

At **WHITEHALL PALACE.**

Jan 1, Fri New Year gifts.

New Year Gift roll is not extant, but the Earl and Countess of Rutland each gave the Queen £10 in gold; and also gave gilt bowls and covers to the Lord Keeper, Lord Treasurer, 'two chief judges', and Mrs Radcliffe.^{RT(4)}
[Mary Radcliffe, Gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber, Keeper of the Jewels].

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

Works: 'framing and setting up a broad stage in the middle of the Hall; setting up a room...in the round window in the Hall for musicians'.

Jan 3, Sun sermon, Whitehall: Dr Tobias Matthew, Bishop of Durham.

Text: 2 Corinthians 5: on being made new creatures in Christ.

Also Jan 3: play, by Earl of Worcester's Men.^T

Court news. Jan 5, London, Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, of 'good tidings' of the victory at Kinsale, though the town is not yet 'yielded up'...

'The French Ambassador on his way hither is fallen sick at Canterbury'...

'My Lord of Northumberland is reconciled with his Lady, for which he was awhile in disgrace in higher place, but on Sunday began the sunshine again'.

'Sir Edward Norris has been lately used with great favour by her Majesty'...

'Sir H.[Henry] Danvers, who brought the Queen the Irish news for a New Year's gift, is not yet admitted to her presence'. [SP12/283/6].

Sir Henry's brother, Sir Charles Danvers, was executed for high treason in March 1601; Sir Edward Norris was formerly Governor of Ostend.

Jan 6, Wed play, by the Children of the Chapel Royal.^T

Richard Coningsby, Gentleman Usher, 'making ready the Hall at Whitehall for her Majesty against Twelfth tide'.^T Works: 'making ready again the Great Chamber for plays and dancing against Twelfth tide'.

January 9: New French Ambassador arrived in London.

Christophe de Harlay, Count de Beaumont (Ambassador 1601-1605; died 1616), arrived after a long delay caused by bad weather and his sickness. The out-going Ambassador, Thumery de Boissise, remained until May for negotiations on trade.

Transcripts of Beaumont's dispatches are in BL King's 121,122; also in the Baschet Transcripts: PRO 31/3/33-35 (at TNA). Given in English versions, as ^{BT}.

Jan 10, Sun play, by the Children of the Chapel Royal.^T

Jan 11, Mon Queen sent three gentlemen to welcome Count Beaumont.^{BT}

January 16: Traitorous words by an Irish Papist, now in England.

[Jan 16], Rouen, William Willaston to Sir Robert Cecil: Patrick Dones has been five years here, where he has turned an obstinate Papist, being maintained by seminaries and Irish rebels. He has often called the Queen Jezebel, and said he hoped to see her dragged at a horse's tail. He would never speak in presence of more than one, and the law requires two witnesses. I wrote to inform when he went into England, and he is now apprehended. I think him the most pestilent traitor in her Majesty's dominions. [SP12 283/14].

Jan 17, Sun New French Ambassador at Whitehall for first audience. Richard Coningsby 'making ready the old Privy Chamber on the Queen's side at Whitehall and hanging up of a State against the coming of the French Ambassador'.^T Count Beaumont and the former Ambassador, Boissise, were escorted to court by Sir Edward Stafford with ten or twelve gentlemen, for audience on a Sunday, when the court would be more full. They had a long discussion on French and Spanish affairs, during which the Queen complained to them 'of her left arm which had felt bad for four or five days'.^{BT}

Jan 19, Cork, Sir George Carew to the Queen: 'Sacred Majesty...It hath pleased the omnipotent director of all things to bless you with a happy victory over the malicious traitors and foreign enemies which endeavoured with all their forces to draw from your imperial crown this realm of Ireland'. I beg 'give me leave for a few months to behold that Majesty which is envied but not equalled by any earthly Prince'. 'Your sacred Majesty's vassal and creature'. [Carew, iv.208]. Carew, President of Munster, had already sent Richard Boyle to court.

Jan 19, Tues 'News was brought to the court of yielding up of Kinsale and the rest of the forts which the Spaniards had possessed in Ireland'.^{MK} The news was brought by Richard Boyle (1566-1643), Clerk to the Munster Council, who recalled: 'I made speedy expedition to the court: for I left my Lord President at Shandon Castle near Cork on the Monday morning about two o'clock, and the next day being Tuesday I delivered my packet and supped with Sir Robert Cecil at his house in the Strand'.

Jan 20, Wed Queen received news of victory in Ireland. Richard Boyle recalled that Sir Robert Cecil kept him in discourse until 2 a.m., then awoke him at 7 a.m. to attend him to court.

'He presented me to her Majesty in her bedchamber, who remembered me, calling me by my name, and giving me her hand to kiss, telling me she was glad I was the happy man to bring first news of the glorious victory. And after her Majesty had interrogated me upon sundry questions very punctually, and that thereon I had given her full satisfaction in every particular, she gave me again her hand to kiss and commanded my despatch for Ireland, and so dismissed me with grace and favour'. [Dorothea Townshend, *The Life and Letters of the Great Earl of Cork* (1904), 27-28]. Richard Boyle was created (1620) Earl of Cork.

Jan 20, court, Sir Robert Cecil to Ralph Winwood, in France, of celebration fires: 'This night hath been spent in *Feux de Joies*'. [Winwood, i.377].

Celebration bell-ringing, e.g.

St Botolph Bishopsgate: 'For ringing on the sudden news out of Ireland, 1s5d'.

St Dunstan in the West: 'To the ringers when the news came of the yielding of Kinsale in Ireland, 12d'.

Salisbury, St Edmund: 'Ringers for ringing for the Triumph in Ireland, 12d'.

[Jan 26] Beaumont, new French Ambassador, to King Henri IV, of the Spanish commander who surrendered Kinsale to Lord Mountjoy:

'They tell here a story of Don Juan d'Aquila, which as it is quite amusing I thought deserved to be written to your Majesty. Speaking to General Mountjoy, after complaining for a long time of the cowardice of the Earl of Tyrone, and of how he detested the country of Ireland, he said to him that he believed for a certainty that when the Devil led Our Lord to the summit of the temple and showed him, to tempt him, all the kingdoms of the world, he hid Ireland from him, reserving it for his own abode'.^{BT}

Richard Vennard celebrated Lord Mountjoy's victories in Ireland in a poem entitled England's Joy. This is preceded by an acrostic on 'Elizabeth Regina', including: 'England's bliss, and blessed Queen...

*Angels in your love attend you,
Blessed Jesus ever bless you,
Ever so his hand defend you'.*

'England's Joy' begins:

*'Rejoice, O England, sing, and clap thy hands...
The Irish rebel and the Spaniards' pride
Before thy face do fall on every side.
The noble Lord, Mount Joy that champion true...
Hath put to flight that coward rebel crew
Of proud Tyrone, and made the Spaniards fly.
Don John de Aquila with all his train
With little comfort are returned to Spain!'*

At the end are 3 stanzas 'For all honourable, virtuous, and noble spirited Lords, Ladies, and all other her Majesty's faithful Subjects whatsoever'.

*'All faithful Subjects of this blessed land,
That serve the only Angel of a Queen'.*

All are exhorted to pray for the Queen. Signed 'R.V'. 9p. [1602].

Jan 26: Roger Wilbraham, a Master of Requests, noted:

'Her Majesty commanded me to deliver this message to the Lord Mayor: first she marvelled he did not proceed with the erection of a hospital for relief of poor at £300 per annum...secondly, requiring him to cause restraint of the vagrant rogues about London, and to return his private answer'. The Lord Mayor, John Garrard, answered next day, with his explanation. [Wilbraham, 47].

Jan 30: The two French Ambassadors began to confer on trade with Commissioners appointed by the Queen; there were 3 months of negotiations.

Feb 2, Tues Beaumont, new Ambassador, was at court for the Candlemas festivities, with a young visitor, Thimoléon d'Espinay, Sieur de St Luc.^{BT}

Feb 3, Queen to King James: 'You must bear with few lines, driven thereto by an evil accident of my arm'. [Camden Soc. 46, (1849), 142].

The letter was taken to Scotland by Roger Aston and David Foulis, with a gratuity of £3000 for the King as the second part of his 1601 gratuity.

Court news. Feb 12, Father Rivers: 'Sir Thomas Parry, a knight of Berkshire...by special command is preparing with all speed to go to reside our lieger ambassador in France; in the mean Mr Winwood, Sir Henry Neville's Secretary, as our Agent supplieth the place'. [Jesuits, i.9].

Sir Thomas Parry's pay as resident Ambassador to France, succeeding the imprisoned Neville, began in January, but he delayed leaving until August.

Feb 13: death. Dr Alexander Nowell (c.1516-1602), Dean of St Paul's 1560-1602. Funeral: St Paul's Cathedral. New Dean: May 29: John Overall.

By Feb 14: Richard Coningsby, Gentleman Usher, made ready: 'the Gallery at Whitehall...against the bear-baiting at Shrovetide' and 'the Great Chamber... for the plays at Shrovetide'.^T Works made ready 'the Hall and Great Chamber... for the plays at Shrovetide' and made 'partitions to enclose two rooms for the Queen and an Ambassador in the Gallery...against the bear-baiting'.

Feb 14, Shrove Sunday bear-baiting, Whitehall. play, by the Children of the Chapel Royal; play, by Lord Chamberlain's Men.^T

Feb 15, Shrove Monday Beaumont and the Sieur de St Luc were at court, invited by the Queen to share in the court's Carnival pleasures.^{BT}

Feb 16: *Revels at Whitehall, presented by the Middle Temple. Preparations:*
 Lord Chief Justice Popham to Sir Robert Cecil, Feb 8, Serjeants' Inn: 'I have so dealt with some of the Benchers of the Middle Temple as I have brought that the House will be willing to bear 200 marks towards the charge of what is wished to be done, to her Majesty's good liking, and if the young gentlemen will be drawn in to perform what is of their part, I hope it will be effected'.

John Davies (of the Middle Temple), to Cecil, [February 1602]: 'About six o'clock this evening my Lord of Cumberland signified your Honour's pleasure to me that I should instantly conceive a speech for introduction of the Barriers. I have done it with a running pen...For the substance of the matter, I mean the dancing and striking of the Barriers, I make no doubt but we shall show ourselves honest men and not shame ourselves'. Endorsed '1601'.

Richard Coningsby made ready 'the Hall at Whitehall against the Revelling at Shrovetide'.^T [HT.xii.47; xi.544].

Feb 16, Shrove Tues masques, dancing, fighting at Barriers, by the Middle Temple. Count Beaumont and the Sieur de St Luc were again invited to court.

For French lords who took supper at Whitehall the Cofferer paid £33.1d.^C
 Father Rivers, March 3: 'On Shrove Tuesday at night the Inns of Court came to Whitehall, and presented her Majesty with masqueing, dancing, and fighting at barriers, but had not the nimbleness of their legs pleased better than the strength of their arms all had been marred'. [Jesuits, i.21].

Feb 17, Ash Wed sermon, Whitehall: Dr Lancelot Andrewes, Dean of Westminster. Text: Jeremiah 8:4-7: 'Thus saith the Lord: Shall they fall and not arise? shall he turn away and not turn again? Wherefore is this people of Jerusalem turned back by a perpetual rebellion? they gave themselves to deceit, and would not return. I hearkened and heard, but none spake aright: no man repented him of his wickedness, saying, What have I done? Everyone turned to their race, as the horse rusheth into battle. Even the stork in the air knoweth her appointed times; and the turtle and the crane and the swallow observe the time of their coming; but My people knoweth not the judgement of the Lord'.

Dr Andrewes considered Mankind's refusal to repent. [Printed, 1629].

Feb 19, Fri **PUTNEY**, Surrey; Mr [John] Lacy.^C

Works: 'Putney Mr Lacy's house, being made ready for her Majesty to lie there the removing day when her Highness went from Whitehall to Richmond, making ready for the Robes with provisions of ironworks', 34s2d.

Feb 20, Sat **RICHMOND PALACE**, Surrey.^C

Two Royal watermen brought up the Lord Chamberlain's barge [Lord Hunsdon's barge] from London to Richmond and attended there with it for 54 days, at 2s per day each; they also hired a barge for 20s, and took it back again.^T

Feb 23, Tues, Richmond. Court Proclamation: Vagabonds and others to leave court. 'The Queen's most excellent Majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth performance of all these orders hereunder specified upon pain of imprisonment in the Marshalsea, and further punishment at her Highness's will and pleasure'.

'That all Vagabonds, masterless men, boys, and other idle persons which have used to haunt and follow the court shall depart from thence within 24 hours next and immediately after the publishing of this Proclamation'.

'That no Artificer, Launder or Laundress, other than such as be or shall be specially licensed to follow the court, shall continue about the same any longer than the time before limited. That no Artificers nor any other persons of the inferior sort which are allowed to follow the court shall keep their wives or children about the same, but shall with all expedition remove them away according as is above expressed'.

'That no person or persons whatsoever except noblemen or such as be of her Highness's most honourable Privy Council shall keep any greyhounds, hounds, spaniels or other dogs in or about the court, nor no servant to any honourable personage shall presume to carry out their lord's or master's dogs to hunt or course but in the presence of their lords and masters, or by their special commandments, upon pain of the punishments aforesaid'.

'For the better performance of all and every the said articles her Majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth her Knight Marshal and all such officers and ministers as be attendant about the court under him to see her Highness's commandments herein observed, obeyed and kept as they will avoid her Majesty's grievous displeasure. And will answer the contrary at their uttermost perils'.

[TNA LS.13/168/46].

[Feb 23, France], M.de Villeroy to Count Beaumont, of the impending arrival in England of the Duke of Nevers: 'He talks of going to Scotland by way of England...He will bring with him many courtiers, whom he will defray...Prepare to receive him, and order a lodging for him'.^{BT}

The Duke arrived in London on April 2.

Feb 26, Fri sermon, Richmond: Dr William Barlow, a royal Chaplain.
Text: Luke 17:37: 'He said unto them, Wheresoever the Body is, thither will the Eagles be gathered together'. Printed, 1610, as '*The Eagle and the Body*'; described in one sermon preached before Queen Elizabeth of precious memory'.

