audience.

Dec 13, De Quadra to Philip II, in note-form: The Queen told me that seeing the injuries she had received from the French she must defend herself.

Her reasons were that the King of France had assumed her style and arms, had 8000 soldiers in Scotland and was sending 40 ships with munitions, and the Rhinegrave and Count Rocandolf were raising regiments to invade England.

I understand that the Queen is sending Ambassadors to Spain to propose marriage with the Prince, Don Carlos.

Drury of the Queen's Chamber and his brother have been arrested on suspicion of being implicated in the plot against Lord Robert. [Span.i.118-119].

Dec 14, Thur Swedish marriage proposals formally presented.

Proposals made by the King of Sweden, through the Duke of Finland, including:

Before the Prince of Sweden comes to England he shall be crowned King of Sweden. He shall give the Queen a sufficient present of ornaments and jewels. He shall settle upon her in dower 40,000 dollars. He shall reside in England, without interfering in English affairs. He shall support his own household at his own expense. Each country shall preserve its own laws and customs.

An offensive and defensive alliance may be entered into. [SPF.ii.190-1].

Dec 16, Queen to Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Croft, at Berwick:

We have ordered the levying of 4000 footmen; and have sent a mass of armoury and weapons. We have appointed Lord Grey as Warden of the East and Middle Marches, and the Duke of Norfolk as Lieutenant-General of all north of the Trent. We send 14 ships of war under Mr Wynter. [Admiral Wynter].

Dec 16, Sir William Cecil to Sadler and Croft: 'This night Wynter is departed to the seas, and will be with the ships tomorrow upon the seas with 14 strong vessels, such as will make small account of all the French Navy in Scotland... My Lord of Norfolk is almost ready to come away. God send us good speed'.

[Sadler, i.638,642].

Dec 17, Sun French Ambassador and hostages at Whitehall for audience.

De Noailles to D'Oysel, in Scotland, Dec 22, London: 'This Queen always says she has no wish to throw the first stone. Last Sunday, at an audience which the hostages and myself had, she said about the peace "May he who breaks it be cursed". And her Councillors affirm that all their preparations by land and sea are only for the defence and safety of the kingdom'...

'The Queen has now withdrawn her accustomed favour and only speaks to us ceremoniously; and all, great and little, estrange themselves from us in like manner'.

[Forbes, i.284-5].

Dec 17: New Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, consecrated at Lambeth.

Dec 18, Blois, Henry Killigrew and Robert Jones to the Queen:

'There is a bruit, without any foundation, that the Earl of Arran shall marry with your Majesty; and that the solemnity thereof should be the 1st of January'.

The Chevalier de Seurre is 'named to reside Ambassador with your Majesty. He is noted a man of good experience, wise, and well esteemed here. He hath been a good time Ambassador in Portugal...Noailles, who is there with your Majesty, is not acceptable to the House of Guise'.

[Forbes, i.282].

De Seurre (or De Seure), who needed a steward and a cook, arrived 11 Feb 1560. Details of his embassy: David Potter, ed. *A Knight of Malta at the Court of Elizabeth I: the Correspondence of Michel de Seure, French Ambassador, 1560-1561*. (Camden Society, 2014). Referred to here as De Seurre.

Dec 20: 'Instructions given by the Queen to Thomas Gresham, esq, her Agent in Flanders, being presently sent over the sea both to Antwerp and to Brussels'. Gresham was to borrow £200,000. He was knighted by Dec 23. [SPF.ii.207,220].

Court news. Dec 20, De Noailles, mémoire for François II:

'As I had information that some Scotsmen had newly come to the Queen, and that they had been hidden in the palace at Westminster I had them watched when they came out. Only two were seen, who embarked in a little boat and were escorted to the house of Throckmorton, English Ambassador to France, who is in London. One of the Scots was recognised as Lethington, formerly Secretary to the Queen Regent of Scotland, and the other was the elder Melville'...

'Considering the great affection which the Queen and her people have for the union of the two Kingdoms, they have thought of the differences which could arise over a preference for one of the two Crowns, and that to avoid it they could suppress the title of each, to give both together the old name of Great Britain'...

'The Emperor's Ambassador and the Spanish Ambassador are often with the Queen in private, and on Dec 13th were with her for more than three hours in the garden at Westminster, at a time when she is not accustomed to give them audience...There has also arrived within 12 miles of London the Count of Helfenstein, who is coming to the Queen from the Emperor'...

'De Quadra asked if I knew why Throckmorton, the Queen's Ambassador, had returned to England'. I replied 'that it was to reveal some private matters to the Queen and her Council, and to put forward new plans'.

