

At **WHITEHALL PALACE**

Jan 1, Wed New Year gifts.

Among 198 gifts to the Queen:

by Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter King of Arms: 'A Book of Arms containing the Arms of the noblemen of England in the time of King Richard the Second';  
 by William Absolon, Clerk of the Closet: 'A book entitled *Explicacio Orationis Dominie*, covered with black velvet embroidered with Venice gold';  
 by Christopher Barker, Queen's printer: 'A large Bible in English covered with crimson velvet all over embroidered with Venice gold and seed pearl';  
 by Ogerius Bellehachius: 'A book of Latin verses covered with vellum';  
 by Scipio Gentili: 'A book of Latin verses covered with crimson velvet';  
 by Nicholas Hilliard: 'A fair table being pictures containing the history of the five wise virgins and the five foolish virgins';  
 by Petruccio Ubaldini: 'A book covered with vellum'; by John Dudley, Sergeant of the Pastry: 'A pie of quinces made into letters. E. and R'.<sup>NYG</sup>

Oger Bellehache dedicated and gave to the Queen: *Sacrosancta Bucolica*. In Latin verse, with dedication in Latin verse. Nine eclogues, being pastoral Biblical dialogues, e.g. on Jubal, Jacob, Moses.

Also eight Eclogues paraphrasing the Song of Songs. 54p. (Geneva, 1583).

Scipio Gentili dedicated and gave to the Queen a book by the Italian poet Torquato Tasso (1544-1595), translated into Latin:

'*Torquati Tassi Solymeidos. Liber primus Latinis numeris expressus*'.

Dedication and text in Latin verse. 22p. (London, 1584).

Lambert Daneau wrote *Orationis Dominicae Explicatio*. (Geneva, 1583). The Queen's copy is now at the British Library.

New Year payments by Anne (Cecil), Countess of Oxford, Burghley's daughter: 'Rewards: The Queen's New Year gift and my Lord of Leicester's, £30.

Rewards to the Queen's officers at New Year's tide, viz. to the Gentlemen Ushers, Cellar, Pantry, Buttery, Kitchen, Children of the Kitchen and such like by estimation, £6.13s4d'. Listed on 1st July 1584 as part of the Countess's 'charge for one whole year in the court'. She had 3 women and 3 men attending on her; she paid for 'Necessaries: Wood, coals, torches, candles, soap, rushes and such like...£6.13s4d'. Also 'For carrying of stuff by cart or by water at removes, and for boathire...£5'. [SP12/172/3].

The Countess's New Year gift to the Queen was: 'A jewel of gold being an anchor garnished with small rubies and diamonds on the one side and three small pearls pendant'. She received gilt plate from the Queen.<sup>NYG</sup>

Also Jan 1: new appointments: Charles 2nd Lord Howard of Effingham: Lord Chamberlain. Lord Howard also became a Privy Councillor. Henry Carey 1st Lord Hunsdon: Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners (being acting Captain since the Earl of Sussex died, June 1583).

Also Jan 1: play by Children of Chapel Royal and Children of Paul's (also called Earl of Oxford's Boys); payee: John Lyly.<sup>T</sup>

John Lyly's *Campaspe* was printed, 1584, as: 'A most excellent comedy of Alexander, *Campaspe*, and Diogenes. Played before the Queen's Majesty on New Year's day at night by her Majesty's Children and the Children of Paul's'.

Running title: 'A tragical comedy of Alexander and *Campaspe*'.

With a Prologue and Epilogue at court. Set in Athens. *Campaspe*, a Theban captive, is loved by Alexander the Great and Apelles, a painter (who wins her).

Jan 5, court, Roger Manners (an Esquire for the Body) to the Earl of Rutland, at Newark [Notts]: New appointments were made 'upon New Year's Day suddenly... all at once when it was least looked for'...

'Her Majesty rode yesterday abroad in her coach, and took so great a cold as all yesternight she was very evil at ease and complained much of ache all over. But God be praised this day she hath been indifferently well'.

PS. 'The two Earls [Arundel and Northumberland] remain still at their houses as they did; what further will fall out is daily looked for'.<sup>RT</sup>

*Jan 5, Arthur Throckmorton paid: 'For boat-hire with two wherries from Ivybridge [off the Strand] to the court, 6d'; Jan 7: 'For boat-hire to the court, 3d'; Jan 9: 'For boat-hire from Durham House to the court, 3d'.<sup>TH</sup>*

Jan 6, Mon play, by the Children of the Chapel Royal.<sup>T</sup>

*Likely play (or on Feb 2): George Peele's Arraignment of Paris, printed in 1584 as 'A Pastoral. Presented before the Queen's Majesty by the Children of her Chapel'. The final scene is a debate between four goddesses about the bestowal of the prize of a golden ball for beauty.*

*Diana describes 'the Nymph Eliza, a figure of the Queen'.*

*'This peerless nymph whom heaven and earth belove, This Paragon'.*

*The three Fates also enter, Atropos declaring:*

*'Long live the noble Phoenix of our age, Our fair Eliza, our Zabeta fair'.*

*Diana 'delivereth the ball of gold to the Queen's own hands'.*

*Venus, Juno, and Pallas all concur in yielding the honour to her.*

*[In classical mythology Paris awarded Venus a golden apple for beauty].*

Jan 9, Thur visit, Tower Hill, London; Lord Lumley.

Lumley House, Tower Hill; owned by John 1st Lord Lumley (c.1533-1609); also of Nonsuch, Cheam, Surrey; 2nd wife: Elizabeth (Darcy), died 1617.

St Botolph Aldgate churchwardens paid (early in 1584):

'For ringing for the Queen at two several times, that is to say when her Majesty went to Sir Thomas Heneage's house, and to my Lord Lumley's house, 8d'.

Knighting, Jan 9 'at Lord Lumley's house on Tower Hill': Richard Maliverer.<sup>M</sup>

Earl of Northumberland was taken to the Tower Jan 9. Visit to Heneage: Jan 15.

Jan 9, Thur: Expulsion of the Spanish Ambassador, and imprisonment of the Earl of Northumberland. Bernardino de Mendoza to Philip II, London [Jan 16]:

On January 9 'the Queen sent word...that she had ordered some of the Councillors to convey an important communication to me, and they would therefore expect me at 3 o'clock at the house of the Lord Chancellor...I foresaw that their intention was to tell me to leave the country'. Secretary Walsingham told me in Italian 'that her Majesty was much displeased with me on account of the efforts I had made to disturb her country, and my holding communication with the Queen of Scotland'. It was alleged 'that I was trying to get her out of the country...and was in communication with the French, with Throgmorton and his brother, and with the Earl of Northumberland. For these reasons it was the Queen's will that I should leave the country without fail in 15 days'.

I denied the allegations, but declared my readiness to leave.

'Public indignation is very great against me...increased by the statement... that I am being expelled for having plotted to kill the Queen, which was asserted by one of their ministers preaching in the court itself before all the Councillors...The same night that I saw the Council they quietly took the Earl of Northumberland to the Tower'...

'Two Huguenot gentlemen have come from Alençon with letters for the Queen, asking for money, which put her very much out of temper'. [Span.iii.514-516].

Court news. Jan 10, Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Edward Stafford (Ambassador to France): 'The Spanish Ambassador was yesterday, by her Majesty's order, commanded to depart the realm within 15 days, being charged to have had intelligence with the Scots Queen, and sought the means to convey her away out of the realm; to have had divers conferences with Francis Throckmorton of the means how to invade the realm; to have given out that the King his master would bear half the charges of the invasion, and that the Duke of Guise should be the leader of the enterprise...and such other like practices, wherein it is proved that he hath been a dealer against her Majesty and the state'. [SPF.xviii.301].

*The Queen initially refused Mendoza a ship, but later in January he was taken in The Scout (Stephen Borough, Master) from Dover to Calais.<sup>N</sup>*

*In autumn 1584 he became Spanish Ambassador to France. There was no Spanish Ambassador to England for the rest of the reign.*

Jan 10, London, Sir Francis Walsingham to the Earl of Rutland: Mendoza was expelled. 'It was also thought meet that the Earl of Northumberland should be committed to the Tower, for that he stood over stiffly to the denial of certain points which were confessed by others. The Earl of Arundel continueth in his former state, but the Lady his wife is lately ordered to remain in the custody of Sir Thomas Sherley at his house in Sussex. The greatest cause of the errors these personages have fallen into is their contrariety in religion'.<sup>RT</sup>

*Henry Percy, 8th Earl of Northumberland, was imprisoned in part of the royal lodgings in the Tower from January 1584 until his death in June 1585.*

*Stephen Fulwell, Jewel-house Officer, between 29 Sept 1583-29 Sept 1584 went from the court at Westminster to the Tower 12 times for plate, including for the Maundy, for St George's, 'and for a christening of the Earl of Northumberland his child'.<sup>T</sup> Such wording implies that Fulwell went to fetch a gift for the Queen to give as godmother (in 1583). Child: not further identified.*

Jan 11: Royal Charter for Emmanuel College, Cambridge, sealed.

Founded by Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer 1559-1589.

The Queen allegedly remarked: "Sir Walter, I hear you have erected a Puritan foundation", to which he replied: "No, madam, far be it from me to countenance anything contrary to your established laws; but I have set an acorn which, when it becomes an oak, God alone knows what will be the fruit thereof". [ODNB].

Sir Walter's portrait presides over the dining-hall at Emmanuel.

Jan 12, Whitehall: The Queen lost from 'the gown purple cloth of gold one of the fairest of the diamonds...upon the same gown'. [Lost, 364].

Jan 15, Wed visit, Heneage House, London; Sir Thomas Heneage.

Heneage House, Bevis Marks; owned by Sir Thomas Heneage (c.1532-1595), Treasurer of the Chamber; 1st wife: Anne (Poyntz), died 1593.

Knighting: John Harington [of Exton, Rutland], 15 January [1584]:

'At Sir Thomas Heneage's house in London'. 'At Sir Thomas Heneage's, the Queen's Majesty there'. [BL Harl MS 5177; Bodleian Ashmolean MS 840].

Jan 17: new appointment: Sir John Perrot, to be Lord Deputy of Ireland. Perrot reached Ireland in June.

*January 19-April: William Waad was special Ambassador to Spain.*

*Waad, a Clerk of the Council, set out on January 19, 'to declare to the King the cause of her Majesty's displeasure against Mendoza for the ill usage of himself in his embassy'.<sup>B</sup> King Philip refused to grant Waad an audience.*

*The Queen sent no further Ambassador to Spain for the rest of her reign.*

Jan 27 [Turkey], William Harborne (Ambassador) to Sir Francis Walsingham, sending 'two carpets of leather, serving for a round table, of the fashion usual in the Grand Signor's seraglio, worthy to be seen for the rare and exquisite workmanship. One is for her Majesty, if you think it permitted to me; otherwise as you please'. It has a circumscription 'in the bastard Persian tongue' [of which Harborne gives a Latin translation].

'The other carpet it may please you to accept yourself'. [SPF.xviii.329].

Jan 30, Paris, Sir Edward Stafford to Walsingham, of Don Antonio, Pretender to the Throne of Portugal (in England in 1581, now living in France):

Don Antonio asks of the Queen (1) That when occasion offers he may come into her realm; (2) That he may have some place in or near one of her havens [harbours]; (3) That, considering his poverty, she will lend him 1000 crowns a month for 6 months for meat and drink for him and his. Feb 7: The Queen agreed to (1), not (2); the pension is not to be mentioned yet. [SPF.xviii.332,342].

Jan 31, at my poor house at Leeds Castle [Kent], Sir Warham St Leger to the Queen, explaining why he is unable to come to court after return from Ireland:

'Having not recovered the unfortunate bruise that I had with a post-horse falling on me, and thereby unable as yet by the disability of my limbs to repair unto your Highness as in duty I have a great desire to do'. 'When I come I will reveal that which shall benefit your Majesty £20,000'. [SP63/107/58].

St Leger, Provost-Marshal of Munster 1579-1589, had several audiences.

January: *Dr William Parry at court.*

*Dr Parry, a Welsh lawyer, was 'sworn her Majesty's servant' in 1570, and served her until 1580, in which year he was sentenced to death for attempted murder, but was pardoned by the Queen. He went abroad in 1583, and was reconciled to the Catholic Church. In Paris he met Thomas Morgan (the Agent of the Queen of Scots). Morgan told him it was hoped 'that I should do some service for God and his Church. I answered him, I would do it, if it were to kill the greatest subject in England...No, no, said he...It is the Queen I mean'.*

*I 'told him it were soon done, if it might be lawfully done', and 'I vowed to undertake the enterprise' to restore England to Catholicism, and wrote to the Pope to 'grant me full remission of my sins'. [The reply: March 31].*

*Morgan assured Parry that Scots would 'be ready upon the first news of the Queen's fall to enter into England with 20 or 30,000 men to defend the Queen of Scotland'. Parry returned to England in January 1584, and wrote to the court 'that I had a special service to discover to the Queen's Majesty'.*

*[Some details of Parry's life, and of his visits to court, are from testimony given at his trial for high treason, 25 Feb 1585. State Trials, i.1095-1112].*

January: *Dr William Parry at Whitehall with the Queen.*

*Parry: 'I came to the court (then at Whitehall), prayed audience, had it at large, and very privately discovered to her Majesty this Conspiracy...She took it doubtfully, I departed with fear...I cannot forget her Majesty's gracious speech then uttered touching the Catholics...that never a Catholic should be troubled for religion or supremacy, so long as they lived like good subjects'.*

Sir Christopher Hatton made a speech to the House of Commons on 24 Feb 1585 describing Parry's life at home and abroad, his conspiracies, and this audience:

'He seeketh access to the Queen, he creepeth in favour. The Queen receiveth him into a gallery, hath conference with him there alone. Parry, to the intent from thenceforth to be out of suspicion, declareth to the Queen that he hath matter to reveal unto her which concerneth her own safety and delivering of her from great peril. Now Parry, arrayed only in a gown like a doctor, he kneeleth down and craveth pardon of the Queen. The Queen demandeth the cause'.

'He discloseth that he had taken upon him to kill her, that he had taken an oath...for performance of it; but, saith he, "all this shall be for your Majesty's safety, for" saith he "by this means I shall be made privy to all conspiracies against your Highness, wherewith I will from time to time acquaint you". The Queen pardoneth him; besides...giveth him private access unto her. This the Queen imparteth not to any of her Council. Parry...entereth to consultation with himself where, when and how the Queen should be slain'.  
[Parl.ii.86-87].

Jan 31: Edward Dyer arrived in the Low Countries as special Ambassador to William Prince of Orange. He was away for a month.

January: Simon Bowyer made ready 'for her Majesty at Whitehall against the triumph'.<sup>T</sup>  
An unspecified 'triumph'.

Feb 2, Sun knighting, Whitehall: Lord Mayor, Edward Osborne, clothworker.<sup>M</sup>  
Also: play, by the Children of the Chapel Royal.<sup>T</sup>  
Works: 'making ready the Great Chamber for the plays at Candlemas Day'.

*Likely play (or on Jan 6): entered by Stationers, Nov 12, printed 1585 as 'Fidele and Fortunio. The deceits in Love: excellently discoursed in a very pleasant and fine conceited Comedy, of two Italian gentlemen. Translated out of Italian, and set down according as it hath been presented before the Queen's most excellent Majesty'. With a Prologue and Epilogue at court, addressed to the Queen. Also an Epistle signed A.M. Attributed to Anthony Munday.*

Court news. Feb 3, The Savoy, Roger Manners to the Earl of Rutland:  
'My Lord Treasurer [Lord Burghley] is at the court sick of the gout'.<sup>RT</sup>  
Feb 6, London, Thomas Screven to Rutland, at Newark: 'I was this evening admitted to the Lord Treasurer who is still in bed, sick of the gout... Her Majesty was pleased to visit him in his chamber on Tuesday last [Feb 4], attended by the Earl of Leicester and the Lord Chamberlain [Howard]'...  
'The court remaineth in one state and the sun shineth still in one place'...  
'I forgot in my last to report these good words which it pleased her Majesty to bestow upon Norton on Sunday last when Mr Osborne was made knight, by the which, with great and vehement protestation her Grace pronounced him a most faithful and loyal servant to her and such a one as had done many good services, alleging further that howsoever his adversaries did slander or libel against him, yet true it was that he never touched any that had not before deserved to be hanged'.<sup>RT</sup> Thomas Norton, Remembrancer of the City of London, a prominent Parliamentarian, died on March 10.

Feb 6, Westminster: Queen granted Letters Patent to Adrian Gilbert 'for the search and discovery' of the North-West, North-East, or Northward Passage to China. [*Hakluyt*, v.276]. Adrian's brother Sir Humphrey Gilbert had drowned in 1583 on his way back from claiming Newfoundland.

Court news. Feb 18, from my lodging, Henry Stutevill to Nathaniel Bacon:  
'There was a Pursuivant very dangerously hurt at Charing Cross as he went late from the court, by whom it is not known neither he knoweth himself. He was thrust into the mouth and two of his teeth borne out with the sword that came out by his ear, it is imagined by some of the friends of the Jesuits that he brought to the court. There were some brought upon Sunday last past [Feb 16], three or four'. As to 'my Lord of Arundel...anyone may come to him that his pleasure is to speak withal...There come divers of the Privy Chamber to him besides others of the court'.  
[Bacon, iii.5: mis-dated].

Feb 20: *Delivered to William Jones, the Queen's tailor: 'To make a gown for the woman dwarf, one safeguard or kirtle of black tuft taffeta, the ground white, laid with two small laces of silk and silver'.* [Lost, 370].

c.Feb 24, Mon **WANSTEAD**, Essex; Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.  
Wanstead manor-house; owned by Leicester, who was sick.

Feb 25: 'Lost from a jewel (the 25 of February her Majesty being then at Wanstead) called monster having three fishes hanging at the end one of these fishes lost at Whitehall'. [Lost, 372].

c.Feb 26, Wed **WHITEHALL PALACE**.

Feb 27: *At the Strand two London yeomen stole and carried away £900 in coined gold, of the goods and chattels of the Queen.* [Jeaffreson, i.146].

Feb 28, Whitehall, Nicholas Faunt to Anthony Bacon:

'This day Mr Dyer is returned out of the Low Countries, where he was lately employed by her Majesty to the Prince and States'...

'My Lord of Leicester hath had of late a grievous sickness, but is now somewhat well recovered; and generally there is a very dangerous fever reigning and raging in these parts'. [LPL 647/65].

1 March-Dec 26: *Stephen Lesieur was special Ambassador to the German States. Lesieur was sent to the Duke of Cleves to continue negotiations for the release of Daniel Rogers, an Ambassador imprisoned since 1580. Rogers was released in October 1584 on payment of a ransom; he returned to England in January 1585.*

Mar 3, Shrove Tuesday bear-baiting, at Whitehall. (See March 8).  
play, by the Queen's Men; play, by Children of the Chapel Royal and Children of Paul's (also called Earl of Oxford's Boys); payee John Lyly.<sup>T</sup>

*The second play was John Lyly's Sappho and Phao.*

*Printed, 1584, as 'Played before the Queen's Majesty on Shrove Tuesday by her Majesty's Children, and the Boys of Paul's'. With a Prologue at court. Set in Syracuse. Sappho is Princess of Syracuse, Phao is a young Ferryman.*

Court news. March 3 [sic], from my lodging, Henry Stutevill to Nathaniel Bacon: 'Her Majesty was very pleasant upon Ash Wednesday [March 4], who in going to the Chapel the Gentlemen Ushers calling on the Lords to go on afore, answer was returned that the Chapel door was shut, and that they could not get in: the Queen answered that was a good excuse for those that refused to come to church at all'. [Bacon, ii.303].

[\*1584], March 8, London, Thomas North to Thomas Gell, at Bakewell:  
'Upon Shrove Tuesday there was baiting of bears, bulls, and horses at the court, in which baiting there was a great bull which broke loose from the stake, and ran amongst the people, and ran over 300 people, and the Queen seeing him run amongst them cried "Jesus save my people, Jesus save my people" very often; but for all his running over them there was no hurt'. [HMC 9th Rep. Part 2, 389].

March 12, Pfalzburg, George John, Palatine of the Rhine, to the Queen:  
Fifteen months ago I wrote to your Majesty by Mr John Leonard Haller. I then sent one of my Privy Councillors to communicate to you information which he was to bring to you. Having had no news of him I now send another Councillor [La Creance] with the same instructions. [SPF.xviii.400].