Feb 26: death. Robert 6th Lord Burgh (1594-1602), a ward of the Queen, who by her direction was living in the Bishop of Winchester's household, died at the Bishop's palace at Bishop's Waltham, Hants. Funeral: March 19, Winchester Cathedral. The co-heirs were his four sisters; the title fell into abeyance.

Court news. March 3, Father Rivers: 'The court hath been at Richmond these twelve days, but the Queen in many humours to have removed to Greenwich, by reason of an ache in one of her arms, expecting more ease by change of air. A cunning bone-setter or surgeon had lately a sight thereof; he said it was a wind with a cold rheumatic humour settled there, and to be removed by rubbing and applying of wet oils and ointments. Her Majesty told him he was mistaken, for that her blood and constitution was of its nature very hot. He replied that neither flesh nor blood in that part made any show thereof, but much more the contrary, whereat she was exceedingly displeased, commanding him from her presence, she being most impatient to hear of any decay in herself, and thereupon will admit no help of physic or surgery, fretting and storming when she feeleth any little pain and sometimes retiring herself from all access for three or four hours together...All the nobility seem weary of her passionate humours and withdraw themselves from the court by all devices possible'. [*Jesuits*, i.21].

[March 4], Beaumont to Henri IV: 'The Queen gave St Luc the opportunity to see her many times, when she was pleased to converse with him familiarly... She is a good and courageous Princess'.^{BT} Taken to France by St Luc.

Mar 5, Fri sermon, Richmond: John King, Vicar of St Andrew's, Holborn. King was Bishop of London, 1611-1621. King James praised him as 'the King of preachers'.

Court news. March 10, Father Rivers: 'The Queen is still troubled with the ache in her arm, and is thereby much out of tune'. [*Jesuits*, i.22].

March 14-c.July 3: Stephen Lesieur was special Ambassador to Denmark.

Court news. March 17, Father Rivers: 'The arrival of the Duke of Nevers is daily expected. The Earl of Northumberland is appointed to meet, receive and conduct him. Many of the most rich hangings are fetched out of the Tower to adorn the court, and great preparation made for his honourable entertainment. The general opinion is that he cometh of curiosity to see the court and country, but in special I hear he desireth secretly a sight of the Lady Arabella'...

'The ache of the Queen's arm is fallen into her side, but she is still, thanks to God, frolic and merry, only her face showeth some decay, which to conceal when she cometh in public she putteth many fine cloths into her mouth to bear out her cheeks, and sometimes as she is walking she will put off her petticoat, as seeming too hot when others shake with cold'.

Secretary Cecil is 'a courtier in as good grace and with as absolute command as ever any subject'...

'Dr King preached lately at court, and was very bitter against Jesuits and all priests. The Queen gave him great thanks, wishing all the Kings of Europe of his mind'. [*Jesuits*, i.21-22,24-25]. Arabella: Arbella Stuart (1575-1615).

Mar 19, Fri sermon, Richmond: Dr Richard Edes, Dean of Worcester. John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, May 17, of Edes: 'He was very well liked in court for his sermon this Lent which they say was all needlework'.^{CHA}

March 24: death. Thomas West, 2nd Lord De La Warr (c.1556-1602). His son Sir Thomas West (1577-1618) became 3rd Lord De La Warr; he was later first Governor of Virginia; he is commemorated by the State of Delaware.

Court news. [March 29], Beaumont to Henri IV: The Queen 'is in good health, but is taking less exercise this year than she is accustomed to, because of the trouble with her arm which is hindering her from mounting on horseback'.^{BT}

March 29, Blackfriars, Lord Cobham to Cecil: 'The Duke of Nevers tomorrow doth mean to cross from Calais for Dover. His harbinger is already arrived to provide horses for him and his train, which I have given order for...His coming will be in post, and in a day and a half he will be in Gravesend'. [*HT*.xi.148].

Apr 1, Maundy Thursday ceremonies and alms-giving, at Westminster Abbey.

By Anthony Watson, Bishop of Chichester, Queen's Almoner; to 61 poor women, each 20s in a red purse and 68d in a white purse.^T Works made 'tables, forms and trestles for the Maundy being kept in the Minster Church at Westminster'.

April 1: Theft from Sir Walter Raleigh's house, St Martin in the Fields parish. Two London yeomen, Thomas Nicolls and John Moore, tailor, at night broke in and stole 2 linen pillowberes [pillow-cases] fitted with silk and gold (worth £10); a linen cushion cloth adorned with silk and gold (£5); and a tablecloth (40s).

Nicolls confessed that they also stole on January 20 from Sir John Stanhope's house in the same parish 5 cushions (£3), a carpet (20s), a woollen cloth (10s); and on February 1 from Lord Burghley's house in the Strand a red velvet coverlet (£20), 4 damask curtains (£5), a damask carpet (£10). [*Jeaffreson*, i.279-280].

Apr 2, Good Friday sermon, Richmond: Dr Henry Parry, a royal Chaplain.

Text: Mark 15:34. John Manningham, April 16: 'Her Majesty merrily told Dr Parry that she would not hear him on Good Friday: "Thou wilt speak against me, I am sure", quoth she. Yet she heard him'. April 21: 'He showed me the sermon he made at court last Good Friday; his text was "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?". It was right eloquent and full of sound doctrine, grave exhortations, and heavenly meditations'. [*Diary*, 87-88].

John Harington: 'I have often heard him before Queen Elizabeth, and it was not possible to deliver sounder matter, nor with better method; for which cause he was greatly respected and revered at the court'. [*Nugae Antiquae*, ii.205].

April 2: Duke of Nevers arrived in London from France.
Charles de Gonzague-Clèves, Duke of Nevers (1580-1637) nephew of King Henri IV.
The Duke arrived at Dover on April 1, and at London on April 2.

Court news. April 3, Blackfriars, Lord Cobham to Sir Robert Cecil:
 'The Duke I brought up yesterday [from Gravesend]; at the Tower Wharf both the [French] ambassadors met him. I left him at Barbican; there I received a message from Mr Vice-Chamberlain that within a day or two he should have a house provided for him. It gave him great contentment'.
 'The Queen, I presume, will like his manner well, which is more after the Italian than French. His company is not great, and those of account not above seven, the Marquis of Coeuvres and Count Chaumont being the principal... He seems desirous to stay St George's Feast'. [HT.xii.94].

[April 4], London, Beaumont to Henri IV: The Queen had the Duke of Nevers 'brought here in one of her barges. Yesterday she sent to visit him and to assure him that he is welcome in her Kingdom, in witness of which next Tuesday she will see him at court, where she has assembled from all parts a great number of lords and ladies to make it finer and more ornamental'.

'He is no longer talking of going to Scotland but to Holland, and does not plan to stay in this Kingdom more than 12 or 15 days'.^{BT}

Apr 6, Tues Duke of Nevers at Richmond for first audience.

Robert Pemberton, Gentleman Usher, 'for alterations and new hanging of the Presence, Great Chamber, Lobby and the Hall at Richmond against Easter and for the French Duke's coming'.^T

April 6, Sir Robert Cecil to George Nicholson: 'Nevers comes only with a purpose of visitation and compliment, to whom the Queen has given very princely entertainment'. [Scot.xiii.966].

Court news. April 7, Father Rivers: 'It was thought the Queen would presently have removed [to Greenwich]; now this French Duke's coming maketh it doubtful. On Richmond Green she walketh often with greater show of ability than can well stand with her years. Mr Secretary sways all of import, albeit of late much absent from the court about London, but not omitting in his absence to present her Majesty with some revel or toy that may be acceptable'. [Jesuits, i.27].

April 8, Lord Burghley to Lady Guildford (a Lady of the Privy Chamber), of a proposed visit by the Queen to Wimbledon: I am sorry that 'our mishap so fell out as should give occasion to her Majesty to turn her face from hence, where we have so often received comfort of her coming. I pray you know whether her Majesty will come hither tomorrow or on Saturday, and if she please to have the Ambassador and the Duke of Nevers to meet her here tomorrow or upon Saturday at dinner. If it may be, I had rather have her Majesty to come upon Saturday'. [HT.xii.99-100].

Apr 10, Sat proposed dinner, Wimbledon, Surrey; Lord Burghley.^T
 Wimbledon manor-house; owned by Thomas Cecil, 2nd Lord Burghley; half-brother of Sir Robert Cecil. A visit previously postponed for some 'mishap'. The Queen now planned to dine and hunt with the Duke of Nevers and the French Ambassador.

April 10, Sir John Stanhope (Vice-Chamberlain) to Sir Robert Cecil (Principal Secretary): 'My Lord Admiral brings word that the Queen will by no means go abroad to meet any foreign princes without her Principal Secretary were here to attend her, and therefore she will stay this day, and prays you not to stir abroad till night, and then she looks for your company'. [HT.xii.102].

April 10, Paris, Ralph Winwood to Sir Robert Cecil, of Duke of Wurttemberg, who was elected to the Order of the Garter in April 1597: 'The Ambassador of Wurttemberg let fall...that his master could not but marvel, that after so many years of his choice into the Order, the Garter was not sent unto him; and that he often had wished he never had been chosen, not to be invested in the Order'. [Winwood, i.403]. The Duke, who as Count Mompelgart came to England in 1592, was invested in November 1603 and installed in April 1604.

Apr 11, Sun Duke of Nevers at Richmond for dinner and dancing. Robert Pemberton, Gentleman Usher, 'for new hanging of the Lobby at the Great Chamber door and other alterations against the French Duke's second coming to the court at Richmond'. Robert Cranmer and Nicholas Hottoste, Jewel-house Officers, went from Richmond 'to the Tower of London to fetch plate from thence for feasting of the French Duke de Nevers'.^T

[April 11], Beaumont to Henri IV: 'On Tuesday I escorted M.de Nevers to Richmond, where after being met by the Earl of Sussex and many other lords he saluted the Queen, who received him with much honour...Yesterday, in order to see him more privately whilst hunting, the Queen had invited us to dine at Lord Burghley's house, where she would be, but the weather was so rough and unpleasant that she sent to make her excuses, and put it back to another day. Today she has entertained us at Richmond, and after dinner held a ball, where she danced a galliard with the Duke with a spirit admirable at her age, not having done this honour to any foreign prince since M.d'Alençon [in 1582]'. 'Because the Duke desired to see the royal houses the Queen ordered that he should be entertained by her officers'.^{BT}

Beaumont accompanied the Duke to 'places of pleasure'. John Gosnold, Gentleman Usher, and his men went 'from the court at Richmond to Hampton Court there to attend the Duke of Nevers and his train'.^T On April 13 the Duke dined at Hampton Court. For his dinners on April 11 and April 13 the Cofferer paid a total of £179.8s2d.^C April-May: There was work on the Hampton Court Maze, and on making and setting up tables 'against the Ambassador coming hither'.^W

c. April 15, Thur Duke of Nevers at Richmond to take leave. Robert Pemberton 'for hanging and making ready the Coffer Chamber etc. against the French Duke's third coming to the court at Richmond to take his leave'.^T

April 16, Blackfriars, Lord Cobham to Sir John Stanhope: 'I received a message from you this morning touching my going down with the Duke [to Gravesend by river]. I have been in physic these nine days, and have been this morning in the hot-house. I give you notice that some other may be appointed'. [HT.xii.111].

Apr 17, Sat dinner, Lambeth Palace, Surrey; Archbishop of Canterbury. John Whitgift. 'When her Highness did remove from Richmond to Greenwich'.^T

Apr 17, Sat **GREENWICH PALACE**, Kent.^C

Also April 17: William Edwin waterman 'for service done for her Majesty by himself and others the 17th day of April 1602 in carrying the Duke of Nevers late Ambassador here and his attendants from London to Lambeth and from thence to Greenwich and from thence to Gravesend', 68s.^T

[April 17], Beaumont to M.de Villeroy: 'The Queen is very satisfied with the Duke's visit, and all her court with those in his train, whose modest behaviour will have served to regain the honour and credit in England which those who came with Biron lost through their insolence [in September 1601]'.^{BT}

The Duke embarked at Dover for Holland.

[April 18], Paris, Etienne Pasquier, one of King Henri IV's Councillors, to Sir Robert Cecil: 'I have written a book against the Jesuits, which I send her Majesty and pray you to present to her on my behalf'. [HT.xii.113].

Etienne Pasquier (1529-1615), an eminent lawyer and author, who had visited the English court in September-October 1567, wrote:

Le Catechisme des Jesuites: ou Examen de leur Doctrine.
358p. (Villefranche, 1602).

A satirical attack on the Jesuits; no author's name on the title-page, and no dedication. An English translation was published later in 1602, entitled: The Jesuits' Catechism. Or Examination of their Doctrine.

Apr 19, Mon visit, Blackfriars, London; Lord Hunsdon.

George Carey, 2nd Lord Hunsdon (1547-1603), Lord Chamberlain; in poor health; wife: Elizabeth (Spencer) (1552-1618), daughter of Sir John Spencer, of Althorp.

Lambeth Church: 'Paid to the ringers the 19th of April when the Queen came through Lambeth to go to the Lord Chamberlain's, 2s6d'.

Royal watermen took the Queen on visits to Blackfriars [Sept 1601-Sept 1602]: George Child 'carrying her Majesty...from Putney to Blackfriars'.

Thomas Style 'carrying of her Majesty from Blackfriars to Lambeth and also from Lambeth to Blackfriars and back again'.^T

Apr 22, Thur Eve of Garter ceremonies, Greenwich.

At a Chapter of Garter Knights the Queen appointed a Lieutenant, as customary.

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

Queen's Lieutenant: Edward Somerset, 4th Earl of Worcester.

The Queen was in the processions and at the service.

George Pollard made ready 'the chapel at Greenwich against St George's Day and also...against the coming of the French Ambassador'.^T

Cofferer of the Household paid £324.19s2d. for St George's Eve and Day.^C

Apr 24, Sat Final 1602 Garter ceremonies, Greenwich.

No new Knights were elected.

April 24: Earl of Northumberland's Challenge to Sir Francis Vere, with Vere's reply, April 25. Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland (1564-1632), had served in the Low Countries under Sir Francis Vere (c.1560-1609), Commander of the English forces; he believed that Vere had treated him with disrespect there.

Vere was in England in April and May for further aid for the Dutch. He met the Earl at court; both left for London.

