

1595

At **GREENWICH PALACE**, Kent.

Jan 1, Wed New Year gifts. New Year Gift roll is not extant, but William Dethick, Garter King of Arms, gave the Queen: 'The Progeny of the Monarchs of the Englishmen, containing the Titles and Reigns of them'.

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

Jan 1: Earl of Essex's accounts: 'To your Lordship to play at cards with the Lord Sheffield on New Year's day at night in the Presence, your Lordship giving him odds at Noddy, £20'. [A card-game like cribbage]. [Bath, v.261].

John Harington (1560-1612) wrote an epigram in verse 'Of the games in the court that have been in request': 'The first game was the best': Primero. Post and pair; Maw; Tres Cozes; Lodam; Noddy. [Kilroy: IV:99].

c.January: marriage: Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland (1564-1632), married Lady Perrot, at Essex House, Strand. She was Dorothy (Devereux), widow of Sir Thomas Perrot (died February 1594); sister of Robert Devereux Earl of Essex, who paid, c.January 1595: 'To the Players at Essex House at the marriage of the Earl of Northumberland, £10'. [Bath, v.261]. The Queen was godmother to two of the Earl of Northumberland's sons (July 1596, October 1602).

Jan 3: Stationers entered poems by Francis Sabie, published as: 'Pan's Pipe, three pastoral eclogues, in English hexameter. With other poetical verses delightful'. Sabie includes an Ode describing the contention of Juno, Venus, and Minerva, not for the apple of beauty, but for possession of Eliza.

Jove declares: 'This is my judgment: sweet Eliza, ladies, shall be mine only'. She is 'that bright day-star...which hath brought daylight over all this island, That Moses which her people through the sea led...

With manna, nectar, many years she fed us...

Her realm in quiet many years she ruled...

The plowman may now reap his harvest in joy,

Each man may boldly lead a quiet life here,

We shepherds may sit with our herd in field, and merrily pipe here.

A Phoenix rare she is on earth amongst us,

A mother us her people she doth nourish,

Let us all therefore, with one heart,

Pray Jove that long she may flourish'.

(London, 1595).

Jan 3: At Gray's Inn: the Revels continued.

Many lords and ladies were at Gray's Inn to see a 'device' representing the restoration of 'friendship and amity' between the Grayans and Templarians.

After music and 'a running banquet' six 'Counsellors' made speeches (written by Francis Bacon) giving advice to Henry Helmes, the 'Prince of Purpoole', to which he made a speech in answer.

Jan 4, Sat: The 'Prince' and 'the Ambassador of Templaria', with 80 attendants, rode through the city to dine with the Lord Mayor (John Spencer, clothworker, at Crosby Place, Bishopsgate).

Jan 6, Mon at Greenwich: play, by Admiral's Men.^T

Jan 6: At Gray's Inn: Many lords and ladies saw 'a show' including six Knights of the Helmet and the Goddesses of Virtue and Amity, followed by a masque, dancing, and the arrival of 'an Ambassador from the mighty Emperor of Russia'. Jan 7: The Gray's Inn Prince of Purpoole 'took his journey towards Russia, with the 'Ambassador', and there he remained until Candlemas' [Feb 2].

Jan 10: Richard Fletcher, the Queen's Almoner, was confirmed as new Bishop of London. St Mary Woolnoth, 1595: 'Paid for ringing upon the Bishop's first coming into his seat at London, 6d'.

Jan 17: in Turkey: death: Sultan Murad III (1546-1595). His son Mehmed (1566-1603) became Sultan Mehmed III, also known as the Grand Signor. Foreign ambassadors in Turkey were expected to present gifts on the accession of a new Sultan. During the summer Edward Barton, English Ambassador to Turkey, wrote from Constantinople to ask the Queen to send a clock or other princely gift, and not to delay, and to send the present by a 'tall ship', preferably one of the Queen's own ships, which would delight the Grand Signor even more than the present. The cloth sent should not be so fine as last time (March 1593), but of new fangled colours, that to the Grand Signor of ten colours. Barton also asked for a large portrait of the Queen, both to comfort her subjects there and to show the Turks 'a picture of her who from east to west is renowned as the mirror of the world'. [SPF List 6, 278].
Delivery of the presents was much delayed.

Jan 17: Stationers entered: Cynthia. By Richard Barnfield (1574-1620). In his poem in praise of Cynthia the poet has a dream in which he sees Jupiter turning Fortune's wheel, and goddesses competing for 'a golden ball'. Jupiter gives his judgment that:

'One there is to virtue so inclined,
That as for Majesty she bears the bell,
So in the truth who tries her princely mind,
Both wisdom, beauty, wealth, and all in her shall find.
In western world amidst the ocean main,
In complete virtue shining like the sun,
In great renown a maiden Queen doth reign,
Of beauty fairest Fairy Queen...
To her that is the honour of her days,
A second Judith in JERUSALEM,
To her we send this pearl, this jewel, and this gem'.

The Conclusion.

'Thus, sacred Virgin, Muse of chastity,
This difference is betwixt the moon and thee:
She shines by night; but thou by day dost shine:
She monthly changeth; thou dost ne'er decline.
And as the sun to her doth lend his light,
So he by thee is only made so bright.
Yet neither sun, nor moon, thou canst be named,
Because thy light hath both their beauties shamed.
Then, since an heavenly name doth thee befall,
Thou VIRGO art (if any sign at all)'. (Two editions, London, 1595).

Jan 20, Greenwich, late at night, John Stanhope to Francis Bacon (nephew of Lord Treasurer Burghley, and still pressing to be Solicitor-General): 'After some long arguing this afternoon betwixt the Queen and my Lord Treasurer for your being Solicitor forthwith...she willed my Lord Treasurer to send for the Master of the Rolls [Sir Thomas Egerton] to be here tomorrow, whose opinion she would use in her choice. It pleased her to tell my Lord Treasurer that nobody else would nominate any other to the place lest they offended him'.

[LPL 650/29]. Lady Bacon, Francis's mother, sent a fuller version of this news to Anthony Bacon on Jan 23. It was commented that "Experience teacheth that her Majesty's nature is not to resolve but to delay". [Allen, 198-200].

Court news, of Tuesday Jan 21: Francis Bacon to Anthony Bacon, Jan 25, Twickenham Park: 'Good brother...Tuesday, though sent for, I saw not the Queen. Her Majesty alleged she was then to resolve with her Council upon her places of law...I was sent for by Sir Robert Cecil in sort as from her Majesty...Where-upon I came to the court, and upon his relation to me of her Majesty's speech I desired leave to answer it in writing...The Queen's speech is after this sort. Why? I have made no Solicitor. Hath anybody carried a Solicitor with him in his pocket? But he must have it in his own time (as if it were but yesterday's nomination) or else I must be thought to cast him away. Then her Majesty sweareth that if I continue this manner, she will seek all England for a Solicitor rather than take me. Yea, she will send for Houghton and Coventry tomorrow next (as if she would swear them both). Again she entereth into it, that she never dealt so with any as with me...she hath pulled me over the bar ...she hath used me in her greatest causes'. [Spedding, i.347-8].

Jan 24, Sat Laird of Wemyss at Greenwich with the Queen.

James Colville, Laird of Wemyss, was returning to Scotland, having been in France as Scottish Ambassador since he last met the Queen (May 1594).

Jan 24, midnight, Anthony Bacon to the Earl of Essex, of the points which the Queen touched on in her conference with Wemyss concerning King James.

"Why", says the Queen "I have sent him £6000 since you saw me". She told him 'at the parting blow, to assure the King his master that when he hath tried all his new friends he should find that her kindness overweighed all theirs'.

He 'took his leave of her Majesty, who vouchsafed to let seven or eight Scottish lords and gentlemen which accompanied him to kiss her hand'.

He 'maketh account to depart on Tuesday or Wednesday'. [HT.v.97-98].

By January 26: Preparations for the marriage of the Earl of Derby.

The marriage was originally to have taken place on January 19.

Sir Robert Sidney, Jan 9, Greenwich, 'to my most dear wife, the Lady Sidney': 'I cannot possibly be with you till after my Lord of Derby's marriage, which will be on Sunday come sennight [Jan 19]'; [January]: 'My head is so full of a masque that the Queen and certain idle lords, my friends, have brought me into.. This masque will be chargeable'; Monday [Jan 20]: 'Sweetheart. Our masque is put off till Sunday next and the marriage also'. Sidney spent £500. [Hannay, 64-5].

Another masque was proposed by Arthur Throckmorton (c.1557-1626), who with his sister Bess had been out of favour since her secret marriage to Sir Walter Raleigh became known in 1592. He wrote to Sir Robert Cecil of his 'determination, grounded upon grief and true duty to the Queen' and 'thankfulness to my Lord of Derby (whose honourable brother honoured my marriage)': 'If I may I mind to come in a masque brought in by the Nine Muses, whose music I hope shall so mollify the easy softened mind of her Majesty as both I and mine may find mercy'.

'The song, the substance I have herewith sent you, myself, whilst the singing, to lie prostrate at her Majesty's feet till she says she will save me. Upon my resurrection the song shall be delivered by one of the Muses, with a ring made for a wedding ring set round with diamonds, and with a ruby like a heart placed in a coronet, with this inscription Elizabetha potest [Elizabeth has the power]. I durst not do this before I had acquainted your Honour herewith, understanding her Majesty had appointed the masquers, which resolution hath made me the unreadier: yet, if this night I may know her Majesty's leave and your liking, I hope not to come too late, though the time be short for such a show and my preparations posted [hurried] for such a presence. I would desire to come in before the other masque, for I am sorrowful and solemn, and my stay shall not be long. I rest upon your Honour's resolution, which must be for this business tonight or not at all'. Endorsed 'Jan 1594', i.e. 1595. [HT.MS 25/6].

Jan 26, Sun Earl of Derby's marriage, at Greenwich Palace.

William Stanley, 6th Earl of Derby (1561-1642), married Lady Elizabeth Vere (1575-1627), a Maid of Honour, daughter of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford. Both were the Queen's godchildren. Robert Cranmer and Nicholas Pigeon, Jewel-house Officers, 'for the hire of a boat from the court at Greenwich to the Tower of London to convey plate against the marriage of the Earl of Derby'.^T

Thomas Conway made ready at Greenwich 'with divers alterations for the Queen's Majesty against the solemnising of the Earl of Derby's marriage'.^T 'Which marriage feast was there most royally kept'. [Stow, *Annals*].

Masque of the Nine Muses. John Davies wrote an *Epithalamion* celebrating the marriage, with speeches in verse by each Muse.

Queen's gift to the new Countess: 'A girdle of gold containing 70 pieces set with small rubies, diamonds and pearls in twos, whereof 6 pieces without stones'. This gold girdle was a New Year gift to the Queen by the Earl of Worcester in 1594.^{NYG} [BL Add MS 5751A, f.233v].

It is unlikely that Arthur Throckmorton's masque, also of Nine Muses, took place: no visit to court is noted in his Diary between December 1592 and June 1595, and he makes no reference in January 1595 to the court or the marriage.

There has been speculation that Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream might have been performed by the Lord Chamberlain's Men as part of the celebrations, but a masque (as was customary at marriages) is the only entertainment referred to, and in any case the Earl of Derby had his own company of players.

Jan 27, Anthony to Francis Bacon: 'Signor Antonio Perez commendeth highly her Majesty's grace and the royal magnificence of the nuptial ceremonies'. [LPL 650/27]. Queen became godmother to Earl of Derby's daughter (Jan 1596).

Jan 30, Thur **CECIL HOUSE**, Strand; William Cecil, 1st Lord Burghley. Visit for continuation of wedding celebrations for Burghley's grand-daughter.

St Martin in the Fields: 'Paid the 30th of January for ringing at her Majesty's coming to the Lord Treasurer's to the Earl of Derby's wedding and at her departure from thence the 1st of February, 2s'.

Earl of Essex paid: 'To Sir Robert Cecil's man, your Lordship lodging there, the Queen being at the Lord Treasurer's, 30 January, £4'. [Bath, v.261].

January: 'Francis Stoner waterman for service by him and others done for her Majesty in carrying the Ladies of Honour from the court at the Savoy', 16s.^T [Cecil House was adjacent to Sir Robert Cecil's house and the Savoy].

Feb 1, Sat **GREENWICH PALACE.**

Also Feb 1: Gray's Inn 'Prince' on River Thames at Greenwich.

Gesta Grayorum: At Gray's Inn on January 28 a 'King at Arms' made a proclamation that the Prince of Purpoole (Henry Helmes) had returned from Russia and commanded all his officers to attend on him 'at his port of Blackwallia' on February 1.

'When...it was known that his Highness was to come by Greenwich, where the court then lay, it was given the gentlemen to understand that her Majesty did expect that in passing by our Prince should land, and do his homage; the rather because, in Christmas, there was great expectation of his coming thither to present her Majesty with some pastime, and none performed'.

'Whereupon it was determined that, in passing by, there should be a letter directed to Sir Thomas Heneage...that he should excuse us for that time'...

'The Prince and his train were met at Blackwall, from whence they came upon the River of Thames, in a very gallant show...He and his retinue took to them 15 barges, bravely furnished with standards, pendants, flags and streamers. There was also in every barge music and trumpets; and in some ordnance and shot'.

'Being thus gallantly appointed we came on our way by the stairs at Greenwich, where the ordnance was shot off, and the whole Navy made a sail round about; and the second time, when the Admiral, in which the Prince was, came directly before the court-stairs, his Highness dispatched two gentlemen with letters' to Sir Thomas Heneage (Vice-Chamberlain), excusing himself by ill-health from coming to kiss the Queen's 'sacred hands', but hoping to come to court at Shrovetide.

The Queen's 'gracious answer' was 'that if the letter had not excused his passing by, he should have done homage before he had gone away, although he had been a greater Prince than he was; 'yet', she said 'she liked well his gallant shows...If he would come at Shrovetide he and his followers should have entertainment according to his dignity'.

The 'Prince' and his company continued to the Tower 'where by her Majesty's commandment he was welcomed with a volley of great ordnance by the Lieutenant of the Tower'. At Tower Hill, where they landed, a hundred horses awaited them. They rode through the city and through St Paul's Churchyard, where at St Paul's School a boy made a Latin oration to the Prince. On their return to Gray's Inn they 'danced and revelled', and also next day, Candlemas.

Brewers' Company paid 12d 'for the carrying of our streamers down to The Three Cranes by virtue of a Precept to wait on the Lord of Purpoole'.

c.Feb 3/18: visit, Deptford, Kent, to launch *The Scourge of Malice*.

During 1594 the Navy paid for 'painting of a new bridge at the passing over into the garden adjoining unto her Majesty's great house at Deptford'.^N

George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland, 'builded a ship of his own of 900 tons at Deptford, which the Queen at her launching named *The Scourge of Malice*, the best ship that ever before had been built by any subject. She made his Lordship three voyages, and after was sold to the East Indian Company'.

Also called *The Malice Scourge*. [Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, xvi.25].

February 6-September: First Voyage to Guiana, by Sir Walter Raleigh.

Raleigh sailed from Plymouth with five ships, arriving in Trinidad ten days after Robert Dudley left. He described his Voyage in his book *The Discovery of Guiana*. (Quoted: 15 March 1596).

Feb 11, May 8: *Gray's Inn expenses for the Shrovetide Revels*.

Feb 11: 100 marks is 'to be laid out and bestowed upon the gentlemen for their sports and shows this Shrovetide at the court before the Queen's Majesty'.

May 8: 'Every Reader of this house towards the charges of the shows and disports before her Majesty at Shrovetide shall pay 10s and every Ancient 6s8d and every utter barrister 5s, every other gentleman of this society 4s...and the house towards the aforesaid charges is to allow out of the public stock of the said house the sum of £30'. [R.J.Fletcher, ed. *The Pension Book of Gray's Inn*, 1569-1669, (1901), 107-8].

Court news. Feb 14, Richard Topcliffe to Lord Keeper Puckering: 'In a search at Westminster last night I found out the lodging of Mrs Randall, wife of William Randall of Dartmouth, who plotted with the King of Spain and the Papists to burn her Majesty's ships with wild fireballs...and is now in the Gatehouse [Prison]. She has come for her husband's release, and has twice tried to present petitions, once at Somerset House and again at Greenwich. I warned the Lord Chamberlain lest they should be poisoned, and he twice dismissed her from court. She lodges with Garrat, the Queen's shoemaker; it is fearful for such a person to have opportunity to touch anything that comes near her Majesty's person. The Queen and Lord Chamberlain should guard against treachery'.

PS. 'It is strange Randall is not arraigned and hanged'. [SP12/251/25].

Feb 14: Beauvoir, French Ambassador since 1589, who had permission to return home for three months, received his and his servants' passport for their money, jewels, plate, stuff, weapons, bags and baggage, and horses; some 'stuff' was sent in *The Mayflower*, of London. The Queen made him a present (gilt plate was usual), which he pawned for 2000 crowns; Lord Burghley gave him a horse and his portrait. Beauvoir left London on Feb 28, but en route met a French envoy, Marshal Chorin, and turned back with him. [SPF List 6, 164-5].

[See Feb 28, and Beauvoir and Chorin's audience: March 4].

Feb 19, Wed **LAMBETH PALACE**, Surrey; Archbishop of Canterbury.^T
John Whitgift. Lambeth Church: 'Paid to the ringers the 19th of February when the Queen came to the town and to the ringers at her going away, 6s'.

Feb 20-22, Lambeth, Chancery warrants.

Feb 20: *Trial*: Robert Southwell (1561-1595), Jesuit missionary priest and poet, in the Tower since July 1592, was tried for high treason, found guilty and sentenced to death. Feb 21: He was executed at Tyburn.

Diego de Yenez: 'After the Father had been sentenced to death there came to him in his prison an English nobleman of high rank who besought him earnestly... to tell him whether that was true which he had been charged with, namely that he had come to detach the subjects from their obedience to the Queen'. Southwell replied that he had in view merely the 'eternal weal of souls', that he desired 'to procure the salvation of the Queen', and 'had always asked the Lord God to enlighten her, as well as her Council, as to the error in which they were'...