De Quadra agreed, for he had been warned from France to take care, as Throckmorton 'had returned to England to trouble everything'...

'On Dec 10th in front of the Queen some sharp words passed between the Duke of Finland and the Emperor's Ambassador. She showed herself to be displeased, mostly with the Duke. She bade him adieu in the Presence Chamber, and took the Ambassador with her, to discuss business with him'. [Teulet, i.384-392].

*Dec 20, Middle Temple, William Bavand dedicated to the Queen his translation: 'A Work of Joannes Ferrarius Montanus, touching the good ordering of a commonweal: wherein as well magistrates as private persons be put in remembrance of their duties, not as the Philosophers in their vain traditions have desired, but according to the godly institutions and sound doctrine of Christianity'.*

*Epistle Dedicatory, wishing 'To the most high and virtuous' Queen 'long reign, prosperous health, and perpetual felicity'. Bavand presents 'these my simple doings, and first fruits of my study', asking the Queen to 'accept this my poor present as though it were some greater gift or costlier jewel'.*

*I 'will pray to almighty God that your Grace may long reign over us in great honour, with victory over all your enemies, and that this your Grace's commonweal of England, by your Godly laws and ordinances, and through the comely order and honest behaviour of your Highness's subjects, may be a worthy spectacle of virtue to all Christendom'.*

*Divided into 10 books, the second being of 'The office of a Prince' and 'Courtiers' duties', stating that 'Three notorious vices reign in Kings' Courts: flattery, ambition, and bribery'. The fifth book includes: 'Concerning the Scaffolds and Pageants of divers games and plays, and how far they be to be allowed, and set forth in a city'. 424p. (London, 1559).*

Dec 21: New Bishops consecrated at Lambeth: Richard Cox, Bishop of Ely; Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London; Edwin Sandys, Bishop of Worcester.

Court news. Dec 21, London, De Noailles to the Queen Regent of Scotland: 'Certain of the Congregation have been very secretly introduced to the Queen here, the first being Lord Halton [the Laird of Halton]. Secretary Lethington and Melville have since been here to obtain help, and have made large offers on behalf of the Congregation [Scottish Protestant lords]'...

'The arming of the navy has been pushed on, fourteen ships are only waiting for the wind to sail to Berwick under Winter, the Vice-Admiral. The Duke of Norfolk is ready to go to the North as Lieutenant-General'. [Haynes, 213].

Dec 23, Westminster [12 at night], Sir William Cecil to Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Croft, in Berwick:

'I trust my Lord of Norfolk will be at Royston [Hertfordshire] tomorrow'...

'Our ships be on the seas, God speed them!...The French are much amazed at this our sudden going to the seas, and hover now...The whole coasts of France prepare to war...We be afraid of the loss of Edinburgh Castle'.

'God give you both goodnight, for I am almost asleep'. [Sadler, i.654-5].

*Dec 24: De Noailles sent La Croix to inform the French King of offers made by Maitland and Melville, e.g. to crown the Earl of Arran King of Scots, and of military and naval preparations being made. At Dover La Croix found the passage closed and all ships stopped, including the passenger boat for Calais, and the same at other harbours; he was obliged to return to London. [Teulet, i.401].*

*(See December 28, the French Ambassador's audience).*

Dec 24, Toledo, King Philip II of Spain to the Queen:  
 I do not approve of your determination of deferring your marriage, and think it would be better for yourself and your kingdom if you would take a consort who might relieve you of those labours which are only fit for men. If you should decide on Charles Archduke of Austria, my cousin, it would be most pleasing to myself and beneficial to your kingdom. [Haynes, 215].

*24 December 1559-May 1560: Emperor's new Ambassador in London. Count George von Helfenstein, who was previously in England in February-March. Emperor Ferdinand sent the Count again to further the suit of his son Archduke Charles for marriage. His Instructions as to conditions for a marriage are translated by Klarwill, Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners, 137-144.*

Dec 25: Anon: At Christmas 'was the Duke of Norfolk sent Lieutenant of the North to the Borders, for the defence thereof and for the preparation of the army to be sent into Scotland for the defence of the Scots. The Queen's navies sent into the North Seas'.<sup>YL</sup> The Duke's appointment dated from December 25; he arrived in the North in January 1560, followed by William Lord Grey of Wilton.

Christmas 1559-New Year 1560:  
 play, by the Children of the Chapel Royal.