Declaration by the Earl of Northumberland: Having just cause to call Sir Francis Vere in question for divers wrongs, on Saturday 24 April I sent him the following letter by Captain Whitlock:

April 24, Northumberland to Vere: 'I told you at Ostend that then was no fit time to expostulate. I must call you to account for those wrongs I have heard you have done me. You love to take the air and ride abroad: appoint therefore a place and time to your liking, that I may meet you. Bring a friend with you; I will be accompanied with another, that shall witness the things I lay to your charge. If you satisfy me, we will return good friends; if not, we shall do as God shall put in our minds...Make no reply by letter, but send me word by this bearer that you will or will not'.

Captain Edmund Whitlock took the letter to Sir Francis Vere at his Aldersgate House; Vere replied that 'he could not so suddenly give any answer'.

April 25: Captain Ogle came to the Earl with the answer that Vere would meet him alone in a place 'whereof there might be no jousting or drawing of sword'. The Earl replied that 'neither his own house, nor Sir Francis Vere's, nor the court, nor the market-place, were fit for deciding of their controversies', and he would have 'the weapons he did ordinarily wear'. He sent word that he stayed in London 'to have an answer whether he would appoint a time and place or not'.

In the afternoon on April 25 Captain Ogle came to the Earl again with a message that Vere was willing to meet him in London, each to have a witness, his choice being Sir Edward Stafford. The Earl asked him to bring a soldier, not a statesman likely to inform the Queen and Council. In the evening Ogle came again to the Earl to tell him that Vere would not agree to this, and desired particulars of his grievances. The Earl refused to send particulars. [*Letters between Northumberland and Vere: SP12/284/37*]. Sequel: April 29,30.

c. April 25: Envoy from one of the Hanse Towns at Greenwich.

Reiner Langius, Secretary to the Magistrates of Stade, came on a mission to the Queen. April 25, Cecil wrote to the Magistrates by Langius of the Queen's kindly reception and acceptance of their proposals.

The Magistrates replied to Cecil, May 31, sending him, for his good will to them, by the next ship a vase filled with sturgeon. [*HT.xii.123,175: Latin*].

By April 26: visit, Lambeth Palace, Surrey; Archbishop of Canterbury. Visit of condolence to John Whitgift after the death of Fulke Boughton.

Court news. April 26, London, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, in Paris: 'Boughton, that served the Archbishop of Canterbury, was stabbed and killed in a brabble at bowls by his Lord's page (a son of Sir Thomas Wilford's) with the Bishop's own knife. The youth is escaped, but the Archbishop takes it so grievously that the Queen herself was fain to come and comfort him at Lambeth... Your French gallants...have somewhat mended the matter and redeemed the rascal report that Biron and his train left behind them [in 1601], for I hear their carriage well commended, especially the Duke of Nevers, saving that the Queen's musicians and other inferior officers complain that he was very dry-handed [miserly]. The Queen graced him very much and did him the favour to dance with him. We hear he is gone into Holland'...

'Sir Francis Vere is here soliciting for men...I heard but yesternight that my Lord of Northumberland had put him a question and that he answered it home'.^{CHA}

Philip Gawdy to his brother, May 12: 'Mr Bowton was killed with a knife by a little boy, my Lord of Canterbury's page, being Sir Thomas Wilford's son'.^{GY}

Apr 27, Tues Battersea Church, Surrey:
'Laid out the 27th day of April to the ringers when the Queen came by, 6d'.

Also April 27, Greenwich. Court Proclamation: 'Vessel lost' at court. 'Whereas by divers misordered persons and by sundry other means and ways there is weekly and daily great loss and waste of her Majesty's silver and pewter vessel, to the great detriment of her Highness's honourable service and profit. Wherefore her Majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth all inhabitants and dwellers of what sort and condition soever they shall be in Greenwich, Deptford, Lewisham, and all other towns and villages near adjoining unto the same, that they fail not but presently upon the hearing or understanding of this Proclamation to bring unto the Bailiff's house of Greenwich aforesaid all such silver and pewter vessel of her Majesty's as shall remain in their houses or custodies. And so from time to time if it happen that any the silver or pewter come unto their hands or houses, that they and every of them make present delivery thereof unto the aforesaid place appointed'.

'And for the more sure performance of the true intent and meaning of this Proclamation her Highness chargeth and commandeth the Sergeant of the Scullery and his ministers to make due search for the same and that if he or any officer of the Scullery by him appointed shall upon search made find any vessel of the Queen's not brought unto the Bailiff's house aforesaid within two days at the farthest next after the publishing of this Proclamation that then he or they shall apprehend every such person or persons that shall be found disobedient herein, and also imprison every such person so offending until the next Gaol Delivery, and then and there to receive the order of law made and provided in that case for such offenders'. [TNA LS 13/168/50].

Court news. April 28, Father Rivers: 'The Duke of Nevers was honourably entertained by her Majesty. She danced with him and courted him in the best manner. He, on the other side, used many compliments, as kissing her hand, yea and foot. He behaved himself courteously to all. He would not be present with her Majesty in her Closet [a chapel] at her service time, but retired and met her as she returned...His business is thought only, or principally, curiosity to see countries. Her Majesty gave him a rich jewel at his departure, and desired that this summer she might see here his sister, which he promised'. [Jesuits, i.31]. No more is heard of the Duke's sister.

April 29: Sir Noel Caron, Dutch Agent, 'did acquaint the Queen and Council' with the Earl of Northumberland's Challenge.

April 30: The Queen sent one of the Earl's friends 'to lay her commandment upon him to forbear any attempt against Sir Francis Vere, at this instant employed in her service'. He obeyed, but 'published his proceedings in English, French and Italian'. Vere sent him an open letter:

'Because I refused to meet you upon your peremptory and foolish summons, you conclude me, in a discourse sent abroad under your name, to be a knave, a coward, and a buffoon, wherein you have provoked me to set aside all respect to your person, and to say that you are a most lying and unworthy lord. You are bound, by her Majesty's command, not to assail me, and I by the business committed to me not to seek you. When we shall be free, and God shall make us meet, I will maintain it with my sword'. [SP/12/284/37].

Court news. c. April 30, Lord Henry Howard to Edward Bruce, in Scotland:

'The league is very strong between Sir Walter Raleigh and my Lady [Mary] Shrewsbury, and Sir Walter Raleigh's wife. Much hath been offered on all sides to bring her into the Privy Chamber to her old place, because she is a most dangerous woman, and full of her father's inventions; *sed canunt surde [but they sing to a deaf woman]*'...

'Northumberland is unhappy, for both court and town exclaims against his indiscretion for challenging a great commander of the state at such time, as without breach of duty he could not, nor might not, answer him'.

[*Secret Correspondence*, 68-70; undated].

Raleigh's wife: Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton (died 1571), was a Gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber, but lost her post in 1592 after she concealed her secret marriage, and her child by Raleigh.

April 30, Greenwich, Sir Robert Cecil to the Master of Gray:

'Of Monsieur de Nevers going into Scotland there was some bruit which vanished of itself, for he is gone for the Low Countries and so into France'...

'Her Majesty did him the honour to dance with him when he took her out, though she did it unwillingly but only to observe points of courtesy, in which to strangers she is no prince's second'. [Scot.xiii.974].

May 1, Sat dinner and 'Maying', Lewisham, Kent; Sir Richard Bulkeley.
Sir Richard Bulkeley (c.1540-1621), Gentleman Pensioner; with his 2nd wife:
Mary (Burgh), former Maid of Honour, daughter of William 4th Lord Burgh.

'Sir Richard Buckley's house at Sydmoncourt for her Majesty to dine at'.^T

Works made 'a standing in a meadow near Lewisham for her Majesty'.

John Chamberlain, May 8: 'On May day the Queen went a-Maying to Sir
Richard Buckley's at Lewisham, some three or four miles of Greenwich'.^{CHA}

*Maying: it was a long-standing custom on May Day to celebrate the approach
of summer by going into the countryside to gather greenery, to make garlands
of flowers, to dance around a May-pole.*

May Day: Earl of Cumberland's Show for the Queen, with a Song.
Anon. Presented by George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland (1558-1605).
Francis Davison published it as the final piece in his *Poetical Rhapsody*
(entered by the Stationers on May 28), stating that: 'This song was sung
before her sacred Majesty at a show on horseback wherewith the right
honourable the Earl of Cumberland presented her Highness on May day last'.

Ode. Of Cynthia.

'The ancient readers of Heaven's book,
Which with curious eye did look
 Into Nature's story,
All things under Cynthia took
 To be transitory.
This the learned only knew,
But now all men find it true,
 Cynthia is descended,
With bright beams and heavenly hue,
 And lesser stars attended.
Lands and Seas she rules below,
Where things change, and ebb, and flow,
Spring, wax old, and perish.
Only Time, which all doth mow,
 Her alone doth cherish.
Time's young hours attend her still,
And her eyes and cheeks do fill
 With fresh youth and beauty.
All her lovers old do grow,
But their hearts they do not so
 In their love and duty'.

May 2-September: Captain George Waymouth's Voyage.

With the support of the East India Company, Captain Waymouth, of Devon, left
in search of a North-West Passage to the East, taking letters from the Queen
to the Emperor of China and other rulers. He sailed from London on May 2 with
The Discovery (70 tons) and The Godspeed (60 tons).

John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, May 8: 'This week two pretty ships
went out of the river very well furnished and victualled by our merchants for
almost two years, under the conduct of one Captain Waymouth to seek the north-
west passage to the Indies, which if it hit right will be a matter of great
importance. He carrieth letters in divers languages from the Queen to any
princes of name he shall light on'.^{CHA}

Bad weather off North America and mutinous crews caused Captain Waymouth to
turn back; his ships were at Devon in September.

By May 3: Italian visitor, Pietro Guicciardini, in London.

Ralph Winwood to Sir Robert Cecil, April 1, Paris: 'I am entreated by the Secretary of the Grand Duke...to recommend...an honourable gentleman called Pietro Guicciardini, who after much time which he hath bestowed in Spain (where his brother now doth remain Ambassador for the Duke) and since in this court, being recalled to the service of his Prince, before his return doth much desire to have the happiness to present his humble and devoted service to her Majesty'.

Winwood praises 'Those noble virtues of learning, wisdom, and judicious experience, wherewith this gentleman by his study and travels abroad hath furnished his mind'. [Winwood, i.402].

Court news, of Signor Guicciardini, and preparations for the departure of Boissise, French Ambassador 1598-1601. Boissise and Beaumont had made an 'Accord' with the Queen's Commissioners, after negotiations on trade.

May 4, Thomas Windebank (Clerk of the Signet) to Sir Robert Cecil:

'Her Majesty having this evening written with her own hand two letters to the French King, the one to be carried by the French Ambassador, Monsieur de Boissise, the other by Signor Guicciardini, that for the Ambassador I send here enclosed, which her Majesty would have you send to him, and to take order with the Master of the Jewel-house for sending the plate which her Majesty doth bestow upon him, so as the same, with her letter, may be delivered at one time ...the plate by some of the Jewel-house. The other letter for Guicciardini I retain till Mr Vice-Chamberlain's return to the court, and he to deliver it, with some further speech of compliments from her Majesty'. [HT.xii.140].

During May Robert Cranmer, Jewel-house Officer, went from Greenwich to the Queen's goldsmiths in London 'to provide plate to be given to the late French Ambassador by her Majesty and for conveying the same to Mr Vice-Chamberlain that he might view and allow of it'.^T

May 5, Thomas Windebank to Sir John Stanhope, Vice-Chamberlain, to deliver the Queen's letter for the King to Signor Guicciardini 'and to let him know how welcome his coming hither hath been to her Majesty, who...generally hath esteemed well of the gentlemen of Italy'. [HT.xii.144].

May 5, Wed dinner, St James's Park; Sir William Knollys.

At the Tilt End house of Sir William Knollys (c.1545-1632), Controller of the Household 1596-22 Dec 1602; 1st wife: Lady Chandos: Dorothy (Bray)(1530-1605), widow of Edmund Brydges, 2nd Lord Chandos. Sir William was created Baron Knollys, May 1603; Viscount Wallingford, 1616; Earl of Banbury, 1626.

His monument, with parents and 1st wife: Rotherfield Greys Church, Oxon.

Windebank to Cecil, May 4: 'The Queen will be tomorrow at London to visit the old Lady Chandos'. Lambeth Church: 'To the ringers the 5th of May when the Queen came through Lambeth to go to St James's, 2s6d'.

Chamberlain to Carleton, May 8: 'She came to St James's Park where she was feasted by Mr Controller'.^{CHA}

Stow's description, 1603: St James's Park: Henry VIII 'built there a goodly Manor, annexing thereunto a Park, closed about with a wall of brick, now called St James's Park, serving indifferently to the said manor, and to the manor or palace of Whitehall'. Tilt-yard at Westminster: 'South from Charing Cross on the right hand are divers fair houses lately built before the Park, then a large Tilt-yard for noblemen and other to exercise themselves in Jousting, Tourneying, and fighting at Barriers'. [Survey of London].

Court news. May 8, London, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, in Paris: From Ireland 'Sir Robert Gardner the Chief Justice and Sir Oliver St John are newly come thence to inform her Majesty of the state of that country'.^{CHA}

Court news. May 12, London, Philip Gawdy to his brother, of the Duke of Nevers: 'I was at the court when the French Duke was there, and one day he wore the value of £50,000, a young man very unhandsome, married to the Duke de Mayenne's daughter, held though to be a gallant worthy gentleman, and of great revenues. There was besides Count Gramaliell, a very exceeding handsome man, and a Marquis who is brother to the King's old mistress, and his now new mistress, the rest ordinary French with a company of lousy pages'.

'The old French Ambassador hath lately taken his leave and gone'...

'There is an Italian at court that doth wonderful strange tricks upon the cards, as telling of any card that is thought, or changing of one card from another though it be held by any man never so hard under his hand. The Queen gave him some 200 crowns for showing his tricks, and divers gentlemen make divers meetings for him, where he gets sometimes 20 sometimes 40 crowns, and yet they say he spends it so strangely as he cannot keep a penny in his purse. And yet with all his cunning he is held to be but a crafty knave'.^{GY}

[May 14], Dover, Boissise (departing Ambassador) to Cecil: *The passage of my horses being stopped here, I beg for a passport for all the horses which I brought when I came to England, for myself and my suite.* [HT.xii.155].