'The gentleman was astounded with such an answer, and went and told the Queen all that had passed at the death of the Father, praising him much, as also the rare parts that he was gifted with. Having heard this, the Queen...showed that she lamented his death, and much more so after she had seen a book that the same Father had composed of various pious and devout subjects'. [The book was to 'teach poets...to use their talent'. Charles Lord Mountjoy was present at Southwell's execution. The description by Diego de Yenez was published in Madrid in 1599; translated by Pierre Janelle, *Robert Southwell the Writer* (1935)].

Southwell was canonized in 1970.

Feb 22, Sat **ST JAMES'S PALACE**.^T

St Martin in the Fields: 'For ringing at her Majesty's coming to the Lord of Canterbury's and at her Majesty's remove to St James and from thence to Whitehall, 3s'.

Feb 23-July: New Bishop of London was suspended from acting as Bishop and as the Queen's Almoner, after recently marrying for a second time.

Richard Fletcher (1544-1596) married Lady Baker (c.1548-1609); she was Mary (Gifford), sister of one of the Queen's Gentlemen Pensioners, and widow of Sir Richard Baker of Sissinghurst, Kent, with whom the Queen had stayed in 1573.

The Queen held that the Bishop had promised not to re-marry. [HT.v.107].

Newsletter [March 15]: 'Fletcher...is in great disgrace for marrying with the Lady Baker, a woman of ill-fame...All other ladies repine at her base choice, and have incensed the Queen against him; whereupon he is commanded prisoner to the Bishop of Canterbury's'. [Verstegan, 223].

John Harington: 'Being Bishop of London, and a widower, he married a gallant lady and widow, sister to Sir George Gifford the Pensioner, which the Queen seemed to be extremely displeased at...out of her general dislike of clergymen's marriage: this being a marriage that was talked of at least nine days. Yet in a while he found means to pacify her so well, as she promised to come, and I think came, to a house he had at Chelsea. For there was a stair and a door made of purpose for her in a bay-window'. [Nugae Antiquae, ii.46]. It appears that the Queen did not in fact visit Fletcher before his death: see 15 June 1596.

February 27-March 2: Cambridge visit by three Earls.

Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, to Lord Burghley (Chancellor of Cambridge University), Jan 28: 'We intend for the exercise of young gentlemen and scholars in our college to set forth certain comedies and one tragedy, there being in that tragedy sundry personages of greatest estate to be represented in ancient princely attire, which is nowhere to be had but within the Office of the Robes at the Tower'. We request a warrant to be 'furnished from thence'.

Feb 28, Fri, at Cambridge: 'Bachelors' Commencement' (conferment of Bachelor of Arts degrees). Among 'divers noblemen, knights and gentlemen of worship' present were the Earls of Essex, Rutland, Shrewsbury, and other lords.

'Most of them were entertained at Trinity College, where they had two comedies and a tragedy, the which were the causes of their coming down'.

March 1: They 'went to dinner to Queens' College, where after dinner they had a comedy, the day being turned into night'.

The Latin comedy on March 1 was 'Laelia'; the characters included Gerardus, an old man, and Petrus Paedagogus, a pedant, played by George Meriton and George Mountaigne, Fellows of Queens' College; they also took part in Essex's Accession Day entertainment at court, 17 November 1595. [REED: Cambridge, i.355-6].

Essex made several gifts at Trinity College, e.g. to his former Laundress there, 20s; the Butler, 20s; the Porter, 10s. Also, at Queens' College, to the poor, £7. 'Towards building the steeple of St Mary's, £10.10s'. [Bath, v.261].

Great St Mary's churchwardens paid: 'For carriage of dung from the wall when the noblemen were here, 3s4d'.

February 28-March 6: French envoy, Marshal Chorin, in London.

Archduke Ernest, Governor of the Low Countries, had just died. Letters in cipher which the Archduke had attempted to send to Spain had been intercepted by the French; they concerned a conspiracy against the Queen, allegedly proposed in the King of Scotland's name to the King of Spain.

King Henri IV sent Chorin, a Marshal of his Camp, over to England with the originals which he had deciphered. Beauvoir, the resident French Ambassador, on his way to France on leave, had reached Gravesend on February 28 when he met Chorin; he returned to London with him. They would have asked for audience on March 1, but understood that the Queen was changing her lodgings on that day; they had audience on March 4. [SPF List 6, 165].

Mar 1, Sat **WHITEHALL PALACE.**

Thomas Conway made ready 'a place in the Gallery at Whitehall for the Queen's Majesty two several times against the Running at Shrovetide'.

Conway also made ready 'the Closet [a chapel] for the Queen's Majesty at Whitehall to hear the Sermon'.^T

Works paid for carpentry work in the Hall 'for the Earl of Sussex and Gentlemen of Gray's Inn to make their shows'.

Mar 1, Shrove Sat Tournament: Tilt: Challenge.

3 Challengers.

Earl of Sussex; Sir Edward Wingfield; Sir Thomas Gerard.

10 Defendants.

Earl of Cumberland; Lord Compton; Robert Knollys; Sir Robert Carey; Henry Noel; John Needham; Carew Reynell; John Stafford; Charles Blount; James Scudamore.

Mar 2, Shrove Sun Tournament: Tourney.

Same 3 Challengers and 10 Defendants. Judges, both days:

Lord Burgh, Lord Sheffield, Lord Windsor, Sir Thomas Leighton.

[Tilt-lists: March 1,2,4: College of Arms MS M.4, f.45,46,47].

Mar 3, Shrove Mon, at Whitehall: masque, *Proteus and the Rock Adamantine*. By the Gentlemen of Gray's Inn, led by Henry Helmes, their Prince of Purpoole, who presided over their Revels. Thomas Conway made ready 'the Hall in Whitehall against the masque made by the Gentlemen of the Inns of the Court'.^T

Gesta Grayorum: In a lengthy introduction to the masque Nymphs and Tritons sang a Hymn in praise of Neptune, followed by a long Dialogue in verse by a Squire, Proteus the Sea-God, Amphitrite and Thamesis. All but the Squire then 'went unto the rock' and the Prince with seven Knights 'issued forth of the rock, in a very stately masque, very richly attired...They came forth of the rock in couples, and before every couple came two Pygmies with torches'.

'At their first coming on the stage they danced a new devised measure. After which they took unto them ladies, and with them they danced their galliards, corantos, etc. And they danced another new measure, after the end whereof the Pygmies brought eight escutcheons, with the masquers' devices thereupon, and delivered them to the Squire, who offered them to her Majesty'.

'Which being done, they took their order again, and with a new strain went all into the rock, at which time there was sung another new Hymn within the rock', beginning: "Shadows before the shining Sun do vanish".

'For the present her Majesty graced everyone; particularly she thanked his Highness for the good performance of all that was done, and wished that their sports had continued longer, for the pleasure she took therein, which may well appear by her answer to the courtiers who danced a measure immediately after the masque was ended, saying "What! shall we have bread and cheese after a banquet?"

'Her Majesty willed the Lord Chamberlain that the gentlemen should be invited on the next day, and that he should present them unto her'.

Mar 4, Shrove Tues Marshal Chorin at Whitehall for audience. Beauvoir presented Chorin, and the deciphered letters he had brought.

Beauvoir saw the Queen again on March 5. Chorin left in post next day for Dover, Beauvoir went more slowly and had some hunting whilst he waited for a favourable wind. The Queen wrote to Henri IV on March 8, thanking him for what Chorin had shown to her. [SPF List 6, 165,254].

Ambassador Beauvoir's leave of absence was for three months, but he did not return. One of the French Protestant Ministers in London, La Fontaine, acted as Agent until a new Ambassador arrived in August 1596.

Also March 4: Gray's Inn masquers at Whitehall. 'Her Majesty gave them her hand to kiss, with most gracious words of commendations to them particularly, and in general of Gray's Inn, as a house she was much beholden unto, for that it did always study for some sports to present unto her'

Also March 4: Tournament: Barriers. 3 Challengers v 12 Defendants. Challengers: Earl of Sussex; Sir Edward Wingfield; Sir Thomas Gerard. Defendants: same names as on March 1 and 2, with two extra Defendants: Henry Helmes [the Prince of Purpoole]; Henry Denny.

Gesta Grayorum: 'The same night there was fighting at barriers: the Earl of Essex [Sussex] and others Challengers, and the Earl of Cumberland and his company Defendants, into which number our Prince was taken, and behaved himself so valiantly and skilfully therein that he had the prize adjudged due unto him, which it pleased her Majesty to deliver him with her own hands, telling him that it was not her gift, for if it had it should have been better...and that hereafter he should be remembered with a better reward from herself. The Prize was a jewel set with 17 diamonds and 4 rubies, in value...a hundred marks'.

Henry Helmes, of Norfolk, became a Gentleman Pensioner in 1598; he died 1627.

Mar 12, Wed dinner, Lord Howard. *Hances House, Westminster.
 Charles Lord Howard of Effingham (1536-1624). March 12, Lady Wolley to her father Sir William More: 'It fell out that the Queen dined with him as this day whom he had no sooner brought to the court, but he presently departed back again to his own house at Chelsea'. [HMC 7th Report, 652].

March 24: Matthew Hutton was confirmed as new Archbishop of York.

March 24: A warning for the Queen. Declaration to Sir Robert Cecil and others by Captain William Morgan, returned after four years in Spain.

Heed should be taken of Count de Fuentes, who is wonderfully infected with malice against her Majesty, and is exceeding skilful in poisoning, having already poisoned three Popes and the Duke of Parma. [!] [SP12/251/66].

March 27-May 15: **Duke of Wurttemberg's envoy** in London.
 Frederick Duke of Wurttemberg (formerly Count Mompelgart) had visited England in 1592, and was convinced that at Reading in August 1592 the Queen had promised to make him a Knight of the Garter. A special envoy, Jacob Breuning von Buchenbach, arrived in London on March 27 to press the Queen to honour her alleged promise. After a night at The White Bear he and the other three in his party spent seven weeks 'at Breard's a Frenchman'. His court dress made in London included gold-braided cloak, doublet and silk hose, velvet breeches. First audience: April 6.

Details of Breuning's embassy and expenditure are from his description,^K in Victor von Klarwill, ed. Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners (1928), 357-423.

Mar 28, Fri sermon, Whitehall: Dr Richard Edes, one of the Queen's chaplains. Text: Isaiah 49:23: 'And Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their Queens thy nursing mothers: they shall bow down to thee with their face toward the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet: and thou shalt know that I am the Lord: for they shall not be ashamed that wait for me'. Printed, 1604; entitled 'The principal care of Princes to be Nurses of the Church'.

Mar 30, mid-Lent Sunday sermon, Whitehall: Dr Tobias Matthew, Bishop-elect of Durham. Text: Philippians 1:27: 'Only let your conversation be as it becometh the gospel of Christ: that whether I come and see you, or else be absent, I may hear of your affairs, that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mind striving together for the faith of the gospel'.

Dr Matthew noted: 'The Saturday before this I was elected Bishop'.

From Durham Castle on August 11 Bishop Matthew sent Sir Robert Cecil a summary of this sermon (then recalling it as having been preached on Palm Sunday), in response to a complaint by David Foulis, Agent of the King of Scots, in England in July-August, that 'I had used some bitter invective against Scots and Scotland'. The Bishop declares his innocence 'and my poor service and self prostrate at her Majesty's most sacred feet'. [Border Papers, 47-48].

April: Count of Solms at Whitehall for audience.
 Philip, Count of Solms, envoy from Landgrave Moritz of Hesse-Cassel.

The Duke of Wurttemberg's envoy, Baron Breuning, heard that the Count was invited to the Garter ceremonies, with his retinue of twelve, and it was rumoured he had been sent to attempt to obtain the Garter for the Landgrave.

The Count requested the Earl of Essex to give him one of his people to show him over the Queen's palaces, which was conceded him.

Breuning heard that the Count had 'furnished himself with a retinue, so that he rode out with about 20 horsemen in his train' and 'gave himself airs and desired to create a great sensation'.^K

Apr 6, Sun Duke of Wurttemberg's envoy at Whitehall for first audience.
Baron Breuning's description:

The Earl of Essex sent his secretary Henry Wotton with his coach to escort me to court. There I was taken to Lord Burghley, who questioned me about the Duke and the neighbouring Princes, making notes of my answers, until General John Norris came with ten gentlemen to take me to the Presence Chamber.

'The Lord Chamberlain came, received me, and led me into the Privy Chamber, where also all my followers were admitted. Both the Privy Chamber and the Presence Chamber were full of...earls, lords, and of very grand countesses and ladies, who were all without exception beautiful'...

'Her Majesty with arms outstretched came half-way up the room to meet me, where I with due reverence kissed her hand. Her Majesty then turned back and seated herself upon a chair under a canopy of cloth and gold. I was about to kneel before her, but her Majesty would not suffer it'.

I addressed the Queen in Italian 'which language, I had been told, would sound sweetest to her ears', explaining the purpose of my embassy, and then presented my credentials. The Queen broke the seals and read the credentials, and promised to grant me another audience to impart my answer, and asked to have a copy of my speech in writing [in Latin].

'Her Majesty was dressed in a silver robe and adorned with magnificent gems and jewels beyond compare. On her head she wore a royal crown of pearls'.

After I was 'graciously dismissed', General Norris escorted me to my coach and Secretary Wotton to my lodgings.

I gave two crowns to the Queen's trumpeters 'who received us on our first visit', and one crown to the Door-keeper at court.^K

April 9, Whitehall: Queen's gift: To Elizabeth Corralin 'by way of her Majesty's liberality and reward, having received great loss in Ireland by the burning of her house and goods by the Rebels, and for returning again into the Realm of Ireland', 100s.^T

Apr 9, Wed Archbishop of York at Whitehall with the Queen.
 The new Archbishop, Dr Matthew Hutton, interceded for Lady Margaret Neville, born c.1564, daughter of the exiled Earl of Westmorland; she was 'condemned to die for being in company with Boast the seminary priest' (John Boast or Boste, executed at Durham in 1594); she had been in Hutton's custody. She was penniless since her mother, who had an annuity from the Crown, died in 1593.

Her pardon had been drawn up months before; on February 14 she had petitioned the Queen as 'your Majesty's most woeful poor prisoner'.

April 10, Cannon Row, Archbishop to Burghley: Yesterday I was with the Queen 'making petition for the poor distressed lady, Margaret Neville, showing her pitiful estate; that she is wholly reformed in religion, most penitent for her offence and most humbly with tears beseecheth her Highness' most gracious pardon for her life...It pleased her Highness to vouchsafe me a gracious speech'.

The Queen signed the pardon on April 16, and promised a pension of £40 a year; within the hour Sir Robert Cecil wrote to inform Hutton, endorsing the letter 'Haste Post haste, haste haste haste!' [Surtees Soc. 17 (1843), 92, 96-101].

The Archbishop replied to Cecil from Hertfordshire, April 17, 'from Royston, in my wearisome journey', thanking him for the good news. The Queen showed 'a divine and heroical clemency in so mighty a prince, in that her Highness not only granted her life, for which I was a suitor, but also allowance for her maintenance, which I durst not presume to move to her'. [HT.v.176].

April 13, Palm Sunday sermon, Whitehall.
 The appointed preacher was Dr William Redman, new Bishop of Norwich.

April 13: New Bishop of Durham, Tobias Matthew, was consecrated. His wife Frances was daughter of William Barlow, Bishop of Chichester (died 1568); her four sisters were also married to bishops. Dr Matthew was Archbishop of York 1606-1628; his monument is at York Minster.

Court news. April 15, Fulham, Richard Fletcher, Bishop of London and Queen's Almoner (suspended from those positions since February 23) to Sir Robert Cecil:

I had this morning a command from the Queen that I should not act as Almoner at the Maundy. 'The cause I hear is a suggestion to her Majesty that both myself and my wife have used insolent speeches and words to be wondered at'.

I assure you 'by the living God' that out of my mouth 'hath proceeded nothing but blessing and prayer to and for her Majesty...The warrants are signed unto me, the money by me received, the thing almost impossible to be done at this warning by another'. [HT.v.171].

Apr 17, Maundy Thursday ceremonies and alms-giving, at Westminster Abbey.

By Dr Tobias Matthew, new Bishop of Durham, acting as the Queen's Almoner, replacing Richard Fletcher. Treasurer of the Chamber had supplied to Fletcher 61 red purses with the customary 20s in lieu of the Queen's gown, and 61 white purses with 6ld for her age.^T [Only 57 women took part].

Anonymous description of the 1595 Maundy: 'I saw the Queen's Maundy served and executed in Westminster Abbey by Toby Matthew, Bishop of Durham'...

'First after great singing by the choirmen there was read the 13th Chapter of St John and then singing again. Mr Dixe Sub-Almoner, being served with water in basins of gold washed the right foot of 57 several women, and immediately after the foresaid Bishop Almoner kneeled down upon his knee and took water out of the like basins and put upon the said feet, and kissed their feet, and then dried them with his towel which was girded about him'.

'After this finished the Guard served the said Sub-Almoner of:
Item, broad cloth black russet colour, by estimation some 3 yards in a parcel, or thereabouts; and the said Sub-Almoner kissing every parcel delivered it to the Bishop, and the Bishop delivered to every woman a several parcel. The 3rd time was in like sort delivered a several parcel of fine Holland cloth. The 4th time in like sort to everyone a pair of shoes to the value of 12d. The 5th time to everyone a platter of wood with a whole ling and half-salmon with two loaves of bread and half dozen of red herrings. The 6th time to everyone a fine bowl of ash full of white wine. The 7th time to everyone a purse red and white, and, as they said, 40s therein. Then they sang again and said a few Prayers for the Queen, and so departed'. [BL Add MS 5832, f.220]. St John's Gospel, Chapter 13, describes Christ washing the disciples' feet.

April 18: Dr Dee noted: 'My bill for Manchester Wardenship signed by the Queen, Mr Herbert offering it her'. May 25-27: 'The Signet, the Privy Seal, the Great Seal of the Wardenship' [of the Collegiate Chapter, Manchester].^D [Dee's portrait, with his long white beard, c.1594: *Elizabeth*, ed.Doran, 154].

Apr 20, Easter Sunday sermon, Whitehall: Dr Tobias Matthew, who referred on April 19 to 'my sermon appointed tomorrow before her Majesty'. [HT.v.177].