For John Leonard Haller's deceitful behaviour see 1583 Feb 20, 21.

Mar 12, Thur sermon, Whitehall: Tobias Matthew, Dean of Durham 1583-1595.

March 12, Whitehall, Nicholas Faunt to Anthony Bacon: Dr Matthew 'having occasion by his text to shut up his speech with complaining that rewards were not bestowed by those in authority upon such as deserved them, neither with a full hand, often repeated these words "that rewards were due to those that deserved well in the church or commonwealth, and no man should so live as his labour should be lost"...often and covertly inveighing at the nice point of niggardliness at court. Whereupon her Majesty afterwards, in lieu of her thanks, cast him these ambiguous words out of the window "Well, whosoever have missed their rewards, you...have not lost your labour".

'Whereof many were in doubt of the interpretation. But it is sure he was hit home for his sauciness, as also for that his greediness is disliked here, having kept some other benefices in his hands a good while, since he was Dean of Durham'. [Birch, i.47]. Dr Matthew (1546-1628), Dean of Durham since September 1583, became Bishop of Durham in 1595, Archbishop of York in 1606.

March 13, Queen to the States-General, in French, taken by the Sieur de Grise, who was sent to her by the States of Brabant. He has so well acquitted himself. Jacques de Grise, Grand Bailiff of Bruges. [SPF.xviii.401].

March 18, in Moscow: death: Tsar Ivan IV, Ivan the Terrible. His son became Tsar Feodor. Sir Jerome Bowes, the English Ambassador, was out of favour with the new Tsar, and was told 'The English Emperor is dead'. Bowes returned to the English court in September. The new Tsar sent Jerome Horsey to assure the Queen of a continuance of amity; Horsey left Moscow in September.

c.March 19-April 29: Danish special Ambassador in London.

Matthias Budde, previously in England in 1582. He was in London by March 19, when he asked for audience. He brought congratulations on the discovery of the Throckmorton Plot. [SPF.xviii.421].

Court news. March 19, Henry Stutevill to Nathaniel Bacon [from his lodging 'over against the Arundel House']: 'My Lord of Arundel is not yet let at liberty...Mr John Norris is come to the court and meaneth to go into Flanders no more. My Lord of Leicester hath recovered his sickness and Sir Francis Walsingham and come to the court'. [Bacon, ii.304].

c.March 23: Archbishop of St Andrews (Patrick Adamson) left London for Scotland after 4 months. Mauvissière, French Ambassador, noted [April 13] that he had given: 'One hundred crowns to the Bishop of St Andrews, and a beautiful hackney, around three weeks ago when he left here'. [Chéruel, 293].

St Christopher le Stocks churchwardens: 'Paid for a pair of gloves given unto the Bishop of St Andrews in the name of the whole parish by Mr Parson, 4s'.

A popular Scottish ballad-writer, Robert Sempill, wrote a satirical poem ridiculing the Archbishop's behaviour in England. 'He pretended he was to go to the well of Spa, but his intent was no further than England'. At York he took from a tailor 'a doublet and breeches of Turkey taffeta, promised payment when he returned back...but he returned another way'. In London 'he preached sometimes, to cover his negotiating with the French and Spanish Ambassadors'.

'He frequented the French Ambassador's house, where he got his fill of good white wine' and borrowed £10. He borrowed from Scottish merchants in London, again without paying back a groat [4d]. He deceived Sir Francis Walsingham over a licence for transporting beer. He borrowed from the Bishop of London, to teach in, a silk gown lined with fur, but 'restored it not again. He begged hackneys, books, etc, from bishops, and paid them after the same manner'.

[Calderwood, iv.49,61; from The Legend of the Bishop of St Andrews' Life, (1584), by Robert Sempill].

March 25, Westminster: Queen granted Walter Raleigh Letters Patent 'for the discovering and planting of new lands and countries'.

We grant licence 'to discover, search, find out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countries, and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people...to have, hold, occupy and enjoy to him, his heirs and assigns for ever'. [Hakluyt, vi.115].

March 27: Scandalous words at Bromley, Middlesex.

Peter Moyes, a Bromley yeoman, was charged with saying 'The Queen is a rascal'. Pleaded guilty; sentenced according to statute. [Jeaffreson, i.147].

March 31: Dr William Parry, who vowed to kill the Queen, and had written to Pope Gregory XIII, received a letter from Cardinal Como in Rome 'whereby I found the enterprise commended and allowed, and myself absolved, in his Holiness's name, of all my sins, and willed to go forward in the name of God. This letter I showed to some in court, who imparted it to the Queen...It confirmed my resolution to kill her, and...that it was lawful and meritorious'...

'And yet...I feared to be tempted, and therefore always when I came near her I left my dagger at home'. [State Trials, i.1102].

[April 1], Bruges, the Prince de Chimay (Governor of Flanders) to the Queen, introducing his *maître d'hôtel*, whom he sends to inform her of all that is passing in Flanders. [He was back in Bruges on May 9]. [SPF.xviii.444,498].

April 6, Pfalzburg, George John, Palatine of the Rhine, to Sir Francis Walsingham, sending to the Queen, on the same matter as he sent a Councillor on March 12 (for news of John Haller): 'Robert de Heu, Seigneur de Malleroy, our well beloved and trusty Councillor'. [SPF.xviii.449].

[April 10], Mauvissière, French Ambassador, to King Henri III, of gifts for the Queen and the Earl of Leicester, awaited since August 1582: 'If the coaches which have been begun could be finished and sent, and the mulets for the litter, the present would still be very opportune'. [Chéruel, 297,299].

April 14: A gift to the Queen from Sir Francis Drake was included in plate received by the Jewel-house out of the Privy Chamber, viz:

'One salt of gold, like a globe standing upon two naked men, being the history of Jupiter and Pallas, with a woman in the top thereof, having a trumpet in her hand; the foot enamelled with divers flowers'. [Jewels, 1547].

Apr 16, Maundy Thursday ceremonies and alms-giving, at Whitehall.

By John Piers, Bishop of Salisbury, Queen's Almoner; to 50 poor women, each 20s in a red purse and 50d in a white purse.<sup>T</sup> Works: 'making of new forms, tables and trestles for the officers in the hall and chapel'.

April 18, Westminster, Queen to King Frederick II of Denmark, whose envoy Matthias Budde brought congratulations on the suppression of the Throckmorton Plot: It was discovered at once, by his own confession. I have hitherto been too lenient in the treatment of those ravening wolves, the Jesuits, who are sent everywhere by the Pope to continue plots against the lives of religious princes, and by whom great disturbances have been excited in Ireland. Budde (a man of approved fidelity, prudence, and virtue), has told me of your readiness to assist me with your forces by land and sea; he will tell you by word of mouth all you desire to know about the Queen of Scots. [HMC.45th Rep, 26].

April 18: Payment to the King of Scots, £2000. [Scot.xiii.202].

April 18: christening. Queen was godmother to Earl of Cumberland's son. Parents: George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland, of Skipton, Yorkshire; wife: Margaret (Russell), daughter of Francis Russell 2nd Earl of Bedford.

Anthony Wingfield, one Groom of the Chamber, one Groom of the Wardrobe, 'and a man to carry the travers and her Majesty's gift and other necessaries for the christening of the young Lord Clifford the Earl of Cumberland's son to whom her Majesty was godmother...and for their attendance upon the Lady Eure her Majesty's Deputy from Gilling to Skipton in Craven to the said Earl's house and there making ready...from the court at Greenwich...26 days, May 1584, £45'.<sup>T</sup>

Queen's gift, April 18: a basin and ewer gilt.<sup>NYG</sup> Child: Francis, Lord Clifford, born April 10 at Skipton Castle, where he died in December 1589.

Apr 22, Wed Eve of Garter ceremonies, Whitehall.

At a Chapter held in the Great Closet (a chapel) the Queen appointed a Lieutenant, as customary, who went to evening service with the other Knights. Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, was appointed Prelate of the Order. Cofferer of the Household paid £181.7s9d for St George's Eve and Day.<sup>C</sup>

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

Queen's Lieutenant: Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.

The Queen was in processions and at service, without robes. She dined in the Privy Chamber, the Knights in the Presence Chamber.

[Bodleian Ashmolean MS 1108].

April 23: St Alban Wood Street: burial: 'Joan who sojourned at The Castle and died of the Queen's Evil'. Usually still called the King's Evil, i.e. scrofula, for which the Queen regularly 'touched' sufferers.

Apr 24, Fri Final 1584 Garter ceremonies, Whitehall.

At a Chapter held in the Gallery three new Knights of the Garter were elected:

Edward Manners, 3rd Earl of Rutland; William Brooke, 10th Lord Cobham; Henry, 9th Lord Scrope. Lord Cobham was invested with the Garter insignia.

Rutland and Lord Scrope were away from court, and were invested in Newark and Carlisle: see May 9,10. All were installed at Windsor on 15 April 1585.

April 24-c.Sept 16: William Davison was special Ambassador to Scotland.

April 25: christening. Queen was godmother to 'Mr Southwell's daughter'.<sup>T</sup>

Parents: Robert Southwell; wife: Elizabeth (Howard) (also the Queen's god-daughter), daughter of Charles 2nd Lord Howard of Effingham.

Simon Bowyer went from the court at Whitehall to make ready at Reigate; Lord Howard owned the former Reigate Priory, Surrey.

John Pigeon, Jewel-house Officer, went 'from Westminster unto London for provision of a cup given by her Highness at the christening of Mr Southwell's child'.<sup>T</sup> Queen's gift, April 25: a gilt cup with a cover.<sup>NYG</sup>

Child: Elizabeth Southwell (1584-1631); became a Maid of Honour, 1600.

April 26: At Westminster, Hugh Pew, of London, gentleman, stole from 'Walter Rawley' esquire a jewel worth £80, a hat band of pearls worth £30, and 5 yards of white damask worth £3. Pew pleaded guilty, claimed Benefit of Clergy, and was remanded. [Jeaffreson, i.149].

To claim Benefit of Clergy a felon was required to read Psalm 51:1: 'Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving kindness; according to the multitude of thy compassions put away mine inequities'. [Geneva Bible, 1560].

The offender who read this 'neck-verse' was then spared execution, but was branded and could do this only once. Ben Jonson in 1598 escaped hanging by claiming Benefit of Clergy after he killed Gabriel Spencer, an actor, in a duel.

April 26: Seditious words at Dover, Kent.

Ralph Watson, of Dover, sawyer, said 'This is a very evil land to live in except it be for a man that hath a very good occupation. I would it were war. I know a great many rich men in the land; I would have some of their money if it were so come to pass. I know a thousand, yea, and a thousand that would it were come to pass so the Queen were dead. There is a town between England and Scotland, there is in it 200 horsemen and 400 footmen; had the Scots gotten the town they would overcome the whole realm for that is the key from thence unto England. Were the Queen dead the Flemish and the Frenchmen and Dutchmen and all the whole heap on the other side would come upon this land, and the town of Dover is able to hold 200 men'. Verdict: Guilty; to be whipped and pilloried. [*Assizes, Kent*, 221].

April 27-September: **First Voyage to Virginia**, by Raleigh's ships.

At Walter Raleigh's 'charge and direction' two ships, captained by Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow, left the west of England on April 27.

Captain Barlow reported to Raleigh that in July they landed on the coast [of America] and went 'to take possession of the same, in the right of the Queen's most excellent Majesty, as rightful Queen and Princess of the same, and after delivered the same over to your use, according to her Majesty's grant, and Letters Patent, under her Highness's Great Seal'. 'The King is called Wingina, the country Wingandacoa, and now by her Majesty Virginia'.

On their return in September they brought home 'two of the savages being lusty men, whose names were Wanchese and Manteo'. [*Hakluyt*, vi.121-132].

Lupold von Wedel saw the 'savages' at court on Oct 18; they were lodged at Durham House, Strand; Wanchese returned to Virginia in 1585, Manteo in 1587.

c. Apr 29, Wed Danish Ambassador at Whitehall to take leave.

John Pigeon, Jewel-house Officer, was sent from Westminster to London for 'a chain given to a gentleman from the King of Denmark'.<sup>T</sup>

April 29: Queen's gift to Matthias Budde 'a gentleman from the King of Denmark, a chain of gold'.<sup>NYG</sup>

c. Apr 30, Thur Duke of Petit Pierre's Councillor at Whitehall to take leave.

George John, Palatine of the Rhine, on April 6 sent Robert de Heu, Seigneur de Malleroy, his Councillor, to the Queen for a short stay.

April 30, the Queen wrote to the Duke of Petit Pierre with thanks for his letters sent by Malleroy and Monsieur La Creance. [*SPF*.xviii.471-2].

Edward Burnham 'going by her Majesty's express commandment in company of M. Malleroy, a gentleman sent from the Duke of Petit Pierre, from the court at Whitehall to Boulogne and so returning back again'. £12 payment, May 31.<sup>T</sup>

Apr 30, Thur **GREENWICH PALACE**, Kent.

St Martin in the Fields: 'Paid at *The White Lion* for a supper for the ringers of London the same day her Majesty went to Greenwich, 5s2d'.

Lambeth churchwardens paid: 'To the ringers when the Queen removed from Whitehall to Greenwich the last of April, 20d'.

Royal watermen, April and May: James Farnworth 'carrying her Majesty's own person and her train with his barge at sundry times'.

John Davis 'with his barge carrying the Lady Leighton two several times'.<sup>T</sup>  
[A Lady of the Privy Chamber].

Court news. [May 1], Mauvissière to Henri III: 'This Protestant league... is building up little by little...there having arrived, after the Danish Ambassador, a fat German on Casimir's behalf, well accompanied...They are awaiting here someone on behalf of the King of Navarre'. [*Chéruel*, 303].

May 4, in Scotland: William Ruthven, 1st Earl of Gowrie, and two others were executed for treason for their part in the 'Raid of Ruthven' in 1582, and for a further suspected conspiracy. Others involved fled to England in April or May, including the Earls of Angus and Mar, and Thomas, Master of Glamis. See May 15.

May 7, Thur knighting: Moyle Finch, of Kent.<sup>M</sup> Thomas Heneage's son-in-law.

May 8, Fri Queen's gift for an Irishman: 'To Robert Phipho to the use of Brian Ore...which Brian having his brother unadvisedly murdered by George Carew esquire, for which coming to the court to demand justice fell distract of his wits for grief in losing his said brother, in consideration whereof there was given to him for his relief by way of her Majesty's reward', £30.<sup>T</sup>

George Carew (1555-1629), of Warwickshire, a Gentleman Pensioner, soldiered in Ireland for many years. Robert Phipho, of County Dublin, had written to Walsingham on 8 March 1581: 'It was reported unto her Majesty's sacred ears that I was one of the vilest traitors of Ireland'. [SP63/81/17].

May 8: John Dannett was paid £26 for 'safe keeping the Lord Henry Howard committed as close prisoner to the house of Sir Ralph Sadler knight, being under his charge by the space of six months'.<sup>T</sup> Sadler, a Privy Councillor, owned Standon manor-house, Hertfordshire.

May 9, court at Greenwich, Sir Francis Walsingham to the Earl of Rutland, absent when elected to the Order of the Garter on April 24: 'This afternoon her Majesty hath signed the letters of signification of your Lordship's admission into the Order, so as tomorrow Garter shall depart towards you'.<sup>RT</sup>

May 10: Garter King of Arms left for Newark-upon-Trent, Notts, to inform the Earl of Rutland of his election. He continued to Carlisle with a similar letter for Lord Scrope 'with a George and Garter, and many other tokens of Georges and Garters from his friends, the which Sir Gilbert Dethick delivered at Carlisle in Cumberland and had the Queen's allowance and his Lordship's honourable reward £30 in gold, a velvet cloak and a Galloway nag'. June 10, Richmond, Dethick to have £20, his allowance for his journey. [Bodleian Ashmolean MSS 1110, 1116].

May 13: Robert Beale arrived at Sheffield, sent to the Queen of Scots. Beale was to ascertain whether Mary was sincere in offers she had made in 1583 and again recently for a Treaty to lead to her liberty. Beale's report was unsatisfactory, and Queen Elizabeth decided not to proceed with a Treaty.

May 14, Thur dinner, Westminster; Lady Howard.  
 \*Hances House; Crown property. Lambeth Church: 'To the ringers when the Queen dined at Westminster with my Lady Howard the 14th of May, 16d'.  
 Katherine (Carey), a Lady of the Privy Chamber 1559-1603; a cousin of the Queen; wife of Charles 2nd Lord Howard of Effingham, the Lord Chamberlain.

Court news. May 15, Barn Elms, Sir Francis Walsingham to William Davison, at Berwick: Thomas Livingston came from Scotland [on May 11] 'to demand the delivery of the noblemen...Her Majesty has returned him with answer that she would send her answer...by a servant of her own'. [Scot.vii.129].

William Davison took King James the answer (see June 5).

May 19: death: John Skinner (c.1535-1584), described on his monument, Reigate Church, Surrey, erected by his wife Alice, as 'one of the Clerk Controllers of the Household to the high and mighty Prince Queen Elizabeth'.

Will (May 8) includes bequests of horses, one being 'my nag called Grey Life, whereupon I do use to ride commonly myself'.

Court news. May 22, Nicolas Carezone to Sir Francis Walsingham, a Memorial, concerning ways by which the Dutch can reimburse the debts owing to the Queen. Several days ago he, an agent often employed in negotiations about money, who has much credit at court, 'proposed certain conditions to her Majesty, which she, having examined them closely, judged very discreet, easy, and likely to give little disturbance'. He is to take letters from her to the Low Countries. His proposals include a tax on 40,000 Dutch Protestants in England.

*After two months abroad Niccolo Carezone sent Walsingham, July 30, a note of his 'Expenses of the journey to Holland: For travelling and being there with a servant, £16.8s; for velvet, satin and cloth, for garments, etc. £18; for my labour, £20'. [SPF.xviii.508-511,648: Italian].*

May 23, Paris, Sir Edward Stafford to the Queen: 'There is the fairest *caroche* [coach] almost ready to be sent your Majesty that ever I saw. The King has often changed the workmanship of it, never thinking it fair enough'. [SPF.xviii.512].

*May 25-late June: John Colville in London. Colville was sent to the Queen by the 'distressed lords' who had fled from Scotland to England. He arrived on May 25 and asked for audience. [Scot.vii.153].*

May 30, Sat dinner, Stockwell, Lambeth, Surrey.<sup>T</sup>  
Stockwell manor, Lambeth; owned by Anthony Browne, 1st Viscount Montagu.

May 30, Sat **RICHMOND PALACE**, Surrey.<sup>TH</sup>  
Works, 1584-85: 'making a new bridge with steps in the green walk where her Highness taketh barge, two other bridges in the meads'.

[May 31], Delft, Marie de Brimeu, Princess de Chimay (wife of the Prince de Chimay, Governor of Flanders), to the Queen: 'God having made your Majesty protectress of his church not only in England, but also in France and these Low Countries who are about to throw themselves into your arms and demand to have you for their lady and princess, I believed that, being accomplished in every virtue and endowed with so many perfections and graces, you would not take it ill if I testified my great joy at the aforesaid resolution of these countries and of the treaty begun between you'. 'I pray God to grant you the issue which so holy and honourable an enterprise merits, and beg that you will hold me worthy of a place amongst the humblest of your servants'. [SPF.xviii.523-4].

*June 1 (o.s.), in **France: death: François Duke of Anjou and of Alençon** (known as 'Monsieur'), brother and heir to the King of France, died after a long illness. He had been in England to court the Queen in 1579 and winter 1581-1582. King Henri of Navarre became heir to the Throne of France.*

June 3, London, Joachim Ortell to Sir Francis Walsingham: 'The States-General are sending their deputies to her Majesty, whom we expect with the first wind'. After repeated delays Deputies arrived in August to beg for aid against Spain.

June 5, Walsingham to Sir Edward Stafford: 'One Livingston was lately sent hither by the King of Scots with his letters to her Majesty, written in some extraordinary terms, that imported a kind of threatening, to require the delivery of the distressed noblemen and gentlemen whom he termeth his rebels'.