Christmas 1559-February 1560: plays and bear-baiting.  
 Richard Dorrington, Keeper of Dogs and Bears, was paid £10.12s on 16 February 'for his pains and attendance at the court at sundry times'.<sup>T</sup>  
 The Children of Paul's were paid £10 on 17 February 'for playing before her Majesty sundry times'. [HT.MS 230/9].

Dec 26, Tues Emperor's new Ambassador at Whitehall for first audience.

Dec 27, De Quadra to the Duchess of Parma: Count Helfenstein arrived here on Christmas Eve; he spoke to the Queen yesterday.

Dec 27, De Quadra to Count de Feria, of the difficulty of treating with the Queen 'who I think must have a hundred thousand devils in her body, notwithstanding that she is for ever telling me that she yearns to be a nun and to pass her time in a cell praying. I have heard great things of a sort that cannot be written about, and you will understand what they must be by that'.

'Count Helfenstein should depart at once'. [KL.ii.153; Span.i.119].  
 Baron Breuner, the Emperor's previous Ambassador, left in mid-January 1560.

Dec 27, Blois, Henry Killigrew and Robert Jones to the Queen:  
 'There shall one out of hand be sent into England, so to pass into Scotland, to learn what likelihood there is of the accord between your Majesty and the Scots, and of the marriage of your Highness with the Earl of Arran'...  
 'La Marque is he who is appointed to be sent hence into England, to pass into Scotland...The slowness of his journey cannot but further your Highness's service, and therefore, in our poor opinions, it shall not be amiss to stay him as much as may be; for although they here have heard divers bruits of your Highness's proceedings, yet it is thought they will not resolve upon anything before La Marque's return'. [Forbes, i.288,290].

*The Sieur de la Marque, who had been in England in February and April, was now sent by King François II ostensibly to enquire as to the health of his mother-in-law the Queen Regent of Scotland. He arrived in London December 31, and the French Ambassador at once sent to request a passport for him, and an audience with the Queen. [Teulet, i.393].*

Audience: New Year's Day 1560.

Dec 28,Thur French Ambassador at Whitehall for audience.

Report by De Noailles to François II, Jan 4:

When La Croix came with news that the ports were closed, I went immediately to court with one of the French hostages, M.de Candalle, sending my secretary ahead to tell one of the Council what I was coming to say to the Queen.

'The Lord Chamberlain soon informed her of it; she came out of her room, entered the Presence Chamber, which she was not accustomed to do, and began to play at primero with some of the lords. I arrived with M.de Candalle, and saluted the Queen, who looked up and returned my salute with a laughing face, saying that she had been told that I wished to speak to her'.

'I said that because they had closed the ports of her Kingdom I had no means of sending my news to the King...and all the ships were stopped and the people also...The Queen replied that she knew nothing of all these arrests, and that she found it very strange that it had been done; however she would give orders that would content me'...

'Meanwhile M.de Candalle spoke to Secretary Cecil of the arrest of the ships, saying that this was to light a fire which could not be easily extinguished afterwards. Cecil replied that it was the French who had lighted it, and who did not cease every day to add wood to make it larger and glowing, a fire they could not extinguish when they wanted to'...

'Afterwards the Queen wished to go to service, and I accompanied her to her chapel, where she gave me a smiling farewell. Then I was joined by all the great lords, who did me much greater courtesy than usual'. [Teulet,i.401-2].

Court news. Dec 29, Antwerp, John Middleton to Sir William Cecil:  
Count de Feria 'told me that Mr Drury was in the Tower for conspiring against my Lord Robert, and for being too great with the Ambassador'. [HT.i.159].

*Dru Drury was formerly Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber. He was soon moved from the Tower to the Fleet. His brother William was in custody at Sir Richard Sackville's house, whence in July 1560 he appealed to Lord Robert Dudley, who had forgiven his 'rash words', to intercede for him. [Bath, v.167].*

*William was released by October 1560, Dru was released c.January 1561.*

Dec 31,Sun play and masque, at Whitehall.

'At night at the Queen's court there was a play afore her Grace, the which the players played such matter that they were commanded to leave off, and continent [at once] the masque came in dancing'.<sup>MA</sup>

masque: Eight Clowns in crimson and green, with broad crimson hats, white hedging mittens, white gold sarcenet aprons which were 'given away by the masquers in the Queen's presence'.

Eight Torch-bearers: Hinds [farm-workers]: red and yellow cassocks and caps.

Shepherd minstrel in red and white.

Revels provided eight wooden flails and eight spades.

1559: A New Ballad. By R.M.