Apr 22, Tues Eve of Garter ceremonies, Whitehall. After morning service 'all the Knights assembled into the Presence Chamber. And the Sovereign came and proceeded to the Great Closet [a chapel] and there held a Chapter for the appointing of her Highness's Lieutenant, the commission being read by the Chancellor and delivered to Lord Cobham'. [BL Add MS 10110, f.23].

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

Queen's Lieutenant: William Brooke, 10th Lord Cobham.

Description by Baron Breuning, the Duke of Wurttemberg's envoy, who was invited to attend; a coach was sent for him and his party of seven.

'We drove down to the Thames, where one of the Queen's eight-oared barges awaited us. On the deck of the boat lay a bolster or cushion of gold cloth on which I was seated in solitary grandeur by Sir Henry Neville. The others sat apart on either side. This part of the boat was also divided from the rest by two contiguous doors, and had an awning of red satin. The interior of the boat was ornamented with coats-of-arms and other paintings, and the floor was strewn with lovely fragrant flowers'.

'When we arrived at court we were led by Sir Henry Neville, who never left our side during the whole of the subsequent proceedings, into the Presence Chamber'.

'The Knights of the Garter gradually assembled till there were 13 in all... There were besides assembled many other earls, lords and knights. They all wore gold and silver dress and their raiment was embroidered with precious stones and pearls. At no other court have I ever seen so much splendour and such fine clothes. This holds good both of the men and of the countesses and other noble ladies, who were of rare surpassing beauty and for the main part in Italian costume with breasts bared. In their hands they held large black plumes or other fans wherewith to cool themselves'.

Knights of the Garter wore doublet and breeches mostly of silver cloth; a long red velvet gown with a broad gilt belt with tassels of gold and silk; over the gown a long cloak of fig-brown velvet, with a tippet [cape] round the shoulders and the embroidered motto *Honi soit qui mal y pense* [evil be to him who evil thinks]; a broad gold bejewelled collar with a medallion of St George suspended from it, and with the motto; a little black hat with a white plume; on the left leg the Garter, also with the motto. Each Knight had a gold rapier; some had white rods in their hands.

'There were also three others present wearing almost similar garments... of red satin. Two of them carried black staffs and they were the Chancellor and the Secretary of the Order. The third carried a large book bound in red velvet with silver-gilt clasps, wherein the Statutes of the Order are written. When formed up for procession to the Chapel, he with the book marched at the head, then followed the two with the black rods and then the Knights two by two. After the Knights walked two lords in long black gowns, each carrying a golden sceptre. Then came another who, bearing a sword in a red velvet scabbard with gilt ornamentations, preceded her Majesty'.

'Then her Majesty stepped out of the Privy Chamber, arrayed in silver cloth. On her robe were embroidered two obelisks crossed, which in lieu of a button had at the top a beautiful oriental pearl. The robe was further adorned with rare costly gems and jewels. On her head she wore a very costly royal crown. Her Majesty was escorted on either side by knights and earls. Her train was borne by a Maid of Honour. On stepping out of the chamber her Majesty greeted all present. Then there followed in great numbers all the countesses and other noble ladies who had awaited her in the Presence Chamber. Round her royal Majesty were many nobles with small gilt pikes [Gentlemen Pensioners]'...

'From the Presence Chamber the procession went into the Chapel. Here were the officiating clergy who...wore...vestments of gold material. They solemnised a Mass which...lasted a good while. There was a great crush in the Chapel, as many of the common people had thronged thither. Mass having been solemnised and prayers said', the Knights processed to the courtyard, followed by the Queen 'under a canopy of cloth of gold with red lining, borne on poles by four men. Her Majesty's train was this time carried by a nobleman. Then followed the womenfolk, and in this order they marched round the yard three times so that everyone could have a good view of them. Her Majesty spoke most graciously to everyone, even to those of the vulgar who fell upon their knees in homage'.

'When this procession was over, her Majesty returned to the Presence Chamber, where was the most splendid array of all meats imaginable that were to be had at this time of the year and from beyond the seas. No expense was spared. There were three long tables laid and prepared. The table at the top of the room stood under a splendid canopy of cloth of gold. It was the table at which the courses are carved and served up for her royal Majesty...with the same ceremoniousness in her absence as when she is present...At this table sat this time Lord Cobham all alone, who at this festival had to represent the Queen. He was also served and waited upon exactly as if her Majesty had been present in person'.

'The Queen's Guards, who are always attired in red coats with black velvet facings' served the food on silver gilt plate 'and fell upon one knee before the table. Those Earls who handed the water both before and after the meal knelt upon both knees. At the next long table sat eight Knights, not opposite one another, but on one side facing the wall, and they sat in twos...At the lowest table sat the remaining four Knights'.

'The Knights sat down to the banquet at one o'clock and rose again between four and five o'clock, after two Anglican clergymen in the middle of the hall had made a low obeisance and then offered up a short prayer. This had also been done before the meal. Before leaving the room all the Knights bowed with due reverence before Lord Cobham. The nobles who had waited upon the Knights all wore blue tunics...and...golden chains. Their dress was otherwise partly of silver or gold cloth or at least of velvet and silk'.

In the evening we were taken back to London in a royal barge. I gave two crowns to a herald and trumpeter, and two crowns to the crew of the barge.^K

Apr 24,Thur Final 1595 Garter ceremonies, Whitehall.
No new Knights were elected.

Apr 26,Sat Duke of Wurttemberg's envoy at Whitehall to take leave.
Breuning's description: I was summoned to court for a 2 p.m. audience, and with those who had attended me on St George's Day took boat to Whitehall. We were conducted to the Presence Chamber, where the Earls of Cumberland and Essex and other nobles and gentlemen talked with us for half-an-hour, until I and one of my company were presented to the Queen in the Privy Chamber by Lord Burghley.

The Queen would not permit me to kneel; she addressed me in Latin, stating that she wished me to speak frankly, unhindered by the large number of people present at my first audience, and was speaking to me in strict confidence.

She stated that until the Kings of France and Scotland had received their Garter insignia she could not elect anyone else.

As for her supposed promise to the Duke in 1592 she declared "I have not the least recollection of ever having made any such promise". I asked for a letter setting out her refusal.

To the Queen's question as to what I thought of her household and the Garter ceremonies I replied: "I have been not only in my native country Germany, but also in France, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Egypt, Arabia, Syria and Palestine, and I frankly acknowledge that I have never seen a royal court of such splendour, adorned with such inexpressible majesty and royal magnificence, and yet conducted with so much dignity and simplicity".

During the audience the Queen 'stood for longer than a full hour by the clock conversing with me'...

'Her Majesty was this time dressed in a red robe interwoven with gold thread, and on her head was the usual royal crown of pearls. She wore a collar that looked almost exactly like that worn by the Knights of the Order on St George's Day. Everything was studded with very large diamonds and other precious stones. Over her breast, which was bare, she wore a long filigree lace shawl, on which sat a hideous large black spider that looked as if it were natural and alive'...

'There were not so many ladies and gentlemen present in the Privy Chamber as at the first audience, but only...an aged countess and four other young countesses who are generally about her Majesty', and Lord Burghley, Cecil, the Lord Admiral, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Queen's Latin Secretary.

'These persons however stood so far away from her Majesty that they could have heard or understood but little of what was spoken at this audience'.^K

Baron Breuning received the promised letter from the Queen to the Duke a few days later. It alleged that by ancient custom the Garter was given to foreigners only if they were sovereign monarchs, and that the Queen had never given it to any German prince. [SPF List 6, 246]. The German Duke John Casimir was elected to the Garter in 1579. The Duke of Wurttemberg was elected in 1597.

April: via Chelsea, Middlesex.

[April] Lord Admiral Howard to Sir Robert Cecil: Suspecting that my two boys had measles I left them at Haling House [Croydon, Surrey] with Mr Stone, their schoolmaster, and sent for their mother and a doctor.

'But God I thank that neither myself nor my wife were at Chelsea when her Majesty came thither, if her Majesty did mean, as I hear, to have come into the house', although 'I think myself most happy when I may see her Majesty in any house that I have to do withal'. [HT.v.194].

May 3, Sat **GREENWICH PALACE**, Kent.

St Martin in the Fields: 'Paid the 3rd of May at her Majesty's remove to Greenwich, 12d'. Works: 'Repairing of the Tower in Greenwich Park'.

May 6-8: Duke of Wurttemberg's envoy visited royal palaces.

As the Count of Solms had visited the palaces, the Earl of Essex sent his secretary Henry Wotton to Baron Breuning to offer to give him also a letter of introduction to the clerks and officers if he desired to see them.

Breuning 'had seen these houses 17 years before' (on a visit to England in 1578), but accepted the offer mainly as a diversion for his retinue, and paid Essex's secretary one crown for the letter.

Breuning's party of eight visited Hampton Court, Richmond, Oatlands ('a hunting-box situated in a deer-park'), Nonsuch, and Windsor.

At these palaces, as at Whitehall and Greenwich, 'everything was opened to us and nothing screened from sight; in other words great honours were paid us'.

Breuning gave various gratuities, e.g. 'When we were shown the costumes and jewels of the Queen, I gave a gratuity of one angel', and one crown 'for inspection of the silver chattels in the kitchen at Whitehall'.

Also 'To the exiled Bishop of Philipopolis in Greece', 3s.^K

May 8: Stationers entered a book by Andrew Maunsell, published as:

'The First Part of the Catalogue of English printed Books: Which concerneth such matters of Divinity as hath been either written in our own Tongue, or translated out of any other language: And have been published, to the glory of God, and edification of the Church of Christ in England. Gathered into Alphabet, and such Method as it is, by Andrew Maunsell, Bookseller'.

Dedication: 'To the Queen's most sacred Majesty, be continued the Blessings and Protection of the mighty God of Jacob'. Maunsell discourses on the value of 'godly books' and those 'whose author is God himself', and of the many commentaries and sermons on them, and translations into English.

'It is come to pass (through the blessing of God, and your most godly and peaceable government) that whatsoever excellent knowledge of God or godliness is in any language, we have it in some measure in our own. Seeing then that these divine books are so mightily increased since your Majesty's blessed reign, I have thought it worth my poor labour to collect a Catalogue of them'.

Maunsell adds a Preface to the Stationers' Company 'and to all other Printers and Booksellers'. Also a Preface 'To the reverend Divines, and lovers of Divine books', in which Maunsell states that 'the books written by the fugitive Papists, as also those that are written against the present government, I do not think meet for me to meddle withal'.

Also in 1595 Maunsell published The Second Part of the Catalogue of English printed Books. 'Which concerneth the Sciences Mathematical, as Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, Astrology, Music, the Art of War, and Navigation; and also, of Physic and Surgery'. Dedicated to Robert Earl of Essex.

Maunsell began, but did not publish, a Third Part, 'of Humanity', including 'Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, Law, History, Poetry, Policy, etc. Which will for the most part concern matters of Delight and Pleasure'.

May 8-July: Thomas Bodley in London from the Low Countries. Bodley, a Councillor on the Dutch Council of State, came to inform the Queen that the States were unable to repay even part of her great expenses in maintaining garrisons. The Queen was much displeased with this message.

May 9, Fri Queen's Commission to the Earl of Cumberland, authorising him 'to invade and destroy the powers, forces, preparations and provisions whatsoever of the King of Spain'; to arm *The Malice Scourge* and five other ships; and to distribute merchandise and prizes taken. [Rymer, *Foedera*].

May 10, Sat Baron Breuning was at Greenwich to take leave of the Earl of Essex and others prior to returning to Wurttemberg. He obtained a passport, paying 'the Secretary for the seal on the Royal passport, two crowns'.^K

May 11, Sun sermon, Greenwich: Dr Tobias Matthew, Bishop of Durham. Text: Mark 1:9: 'And it came to pass in those days that Jesus came from Nazareth, a city of Galilee, and was baptised of John in Jordan'.

May 12, Mon Thomas Bodley at Greenwich for audience. May 12, Strand, Henry Maynard to Sir Robert Cecil: I told Lord Burghley of your 'departure to the court to be ready when Mr Bodley should come thither, and to answer for his absence', his Lordship being in such pain from gout that he was bedridden and 'knoweth not when he can come to the court'. [HT.v.202-3].

May 14: death. Anne (Sackville), Lady Dacre of the South, widow of Gregory 10th Lord Dacre, and sister of Thomas Sackville, 1st Lord Buckhurst, died at Chelsea, Middx. May 15: burial: All Saints, Chelsea. Funeral: June 19.

Lord and Lady Dacre's monument is at All Saints Church.

1st bequest: 'Whereas next under God I do acknowledge myself most bound to the Queen's most excellent Majesty my dear and gracious Sovereign for her manifold princely favours to my late Lord and myself, and am desirous to show unto her Highness my loyal and thankful mind by some token of remembrance, knowing as I have seen by much proof that although my poor ability can present nothing worthy her princely acceptation, yet her royal clemency useth to entertain small gifts proceeding from faithful minds, regarding the giver's affection above the value of the gift'.

'Therefore I will that my executors in convenient time after my decease shall provide a jewel of three hundred pounds value and deliver the same to her excellent Majesty as a poor remembrance of my humble duty to her Highness, beseeching Almighty God that as hitherto he hath miraculously of his infinite goodness preserved her Highness in happy felicity from all her enemies, to his own glory and the great comfort of this realm, so that he would vouchsafe long to continue the same, and in the end to make her Highness a blessed member of his everlasting kingdom'.

Other bequests include: 'To my loving brother the Lord of Buckhurst my jewel of the Queen's Majesty's picture, which I assure myself he will accept so much the more thankfully by how much he standeth deeplier bound to her Majesty than to any worldly creature for her princely advancement of him to honour, and her gracious favour settling in his heart a continual memory, love and reverence of and to her Highness. And therefore he will I doubt not take the greater delight and comfort in this jewel being fashioned to her likeness'.

'To my very good friend the Lady Marchioness of Northampton a remembrance of the value of £20 in plate; to my very good Lady and friend the Countess of Warwick: £30 in plate; to my loving friend the Lady of Hunsdon: £20 in plate; to my very good Lord the Lord of Hunsdon: £30 [money]; to my very loving friend the Lady Cecil the wife of Sir Robert Cecil my best chain of gold, stone, and pearl; to my loving friend the Lady Compton my round jewel set thick with diamonds; to my assured friend Mr Vice-Chamberlain [Heneage] so much silver vessel as is worth £200 in money, or money to that value at his choice, and one of my best horses with one of my best saddles and all its furniture; to the Lady Sheffield one diamond pointed...and £100 in money together with that money which she oweth me; to Sir Thomas Egerton Master of the Rolls £30 to be bestowed on some remembrance; to my nephew Mr Robert Sackville one ring set with seven diamonds and a pair of silver flagons; to my Lady Scudamore my very friend a pair of borders of gold of the best and my best suit of buttons; to Sir Dru Drury as a friend's gift £100; to my very loving friend Mr Roger Manners 100 marks or stuff to that value, which he will; to my gentlewomen all my wearing linen and all my gowns and kirtles not being velvet or cloths of silver or gold to be equally divided among them'. 'My house at Chelsea' to Lord Burghley for his life. After his decease to Sir Robert Cecil and Lady Cecil. 'My house called Dacre House near Tothill in Westminster', to nephew Robert Sackville.

In September 1600 the Queen ordered that £300 given her as Lady Dacre's legacy should be paid to the Keeper of the Privy Purse. [HT.x.309].

Lord Buckhurst, later 1st Earl of Dorset, died in 1608, bequeathing to his son Robert Sackville 2nd Lord Buckhurst: 'One picture of our late famous Queen Elizabeth, being cut out of an agate, with excellent similitude, oval fashion, and set in gold, with 26 rubies about the circle of the same and one orient pear pearl pendant to the same'. I am to be buried at Withyham, Sussex, 'without any blacks or great solemnity of funeral but in a Christian manner as other persons are of meaner sort, because the usual solemnities of funerals such as heralds set down for noblemen are only good for the heralds and the drapers and very prejudicial to the children, servants, and friends of the deceased and to the poor which inhabit thereabout, towards all which the deceased might otherwise be much more liberal'.

May 15: Baron Breuning left London with 16 others, dining near Deptford, Kent, with John Spilman, owner of paper-mills at Dartford, and jeweller.

May 16: At Rochester they went aboard four warships.

May 17: At Gravesend they took shipping on The Angel Gabriel, bound for Hamburg. The cargo included purchases for the Duke of Wurtemberg: a coach with harness for the horses, £34; a hood for the coach, 12s; a bow, 15 crowns; 12 pairs of fine silk stockings in various colours, 6 French crowns a pair; 6 pairs of gloves, 8s a pair. Breuning did not find suitable horses or blood-hounds, but obtained designs for fireplaces. One of his men stayed in England.^K

May 20, Lambeth, John Whitgift to Sir Robert Cecil: 'I moved her Majesty yesterday for the Bishoprics of Llandaff and Bangor, and her pleasure is to bestow Llandaff upon Dr Morgan, and Bangor upon Dr Vaughan, and therefore willed me to speak unto you to cause their *cong   d'elire* to be written accordingly'. [HT.v.215]. Morgan was consecrated Bishop 20 July 1595, Vaughan in January 1596.

Court news. May 24, Thomas Bodley, in England from Holland, to Anthony Bacon: 'I stirred not abroad these ten days, nor I know not when I shall, since I see so little hope of better usage at the court, where I hear for my comfort that the Queen on Monday last did wish I had been hanged'. [LPL 651/86].

May 28, Lord Mayor of London (Sir John Spencer, clothworker) to the Aldermen: 'Where her Majesty's most gracious commandment hath been signified unto me that her Majesty's pleasure is that no blue starch shall be used or worn by any of her Majesty's subjects whatsoever. These therefore shall be in her Majesty's name straitly to charge and command you that you cause the Beadle of your Ward to repair to the dwelling-house of every inhabitant within the same and to give every of them strait charge and commandment in her Majesty's name that from henceforth none of them upon pain of her Majesty's indignation presume to wear in any of their ruffs or bands any starch called blue starch. And to the end so that her Majesty's pleasure herein may be the better known you shall cause the parson or minister of every several parish within your Ward openly to declare the contents hereof upon Sunday next in the time of Divine service, whereof see you fail not at your peril. Given at my mansion house, London'.