Davison took an answer that 'such was her mislike of any that attempted aught against their Prince, that if she were persuaded of these noblemen's disloyalty she would not only yield to their delivery but would assist in suppressing them. But she conceived they were free from any such imputation...Wherefore she could neither in honour nor conscience consent to their delivery'. [SPF.xviii.538,540]

June 7, Whit Sunday knighting: Edward Manners, 3rd Earl of Rutland.

After being informed at Newark in May of his election to the Garter the Earl came 'presently to the court at Richmond, where the Queen's Majesty dubbed him knight on Whit Sunday'. [Bodleian Ashmolean MS 1110].

The knighting was required before the Earl's Installation to the Order of the Garter (April 1585).

Also June 7: Robert Carey at Richmond with the Queen.

Carey (1560-1639), was youngest son of Henry Carey, 1st Lord Hunsdon, the Queen's cousin. Hunsdon was absent from his post as Governor of Berwick.

[June 8] Robert Carey to Lord Hunsdon: 'Yesterday in the afternoon I stood by her Majesty, as she was at cards in the Presence Chamber. She called me to her, and asked me when you meant to go to Berwick. I told her that you determined to begin your journey presently after Whitsuntide. She grew into a great rage, beginning with "God's wounds, that she would set you by the feet, and send another in your place, if you dallied with her thus, for she would not be thus dallied withal". I told her that with as much possible speed as might be you would depart, and that your living at London this fortnight was to no other end but to make provision for your journey. She answered me "that you have been going from Christmas to Easter, and from Easter to Whitsuntide, but if you deferred the time any longer, she would appoint some other in your place".

'This message she commanded me to send you'.

June 8, from Hunsdon [Herts], Lord Hunsdon wrote to the Queen and to Burghley of his grief at such a message, and asked to resign. [Ellis (2), iii.102-106].

Hunsdon continued as Governor of Berwick until his death in 1596.

*June 8-October: William Herle was special Ambassador to the Count of Emden.*

*Herle was sent to Count John of Emden to endeavour to effect a reconciliation between the Count and his brother Edzard over the division of the city of Emden.*

Court news. June 12, Sir Francis Walsingham to Lord Burghley, of the Queen: 'I found her very much out of quiet...whether it grew upon some cause given by Mr Vice-Chamberlain [Hatton]...I know not. I found her offence towards my Lord of Hunsdon rather increased than in any way diminished, and he, seeking to qualify her displeasure, received hard speeches himself'. [SP12/171/22].

Court news. June 15, Lady Cobham (a Lady of the Privy Chamber) to Lord Burghley, who had sent gloves to the Queen: 'Her Majesty hath received your gloves and liketh well of them, and willed me to thank you for them. The buttons and the silk wherewith they are garnished pleaseth her much'.

'Her Majesty hath read all your letter, and wished you had not broken so grievous a matter to her; but she spoke not one bitter word'. [SP12/171/25].

The subject of the letter is not disclosed.

June 16, Richmond, Sir Francis Walsingham to the Earl of Shrewsbury, of the Queen's grief for the Duke of Alençon: 'Monsieur's death...her Majesty takes very grievously, conceiving that she has lost a very good friend in him'.

June 17, court, Walsingham to Wm Davison: 'Now melancholy so possesses us that both public and private causes are at a stay for a season'. [Scot.vii.191-2].

June 17, Lady Leighton (a Lady of the Privy Chamber) referred to 'the grief and solitariness I hear her Majesty gives herself to of late'. [Nicolas, 378].

*June 18, William Fleetwood, Recorder of London, to Lord Burghley, of 'an old musician of the Queen's' and a bearded Constable called Allen: 'The Italian most violently tore off Allen's beard, and said he might have a wench in his chamber, for that he was the Queen's man...My Lord Mayor hath bound the Italian to answer at the next Gaol Delivery'. [Wright, ii.231].*

June 20: Queen's gift to John Everard 'a gentleman of Almain [Germany], a chain of gold'.<sup>NYG</sup> John Pigeon, Jewel-house Officer, was paid twice in June 'for his boathire from London to Mortlake as well with a chain for an Almain gentleman as with plate for the Ewery'.<sup>T</sup>

June 20: John Soowthern dedicated to Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford:

Pandora, The Music of the beauty of his Mistress Diana. (London, 1584).

This includes four Epitaphs stated to be made by the Countess of Oxford after the death of her young son Lord Bulbeck, and an 'Epitaph, made by the Queen's Majesty, at the death of the Princess of Espinoye'. Lord Bulbeck died aged four days and was buried 9 May 1583; the Princess died in the Low Countries. All these poems are close translations from poems by Philippe Desportes, and may be by Soowthern himself. [Rosalind Smith, 'Sonnets of the Countess of Oxford and Elizabeth I: translations from Desportes'. Notes and Queries, Dec 1994, 446-450]

June 21, in Ireland: Sir John Perrot, new Lord Deputy, 'took the sword', making a speech declaring the Queen's care and love of the Irish people, and his commission to bring them to the same quietness and felicity as the English subject. [SP63/111/16].

June 21, Tues Earl of Leicester arrived at Richmond from Derbyshire. Leicester had visited the Earl of Shrewsbury's houses at Buxton and Chatsworth.

July 26, Richmond, Earl of Leicester to the Earl of Shrewsbury:

I have told the Queen 'there was no earthly thing you desired more than to see and speak with her Majesty...I do find her Majesty very willing that your Lordship shall have your desire to come up to her'.

PS. 'I came hither to the Court upon Tuesday last. Her Majesty, God be thanked, never better for her health'. [Bath, v.26-27].

June 30, Richmond, Henry Reynolds to William Davison:

'The death of Monsieur has somewhat disquieted the Queen of England, but now her Majesty begins by little and little to forget it. Her Majesty's progress was set down to begin the 24th of next month towards Portsmouth, but it is suspended by reason of some sickness that reigns in that country. Mr Colville was of late at the court and had audience of the Queen'. [Scot.vii.212].

June 30 (o.s.), at Delft, in **Holland: death: William Prince of Orange.**

'William the Silent', the 'Father' of his country, was assassinated. He died after allegedly exclaiming "God, have pity on my soul; God, have pity on this poor people". The official report [July 1]: 'Throughout the whole town there is such great mourning that the little children are crying in the streets'.

The Prince's eldest son was held hostage in Spain 1567-1596; his second was Count Maurice of Nassau (1567-1625), son by the second of his four wives.

The Prince's other children included six young daughters by his third wife, one being a god-daughter of Queen Elizabeth. Envoys arrived in England in September concerning future arrangements for these daughters.

July 2, court, Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Edward Stafford, in France:

'We cannot yet shake off our sorrow [for Alençon]...I do assure you (Queen Mother except) there is none, neither in that realm nor elsewhere, that hath sorrowed so much for the Duke's death as her Majesty hath done. There hath no day passed without tears for these three weeks past'. [SPF.xviii.579].

Francis Bacon: 'After Monsieur's death, the Queen took extreme grief (at least as she made show), and kept within her bedchamber and one ante-chamber for three weeks space, in token of mourning. At last she came forth into her Privy Chamber, and permitted her ladies to have access to her'. [Apophthegms (1625)].

Court news. July 5, London, Thomas Milles to William Davison: 'The intended embassy with the Garter by Lord Derby [to France] is put off till next year. It is proposed to send Sir Philip Sidney to condole the death of Monsieur'.

July 5, Earl of Leicester to William Davison: 'This day word is brought of the murder of the Prince of Orange'. [Scot.vii.223].

Court news. [July 6], London, Mauvissière to Henri III:

'The death of Monsieur your brother...the Queen received with such a show of regret that it is a thing difficult to believe by those who have not seen it. She withdrew from all company, except for three ladies who at times had access to her, and none of her Council dared speak to her'.

'She appointed me audience to go to see her at Richmond, and sent beforehand for me to be honourably received by Sir Francis Walsingham and other gentlemen, who came to meet me, each telling me of her grief and her trouble. Walsingham went and returned many times between her and me. In the end he told me that he had left her so tearful, knowing that I was dressed in mourning, and in this house where their most secret love was treated of, and in my presence, that it was not possible that she could see me'.

'She begged me to excuse her for that day and until she departed from Richmond, ordering the whole court, both those who were friends of Monsieur your brother and those who had opposed him, not to present themselves before her in that house for some time'.

'And so I returned, and have not yet seen her. Since then nearly every day she has sent to visit me and me her, and has often sent me word that she could not console herself for the loss of such a friend, but that she hoped that your Majesty would always be a good brother and neighbour to her'...

'I understand that more than two months before he died your brother had again begun some dealings with her, and had told her that the first journey he made would be to return to see her, and to do all that pleased her, and he had things to say that he did not wish to write nor to entrust to anyone, and which concerned her State. The Queen frequently recalls that she and your brother often talked in my presence of how one would not live long after the other'...

'As for Scottish affairs...the young King, your nephew...has expelled seven or eight of his country's most seditious ministers, who are in this town'...

'These past days the Earl of Leicester has made a progress to his houses and those of his kinsmen, going to see his friends, where he was so much honoured and caressed by the nobility that he was treated like a King. The Queen was very suspicious and discontented with him, and gave him very bad countenance, saying that he wanted to make himself King. He withdrew from court very upset, and for several days had much to do, by means of others, to excuse himself, saying...he would rather be dead than have any favour than for the service of his mistress. With which she is content'. [Chéruel, 304-5,309].

[July 6], Antwerp, The States of Brabant to the Queen:

'We cannot without tears announce to your Majesty the pitiful death of the Prince of Orange, your affectionate servant, by an unhappy assassination contrived by the King of Spain'. This Prince was 'so true a lover of our liberty that we may truly claim him as the father of his country'...

'We very humbly recommend to you the welfare and guardianship of these provinces, and pray you to give gracious audience to the Sieur de Grise, Grand Bailiff of Bruges', being sent to your Majesty. [SPF.xviii.597].

July 7, Tues The Queen instructed John Somers to go to the Low Countries, to the States-General, to let them 'understand her grief at the death of the Prince of Orange', and 'to confer with them how best to prevent the peril into which by this accident they are likely to be thrown'. [SPF.xviii.598].

[July 7], Mauvissière to Henri III: 'The Queen has chosen Sir Philip Sidney, one of the most accomplished gentlemen of this Kingdom, to send towards your Majesties to condole on the death of your brother. He is the son of the [former] Lord Deputy of Ireland, and nephew of the Earls of Leicester, Warwick, Bedford, and of the Countess of Sussex, brother-in-law of the Earl of Pembroke, and allied to the first in England. He married Walsingham's only daughter and heiress, in hope of being one day one of the greatest lords in this Kingdom. He will be accompanied by the Earl of Essex, by the Lord Treasurer's second son [Robert Cecil], by Lord Cobham's eldest son [Henry Brooke] and by many other gentlemen of good families, with up to 75 horses, and should leave towards the end of this week to go to find your Majesties wherever you are'. [Chéruel,311].

*July 8-18: Sir Philip Sidney's abortive special embassy to France. Sidney had instructions on July 8 to go to King Henri III to condole on the Duke of Alençon's death, and to consider how to relieve the Low Countries.*

*The Scout (William Barnes, Master) was ready to take him from Dover to Calais 'with embassy intended' to the King of France.<sup>N</sup>*

*'Sir Philip Sidney set towards France' July 16.<sup>TH</sup>*

July 8, Richmond, Queen to Derick Anthony, Graver of the Mint, and to Nicholas Hilliard: 'As our Great Seal by much use waxes unserviceable, we have resolved that a new one shall be made. We therefore desire you to emboss in lead, wax, or other fit stuff, patterns for a new one, according to the last pattern made upon parchment by you, Hilliard, and allowed by us; and by the same pattern to engrave and bring to perfection with speed a new Great Seal in silver, of convenient massiveness, in form as near as may be to the former, and when finished deliver it to our Chancellor, to be by him brought to us'.

[SP15/28/86]. The first Seal, used from January 1559, was described, when superseded, as 'one Great Seal of silver to be made into two jugs'.

The second Seal was in use from 1585-1603. [Jewels, 1566].

*July 9, Dublin, Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham:*

*'My Lord Deputy hath sent the Earls of Desmond and Clancare's sons to the court by two of my men'. [SP63/111/13].*

*Earl of Clancare's son, Lord Valentia, went to France later in 1584. Earl of Desmond's son remained in England*

*The 'arch-traitor' Earl of Desmond was killed in Ireland in November 1583, leaving one son, James FitzGerald (1571-1601), in custody in Dublin Castle.*

*James's mother in 1582, and the Lords Justices of Ireland in 1583, had requested that he be brought to England. He was in the Tower from 1584-1600, becoming known as 'the Tower Earl' or 'the Queen's Earl'.*

*Of James FitzGerald the Lieutenant of the Tower stated in 1590:*

*'He hath the liberty of the Tower, and so hath had ever since he was committed, and hath access of all his friends. The Countess of Desmond had access to him'.*

*In June 1593 FitzGerald wrote to Sir Robert Cecil that 'only by being born the unfortunate son of a faulty father I have since my infancy never breathed out of prison'. Two of the Lieutenant of the Tower's bills for FitzGerald (paid by the Crown) have survived. In 1588 he 'demanded' for his 'diet and other charges' 20s a week; for apparel £30 a year; for his school-master's diet £20 a year and his wages £13.6s8d a year; and 'the wages of my servant attending on him' £5 a year. In June 1596 a bill 'for physic furnished by Mr Fethergill for Mr FitzGerald' listed 64 items, including syrups, perfumes, powders, ointments. [Daniel McCarthy, Life and Letters of Florence McCarthy Reagh (1867), 488-490].*

July 11: Seditious words in Southwark, Surrey.

John Carr of Southwark, yeoman, said 'That he hath heard say sundry and divers times that the Scottish wife shall have a son that shall win all Britain. And that he hath heard in a song that the Scottish King shall be our governor'.

Carr said to a woman 'Hold your peace, woman, for the King of Scots shall be your governor; and that there were gentlemen that would say as much as he spoke; and that this realm was spoilt for want of a good governor'.

Verdict: Guilty; sentenced according to statute. [Assizes, Surrey, 262].

July 11 [Paris], Sir Edward Stafford to Burghley: I have been requested to 'give a passport to some Italian gentlemen to go into England to see the country and her Majesty. They had letters of recommendation, and I could not refuse it'.

[July 14], Paris, De Gondi to Mauvissière, of two gentlemen, Signor François Guicciardini and Signor Jerome Rucelay, 'of the most noble houses of Florence, come hither to see the country and court of France; to whom I have so much sung the praises of the greatness and magnificence of that of England, and the admirable virtues, greatness and excellences of your Queen, that they have desired to see them with their own eyes'...

'I pray you very humbly...that by your favour they may have the honour of seeing her Majesty, which is their great desire'.

July 14, Paris, Sir Edward Stafford to Sir Francis Walsingham: I have been asked by the Ambassador of Venice 'to recommend the Count of Mirandola, that, on coming into England, he may kiss her Majesty's hand, and receive such favour as a gentleman of good birth and behaviour deserves'. [SPF.xviii.605,613,614].

[July 14], Tuesday, 3 o'clock in the morning, Paris, Sir Edward Stafford to Sir Francis Walsingham, of the news that Sir Philip Sidney was coming to condole on Alençon's death: On Sunday Secretary Pinart told me 'that the King was in a great perplexity, seeing that the Queen honoured him by sending so honourable an embassy, and did take such sorrow, as his Ambassador told him, for his brother's death: that he had broken up his court and had but four left with him'.

He is leaving for Lyons in four days 'having already sent away his guard and having no creature in the world left with him'. Therefore he desires 'that Mr Sidney might be stayed till his return from Lyons'.

Pinart returned on Monday night from the Queen Mother, who required him to say 'that Mr Sidney's coming with such a mourning message, in mourning attire, the King could only receive him in state, in mourning robes...that he and his court had left off their mourning weeds three days ago, that all the princes and nobles are departed to their houses, and that she desired me to stay Mr Sidney, being assured that he was not yet passed [the sea]'. [SPF.xviii.611-612].

Sir Philip Sidney received a command from Queen Elizabeth to return. He was at Gravesend, Kent, 'onward on his journey, and some of his carriages gone over before...Thereupon Mr Sidney is returned back again'. [Scot.vii.242].

July 15, London: Scipio Gentili dedicated to the Queen two books by the Italian poet Torquato Tasso, translated into Latin: 'Scipii Gentilis Solymeidos. Libri duo priores de Torquati Tassi Italicis expressi'.

Latin verse, with dedication in Latin prose. 54p. (London, 1584). At New Year 1584 Gentili had also presented to the Queen a book translated from Tasso.

Court news. [July 18], London, Mauvissière to Henri III:

'I have seen the Queen since my last dispatch advising of Sidney's departure to condole on the death of Monsieur your brother. The Queen all the time appeared to be full of tears and regrets, telling me that she was like a widow woman who had lost her husband...She is a princess who knows how to compose herself and transform herself as it pleases her'...

'Sidney came to find me to ask my advice on everything...I advised him because of the inconvenience there would be at the posts to cut down the number of horses from 60. I think he will do so, and some of the principal people who should have gone with him, who feared the heat'. [Chéruel, 313,317].

July 18,Sat Sir Philip Sidney at Richmond on his abrupt return. Before he left Kent Sidney's special embassy to France was abandoned, at the request of the King and the Queen Mother.

He 'returned back again...to her Majesty's presence' on July 18 'so as he continued in that service but eight days'. [Bodleian Tanner 78, f.90].

John Watson was 'sent by her Highness' commandment to Boulogne to return back the carriages of Sir Philip Sidney knight'.<sup>T</sup>

July 19: *death*. Robert, Lord Denbigh (1581-1584), the Earl of Leicester's young son, died at Wanstead, Essex. Leicester left court, grief-stricken. Funeral: August 1, Wanstead. Burial: October 20, St Mary's Church, Warwick, where Lord Denbigh's epitaph describes him as 'the noble imp...a child of great parentage, but of far greater hope'.

July 19,Sun: *Grocers' Company*, London: 'The Aldermen, the Wardens, the Assistants, went in decent and comely order accustomed to the Evening prayer, and at their return a letter was read which was sent from Mr Hugh Morgan, her Majesty's Apothecary, in excusing himself if he should be chosen the Master Warden of this Company, he cannot serve it in respect of her Majesty's service. Where upon good deliberation had, he being known a very sufficient man to take his place, it fell out by Scrutiny that he was chosen by a free Election to be the Master Warden of this Company for the year next ensuing'.

July 24: 'Mr Hugh Morgan, who is chosen Master Warden of this Company, did write his letter to Master Wardens, which was now read, excusing himself to take that place upon him in respect of his daily attendance at the court upon her Majesty's service so as he cannot be here to keep courts, and to follow the affairs of this Company according to his goodwill and desire'.

'Whereupon it was agreed that a letter shall be written in the Company's name unto his Worship to pray him to take the place upon him, and to bear the charge of the same, and to be here at times when he may be spared, so as her Majesty's service be not hindered in any wise'. Morgan consented. [Court Minutes].

July 20,Mon **NONSUCH**, Cheam, Surrey; Lord Lumley.

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

2nd wife: Elizabeth, daughter of John Lord Darcy of Chiche; died 1617.

Anthony Wingfield made ready at Nonsuch 'three several times', July.<sup>T</sup>

Kingston Church: 'For ringing when the Queen went to Nonsuch, 12d'.

July 20, Treasurer's warrant, Nonsuch. A deferred visit.

July 21, Nonsuch, Sir Christopher Hatton to the Earl of Leicester, after his son's death: The Queen is 'very sorry, and wisheth your comfort, even from the bottom of her heart. It pleased her to tell me that she would write to you, and send to visit you according to her wonted goodness'.

Leicester replied, July 23, thanking Hatton and the Queen 'whom on my knees I most humbly thank for her gracious visitation by Killigrew'. [Nicolas, 382-3].

William Killigrew: a Groom of the Privy Chamber.

July 22 [from Holland], William Herle to the Queen, warning her to be more than ever on her guard: 'Tis known to me that there are entered above seven-score lurking Jesuits into the realm of late, and they do secretly repair more and more to sow infection and rebellion among your subjects, and to conspire against your royal person, whom God alway, for his mercy's sake, preserve'...