'O dear Lady Elizabeth, which are our right and virtuous Queen,  
God hath endued thee with mercy and faith, as by thy works it may be seen,  
Wherefore, good Queen, I counsel thee, Lady, Lady,  
For to beware of the spirituality, most dear Lady.

Have you not read of your progenitors, which was before you many a year,  
How they endured many sharp showers, as by the chronicles it doth appear,  
And many of them came to evil hap, Lady, Lady,  
And all was through the forked cap [bishop's mitre], most dear Lady?

[Six stanzas recount the reigns of Kings from William Rufus to Edward VI].

Then came your sister Queen Mary, and for five years that she did reign,  
All that was done by Edward and Harry her wicked priests made it but vain.  
They brought in again the Romish lore, Lady, Lady,  
Which was banished long before, most dear Lady.

Then God sent us your noble Grace, as indeed it was high time,  
Which doth all Popery clean deface, and set us forth God's truth divine, -  
For whom we are all bound to pray, Lady, Lady,  
Long life to reign both night and day, most dear Lady'.

1559: Ballad: The Wonders of England. By John Awdeley.  
Ten stanzas describe 'God's wrath' with England during the 'darkness'  
of Queen Mary's reign, until at last God begins to relent.

'With that the skies their hue did change,  
And light out-shone in darkness stead;  
Up, said this God with voice not strange,  
Elizabeth, this realm now guide!  
My will in thee do not thou hide,  
And vermin dark let not abide  
In this thy land!  
Straightway the people out did cry, -  
Praised be God and God save thee,  
Queen of England!'

[Seventy-nine Black-letter Ballads and Broad-sides (1867), 30-32, 94-97].

1559: Stationers entered: 'The Register of all them that were burned'.  
Published as: 'A Compendious Register in metre, containing the names and  
patient sufferings of the members of Jesus Christ, and the tormented, and  
cruelly burned within England; since the death of our famous King, of immortal  
memory, EDWARD the Sixth, to the entrance and beginning of the reign of our  
Sovereign and dearest Lady ELIZABETH, of England, France, and Ireland, Queen;  
Defender of the Faith; to whose Highness truly and properly appertaineth, next  
and immediately under GOD, the supreme power and authority of the Churches of  
England and Ireland. So be it'. Printed by two different printers, 1559.  
By Thomas Brice. Dedicated to 'Lord Parr, Marquis of Northampton'.

Verses giving the names of all those put to death for their religion in  
Queen Mary's reign, from 4 February 1555-11 November 1558, with exact dates  
of death, including:

1555, February: 'When raging reign of tyrants stout,  
Causeless, did cruelly conspire  
To rend and root the Simple out,  
With furious force of sword and fire;  
When man and wife were put to death;  
We wished for our Queen ELIZABETH'.

[The verses following have the refrain: 'We wished for our ELIZABETH'].

Finally, 1558, Nov 11, burnings at Canterbury:

'But, six days after these were put to death,  
GOD sent us our ELIZABETH!...  
No more good men shall be put to death;  
Seeing GOD hath sent ELIZABETH.  
Pray we, therefore, both night and day,  
For Her Highness, as we be bound.  
O LORD, preserve this Branch of Bay!  
(And all her foes, with force confound)  
Here, long to live! and, after death,  
Receive our Queen, ELIZABETH! Amen'.

[*An English Garner*, ed. Edward Arber, vol.iv. (1882)].

1559: William Bercher dedicated to the Queen 'A Disputation of the Nobility of Women, between divers ladies and gentlemen of Italy'. Translated from Italian. Bercher states that he is specially bound to the Queen and her mother Queen Anne Boleyn: 'Your Highness's mother, Queen of most worthy memory, earnestly minding the advancement of learning, employed her bountiful benevolence upon sundry students that were placed at Cambridge, among the which it pleased her Highness to appoint me (most unworthy) for one that should enjoy the fruit thereof'.

I bring 'a poor present of Italian costume', offered 'with a trembling mind (for lack of better gift)'.

Bercher, also known as William Barker, was employed by the Duke of Norfolk, and was imprisoned for two years after the Duke's Trial for treason, 1572, but was pardoned in 1574. His book was edited by R.W.Bond, Roxburghe Club, 1904-5.

c.1559: Robert Huicke dedicated to the Queen complimentary Latin verses. Including verses on King Edward VI, Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Latimer, Bishop Ridley (the last three had been burnt as heretics by Queen Mary).

32 folios.

[BL Royal MS 12.A.XXXVIII].

Dr Huicke was the Queen's physician 1560-1580, and had attended her at Hatfield before her Accession; she was godmother to his daughter, 1563.