Court news. May 17, Lambeth, Archbishop of Canterbury to Archbishop of York: 'Salutem in Christo!...Her Majesty hath bestowed the Deanery of Paul's upon Dr Overall, Reader of the Divinity lecture in Cambridge and Master of Catherine Hall; and the Deanery of Chester upon Dr Barlow'. [Surtees Soc. 17 (1843), 163].

May 17, London, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, in Paris, of Sir Thomas Parry, new Ambassador to France, paid since January: 'Your Lord Ambassador is not yet come to town...It is much spoken of at court that having had his entertainment so long time advanced he should be no more forward'...

'Sir Francis Vere hath taken his leave at court though perhaps he will not be gone these three or four days...The Earl of Clanricarde, Sir Robert Gardner, and Sir Oliver St John are come out of Ireland'...

'The poor Count Egmont that flourished here awhile with his coaches and liveries lies now...in so poor state that divers noblemen are fain to make a purse to relieve him. Here is a Sicilian juggler that works wonders at cards, and gets very much otherwise, of our curious and credulous women'.^{CHA}

Sir Francis Vere returned to Holland, the Earl of Northumberland stayed in England; no duel took place.

c.May 21: George Pollard, Gentleman Usher, made ready 'the Lord Chamberlain's chamber and the two chambers next unto it at Greenwich for her Majesty against the coming of the French Ambassador at Whitsuntide and after'.^T

Lord Chamberlain Hunsdon spent part of the summer at Bath, for his health.

May 25, Whit Tuesday bear-baiting, Greenwich.
George Pollard made ready 'the Gallery in the Tilt-yard at Greenwich for her Majesty against the bear-baiting at Whitsuntide'.^T

May 28: Stationers entered a book published as:
'*A Poetical Rhapsody, containing Divers Sonnets, Odes, Elegies, Madrigals, and other Poesies, both in Rime, and Measured Verse. Never yet published*'.
Compiled by Francis Davison. Dedicated to William Earl of Pembroke.
Including: 'A Dialogue between two Shepherds'. [See 26 August 1592].
'A Hymn in praise of Neptune'. By Thomas Campion.
'This Hymn was sung by Amphitryte Thamesis, and other Sea-Nymphs in Gray's Inn Mask, at the court, 1595'. [See 3 March 1595].
'Ode. Of Cynthia'. [See 1 May 1602].

May 29, Sat new appointment: Dr John Overall (1561-1619), Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, to be Dean of St Paul's.

Thomas Fuller: 'He was...made Dean of St Paul's. Being appointed to preach before the Queen, he professed to my father (most intimate with him) "that he had spoken Latin so long, it was troublesome to him to speak English in a continued oration"'. [Worthies, Suffolk].

May 30: 'An open warrant for the punishing of such as destroy her Majesty's game (with guns, stone-bows, etc) about Westminster'.^{APC}

Court news. [May 31], Beaumont, French Ambassador, to Henri IV:

The Queen invited me to Greenwich 'to spend Whitsun there...and summoned me to her every day...She would like to go in person to Ireland, to direct the struggle; but her subjects are afraid that during her absence the King of Scots would seize her Kingdom...She said she is weary of life, having nothing which contents her mind or in which she takes pleasure. She accompanied these words with sighs and other expressions which indicated great sorrow respecting the past' and 'how much she lamented Essex'. She said 'almost with tears, "I clearly foresaw that his impatient spirit and his ambitious conduct would entangle him, to his misfortune, in evil designs. More than two years before I had warned him...that he should beware of touching my sceptre. Thus I was compelled to punish him according to the laws of England...though I shall look back upon it with regret as long as I live"'. [Raumer, 451-2].

June 3: Capture of a carrack, St Valentine. After a fierce naval battle a carrack with a very rich cargo was captured near Lisbon, and was brought to Plymouth, Devon, later in June. Sequel: June 27 (John Chamberlain).

June 8: Queen's gift to Hugh Miller, a Footman: £200.^T Of Eltham, Kent.

June 14, Mon new appointment: Edward 11th Lord Zouche, to be President of the Council of Wales. June 17, John Chamberlain: 'Home news we have none at all but that the Lord Zouche was made President of Wales on Monday last'.^{CHA}

June 20, Sun new court appointment: Mrs Knyvett, sworn 'the Queen's woman'.^{GY} Elizabeth (Bacon), wife of Thomas Knyvett, of Norfolk and Suffolk.

c. June 25: Sir Thomas Parry at Greenwich to take leave.

Parry was appointed Ambassador to France in January; he had delayed his departure, whilst Dudley Carleton, his Secretary, awaited his arrival.

During June Nicholas Hottoste, Jewel-house Officer, went from Greenwich 'to Westminster to deliver plate to Sir Thomas Parry knight lieger [resident] Ambassador sent into France'.^T

Court news. June 27, London, Philip Gawdy to Lady Dorothy Gawdy (his sister-in-law, in Norfolk), sending two 'songs for the viol, that were given me from a very worthy musician at court'.

'Sir Thomas Lovell and his son with much ado by my Lord Admiral's means were brought to kiss the Queen's hand, the old [blank] blushed most extremely, and not without cause, for it is thought he strained so hard for the favour, as it brought all the blood up into his face'.

'Your uncle Bacon's daughter Mrs Knyvett was sworn the Queen's woman upon Sunday last, and kissed her Majesty's hand, with great commendation from her Majesty's mouth, that she was a very handsome, modest and a goodly woman'...

'The Queen is going a progress into the West Country'.^{GY}

There was a long-standing feud between the Gawdys of West Harling, Norfolk, and their neighbours, the Lovells of East Harling.

Court news. June 27, London, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, in Paris, of the carrack captured on June 3: 'What her value may be we cannot yet guess, but sure she was a rich ship...Here is order taken that no goldsmiths or jewellers shall go into the west country, and Fulke Greville is gone down post to Plymouth and so to the sea to meet her, and keep her from coming into that pilfering town (as they term it) but to bring her along to Portsmouth'...

'News came this morning that Fulke Greville is returned and that the carrack is arrived at Plymouth'...

'Young Copinger...being at the taking of the carrack was sent with the first news, and hath waited hard at court since, in hope to be knighted, but he speeds no better than his fellows, of whom fourteen hath attended all this term [law term] with great devotion to make their wives Ladies'...

'Sir Thomas Sherley is returned with his navy royal, and yesterday with his lieutenant general Colonel Sims posted to the court as though they had brought tidings of the taking of Seville or some such town, whereas God knows they have but sacked two poor hamlets of two dozen houses in Portugal'...

'Your Lord Ambassador' hath 'newly shipped his stuff...taken his leave at court...means to set forward next week'.^{CHA}

Sir Thomas Parry continued to delay his departure for France. Sir Thomas Sherley (1564-c.1630), a former Captain in the Low Countries, had turned to privateering. Fulke Greville and five others were appointed 'Commissioners for the Carrack', and discharged her merchandise during July. There were thousands of pieces of 'calico lawns' and 'coarse lawns', with three chests of 'fine white silk', and four of 'sleeve and twisted silk'. [HT.xii.273].

June 27/July 20: Battersea Church, Surrey:

'Laid out for bread and beer for the ringers when the Queen went by, 6d'.

June 28: new court appointment: 'Sir John Brooke, being sworn Squire for the Body in place of Sir James Marvyn, to have the fee from Christmas last'. [TNA LS13/168/11].

June 29: Scandalous words: At Uxbridge, Middlesex, John Clarke, London yeoman, said to the Constable of the parish "Why dost thou tell me of the Queen? A turd for the Queen". Clarke is 'upon good bail'. [Jeaffreson, i.283].

Court news. June 30, London, Father Rivers: 'Her Majesty intendeth a long progress to Oxford and Bristol, but the ache of her arm rather increasing, and the like beginning also in her hip, it is thought she will not be able to perform it. Yet it is probable the baths of Bath would ease it, whither also she mindeth to go to visit the Lord Chamberlain [Lord Hunsdon], who continueth still there'. [Jesuits, i.41].

June 30: Slanderous words of the Queen in Ireland. An unnamed Lieutenant was charged with having said that he had heard from twenty men's mouths that the Queen had committed fornication with the Earl of Essex (executed 1601).

June 30, court, Sir Robert Cecil to Sir George Carew: If he is found 'author of so slanderous a report of her who all the world knows to be innocent, even of the least part of such imputation, her Majesty doth wish that it might pass over in silence, and the caitiff wear out his days in prison rather than be put to public trial'. [Cecil-Carew, 113]. He died in prison in September.

June-July: Richard Warner the elder and other watermen 'giving their attendance at the court with a barge to have carried her Majesty by water upon pleasure', two days, June and July 1602.^T

July 1, Berwick, A.B. to Secretary Cecil: 'Directions for Posts'.

The Posts for the Queen's immediate service shall carry no other dispatches, and that they may be known they are to be directed for her special service, and have parchment labels for the Posts to write the time of the arrival of letters. No Post shall go more than two miles out of his stage. Packets shall be sent express when directed to the Council, Lord Treasurer, Lord Admiral, Secretary, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Master of the Posts. All dispatches from court shall be subscribed by one of the said persons. [SP12/284/59].

July 1/24: dinner and hunting, Great Park, Eltham, Kent; Crown property. Keeper of Eltham Great Park, also called Eltham Park:

Sir Thomas Walsingham (c.1563-1630), of Scadbury, Chislehurst, Kent; wife: Audrey (Shelton) (1568-1624), a Lady of the Bedchamber and of the Privy Chamber.

George Pollard made ready 'Sir Thomas Walsingham's lodge in the Great Park at Eltham for her Majesty to dine at' and 'Sir Thomas Walsingham's park at Eltham' and 'another standing in Sir Thomas Walsingham's park at Eltham'.^T

July 1/24: hunting, three times, Little Park, Eltham, Kent; Crown property. Keeper of Eltham Little Park: Hugh Miller, a royal Footman; died 1616;

wife: Elizabeth (Smithson), daughter of John Smithson alias Taylor, of Eltham, formerly one of the Queen's Master Cooks.

George Pollard made ready 'a standing for her Majesty at Mr Miller's park at Eltham'; 'a standing one other time in Mr Miller's park at Eltham', and 'a standing in Mr Miller's park at Eltham another time'.^T

c. July 3: Stephen Lesieur returned from a special embassy to Denmark.

King Christian IV had requested a portrait of the Queen; Lesieur procured it to be painted as quickly as possible after his return to England; he sent it to the King from Bremen on 6 February 1603. [HMC 45th Report, App II, 56].

July 4: Scandalous words: At Clerkenwell, Middlesex, James Doggett, London yeoman, said "A pox and a vengeance of all those whatsoever that made this statute for the poor and punishment of rogues and a pox of all those that would follow her Majesty any more". Case deferred. [Jeaffreson, i.284].

Court news. [July 8], London, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, in Paris, of the new Ambassador to France: 'Sir Thomas Parry makes many pauses, and I cannot learn of anybody when he means to set forth...Eight or ten young gentlemen come along with him that give him a hundred crowns a year apiece for their board; which were all one as to keep an ordinary [an eating-house]'. . .

'We have speech of a progress to begin toward the latter end of this month: first to Sir John Fortescue's in Buckinghamshire, then to the Earl of Hertford's and the Lord Chief Justice, where there were jewels and presents provided the last year that would not be lost: and so to Bath and Bristol to visit the Lord Chamberlain [Lord Hunsdon] that lies there for help'.^{CHA}

Locations: Sir John Fortescue, at Salden, Mursley, Bucks; Earl of Hertford, at Tottenham, Savernake Forest, Wilts; Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, at Littlecote, Wilts. None were visited.

Bath Chamberlains made payments for men to go to Bristol, Cirencester, Frome, Tetbury, and Warminster, 'to get paviers against the Queen's coming'.

'To the pavior of Chippenham for his coming to Bath to see the work, 4d; for painting of the Queen's Arms at the King's Bath, £4'.

The Chamberlains gave Lord Hunsdon a mutton, a calf and a lamb. The Lady Marquis [of Northampton] received the same. [Wardle, 185,190-191].

July 8: Roger Aston, who had come for the first half of King James's 1602 gratuity, left for Scotland, with £2500. [Scot.xiii.1019].

July 12, Greenwich, Thomas Edmondes to Dudley Carleton, in Paris, of Sir Thomas Parry, new Ambassador to France: 'The Queen has been much displeased that Sir Thomas Parry has stayed so long after you, but now he comes and... order is taken for satisfying his creditors, which is the difficulty that so much troubled him. These impediments have raised a conceit of his inaptness for this charge'. 'PS. Burn this letter'. [SP12/284/76].

July 15, Queen to Lord Mountjoy, Lord Deputy of Ireland, ending in her own hand: 'We have forgotten to praise your humility, that after having been a Queen's kitchenmaid, you have not disdained to be a traitor's scullion'. 'God bless you with perseverance. Your Sovereign, E.R.'
She had called Mountjoy 'Mistress kitchenmaid': 3 December 1600.

c.July, Lord Mountjoy to the Queen, 'from your Camp at Monaghan': 'Sacred and dear Sovereign...Dear lady, since all the world are slaves as well to your fortune as to your beauty, I have only chosen to profess my love in the unsuspected language of faithful labours, dangers, and sufferings; and will only open my mouth to pray for your eternal happiness; and write no more, but that I know myself to be Your truest servant, M'. [Harrison, 294; Goodman, ii.37-39].

July 15, Thur dinner and hunting, Eltham, Kent.
Eltham Palace and its Parks were Crown property. Keeper of Eltham: Sir John Stanhope (c.1545-1621), Vice-Chamberlain, Treasurer of the Chamber, Master of the Posts, Privy Councillor. He was created Baron Stanhope, 1605.
2nd wife: Margaret (Macwilliam), formerly a Maid of Honour; died 1640.
In July George Pollard and 9 men made ready 'Mr Vice-Chamberlain's lodging at Eltham for her Majesty to dine at'.^T Works 'new matting of two great chambers in Mr Vice-Chamberlain's lodging against her Majesty's coming to hunt there'.

Court news. July 15, Philip Lane [London], Lord Zouche to Sir Robert Cecil: 'I thought to have come to the court this day to have taken my leave of you for my journey into the country, but that I heard of her Majesty's going to Eltham, where I persuaded myself you would be'. [HT.MS 94/31].
Edward 11th Lord Zouche, new Lord President of the Council in Wales, left on August 9 for Ludlow, Shropshire, where he was to be based.