There was a further edict in June 1596, as 'divers persons within this city not regarding her Highness's said commandment have and do still in most contemptuous sort use blue starch, whereat she is highly offended, and hath commanded that a present reformation be had by all manner of persons whatsoever within this city, liberties and suburbs'. No inhabitant of the Ward should 'thenceforth contemptuously presume to use any blue starch in any of their linen openly to be worn about their bodies upon pain not only of her Majesty's displeasure but imprisonment of their bodies during her Highness's pleasure'.

[T.R.Forbes, *Chronicle from Aldgate* (1971), 20-22].

May: Queen's gift to Lady Bridget Manners: 'A jewel of gold made compass garnished with sparks of diamonds, rubies and 4 small opals in the midst'.

[BL Add MS 5751A, f.234v]. This gold jewel was a New Year gift to the Queen by Lady Scrope in 1594.^{NYG} Lady Bridget, a young Lady of the Privy Chamber, had left court before her sudden marriage to Robert Tyrwhit in 1594.

John Manners to the Earl of Rutland, 3 April 1596: 'Lady Bridget is great with child. He is a good husband, and she a passing good wife'.^{RT}

She died in 1604, Sir Robert Tyrwhit in 1617; in Bigby Church, Lincs, is their monument which he erected in her memory.

May: The Queen learnt of the Earl of Essex's child by Elizabeth Southwell, a former Maid of Honour. The child, Walter Devereux, was born late in 1591, when his supposed father Thomas Vavasour was briefly imprisoned for his alleged misconduct. The Queen was incensed with Essex; in July 1595 he made financial provision for Walter. [Hammer, 96,320].

June 1595-March 1596: *proposed visit to Somerset House, Strand.*
'Works and reparations done at Somerset House against her Majesty's coming thither'.^W Crown property.

June 3, Tues, Star Chamber: Lord Keeper's oration on behalf of the Queen. Sir John Puckering delivered an oration devised by the Queen.

Lord Treasurer Burghley, other Councillors, and judges, were present, and Justices of the Peace living in and near London were ordered to appear.

'Considering the present scarcity', first are directions 'for redress of the present want of grain'. 'For more speedier redress of the present scarcity, her Majesty's pleasure is that all Justices of Peace and all others whatsoever shall presently resort to their country dwellings, there to maintain hospitality, upon [pain of] her Majesty's displeasure, all excuses laid apart'...

'The number of Justices of the Peace are grown almost infinite, to the hindrance of Justice...and of these many insufficient, unlearned, negligent and indiscreet. Her Majesty therefore, like a good housewife looking unto her household stuff, took the book in her own hands, and in the sight of us, the Lord Keeper and Treasurer, went through and noted those Justices she would have continue in Commission, and whom she thought not meet, and willed us to consider of the rest'. She 'would not have any...that do not live within the county, or that are not of sufficient living...or that are unlearned and negligent'.

The Assize Judges 'should look narrowly unto this...to remove those that in discretion they thought not meet for the place...The Justices of Peace, being now but few, are to exercise Justice with a Herculean courage'. [Hawarde, 19-21].

June 3: A prophecy. John Fuller, of Heathfield, Sussex, smith, said: 'In that book is a prophecy of all the Kings had reigned a long time, and it had come to pass as it was contained in that book: viz., when hempe is come and gone, happy were he out of England. And that the prophecy did show that there should be a change (meaning the death of the Queen) within seven years, and then the box should rise and get the victory, but he should enjoy it a short time but should be put down by a pool'. Bailed to the next Assizes. [Assizes, Sussex, 302].

Francis Bacon's essay *Of Prophecies* (1625): The prophecy 'which I heard when I was a child, and Queen Elizabeth was in the flower of her years, was: "When Hempe is spun, England's done"; whereby it was generally conceived that after the princes had reigned which had the principal letters of that word hempe (which were Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth), England should come to utter confusion; which, thanks be to God, is verified only in the change of the name, for that the King's style is now no more of England, but of Britain'.

June 6 onwards: Disorders or riots in London.

Disorders involved crowds of apprentices, sometimes joined by soldiers and 'masterless men', who had various grievances over high prices and shortage of victuals. They used 'very hard speeches' against the Lord Mayor (Sir John Spencer, 'Rich Spencer'), who sent many to prison.

Numerous orders were made for redress of the disorders; the Mayor himself was accused of 'insatiable avarice'. [HT.v.248-250].

Court news. June 7, Francis Bacon to Lord Burghley, of a recent visit by the Queen to Cecil House, Strand: 'It pleased your Lordship during your indisposition, when her Majesty came to visit your Lordship, to make mention of me for my employment and preferment...Your Lordship told me her Majesty was still somewhat gravelled upon the offence she took at my speech in Parliament'.

[Bacon's speech in March 1593 on the Subsidy]. [BL Add MS 5503, f.1].

June 12: Groups of apprentices forced fish to be sold at low prices, and there were anti-alien riots.

June 13: Apprentices forced butter to be sold at low prices in Southwark.

June 15: The Counter Prison was attacked, and prisoners were rescued on their way there.

June 27: Another prophecy concerning the Queen.

June 27: Examination before the Lord Mayor of Richard Garret, silk-weaver, of London, who took Anne Dryland into his house last Christmas. He heard her say at Shrovetide that the Queen would die in three years, and the land be overrun by the enemies, and that she would go to Spain, and be welcome for what she could do. He would have told these speeches before, but did not know they were contrary to law. Anne had been committed to prison. [SP12/252/94].

June 27: The Counter Prison was attacked again; 20 rioters were arrested. Also June 27: The 'butter rioters' were punished by pillorying and whipping, ordered by the Star Chamber for riot and sedition; this led to another riot in which a crowd of 1800 destroyed two pillories and erected a gallows in front of the Lord Mayor's house and dared him to come out.

June 29, at Tower Hill: A crowd of 1000 rioted, with some Tower warders.

July 4, Fri, Greenwich: Proclamation (769): Prohibiting Unlawful Assembly under Martial Law. 'The Queen's Majesty's Proclamation for staying of all unlawful assemblies in and about the City of London, and for orders to punish the same'.

[The leaders of the riots were tried at Guildhall on July 22 for high treason; on July 24 five were executed on Tower Hill. Details of the 'Apprentices' Riots in London': Roger B. Manning, *Village Revolts* (Oxford, 1988), 200-210].

Court news. July 11, London, Thomas Bodley to the Earl of Essex:

'Upon Wednesday last [July 9] my Lord Treasurer and Sir Robert Cecil called for me and told me from the Queen that I might not delay my return into Holland, with intimation, if I did, that she was fully resolved to enforce me to be gone ... I answered in the end (for that Sir Robert protested that he durst not return with my refusal to the Queen) that... I would show my obedience'. [Murdin, 688].

Bodley was back in Holland early in August.

July 11, at the Savoy, Sir Thomas Heneage to Sir Robert Cecil, of a proposed progress to the county of Essex: 'I am very glad of your progress, the rather because you make your return by my poor lodge at Copthall [Epping], where I will make as much of you all as I can... The gestes [itinerary] I would be glad to have a copy of, when you be fully agreed thereon'. [HT.v.277].

This visit was on and off: see letters, July 25 and 31; August 2 and 9.

July 13, Sun: **Spanish raid** on Devon.

Sir Thomas Dennis to the Earl of Essex, July 20, Exeter:

'On Sunday last the Spaniards with four galleys presented themselves before a little parish called St Eval, three miles to the west from Padstow, and offered to land some men at St Eval'. PS. 'Sir Francis Drake came into Plymouth on Sunday night last, who went to discover the fleet'. [HT.v.285].

July 14: Seditious words at Warbleton, Sussex.

William Cobham, of St Clement Danes, Middlesex, tailor, said 'That it may be he was a traitor, or that he might be a seminary, or that he was a connycatcher, or that he had authority to undermine any man to hear what any man would say against her Majesty; and that he would be fetched out of prison in despite of the best of England (meaning the Queen) and hath spit in the face' of a deputy 'in despite of her Majesty'. Remanded. [Assizes, Kent, 380].

July 16, Plymouth, Sir Thomas Gorges to Sir Robert Cecil, having been sent by the Queen to view ships being prepared by Drake and Hawkins for an expedition:

'My coming greatly amazed them at first, they fearing I had been sent to stay them; when they knew the contrary, none were so joyful as they, that her Majesty had sent someone down to see their bravery'...

'Coming on Friday night last to Exeter, I sent to the Mayor for some post-horses, but it was 9 o'clock the next day before I could have any, and then only such as carry wood up and down the town and very unfit if haste were required. Pray summon the Mayor to answer such contempt'. [SP12/253/19].

July 23, Wed: **Spanish landing** in Cornwall.

Bristol Annals: 'Certain Spaniards landed in Cornwall at 6 in the morning, being dark and cloudy, and burned Penzance, Mousehole, and a parish church, and the house of Mr Chinnerton, a Justice of the Peace, and after they had done their pleasure they took shipping, the wind being fair with them'. [Seyer, ii.257].

July 23, St Mawes Fort, Hannibal Vyvyan to Drake and Hawkins, at Plymouth, of 'the Spaniards' landing this day in the western parts; they have burned Penzance, Newlyn, Mousehole, Poole Church, and Church Town, and other villages adjoining, without resistance; I speak it to the disgrace of those people. The only ships there are four galleys, but there are 40 sail seen to seaward'.

With a note by Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins that some captains are getting ready to go westward. [SP12/253/30].

A national collection was made for Cornwall.

The churchwardens of St Michael le Querne, London, noted later in 1595:

'Given by consent to a town burnt by the Spaniards called Penzance, 5s'.

The cowardice of the men of Penzance on this occasion gave rise to a proverbial saying in Cornwall: 'Not a word of Penzance'.

July 25, Copthall, Sir Thomas Heneage to Sir Robert Cecil: 'I hear you talk no more of progress there; and if any such thing be meant it were good the gentlemen that have best will to give her Majesty best welcome to their houses have some warning to provide themselves...I hope her Majesty will hold her determination towards the end of progress time to visit this poor lodge, which I love for nothing so much as that she gave it me and that I hope, ere I die, to see her Highness here, though not pleased as my heart desires, yet contented with such mean entertainment as my most power can perform with most goodwill; and so give her Majesty occasion to like better her forest that lieth so near here, and of late her Highness hath come so little in'. [HT.v.290].

July 26, Greenwich, Anthony Standen to Anthony Bacon:

'The arrival of the Spaniards, and their landing and burning in Cornwall on Wednesday morning at 6 o'clock, which labour they continued until sunset that night, hath bred in these courtly breasts diversities of passions, but the most part do take courage unto them'...

'Sir Roger [Williams] hath this night in presence of all the court received of her Majesty a friendly public welcome'.

'This afternoon after the rising of the Council the Lord Admiral rode to Chatham to put order to the Navy; and in effect it is a stirring world'.

Sir Roger Williams (c.1540-12 Dec 1595): a popular commander. [LPL 651/178].

July 29, Plymouth, Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins to Earl of Essex: 'Sir Thomas Gorges is coming up, who will report everything'. [HT.v.294].

July 30: Antonio Perez, former Secretary to King Philip II of Spain, in England since April 1593, left for France, King Henri IV having sent for him. Before leaving Perez gave the Queen a memorial in French of matters for her attention. Earl of Essex had previously given Perez £300 'towards his furnishing into France', and paid 'for diet at Gravesend at such time as Senor Anthony Perez departed for France, £11.9s10d'. [Birch, i.265-7; Bath, v.261-2].

Perez sailed from Dover to Dieppe in *The Quittance* (Captain, Sir Henry Palmer). [HT.v.298]. Perez was in England again in April-May 1596.

July 31, Copthall, Sir Thomas Heneage to Sir Robert Cecil:

'If I might hear from you a certain resolution of her Majesty's progress, you should do much for me'. [HT.v.296].

July 31: Dr Dee noted: 'The Countess of Warwick did this evening thank her Majesty in my name and for me for her gift of the Wardenship of Manchester. She took it graciously, and was sorry that it was so far from hence, but that some better thing near hand shall be found for me'.^D

Dr Dee was installed in the Manchester Wardenship, Lancs, on 20 Feb 1596.

c.July 31-Aug 1: Sir Thomas Gorges at Greenwich from Devon.

Gorges (1536-1610), was a long-standing Groom of the Privy Chamber.

Aug 1, Queen to Drake and Hawkins, taken by Gorges: 'We have returned you this gentleman with as much expedition as the consideration of such an affair would permit us, with some instructions in writing signed by our Council'...

'By this our sending one so near unto us thus suddenly after his former painful journey...we trust that you very well conceive that we are full of care for you as persons to whom we wish all happy and prosperous success'. [HT.v.297].

Aug 2, Mary, Countess of Southampton (Sir Thomas Heneage's 2nd wife), to Sir Robert Cecil: 'Your letter showing her Majesty's liking to continue her purpose in coming to our poor lodge at Copthall hath given him more comfort than anything else, the rather for that he esteems it grows from her own goodness. That he most desires is to know the certainty of her time of coming, without the which he shall be evil able to do that he desires'. [HT.v.299].

Aug 4, Mon new appointment: Sir Edward Carey became Master of the Jewel-house, at first jointly with John Astley, Master since 1558. Astley died 1 Aug 1596.

There are Astley monuments at Maidstone Church, Kent.

Aug 8, Lord Howard of Effingham to Sir Robert Cecil: 'If the Queen's Majesty do not go to Highgate [Middlesex] to lie there I will be at the court tomorrow; but if she go I know not where to lie and therefore will stay'.

Aug 9, Mary, Countess of Southampton to Sir Robert Cecil: Of Sir Thomas Heneage's 'desire to see her Majesty well content in Copthall, I think you are sufficiently persuaded, but that we may have certainty is that we wish...yet am I at this time much troubled with hearing that the smallpox is full at Epping, at Waltham and in some houses between that and Copthall. Of this my Lord Chamberlain takes no notice upon the return of the Guard, which makes me cast doubt of worst kind; unfit it is for us to speak of it but to yourself, to whom we leave the consideration, praying you to believe we have no meaning...but plainly to deliver to you our heart that desires to see her Majesty at Copthall, but fear afar off it might be thought we were careless of her danger'.

[HT.v.307,309]. The Queen visited Copthall, Essex, only in 1568 and 1578. Sir Thomas Heneage died on 17 October 1595.

Aug 11: marriage: Edward Wynter (c.1560-1619), 1st son of Admiral Sir William Wynter, of Lydney, Gloucs, married Lady Anne Somerset, 3rd daughter of Edward Somerset 4th Earl of Worcester.

Queen's gifts to Lady Anne Somerset: 'One carcanet containing 6 pieces of gold garnished with sparks of rubies and rows of pearls threaded and 10 small pendants with one spark of a ruby and 4 little pearls in each'; 'two pendants of gold set with sparks of diamonds and rubies and two small pearls pendant'. These were New Year gifts to the Queen in 1594 and 1595. [BL Add MS 5751A, f.235,238v].

The carcanet was given to the Queen in 1594 by Lady Newton, a Lady of the Privy Chamber.^{NYG}

Edward Wynter was knighted at Greenwich.

The Queen became godmother to his 1st child (August 1596).

Aug 18, Mon **WHITEHALL PALACE.**

St Martin in the Fields: 'Paid [for ringing] the 18th of August at her Majesty's coming to Whitehall, and at her remove from thence to Nonsuch the 21st, 2s'.

c. August 19: *French envoy, Chevalier, arrived in London.*
Etienne Chevalier, a Councillor of the Parliament of Paris.

Edward Wilton to the Earl of Essex, Aug 11, Dieppe: 'The matters of Picardy stand as yet upon ill terms...The Maître de Request is dispatched from the Council of Parliament at Paris...to her Majesty to crave her assistance for Picardy. He stayeth at Dieppe for a wind only'. [HT.v.313-314].

Don Antonio to Essex, [Aug 12], Dieppe: Chevalier was sent by the Prince of Condé and the King's Council in Paris without consulting the King; he is to desire the Queen's assistance. He is an honest young man, though not very eloquent, and chosen because he is able to support the charges of the journey himself. [Birch, i.280-281].

Aug 21, Thur **MITCHAM**, Surrey; Mr Dent.^T

Mitcham house owned by John Dent, of the Salters' Company; died 9 December 1595; wife: Alice (Green) (1569-1614); married (April 1596) Dr Julius Caesar, a Judge.

Works payments included 'making of new doors and cases within the lodging'; also 'making a bed for the tent in the progress, 13s4d'.

Aug 22, Fri, Mitcham Council's passport for David Foulis, returning to Scotland. Foulis, who was in England in July and August as Agent for King James, took £3000 as the King's gratuity. [LPL 651/194; Scot.xiii.743].

Aug 22, Fri **NONSUCH PALACE**, Cheam, Surrey.

Works: 'being one of her Majesty's houses of access'.

Keeper: John Lord Lumley.

Aug 22, 'from Nonsuch, where this night we are arrived', Thomas Lake (Clerk of the Signet) to Sir Robert Sidney (Governor of Flushing), of England's 'danger from foreign parts...We dwell in a most certain expectation of being attempted the next year, either directly here at home or by the way of Scotland', having certain knowledge 'of the preparations in Spain to be far greater than in the year '88...Here is come within these three days a Master of Requests called Chevalier, sent from the Prince of Condé, Duke of Nevers, Duke of Bouillon, and the town of Paris...They have made request to have an aid of 4000 foot, at the charge of the town of Paris...Of this we fall to consultation'.^{SD}

Aug 24, Queen to the Duke of Nevers: The enemy's threats against me make me unable to help; I was asked for 4000 men in 15 days and the letters were not delivered until 16 days had already passed. [SPF List 6, 170].

Aug 26, in *Paris: death of Don Antonio, Pretender to the Throne of Portugal, who had spent some years in England. The new Pretender, his elder son Don Emanuel, was in England in winter 1595, with the Governor of Terceira, Azores.*

Aug 27: Sir Robert Cecil sent a messenger to Chevalier and another envoy, La Barauderie, sent by King Henri IV for aid in Picardy, with word of the place and time when both envoys would have audience. [SPF List 6, 170].

c. Aug 27, Wed **BEDDINGTON**, Surrey; Sir Francis Carew.^T

Beddington manor-house; owned by Carew (c.1530-1611), unmarried.

Works: 'making and setting up the Robes there, altering and mending of doors and partitions in the house'.