'The reverend respect that is borne to your Majesty throughout these countries is great. They recommend themselves throughout the country in their consultations and assemblies, as also in their common and private speeches, to the Queen of England's only favour and goodness, whom they call their saviour, and the Princess of greatest perfection in wisdom and sincerity that ever governed. Notwithstanding their treaty now on foot by their deputies with France, they are not more disposed to be governed by the French than to be tyrannised over by the Spaniard; concluding it to be alike'.

Paul Buys affirmed 'that Holland and Zeeland, with the rest of the Provinces, for the estimation they had of your high virtue and temperancy, would yield themselves absolutely to your Majesty and Crown for ever...(their liberties only reserved), whereof you should have immediate possession'.

[Motley, *United Netherlands*, i.3, 71-72].

July 23: *death, at Highgate, Middlesex: John Lord Russell, son and heir of Francis Russell, 2nd Earl of Bedford.*

*Funeral: July 31, Westminster Abbey. His monument remains, with epitaphs by his widow Elizabeth in English, Greek, and Latin. (St Edmund's Chapel).*

*Lord Russell's brother Francis Russell became heir to the Earldom, but died a day before his father in July 1585 and his young son Edward became 3rd Earl.*

*The widowed Elizabeth (Cooke), widow of Sir Thomas Hoby and of Lord Russell, and aunt of Francis Bacon and Robert Cecil, died in 1609.*

July 25, Gravesend, Joachim Ortell (Dutch Agent, 'waiting for a wind') to Sir Francis Walsingham: 'About 10 o'clock this morning there passed by post two Italians, coming as they say from Rome by way of France, and who are said to have sworn neither to eat nor drink until they reach the court, although they do not wish to tarry there. The cause of their haste your Honour will best know, but I desired to warn you of such suspicious persons'. [SPF.xviii.636].

July 27 [from France], Sir Edward Stafford to Walsingham, to implore the Queen 'to take good heed and have care of herself more than ordinary; for there must no doubt be had that she is a chief mark they shoot at; and seeing there were men cunning enough to enchant a man, and to encourage one to kill the Prince of Orange in the midst of Holland, and that there was a knave found desperate enough to do it, we must think that hereafter anything may be done...Therefore, God I pray him with his mighty hand preserve her Majesty'. [Murdin, 412].

July 29 [Nonsuch], Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Edward Stafford: 'The French Ambassador was here of late with Fourrier the Comptroller, sent over to excuse the stay of my son [in-law] Sidney's journey, which the French King desired might proceed on his return from Lyons, whereto her Majesty answered that she had sent him to do the King honour, but since he did not like to have him go over, she was for her part well content to stay him, and that for the sending of him hereafter, she saw no cause thereof'. [SPF.xviii.646].

Aug 2, Greys [Rotherfield Greys, Oxon], Earl of Leicester to William Davison: Your letter 'found me from the court, whence I have been absent these 15 days to comfort my sorrowful wife for the loss of my only little son'. [Scot.vii.248]

Aug 2, Leicester to Shrewsbury: 'I have been absent from the court ever since my son died, and will be Thursday next [Aug 6] ere I come thither'. [Bath,v.51].

August: Edmund Neville joined Dr Parry in conspiring to kill the Queen. Neville was a cousin of the exiled Earl of Westmorland, a leader of the Northern Rising in 1569; Neville became a co-conspirator with Dr William Parry, but gave evidence against him before Parry's Trial in 1585.

Parry confessed: 'In July I left the court, utterly dejected, discontented... I came to London...My cousin Neville...came often to mine house, put his finger in my dish, his hand in my purse...He came to me in the beginning of August', and said 'Cousin, let us do somewhat, since we can have nothing'.

He 'offered to join with me, and took his oath upon a Bible, to conceal and constantly to pursue the enterprise for the advancement of religion; which I also did, and meant to perform: the killing of the Queen was the matter'.

'The manner and place, to be on horseback, with eight or ten horses when she should ride abroad about St James, or some other like place. It was once thought fit in a garden, and that the escape would be easiest by water into Sheppey [Kent], or some other part; but we resolved upon the first. This continued as agreed upon many months', until in February 1585 Neville revealed our plots. [*State Trials*, i.1102-3]. For details of other plots against the Queen in 1584, at Oatlands and St James, see Hatton's speech on 24 Feb 1585.

[Aug 7,Fri] dinner, Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey; Mr Evelyn.<sup>T</sup>  
Kingston Church: 'For ringing when the Queen dined at Mr Evelyn's, 12d'.

\*Norbiton Hall manor-house; purchased in 1584 by George Evelyn (1526-1603) of Wotton, Surrey; \*occupied by his 2nd son John Evelyn (c.1554-1627), who was involved with his father in the manufacture of gunpowder, of which George Evelyn had a monopoly from c.1565. Their chief powder mills were at Kingston.

John Evelyn's wife: Elizabeth (Stevens) (1559-1625), of Kingston.

Aug 7,Fri **OATLANDS PALACE**, Weybridge, Surrey.

Date: Aug 7, Nonsuch [*Nicolas*, 385]; Aug 7, Oatlands.<sup>APC</sup>

c.Aug 8/19: dinner, Chobham, Surrey.<sup>T</sup>

\*Chobham estate of John Wolley, Latin Secretary to the Queen 1569-1596; wife: Elizabeth (More)(1552-1600), widow of Richard Polsted.

c.Aug 8/19: dinner, 'Chislike'. [Not located].

Simon Bowyer made ready 'a dining house for her Majesty at Chislike'.<sup>T</sup>

c.Aug 8/19: one or more visits, Bagshot, Surrey.

Simon Bowyer made ready 'Bagshot Manor', August [for overnight or longer stay]. Anthony Wingfield made ready 'Bagshot', August [for dinner].<sup>T</sup>

Bagshot manor-house, Windlesham parish; owned by Sir Henry Weston (c.1534-92). 2nd wife: Elizabeth (Lovell), widow of Henry Repps. Sir Henry's father Sir Francis Weston was executed in 1536 for alleged adultery with the Queen's mother, Queen Anne Boleyn, who was herself executed two days later.

c.Aug 8/19: hunting, Blackwater, Hampshire.

Simon Bowyer made ready 'two standings for her Majesty's shooting and coursing of stags at Blackwater'.<sup>T</sup> In Yateley parish.

Aug 13: christening. Queen was godmother to 'Lord Thomas Howard's son'.<sup>T</sup> Parents: Lord Thomas Howard (later Lord Howard de Walden and Earl of Suffolk), of Audley End, Saffron Walden, Essex; 2nd wife: Katherine (Knyvett), widow of Richard Rich. Richard Brackenbury 'went from Oatlands to Audley End, and returned to Oatlands'.<sup>T</sup> Queen's gift, August 11: a gilt bowl with a cover.<sup>NYG</sup>

Aug 13: Saffron Walden Church register: baptised: 'Theophilus, son of the Lord Thomas Howard'. Theophilus Howard (1584-1640) became (1603) Lord Walden and (1626) 2nd Earl of Suffolk. He married (1612) Lady Elizabeth Home.

Aug 15, Sat Queen appointed Sir Ralph Sadler (1507-1587) to be Keeper of Mary Queen of Scots whilst the Earl of Shrewsbury was at court. [Scot.vii.260].

Aug 16: *christening*. Queen was godmother to 'Mr Scrope's son'.<sup>T</sup>

Parents: Thomas Scrope, son of Henry 9th Lord Scrope (and himself later 10th Lord Scrope); wife: Philadelphia (Carey), daughter of Henry Carey Lord Hunsdon, of Hunsdon, Herts. Simon Bowyer went from Oatlands to Hunsdon to make ready.

Queen's gift, August 14: gilt plate.<sup>NYG</sup> 'One gilt cup with a cover'.<sup>PS</sup>

Aug 16: Hunsdon Church register: 'Mr Emanuel Scrope son of Mr Thomas Scrope esquire, born 1 August, baptised 16 August. The Queen's Majesty being godmother. The Earl of Arundel and the Lord Scrope being godfathers'.

Emanuel Scrope (1584-1630) married (c.1609) Lady Elizabeth Manners. He became (1609) 11th Lord Scrope and was created (1627) Earl of Sunderland.

[Aug 17], Delft, States-General to the Queen, praying for her aid in their war against Spain, and asking her to give credence to Jacques de Grise and Joachim Ortell, whom they have charged to lay before her all things relating to the Treaty begun, by her advice, with the King of France. [SPF.xix.25].

Court news. [Aug 18], Mauvissière to Catherine de Medici:

The Queen has ordered Sir Ralph Sadler 'one of the oldest and most prudent of her Council, to be ready to leave in three or four days to go to live for two or three weeks with the Queen of Scots whilst the Earl of Shrewsbury comes here to do his duty to Queen Elizabeth, whom he has not seen for more than ten years, and to consult with her on liberty for the Queen of Scots'. [Chérue], 319].

Mary was at Sheffield Manor, Yorkshire; Sadler arrived there on August 25, the Earl arrived at the court at Oatlands on September 12. Sadler remained Mary's Keeper until April 1585, when he was succeeded by Sir Amias Paulet.

Aug 19, Delft, Joachim Ortell to Walsingham: 'After waiting nine days at Gravesend for a wind, and being three days and nights at sea, on August 12 I reached the States General at Delft, to whom I declared her Majesty's care and desire for their preservation, and the aid which they may hope for from her; whereat rejoicing greatly, they resolved in future to put their whole trust in God and in her, and appointed certain to accompany me back to her'. [SPF.xix.26].

Court news. Aug 20 [Oatlands], Burghley to Lord Hunsdon, who had written that King James was sending the Master of Gray to the Queen: 'The Queen's Majesty called me to her even now when she was ready to take horse...For the coming of the Master of Gray...to discover to her Majesty matters of importance, her Majesty doubts greatly of his good meaning, being, as is certainly known, a professed servitor to the Scottish Queen and by common report either a great Papist or worse. But she is content to make proof of him'. [Scot.vii.286].

\*Aug 20, Thur **SUNNINGHILL**, Berks.<sup>T</sup>

Sunninghill manor and park: Crown property.

Sir Henry Neville (c.1520-1593) was Keeper of Sunninghill Park and Mote Park 1557-1593. 3rd wife: Elizabeth (Bacon) (c.1541-1621), daughter of Sir Nicholas Bacon (formerly Lord Keeper), and widow of Sir Robert Doyley.

Nicholas Pigeon, Jewel-house Officer, 'for the hire of two horses riding between the Tower of London and the court at Oatlands and Sunninghill to receive broken plate out of sundry offices, the Privy Kitchen, Cellar, Pantry and others, carrying the same to London to her Majesty's goldsmiths to be mended, and returning therewith being mended to the court again'.<sup>T</sup>

Roger Smith was paid for 'bringing a prisoner...from Dover to the court at Sunninghill and from the court to the Gate-house [Prison] at Westminster'; payment, August 27, Oatlands.<sup>T</sup>

c.Aug 20/21: hunting, Burley Bush, Berks.  
Francis Coot made ready 'for her Majesty at Burley Bush'.<sup>T</sup>  
Also called Burley Bushes. In Windsor Forest, near Sunninghill.

c.Aug 22: dinner, Egham, Surrey.<sup>T</sup>  
\*Richard Kellefet, as in September 1582, and on other later occasions.

\*Aug 22, Sat **OATLANDS PALACE**, Weybridge, Surrey.  
Richard Brackenbury made ready at Oatlands 'against her Highness's return from Sunninghill'.<sup>T</sup>

Aug 23, Sir Francis Walsingham to Lord Hunsdon (at Berwick):  
'I do now send your Lordship herewith the safe-conduct of the Master of Gray, which could not sooner be dispatched by reason of her Majesty's departure from Oatlands towards a little progress'. [Scot.vii.288].  
The Master of Gray arrived in October.

c.Aug 24/29: dinner, Windsor; hunting, Great and Little Parks.  
Francis Coot made ready 'a dining house for her Majesty at Windsor'; also 'a standing in the Great Park at Windsor for her Majesty'; 'a little standing for her Majesty in the Little Park at Windsor'.<sup>T</sup>

Court news. [Aug 29], London, Mauvissière to Walsingham: 'Some German gentlemen who came into this Kingdom to kiss the Queen's hands and see the country, returning into France, have been arrested at Dover, rather I believe to keep them longer to drink with their host than from any other cause'...  
'I pray you to send them a passport or letters addressed to the officers of Dover, to let them pass freely'.  
PS. 'I am urgently prayed by these Germans...to procure a passport for them, and if it were signed by her Majesty, as is the custom of those of that nation they would put it with their treasure and the ancient monuments of their house'.

[Aug 29], Mauvissière to Lord Burghley: 'I meant this morning to go and dine with you in your beautiful house, but was told by the Earl of Leicester that if tomorrow morning I would go with a few horses I should meet her Majesty at the chase, which I have received as a great honour'. [SPF.xix.36-37].  
Leicester sent for Mauvissière later on the 29th.

Aug 29, Sat French Ambassador joined the Queen's hunting, Windsor Forest.  
Mauvissière to Walsingham [Aug 30], London: 'I have made a short journey in which I have had much honour and good cheer from her Majesty, for which I praise God, and also that I have seen and left her in so good health'.  
PS. I have received in my journey so many favours from the Earl of Leicester and Mr Philip Sidney that I know not how to repay them. [SPF.xix.38-39].

Mauvissière to Henri III [Sept 8]: 'Some days ago the Earl of Leicester wrote to inform me that the Queen, his mistress, was sending me a large buck which she had shot with her own hand, and that if I wished to go to find her in Windsor Forest, where she had great pleasure in hunting, I could take part in it, and he would be my host and would share his lodgings with me. At the same time he sent a gentleman to me to accompany me there that very day'.  
'I was received very well by the Queen, and lodged and treated by the Earl of Leicester with great courtesy and good cheer. I had the company of his nephew Sidney, and of many other relatives and friends of his, and it would not have been possible to have more pleasure in the hunt'.

'Sixty to eighty large bucks were within the Toil [netted enclosure], going to and fro endlessly in front of a little standing where the Queen was. Some were shot with the cross-bow, and those which were wounded were taken by the hounds. The others were released at intervals in a clearing six or seven miles long in the middle of the forest where there was a little hill which overlooked the whole clearing, and at the exit from the Toil was a well made arbour, to which the Queen went'.

'At once, and for the rest of the day until the evening, there came out of the Toil again and again many large stags, passing by the arbour, coursing for two or three miles with the best hounds in the Kingdom. Sometimes one, two, or three hounds brought down a large stag; sometimes they coursed for two or three miles along the clearing, and, at the end, retracing their steps to regain the forest, were caught again at the arbour; and just as they had good stags, so they had good hounds, and a great many of them, so that this hunt, through the nature of the terrain and the good arrangements made by the Earl of Leicester, gave great pleasure to the Queen and to everyone present'.

'But the Queen is still dressed in mourning, and says she can never leave it off, with many sighs full of affection and regret, and she kept me many times in conversation speaking of the past'. [Chéruel, 327-8].

Aug 29, London, Joachim Ortell to Sir Francis Walsingham: Having arrived from Holland after twice being forced back by contrary winds, I beg to know at what time I shall come to court; I desire first a private interview.

Ortell and Jacques de Grise, Dutch Deputies, made a 'proposition' to the Queen in August, to take the United Provinces under her protection, or to make a lasting alliance with them. [SPF.xix.38,41].

August: Jane Buckley petitioned the Queen for a lease, as promised, in reward for a 'stout cushion' and a 'handkercher' presented by her to the Queen.

She was granted a lease of £8 or £10. [HT.iii.65].

Sept 1, Heidelberg, Elizabeth Countess Palatine, to the Queen, in favour of 'our faithful George Zolcher' who has served the Queen diligently for 16 years delivering letters from the Elector Palatine, from the Queen's Agents Dr Mount and John Sturm, and from the Countess's husband John Casimir.

In his journeys 'he was plundered by sea and land...all his goods being taken by thieves and robbers except the letters, which he always guarded with the utmost care'. He has been ill and is now in debt; he asks for permission to export from England 1000 barrels of beer free of duty. [SPF.xix.43-4: Latin].

*Zolcher continued to go back and forth with messages to and from the Queen, and wine for her from Heidelberg. Later in September he brought 'letters in post' from Strasbourg to Oatlands; in October he took letters from Hampton Court to Strasbourg; and in December brought letters from Strasbourg to Greenwich.<sup>T</sup>*

Sept 2, Oatlands, Walsingham to the Earl of Shrewsbury: 'My Lord Treasurer [Burghley], my Lord of Leicester, and myself...are so divided, by reason of a little by-progress her Majesty hath made for her recreation'. [Lodge, ii.245].

Sept 4: Queen's gift: to Guillaume Sotherman 'sent from the Admiral of the States, a chain of gold'.<sup>NYG</sup> [Captain William Suderman].

The Queen made a reply to the proposals by the Dutch Deputies; she is desirous to show her affection to the Low Countries in all possible ways. [SPF.xix.699].

*The Queen declined to accept a Dutch offer of Sovereignty (which would have resulted in war with the King of Spain). The States-General then offered the Sovereignty to King Henri III of France, who in 1585 also declined.*

Sept 6, Edinburgh, William Davison to Sir Francis Walsingham, of a forthcoming Scottish envoy: 'The Master of Gray makes solemn preparation for his journey, wherein he minds to spare no cost...being for his apparel, jewels and money the best furnished for the purpose of any gentleman of his rank in Scotland'. [Scot.vii.320]. Patrick, Master of Gray, arrived in London on October 27.

Sept 7, Mon: Queen's birthday celebrations, e.g.  
 Allhallows London Wall: 'To the Clerk for ringing the Queen's birthday the 7th of September, 12d'. [Accession Day ringers: 3s4d].  
 St Martin in the Fields: 'Paid for bread and beer for the ringers the 7th of September, being her Majesty's birthday, 12d'.

St Andrew's Church, Holborn, Middlesex, began a new annual parish custom on September 7 and on Accession Day, November 17, which 'were both this year now first solemnised in the church with prayers and thanksgiving made in the behalf of her Majesty by the poor of the parish'.

On her birthday 'in memory of her Majesty's age which then was 52 [51] years ...there were 52 old women of the greatest age in the parish assembled, who (after prayers and thanksgiving by them heartily made for her Majesty's long life and prosperous estate) solemnly and reverently received at a maid's hands ...every one a spice cake, a draught of wine and 2d in money; and so after a form of thanksgiving unto God made together of them all...they departed'. [St Andrew's 'Bentley Register', London Metropolitan Archives].

Sept 10: News of two envoys from the Duchess of Bouillon. William Prince of Orange had left six young daughters by his deceased 3rd wife, the Duchess's sister; the second, Elizabeth (born 1577) was a god-daughter of Queen Elizabeth; the Duchess was finding homes for her nieces, where possible with their godmothers. The States-General, their 'godfathers', had at their births granted them gifts and pensions, promises not yet fulfilled.

[Aug 6]: Françoise de Bourbon, Duchess of Bouillon, instructed the Sieur François de Cville and the Sieur Oudard de Jolitemps to go to England to pray the Queen to take the two eldest sisters, Louise and Elizabeth, to be brought up in England. Homes had already been found for the others, Brabantine, Katherine Belgique, Amelyne, and Flandrine. The Duchess also prayed the Queen to write to the Duke of Montpensier, her brother, that she will take the two eldest (to prevent him taking them himself, and bringing them up as Catholics).

The envoys reached Rye in Sussex by August 23. [SPF.xix.9-10,29].

Court news. Sept 10, London, the Sieur de Jolitemps to Sir Francis Walsingham, who had informed him of the Queen's wishes in regard to the late Prince of Orange's daughters (she offered to take only the second, her god-daughter Elizabeth): I have told M.de Cville, the other envoy, of this, in order that he might write to the Earl of Leicester, Lord Howard, Sir Christopher Hatton and others, to entreat the Queen to allow the two eldest orphans to remain together, or to send three sisters to England for her to decide which to keep. I am to sail for Holland in a day or two.

Sept 10, De Cville to Walsingham: I have written to Leicester and Lord Howard. The Duchess of Bouillon is afraid that her brother the Duke of Montpensier would bring up his nieces in Papistry. [SPF.xix.56-58]. See Oct 15,17.

Sept 10: death. William, 4th Lord Burgh (c.1521-1584), at Lambeth. Funeral: Oct 2, Lingfield, Surrey. His 1st and 3rd sons, Henry and John, were killed in duels, 1578 and 1594.

His 2nd son Thomas Burgh (c.1558-1597) became 5th Lord Burgh.