Court news. [July 15], Count Beaumont to Henri IV: 'The Queen plans to leave in a fortnight to go on progress, and says she wishes to go as far as Bristol, 50 leagues from London. But the opinion is that she will not go so far and will be in the countryside no more than a month. With your Majesty's permission I will follow her, as she desires, having invited me'.^{BT}

July 18, Greenwich, Sir Robert Cecil to Sir George Carew, in Ireland, sending a letter from the Queen, with a copy in case he cannot read it.
'We are now going our Progress towards Bristol'. [Cecil-Carew, 117,119].

July 19, Mon hunting, Eltham, Kent; Crown property.
Beaumont to Henri IV [July 20]: 'The Queen sent to pray me to go to her at Eltham near Greenwich, to go hunting with her, where as I stayed all day I had the opportunity...to talk to the Lord Admiral and to Cecil'.^{BT}
Father Rivers, July 26: The Queen 'hunted on Monday last in Eltham Park on horseback, with good show of vigour and ability'. [Jesuits, i.43].

July 20: Report of slanderous speeches by Henry Clinton, 2nd Earl of Lincoln, at his house in Cannon Row, a few days after the Earl of Essex's arraignment, February 1601. In the presence of William Wright and other servants he said: "I cannot be persuaded that the Queen will be drawn to consent to the death of one with whom she has been so familiar, as with the Earl of Essex...I myself have seen her kiss him twenty times, and methinks in reason that she should not then cut off his head". Wright also accused Lincoln of secret dealings with King James; he endeavoured to explain why he had waited so long to report this.

The Earl wrote to Sir Robert Cecil, July 30, sure that by his means he may 'retain her Majesty's good opinion, without which I were better out of this world'. He encloses his answer, saying that 'I would acknowledge myself a villain if I either spoke or thought those words; how much more villainous is he that conceals it so long'. I strive 'to show my innocence in thought of any evil of her sacred person'. Laws 'forbid all accusations for words which are not complained of and revealed within three months'. [SP12/284/80,91].

The Earl's denials were accepted by the Privy Council.

July 20: The Queen and Lord Eure, a reluctant envoy.
Ralph 3rd Lord Eure (1558-1617), of Yorkshire; he had travelled in France and Italy in 1583-84. Stephen Lesieur returned from Denmark earlier in July with a proposal from King Christian IV for a meeting of Danish and English Commissioners at Bremen to discuss long-standing disputes over navigation, tolls, and fishing rights. The Queen promptly agreed to this.

July 20, Privy Council to Lord Eure: The Queen has been pleased 'to make choice of your Lordship to be a principal Commissioner at an assembly in the town of Bremen, where many things are to be treated between herself and the King of Denmark...Your Lordship shall be assisted with Mr Secretary Herbert and some other gentlemen of gravity and understanding; and for this voyage your Lordship shall have those allowances which Lord Zouche and others of your rank have had into Scotland, Denmark, and other places'...

'The day of your rendezvous at Bremen at furthest must be before the 26 of September. Upon your repair to the court, which her Majesty expecteth with all convenient speed, you shall receive her instructions'.^{APC} (Reply: July 25).

July 21 (o.s.), in France: The Duke of Biron, found guilty of a conspiracy against King Henri IV, was executed for treason.

Biron had visited the Queen in September 1601, as had the Count d'Auvergne, who was also charged with treason, but whom the King later pardoned.

c. July 23: Lord Home in London, en route from Scotland to France.

King James sent Alexander 6th Lord Home (c.1566-1619) on a special embassy to France to congratulate King Henri IV on his escape from Biron's conspiracy.

Thomas Douglas to Sir Robert Cecil, July 4, Edinburgh: 'Lord Home being sore grieved with the French pox, and being every year occasioned to go beyond sea for his health' caused the King to employ him 'in this embassage of congratulation to France'. He is going with only six gentlemen, all Papists, and has offered to go upon his own charges. July 14, George Nicholson to Cecil: The King has directed Lord Home to go to the Queen 'very secretly' to tell his instructions; he will reach London c. July 23. [Scot.xiii.1017,1023].

Cecil [to Nicholson], Aug 1, court: 'My Lord Hume passed by to France but was desirous to be pardoned his access to the Queen for this time'. [HT.xiv.230].

He reached Paris on August 13, a few hours later than Sir Thomas Parry, the new Ambassador. Lord Home (pronounced Hume) came to the English court on September 26 on his return journey.

July 24: News of proposed visit to Welford, Berks.
Welford manor-house; owned by Sir Thomas Parry (1544-1616); wife: Dorothy (Brooke), former Maid of Honour. Parry, new Ambassador to France, took leave in June, but continued to delay his departure, because of financial difficulties.

July 24, Ralph Rabbards [*to Sir Thomas and Lady Knyvett, of Norfolk]:
'Sir Thomas Parry...cannot receive his money nor any part thereof, he is much perplexed and to make him amends the Queen will lie at his house at Welford'.

[BL Egerton 2714, no.73]. The Queen planned to include Welford in her summer progress, but Parry reached Dieppe on Aug 5: Ambassador to France 1602-1606.

July 25 (I), Malton, Lord Eure to Sir Robert Cecil and Sir John Stanhope, after being selected by the Queen to be a Commissioner at Bremen:

'By reason of my long discontinuance from the court I am disfurnished of such courtly respects as fitteth a messenger to so worthy a Princess'...

'I neither can deliver message or entertain discourse with foreigner in any language save English. Likewise, my poor estate of living will not afford me means to furnish myself in that sort in so short time...Nevertheless, such service as the infirm body, weak judgement, want of languages and poor estate of living is able to perform is freely devoted to her Majesty's commandment'.

July 25 (II), Lord Eure to Sir Robert Cecil, asking to be discharged.

'I do imagine such a journey will cost £2000 if not £3000'.

[July], Cecil to Lord Eure: 'Her Majesty...cannot allow of your declining... For your lack of language and pretending to be unprovided of compliments, her Majesty willed me to tell you that it need no better answer than this, that a nobleman of England that hath seen France and Italy need never doubt to meet the best Dane or German in any place of Europe, neither shall you go to any court but to the city of Bremen...where like Commissioners shall meet you. And where you speak of £2000 or £3000, I wish you in no sort to be terrified with that, for there need no such expense...You have but a month to provide'.

Lord Eure to Cecil, Aug 1: I will labour to obey her Majesty's command.
Lord Eure came to court on August 29. [HT.xii.241,249-250,274,276].

Court news. July 26, Father Rivers: 'The Queen's desire of a progress to Bristol as yet continueth, and appointed to begin on Tuesday next [July 28], but the Council labour what they may to alter, both for that they would not be far from London in these troublesome times, as also for that her Majesty's ache continuing in her arm, and beginning in her hip, they doubt she will hardly be able rationally to endure so long travel'. [Jesuits, i.43].

c.July 26: July, Greenwich, Sir John Harington (of Rutland) to the Earl of Shrewsbury: 'Concerning court news...This day I heard Mr Secretary tell at dinner that Biron is dead...Sir Edward Conway of the Brill [Lieutenant-Governor], arrived here yesternight'...

'The progress holds still, where it was, and as it was'...

'My Lady Ambassadors of France [Anne Rabot, wife of Count Beaumont] was entertained by the Queen yesterday very graciously, and gave among the Queen's Maids French purses, fans, and masks, very bountifully'. [Lodge, ii.553-4].

July 27: 'The names of such Artificers and Laundresses as are allowed to attend in Progress'. The Artificers are: Tobacco man, Milliner, Barber, Cutler, Glover, Shoemaker, Tailors, Saddler, Cobblers, Sockman, Seller of fruit, Menders of stockings, Scriveners, Seamster, Fruiterer; John Harrison stationer 'allowed to have a tent to follow the court with paper and parchments and books'. Many Laundresses are named. The list was drawn up by Sir Henry Cock (Cofferer of the Household) and Bartholomew Fouke (Master of the Household).

[TNA LS13/168/12]. John Harrison was 3 times Master of the Stationers.

July 28, London, Father Rivers: 'This day the Queen appointeth to begin her long progress to Bristol, and now it is very probable it will hold, being drawn that way by a great desire to try the operation of the Baths for the ache in her arm. She is not to return to these parts before 8ber [October]'. [Jesuits, i.45].

July 28, Wed dinner, Lambeth Palace, Surrey; Archbishop of Canterbury.^T John Whitgift. St Martin in the Fields: 'For ringing at her Majesty's remove from Greenwich to Lambeth and so to Harefield the 28th of July, 12d'.
Start of SUMMER PROGRESS in Surrey, Middlesex, and Buckinghamshire.

July 28, Wed **CHISWICK**, Middlesex; Sir William Russell.^{C,T}
 Corney House, little-used riverside house of Sir William Russell (c.1553-1613), 4th son of Francis Russell 2nd Earl of Bedford; former Governor of Flushing and Lord Deputy of Ireland; his main residence was at Thornhaugh, Northants; wife: Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Long, of Shingay, Cambs; she died 1611.
 Sir William Russell was created Baron Russell of Thornhaugh in July 1603.
 His monument, with his brothers and sisters, is in Thornhaugh Church, Northants. His widow's monument is in Chenies Church, Bucks.
 Fulham Church, Middlesex: ringing 'at the remove of the Queen from Greenwich to Chiswick, 12d'.

Chiswick entertainment. By John Lyly.

Two speeches 'At Sir William Russell's house at Chiswick'. In an undated manuscript signed 'John Lilly', sent to Roger Wilbraham, a Master of Requests. Leslie Hotson, Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Mitcham (1953), 33-36.

July 28: Queen's arrival at Chiswick: Angler's Speech of greeting.

'As I was fishing for my supper (for the Thames is my shambles) there flew a swift but a sweet whispering that the Queen would lodge in my Master's shed, house I cannot call it. I threw my angle one way and my net another, driven into such a quandary that I quaked. From fishing I fell to writing, how to avoid that I most desired, not meaning to set down excuses, but eye-truths: how the house was ruinous, unaired, and by the absence of the owner kept neither wind-tight nor weather-tight, untrimmed, untiled, unhandsome, and so unfit to circle in that Majesty which the world can scarce enclose that I feared the sight would breed dislike, the entrance discontent, the lodging contempt'.

'So long I wrestled with my wits to excuse my Master, that yourself was within kenning [sight], and then I knew not how to excuse myself: for my Master snatched the pen from me, commanding me to deliver it to your Majesty, with a most humble entreaty to ask a pardon of you for all offences, oversights, defects, or discontentments that this rusty and unrepaired cottage might offer, and with this pen to sign it'.

'This he bade me add, that Princes' minds are like Heaven's dew, falling on shrubs as well as cedars, that Goddesses will not be gainsaid their pleasures and wills, being Harbingers to billet themselves where they list, under the roofs of palaces or penthouses. As his joys are without measure, so he hopes they will be without end; for he knows no comfort to be compared with this, that in your Highness's heart there should be left the least thought or memory of one so absolutely divided from the Court, and from himself; that the stock being dead you vouchsafe to breathe favour on the branches. Here his joy is enlarged, that all his friends may impart of it'.

'And thus he willed me to conclude in all humility, that his heart is larger than his house, full of rooms all hung with duty, furnished with prayers, joy, wishes, yet saying with the Centurion, *Non sum dignus* [I am not worthy]'.

July 29, Thur Chiswick: Angler's Speech. 'At her Majesty's departure'.

'Here is the world now, when you are gone there is none. My Master that yesternight was amazed with joy is now with grief astonished. In his judgement he foretold his fortunes, that happiness would light on him like lightning, a flash and a farewell; that beauty and virtue could not be pent in a pigeon-cot, but would burst out into a wider air, though into no larger heart; that a night would seem to you a year of wearisomeness, though a year for your abode would have been to him shorter than a night. Wheresoever you go, happy may the place be, his thoughts shall fly after as faithfully as any's for devotion, though not so fortunate for entertainment. *Non fuit dignus [He was not worthy]*'.

[July 29, Thur] dinner, Hounslow, Middlesex; Mr Whitby.^T

*Thomas Whitby (c.1542-1622), thrice married; buried Westminster Abbey.

July 29, Thur HARLINGTON, Middlesex; Mr Copinger.^{C,T}

Darley manor-house, Darley Court, Harlington; owned by Ambrose Copinger (c.1546-1604); wife: Elizabeth, formerly a Maid of Honour, daughter of Edward FitzGarrett, formerly Lieutenant of the Gentlemen Pensioners.

Chamberlain to Carleton, Oct 2: The Queen went 'to Ambrose Copinger's who because he had been a Master of Art entertained her himself with a Latin oration'.^{CHA} Copinger was at St John's College, Cambridge; M.A.1568.

July 30, Sir John Norris (of Fyfield, Berkshire) to Sir Robert Cecil: 'I understand her Majesty passeth through the county of Berkshire where by her appointment I am now Sheriff...I am by reason of the office of Sheriff to attend her Highness in her passage, but for that one in my house had the smallpox a month past, I know not whether it be fit. I thought it therefore my duty to acquaint your Honour herewith, as likewise I have done Mr Vice-Chamberlain. If you think it fit I shall attend, I will be ready according to my duty with my best means of attendance'. [HT.MS 94/92].

Harefield entertainment. By John Davies (1569-1626).

Modern edition: Nichols, Progresses (2014), iv.174-195.

A copy of most of the entertainment was sent by Thomas Cecil, 2nd Lord Burghley, to Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York (who replied on August 30 that 'I am glad to hear it was to her good liking and best contentment').

This has some details not found elsewhere about Egerton's gifts to the Queen, and about the Lottery; these are shown below as 'Lord Burghley'.

[Correspondence of Dr Matthew Hutton, Surtees Soc. 17 (1843), 167, 278-286].

July 31, Sat HAREFIELD, Middlesex; Sir Thomas Egerton.

Harefield manor-house; purchased in 1601 by Sir Thomas Egerton (1540-1617), Lord Keeper, and his 3rd wife, the Dowager Countess of Derby.

The Countess was Alice (Spencer) (1559-1637), daughter of Sir John Spencer of Althorp, and widow of Ferdinando Stanley, 5th Earl of Derby.

With her first and second daughters by the Earl of Derby:

Lady (Anne) Strange (1580-1647); Lady Frances Stanley (1583-1636).