28 August 1595-April 1596: Expedition to the West Indies.

Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins sailed from Plymouth on August 28 with six of the Queen's ships and 21 other ships, on what proved a disastrous voyage. Hawkins died on 12 November 1595, Drake on 28 January 1596. (See those dates).

c. Aug 29, Fri **NONSUCH PALACE.**

Simon Bowyer made ready in August 'the places and chambers at Nonsuch against her Majesty's return from Beddington'.^T

Aug 30: death. Thomas Astley, Groom of the Privy Chamber from 1559, and half-brother of John Astley, Master of the Jewel-house.

Funeral: Sept 11, Writtle, Essex.

Court news, from Lady Wolley (née Elizabeth More; 1552-1600), new Lady of the Privy Chamber; daughter of Sir William More (1520-1600) of Loseley, Guildford; and wife of Sir John Wolley, the Queen's Latin Secretary, of Thorpe, Surrey.

[31 August 1595], from the court, this Sunday morning, Elizabeth Wolley to her father Sir William More: 'Since my coming to the court I have had many gracious words of her Majesty, and many times she bade me welcome with all her heart; ever since I have waited [in attendance]. Yesterday she wore the gown you gave her', and said 'she would give ten thousand pounds you were twenty years younger, for that she hath but few such servants as you are, with many more gracious speeches both of yourself and my brother [George More, of Loseley]'...

'My Lord Admiral came to me and bade me welcome with all his heart...

My Lord of Buckhurst...did assure me he would be a most faithful friend both unto you and to myself, saying, if he could be assured of my friendship, he had rather have it than any other lady that serves in the place'...

'Thus hitherto I have had a good beginning at court...I will live very warily amongst them'.

'The Queen, as she saith, will dine with my Lady Edmondes [of East Molesey] on Tuesday next, and return again at night, which I can hardly believe; if she do, I mean to wait upon her. My Lord Treasurer [Burghley] lies here very ill of the gout, and cannot stir hand nor foot, nor feed himself'. [Kempe, 319-320].

September 1 onwards: News of the Queen's gift for a Scottish chieftain. In July the Laird of Duart had taken prisoner on the Isle of Mull some 900 Irish mercenaries, with their galleys. The Queen was delighted on hearing of this exploit, and promised an 'honourable token of her favour'. [Tytler, ix.177-9].

There was a complaint on September 1 that a 'token' promised to Lauchlan Maclean of Duart was 'long in coming'.

During September Robert Crammer, a Jewel-house Officer, went from the Tower of London to the court at Nonsuch 'for the providing of a chain of gold to be given by her Majesty to Lauchlan Maclean of Duart'.^T

Oct 3: A 'token of 1000 crowns' was ready to be sent.

Dec 20: Maclean complained that although the Queen 'ordained a token of 1000 crowns to be sent to me I think the same is long of coming'.

Robert Bowes, Ambassador to Scotland, had instructions, 3 February 1596, concerning the 'former kindness and good offices offered' by the Earl of Argyll and Maclean, and whether the gold chain in the hands of Bowes to be presented to Maclean should be delivered to him, 'or that he should be further satisfied in his expectation of 1000 crowns looked for and often times required by him'.

Sir Robert Cecil to Robert Bowes, 4 March 1596: The Queen wishes me 'to make over so much more money as will make the chain 500 French crowns. I take it that it is worth 300 and better. I will therefore send you 200 French crowns more and then do you put all into money and give it him. [Scot.xii].

At its last mention, April 24, the token was not yet delivered. Maclean was killed in 1598.

Sept 2, Nonsuch, Anthony Standen to Anthony Bacon: 'The Queen was with her Council this morning in the Lord Treasurer's chamber, who is now somewhat better of his legs, arms, and neck, seized with the gout. Presently Sir Roger Williams is with her, whom she is dispatching to the French King wherever he be'...

'Sir Robert heaves hard to be Secretary, and the Queen's remove deferred, with expectation of her stay here until Michaelmas [Sept 29]. We hear no speech of the court going to London'. [LPL 652/33]. The court moved to Richmond on October 20; Sir Robert Cecil became the Queen's Secretary in July 1596.

Sept 2-Oct 3: Sir Roger Williams was special Ambassador to France.

He was sent with the Queen's answer to the messages brought by Chevalier and La Barauderie.

Sept 5, court, Lady Wolley to Sir William More, her father:

'There is no news to send you, only the Queen goeth no further than Richmond, by reason that the measles and the smallpox is so rife at Chertsey and at Weybridge; as yet there is no certainty of the remove. Her Majesty told Mr Wolley yesternight that she would this year come to neither his house nor yours, but the next will see you both, with many good words of you and my brother; we hope very shortly to meet you at Pyrford, when the Queen removeth'. [Kempe, 316].

For a proposed stay at Oatlands Palace, Weybridge, the Works paid for 'Glazing sundry lodgings against her Majesty's supposed coming thither'. She did not visit Loseley, Pyrford, Thorpe, nor East Molesey, in 1595-96.

Sept 7: Queen's birthday celebrations, e.g.

Hornchurch Church, Essex: 'For beer and bread to five ringers on the birthday of our Queen, 6d'.

Oxford, St Aldate: '7 September being the Queen's day paid ringers 2s8d'.

Sept 11, Flushing, Sir Robert Sidney to Earl of Essex, with news of a Marquis of Baden: In Holland I saw the Marquis 'preparing himself to go into England... He was son to the Marquis of Baden and my Lady Cecilia that were in England in the beginning of the Queen's reign [1565-66]...A Papist he is, and a Knight of Malta, and hath lived much on the King of Spain's side...but came thence, some say banished, about a foul murder committed upon a poor man at Antwerp... He is said to be a very dissolute man, and followed by a company of disordered and desperate fellows, himself fit enough to undertake any matter, very poor... His elder brother Edwardus Fortunatus...is a very ill-disposed person'.

[HT.v.372]. Edwardus Fortunatus, born in London in 1565, was the Queen's godson. For the Marquis see October 3 and 5.

c.September 15: French envoy, La Haye, arrived in London.

M.de Montmartin to Earl of Essex [August 12], sending to him Monsieur de la Haye, one of the oldest and best of Huguenots, to represent to him the misery of Brittany, which has no hope of deliverance from Spain except at the hand of the Queen of England.

Sept 15, London, La Fontaine (French Protestant minister) to Essex:

Here is an ancient gentleman of the old Huguenots of Brittany, said to be well known to all the captains who were there. [HT.v.318,380].

The Queen replied to the States of Brittany on September 29 that she would not easily abandon them, but that at the same time as La Haye arrived she was being pressed to aid Picardy. [SPF List 6, 170].

Sept 16, court, Lady Wolley to Sir William More, her father:

'Yesternight in the evening her Majesty went abroad a-hawking, and Sir Robert Cecil's hawk killed three partridges which he presented the Queen with, and myself being in place, her Majesty gave them me, with express charge that I should send them to you this day against dinner, desiring you to eat them for her sake. Since, Sir Robert Cecil begged them of me, which I could not deny him of. I have sent this messenger of purpose to you, praying you to take knowledge of the receipt of the partridges, and to certify you of this her Majesty's great care of you, to the end that you may, by your letter written to me, take notice of this her Highness's good affection to you, which I would have written somewhat brief, that I may show it to her Majesty'.

'She hath commanded me to send for my son; notwithstanding if it shall please you to forget it, I mean to forget also to send for him. In the meantime I pray you to give charge that he may practise his French, for fear her Majesty shall call to me for him again. She saith she will pose him in his learning'.

[Kempe, 317-318]. Francis Wolley, born March 1583, one of the Queen's godsons, had already married, September 1594, Mary Hawtrey, an heiress.

Sept 21, Sun: News of Walter Raleigh's return from his first Voyage to Guiana. Lady Raleigh to Sir Robert Cecil, in haste this Sunday: 'Sir it is true I thank the living God Sir Walter is safely landed at Plymouth with as great honour as ever man can, but with little riches...Many of his men slain'. [HT.v.396].

Sept 23: The first of Rowland Whyte's newsletters to Sir Robert Sidney. Sir Robert Sidney (1563-1626), of Penshurst, Kent, returned in August to his post as Governor of Flushing, where Rowland Whyte was his Clerk of Munition.

Whyte was in Sidney's service from c.1575 until Sidney's death.

Sidney to Lady Sidney, Aug 25, Flushing: 'I send Rowland Whyte over to you... Rowland Whyte you may send to the court, for I send him for that purpose'.

Thereafter whenever Sidney was abroad Whyte sent him frequent letters, an invaluable source of court news; these continued after Whyte became Postmaster of the Court in 1598. Shown here as ^{SD}.

The letters between Whyte and Sidney, and other Sidney family letters quoted here are in Arthur Collins, ed. Letters and memorials of State (1746, 2 vols), and/or in C.L.Kingsford, ed. HMC Report on the Manuscripts of Lord De L'Isle and Dudley (Vol II, 1934), which has additional letters, and corrections.

Court news. Sept 23, London, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney:

'I was told that Sir William Cornwallis doth often trouble her Majesty's ears with tales of my Lord of Essex...which brings unquietness in the Queen and confirms the like in my Lord'.

'My Lord of Southampton doth with too much familiarity court the fair Mistress Vernon, while his friends observing the Queen's humours towards my Lord of Essex do what they can to bring her to favour him, but it is yet in vain'.^{SD}

The Earls of Essex, Southampton, and the Queen.

Henry Wotton, who became one of Essex's secretaries in 1595, recalled that at one time Fulke Greville 'had almost super-induced into favour the Earl of Southampton; which yet being timely discovered, my Lord of Essex chose to evaporate his thoughts in a sonnet (being his common way) to be sung before the Queen (as it was) by one Hales, in whose voice she took some pleasure'...

'And if thou should'st by her be now forsaken, She made thy Heart too strong for to be shaken'. [Reliquiae Wottonianae, 165].

No more of Essex's sonnet is known; Robert Hales, a fine singer, was a court lutenist, 1582-1615. Elizabeth Vernon, a Maid of Honour, a cousin of Essex, secretly married Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton, in 1598.

Sept 25, Barnes, Robert Beale to Sir Robert Sidney:

'I hear that of late a very vile book hath been printed in English in Antwerp, touching the succession of this Crown, defaming her Majesty and disabling all the titles of such that hereafter may pretend any interest thereunto, and deriving a strange pretence from John of Gaunt...upon the King of Spain'...

'I hear also that it is dedicated to the Earl of Essex, of an intent surely to bring him in jealousy and disgrace here'.^{SD}

A Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England, by R.Doleman [pseudonym of Father Robert Persons], 2 vols.

Dedication to Essex: 'I thought no man more fit than your Honour to dedicate these two books unto, which treat of the Succession to the Crown of England, for that no man is in more high and eminent place and dignity at this day in our Realm than yourself, whether we respect your nobility, or calling, or favour with your Prince, or high liking of the people, and consequently no man like to have a greater part or sway in deciding of this great affair (when time shall come for that determination) than your Honour, and those that will assist you and are likeliest to follow your fame and fortune'. (Antwerp, 1595).

Robert Persons (or Parsons) (1546-1610), English-born Jesuit priest, lived abroad from 1574, apart from a covert mission to England in 1580-1581.

The book was taken to be promoting the claims of the Infanta Isabella of Spain. For the Queen's reaction see November 3.

Sept 25: A book for the Queen by Pierre de la Primaudaye.

Sept 25, Paris, Thomas Edmondes to the Earl of Essex: 'I have been earnestly entreated by M.de la Primaudaye...to send unto her Majesty his third volume of the Academie Française, which he presumed to dedicate unto her Majesty, wherein I could not refuse to gratify him. It may therefore please your Lordship to let me know her Majesty's acceptation thereof, to signify to him'. [LPL 652/25].

Court news. Sept 27, London, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney: 'Sir Walter Raleigh's friends do tell her Majesty what great service he hath done unto her by his late voyage, in discovering the way to bring home the wealth of India, and in making known to that nation her virtues, her justice. He hath brought hither a supposed prince, and left hostages in his place. The Queen gives good ear unto them. I am promised for you his own discourse to the Queen of his journey'.^{SD}

During the winter Raleigh wrote his *Discovery...of Guiana*: see 15 March 1596.

Sept 29, Richard Robinson (c.1544-1603) dedicated to the Queen:

A Third Proceeding in the Harmony of King David's Harp. 'Translated by Richard Robinson, Citizen of London. From the Latin of Victorinus Strigelius'.

Dedicated to 'Most Christian Princess, most gracious Queen, and my most sacred Sovereign Lady...So sacred a Queen, the peerless Paragon of all earthly princes at this day...The elect nursing mother of Christ's Apostolic Church, a Royal fosterer of the right, true, and Evangelical faith, and a magnificent defender of the true Christian professors of the same'. An Exposition of Psalms 45-61.

Robinson, of the Leathersellers Company, a prolific author, dedicated to the Earl of Warwick in 1582 Part of the Harmony of King David's Harp (Psalms 1-21); the Earl 'rendered me no reward for the same'; to Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor, A Proceeding in the Harmony of King David's Harp (Psalms 22-34); he gave me 6 angels, £3; to Sir John Puckering, Lord Keeper, in 1592 A Second Proceeding (Psalms 35-44); he gave me 2 angels, 20s; his Lady gave me 6s8d.

Listed in 'Eupolemia': printed by G.M. Vogt, 'Richard Robinson's Eupolemia (1603)' in Studies in Philology, 21 (1924), 629-648.

See also November 1, when Robinson presented the Queen's book.

Sept 29, Mon The Golden Pen: contest between Writing-Masters.
Daniel Johnson, a young writing-master, had set up a Challenge in 1594:

'If any shall take exceptions to this my writing and teaching, such I challenge to write and teach with them for the Golden Pen'.

The Challenge was accepted by Peter Bales, a well-known London writing-master, who described the events in an account of 1st January 1596 entitled:

'The Golden Pen of £20 won by Peter Bales gentleman, Master in Writing, General Challenger for the same, against all Englishmen and strangers without exceptions: which Challenge was divided into three parts: the first, for best and fairest writing of all kinds of hands usual, the second for Secretary and Clerk like writing, the third for best teaching. Accepted and lost by Daniel Johnson of London, Writing Schoolmaster, defendant, on Michaelmas Day last'...

'The order also of the Trial and Judgement thereof, taken by five Judges... An answer also to two most slanderous and malicious libels lately published and set up in print in the City of London in great number, ten days together continued', by Daniel Johnson against Bales and the Judges.

The 'trial' was held 'within the Blackfriars, at the Conduit Yard next to the Pipe Office'. Judges: William Segar, Somerset Herald; Anthony Dew and John Gwilliams, Clerks in the Office of the Petty Bag, in the court of Chancery; George Chapman, gentleman [dramatist, poet]; William Panck, schoolmaster and Writer of the Court Letter of London.

The first trial was of the writing of one scholar apiece taught by Bales and Johnson; the second trial was for the two Masters to write at dictation in English and Latin (Johnson confessed that he did not know Latin); the third trial was to adjudge examples of various hands brought by the Masters, viz. Secretary hand, Chancery hand, Set Chancery hand, Roman hand, Court hand, Set text, and Bastard Secretary hand.

Peter Bales won all the trials, but in order not to disgrace the young Defendant publicly the Judges gave judgement in private next day for Bales.

Johnson then spread around London a report that he himself had won the Golden Pen. Peter Bales responded by setting up outside his house in the Old Bailey a post inscribed 'At the Sign of the Golden Pen'. Johnson continued to claim victory, and libels and answers went to and fro, each answer or 'challenge' ending 'God save the Queen'. This provoked Bales to write his account, including the full judgement by the five Judges. [BL Harleian MS 675].

September: marriage: William 3rd Lord Sandys married (2nd wife) Christian Ansley, a Maid of Honour, daughter of Brian Ansley, a Gentleman Pensioner. Queen's gift to the Lady Sandys at her marriage, September 1595: 'An armlet of gold having therein 9 camels graven with 9 knots of gold furnished with ragged pearls'. This was a New Year gift to the Queen, 1587. [BL Add MS 5751A, f.212].

At the next Parliament, 1597, Lady Sandys' jointure was confirmed.

Court news. Oct 1, London, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney:
'My Lord Shrewsbury is not yet suffered to come to court, nor to have great resort unto him. His Lady hath attended these four days at my Lord Lumley's lodging to see the Queen, and hath made my Lord of Essex, my Ladies Warwick, Leighton and Scudamore her means to prepare her way, and as yet they prevail not; in the meantime her mind doth sometime ease itself with tears'.^{SD}

Gilbert Talbot, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, and his wife Mary, were involved in a suit for slander brought by the Earl's brother Edward Talbot against one Wood, the Earl's physician, found guilty in Star Chamber in July 1595 of perjury.

The Earl also brought a suit against his brother, allegedly having a purpose to poison the Earl 'first by gloves, and after by potion or plaster'.

Wood confessed to being the only 'plotter in all this action', and was severely punished. [Star Chamber report: Hawarde, 13-19].

Court news. Oct 3, London, Ambrose Rogers to William Waad, of a newly arrived Marquis: 'Her Majesty was desirous to be informed from whence the Marquis of Baden arrived in England, as also the occasion of his coming'...

'I find that he arrived on this day sennight [Sept 26] at London, followed with some 13 persons *de sa suite*; that he came out of Holland; that he came only to see the country, and that he purposeth on Sunday [Oct 5] to repair to the court, from whence he meaneth to take view of the universities'...

'I think that he maketh his address to her Majesty by my Lord of Essex... He is son to the Lady Cecilia, who some 30 years since was here in England... He hath passed these days in viewing the tombs of Westminster and Paul's, Paris Garden [bear-baiting arena] and such like pastimes'. [HT.MS 35/43].

Oct 3, Fri Sir Roger Williams at Nonsuch on return from France. Williams, special Ambassador to France, travelled back with an envoy from King Henri IV: Antoine Lomenie de Brienne (1560-1638).

Oct 4, Nonsuch, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney: 'Sir Roger Williams came hither yesterday... This day is come hither Monsieur Lomenie, Secretary of the King's Cabinet... to let the Queen know how unable he is to resist the great force of the common enemy without the aid of her Majesty, which he craves may be speedily and royally, to prevent the devices of many that persuade him to hearken to a peace between him and the Spaniard... Lomenie dined with my Lord of Essex, and hath audience this afternoon'.^{SD}

Oct 5, Sun John Charles, Marquis of Baden, at Nonsuch.