The widowed Katherine (Clinton), Lady Burgh, died in 1621.

Sept 12: *Earl of Shrewsbury* arrived at Oatlands.

George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury, Keeper of the Queen of Scots, who had not visited court for twelve years, was living apart from his wife Elizabeth (Bess of Hardwick), their marital difficulties being notorious.

Earl of Shrewsbury to Leicester, Aug 8, Sheffield, referring to 'my wicked and malicious wife', whom 'I do detest', 'I take her as my professed enemy'.

To Lord Burghley, Aug 25: 'She hath sought to impoverish me and to enrich herself. She hath sought the ruin and decay of my house and posterity... She hath sought my discredit and slander, in the face of the world'.

The Countess and two of her sons had spread abroad reports that the Earl had been too intimate with the Queen of Scots. [Leader, 547,588].

The Countess travelled separately to London, and on September 23 to Oatlands.

Sept 12,Sat Earl of Shrewsbury at Oatlands on his arrival.

[Sept 14] Holy Rood Day, Oatlands, Lord Talbot (Shrewsbury's son) to the Earl of Rutland: 'At his first kissing her Majesty's hand he poured out the abundance of his joy in tears, which had far better effect then any other eloquence could have done; and so the first night passed. The next day, which was yesterday, they fell into more grave discourses for three hours together...her Majesty pressing him earnestly for a perfect reconcilment to my Lady'...

'This night my Lady will be at London, and I hope will be humble'...

'Whether his charge [the Queen of Scots] shall be restored unto him or not, I assure your Lordship I know not, neither do I think that it is yet resolutely determined by her Majesty's self'.<sup>RT</sup>

Sept 15,Tues Oatlands, Privy Council meeting. Earl of Shrewsbury declined to take his seat until the Council had declared him to have faithfully and honourably performed his duty as Keeper of the Queen of Scots, a testimonial to that effect being entered in the Council's Register. [Lodge, ii.247-250].

Sept 15, Oatlands, Roger Manners to the Earl of Rutland:

'The great Earl...hath been honourably used...He alighted at the Court Gate; my Lord of Leicester met him in the Great Court and carried him forthwith to her Majesty into her Privy Gallery, where he tarried almost two hours'...

'Her Majesty hath dealt with him earnestly to take again his lady, which he utterly refuseth'.<sup>RT</sup>

Sept 16, Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Ralph Sadler:

'The Earl of Shrewsbury is very graciously used by her Majesty, who is very desirous to compound the controversies between him and the lady his wife - a matter that will not be performed over easily'. [Scot.vii.331].

Sept 17-29: *Correspondence from courtiers concerning the marriage in Wales of Robert Sidney (1563-1626) and Barbara Gamage (1562-1621).*

Robert was son of Sir Henry Sidney (Lord President of Wales), and brother of Sir Philip Sidney, and brother-in-law of the Earl of Pembroke.

John Gamage, Glamorgan landowner and widower, died on September 8, leaving Barbara, an only child and great heiress. A relative, Sir Edward Stradling, also of Glamorgan, took her into his keeping, and when Robert Sidney came forward to compete for her hand, and her fortune, Lady Stradling refused to allow Herbert Croft, a previous suitor, to see her. Croft's grandfather was Sir James Croft, Controller of the Household.

Barbara Gamage herself had relatives at court, including Charles 2nd Lord Howard of Effingham (Lord Chamberlain) and Walter Raleigh, whose mother was a sister of Barbara's mother, being daughters of Sir Philip Champernown.

[J.M.Traherne, ed. *Stradling Correspondence* (1840)].

Numerous letters went from court to Sir Edward Stradling:

Sept 17, from Sir James Croft, at the court: 'Your wife hath taken the gentlewoman [Barbara Gamage] forcibly from Herbert Croft, and as a prisoner doth so detain her as he cannot have access unto her; which injury, considering how the case standeth between them, is very strange...I hope you will do that which shall be for your worship and credit in the face of the world'.

Sept 20, Sir Francis Walsingham, from the court:

'Albeit by late letters from my Lords of the Council to the Sheriff of Glamorganshire, Sir William Herbert, and others, her Majesty appointed that the daughter of Mr Gamage, deceased, being in your house and keeping, should be delivered to remain with some of them; yet since the writing of these letters her Majesty for good causes hath thought it very requisite that the said young gentlewoman be by you forthwith brought up hither to the court, and to be here delivered into the custody of the Lord Chamberlain'...

'And moreover her Majesty hath willed me in her name to require you to have special care that this young gentlewoman...be not suffered to have any such access to her as whereby she may contract or entangle herself for marriage with any man. And for that some reports be given out that she hath already entangled herself, her Majesty would have you, by the best means you can, inform yourself whether this be true or no'.

Sept 21, Lord Howard, in haste from the court at Oatlands:

'Do not suffer any to have recourse unto her touching marriage till you know further of her Majesty's pleasure'.

Sept 21, from Sir Francis Walsingham, at the court:

'Being now secretly given to understand that for the goodwill you bear unto the Earl of Pembroke, you mean to further what you may young Mr Robert Sidney, I cannot but encourage you to proceed therein, for that I know her Majesty will no way mislike thereof; besides, the Lord Chamberlain, Mr Rawley, and the rest of the young gentlewoman's kinsfolks, do greatly desire it'.

Sept 23: The Sidney-Gamage marriage took place at Stradling's house at St Donat's, Glamorgan, two hours before the arrival of a messenger from court.

Letters continued to be directed to Sir Edward Stradling:

Sept 26, from Walter Raleigh, in haste from the court:

'Her Majesty hath now thrice caused letters to be written unto you that you suffer not my kinswoman to be bought and sold in Wales without her Majesty's privity [knowledge] and the consent or advice of my Lord Chamberlain and myself...considering she hath not any nearer kin nor better'...

'I doubt not but...you will satisfy her Highness, and withal do us that courtesy as to acquaint us with her matching'.

Sept 27, from Sir Francis Walsingham, at the court: 'Whatsoever blustering words are given out against you by young Mr Croft and his friends there, you may be assured that you shall not lack friends to defend you...You received direction to bring the young gentlewoman up before the marriage, but for that the messenger affirmeth that he came to your house two hours after the marriage solemnised, there is no fault laid upon you by her Majesty; the marriage being generally well liked of, saving by such here as are parties in the cause'.

Sept 27, Countess of Warwick, from the court at Oatlands: 'My very good cousin, I cannot but think myself very much beholden unto you for the great favour both you and my Lady your wife have showed my nephew Sidney'.

Sept 29, Sir Henry Sidney, from Wilton: 'I thank you more heartily for your great love and friendship showed unto my son, Robert Sidney, in this matter of his marriage than I am able to express with my pen'.

The Queen became godmother (February 1593) to one of Robert and Barbara Sidney's 11 children. Robert was knighted, became Governor of Flushing, and in the reign of King James was created Viscount Lisle and Earl of Leicester.

Sept 23 [Oatlands], Roger Manners to his brother John Manners:

The Earl of Shrewsbury 'hath here behaved himself both nobly and wisely... The day he came to court...he only told her Majesty the joy he took in the sight of her, and she was glad to see him, so as nothing passed but kindness and rejoicing'.

'The next day his Lordship came to her Majesty into her Privy Chamber; she made him have a stool and to sit down by her, and then talked with him at the least two hours. Amongst other things my Lord took knowledge how he had been slandered by sundry bruits...saying he would defend his honour and loyalty to her Majesty against all the world. Her Majesty was well pleased with his words and told him she did account him for a loyal and faithful servant and esteemed and trusted him as much as any man in England. The next day he was sent for to sit with the rest of her Majesty's Council...Since, her Majesty hath been sundry times in hand with him for his wife, but he will noways agree to accept her'.

'She hath been kept till this day from her Majesty's presence, greatly to her grief and disgrace as she saith. Now she is come, what venom she will spit out I know not, but she is become very humble and professeth meekness and humility'.

Sept 24, Oatlands, Earl of Shrewsbury to John Manners: 'I have been well received by the Queen and Council. My wife has come to court and finds great friends. I try all I can to be rid of this burdensome charge'.<sup>RT</sup>

Sept 28: '*Leicester's Commonwealth*' reached London from France.

Title: '*The Copy of a Letter*, written by a Master of Art of Cambridge, to his friend in London, concerning some talk past of late between two worshipful and grave men, about the present state, and some proceedings of the Earl of Leicester and his friends in England'. (1584).

A virulent attack upon Leicester, a tyrant, adulterer, murderer, who dominates both court and Council, and has monopolised power throughout the country.

Sept 29, Barn Elms, Sir Francis Walsingham to Leicester: 'Yesterday I received from the Lord Mayor...a printed libel against your Lordship, the most malicious written thing that ever was penned since the beginning of the world'.

'I mean...to be at the court by tomorrow at noon; I would be glad to know your Lordship's mind what course you could like I should hold with her Majesty'.

A Proclamation was issued: October 12. The book was suppressed, but circulated in manuscript, becoming popularly known as (and later published as) '*Leicester's Commonwealth*'. It is attributed to Charles Arundel, an English Catholic living in France since December 1583.

September: Sir Jerome Bowes at Oatlands on return from Russia.

Bowes was special Ambassador to Russia 1583-1584. He arrived at Gravesend on September 12. He 'attended her Majesty at the court at Oatlands, where, after having kissed her Majesty's hands, and delivered some part of the success of his embassy, he presented her an elk or loshe, the red deer of the country, and also a brace of reindeer, buck and doe, both bearing very huge horns; they in her Majesty's presence drew a sled and a man upon it, after the manner of the Samoeds, a people that inhabit in the north-east from Russia, and were that year come over the sea in the winter season upon the ice in their sleds, drawn with these deer into Russia, where the Ambassador bought of them seventeen, whereof he brought nine alive into Kent'. [Hakluyt, ii.263].

Oct 1: Slanders of the Earl of Shrewsbury.

William Fleetwood, Recorder of London, to Lord Burghley, of proceedings at Middlesex Sessions: 'One Walmsley of Islington, an inn-holder', had told 'his guests openly at the table that the Earl of Shrewsbury had gotten the Scottish Queen with child, and that he knew where the child was christened'.

A jury heard the evidence in private; Walmsley was indicted. [Wright, ii.241].

Oct 3: death. Sir Gilbert Dethick (c.1499-1584), Garter King of Arms 1550-84. Robert Cooke (Clarenceux King of Arms) acted as Garter King of Arms until Sir Gilbert's son William Dethick (York Herald) became Garter in April 1586.

Oct 4: News of an Ambassador from the King of Navarre. Jacques Ségur-Pardaillon, who had come on several previous embassies. He travelled via Holland, and the States of Holland desired him to tell the Queen of their present plight and extreme necessity. [SPF.xix.90].

Court news. [Oct 4], London, Mauvissière to Henri III:  
 'Monsieur Ségur, on his way back from Germany, passed through Holland and Zeeland, where they made ready a good ship to bring him here. He has arrived and has taken a lodging, as if he wished to stay here...He has no one except a valet...He has still not seen the Queen'. [Chéruel, 331,333].

c.October 5: Richard Hakluyt's books for the Queen.  
 Hakluyt presented to the Queen two manuscripts, viz. a translation from Aristotle (which he dedicated to her, 1 Sept 1583) and a memorandum on prospects for colonization in America, now known as *Discourse of Western Planting*.  
 'A particular discourse concerning the great necessity and manifold commodities that are like to grow to this Realm of England by the western discoveries lately attempted. Written in the year 1584 by Richard Hakluyt of Oxford at the request and direction of the right worshipful Master Walter Raleigh...before the coming home of his Two Barks'. [Raleigh's ships returned from Virginia in September].  
 The *Discourse* opens: 'That this western discovery will be greatly for the enlargement of the gospel of Christ whereunto the Princes of the reformed religion are chiefly bound amongst whom her Majesty is principal'. 21 chapters.

Hakluyt (c.1552-1616) was on leave from his post as chaplain and secretary to the English Ambassador to France, for which he set off again on October 7.  
 Hakluyt to Walsingham, 7 April 1585, Paris: 'It hath pleased her Majesty two days before my dispatch, upon the sight of a couple of books of mine in writing, one in Latin upon Aristotle's Politics, the other in English concerning Master Rawley's voyage (the copy whereof I purpose to send your Honour immediately after Easter) to grant me the next vacation of a prebend in Bristol'.  
 A scrivener noted that the book was one which 'few or none (her Majesty excepted) hath seen'. [*Discourse of Western Planting*, facsimile, with commentary, ed. D.B.Quinn and Alison M.Quinn, Hakluyt Society, 1993].

October 6: The Queen left Oatlands. March 1585: John Dethick, Keeper of the Standing Wardrobe at Oatlands, and 6 labourers 'taking down, airing and brushing all the same wardrobe stuff since her Majesty's coming from thence', 63s4d.<sup>T</sup>

Oct 6, Tues **HAMPTON COURT**, Middlesex.<sup>C</sup>  
 Kingston Church: 'Paid when the Queen's Majesty came to Hampton Court and while she was there for four times ringing, 4s'.  
 Earl of Leicester paid to a Groom 'for his board wages for 3 days being sent before to make ready your Lordship's chamber at Hampton Court and for a labourer to help him, 4s2d'.<sup>L</sup>

Oct 6: Leicester paid for 9 carts to carry his stuff from Oatlands to Hampton Court, 11s3d; 'to six of your Lordship's servants their dinners waiting on your Lordship's stuff by the way, 3s'; to a servant 'for his boat-hire from Oatlands to London with your Lordship's apparel, 6s; to the poor between Oatlands and London, 7d; to two poor women between Oatlands and London, 2s'.<sup>L</sup>

Oct 10: Conference to advise the Queen, attended by Lord Burghley and other Councillors. 'Discourse of the present state of the Low Countries upon the death of the Prince of Orange. Whether her Majesty shall further assist those countries or not'. Opinions on both sides; a recommendation for her 'to send some wise person into Holland'. [SPF.xix.95-99].

Oct 12, Hampton Court, Sir Francis Walsingham to William Davison: 'Her Majesty is minded to use your services in Holland, and desires you to repair forthwith to court to receive directions'. [SP12/173/70]. Davison left in mid-November.

Oct 12, Sat, Hampton Court. Proclamation (672): Ordering Suppression of Books defacing true Religion, slandering Administration of Justice, endangering the Queen's Title. 'Divers false, slanderous, wicked, seditious, and traitorous books and libels are covertly and in secret manner dispersed through this realm'. All are to be delivered up to the Privy Council.

*Oct 14: marriage. Arthur Gorges (1557-1625) married Douglas Howard (1571-90) only child and sole heiress of Henry Howard, 2nd Viscount Howard of Bindon, by Frances Mewtas, a former Maid of Honour. In September 1584, because of 'the great jar and mislike' between Viscount and Viscountess Bindon, 'by special commandment and order from her Majesty' the Viscountess and her daughter had been 'separated' from the Viscount's house, and Douglas was committed to the custody of her mother. She was betrothed to Arthur Gorges on October 13.*

*Next day her mother was present at the marriage, at the Whitefriars house of Arthur's uncle Sir Thomas Gorges, a Groom of the Privy Chamber.*

*Viscount Bindon, who had planned to match Douglas to a nobleman, unsuccessfully charged Gorges with conveyance away of a woman child while her father was under restraint by royal order. [H.E.Sandison, 'Arthur Gorges, Spenser's Alcyon and Raleigh's Friend', Proceedings Modern Language Association, 43 (1928), 648-9].*

Court news. Oct 15, London, François de Cville to Sir Francis Walsingham:

I am awaiting the Queen's letters concerning the Prince of Orange's two eldest daughters, and also waiting to receive 'your picture'.

'Last night I took leave of my Lord of Leicester, with whom talking about the young ladies of Orange, he told me that albeit her Majesty did at this present refuse to take with her but one only of them, that is called Elizabeth, yet that we should not fail to have them both brought hither, and that he would do what he could to have them both remain here with her Majesty'.

'But for all that, I look for her Majesty's favourable letters...for the Princess of Navarre to have the eldest (Louise) kept with her Grace (if her Majesty refuses to have her), that she may be driven from the Duke of Montpensier's government, and by those means rescued from Papistry, which is a good and Christian deed'.

PS. 'I honour you as I ought, and love England, the Englishmen and the English speech. I beseech you let me hear from you what I must do'. [SPF.xix.102-3].

Oct 16, Mauvissière to Henri III, of the Ambassador from Navarre: Ségur 'has been kept in large Councils these days here in this court'. [Chéruel, 344].

Oct 17, Hampton Court, Queen to my 'cousin' the Duke of Montpensier:

'Since the late Prince of Orange, foreseeing the imminent danger to which he was always liable from the secret plots and snares spread for him by his enemies, had, whilst alive, very earnestly prayed us to have his daughters in esteem, and to take them under our protection if it happened to him to leave them fatherless...we have resolved...to deliver the eldest to the Princess of Navarre, her kinswoman...and to send to fetch the second, who is our god-daughter, to keep her here with us'. From 'your very affectionate good Cousin, and very assured friend for ever'. [Ellis (3) iv.48-51: French, with English translation].

Elizabeth remained abroad.

Oct 17: Earl of Leicester gave in reward 'to Mr Palavicino's man for bringing dried peaches to the Queen's Majesty at Hampton Court, 20s'.

Also to him 'for presenting dried peaches to your Lordship, 2s6d'.<sup>L</sup>  
Horatio Palavicino (c.1540-1600), Italian-born merchant, later knighted.

October 18: Lupold von Wedel, German traveller, at Hampton Court.  
Lupold von Wedel (1544-1615), in England and Scotland August 1584-April 1585. He arrived in London on August 17, staying at The White Bear. He went to bear-baiting, watched wrestling-bouts at Bartholomew Fair, visited Westminster Abbey, Whitehall Palace, Bridewell Prison, the Tower, and the Arsenal.

He left for Scotland on August 29, returned to London on October 14, and stayed from October 17-19 at Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey, near the court.

Von Wedel's Journal of his travels in England is translated in Victor von Klarwill, ed. Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners (1928), 313-343, from which the details of his visit to England are taken. There is a translation of his travels in both England and Scotland in Trans.R.H.S. n.s.ix (1895), 223-270.

Oct 18, Sun Lupold von Wedel, German traveller, at Hampton Court.  
Von Wedel and his companions walked from Kingston to Hampton Court, and to the Chapel to see the Queen going to service. Before her came her Guard 'with gilt halberds', the most distinguished lords and councillors, and the Sword-bearer. Then 'the Queen in black, because she is in mourning for the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Alençon...The common people, who formed two rows on either side her path, fell upon their knees. The Queen's demeanour however was gracious and gentle and so was her speech, and from rich and poor she took petitions in a modest manner. Behind her walked a countess bearing her train'.

There followed 22 of the Queen's ladies and 24 Gentlemen Pensioners 'who bore small gilt pikes tipped with iron and adorned with long plumes'.

'It being late in the day, there was no sermon, but only singing and prayers. Afterwards the Queen returned to her apartments the way she had come. When the people fell upon their knees she said "I thank you with all my heart". Then eight trumpeters in red uniform announced dinner...Later on two drummers and a piper made music in the English fashion'.

Von Wedel was permitted to see two natives brought back from a newly discovered country [Virginia], who were with Walter Raleigh. 'They were clad in brown taffeta. No one was able to understand them'. After dinner Von Wedel went to see three of the Queen's coaches, and 81 horses.

Then in the Presence Chamber he found lords and ladies 'playing at various tables for high sums of money. The women were beautiful and well-dressed'.

Von Wedel returned to London next day.

Oct 19: Bond of Association. Various conspiracies against the Queen, usually in favour of the Queen of Scots, led to the Bond of Association.

The signatories bound themselves to defend the Queen against all her enemies, foreign and domestic; and if violence should be offered to her life in order to favour the title of any pretender to the Crown, they bound themselves never to acknowledge the person or persons by whom or for whom such an act should be committed, but to prosecute such person or persons to the death.

[Copy of the Bond: *Bacon*, ii.296-298].

Oct 19, Mon At Hampton Court: ceremonial signing of Bond of Association. 'The Instrument of an Association for Preservation of the Queen's Majesty's Royal Person'. Signed and sealed by 13 Privy Councillors, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, nine Bishops, and many other clergy. [SP12/174/1,2].