Richard Coningsby made ready 'at Harvill' and 'a banqueting-house'.^T

For the large number of presents of provisions given to Egerton and his wife, and rewards to bringers of presents, see 'Miscellaneous': Harefield.

John Milton's pastoral entertainment 'Arcades', which describes the Countess as 'a rural Queen', was presented in her garden at Harefield in the 1630s.

Her spectacular monument remains in St Mary's Church, Harefield.

Egerton, who had been created Baron Ellesmere, July 1603, and Viscount Brackley, 1616, was buried at Dodleston Church, Cheshire. He had wished for no solemn funeral, no monument, and to be 'buried in oblivion', like Seneca.

July 31: Queen's arrival at Harefield: dialogues and gifts.

'After the Queen entered (out of the highway) into the demesne ground of Harefield, near the Dairy-house, she was met with two persons, the one representing a Bailiff, the other a Dairy-maid, with the Speech. Her Majesty, being on horseback, stayed under a tree (because it rained) to hear it'.

Bailiff: 'Why, how now, Joan, are you here?...

Joan: I come abroad to welcome these Strangers...

Bailiff: I make the way for these Strangers, which the Way-maker himself could not do, for it is a way was never passed before. Besides, the Mistress of this fair company, though she knows the way to all men's hearts, yet she knows the way but to few men's houses, except she love them very well, I can tell you. And therefore I myself, without any commission, have taken upon me to conduct them to the house...

Joan: I pray you heartily, forsooth, come near the house and take a simple lodging with us tonight; for I can assure you that yonder house that he talks of is but a Pigeon-house, which is very little if it were finished, and yet very little of it is finished. And you will believe me, upon my life, Lady, I saw carpenters and bricklayers and other workmen about it within less than these two hours. Besides, I doubt my Master and Mistress are not at home; or if they be you must make your own provision, for they have no provision for such Strangers. You should seem to be Ladies...If you will go with me you shall have cheer for a Lady. For first you shall have a dainty syllabub; next a mess of clotted cream ...red cows' milk...green cheeses and cream...pearmains, russet coats, pippins, ...and perhaps a pear-plum, a damson, aye or an apricot too... And therefore I pray, come near the house, and welcome heartily, do so...

Bailiff: If my Mistress should hear of this, i'faith she would give you little thanks I can tell you, for offering to draw so fair a flight from her Pigeon-house (as you call it) to your Dairy-house...

Joan: I dare say she would give me great thanks. For you know my Mistress charged me earnestly to retain all idle harvest-folks that passed this way; and my meaning was that, if I could hold them all this night and tomorrow, on Monday morning to carry them into the fields; and to make them earn their entertainment well and thriftily. And to that end I have here a Rake and Fork ['two Jewels'] to deliver to the best housewife in all this company.

Bailiff: Do so then...As for these Strangers...they will not rest with thee this night, but will pass on to my Master's house.

Joan: Then I pray take this Rake and Fork with you...'

Lord Burghley: 'A Bailiff and Milk-maid met her, and presented her with a rake and fork set with diamonds, inviting her to stay there one work day, to see how well she could use them'.

'When her Majesty was alighted from her horse, and ascended three steps near to the entering into the house, a carpet and chair there set for her, Place and Time present themselves, and use this Dialogue'.

'Place in a parti-coloured robe, like the brick house. Time with yellow hair and in a green robe, with an hour-glass, stopped, not running'.

Place: 'Welcome, good Time.

Time: Good even, my little pretty private Place.

Place: Farewell, goodbye, Time. Are you not gone? do you stay here? I wonder that Time should stay anywhere. What's the cause?...

Time: I stay to entertain the Wonder of this Time; wherein I would pray thee to join me, if thou wert not too little for her greatness...

Place: No Place is great enough to receive her...

Time: Are you ready, Place? Time is ready...

Place: Your hour-glass runs not...

Time: It hath been stopped a long time, it can never run as long as I wait upon this Mistress. I am her Time; and Time were very ungrateful if it should not ever stand still, to serve and preserve, cherish and delight her, that is the glory of her Time, and makes the Time happy wherein she liveth.

Place: And doth not she make Place happy as well as Time?...Doth not the presence of a Prince make a Cottage a Court, and the presence of the Gods make every place Heaven?...Were I as large as their hearts that are my Owners, I should be the fairest Palace in the world. And were I agreeable to the wishes of their hearts I should in some measure resemble her sacred self, and be in the outward front exceeding fair, and in the inward furniture exceeding rich...

Time: As I was passing to this place I found this Heart, which (as my daughter Truth told me) was stolen by one of these Nymphs from one of the servants of this Goddess, but her guilty conscience informing her that it belongs only of right unto her that is Mistress of all hearts in the world she cast it from her for this time, and opportunity finding it delivered it unto me.

Here, Place, take it thou, and present it unto her as a pledge and mirror of their hearts that own thee.

Place: It is a mirror indeed for it is transparent...I will therefore presume the more boldly to deliver it; with this assurance, that Time, Place, Persons, and all other circumstances, do concur altogether in bidding her welcome'.

Lord Burghley: *The heart was 'a diamond without a foil, which cost £300'.*

c. August 1: At Harefield:

'A Lottery proposed before supper...to her Majesty, ladies, gentlewomen and strangers. A Mariner with a box under his arm, containing all the several things following, supposed to come from the Carrack [captured in June], came into the Presence singing this song'.

'Cynthia Queen of seas and lands,
That fortune everywhere commands,
Sent forth fortune to the sea
To try her fortune every way.

There did I fortune meet, which makes me now to sing,
There is no fishing to the sea, nor service to the king...
Some toys fell to my share, which makes me now to sing,
There is no fishing to the sea, nor service to the king'.

'God save you fair Ladies all...I am a Mariner, and am now come from the sea, where I had the fortune to light upon these few trifles...I made a vow that as they came to my hands by fortune so I would not part with them but by fortune. To that end I have ever since carried these Lots about me, that if I met with fit company I might divide my booty among them. And now (I thank my good fortune) I am lighted into the best company of the world, a company of the fairest Ladies that ever I saw. Come, Ladies, try your fortunes, and if any light upon an unfortunate blank, let her think that fortune doth but mock her in these trifles, and means to pleasure her in greater matters'.

Each lot had a 'posy', a couplet suited to the recipient; their names and the details of the lots, and the order in which they were drawn (which varies in different sources), are from Lord Burghley, with a few names added from John Davies (1608) and John Manningham, who listed 16 lots in his Diary in 1603.

The list includes many Ladies of the Privy Chamber, several Maids of Honour, and the Mother of the Maids.

For biographical details of all but two of those present see 'Court': Women. Mrs Strangeways was Lady Newton's widowed daughter; Mrs Kiddermaister was the wife of a neighbouring landowner who sent a generous gift of provisions.

The Lottery.

1. The Queen. Fortune's wheels set with diamonds of no small value.
 'Fortune must now no more in triumph ride,
 The wheels are yours that did her chariot guide'.
2. Lady Scrope. A mask.
 'Want you a mask? here Fortune gives you one;
 Yet Nature gives the rose and lily none'.
3. Lady Knyvett. A looking-glass.
 'Blind Fortune doth not see how fair you be,
 But gives a glass that you yourself may see'.
4. Mistress Anne Vavasour, of the Bedchamber. A handkerchief.
 'Whether you seem to weep, or weep indeed,
 This handkerchief will stand you in some stead'.
5. Lady Frances Stanley. A ring.
 'Fortune doth send you, hap it well or ill,
 This plain gold ring to wed you to your will'.
6. Lady Elizabeth Southwell. A pair of gloves.
 'Fortune these gloves to you in challenge sends,
 For that you love not fools that are her friends'.
7. Lady Derby, the elder. A purse.
 'You thrive, or would, or may; your lot's a purse:
 Fill it with gold, and you are ne'er the worse'.
8. Mistress Brydges. A dozen of points.
 'You are in every point a lover true,
 And therefore Fortune gives the points to you'.
9. Lady Anne Clifford. A lace.
 'Give her the lace that loves to be strait-laced,
 So Fortune's little gift is aptly placed'.
10. [Mistress Hyde]. Knives.
 'Fortune doth give these pair of knives to you,
 To cut the thread of love if't be not true'.
11. Countess of Kildare. A girdle.
 'By Fortune's girdle you may happy be,
 But they that are less happy are more free'.
12. Lady Effingham. Writing tables.
 'These tables may contain your thoughts in part,
 But write not all that's written in your heart'.
13. Lady Paget. A pair of garters.
 'Though you have Fortune's garters, you must be
 More staid and constant in your steps than she'.
14. Mistress Strangeways. Coif and cross-cloth.
 'Frown in good earnest, or be sick in jest,
 This coif and cross-cloth will become you best'.
15. The Mother of the Maids. A scarf.
 'Take you this scarf, bind Cupid hand and foot,
 So love must ask your leave before he shoot'.
16. Countess of Cumberland. A falling band.
 'Fortune would have you rise, but guides your hand
 From other lots, to take this falling band'.
17. [Lady Walsingham]. A stomacher.
 'This stomacher is full of windows wrought,
 Yet none through them can look into your thought'.
18. [Lady Newton]. A scissor case.
 'These scissors do your housewifery betray;
 You love to work, though you were born to play'.

19. Mistress Margaret Wharton. A chain.
 'Because you scorn Love's captive to remain,
 Fortune hath sworn to lead you in a chain'.
20. 'Left undrawn, and taken by the Queen'. A prayer book.
 'Your fortune may prove good another day;
 Till fortune come, take you a book and pray'.
21. Countess of Warwick. A snuffkin [muff].
 'Tis summer, yet a snuffkin is your lot;
 But twill be winter one day, doubt it not'.
22. Mistress Gresham Thynne. A fan.
 'You love to see, and yet to be unseen;
 Take you this fan to be your beauty's screen'.
23. Mistress Mary Radcliffe. A pair of bracelets.
 'Lady, your hands are fallen into a snare,
 For Cupid's manacles these bracelets are'.
24. Lady Dorothy Hastings. A bodkin.
 'Even with this bodkin you may live unharmed,
 Your beauty with your virtue's so well armed'.
25. Mistress Mary Neville. A necklace.
 'Fortune gives your fair neck this lace to wear,
 God grant a heavier yoke it never bear!'
26. [Mistress Ansley]. A cushionet.
 'To her that little cares what lot she wins,
 Chance gives a little cushionet to stick pins'.
27. Lady Scudamore. A dial.
 'The dial's yours; watch time lest it be lost;
 Yet they must lose it that do watch it most'.
28. Countess of Worcester. A nutmeg with a blank parchment within it.
 'This nutmeg holds a blank, but Chance doth hide it;
 Write you your own wish, and Fortune will provide it'.
29. Young Countess of Derby. A ring with a posy 'As faithful as I find'.
 'Your hand by fortune on this ring doth light,
 And yet the word doth fit your humour right'.
30. Mistress Katherine Hastings. A blank.
 'Wot you why Fortune gives to you no prize?
 Good faith, she saw you not, she wants her eyes!'
31. Lady Susan Vere. A blank.
 'You are so dainty to be pleased, God wot,
 Chance knows not what to give you for a lot'.
32. Lady Digby. A blank.
 'Tis pity such a hand should draw in vain,
 Though it gain nought, yet shall it pity gain'.
33. [Mrs Kiddermaister]. A blank.
 'Nothing's your lot; that's more than can be told;
 For nothing is more precious than gold'.

Lord Burghley: 'There remained in the bottom of the box a jewel in form of a feather, which cost £600: this was presented to her Majesty as lady of the island'.

John Davies places lot 20 ('left undrawn') at the end; he alone adds three lots drawn by Country Wenches, these being a pair of shears, an apron, and a reel; he also adds two more blanks.

Aug 2, Mon morning At Harefield: gift of a gown to the Queen.
 A 'gown of rainbows' was presented on behalf of the hosts by Lady Walsingham;
 made by William Jones the Queen's tailor; with verses described by Davies as
 'The humble Petition of a guiltless Lady, delivered in writing upon Monday
 morning, when the robe of rainbows was presented to the Queen by the Lady
 Walsingham'; also described as the Petition 'of a guiltless saint, wherewith
 the gown of rainbows was presented'.

'Beauty's rose, and Virtue's book,
 Angel's mind and Angel's look,
 To all Saints and Angels dear,
 Clearest Majesty on earth,
 Heaven did smile at your fair birth,
 And since your days have been most clear.
 Only poor St Swithin now,
 Doth hear you blame his cloudy brow,
 But that poor Saint devoutly swears
 It is but a tradition vain
 That his much weeping causeth rain,
 For saints in heaven can shed no tears.
 But this he saith, that to his feast,
 Cometh Iris, an unbidden guest...
 From her rainy robe he took,
 Which here he doth present to you.
 It is fit it should with you remain,
 For you know better how to reign'.

*Lord Burghley: 'The petition of St Swithin, presenting a gown of cloth
 of silver all wrought with rainbows. Presented by my Lord, and cost £340.
 Besides, my Lady gave unto this gown a very rich pair of sleeves and a pair
 of points, the tags whereof were of rubies and pearl'.*

*St Swithin's Day: July 15. The tradition or superstition is that:
 'St Swithin's Day, if it do rain, for forty days it will remain.
 St Swithin's Day, if it be fair, for forty days twill rain no mair'.*

Aug 3, Tues Queen's departure from Harefield.
 'Place, attired in black mourning apparel, used this farewell following:
 Sweet Majesty, be pleased to look upon a poor widow, mourning before your
 Grace. I am this Place, which at your coming was full of joy, but now at your
 departure am as full of sorrow. I was then, for my comfort, accompanied with
 the present cheerful Time, but now he is to depart with you; and, blessed as
 he is, must ever fly before you'...
 'My only suit before you go is that you will pardon the close imprisonment
 which you have suffered ever since your coming, imputing it not to me but St
 Swithin, who of late hath raised so many storms, as I was fain provide this
 Anchor for you, when I did understand you would put into this creek'.
 'But now, since I perceive this harbour is too little for you, and you will
 hoist sail and begone, I beseech you take this Anchor with you'.
 'And I pray to Him that made both Time and Place that in all places wherever
 you shall arrive you may anchor as safely as you do, and ever shall do, in the
 hearts of my owners'.