The Marquis was a son of Lady Cecilia of Sweden and Christopher Marquis of Baden, who were in England September 1565-April 1566.

Oct 8, Nonsuch, Sir Robert Cecil to Thomas Edmondes (Agent in France), referring to Lomenie's 'choler, and menaces'. 'Tomorrow Lomenie hath his dispatch, and will be gone post'. [Edmondes, 270-271].

Oct 9, Stepney, Thomas Lake to Sir Robert Sidney: Monsieur Lomenie 'both by the King's letters and by his own speech, have dealt so plainly and roundly with the Queen and our Council as hath moved here great offence. The substance is... that if she refuse him in it, he must provide for himself as he may. These letters delivered with very stout speeches hath greatly offended the Queen, who loveth not to be terrified. The gentleman is dispatched without any hope of obtaining relief from hence'.^{SD}

Oct 13, Sir Horatio Palavicino to Sir Robert Cecil, in Italian, enclosing a letter with a petition to the Queen to act as godmother to the child of Antonio Oltrana, an Italian gentleman, a Councillor of the Marquis of Anspac, a German prince. He thinks the request preposterous, Oltrana having virtually no acquaintance with the Queen. The Marquis and his wife and the Duke of Wurttemberg are to be godparents. [HT.v.416]. No more is heard of this.

Oct 14: Lomenie arrived at Rye, Sussex, and waited for a ship and a wind.

Court news. Oct 15, London, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney, Governor of Flushing: Sir Edmund Uvedale (Lieutenant-Governor of Flushing) 'was upon Monday [Oct 13] at court, dined with my Lord of Essex, who used him honourably'...

'The Duke of Wurttemberg's man is here yet, and like to be long, for he expects a dispatch from the Queen, my Lord Treasurer, and others. A couple of your hounds... I have brought up and deliver them to this man that lies at Spilman's [in Dartford, Kent]... Sir Walter Raleigh is here, and goes daily to hear sermons, because he hath seen the wonders of the Lord in the deep; tis much commended and spoken of... Lomenie is gone, and as I hear hath done little good in the business he came for'.^{SD}

Oct 15: *death*. Philip Howard (1557-1595), formerly Earl of Arundel, his titles being forfeited in 1589 when he was attainted for high treason. He died in the Tower after imprisonment there since 1585, and was buried there on Oct 22. His widow Anne died in 1630. Their son Thomas Howard (1585-1646) was restored in 1604 as Earl of Arundel and of Surrey; he was created (1644) Earl of Norfolk.

Philip's remains were moved to Arundel Castle, Sussex, in 1624, and to the Roman Catholic church at Arundel in 1971; he was canonized by the Pope in 1970, becoming Saint Philip Howard.

Oct 17: *death*. Sir Thomas Heneage (c.1532-1595) died at the Savoy, London.

He was a long-standing favourite of the Queen, and was Vice-Chamberlain, Treasurer of the Chamber, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, a Privy Councillor, Keeper of Havering House and Park, Essex, and of Waltham Forest; joint Keeper with his brother Michael Heneage of Records in the Tower.

Will (July 22): 1st bequest: 'Whereas my most bounden duty is to remember the Queen's most excellent Majesty, my most gracious and dear Mistress, who above all other earthly creatures I have thought most worthy of all my heart's love and reverence, I do give and bequeath to her Highness one such jewel as my dear friend Sir John Fortescue knight Chancellor of the Exchequer and one of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council shall cause to be made, best liking to her Majesty, of the value of one thousand French crowns'.

To wife, Dame Mary: Bevis Marks alias Heneage House, in London, with its orchards, gardens and grounds; and Copthall, Epping, Essex.

Funeral: November 20, St Paul's Cathedral. What remains of his monument after the Great Fire of London in 1666 is in the Cathedral Crypt.

Heneage's widow (2nd wife), Mary (Browne), Countess of Southampton, married (3) (c.1599) Sir William Harvey.

Fees of offices held by Heneage: Vice-Chamberlain in yearly fee: £66.

Treasurer of the Chamber at court: £280.

Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster: £236.13s4d.

The profit of the Seal for leases, patents and process, estimated: £300; (and a further £1000). Keeper of the Records in the Tower: £80.

Keeper of Havering House and Havering Park: £23.13s4d.

Lieutenantship of Waltham Forest: £20. [LPL 652/228].

Oct 19, court, Whyte to Sidney: 'The assured death of Mr Vice-Chamberlain is come to the court this day. The places that live are many, and many great suitors for them. Sir Robert Cecil stands for the Chancellorship of the Duchy; [John] Stanhope, Raleigh, who is come in secret near the court, and Sir Henry Lee would be Vice-Chamberlain, and some say that my Lord of Essex desires Waltham Forest. I do not know who shall have the Treasurership of the Chamber. [William] Waad stands for the keeping of the Records in the Tower'...

'This day dined with my Lord of Essex the Marquis of Baden with six gentlemen of his retinue...Sir Edmund Uvedale is here, and attends Sir Robert Cecil's leisure to bring him to the Queen'...

'The Queen is not now to be seen, she takes his death somewhat heavily'...

'My Lord of Southampton offering to help the Queen to her horse was refused, he is gone from court, and not yet returned'.^{SD}

Oct 20, Mon dinner, Coombe, Kingston, Surrey; Mr Vincent.^T
Coombe manor-house, Kingston-upon-Thames; owned by Thomas Vincent (1543-1613); wife: Jane (Lyfield), of Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey; she died in 1620.

Oct 20, Mon **RICHMOND PALACE**, Surrey.

Work at Richmond included 'making of new desks for the Queen's books', and work on 'the bedchamber, bathing chamber and the Presence'.

Oct 21, Gorhambury, Lady Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon: 'Her Majesty is, they say, now at Richmond'. [Allen, 234].

c.October 21-November: Sir William Keith in London, with messages from King James for the Queen and the Earl of Essex. November, Keith to Anthony Bacon: 'I am most sorry that my luck is so hard...as not to have the honour to kiss her Majesty's hand, and although my Lord of Essex had obtained me that favour I am contrary commanded by wind, ship-masters and ships...I ask that the King may have 'some hawks for hunting (in the Spring)'. [LPL 652/151].

Court news. Oct 24, in haste, Earl of Essex to Sir Henry Unton (who hoped for one of Heneage's offices; Unton and Bacon had angered the Queen by speeches in Parliament in March 1593 on the Subsidy): The Queen 'startles at your name, chargeth you with popularity, and hath every particular of your speeches in Parliament without book, as the anatomy, the pots and pans and such like, and generally she seems resolved to give none of Mr Vice-Chamberlain's offices in haste. Sir Robert Cecil is troubled to think that his cousin Stanhope and you should be competitors and that he could not please you both'. [HT.iv.68].

Sir Henry Unton became Ambassador to France, December 1595.

Michael Heneage continued as Keeper of the Records. John Stanhope became Treasurer of the Chamber, 1596, and a knight; he became Vice-Chamberlain, 1601.

Sir Robert Cecil became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1597.

Court news. Oct 29, 'at Mr Catcher's house hard by Austin Friars gate', Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney, after Whyte had rented Alderman John Catcher's Broad Street house for Lady Sidney and her children to winter in:

'Sir Walter Raleigh hath not yet been at court, though great means made to bring him thither, he hath already visited my Lady'...

'My Lord of Pembroke and Lord Herbert are here; the Queen takes it kindly that in this time of danger he [the Earl of Pembroke] came up to see her, and to offer himself and fortune to do her service. She uses him very graciously'...

'Your Lordship thinks the rent of this house my Lady hath very dear; she now pays but £40 the half-year, and hath all kitchen stuff, pewter, tables, cupboards, forms, stools, chairs, cushions, andirons, carpets, provided here by Catcher, which cannot be less worth in carriage than £10, and truly houses are dear here, and such a house as this is'...

'My Lord of Hertford was sent for by a messenger, is come up, and committed to his own house. The cause said to be a record secretly put into the Court of the Arches, to prove his first marriage lawful and his children legitimate... Tis said he is one of the wealthiest subjects of England'...

'Proby is commanded to wait at court; hath spoken with her Majesty, and is said he shall have the disbursing of the Treasury of the Chamber, till her Majesty be pleased to bestow it'.^{SD} Peter Proby was Post of Chester.

October: new court appointment: Dr John James, to be one of the Physicians to the Queen's Household, fee £50 per annum.^B

Nov 1: *Psalms for the Queen, translated by Richard Robinson (c.1544-1603).*

Robinson listed his works from 1576-1599 (mainly translations from Latin), with the dedicatees of each, and what reward if any he or she gave him, in 'Eupolemia, or good Warfare against Satan the Devil, as the Capital Enemy of Man'. The only such Elizabethan record of literary earnings.

During 1602-3 Robinson penned a presentation copy of 'Eupolemia' and two other works, intended for the Queen; but he dated the final page 1603 May 25, and headed the MS: 'Newly written out to the glory of God, honour of the King's [Queen's deleted] most excellent Majesty, comfort of the faithful, and conversion or subversion of their enemies'. [BL Royal MS A.LXVI].

Nov 1, Sat Richard Robinson at Richmond.

Robinson had dedicated to the Queen on September 29 *A Third Proceeding in the Harmony of King David's Harp*.

'I presented it unto your Highness on All Saints Day being Saturday the first of November Anno 1595 at Richmond, your Majesty then going to your Chapel in the morning...It pleased your most excellent Majesty to receive this my poor labour graciously. I poor man expected comfort for the same deservingly'...

'I making my humble suit unto your most gracious Highness for some relief in money, what God might move your gracious mind to bestow upon me: Mr Doctor Caesar then Master of the Requests returned me answer, your Majesty thanked me for my goodwill, your Highness was glad you had a subject could do so well, and that I deserved commendations. But for any gratification for any such labours your Majesty was not in mind as then to bestow any such relief upon me; for your Highness (as he said) had care of the chargeable Voyage to come [to Spain], of relieving your needy soldiers and requiting of their pains; finally your Highness set me not on work, and therefore you were not to pay me any wages'.

'Herewith I departed from your Highness's court at Richmond, patiently as a poor man before, but now (by this means) become a poorer'.

[From 'Eupolemia']. Robinson's *Fourth Proceeding* was similarly rebuffed by Sir Thomas Egerton, the new Lord Keeper, in 1596.

Also Nov 1, All Saints' Day: Dutch Agent at Richmond for audience.

Noel Caron, resident Agent, to the States-General, Nov 4:

I had audience with the Queen, now at Richmond, on a day observed here as a great festival, and afterwards met the Privy Council. [Deventer, ii.86-92].

Court news. Nov 3, London, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney:

'Your letter...to my Lord Treasurer [Lord Burghley, requiring gunpowder for Flushing] was argued before the Queen by the Lords of the Council'...

'The Queen herself, and the Lords of her Council, being exceedingly busied in giving directions for all things fit to hinder an invasion'.^{SD}

Nov 3, Mon Earl of Essex and the Queen, Richmond.

A book by 'R.Doleman' [Father Robert Persons] entitled *A Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England* had come into the Queen's hands.

Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney, Nov 5, court: 'Upon Monday last 1500 [the Queen] showed 1000 [Essex] a printed book...In it there is as I hear dangerous praises of 1000 of his valour and worthiness, which doth him harm here. At his coming from court he was observed to look wan and pale, being exceedingly troubled at this great piece of villainy done unto him'.

PS. 'Upon Monday night the Court Gates were shut, my Lord Chamberlain had the keys, and Browne the Controller carried a torch; I do not yet know what the story might be. The book I spoke of is dedicated to my Lord Essex, and printed beyond sea, and tis thought to be treason to have it. To write of these things are dangerous, in so perilous a time'.^{SD}

Richard Browne was Clerk Controller of the Household. Later on Nov 3 the Earl of Essex left Richmond to go towards his sister the Countess of Northumberland's house at Petworth, Sussex, but returned to court the same night.

Court news. Nov 4, evening, Anthony Standen to Anthony Bacon: 'My Lord came yesternight very sick from Cobham, 9 miles on his way to Petworth. Her Majesty hath been long with him today, and ordered his broths and things; he now rests and is somewhat better'. Nov 5, 'from the Earl's chamber this morning': 'The Earl was yesternight unquiet by reason of the pain in his head...Here are from her Majesty continual visits by Grooms of her Chamber'. [LPL 652/147,149].

Court news. Nov 5, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney, of Essex, and Francis Bacon: The Earl 'is sick, and continues very ill. 1500 [the Queen] visited him yesterday in the afternoon. He is mightily crossed in all things, for Bacon is gone without the place of Solicitor'...

'The Chancellorship of the Duchy [of Lancaster] is committed to eight Commissioners...and the Queen herself keeps the Seal, and my Lord Treasurer [Burghley] as occasion serves doth seal and dispatch all the business'.

'Peter Proby hath a chamber in her court, with the allowance of three dishes of meat, and pays the money till a Treasurer of the Chamber be chosen, which will not be in haste'.^{SD}

Nov 5, Richmond, Queen to Frances (Howard), Countess of Hertford, 2nd wife of the Earl of Hertford and a long-standing Lady of the Privy Chamber, whose husband was about to be committed to the Tower:

'Good Francke: We do not now forget you in your Lord's misfortune, and therefore have thought it not amiss, even by our own handwriting...to assure you of the continuance of our former grace...It is not convenient to acquaint you with all the particular circumstances of his offence...but (to prevent any misapprehension that this crime is in its nature more pernicious and malicious than an act of lewd and proud contempt against our own direct prohibition), we have vouchsafed to cause a ticket to be shown you by the bearer, which may resolve you from further doubting what it is not...We will use no more severity than is requisite for others' caution in like cases...You will not be one jot the less esteemed for any faults of his'. [SP12/254/54].

6 Nov 1595-4 Jan 1596: Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, in the Tower.

His 1st wife, whom he secretly married in 1560, was Lady Catherine Grey, a cousin of the Queen. In 1561 and 1563 he had two sons by her, Edward Seymour, Lord Beauchamp, and Thomas Seymour, whom he was found to be still seeking to be declared to be legitimate, and thus in line of succession to the Crown.

[For his release see letters, 3 Jan 1596].

Nov 6, Thur new appointment: Thomas Fleming was made Solicitor-General. Fleming resigned his posts of Serjeant at Law and Recorder of London.

Thomas Fleming, new Solicitor-General, was from Newport, Isle of Wight, as were his cousins Richard Edes and Dr John James. The Queen remarked that 'one was for her soul, viz. Dr Edes...Chaplain in Ordinary; the other for her body, viz. Dr James, her Physician in Ordinary, and one that daily read to her,... the third Mr Thomas Fleming, for her goods'. [Oglander Memoirs (1888), 102].

Francis Bacon's description (1604): 'After the Queen had denied me the Solicitor's place, for the which his Lordship [Earl of Essex] had been a long and earnest suitor on my behalf, it pleased him to come to me from Richmond to Twickenham Park...and said "Master Bacon, the Queen hath denied me yon place for you, and hath placed another...You shall not deny to accept a piece of land which I will bestow upon you". Bacon received land which he afterwards sold for £1800. [Spedding, i.371]. During winter 1595-1596 the Queen gave to Francis Bacon esquire a gilt bowl with a cover'.^{PS}

Court news. Nov 7, London, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney:

The Earl of Essex 'was infinitely troubled with a printed book the Queen showed him...yet doth he keep his chamber. My Lord of Hertford is committed to the Tower, and as I hear two Stanhopes with him, but not the courtiers'.^{SD}

There were five Stanhope brothers, Hertford's cousins: the courtiers: John Stanhope, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber; Michael Stanhope, a Groom of the Privy Chamber; imprisoned briefly were Edward Stanhope (I) and Edward (II).

Court news. Nov 12, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney:

'My Lord of Hertford was committed to the Tower; since then it is given out that by commandment his son shall no more be called Lord Beauchamp but Seymour, and that he is sent for. And it is credibly said that my Lady Hertford is become stark mad. The Doctor Stanhope and Stanhope the lawyer, of Gray's Inn, that were committed about that matter...are put at liberty, and for a day or two Mr Michael Stanhope came not to the court'...

'My Lord of Essex hath put off the melancholy into which he fell by reason of a printed book delivered to the Queen, wherein the harm meant him, by her gracious favour and wisdom is turned to his good, and strengthens her love unto him; for I hear that, within these four days, many letters sent to herself from foreign countries are delivered only to my Lord of Essex, and he to answer them'.^{SD}

Nov 12: death. Sir John Hawkins (1532-1595) died at sea near Puerto Rico. Bequest to the Queen (by codicil, November 8):

'For the faults or offences which I have or might have committed against her Majesty, I do give unto her £2000 (if she will take it), for that she hath in her possession of mine a far greater sum which I do release unto her. This I mean with God's grace to perform myself if He of His mercy send me home'.

Hawkins' widow Margaret (Vaughan) was a Lady of the Privy Chamber.

Nov 12, Sherborne, Sir Walter Raleigh to Cecil: 'It is no dream which I have reported of Guiana...I know the plot [map] is by this time finished which if you please to command from Harriot that her Majesty may see it'. [Latham, no.87]. [Thomas Harriot's map: reprinted V.T.Harlow, ed. Discoverie of Guiana (1932)].

Nov 12, Dieppe, Otwell Smith to Essex, of Lomenie, the French envoy at Nonsuch in October: 'Here is come over Monsieur Lomenie...and speaketh very well of her Majesty, that he was used very well, but saith some of the Council did not use him well, and is angry because that my Lord Admiral did not permit her Majesty's pinnace to bring him over, the which had brought him to Rye'. [HT.v.456].

Nov 14, Richmond, Sir Robert Cecil to Thomas Edmondes, in France:

'Her Majesty having understood very lately that Monsieur Lomenie lay long at the seaside, did cause enquiry to be made what might be the occasion, whereupon she hath understood that he was stayed partly by contrary winds and also for want of a ship to waft him over. And therefore her Majesty, suspecting by the manner of his sour and sullen carriage here that he will be as apt to make the worst of all things there, hath now commanded me expressly to assure you that whatsoever impediment he did find besides the adverse winds was merely without her Majesty's knowledge, or any set purpose of any of her ministers'. Pinnaces were attending 'the wafting of her Majesty's merchants' ships'. [Edmondes, 279].