Oct 20, Hampton Court, Sir Francis Walsingham to Lord Burghley, of the Bond of Association: 'The more public the matter is made the better effect it is like to work, and therefore the delivery of the copies cannot but be necessary'.

'Her Majesty hath altered her determination for her remove to Somerset House, meaning now to go to St James's'. [SP12/173/86].

*Lord Lieutenants of counties were sent copies of the Bond of Association, to be signed and sealed by local gentlemen and sent back to the Privy Council.*

*During the following months many thousands of signatures were collected all over the country, e.g. at York in November about 1300 citizens took the Oath.*

*[York Civic Records, viii.82-84, with copies of the Bond and the Oath].*

*Oct 20, Dublin Castle, Lord Deputy Perrot to Sir Francis Walsingham:*

*'I now send over, to her Majesty, the Earl of Clanricarde's son and heir, the young Lord of Dunkellin, and also O'Rourke's son and heir, both of which I have taken as pledges. They are pretty quick boys, and would with good education, I hope, be made good members of Christ and this Commonwealth, and therefore, I humbly pray you to procure that some care may be had of them, and their parents shall bear most of their charge'.* [SP63/112/22].

*Richard Bourke, Lord Dunkellin, later 4th Earl of Clanricarde (1572-1635) began his studies at Christ Church, Oxford, December 12, and 'Bernard' O'Rourke, son of Brian O'Rourke, chief of his name, at New College, December 18.*

*Brian Oge O'Rourke (1569-1604) was at New College, Oxford, 1584-1588.*

*Lord Dunkellin became a Master of Arts in 1598; as Earl of Clanricarde he was in 1602 the Queen's last favourite.*

Oct 24, Konigsburg, George Frederick, Marquis of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia, to the Queen. As you were pleased with the falcons I sent last year, I am sending six more, by my present falconer. [SPF.xix.117].

*Oct 26, Sir Francis Walsingham to Lord Deputy Perrot, asking him to discover how far the young Scottish King is chargeable with the late invasion.*

*An Ambassador is looked for out of Scotland to clear his master. [SP63/112/49].*

*Several thousand Scots had landed in the north of Ireland in the summer.*

*27 October 1584-January 1585: Scottish special Ambassador in London. Patrick, Master of Gray (c.1559-1611).*

*King James commissioned him 'to treat, confer, deliberate and conclude in all matters betwixt us and our dearest sister'. He is to demand the return of the Scottish noblemen who took refuge in England in April and May.*

*Sir Edward Hoby to Burghley, Oct 19, Berwick: 'The King has made him first Gentleman of his Chamber and Master of his Gardrobe [Wardrobe], his Jewel-Keeper, and he lies in the King's chamber'.* [HT.iii.71].

*Court news. Oct 27, from my house in Westminster, Lord Burghley to Lord Cobham (in Kent): 'Lately...upon a consultation in Council, it was accorded that there should be a bond of a union, or association, made by such noblemen and others, principal gentlemen and officers, as should like thereof, voluntarily to bind themselves to her Majesty, and every one to other, for defence and safety of her Majesty's person against all her evil willers; whereupon all the Council have already accorded, subscribed, and sealed, such a bond as I do herewith send your Lordship a true copy thereof, and there are the like made by all the Judges, Serjeants, and principal officers at Westminster. The like is made by the gentlemen and Justices of the Peace in sundry counties'...*

*'There is at hand an Ambassador from the King of Scots: the Master of Gray, the chief gentleman of the King's chamber, of great credit, who shall be with her Majesty on Sunday next [November 1]'. [Lodge, ii.251-2].*

*Oct 28, in London: Lupold von Wedel, German traveller, saw the ceremonial election of the new Lord Mayor at the Guildhall; and on October 29 the Lord Mayor's procession by road and river from Guildhall to Westminster for the new Lord Mayor to take the oath at the law-courts, and return to Guildhall. Lord Mayor: Thomas Pullison, draper.*

Oct 29 [Hampton Court], Sir Christopher Hatton to Lord Burghley:  
 'Her Majesty...hath been troubled with much disease in her stomach. The cause thereof...was the taking in the morning yesterday a confection of barley sodden with sugar and water, and made exceeding thick with bread. This breakfast lost her both her supper and dinner, and surely the better half of her sleep. But God be thanked, I hope now the worst is past'.  
 For 'the great Office' I find 'this great feast of All Saints [Nov 1] most apt for the accomplishment of so great a grace from her Majesty'.  
 Written from 'the Privy Chamber on the Queen's side, where now her Majesty is determined to lie'. [Nicolas, 394].

*Oct 31, Sat: The Master of Gray, who was staying in Alderman James Harvey's house in Lime Street, rode to Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey, prior to audiences at Hampton Court.*

*William Selby 'accompanying the Master of Gray, Ambassador from the Scottish King, from the town of Berwick unto the court and for his attendance of him during his abode here', £30.<sup>T</sup>*

\*October: Dr William Parry at Hampton Court, having vowed to kill the Queen. At his Trial Sir Christopher Hatton referred to his Confession 'how wonderfully thou wert appalled and perplexed upon a sudden, at the presence of her Majesty at Hampton Court this last summer, saying that thou didst think thou then sawest in her the very likeness and image of King Henry VIII? And that therewith and upon some speeches used by her Majesty, thou didst turn about and weep bitterly to thyself? And yet...didst say with thyself, that there was no remedy but to do it?'. [State Trials, i.1109].

Parry's Trial for high treason: 25 February 1585.

Nov 1, Sun, All Saints Day new appointment: Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, was made Lord Steward of the Household [for the forthcoming Parliament].

Also Nov 1: Patrick Master of Gray at Hampton Court for first audience.  
 Nov 3, Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Ralph Sadler: 'He propounded no particular matter but proceeded altogether in generalities, in showing how greatly the King his master desired her Majesty's friendship before all other Princes. As he is young in years, so is he in judgement, and therefore not the best chosen to deal in great matters'. [Scot.vii.393].

Nov 4, Wed Master of Gray at Hampton Court for second audience.  
 Walsingham to Lord Hunsdon [Nov 5]: 'The Master of Gray hath since his arrival had two audiences. The one on Sunday last which was spent for the most part in ceremonies. The other yesterday wherein he but in effect urged her Majesty to restore unto the King his master's hands the noblemen his subjects fled into this realm. Which motion her Majesty did seem utterly to have no liking of, being persuaded in her conscience that those gentlemen had never had any evil meaning towards the person of the King'. [Gray, 18].

*In England Gray had 'small contentment...and received the commendation of a young, insolent, scornful boy'. [Calderwood, v.241-2].*

Nov 4, Wed **NONSUCH**, Cheam, Surrey.<sup>C</sup> Lord Lumley.

Nonsuch, owned by John Lord Lumley.

Kingston Church: 'For ringing when the Queen's Majesty came to Nonsuch, 12d'. 'Given her Highness at Nonsuch...one basin and a lair of silver gilt, set with sundry colours'. Received into the Jewel-house, November 28. [*Jewels*, 1548].

The Cofferer's account places the Queen at Nonsuch until November 12.

Nov 8, Sun new court appointment: Elizabeth Throckmorton became a Gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber. Arthur Throckmorton noted in his Diary: 'I came and dined at Hampton Court. My sister was sworn of the Privy Chamber'.<sup>TH</sup> Bess Throckmorton secretly married Sir Walter Raleigh in 1591.

Nov 11: *Lupold von Wedel went down river from London to Greenwich, where some of those who were to take part in the Accession Day Tilt were practising. They 'rode in full armour on the course and tilted against one another'.*

Nov 11: *Stationers entered: 'A psalm to be sung as a thanksgiving on the 17th of November 1584 for the Queen's happy reign'.*

Nov 12, Thur dinner, Putney, Surrey; Mr [John] Lacy.<sup>T</sup>  
The French Ambassador dined with the Queen.

Nov 12: *Earl of Leicester's payments: 'To a maid at Putney, 5s; to the Keeper of Putney Park, 5s; for a cart from Hampton Court to Nonsuch, from Nonsuch to Putney, and from Putney to London, 3s9d; to the servants of Mr Aldersey's house at Putney, 20s'. [\*Thomas Aldersey, haberdasher]. Later payment: 'To eight of your Lordship's yeomen for their dinners and suppers for two days attending on your Lordship's stuff at the remove from Hampton Court to St James', 9s6d'.<sup>L</sup>*

Nov 12, Thur **ST JAMES'S PALACE.**

Thomas Pullison, Lord Mayor, had sent a Precept to the Livery Companies to meet him and the Aldermen to escort the Queen.

Accordingly: 'The Queen's Majesty (returning after her progress) came to her manor of St James, where the citizens of London, to the number of two hundred of the gravest sort, in coats of velvet and chains of gold, on horseback, and a thousand of the Companies on foot (having with them a thousand men with torches ready to give light on every side, for that the night drew on) received and welcomed her Grace'.<sup>HOL</sup>

Richard Brackenbury made ready 'at St James for her Majesty and the gallery twice with other places during her Majesty's abode there'.<sup>T</sup>

Works, St James: 'Setting posts along upon the causeway to keep the carts from the footway, making a new bridge, stile and steps and mending the gates'.

Lupold von Wedel watched the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen and the Livery Companies ride out to meet the Queen.

'With them, but on foot, was a large crowd of the populace, not only men but also women and girls. The Queen's train then came up. Riding ahead were her servants, then followed two of her guards, then came her equerries, and behind these her chamberlains, of whom there were about twenty'.

Then came two bishops, Whitgift Archbishop of Canterbury with fifty of his horsemen, followed by the Privy Councillors, with Lord Burghley and Secretary Walsingham immediately before the Queen.

'They were followed by the Queen in a gold coach, open all round, but having above it a canopy embroidered with gold and pearls. On the front and on the back of the coach were three plumes of various colours. The coach was drawn by four bays in royal trappings. The coachman was clad in red velvet, and on his coat both before and behind was the Queen's coat of arms and a rose'...

'The Queen sat alone in the carriage. She was dressed in white and cried to the people "God save my people", to which the crowd responded with "God save your Grace". This they repeated many times, falling upon their knees. The Queen sitting all alone in her splendid coach appeared like a goddess such as painters are wont to depict'.

'Behind the Queen's coach rode my Lord Leicester...Master of the Horse'. There followed twenty-four of the Queen's ladies. 'All were on horseback and beautifully attired...Behind them came the Queen's guards who on this day were fifty strong. They were all armed with bows and dirks'.

'Then came a gilt coach embroidered with gold and silver, which however did not rival that of the Queen, and behind it yet another coach studded all over with nails of gold. In neither of these coaches was anyone seated. Behind this followed those who...had ridden out to meet the Queen. They accompanied her up to the house. On her entry all the bells pealed'. [Klarwill, 328-329].

*'A famous ditty of the joyful receiving of the Queen's most excellent Majesty by the worthy citizens of London, the 12th day of November 1584, at her Grace's coming to St James. To the tune of Wigmore's Galliard'.*

*'The twelfth day of November last, Elizabeth, our noble Queen,  
To London-ward she hied fast, which in the country long had been.  
The citizens went then apace, on stately steeds to meet her Grace,  
In velvet coats and chains of gold, most gorgeously for to behold.  
Each company in his degree stood orderly in good array,  
To entertain her Majesty as she did pass along the way.  
And by each man did duly stand a waiter with a torch in hand,  
Because it drew on toward night, along the way her Grace to light.  
The people flockéd there amain, the multitude was great to see,  
Their joyful hearts were glad and fain to view her princely majesty,  
Who at the length came riding by, within her chariot openly;  
Even with a noble princely train of lords and ladies of great fame.  
Her Majesty was glad to see her subjects in so good a case,  
Which then fell humbly on their knee, desiring God to save her Grace.  
And like a noble prince that day, for them in like sort did she pray;  
And courteously she answered still, I thank you all for your good will.  
And bowing down on every side, most lovingly unto them all,  
A poor man at the length she spied, which down before her Grace did fall.  
And courteously she then did stay to hear what he had then to say;  
To whom he did present anon, a humble supplication.  
Then pleasantly she passéd on, till she unto Saint James's came.  
And always, as she went along, the people cried with might and main  
O Lord, preserve your noble Grace, and all your secret foes deface!  
God bless and keep our noble Queen, whose like on earth was never seen!...  
Which is the only star of light that doth amaze all princes' sight,  
A most renowned Virgin Queen, whose like on earth was never seen...  
The peerless pearl of princes all, so full of pity, peace and love...  
A phoenix of most noble mind, unto her subjects good and kind...  
Lord, send her long and happy days, in England for to rule and reign,  
God's glory evermore to raise, true justice always to maintain,  
Which now, these six and twenty years, so royally with us appears.  
O Lord, preserve our noble Queen, whose like on earth was never seen!'*

*By Richard Harrington. 14 stanzas. Reprinted: Seventy-nine Ballads.  
Modern edition: Ross W.Duffin, Shakespeare's Songbook (2004).*

*Grocers' Company: 'To Thomas Malim for six staff-torches when the Company went to Park Corner to salute her Majesty, 6s; to four saunderbeaters for carrying the said torches, 4s'.*

*Saddlers' Company collected 8s4d in fines 'from certain of our yeomanry which were assigned to hold certain torch-lights at her Majesty's coming by the Park Corner to St James, which they prodigally and lasciviously burned homewards (being whole and unoccupied)'.*

*Stationers' Company: 'For a supper for the Company at The Flying Horse [in Fleet Street] when the Queen's Majesty came to London, 24s'.*

*13 November 1584-June 1585: William Davison was special Ambassador to Holland and Zeeland, mainly to endeavour to prevent the Dutch offering Sovereignty to King Henri III of France.*

*The King declined to accept Sovereignty, in February 1585.*

*Nov 13, Paris, Sir Edward Stafford to Sir Francis Walsingham:*

*'The Ambassador of Ferrara here is changed. The old one, Chevalier Courtez, came to me yesterday and told me he had long desired to see her Majesty and her court, and now meant to go there...He was brought up a page in the Duke of Guise's house'. I take him to be 'fit to entertain ladies'.*

*Nov 14, Stafford to Walsingham: Chevalier Courtez 'has now got leave, before returning to Italy, to kiss her Majesty's hands and see her court, being encouraged by the honourable report of many gentlemen who have received great entertainment there'. [SPF.xix.148,152].*

*The Chevalier was at court in December.*

*Court news. [Nov 15], Mauvissière to Henri III:*

*'When the Queen was going to dine three or four miles from London, to come here to sleep and to stay for the winter, and to hold Parliament, she sent to tell me, as did the Earl of Leicester, that if I wished to go there I would be welcome, and she would be very glad to see me'.*

*As to the Queen of Scots and negotiations for her liberty, this Queen 'has granted to me that she may send whom she pleases. This will be her secretary, a well-informed man called Nau, who will be here in a day or two, free to speak for his mistress, and advise on some accord'...*

*'I have today sent the Queen of Scots news she has desired and looked for for a year, which is that the Countess of Shrewsbury and her children by her [second] marriage were heard and examined on the rumours which they had spread in this Kingdom against the honour of the Queen of Scots, which she thought and said to have been invented by the Countess, her children, and others of their relatives, friends and servants'...*

*'In the presence of the Council she and her children and those who accused the Queen of Scots have declared that they have never said nor spread such things, nor anything which could touch her honour, as also that they had not seen or known anything unworthy of a princess...which they affirmed to be true, and said it in front of me as your Majesty's Ambassador, written and signed with their own hand, a thing which will content the Queen of Scots nearly as much as her liberty'. [Chéruel, 350,353-4].*

*Nov 16: Earl of Leicester gave in reward: 'To Sir Jerome Bowes' man presenting of a reindeer, 30s'. He also gave him 20s on December 6 for presenting sables 'and the head of a stag'.<sup>L</sup>*

*Bowes, who had returned from Russia, had given reindeer to the Queen at Oatlands, in September.*

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

St Andrew Holborn, Middlesex, new annual custom:

'In memory that her Grace had now reigned or was entered into the 27th year, there were 27 of the most aged women in the parish...assembled in the church, together with 27 young maiden children of the same parish, who...after public prayers earnestly made for her Majesty's long and prosperous reign over us, solemnly received at the hands of the maid...and the two churchwardens a spice cake, a draught of burnt claret wine and 3d apiece the old women and old maids, and a cake, a draught of claret wine and 1d apiece the young maids and children. And so after prayer and thanksgiving again zealously made for her Majesty, with joyful hearts and thankful and devout minds, they all departed in God's praise home to their houses, expecting (if it so please God) the continuance of so good an exercise, to the glory of God, the parish's credit and their relief; that by this means many prayers and thanksgiving unto God may be continually made of many, for the continuance of His manifold and great blessings, many years to endure, upon His church, our Queen and Realm'.

[St Andrew's 'Bentley Register', London Metropolitan Archives].

St Botolph Aldgate: 'Paid for the ringers on the Queen's day and night, 2s'.

St Botolph Bishopsgate: 'To the ringers that rang for her Majesty's reign, 6s; for 3 books for to read the service upon the day of her Majesty's reign, 12d'.

St Martin in the Fields: 'Paid the 17th of November at the changing of her Majesty's reign for ringing, to six men, 6s'.

St Mary Aldermanbury: 'Bestowed upon ringers for ringing the day wherein the Queen's Majesty began her reign, so ordered by the assent of the parish, 6s8d'. Also: 'For a new book of prayers for fair weather, set forth by the Bishop, 3d'.

St Mary Woolchurch Haw: 'For bread and drink for the ringers on the 17th day of November, 1s4d; for a prayer book for that day, 1d'.

St Michael Cornhill: 'To the ringers on the Queen's night, 2s6d'.

Heckington Church, Lincs: 'Spent of the Anniversary day of the Queen's Majesty, upon the ringers, 2s; for candle the same night, 2d'.

Mendlesham Church, Suffolk: 'Laid out to the ringers of the Coronation day, 2s8d'

Norwich, St Margaret: 'For bread and beer for the ringers the 16 and 17 days of November, 3s4d'.

Oxford Chamberlains paid: 'Upon St Hugh's Day for a sermon, 10s; for gunpowder and matches for the same time, 9s'.

Sheffield, Yorkshire, Burgesses: 'Given to ringers who did ring in the Queen's holiday 1584, 12d'.

South Weald Church, Essex: 'Paid the ringers the Coronation day, 5s'.

Worcester, St Michael Bedwardine: 'For ringing the Coronation day of the Queen, 3s4d; for two books of prayers for the Queen's day, 8d'.

Earl of Leicester's payments: Nov 17: 'To the poor between St James and the Tilt-yard, 2s'. Dec 19: 'To 12 of your Lordship's yeomen for their dinners the 17th of November attending in the Tilt-yard at Westminster, 6s'.<sup>L</sup>

Accession Day Tilt preparations:

Works repaired the Tilt, the Judge-house, and the 'stairs and scaffold under the Queen's window; the gallery where her Majesty stands to see Triumphs'.

Tilt-list: College of Arms MS M.4, f.31.

Nov 17, Tues **Accession Day Tilt**, Whitehall, 1584. 13 pairs.

Sir Henry Lee	v	Sir Philip Sidney
Earl of Cumberland	v	Lord Thomas Howard
Lord Willoughby de Eresby	v	Henry Grey
Edward Norris	v	George Goring
William Knollys	v	Ralph Bowes
Robert Knollys	v	Fulke Greville
Thomas Knyvett	v	Edward Denny
Thomas Radcliffe	v	Thomas Vavasour
George Gifford	v	Sir Henry Lee [again]
Anthony Cooke	v	Thomas Bowes
Henry Noel	v	Thomas Gerard
Robert Alexander	v	Henry Brouncker
Edward Wynter	v	Richard Ward.

*Lupold von Wedel's description:*

'The Queen at 12 o'clock seated herself with her ladies at the windows of a long room facing Whitehall near Westminster. A broad staircase before the Tilt-yard leads up to this room. Round the yard are erected wooden stands. Everyone who wishes to look on and have a seat on the stands must pay 18 pence...On the stand were very many thousands of men, women and girls, to say nothing of those who were in the Tilt-yard and had nothing to pay'.

'The tournament began with two knights, who were desirous of contending with one another, riding simultaneously into the lists to the loud blare of trumpets and other music. And this mode of procedure was observed throughout the tournament. Every knight taking part in the tournament had dressed himself and his attendants in particular colours, although none of the underlings rode into the lists with the knights, but walked beside them on either side'.