*Lord Burghley: The anchor (a jewel) was 'worth 100 marks'. [mark: 13s4d].
 'A very rich scarf and mantle given by my Lady's daughters'.*

Sir Thomas Egerton's expenses for 'the Queen's Majesty being at Harefield 3 nights', July 31, Aug 1,2, included:

Steward's Account: 'Wheat of my Lady's store...which my Lady will give my Lord'; 'wheat for fine manchet [bread], and coarse wheat from the Queen's bakers' [no charge]; 'oats from my Lady's store...which my Lord must pay nothing for'; rewards for presents, £48.6s10d; charcoals; butter; eggs; gooseberries; 630 chickens; 96 pigeons, tame and wild; veals; geese; 59 couple 'rabbits from my Lady's warren'; 23 ducklings; 20 pigs; 11 capons; 35 pullets; 38 partridges; 10 trout; 24 lobsters; 6 plovers; crayfish; 16 pair calves' feet (etc).

Cowley's Account: Payments for 'sack and wine vinegar'; Gascon wine; Rhenish wine; Mr Champion for beer; bottle ale; beef, mutton, lamb; poultry and fowl; Mr Colles, the Grocer; oil; green fruits; Herb man; Confectioner; liveries; green cloth for the carpet; Potter; Wax-chandler; Pewterer, for hire and loss of vessel; Mrs Shoemaker, the Tallow-chandler; 'to a carre man for carriage of tents from St John's' [Revels Office]; Saddler; Master Cook of her Majesty's Household. 'Given in reward to my Lord Chamberlain's man, 6s' (etc).

Thomas Sle's Account: Payments for 48,000 bricks and 474 bushels of lime for the ovens; bricklayers, carpenters, joiners, labourers, sawyers, diggers of gravel, cutters of birch; nails, locks, hooks, hinges, bed cords, 20 casements; 29 workmen and labourers several days...to set things in order after her Majesty was gone from Harefield' (etc).

*'Mainwaring's Account', a forgery by John Payne Collier, editor of Egerton's papers, purports to have rewards to vaulters, players and dancers, including Burbage's players for *Othello*, and Mr Lyly's man for bringing the lottery box. [Egerton Papers, 340-349].*

Aug 3, Tues **HITCHAM**, Bucks; Sir William Clarke.^{C.T}

Hitcham manor-house, close to the adjacent parish of Burnham; owned by Sir William Clarke, knighted in Ireland; he died in 1625; wife: Margaret, daughter of Sir John Bourne, Queen Mary Tudor's Principal Secretary; Catholic.

Hitcham Church has Sir William's monument.

John Chamberlain, Oct 2: The Queen went to 'Sir William Clarke's at Burnham, who so behaved himself that he pleased nobody, but gave occasion to have his misery [miserliness] and vanity spread far and wide'.^{CHA}

Court news. Aug 3, London, Thomas Edmondes to the Earl of Shrewsbury:

'Her Majesty hath had compassion, notwithstanding her earnest affection to go her progress, yet to forbear the same in favour to her people, in regard of the unseasonableness of the weather, and for that purpose doth appoint to return by the end of this week, and to settle at Oatlands'.

'Her Highness hath been very honourably entertained at my Lord Keeper's house, and many times richly presented; yet all men are not confident that the same will procure an abolition of former unkindness'. [Lodge, ii.562-3].

Aug 3, Donnington Castle [Berks], Lady Russell (twice widowed) to Sir Robert Cecil (her nephew, a widower): 'At this present my neighbour Mr Dolman sendeth me word that now it is certainly determined that her Majesty meaneth to come to his house. Therefore I of purpose send to you, sir, this messenger to signify to yourself, that if you be not determined of a better lodging, if it please you to lie in Donnington Castle the poor desolate widow will afford you and my Lord of Worcester and his Lady and my Lord of Shrewsbury and his Lady your friends three bedchambers with inner chambers castle-fashion, the best I have. (But soft, I do not say for yourself and your Lady one)'...

'Let me forthwith know your pleasure herein and the day of her Majesty's coming to Mr Dolman, that the widow may send for provision to London for the supper and time of her Majesty's abode here'. [HT.MS 106/39].

The Queen had stayed with Thomas Dolman at Shaw-cum-Donnington, August 1592.

Aug 6, court, Earl of Northumberland to Lord Cobham:

'The state of our court here beareth this face at the present: we are at Sir William Clarke's and shall be here till Monday, who neither gives meat nor money to any of the progressors; the house her Majesty hath at commandment, and his grass the Guards' horses eat, he chafes, and this is all'.

'Tomorrow we go to Sir Henry Guildford's to dinner as yet is appointed, and so back again. Upon Wednesday night the Queen was not well, but she will not be known of it, for the next day she did walk abroad in the park lest any should take notice of it'.

'The Lord Admiral came to court this morning. The Lord of Thomond took his leave yesterday and is gone. The French Ambassador lieth at Windsor, and hath not been here since the Queen's coming. The Earl of Clanricarde stands aloof and looks upon her, but his inventions are not great. My Lord Henry [Howard] is his preceptor, and very grossly prompts him, but it will come to nothing'.

'The day of the remove her Majesty rode on horseback all the way, which was ten miles, and also hunted; whether she was weary or no I leave it to your Lordship's censure. Oatlands must now be our rendezvous for a while, whither after God knows. To make up this side of paper I am forced to deliver you these babbles, because there is no matters of greater moment stirring, unless I should write to you which of the Maids loses, which wins'. [SP12/284/96].

Aug 7, court, Sir Robert Cecil to Sir George Carew, in Ireland:

'My Lord of Thomond and Sir George Thornton have taken their leave'.

Letters have been written to Ireland concerning Thomond's wish to annex the county of Clare to Munster. 'As for Sir George Thornton, the Queen hath used him very graciously'. [Cecil-Carew, 123].

Sir George Thornton, a long serving sea-captain, was seeking a grant of lands. Donough O'Brien, 3rd Earl of Thomond, was Governor of Clare and Thomond.

Sir George Carew had informed Sir Robert Cecil, June 28: The Earl of Thomond is coming; he 'hath no other suit in England but to annex Thomond to Munster, which if he may not obtain his heart is broken'. [Carew, iv.259].

On his way back the Earl went to Bath, where the Chamberlains gave him a pottle of sack, a pottle of claret wine and a pound of sugar. [Wardle, 185].

Aug 7, Sat dinner and hunting, Taplow, Bucks; Sir Henry Guildford. George Pollard made ready, 'and a standing there for her Majesty'.^T

Taplow manor-house; owned by Sir Henry Guildford; died 1646; wife: Elizabeth (Somerset) (1572-1627), a Lady of the Privy Chamber.

August 7: Sir William Browne in London from the Low Countries.

Browne was Deputy-Governor of Flushing, in Zeeland. The Governor, Sir Robert Sidney, was at Flushing himself from late July-early October. Browne came with letters from Sidney to the Queen and Cecil of his and Sidney's grievances.

[August 7] Browne wrote to Sidney from London: I have horses and am going to the court 'where I hope to be before they be removed: for, as I hear, it lay yesterday at Sir William Clarke's, but is this day to remove somewhat nearer Oatlands, where it is thought it will stay eight or ten days; and although her Majesty hath sent my Lord of Hertford word that she means to see him, notwithstanding it is held that the determined progress is at the farthest...I am now putting foot in stirrup this present Saturday morning at four o'clock'.^{SD}

Aug 8: Sir Robert Cecil, the Queen's Secretary, was at Hitcham, as was Thomas Bodley (1545-1613), who had restored at his own expense the University Library at Oxford, which re-opened on 8 November 1602.

From 1604 the library bore Bodley's name, and became the Bodleian Library. Sir Thomas Bodley's monument is at Merton College chapel, Oxford.

Aug 8, Sun Sir William Browne at Hitcham for audience.
 Sir William Browne to Sir Robert Sidney, Aug 12, London:

'On Saturday last in the morning I delivered your Lordship's letters to Mr Secretary'.

'He was pleased to let the Queen's letters be delivered by myself, and very honourably on Sunday morning after prayers, the Queen walking into the garden at Sir William Clarke's, after Mr Bodley had first spoken four or five words with her Majesty, Mr Secretary mentioned me; she presently called for me, and was pleased to say I was welcome, with many good words'.

'Now I must tell your Lordship that before, having had no conference at all with Mr Secretary about my business, he had told me in the morning, in passing from his coach into the court, that he had told the Queen how much I was grieved, according to that your Lordship had written unto him, and told me that her Majesty would speak with me'...

'And so indeed I had no sooner kissed her sacred hands but that she presently made me stand up, and spoke somewhat loud and said "Come hither, Browne" and pronounced that she held me for an old faithful servant of hers, and said "I must give content to Browne" or some such speeches; and then the train following her, said "Stand, stand back! will you not let us speak but ye will be hearers?" And then walked a turn or two, protesting of her most gracious opinion of myself. "And before God, Browne" said she "they do me wrong that will make so honest a servant be jealous [suspicious] that I should mistrust him"...It pleased her to swear unto me that she had as good affiance [trust] in my loyalty as in any man's that served her. My answers your Lordship may guess at, and my joy then hath made me joyful ever since'.

'But I must not forget to tell your Lordship that having walked a turn or two she called for a stool, which was set under a tree, and I began to kneel, but she would not suffer me; insomuch that after two or three denials which I made to kneel, still she was pleased to say that she would not speak with me unless I stood up. Whereupon I stood up, and having reconfirmed her royal favour and gracious opinion of me, she discoursed of many things' [including of Sir Francis Vere, Count Maurice, and the fighting in the Low Countries].

"Tush! Browne", saith she, "I know more than thou doest"...

'I told her that the hope of those of Zeeland consisted alone in her Majesty'...

"Alas! poor Zeelanders, I know that they love me with all their hearts".

I added that they prayed continually for her. "Yea, Browne" said she "I know it well enough, and I will tell thee one thing. Faith, here is a church of that countrymen in London...who I know pray with that fervency for me as none of my subjects can do more".

'After long talk, at length Mr Secretary came...Her Majesty presently said unto me "Doest thou see that little fellow that kneels there...On my faith, Browne, he is the best friend that soldiers have". He answered "That it was from her Majesty alone from whom flowed all soldiers' good".

'The end was...that I received that perfect joy by being so favoured of her Majesty as that I shall think of it during life'.

PS. 'I send you with this letter all the Queen's entertainment at Chiswick and at my Lord Keeper's; I have gotten them copied out for you'.^{SD}

[Aug 9, Mon] dinner, Datchet, Bucks; Mr Hanbury.
 Riding Court manor-house, Datchet; owned by Richard Hanbury (c.1538-1608), London goldsmith; widower. 'Mr Hanbury's house by Ditton Park'.^T
 Ditton Park, Stoke Poges parish, Bucks, was Crown property.
 Datchet Church has a memorial brass to Richard and his wife Alice.

Aug 9, Mon **THORPE**, Surrey.^C Mr Oglethorpe.
 Anthony Abington made ready 'against her Majesty's coming thither from Burnham'.^T

Aug 11, Wed **OATLANDS PALACE**, Weybridge, Surrey.^c

'Her Majesty altered her determination in coming thither two several times'. George Pollard made ready 'a standing in Oatlands Park for her Majesty to see the coursing there'.^T Works made at Oatlands: 'a seat about a tree at the end of the bowling alley for her Majesty's chair to stand against'.

Court news. Aug 12, Deptford, Fulke Greville (a Commissioner for the Carrack) to the Earl of Shrewsbury: 'I returned by sea from Plymouth with the carrack goods on Monday was sennight...The Wednesday following [August 4] I went to the court where I was better entertained than I deserved'.

'Yesterday - God be thanked - the Queen came to Oatlands where she stays eight days as we say and so to Windsor'. [She changed her plans]. [LPL 3203/51].

Court news. Aug 14, Newington, Sir George Savile to the Earl of Shrewsbury: 'Behold enclosed the manner of her Majesty's late entertainment at my Lord Keeper's house, whereunto I must add the dainty playing of Barley Breaks, dancing of country dances by the Boys of the Chapel, and excellent vaulting of tumblers. The feast so great as six dishes...stood so furnished through the whole service, which by report is greatly spoken of in London. Your Lordship hath heard of her Majesty's return to Oatlands where yet there is a speech of going forward and to my Lord of Hertford's. In this enclosed your Lordship may see the manner of presenting the gifts, which were many and great. The jewel my Lord Keeper presented was held richly worth £1000, as I was credibly told. Another jewel said worth £600. And the gown of rainbows very rich embroidered'. [Nottinghamshire Record Office: Savile MS 1D/14].

Barley break, or breaks: a country game where two couples at either end of a field try to change partners without being caught by a couple holding hands in the middle 'in hell'. It is described in Sir Philip Sidney's poem 'Lamia'. Boys of the Chapel: Children of the Chapel Royal.

Aug 15, Sheffield, Earl of Shrewsbury to Sir Robert Cecil:

'It is said here her Majesty has stayed her progress, and is gone no further than Sir William Clarke's, and so back to Richmond, but I know not the certainty thereof, in so remote a hole we live as we hear seldom so much as where the court is. If the weather be as wet with you as it is here with us in this country, it is no marvel that her Majesty stay her progress, for it not only hindereth our harvest here extremely, but which is more, my hunting and hawking, which is no small misfortune'.

Aug 17, Sir Robert Cecil to Lord Zouche: 'Her Majesty is at Oatlands, and our progress dissolved'. [HT.MS 94/142,148].

Aug 20 (and earlier): Letters from the Queen to Lord Hunsdon.

George Carey, 2nd Lord Hunsdon (1547-1603), Lord Chamberlain, was the Queen's first cousin once removed, being a grandson of Mary Boleyn, sister of the Queen's mother, Queen Anne Boleyn; his wife was Elizabeth (Spencer)(1552-1618), of Althorp, Northants.

In June they went to Bath to take the waters, but left by July 8 to stay with relatives at Dauntsey, Wiltshire, until July 31 or later. [HT.xii.219,226,266].

Two undated letters from the Queen have survived, the first probably written in late June or early July, the second in late July or early August, when abnormally wet weather was disrupting the Queen's summer progress.

The signatures of these two letters are in the Queen's own hand.

[Transcribed in full by Katherine Duncan-Jones, in Elizabeth I and the Culture of Writing, ed. Peter Beal and Grace Ioppolo (2007), 36-41, with facsimiles.

From Berkeley Castle Muniments].