Nov 14, Fri dinner, Putney, Surrey; Mr [John] Lacy.
'When her Highness went to Whitehall'.^T

Nov 14, Fri **WHITEHALL PALACE**.

St Martin in the Fields: 'Paid the 14th of November at her Majesty's coming to Whitehall, and at her going from thence the 27th, 2s'.

Work at Whitehall, 1595-96, included: 'cleansing the chimney-piece in the Presence against her Majesty's coming; making ready the house against her Majesty's coming thither to lie; glazing work done there, her Majesty lying there certain nights'; a seat 'for the Queen in the Orchard, 20s'.

Two men carved 12 beasts in timber, all 3 feet high, viz. two greyhounds, three griffins, two panthers, a lion, an antelope, three hinds.

At St James: 'making a pair of new gates in the Park wall next Ebury Farm'.

Nov 15: 'Memorial of sundry things to be considered and ordered for her Majesty's service and the realm', by Lord Burghley, including: 'An army is to be appointed to guard the Queen's person in London, or wherever she may reside. All the noblemen of England are to be warned...to put themselves and their families in array, both on horseback and foot, and certify to her Majesty what forces she may expect of them; the like order is to be given to noblewomen, being widows, for their servants and families, and to bishops for theirs'. [SP12/254/65].

Nov 16, Whyte to Sidney: 'Here is great preparation for these triumphs [Accession Day], and such devices promised as our age hath not seen the like'.^{SD}

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

At Paul's Cross. 'The 17th of November, a day of great triumph for the long and prosperous reign of her Majesty, at London the pulpit Cross in Paul's Churchyard new repaired, painted, and partly enclosed with a wall of brick. Dr Fletcher Bishop of London preached there in praise of the Queen, and prayed for her Majesty, before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and citizens in their best liveries. Which sermon being ended, upon the church leads the trumpets sounded, the cornets winded, and the choristers sung an anthem. On the steeple many lights were burned; the Tower shot off her ordnance, the bells were rung, bonfires made, etc'. [Stow, *Annals*].

St Antholin Budge Row: 'For bread and drink the Crownation night, 12d; candles, 4d; for a new baldrick for one of the bells the Crownation day, 2s'.

St Botolph Aldgate: 'Paid in expenses upon such as did ring for the Queen's Majesty upon the 17th day of November anno 1595 according to custom, 2s'.

St Mary Woolchurch Haw: On the Queen's day 'unto the ringers forenoon and afternoon to drink for their pains, 2s'.

Plasterers' Company: 'Paid at The Red Lion the day of the solemnising of the Queen's Coronation, 7s10d'. Stationers' Company: 'Paid to the Clerk of St Faith's Church upon the Queen's day, 1s'.

Bramley Church, Hants: 'Bread and beer for the ringers the Coronation, 10d'.

Bristol Chamberlains: 'Paid to the trumpeters on the Queen's holiday, 6s8d; for wood and faggots for a bonfire, 4s4d, and to one to attend it, 6d; to Mr Woodson's scholars on the Queen's holiday, 5s'.

Cambridge, Great St Mary: 'Spent on the ringers of the Queen's night, 12d; for carriage of dung from the Church wall against the Queen's day, 3s2d'.

Cratfield Church, Suffolk: 'For three pints of the best wine for the Communion on the Crownation, 18d; to the ringers on the Crownation day by the consent of divers of the town, 7s4d'.

Also: 'Paid to Master Eland [the Vicar] for the book that is commanded by authority to be had in every church to pray for the Queen's Majesty, 6d'.

Heckington, Lincs: 'Bestowed upon the ringers of the Queen's Coronation day, 14s2d'. Hornchurch, Essex: 'To 10 men for to ring at the Coronation day, 10s'.

Houghton-le-Spring, Durham, churchwardens paid: 'Upon the Coronation day to the ringers, 2s6d; for their breakfast, 12d; for their dinners, 2s; for our own dinners, 12d; for our suppers, 8d; candles, 4d; coals, 3d'.

Ipswich, Suffolk, Chamberlains: 'Mr James Leman for speeches made upon the Coronation day by his scholars, and other charges, £4'.

Oxford Chamberlains: 'To the parson and clerk for service on the Queen's day, 14d; to Becket for a bonfire then, 6d'.

Stamford, Lincs, St John Baptist: Nov 17: 'Given to the ringers on St Hugh's Day, 12d; for candle on St Hugh's night, 2d; for dressing the churchyard to two poor women, 4d' [and several payments for the bells].

Thatcham, Berks, churchwardens: 'Laid out a Coronation day to the ringers for their wages, their drinkings and dinners and suppers more than the gatherings came unto, 7s6d'.

Worcester, St Michael Bedwardine: 'To the Clerk for ringing on the 17th of November last being the day solemnised for the Coronation of her Majesty, 2s'.

Accession Day preparations: Works: 'making of a new Tilt, and finishing of the same'. Thomas Conway, Gentleman Usher, made ready 'a place in the Gallery at Whitehall for the Queen's Majesty to see the Running at the Reign day', and made ready 'the Chapel at Whitehall for the Queen's Majesty against her coming to the Great Closet of the Reign day'.^T Tilt-list: College of Arms MS M.4,f.48.

Nov 17: **Accession Day Tilt**, Whitehall, 1595. 10 pairs.

Earl of Cumberland	v	Earl of Essex
Earl of Sussex	v	Sir Robert Carey
Earl of Southampton	v	James Scudamore
Earl of Bedford	v	Sir William Knollys
Lord Compton	v	Henry Noel
William Howard	v	Robert Dudley
Sir Thomas Knollys	v	Robert Knollys
Sir Robert Drury	v	John Needham
Carew Reynell	v	Charles Blount
Henry Carey	v	Alexander Radcliffe.

Noel Caron, resident Dutch Agent, watched the Tilt with the Queen.
Caron to Johan van Oldenbarnevelt [November 21, in Dutch]:

'Last Monday (being the day of her Majesty's Coronation), almost all afternoon, while the triumphal display of tournaments and other things was being enacted, I was with her Majesty, who watched these tournaments in public and with windows open, in full view of all the people, who were there in their thousands. The Earl of Essex (who was the principal organiser of the tournaments) had sent for me, and I was his guest in the afternoon and also in the evening (when he gave a very great banquet to all the lords and ladies of the court), whereby I had occasion to be with her Majesty that afternoon'.

'Also there with her were several Lords of her Council, with some of the principal ladies, but at the window where she sat she had only the Lord Admiral and the Lord Chamberlain with her, and summoned me to her as well'.

'She appeared all that afternoon very marvellously happy and joyful, not only laughing, speaking and calling to the gentlemen who participated in the tournament, who numbered eight couples, that is one against one, but also to the crowd, at whom she often smiled, and gave them great thanks for the happiness and luck which the crowd often wished her. She also said that she had never in her life seen such a crowd in that place, and indeed it was unbelievable how many people there were, which she rejoiced at, as I found'.

Caron recounted in detail how the Queen discussed foreign affairs with him throughout the Tilt (in French). [Deventer, iii.573].

George Peele described this Tilt in verse in *Anglorum Feriae, England's Holidays, celebrated the 17th of November last*. (1595).

'Among this stirring company of knights
That at the Tilt in fair abillements
Gan show themselves renowned Cumberland,
Knight of the Crown in gilded armour dight,
Mounted at Queen Elizabeth's approach,
Inflamed with honour's fire, and left his hold
Kept by a Dragon laden with fair spoils,
And there his duty done and large device
Made (by his Page) known to her Majesty...
Behold he stands impatient of delay,
Awaiting there his friendly foe's approach'...

'The first that led in cheerful colours clad
 In innocent white and fair carnation,
 Was he whose wisdom in his younger years
 And love to arms makes him so far renowned,
 The noble Earl of Essex and of Ewe.
 His mute approach and action of his mutes
 Said that he was solicited diversely
 One way to follow war and war's designs...
 Another way to apply him to the care
 Of common weal affairs and show the way,
 To help to underbear with grave advice
 The weighty beam whereon the State depends...

Then Sussex seated on his champing steed
 Dreadful to see and in sad tawny dight...
 Such showed his plume or like in my conceit
 To raven's feathers'...

Southampton 'ran as Bevis of Southampton' [the hero of a popular romance].

'Bravely ran Bedford and his staves he brake
 Right happily for his high Mistress sake.
 Compton of Compton came in shining arms
 Well mounted and appointed for the field.
 A gallant lord, richly arrayed was he,
 He and his train...

Carey was well acquainted with the place
 And to the Tilt proudly he made approach
 His steed well taught, himself fitted in all
 Fell to his noble exercise of arms...

In bases and caparisons of cost
 Came three redoubted knights and men at arms,
 Old Knollys his offspring gallant Cavaliers...
 Tis hard to say which brother did the best.

Like Venus son in Mars his armour clad
 Beset with glorious globes and golden flames,
 Came Dudley in...
 Rich in his thoughts and valiant in his deeds,
 No whit dishonoured by his fainting horse
 That coward like would have held his Master back
 From honour's goal: ill natured and ill taught
 To fail him foully in so great a presence...
 Soon having changed his steed...so valiantly
 He jousts that unjust it were in me
 Not to admire young Dudley's chivalry.

Young Howard ramping lion like came on...
 Loyal and lovely was this fair young knight,
 Gracious in his beginnings at the Tilt...
 Drury in flames of gold embroidered fair,
 Inflamed with love of virtue and of arms,
 Came to the Tilt like Phoebus'...

'Noel and Needham gentlemen of name
 Came mounted and appointed gallantly...
 Le Scu d'Amour: The arms of Loyalty
 Lodged Scudamore in his heart...

Then Radcliffe, Reynell, Blount and Carey came
 In all accoutrements fitting gentlemen,
 Well mounted and appointed every man
 And gallantly and worthily they ran.

Long may they run in honour of the Day,
 Long may she live to do them honour's right,
 To grace their sports and them as she hath done,
 England's Astraea, Albion's shining sun.
 And may she shine in beauty fresh and sheen
 Hundreds of years our thrice renowned Queen.
 Write Clio write write and record her story,
 Dear in heaven's eye her Court and Country's glory'.

Earl of Essex's Accession Day entertainment.

Rowland Whyte's description of the entertainment in a letter clarifies the sequence of events (see November 22).

Several speeches are in Francis Bacon's hand, but Henry Wotton later praised Essex's 'darling piece of love and self-love'. A few extracts are given here.

The opening speech: the 'Speech of the Squire in the Tilt-yard':

'Most excellent and glorious Queen, give me leave, I beseech your Majesty, to offer my master's complaint and petition. Complaint - that coming hither to your Majesty's most happy day he is tormented with the importunity of a melancholy dreaming Hermit, a mutinous brain-sick Soldier, and a busy tedious Secretary. His petition is that he may be as free as the rest, and at least whilst he is here be troubled with nothing but with care how to please and honour you'. 'The Hermit's first speech' comprised a few lines asking the Queen 'to assign us a time when we may before you speak for ourselves, and so will it appear whether this complaint is just'.

The Squire also presented another tilter in the guise of a blind Indian Prince, whose own attendant then addressed the Queen. They had come to seek her, and to obtain his cure, inspired by an Oracle, whose prophecy began:

'Seated between the Old World and the New,
 A land there is no other land may touch,
 Where reigns a Queen in peace and honour true;
 Stories or fables do describe no such'.

After the Tilt, and after supper, Essex's entertainment continued with speeches in the Presence Chamber before the Queen.

A copy of the speeches in Francis Bacon's hand has an introductory note:

'The persons to be three: one dressed like a Hermit or Philosopher, representing Contemplation; the second like a Captain, representing Fame; and the third like a Councillor of State, representing Experience'.

The speeches are described elsewhere as 'The Hermit's Speech'; 'The Soldier's Speech'; and 'The Statesman's Speech' or 'The Secretary's Speech', which alludes to 'Philautia' (goddess of self-love) and her attempts to beguile 'Erophilus' (lover of love). Modern edition: Nichols, *Progresses* (2014), iii.862-877.

'The Reply of the Squire' concludes: 'Erophilus's resolution is fixed: he renounceth Philautia and all her enchantments. He expecteth nothing and all things from his mistress. For her recreation he will confer with the Muses; for her defence and honour he will sacrifice his life in the wars, hoping to be embalmed in the sweet odours of her remembrance; to her service he will consecrate all his watchful endeavours, and will ever bear in his heart the picture of her beauty, in his actions of her will, and in his fortune of her grace and favour'.

Nov 18: Stationers entered: 'A new Ballad of the honourable order of the Running at Tilt at Whitehall the 17 of November in the 38 year of her Majesty's Reign'. Nov 19: 'A triumphant new ballad in honour of the Queen's Majesty and her most happy government who hath reigned in great prosperity 37 years'.

Nov 20: A ballad entitled 'England's Triumph, containing divers of those abundant blessings wherewith this our Realm hath been blessed by our most gracious Queen Elizabeth's reign'.

Court news. Nov 22, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney:

'My Lord of Essex's device is much commended in these late triumphs. Some pretty while before he came in himself to the tilt, he sent his Page with some speech to the Queen, who returned with her Majesty's glove. And when he came himself he was met with an old Hermit, a Secretary of State, a brave Soldier, and an Esquire'.

'The first presented him with a book of meditations; the second with political discourses; the third with orations of brave fought battles; the fourth was but his own follower, to whom the other three imparted much of their purpose, before his coming in. Another devised [spoke] with him, persuading him to this and that course of life, according to their inclinations'.

'Comes into the Tilt-yard unthought upon the ordinary Post-boy of London, a ragged villain all bemired, upon a poor lean jade, galloping and blowing for life, and delivered the Secretary a packet of letters, which he presently offered my Lord of Essex. And with this dumb-show our eyes were fed for that time'.

'In the after-supper, before the Queen, they first delivered a well-penned speech to move this worthy Knight to leave his vain following of love, and to betake him to heavenly meditation: the Secretary's all tending to have him follow matters of state, the Soldier's persuading him to the war; but the Esquire answered them all, and concluded with an excellent, but too plain English, that this Knight would never forsake his Mistress's love, whose virtue made all his thoughts divine, whose wisdom taught him all true policy, whose beauty and worth were at all times able to make him fit to command armies. He showed all the defects and imperfections of all their times, and therefore thought his course of life to be best in serving his Mistress'.

'The old man was he that in Cambridge [1 March 1595] played Giraldy, Morley played the Secretary, and he that played Pedantiq was the Soldier, and Toby Matthew [Bishop of Durham's son] acted the Squire's part'.

'The world makes many untrue constructions of these speeches, comparing the Hermit and the Secretary to two of the lords [of the Council, Burghley and Cecil], and the Soldier to Sir Roger Williams. But the Queen said that if she had thought there had been so much said of her she would not have been there that night, and so went to bed'.

'There are letters come out from Ireland with good news of Tyrone's submission which brought my Lord Treasurer to the court from his sick bed. The Council have been three days about this Irish peace, and a formal pardon, according to our law, is now a-drawing. Sir George Carew is presently to be sent over to take his oath and to be Commissioner in the business with the Lord Deputy'.^{SD}

Francis Bacon, who was involved with Essex's entertainment, wrote in an essay 'Of Masques and Triumphs' (1625): 'For jousts and tourneys and barriers, the glories of them are chiefly in the chariots wherein the challengers make their entry; especially if they be drawn with strange beasts, as lions, bears, camels, and the like; or in the devices of their entrance; or in the bravery of their liveries; or in the goodly furniture of their horses and armour. But enough of these toys'. Bacon's essay 'Of Friendship' was written for Toby Matthew.

Court news. Nov 22, Stepney, Thomas Lake to Sir Robert Sidney, of 'rumours and opinions on this side these four or five months past of foreign attempts'... 'We wait to hear what the French King's countenance will be on the return of Lomenie, who went hence discontented and speaks lewdly of us wherever he goes... We have been seeking six weeks for some one to go to him as promised; Sir Henry Unton is named, but stands on terms. Arthur Gorges then had vogue one week, now it is Sir H.Unton again, who is warned on his allegiance and let understand that princes will not be capitulated with by their servants'.^{SD}

Nov 24, Camp before La Fère, Thomas Edmondes to Lord Burghley: 'Monsieur de Lomenie is only within these few days arrived here who hath given the King very ill satisfaction of his negotiation there'. [Edmondes, 280].

Nov 25, London, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney:
Yesterday the Queen was busy 'about the pricking [choice] of Sheriffs'.
Her move back to Richmond 'will be upon Thursday'.^{SD}

Nov 27, Thur dinner, Putney, Surrey; Mr [John] Lacy.
'When her Highness came from Whitehall to Richmond'.^T

Nov 27, Thur **RICHMOND PALACE**, Surrey.^{MT}

Nov 28, Fri Sir Michael Blount, Lieutenant of the Tower 1590-1595, was dismissed by the Queen for his 'lewd behaviour'.

Nov 29, Sat Sir Dru Drury is chosen 'to take the care of our Tower of London' and is 'to receive the keys of our said Tower'. [HT.v.476]. (See Dec 5).

Court news. Nov 29, London, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney:
'My Lady Hertford was at Whitehall...very meanly attired. I heard the Queen should say that her husband's life nor living should be called in question'.

Dec 2, London, Whyte to Sidney: 'Her Highness daily showing herself to her faithful subjects, and they most joying in her sight, as well appeared at the Triumphs of her Coronation, and at her remove from hence upon last Thursday'.^{SD}

Court news. Dec 3, Streatham, Noel Caron (Dutch Agent) to the States General (summary): Spanish emissaries had been busy circulating slanderous reports that the Queen was on the eve of concluding a secret peace with Spain, and that she intended to deliver the Cautionary Towns to King Philip. One day Caron had a long conversation with the Earl of Essex on the subject; Essex was aflame with indignation, and although Caron requested him not to do so, went straight to the Queen. Next day, the Earl invited Caron to dine, and to go with him after dinner to the Queen. As soon as he was admitted, the Queen opened the subject.

She had heard that the reports in question had been spread throughout the Provinces, and expressed much indignation in regard to them. She swore very vehemently, as usual, and protested that she had better never have been born than prove so miserable a princess as these tales would make her. The histories of England should never describe her as guilty of such falsehood. She could find a more honourable and fitting means of making peace than by delivering up cities and strongholds so sincerely and confidingly placed in her hands. She hoped to restore them as faithfully as they had loyally been entrusted to her keeping.