'Some of the knights had bedizened themselves and their train like savages; some like the natives of Ireland with their hair streaming like a woman's down to their girdles. Some had crescent moons upon their heads; some came into the lists with their horses caparisoned like elephants; some came driving, their carriages drawn by people most oddly attired. Some of the carriages seemed to be drawn along without traction. All these carriages were oddly and peculiarly fitted up, but all the knights had their horses with them, and being ready accoutred for the fight mounted their steeds'...

'When a knight entered the lists with his following, he rode or drove up to the staircase that led up to the room in which the Queen was. Then one of his followers ascended the staircase into the Queen's presence. This servant wore a very fine livery in the colours of his master. He then addressed the Queen at length in rhymes that he had learnt by rote and at the same time quaintly and decorously cut merry capers. This evoked laughter from the Queen and those around her. When the man had finished his speech, he in the name of his master handed the Queen a beautiful present [an *impresa*, or painted motto] which she accepted and then gave the donor permission to take part in the tournament'.

'Now the knights jostled and broke lances in the lists two at a time'.

'On this day there were to be seen many fine horses and beautiful women, not only amongst the ladies of the Queen, but amongst those of the gentry, nobility and burghers. This tournament lasted until 5 o'clock. Then my Lord Leicester, the Queen's Master of the Horse, bade the knights cease from combat'.

'The Queen then presented the prizes to the Earl of Oxford and to the Earl of Arundel...Lastly each knight who had acquitted himself well and nobly received a gift'. [Klarwill, 330-332]. Neither Oxford nor Arundel is in the Tilt-list, nor are prizes or gifts known to have been presented at the Accession Day Tilts.

There was a 'blind Knight', with a dumb Page who presented a sonnet to the Queen 'most honoured owner of all true English hearts'. [Chambers, Lee, 271].

*November 18: Queen of Scots' Secretary at St James's Palace. Claude Nau, Secretary to Mary since 1575, arrived in London c. November 15, coming partly to deal for a Treaty by which she might be put at liberty, and partly for questioning concerning allegations by the Countess of Shrewsbury and two of her sons that the Earl of Shrewsbury had an improper relationship with Mary whilst he was her Keeper. The Countess and her sons had just denied spreading rumours to this effect.*

*Sir Ralph Sadler remained as Mary's Keeper, and Nau stayed in Sadler's house for a month, with the cost defrayed by Queen Elizabeth.*

Nov 18, Wed Queen of Scots' Secretary at St James for first audience.  
 Nov 19, Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Ralph Sadler: 'Monsieur Nau had his first audience yesterday of her Majesty, who seems to rest very well satisfied with the conference she had with him'. Nov 26: 'Till yesterday Monsieur Nau's negotiation was private with her Majesty's self...which chiefly concerned the Countess of Shrewsbury', and her allegations against Mary. 'Yesterday he had conference with some of the Council'. [Scot.vii.431,437].

Nau had further audiences before taking leave on December 22.

Nov 22, Sun At St James, in the Presence Chamber, it was proclaimed that the noblemen and others who were to attend upon the Queen at her going to Parliament should be ready next day at 9 a.m. [Milles, 64].

**Nov 23, Mon Queen at Opening of Parliament.**

Ceremonial procession from Whitehall Palace to Westminster Abbey and the Parliament House.

Richard Brackenbury made ready 'Whitehall for her Majesty to go from thence in state to the Parliament House'. Anthony Wingfield made ready the Parliament House, and 'the church of St Peter's in Westminster'.<sup>T</sup>

Works: 'making clean highways against her Majesty's coming, loading of carts with sand, gravel, etc, and spreading the same'.

*Lupold von Wedel's description:*

'First of all, all the streets near Westminster were made clean and neat and strewn with sand...At the head of the procession rode chamberlains and knights in 18 rows. Then came 15 trumpeters and two lords with about 100 domestics... Then came 15 couples of the gentlemen of the Parliament wearing long red cloth cloaks lined with white fur. They also had fur capes reaching almost to their girdles. They were followed by two knights on horseback', one with the Queen's mantle, one with her hat.

'Then came two heralds in blue mantles. On the mantles was wrought the Queen's coat of arms in beaten gold. Then again in three ranks the great lords of the Parliament, each in his everyday dress. Then came two heralds...followed by 13 couples of Knights of the Shire, Earls and Barons, dressed like the above. Then again came two heralds and behind them 14 bishops walking two abreast in long red cloaks and broad hoods of white lawn. They wore on their heads four-cornered caps of cloth. Then followed five gentlemen of the Parliament in long red coats, the collars trimmed with four rows of white fur. They were followed by the Lord Chancellor. Behind him came the Lord Treasurer and behind him the Secretary...Then followed four persons with sceptres, and on each sceptre was a crown. These again were followed by some gentlemen of the Parliament'.

All 'had on their horses saddle-cloths of gold and silver stuffs, and the humblest was of velvet'.

'These were followed by halberdiers, about fifty strong, all of the nobility and equipped with short gilded spears. [Gentlemen Pensioners]. All of these were on foot'.

'Then came a riderless horse, led by a gentleman. The saddle-cloth, the saddle and the bridle were of pure cloth of gold, studded all over with pearls. The bridle was studded with precious stones and in front of the horse's head there hung a jewel with a beautiful large diamond and on either side near the horse's ears hung pearls of great size'.

'Then came the Queen in a semi-covered litter that looked like a half-canopied bed. The litter was entirely of wood, upholstered all over with gold and silver cloth. The cushions too on which the Queen reclined were of gold and silver material. The long red velvet Parliamentary cloak she wore was trimmed to the waist with a lining which was white with black dots. On her head she wore a crown. The litter was borne by two white steeds with yellow manes and tails. On the horses' heads and tails were plumes of yellow and white, their saddles and cloths being of gold material'.

'Behind the Queen was another led horse. It had a red velvet saddle-cloth garnished with gold borders and gold lace. Following this horse came four-and-twenty women and maidens who rode in single file, each of them out-vying the others in raiment, adornment and horse-trappings. Behind the women followed two coaches. The one was upholstered in red gold-embroidered velvet, the other in black velvet with gold embroidery; but in them was no one. On either side of the Queen was her bodyguard, not however in their usual uniform, for their tabards were wholly of red cloth trimmed with beaten gold'.

'In such state did the Queen progress to Westminster Abbey...where prayers were said and psalms sung, and from there into the House of Parliament which is hard by'.

'Here she was led into a chamber where upon a dais a canopy was erected. This was most splendidly made of gold coverlets and velvet embroidered with gold, silver and pearls. Under the canopy stood her chair which was likewise fitted out in regal splendour. The seats and the backs of the benches all round the chamber were upholstered in red satin. In the centre of the room were arranged four four-cornered wooolsacks. These were covered with red cloth. The walls of the entire chamber were hung with regal tapestry'.

'Behind the wooolsacks towards the door a low railing covered with red satin ran right across the room. On the wooolsack which lies nearest to the Queen's chair sits the Lord Chancellor with his back to the Queen. On the second wooolsack to the right sit three judges; on the third to the left three secretaries, and on the fourth close to the railing two clerks. On the benches round about sit on the right hand 20 bishops, two viscounts...and one marquis. On the left side sit 20 earls and 20 barons'. [Klarwill, 332-334].

*Herald's description:* At St James's Palace at 9 a.m.

'The noblemen put on their robes in the Council Chamber, and the Bishops theirs likewise in another chamber next unto the Chapel. From thence they, by the garden going into the Park, mounted on horseback, attended the coming forth of the Queen'.

'About 11 o'clock the most gracious Queen, attired also in a Parliament robe, at the going out of the garden mounted into a Chair of State, like unto a chariot or horse-litter, carried betwixt two white horses. This chair was on every side open, but that behind a covering hanging forth above, semicircle-wise, was with two little pillars of silver supported, upon the top whereof stood on high a crown of gold; and upon two other pillars at her feet stood a lion and a dragon glistening with gold, made with wonderful cunning, supporting the Queen's Arms. This chair (which I might rather call a throne) being altogether cunningly garnished and gilt, was most magnificently bedecked with cloth of silver...and with cushions of the same. Wherein, after that the Queen had placed herself, the rest by two and two in this order set forward:

Messengers of the Court; Gentlemen of less note; Esquires; Esquires of the Body; Clerks of the Chancery, Signet, Privy Seal, Council; Masters of Chancery; Knights Bachelors; Knights Bannerets; 'Trumpets here and there sounding'; Serjeants at Law; the Queen's Serjeant; Queen's Attorney with Queen's Solicitor; two Heralds; 'Judges of the Exchequer, whom we call Barons of the Exchequer'; Justices of Common Pleas, and of the King's Bench; Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas with Chief Baron of the Exchequer; Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, or of England, with the Master of the Rolls.

Younger sons of the nobility; Treasurer of the Chamber; Knights of the Bath; eldest sons of the nobility; Knights of the Privy Council; Knights of the Garter; Principal Secretary; Treasurer of the Household, and Controller of the Household. 'Edward Norris, the third son of Baron Norris, carrying the Queen's hat and cloak'; two Heralds; 38 Barons, two by two; two Heralds; 19 Bishops; Bishops of Winchester, Durham, London; two Viscounts; two Heralds; 11 Earls; a Herald or King of Arms.

Lord Chancellor with the Lord Treasurer; 'the Great Seal of England was by one footman carried before the Chancellor'; Archbishops of Canterbury and of York; Clarenceux King of Arms; two Serjeants at Arms with silver-gilt maces; Garter King of Arms, with the chief Gentleman Usher; Marquis of Winchester bearing the Cap Royal, with the Earl of Worcester bearing the Rod of Marshalship.

Earl of Kent bearing the Sword, riding between the Earl of Oxford, Lord Great Chamberlain of England, and the Earl of Leicester, Lord Steward.

'The Queen 'decked up in a purple robe, furred with ermine; but her inner garment was of purple velvet...turned up at the hands with the same fur. Four Equerries of the Stable...and the Footmen in their rich coats were attendant about the Queen, and without them all along in a rank waited the Gentlemen Pensioners with their partisans'.

Earl of Derby 'leading a spare horse of state'; Lord Chamberlain; Vice-Chamberlain; 'many noblewomen, ladies, and other noble courtiers'.

'In this order and royal pomp the Queen came unto the south gate of St Peter's Church at Westminster, where the Bishop of Salisbury, the Queen's Almoner, and Dr Goodman, Dean of that Church, with the Prebendaries and all the Choir received her in their copes'.

'Without the Porch was set a form furnished with carpets and cushions, at which the Queen upon her knees received of the Dean the golden Sceptre of St Edward, which she laid upon the cushion before her; and having received a little book of the Dean, unto herself softly prayed'.

'Afterward she came into the church, under a stately canopy of cloth of silver which six Knights supported. The Marchioness of Northampton and the Countess of Oxford bore up the train, Baron Howard of Effingham being Chamberlain supporting her, Christopher Hatton Vice-Chamberlain going on the other side, but not supporting her. But forasmuch as the Queen's robes made of rich silk and ermines were too weighty and chargeable for her well to bear, the Earl of Arundel on the right hand and the Earl of Pembroke on the left held them up from her shoulders'.

'Before the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Treasurer went the singing men and choristers, singing of psalms, and when the Queen was now come unto the royal withdrawing or retiring place (commonly called the travers) prepared...on the right hand of the Choir near unto the Communion Table, the noblemen took their places upon forms beneath the travers, but the Bishops sat themselves down beneath the pulpit, on the north side of the Choir'.

'The Archbishop of Canterbury, after a psalm sung, made a sermon, the Sword and the Cap of Honour being in the meantime borne before him'.

*Westminster Abbey sermon by John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury.*

*Text: Ecclesiastes 10:8: 'He that diggeth a pit shall fall into it; and whoso breaketh a hedge, a serpent shall bite him'. Whitgift 'made a brief speech tending to the respect for good laws, for the laws of the wicked tend to overthrow the just but God revealeth their secrets, and they are together swept away like the spider in his cobweb; and...comparing laws to the hedges which broken the possession lieth wasted...and the three causes of troubles in kingdoms: many orators, no execution of laws, and contempt'. [Parl.ii.20-21].*

*Herald: 'The sermon with a psalm ended, the Queen on foot under a canopy went unto the south gate of the church, carrying in her hand the Sceptre dedicated to St Edward the Confessor. In which place she restored it unto the Dean of Westminster, of whom she had before received it, to be again laid up'.*

*'Whilst the Queen's Majesty was hearing divine service in the church, the Earl of Leicester...went unto the Lower Parliament House, to be there present at... the return of the Writs before sent forth for the summoning of the Knights of the Shires and for the Burgesses of the Towns thither, and met the Queen coming into the Upper Parliament House'.*

*'The Queen being come thither first retired herself into her own Privy Chamber, resting herself a little; the noblemen in the meanwhile had in due order placed themselves in the Upper House, and at length the Queen herself came forth; the Sword, the Cap, and the Rod of the Marshalship of England being borne before her, and the other officers going before her, she went up into the royal Throne, the nobility of the Kingdom sitting down about her'.*

*'In the midst of the Upper House lie great sacks of red cloth filled with wool; upon the uppermost whereof sitteth the Chancellor, and upon those which lie toward the sides of the House sit the Master of the Rolls, the Queen's Secretary, the Judges, the Barons of the Exchequer and certain lawyers... Upon the lowest of all sitteth the Clerk of the Parliament, with the Clerk of the Crown, behind whom the other Clerks write, resting upon their knees'.*

*'When the Queen was set, and that they of the Nether House...were let in, she commanded the Lord Chancellor, standing on the right hand by her, to make his oration'.*

*Sir Thomas Bromley, Lord Chancellor, stated in his oration that Parliament had been called for three causes: 'For the glory of Almighty God and the furthering of religion, for the health and preservation of her Royal Majesty, and the welfare of the commonwealth'. [D'Ewes, 312].*

The Lord Chancellor ended by asking the Commons to make choice of a Speaker 'to be afterward presented'. The Clerk of the Parliament proclaimed in French, (as customary), the names of those with power to hear 'requests and petitions'.

'Which things being done, the Chancellor prorogued the Parliament, and the Queen descending from her Throne and retiring into her Privy Chamber there put off her Parliament robes, which when the Barons had in like manner also done, they in order (with the Sword, the Cap of Honour, and the Rod of the Marshalship carried before her) attended her unto her barge, wherein she from thence was down the river carried back unto her palace called Whitehall, through which she passed into the Park, where she mounting upon a most courageous horse, the nobility, states, and most honourable men and women attending her, she happily returned unto her Palace of St James'. [Milles, 64-68].

*Recorder William Fleetwood, an M.P. for London, reported to Lord Burghley: 'First, there appeared in the Parliament House the knights and burgesses, out of all order, in troops, standing upon the floor making strange noises; there being not past seven or eight of the old Parliaments. After this we were all called into the Whitehall, and there called by name before my Lord Steward and the rest of the Council. And after that we were sworn, whereby we lost the oration made by my Lord Chancellor; and after that Mr Treasurer moved the House to make an election of a Speaker, whereupon he himself named my brother Puckering, who sat next me, and there was not one word spoken. And then I said to my companions about me "Cry, Puckering!" and then they and I beginning the rest did the same. And then Mr Speaker made his excuse, standing still in his place, and that done, Mr Treasurer and Mr Controller, being by me called upon, sitting near, they rose and set him to his place...And that done, we all departed until Thursday'.*

*Fleetwood and Puckering were 'brother' Serjeants at Law. [Wright, ii.243-4].*

**Nov 26, Thur Queen at Parliament for presentation of new Speaker of Commons.**

John Puckering (c.1544-1596), Serjeant at Law.

*Herald: 'The Queen...by the Park came from...St James's unto...Whitehall. And when she had in her chamber put on her Parliament robes, she went to her Throne, the Sword, the Cap and the Rod of the Marshalship being...carried before her. The Lord Chamberlain going on the right hand of the Sword, and the Lord Steward on the left, with the Lord Treasurer, Garter, the Ushers, and the Serjeants at Arms going before them. At length, when the noblemen were set down, the Chancellor on the right hand and the high Treasurer of England on the left hand stood beside the Queen'.*

*'Then at length, the Knights of the Shires and the Burgesses of the Cities being admitted in, brought in their most learned lawyer, John Puckering, who standing at the bar, and having thrice made most low obeisance, said what he might to show himself unfit to undertake so great a burden, requesting most earnestly that they would make choice of another Prolocutor. Unto whom the Queen by the Chancellor made answer that she liked exceeding well of the choice of him already made, and that she ratified the same'.*

*'Which done, the Prolocutor framed himself to another manner of speech, wherein he particularly rehearsed what great benefits were redounded unto the commonweal by the most wise government of her royal Majesty; he declared her singular virtues, her very natural and motherly care over her subjects'...*

*'In the conclusion of his speech he most humbly requested that the ancient rights and privileges of the Lower House of the Burgesses, of freely delivering of their speech and minds, and of being free from arrests, as well themselves as their servants, during the time of the Parliament, might be kept whole and untouched. And if that in anything not well by them understood they should happen to offend, he requested leave as well for himself as for the rest to have access unto her royal Majesty'.*

*'His oration at length ended, the Chancellor, by the Queen commanded and in some points by her instructed, highly commended the Prolocutor's oration, and in the Queen's name granted the leave he had requested'.*

*'The Queen rose and retired herself into her private chamber, put off her Parliament robes, and so attended upon with the nobility came down, and at the west side of the Parliament House mounted into her Chair of State, a very royal one. And from thence with a great train of noblemen and honourable ladies attending her (the Earl of Kent carrying the Sword before her), she by torch-light through the Park returned unto her Palace of St James'. [Milles, 68].*

*To the Speaker's request for freedom of speech Lord Chancellor Bromley had answered 'that her Highness willingly condescended thereunto, only she restrained the cause of religion to be spoken of among them'. [Parl.ii.128].*

Nov 28, Sat, in the Commons: Sir Christopher Hatton, Vice-Chamberlain, made a long speech 'concerning the King of Spain's dishonourable dealing with her Majesty, her Majesty most sincerely seeking amity and peace with him'; he traced events from the beginning of the reign to the recent plots by the Spanish Ambassador. In the afternoon the Commons met to appoint committees to consider 'the preservation of her Majesty's safety', with some of opinion that the best course was 'to take away' the Queen of Scots. [Parl.ii.139-141].

Dec 3: Arthur Throckmorton (at court) noted:  
'I took my chamber for the which I must pay 5 shillings by the week'.<sup>TH</sup>

Dec 6, Sun Tournament: Tilt: married men v bachelors. 10 pairs.

[married men]		[bachelors]
Earl of Cumberland	v	Thomas Radcliffe
Lord Thomas Howard	v	Thomas Knyvett
Lord Willoughby	v	Edward Wynter
Sir Philip Sidney	v	Fulke Greville
Sir Henry Lee	v	Thomas Vavasour
William Knollys	v	Edward Denny
Robert Sidney	v	Henry Brouncker
Anthony Cooke	v	Henry Noel
George Gifford	v	John Tyrell
Robert Knollys	v	Ralph Bowes.

'Six courses'. Married men scored 45, bachelors 48.

'This match was performed...between these ten married men and the other ten bachelors. The match was for a supper of £100 and for a jewel of the same value, which supper was kept at Arundel House where the Queen's Majesty was present'.

*Lupold von Wedel's description:*

'The English being rich, wealthy, very ostentatious and pleasure-loving, four and twenty of them conjointly arranged and held a tournament in honour of their Queen, for which the Tilt-yard and stand were still available. They fixed upon the 6th of December. Twelve noblemen and twelve bachelors who were not yet knights were to compete with one another..They besought the Queen to be present. She was pleased to accept and appeared at the hour fixed. It was a stern fight. Though the splendour displayed was not so great as on the first occasion, the combats were much fiercer and grimmer, seeing that each competitor would fain win the prize. The contest was waged for several hours till nightfall. Then the Queen gave command that the contest cease and thanked the young men'.

[Klarwill, 355]. Tilt-list: College of Arms MS M.4, f.32.

\*Dec 9: supper, Arundel House, Strand; Earl of Arundel.

Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel (1557-1595), son of Thomas Howard 4th Duke of Norfolk (executed 1572); wife: Anne (Dacre) (1557-1630); Catholics.