The Queen begged Caron to acquaint the States General with this; declaring that never since she had sent troops to the Low Countries had she lent her ear to those who had made such underhand propositions. She was aware that Cardinal Albert had propositions to make, and was desirous of inducing both the French King and herself to consent to a peace with Spain; but she promised Caron solemnly before God to apprise him of any such overtures, as soon as they should be made known to herself. There was much more in this strain, with the Queen's usual vehemence and mighty oaths. Caron, to whom she was very gracious, was fain to believe in her sincerity. [Motley, *United Netherlands*, iii.356-7].

France made peace with Spain in 1598; King James made peace in 1604.

Court news. Dec 5, London, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney, of: 'our Sovereign Queen, who God be thanked is in very good health, and did at her being in this town publicly show herself often to the people, who infinitely rejoiced in her Majesty's presence. She is now at Richmond and purposes to keep her Christmas there...My Lord of Essex ever since Monday was at Petworth, and came this afternoon to the court'...

'Sir Michael Blount is put out of his place [Lieutenant of the Tower]... He grew very familiar with Mr Neville alias [Lord] Latimer and Captain Wenman, and...they began to talk of the dangers of the time; from that to argue of the Tower, how it might be made defensible...The Lieutenant delivered his mind... that he and his friends would keep that place till he saw great reason to yield it...Latimer and Wenman found means to discover it first to the Queen, whereupon the Lieutenant was examined by the Lords, and is now committed to the Tower'.

'Upon Tuesday last [Dec 2] Sir Dru Drury was sworn in his place'...

'Sir George Carey takes it very unkindly that my Lord of Pembroke broke off the match intended between my Lord Herbert and his daughter, and told the Queen it was because he would not assure him £1000 a year, which comes to his daughter as next a kin to Queen Anne Boleyn. He hath now concluded a marriage between his daughter and my Lord Berkeley's son and heir. The Queen used my Lord of Pembroke very well at his departure, and sent my Lady your sister [Countess of Pembroke] a jewel'.^{SD} Blount was freed Jan 1596; Berkeley-Carey marriage: 19 Feb 1596.

Dec 8, Whyte: 'At our court the Queen is well (ever may it be so) and the fair ladies do daily trip the measures in the Council Chamber'.^{SD}

Dec 11, Thur dinner, Kew, Surrey; Sir John Puckering. At house owned by Hugh Portman and leased by Sir John Puckering (c.1544-1596), the Lord Keeper; wife: Jane (Chowne). 'The Dairy House', at one time owned by Lord Robert Dudley; replaced later by 'The Dutch House'.

Knighting, Kew: Hugh Portman, of Orchard Portman, Somerset.

Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney, Dec 13, court: 'Her Majesty is in very good health, and comes much abroad. Upon Thursday she dined at Kew, my Lord Keeper's house...Her entertainment for that meal was great and exceeding costly. At her first alighting she had given her a fine fan, with a handle garnished with diamonds. When she was in the middle way, between the garden gate and the house, there came running towards her one with a nosegay in his hand, delivered it unto her, with a short well penned speech; it had in it a very rich jewel with many pendants of unfired diamonds, valued at £400 at least. After dinner, in her Privy Chamber, he gave her a fair pair of virginals. In her bedchamber presented her with a fine gown and a juppin [coat or jacket], which things were pleasing to her Highness; and to grace his Lordship the more she of herself took from him a salt, a spoon, and a fork, of fair agate'; Dec 22, Whyte:

'The rich gentleman was knighted by the Queen at Kew, Sir Hugh Portman'.^{SD}

For Puckering's memorandum for a royal visit to Kew see 14 August 1594.

*Dec 12: death: Sir Roger Williams died at Baynard's Castle, London.
Funeral: Dec 23, St Paul's Cathedral, with burial at Sir Philip Sidney's feet.*

Dec 13, court, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney:

Sir Roger Williams died 'of a hot burning ague that came by a surfeit'...

'My Lady Hertford is here, sues to have her husband at liberty, or at leastwise to be committed to my Lord Canterbury or my Lord Keeper's. The Queen sees her not, though she be in the Privy Lodgings, but sends her gracious messages, that neither his life nor fortune shall be touched; sends her broths in a morning, and at meals meat from her trencher'...

*'There is great means made for Sir Walter Raleigh's coming to the court; he lives about London very gallant; his voyage goes forward, and my Lord Treasurer ventures with him £500 in money; Sir Robert Cecil ventures a new ship bravely furnished, the very hull stands in £800'.^{SD} Raleigh sent *The Darling* to Guiana in January 1596, *The Wat* in October 1596.*

Dec 14, London, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney:

'Sir Walter Raleigh was here yesterday in the afternoon...to see my Lady', who asked if he still sought to be Vice-Chamberlain. 'To this he replied that he was a banished man from court, and had taken upon him a new fortune'.^{SD}

Dec 14: death: Henry Hastings, 3rd Earl of Huntingdon (c.1536-1595), K.G., Lord President of the North, died at York; he left no will. Funeral: 28 April 1596, Ashby de la Zouch, Leicestershire, delayed by problems over probate.

His brother Sir George Hastings (c.1540-1604) became 4th Earl of Huntingdon; the 4th Earl's son Francis Hastings (1560-17 Dec 1595) became Lord Hastings.

The widowed Catherine (Dudley), Countess of Huntingdon, died in 1620.

Dec 16, court, Whyte to Sidney: 'Word came hither yesterday that my Lord of Huntingdon was left in York so sick as that it is now feared he is dead. The Queen sent my Lord of Essex in post unto him and...to see things well ordered in those quarters...My Lady of Huntingdon knows nothing of this, and by the Queen's command kept from her'.^{SD}

Ballad: 'The cry of the poor for the death of the right honourable Earl of Huntingdon. To the tune of the Earl of Bedford'.

*'O God, of thy mercy remember the poor,
And grant us thy blessings, thy plenty and store;
For dead is Lord Hastings, - the more is our grief;
And now up to heaven we cry for relief.*

*Refrain] Then wail we, then weep we, then mourn we each one,
The good Earl of Huntingdon from us is gone...*

*His wisdom so pleased the Queen of this land,
The sword of true justice she put in his hand;
Of York he was President made by her Grace,
Her laws to maintain and rule in her place...*

*Then pray we for country, for prince and for peers,
That God may endue them with most happy years;
Lord, bless us with virtue, with plenty and peace,
And many more subjects like him to increase!'
(London, 1596). Reprinted: Seventy-nine Ballads.*

Dec 17: death: The new Francis Lord Hastings died in London.
Funeral: 28 April 1596, Ashby de la Zouch. His son Henry Hastings (1586-1643) became Lord Hastings (and later 5th Earl of Huntingdon).
The widowed Sarah (Harington), Lady Hastings (c.1566-1629) married
(2) Sir George Kingsmill; (3) Edward, 11th Lord Zouche; (4) Sir Thomas Edmondes.

*December 1595: Sir Henry Unton became **Ambassador** to France, for a second term.*
Sir Henry kept a 'Journal of my proceedings', quoted here from Berkshire Record Office: T/A 13/3 (a copy; original is at the University of Virginia).

Dec 17, Wed Sir Henry Unton at Richmond Palace.
Unton's Journal: 'I was at the court at Richmond, and came that night back again to my house, with commandment to be there again the next day'.

Dec 18, Thur Sir Henry Unton at Richmond to take leave.
'I returned to the court, took my leave of the Queen and kissed her hands, with Mr Valentine Knightley, Mr Carey, Mr Cope, and Mr Hart, gentlemen of my train'.
Dec 19, at London: 'I received from Mr Lake my Passport, my Privy Seal, my Instructions, and the Queen's letters to the King and others'.

*Dec 19, Fri **WHITEHALL PALACE.***

Dec 19, Whitehall, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney, of the death of his uncle the Earl of Huntingdon: 'The certainty of it was brought to the Queen upon Wednesday morning...This is kept from my Lady Huntingdon; but the Queen of purpose is come to Whitehall on such a sudden that it makes the world much wonder at it...what it is, is but to comfort her, and to break it unto her herself. My Lord Keeper [Sir John Puckering] was sent to her to tell her from the Queen that my Lord was sick...In the afternoon he came again unto her to let her know that the Queen was advertised he was in some danger'...
'And thus you see her Majesty's gracious care of her; and now that the way is prepared the Queen this day will let her know the truth'.^{SD}

Dec 20, Sat visit, Huntingdon House, London; Countess of Huntingdon.
Visit of condolence to Catherine (Dudley), newly widowed Dowager Countess.

Dec 20, London, Whyte to Sidney, of the Countess's 'unheard of sorrows', when Lady Puckering broke the news. 'I am not able to deliver unto you the passions she fell into, and which yet she continues in...The Queen herself, in a litter, went to visit her about 4 o'clock this evening. I will go tomorrow morning, and know what comfort she received by it'.^{SD}

Dec 21, Sun Sir Henry Unton at Whitehall with the Queen.
Newly appointed Ambassador to France.

Unton's Journal: 'My Lord of Essex sent unto me Mr Reynolds his Secretary that it was the Queen's pleasure to speak again with me before my departure. I returned to the court, and had conference again with the Queen. And I was called back three several times to kiss her Majesty's hands'.

Dec 22: Unton left for Kent, arriving at Dover next day.

Court news. Dec 22, 10 o'clock at night, Whyte to Sidney: 'The Queen signed your leave this day at 12 o'clock, and I send you a true copy'...
'The Queen was with my Lady Huntingdon very private upon Saturday... which much comforted her...Her Majesty thought to have gone to Richmond today, but by reason of the foul weather defers it till tomorrow'.^{SD}

Dec 23, Tues **RICHMOND PALACE**, Surrey.

St Martin in the Fields: 'Paid the 19th and 23rd of December at her Majesty's coming to Whitehall and going from thence, 2s'.

Court news. Dec 26, London, Whyte to Sidney: 'My Lady has your leave safely in her cabinet, so you may boldly come over...If my Lady Huntingdon's desire to see you had not moved the Queen, you had not come over in haste'.^{SD}

Dec 26, Fri play, by Lord Chamberlain's Men.

Dec 27, Sat play, by Lord Chamberlain's Men.^T

There was 'One button of gold with five pearls in it lost from her Majesty's kirtle at a play at Richmond at Christmas 1595'. [Arnold, *Wardrobe*, 350].

[Dec 27] St John's Day at night, London, Whyte to Sidney:

'I was at court this morning, where nothing is so much thought upon as dancing and playing. Some were there hoping for preferment, as my Lord North and Sir Henry Lee. They play at cards with the Queen, and it is like to be all the honour that will fall unto them this year...Sir Edmund Uvedale is at court; hath exceeding good words given unto him' [Lieutenant-Governor of Flushing]...

'The Bishop of York [Matthew Hutton] is made Lord President of the North'...

'The Queen went this day to the chapel, very princelike, and in very good health'.^{SD} [For the Archbishop of York's new post see 26 Feb 1596].

Sir Robert Sidney, Governor of Flushing, was in England January-August 1596, coming initially to console his newly widowed aunt the Countess of Huntingdon. Rowland Whyte's newsletters resumed in September 1596.

Dec 27: Unton's Journal: 'I embarked with my train in The Tramontana, The Quittance also went to convey me over'; Dec 28: 'I arrived at Dieppe'.

Dec 27: Lady Edmondes, the Queen, and Roger Booth.

Booth, a scrivener, had been accused with others, in the Star Chamber, by Lady Gresham, widow of Sir Thomas Gresham, of forgery of several deeds. He was imprisoned in the Fleet, sentenced to stand in the pillory and lose his ears.

Booth wrote repeatedly to Anthony Bacon (Francis Bacon's brother) in November and December for help; eventually Bacon asked Anthony Standen to offer money to Dorothy Lady Edmondes to influence the Queen to favour Booth. Lady Edmondes, widow of Sir Christopher Edmondes, was of East Molesey, Surrey, where the Queen twice visited her; she was a Lady of the Privy Chamber 1559-1603.

Court news. Dec 27, Anthony Standen to Anthony Bacon:

'I went to the Lady Edmondes house, and according to your direction made her acquainted with the matter, wherein she made no difficulty, so she might obtain the favour of my Lord Chamberlain [Hunsdon] not to cross it, whom heretofore she had heard bitterly to inveigh against the matter and the man. In the end she came yesterday to the court, talked with my Lord Keeper [Sir John Puckering], whom she finds pliable'...

'She hath also dealt with my Lord Chamberlain whom (as she saith) she found very wilful but for her sake content to relent, but withal did advertise her that if she made not the suit worth to her a thousand pounds she was unwise, assuring her that if she handled it well it would be no less valuable unto her'.

'Now here comes in the cogging [deceit] of this place. She says she must make an express suit thereof to her Majesty, and therein plead her ancient and long service...and that the manner of the Queen is to ask what the suit will be worth, so that naming £100, which is the sum I offered her, she saith the Queen will not be moved with it'.

'For so small a matter to employ her credit and forces she will not, and therefore you must think on it. I see she looks for great matters, and how much I cannot say, but already I find she hath her preparations, and immediately after the holidays (for in these times the Queen will hear of no suit) she will give the attempt'.

'Therefore advise sir upon it and send me word if not this day at least tomorrow what I shall do and how far proceed. Her demand is according to the shops of the palace at Paris, who in the end sell their wares for half'.

'I know not what to advise in this matter, she being now possessed of it and believing already to have the coin in coffer would by her own and friends utterly overthrow it if we should attempt any other, and I may evidently see that the Lord Keeper desireth this matter to be brought to her mill, for I heard him say these words unto her "Madam, it is not the house you do desire, but only the booth". She answering "Yea, my Lord", then said he "Do you your endeavour, and you shall find me ready".'

'I say again for these reasons I know not how we can remove it from this woman without notorious damage, yet what you shall herein direct me I will to my uttermost perform. This ruffianry of causes I am daily more and more acquainted with, and see the manner of dealing, which groweth by the Queen's straitness to give these women, whereby they presume thus to grange and huck [to bargain] causes'. [LPL 652/211].

Sequel: 2 January 1596.

Francis Bacon: 'Sir Walter Raleigh was wont to say, of the Ladies of Queen Elizabeth's Privy Chamber and Bedchamber, that they were like Witches: they could do hurt, but they could do no good'. [Bacon, *Apopthegms* (1625)].

Dec 28, Sun play, by Lord Chamberlain's Men.^T

Dec 30: death. William West, 1st Lord De La Warr (by 1520-1595), died at Wherwell, Hants.

His son Sir Thomas West (c.1555-1602) became 2nd Lord De La Warr. The widowed Anne (Knollys), Lady De La Warr, married Richard Kemish. Their monument is in Andover Church, Hants.

Jewel-house account, drawn up by Margaret Astley, widow of John Astley, Master of the Jewel-house 1558-his death in 1596.

Account for 14 March 1574-22 Sept 1595, including plate lost by Lord Howard of Effingham and Lady Howard, Chief Lady of the Privy Chamber.

'Charles Lord Howard, Lord Admiral, for two white pots of silver lost by his wife keeping the table for the Ladies of the Privy Chamber'.

Other plate 'lost by himself and his lady':
part of a white chandelier; four white spoons; a white salt;
basin and ewer parcel gilt; two gilt trenchers; five trenchers parcel gilt.

A bowl of silver parcel gilt and white was 'Lost by the Scottish Queen at Chartley and allowed by warrant of the Lords of the Council dated the 22nd of September 1590'. [TNA E351/1954].

1595: Thomas Lant (c.1554-c.1601), Portcullis Pursuivant, presented to the Queen a catalogue of Officers of Arms. Known as Lant's Roll. Several copies survive, e.g. BL Lansdowne MS 80.

1595: Gerard Mercator: Atlas sive Cosmographicae meditationes de Fabrica Mundi et fabricati figura. 107 maps. (Dusseldorf, 1595).

Mercator (1512-1594), published sections of his Atlas in 1569, 1578, 1585, 1589. The final section including the British Isles was seen through the press by his sons in 1595, with a dedicatory letter, 1 April 1595, dedicating it to Elizabeth, the most serene and mighty Queen of England, France and Ireland.

A collection of maps now became known as an Atlas (after Atlas, in classical mythology the god who held up the world).

1595: John Norden dedicated to the Queen 'Speculum Britanniae', being 'A Chorographical description of the several Shires and Islands of Middlesex, Essex, Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire, Wight, Guernsey and Jersey, performed by the travail and view of John Norden'. Dedicated to the Queen, 'Powerful Protector of the Faith and very Religion of the Messiah, the most comfortable nursing mother of the Israel of God in the British Isles', to whom the author 'in all humility consecrateth his Speculum Britanniae'. [BL Add MS 31853].

Part of 'Speculum Britanniae' was published.
John Norden dedicated several topographical and devotional works to the Queen.

*1595: Sir Walter Raleigh, Captain of the Guard, who had been without access to court since summer 1592 after concealing his marriage to Elizabeth Throckmorton, wrote his poem 'The Lie', which includes:

'Say to the Court it glows,
And shines like rotten wood,
Say to the Church it shows
What's good, and doth no good.
If Church and Court reply,
Then give them both the lie'.

'The Lie' circulated in manuscript, inspired several poems in answer, and was first published in 1608.

1595: Edmund Spenser published: Amoretti.
A collection of sonnets, including Sonnet 74 praising three Elizabeths: the poet's mother; the Queen; and the poet's wife Elizabeth Boyle:

'Most happy letters fram'd by skilful trade,
with which that happy name was first designed,
the which three times thrice happy hath me made,
with gifts of body, fortune and of mind...
The second is my sovereign Queen most kind,
that honour and large riches to me lent...
Ye three Elizabeths for ever live,
that three such graces did unto me give'.

1595: Anon: Lochrine. 'The lamentable Tragedy of Lochrine, the eldest son of King Brutus, discoursing the wars of the Britons and Huns, with their discomfiture...No less pleasant than profitable'. (London, 1595).

Ate, the Chorus or Presenter, concludes:

'As a woman was the only cause
That civil discord was then stirred up,
So let us pray for that renowned maid,
That eight and thirty years the sceptre swayed,
In quiet peace and sweet felicity,
And every wight that seeks her Grace's smart,
Would that this sword were pierced in his heart'.