Simon Bowyer made ready for the Queen at Arundel House, December.<sup>T</sup>

The supper was part of the prize for the Tilt on December 6.

Dec 9: Earl of Leicester gave in reward to 'the Queen's watermen for carrying your Lordship from Arundel House to Leicester House, 10s'.<sup>L</sup>

*The French Ambassador, Mauvissière, wrote to the King [24 April 1585]:*  
Arundel 'has made many feasts and tournaments to give pleasure to the Queen, to which she has always invited me, including that which was made around Christmas, when Chevalier Courtois was here, when she praised the Earl highly to me, and his good nature'. [F.H.Egerton, *Life of Thomas Egerton (1828)*, 204].

Courtez had newly returned to Paris from England by Dec 28. [Murdin, 428].

*Description by Arundel family chaplain, which appears to relate to the supper for the Queen:*

*The Earl of Arundel (who had been received into the Catholic Church on 30 September 1584) determined to leave England for Flanders.*

*He sent his secretary John Mumford to Hull to get passage, but he was summoned before the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President of the North.*

*Mumford 'was compelled to return to London back again, where he found him not yet gone, but making preparation to receive the Queen at Arundel House upon notice given him that she intended ere long to come thither for her recreation. A very great and sumptuous banquet he made her when she came, wherewith at that time she seemed very well contented and gave him many thanks for her entertainment there; but not long after she showed little gratitude for it, sending a command he should not go any whither out of that house, but remain therein as prisoner, giving also commission to the Lord Hunsdon...to examine him about his religion'.* [Arundel, 22].

*The Earl was put under house arrest early in 1585.*

*December 10: News of Ascanio Zuffarino, an envoy from Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, Governor-General for Spain of the Low Countries.*

*Sir Edward Stafford to Sir Francis Walsingham, Dec 8, Paris: Zuffarino is sent 'from the Prince of Parma to her Majesty. He is thought to be a very bad man'.*

*Dec 10, Walsingham to Stafford, of suspicion in France that the Queen seeks 'a secret reconciliation with the King of Spain, whereof the late coming hither of a gentleman with letters from the Prince of Parma doth give the greater suspicion, though her Majesty have hitherto refused to grant him access unto her'. The Queen informed the Prince that she denied Zuffarino audience because William Waad, her special Ambassador to Spain, had been denied audience by King Philip earlier in 1584. Further news of Zuffarino: Dec 28.*

[Murdin, 424; SPF.xix.186,672].

*Dec 13, Southampton, Ségur (King of Navarre's Ambassador), to Sir Francis Walsingham: 'Being arrived in this town, I cannot find a single armed vessel, only passage boats from the islands and some poor little ships. I have been warned...that notice of my going has been given to the pirates, of which there are many near here...That, and the contrary wind, keeps me here'...*

*'I think I ought to be given the means to cross safely to France'...*

*'I pray you therefore to show her Majesty the trouble in which I am'.*

*Dec 15 [Southampton], Ségur to Walsingham: 'The mouth of this harbour is so well guarded by the pirates that yesterday a Jersey passage boat, wishing to put to sea, was attacked and obliged to come back into the river. I could not have chosen a worse place to embark, for most of the pirates of this country are between the Isle of Wight and Poole'. Dec 21: 'M.de Tournoir arrived yesterday evening, and freed me from a great anxiety. I shall follow your advice and go to embark at Plymouth'.* [SPF.xix.188-9,197].

*William Turner gentleman 'and his servants riding in post from the court at St James to the town of Southampton being appointed by her Majesty to attend on Monsieur Ségur Ambassador unto the King of Navarre and likewise riding post from the town of Southampton to Plymouth in the company of the said Ambassador and attending on him there the space of 20 days and returning back again from thence to the court at Greenwich'. £26.13s8d payment, 20 January [1585].<sup>T</sup>*

*Dec 17,Thur, in the Commons: A 'Bill against Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and such like disobedient subjects' had its third reading 'with little or no argument', except from Dr William Parry, M.P. for Queenborough, Kent (who had secretly taken a vow to kill the Queen).*

*Parry 'in very violent terms spoke directly against the whole Bill, affirming it to savour of treasons, to be full of blood, danger, despair and terror or dread to the English subjects of this Realm...But yet he hoped when it should come to her Highness's most merciful hands that it would stay and rest there; until which time (he said) he would reserve his reasons of his negative voice against the Bill, then to be discovered by him only unto her Majesty'.*

*Dr Parry was sequestered into the Serjeant's custody, then was brought in again and kneeling at the Bar was asked to state his reasons for opposing the Bill. On his refusal he was again sequestered, was held to be in contempt of the House, and remained in custody.*

*Dec 18,Fri, in the Commons: Sir Christopher Hatton brought a message from the Queen thanking the House for their care 'in devising and providing of laws' for her preservation. As to Dr Parry's misbehaviour, and his reserving his reasons to be imparted to her only, Parry had revealed them to some of the Council by her appointment, partly to her satisfaction; she thought he could make humble submission to the House and acknowledge his fault. Parry was accordingly brought to the Bar of the Commons, acknowledged his fault upon his knees, his offence was remitted, and he was permitted to be received to the House again.*

*Dec 19,Sat: Sir Christopher Hatton informed the Commons that the Queen 'graciously considering the great pains and careful travail of this House in the service and affairs of the Realm' had determined to adjourn Parliament on December 21 until after Christmas so that Members of Parliament 'may the more conveniently repair home to their houses in the meantime for their better ease and recreation'. Resolved: That the Privy Council should take her their 'humble and dutiful thanks'.*

*Dec 21: Hatton brought the Commons the Queen's 'most hearty and loving thanks' for their thanks, 'redoubling to them their thanks ten thousand thousand fold'.*

*He led the House, everyone kneeling, in a prayer 'for the long continuance of the most prosperous preservation of her Majesty'. [D'Ewes, 340-346].*

*Sir William Fitzwilliam's Journal: Parliament was adjourned to 4 Feb 1585 'by Letters Patent first sent from her Majesty to the Lords of the Upper House and after brought down to the Nether House...This was thought strange, for... was it never seen that so long a vacation as six weeks was had without the presence of the Prince's person'. [Parl.ii.176].*

*Dec 22,Tues Queen of Scots' Secretary at St James's to take leave. Claude Nau was 'very favourably discharged' by the Queen; she wished Mary to be removed to Tutbury; on Dec 29 he returned to Mary. [Scot.vii.499,500,531].*

*Dec 22,Tues GREENWICH PALACE.<sup>c</sup>*

*Dec 22, Earl of Leicester's payments: 'To the Queen's watermen for carrying your Lordship over the water that day her Majesty removed to Greenwich, 10s; for 11 carts to carry your Lordship's stuff from St James to Greenwich, 8s1d'. To a servant 'for his boathire from London to Greenwich and for board wages for 3 meals going before to make ready the lodging, 2s6d; to one that did let your Lordship in at the Friars gate, 12d'. Paid Dec 30: 'To 9 of your Lordship's yeomen for their board wages and boathire being sent before from St James to Greenwich with your Lordship's stuff, 9s'.<sup>L</sup>*

Dec 22: *marriage, St Margaret Lothbury. Henry Neville (1564-1615), son of Sir Henry Neville, of Berkshire, married Anne Killigrew, daughter of Henry Killigrew, of Lothbury, and Katherine (Cooke), who died in childbirth, 1583.*

*Marriage licence Dec 4, from Bishop of London, to marry at St Margaret.*

*Register: Dec 22: Henry Neville, armiger [esquire] and Anne Killigrew. Queen's gift, December 27, for the marriage of 'Sir Henry Neville's son and Mr Henry Killigrew's daughter': a gilt cup with a cover.<sup>NYG</sup>*

*Dec 24: christening. Queen was godmother to 'Lord Talbot's daughter'.<sup>T</sup> Parents: Gilbert Lord Talbot, son of George Talbot 6th Earl of Shrewsbury (and himself later 7th Earl); wife: Mary (Cavendish), the Earl's stepdaughter. Piers Pennant went to London to make ready.<sup>T</sup> \*At Shrewsbury House, Coldharbour. Queen's gift, Dec 24: a gilt cup with a cover.<sup>NYG</sup> Child: 3rd daughter, Alatheia Talbot (1584-1654); married (1606) Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey.*

*Christmas: Piers Pennant, Gentleman Usher, made alterations at Greenwich 'for plays and bear-baitings in the Christmas time'.<sup>T</sup>*

*Works: 'making degrees, partitions and doors in the Great Chamber and Hall, with tables, trestles and forms for the plays there'.*

*Dec 26, Sat play, A pastoral of Phyllida and Corin, by the Queen's Men. Revels provided: 'shepherds' coats; 30 ells of sarcenet for 4 matachin suits; one great curtain; scarves for the nymphs; one mountain'. [Revels, 365]. [matachin suits: suits for sword-dancers].*

*Dec 27, Sun Lupold von Wedel, German traveller, at Greenwich Palace. Von Wedel's description: 'Arrived at the palace, I first went into the chapel which is hung with gold. The pulpit is covered with red gold-embroidered velvet. In one half of the church stands a large high gilded altar and there, divided off from the rest, is a recess entirely of gold cloth out of which the Queen comes when she is about to receive the Sacrament. Then I went into a large room before the Queen's chamber hung with tapestry wrought in silver and gold. Here I waited until she went to church. As at Hampton Court...she was accompanied to church by her gentlemen and ladies-in-waiting, who however on this occasion, it being Christmastide, were more gorgeously dressed. But the Queen, being in mourning for the Duc d'Alençon and the Prince of Orange, was dressed in black velvet sumptuously embroidered with silver and pearls. Over her robe she had a silver shawl that was full of meshes and diaphanous like a piece of gossamer tissue. But this shawl gleamed as though it were bespangled with tinsel' and 'hung down over her robe as low as the hem of her skirt'.*

*'While she was at church a long table was made ready in the room previously described, under the canopy of cloth of gold. On her return from church there were served at this table forty large and silver dishes...with various meats. She alone took her seat at the table. At no other time throughout the whole year does the Queen dine in public, and it is only on feast days that a stranger can see her at meals. After the Queen had sat down, a table was set up at the end of the room near the door, and at this table five countesses took their seats. A young gentleman habited in black carved the meats for the Queen, and a gentleman of about the same age arrayed in green served her beverages. This gentleman had to remain kneeling as long as she was drinking; when she had finished he rose and removed the goblet'.*

*Those standing by the Queen's table included Lord Howard; the Earl of Leicester, 'said to have had a love-affair with the Queen for a long time'; Lord Burghley; the Earl of Hertford, 'who they say of all Englishmen has the most right to the throne. He it is who got one of the Queen's ladies with child and married another much against the Queen's will. Therefore he fell into disgrace, but is now again restored to favour'; Sir Christopher Hatton, Captain of the Guard, 'said to have been her lover after Leicester'.*

'All of them had white staffs in their hands and were handsome old gentlemen. If she summoned one of them, as often happened - for as a rule she speaks continuously - he had to kneel until she commanded him to rise. Then they made her a low bow and retired'.

'When they came to the centre of the room they again bowed, stepped down from the dais and had the next course served up. They walked before the bearers of the viands, who were knights and nobles. Of the dishes there were now only twenty-four. In the room they had to bow three times with the food. They had previously done the same with the serviettes and all the table-ware, although the Queen was not yet present in the room. Four gentlemen with the sceptres that are carried before the Queen also walked before the dish bearers'.

'On either side of the room, but not near the table, there stood as long as the meal lasted knights, squires and ladies, near those who were in charge of the magnificent drinking vessels. Her musicians were also in the apartment and discoursed excellent music'.

'When the first dishes had been removed and others placed upon the table she did not continue dining much longer, but soon rose from table. Just before she did so the five aforesaid countesses rose from their table and having twice made a deep curtsy to the Queen passed over to the other side'.

'Then the Queen rose and turned her back upon the table, whereupon two bishops stepped forward and said grace. After them came three earls...[one being the Earl of Arundel]. These three then took a large basin, which was covered like a meat-dish and of gilt silver, and two of the old gentlemen held the towel. The five of them then advanced to the Queen and knelt down before her. They then raised the lid from the basin, which was held by two of them. A third poured water over the Queen's hands, who before washing her hands drew off a ring', handing it to Lord Howard. 'After washing her hands she again drew on the ring'.

'She then took an Earl's son by his cloak and retired with him to a bow-window. He knelt down before her and had a long talk. When he had gone she seated herself on the floor on a cushion, summoned a young gentleman, who likewise knelt before her and conversed. On his leaving she called a countess who, like the gentleman, knelt before her'.

'Then a dance was begun. Men and women linked hands...The men donned their hats or bonnets, although otherwise no one, however exalted his rank, may put on his hat in the Queen's chamber, whether she be present or not. The dancers danced behind one another...and all the dancers, ladies and gentlemen, wore gloves...They made a few steps forward and then back again. Finally they separated. The couples changed among one another, but at the right moment each dancer returned to his or her partner'.

'While dancing they very often curtsied to one another and every time the men bowed before their lady partners they doffed their hats. Slender and beautiful were the women who took part in this dance and magnificently robed. This dance was danced only by the most eminent who were no longer very young. But when it was over the young men laid aside their rapiers and cloaks, and clad in doublet and hose invited the ladies to dance'.

'They danced the galliard and the Queen meanwhile conversed with those who had danced...As long as the dancing lasted she summoned young and old and spoke continuously. All of them...knelt before her. She chatted and jested most amiably with them, and pointing with her finger at the face of one Master or Captain Rall [Raleigh], told him that there was smut on it. She also offered to wipe it off with her handkerchief, but he anticipating her removed it himself. They say that she now loves him beyond all others, and this one may easily credit, for but a year ago he could scarcely keep one servant, whereas now owing to her bounty he can afford to keep five hundred'...

'The dancing over, the Queen waved her hand to those present and retired to her chamber. I also left then, embarked in my little boat and returned to London'.

[Klarwill, 335-339].

Also Dec 27: play, *The history of Agamemnon and Ulysses*, by the Children of the Chapel Royal (also called Earl of Oxford's Boys). [Revels, 365].

Dec 28, Mon bear-baiting, at Greenwich.<sup>T</sup>

Also Dec 28: Queen's gift to Lord Gray, 'Ambassador sent from the King of Scots, in gilt plate'.<sup>NYG</sup> The Master of Gray left in January 1585.

Dec 28: Further news of the Prince of Parma's envoy, Zuffarino.

Dec 28 [Paris], Sir Edward Stafford to Sir Francis Walsingham: Mayin d'Abbene, having just come from the Queen Mother 'told me of Zuffarino's being in England ...what a notable knave he was...that it were a charitable deed to take him, if possible, at his return...there should be order taken that at his coming home he should be snatched up'. PS: 'D'Abbene was with me again this morning, who desireth that if Zuffarino should be gone before this arrive...that he may be drawn again into England...that at his coming back he may be caught. He hath confessed it to be the Queen Mother's seeking and great desire'. [Murdin, 428-9].

Mendoza reported from Paris, late January, that Zuffarino left London without having spoken to the Queen, and had returned to France. [Span.iii.531].

\*December: Plate received in the Jewel-house from the Queen's Goldsmiths:

'Plate new made by Alderman Martin, and received into the Office by her Highness's special commandment, for the use of her Majesty's Privy Chamber: one lair of silver-gilt, well wrought...fair chased with a great leopard's head coming out of the body on the one side and a horned head on the other side'. New made by Hugh Keal 'for the use aforesaid': 'one perfume-pan of silver parcel-gilt and graven, with a long handle'. [Jewels, 1549-1550].

1584: Purveyance for the royal household, Mendlesham, Suffolk.

Mendlesham churchwarden's account: 'Laid out for 3 firkins of butter more than the Queen's Majesty's price, 15s; laid out when the Purveyor came down for capons, 8d; laid out more than I received, when I went to Bury, to carry up wax for the Queen, 8d; laid out for carrying of the Queen's butter to Ipswich, 17d'.

\*1584: Queen's draft Letters Patent for George Gower (Serjeant Painter from 1581-1596). Referring also to Nicholas Hilliard (c.1547-1619), who is celebrated for his miniature portraits.

Granting to 'our well beloved subject George Gower, our Serjeant Painter... full, sole, and lawful privilege, licence, power, and authority, that he... by himself, his deputy and deputies...only (and none other) shall and may from henceforth...make or cause to be made all and all manner of portraits and pictures of our person, physiognomy, and proportion of our body, in oil colours upon boards or canvas, or to grave the same in copper, or to cut the same in wood, or to print the same being cut in copper or wood, or otherwise; and the same portraits, pictures, and proportions so being graven or cut, to print or cause to be printed'...

'We do forbid, enjoin, and straitly prohibit all and every other person and persons whatsoever, Englishmen or strangers, denizens or not denizens, any wise to intermeddle with the making, painting, printing, cutting, or graving of any portrait, picture, or proportion of our body and person, or any part thereof... other than the said George Gower'. On pain of £10 fine, half to the Queen's use, the other half to Gower.

'Excepting only one Nicholas Hilliard, to whom it shall or may be lawful to exercise and make portraits, pictures, or proportions of our body and person in small compass in limning only, and not otherwise'.

George Gower and his deputies are authorised 'to enter any ship or ships, vessel or vessels, warehouses, workhouses, shops, chambers, cellars...fairs, markets, marts, or any other place...within this our Realm of England, as well upon the water as upon the land...there to view, search and seek for all manner of portraits, pictures and proportions of our body and person, or any part thereof, made or to be made, painted, cut, graven, or printed, contrary to the tenor and true meaning of these our present letters'...

'And the same so found to deface, take, carry away, keep, and convert to the use of us and of the said George Gower or his assigns'.

'Straitly charging and commanding all and every our Justices, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables, Headboroughs, Customers, Controllers, Searchers, and all other our officers, ministers, and subjects whatsoever, to aid, strengthen, and assist...George Gower, his deputy and deputies...as you and every of you do tender our favour, and will answer to the contrary'. [Nov 1583-Nov 1584].

[Notes and Queries, series 1, vi.238].

1584: Giordano Bruno published La Cena de le Ceneri.

[The Ash Wednesday Supper]. Five Dialogues, supporting Copernicus.

Dedicated to and with a Preface to the French Ambassador, Mauvissière, with whom Bruno stayed in London, 1583-1585. The Dialogues purport to take place at Fulke Greville's house, near the river and Whitehall, on Ash Wednesday (March 4).

The Second Dialogue praises the Queen as 'that earthly divinity', serving as a beacon to the whole globe. 'In judgement, wisdom, counsel and rule, she is second to no one who holds the sceptre on earth; 'this great Amphitrite' (Goddess of the Ocean).

Bruno goes on to praise the Queen's Council, singling out Burghley, Leicester, and Walsingham, who 'sit near the sun of the royal splendour'; with further praise of 'the most illustrious' Sir Philip Sidney. (London, 1584).

Presented to the Queen in 1584 or 1585.

When questioned by the Inquisition Bruno gave the date of the Dialogues as 14 February 1584, at Mauvissière's house. [The Ash Wednesday Supper, edited and translated by F.A.Gosselin and L.S.Lerner (Hamden, Connecticut, 1971)].

1584: By A.M. 'A Watchword to England. To beware of traitors and treacherous practices, which have been the overthrow of many famous Kingdoms and common-weals. Written by a faithful affected friend to his Country: who desireth God long to bless us from Traitors, and their secret conspiracies'.

Dedicated 'To the most high, mighty, and right excellent' Queen, to whom 'A.M. her Majesty's most humble Subject and Servant wisheth continual felicity in this world, and in the world to come'. 'The consideration of your rare and incomparable Virtues' and 'the care how to continue and enjoy them long' has constrained him to offer this to her.

With a six page address to the Lord Mayor of London, Thomas Pullison, the two Sheriffs, 'and their worshipful Brethren', 'on the care of the Prince's safety'.

A historical narrative describing treasons and traitors and their fates, from the time of King Richard I to the conspiracies of 1569-1584.

The longest section (taken from Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs') is 'The miraculous preservation of Lady Elizabeth...in the time of Queen Mary, her sister'.

Probable author: Anthony Munday (1560-1633), playwright, translator, author of anti-Catholic tracts; also a Messenger of the Queen's Chamber.

John Stockwood dedicated to the Queen his translation:

A Right Godly and Learned Discourse upon the Book of Esther.

Discourse by Johann Brenz (1499-1570). 169p. (London, 1584).