1) Addressed 'To my good George Lord Hunsdon, my Lord Chamberlain':
 'Good George. I cannot but render all laud and thanks to God, for that since your coming to Bath I understand you have so well observed all such good order both for diet and otherwise as was prescribed you before your going thither: for your performing whereof I do not only give you my particular thanks in that you show thereby a care to please me, by observing such prescription as myself had a care to give you'. But I 'cannot but wonder, considering the great number of pails of water that I hear have been poured upon you, that you are not rather drowned than otherwise. But I trust all shall be for your better means to health'...

'Commend me to your Lady and Companion...Take ye comfort both you and she by my Love, which with my continual prayers to the Almighty God for you both shall never fail you'. 'Your most affectionate loving Sovereign Elizabeth R'.

2) Addressed: 'To my good George, the Lord Hunsdon, my Lord Chamberlain'.
 'Good George. Because I have heard that before your departing from Bath neither your speech was become much better, nor your legs any stronger...I have sent this gentleman...purposely to see you and to bring me word of your state how it is since your coming from Bath, hoping by him to hear that good effect wrought in you which is said by such as have experience of the nature and operation of that Water doth commonly ensue...although as yet I somewhat still doubt that there hath been too great abundance of the same squashed upon you, which I would have restrained, if myself might have been with you, for therein would I have been bold to have played the part of a Physician both to you and my Lady, of whom I am very sorry that she hath received so little benefit by the water as I hear she hath'...

'I am glad you are no further from the way of my intended summer journey, for that it may be I shall not stick to make 20 or 30 miles compass to visit you, except my present choler against those extreme Water-powers do stay me, for that indeed I would rather come to find you amended than otherwise, for which as I will daily pray so I assure you good George of all comfort that we can give both to yourself and to my Lady your second self and best companion, to whom I pray you commend me, as I commend you both to God's holy protection'.

'Your most affectionate Sovereign Elizabeth R'.

3) Aug 20, at our Manor of Oatlands. Addressed: 'To our right trusty and well beloved cousin the Lord Hunsdon, our Lord Chamberlain'.

'Good George. We can but give you our hearty thanks for your visiting us so often by your Messengers'. You know 'of our earnest care and longing after your good recovery, or at the least the ease and mitigation of your infirmity'...

We 'most earnestly wish that, as soon as you may, you would come out of that close place and make trial of some better air'...

'And though it hath so fallen out that hitherto we could not see you where you are, yet we nothing doubt but shortly to see you where we may. And in what place soever you be, you shall find us a Mother and a wife to minister unto you all the best effects of that tender and kind affection which we may possibly extend to one whom for many respects we hold so near and dear unto us'...

'Your very affectionate Sovereign Elizabeth R'.

'That close place' may refer to Lord Hunsdon's house in Blackfriars, London, which the Queen knew well. She visited Lord Hunsdon on September 9-11; he was then in the country, at his West Drayton house, Middlesex.

Aug 22, Littlecote [Wiltshire], Sir John Popham to Sir Robert Cecil:
 'I am very sorry...the unseasonableness of the weather hath fallen out to be such as to hinder her Majesty's passage this way'. [HT.MS 184/91].

Aug 24, Oatlands, Lord Henry Howard to King James, of the 'fiction' of 'favours used toward the Master of Gray's booby at his being here':

'This gross booby never came in the sight of Queen Elizabeth, nor of Cecil neither, more than once'. [Gray's son Andrew, evidently recently at court; Lord Henry Howard was created Earl of Northampton in 1604].

[Aug 24, Oatlands], Lord Henry Howard to the Earl of Mar, in Scotland:

'The Queen our Sovereign was never so gallant many years, nor so set upon jollity. Her Council, and others by compact, had persuaded her to give up the progress into the West for this year, by reason of the hindrance of harvest, by the taking up of carts, and the people's groans: but she is come about again to hold it on, as far as my Lord of Hertford's, which is fifty miles from hence; and order is given yesterday for the remove the same day sevensnight; hunting or disporting in the meantime every other day'...

'The Archduke is arisen with his whole forces from the place where he lay near to Grave' [which had been besieged by Archduke Albert]...

'Queen Elizabeth never used me in my life so well as she doth now, making a poor use of my aptness for her humour of recreation and jollity, for which I am only fit'. [Secret Correspondence, 185, 231-233].

Francis Bacon's anecdote: 'When the Archduke did raise his siege from Grave, the then secretary came to Queen Elizabeth; and the Queen, having intelligence first, said to the secretary, Wot you what? The Archduke is risen from the Grave. He answered, What, without the trumpet of the Archangel? The Queen replied, Yes, without sound of trumpet'. [Apophthegms New and Old (1625)].

Court news. Aug 25, Father Rivers: 'The young Earl of Clanricarde, resembling much the late Earl of Essex, is growing to be a favourite, and it is thought the Secretary concurrereth thereunto, for that such a one may many times prevail to persuade her to what they would when they dare not speak themselves'...

'The progress of her Majesty was soon at a stay. After she had been most royally entertained and feasted at the Lord Keeper's, his charge in that behalf amounting to about £4000, passing further into Oxfordshire, the weather and ways proving foul, and the country murmuring to be hindered from their harvest business, by persuasion of some of the Council she suddenly returned to a standing house at Oatlands, and so continueth, yet with a desire to pass forward as far as the Earl of Hertford's, principally as it is thought of a covetous humour (as most of her late progresses have been), to receive rich presents and jewels, as by all owners of the houses especially of the nobility have been accustomed to be given unto her. Monday next [August 30] she hath appointed to set forward towards the Earl of Hertford'.

'At her being at the Lord Keeper's, in her merriest vein, the Countess of Derby (his wife) moved that it would please her to accept of the Lady Strange and her sister to wait on her in her Privy Chamber, and to bestow them in marriages where she thought fit, or at least to give her leave to bestow them; at which motion the Queen was exceedingly passionate and commanded silence in that behalf. The younger, as is supposed, is contracted to the Keeper's son, and the parents hoped the Queen would have approved it, and made him knight. Now they are at a non-plus, and know not how to proceed'.

'The Queen hunteth every second or third day, for the most part on horseback, and showeth little defect in ability, albeit her face and other parts resembling old age argue no little decay. A country woman viewing her in the progress told her neighbour standing near her that the Queen looked very old and ill. One of the Guard, overhearing her, said she should be hanged for those words, and frightened the poor woman exceedingly'. [Jesuits, i.46-7].

[Lady Frances Stanley secretly married, c.winter 1602-3, her step-brother John Egerton; Lady Strange married Lord Chandos in 1608].

John Clapham, 1603, of the Queen: 'She was very rich in jewels, which had been given her by her subjects; for in times of progress there was no person that entertained her in his house but, besides his extraordinary charge in feasting her and her train, he bestowed a jewel upon her; a custom in former times begun by some of her special favourites that, having in good measure tasted of her bounty, did give her only of her own; though otherwise that kind of giving was not so pleasing to gentlemen of meaner quality'. [Clapham, 87-88].

August: dinner, Byfleet, Surrey.

Robert Pemberton made ready 'Byfleet Lodge for her Majesty to dine at'.^T
Byfleet Park and the Lodges in the Park were Crown property.

August: dinner, Chertsey, Surrey; Dr Hammond.

'Mr Doctor Hammond's house at Chertsey Abbey'.^T

Chertsey Abbey; purchased in 1602 by Dr John Hammond; wife: Mary.
Dr Hammond became Physician to James I and Prince Henry; he died in 1617.

August: dinner, New Lodge, Windsor, Berks; Crown property.

George Pollard made ready 'at New Lodge for her Majesty being then in the Forest a-hunting'.^T

August: dinner, Mr Bromley's house.^T

August: dinner, Mr Woodward's house.^T [Upton-cum-Chalvey, Bucks].

Upton manor-house. Crown property; occupied by George Woodward, Clerk of the Works at Windsor Castle; son of a former Keeper.

Aug 29, Sun Lord Eure and other Commissioners at Oatlands to take leave.

Ralph 3rd Lord Eure was to go to Bremen for trade negotiations, accompanied by John Herbert, Dr Daniel Dunne, civil lawyer, with Stephen Lesieur, secretary.

Knighting: John Herbert, the Queen's Second Secretary.

Also Aug 29: play, by Flaminio Curtesse 'and certain other Italian comedians who were commended hither out of France and since their coming have showed one of their plays or interludes here at the court', £10 payment.^T

See 'Proposed progresses: 1602' for the itinerary for a progress from Oatlands to Littlecote and Tottenham, Wiltshire, to begin on August 31.

Aug 30, Littlecote, Sir John Popham to Sir Robert Cecil: 'I shall depend upon her Majesty coming this way, as now I hope she will'. [HT.MS 95/25].

[c.Aug 30], Oatlands, Sir Robert Cecil to the Earl of Shrewsbury:

'We once again resolved on Wednesday [Sept 1] to go onward to my Lord of Hertford's, though in my opinion we shall not much pass Windsor'.

PS. 'Now know that our progress even now is broken, further than hereabouts'.

Earl of Shrewsbury to Sir Robert Cecil, Sept 8, Worksop:

'Your postscript told us of the breaking of your progress, for which I think none but the Queen's Maids of Honour doth lament'. [Lodge, ii.552; HT.xii.358].

Court news. Sept 1, London, Thomas Edmondes to the Earl of Shrewsbury:

'There hath been a great forwardness to have continued the progress to my Lord of Hertford's house, but now at length it is utterly broken, in respect of the lateness of the season, and it is in deliberation to find out some places about Oatlands and Windsor, as Horsley and Sunninghill, and others like, where to entertain the Queen for a fortnight, and afterwards to return to Nonsuch'...

'On Sunday last...the Commissioners appointed for the legation at Bremen took their leaves of her Majesty, and Mr Secretary Herbert was then made knight'.

[Lodge, ii.568-9].

September: dinner, Windsor Forest; Mr Brooke.
 'Mr Brooke's house in the Forest'.^T

September: dinner, Woking, Surrey.
 Woking manor-house, 'Woking House'.^T Crown property.
 Works made 'tables, trestles, forms and cupboards for sundry lodgings
 and offices against her Majesty's coming there to dine'.

Sept 2, Queen to Sir George Carew (President of Munster since Jan 1600):
 'My faithful George, how joyed we are that so good event hath followed so
 troublesome endeavours, laborious cares, and heedful travels, you may guess,
 but we best can witness, and do protest that your safety hath equalled the
 most thereof. And so God even bless you in all your actions. Your Sovereign,
 Elizabeth Regina'. [Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary* (1617), ii.273]. Reply: Sept 20.

Court news. [Sept 3], London, Beaumont, French Ambassador, to Henri IV:
 'The Queen is still at Oatlands...and plans to spend the autumn in her houses
 of Windsor, Nonsuch and Richmond. Her health is very good, the best, so everyone
 says, that it has been for a long time. She goes hunting often and is almost
 always on horseback, with no fear of wind nor heat nor dusk'.^{BT}

Sept 5, Sun John Meyrick at Oatlands, on return from Russia.
 Meyrick, special Ambassador to Russia since October 1601, brought to England
 with him four young Russians to be educated. Tsar Boris Godunov told Meyrick
 'that he did the rather make choice of this our country for the especial love
 he beareth her Majesty, and the good opinion he hath of our nation; and that
 I should make them known to her Majesty, and desire her, in his name, that she
 would be pleased to give leave that they may be trained up in learning, and not
 be drawn to forsake their religion'. [Leigh, 381].

John Meyrick and Francis Cherry to Sir Robert Cecil, Sept 24, London:
 'We attend your pleasure concerning the Russe young gentlemen, whether we shall
 take order for the placing of them, that they may be trained up in learning
 according to the Emperour's desire, or to stay her Majesty's direction therein,
 who signified to them at their being at court that she herself would take order
 for them'. [HT.xii.398]. *John Chamberlain to Carleton, Nov 4:* 'We have here
 four youths come from Muscovy to learn our language and Latin, and are to be
 dispersed to divers schools at Winchester, Eton, Cambridge and Oxford'.^{CHA}

Sept 6/29: John Killock, Royal waterman, gave 'his daily attendance at
 Oatlands to carry her Majesty by water whensoever she were disposed with
 a barge of my Lord Admiral's'.^T [Lord Admiral: Earl of Nottingham].

Sept 6/29: via Shepperton, Middlesex.
 John Killock and other watermen carried 'her Majesty's royal person two
 several times over to Shepperton and back again'.^T

Sept 7, Tues: Queen's birthday celebrations, e.g.
St Bartholomew by the Exchange: 'For ringing on the Queen's birthday, 12d;
 for candles the birth and Crowning nights, 6d'. On 'Crowning day', Nov 17,
 the ringers received 6s8d. *St Mary Woolnoth:* 'Paid on the Queen's birthday
 for a rope for the tenor bell, 18d; paid the ringers on the same day, 2s'.
Kingston Church, Surrey: 'For the ringers' dinner on the birthday, 7s'.

Sept 7: The Commissioners left for Bremen. Lord Eure chose September 7,
 'the happy day of her Majesty's nativity', to begin his journey. [HT.xii.360].
 Lord Eure, Sir John Herbert, and Dr Daniel Dunne, negotiated on trade until
 May 1603 in Bremen with Commissioners from Denmark and the Hanse Towns.

Sept 9, Thur dinner, East Bedfont, Middlesex; Mr Draper.
Pates manor-house, East Bedfont; owned by John Draper;
wife: Barbara; she married (2) Edward Pigeon.

Anthony Abington, Gentleman Usher, with one Yeoman Usher, three Yeomen, two Grooms of the Chamber, two Grooms of the Wardrobe and one Groom-Porter, 'making ready Mr Draper's house at Bedfont for her Majesty to dine at when she went to Drayton, by the space of two days', 39s4d.^T

Sept 9, Thur **WEST DRAYTON**, Middlesex; Lord Hunsdon.^C
West Drayton manor-house. Crown property, leased by George Carey, 2nd Lord Hunsdon, who had spent part of the summer at Bath, for his health;
wife: Elizabeth (Spencer), daughter of Sir John Spencer, of Althorp.
Richard Coningsby made ready 'the Lord Chamberlain's house at Drayton'.^T

Sept 11, Sat dinner, East Bedfont, Middlesex; Mr Draper. [As on Sept 9].
Anthony Abington, with his nine men, making ready 'Mr Draper's house at Bedfont for her Majesty to dine at coming back from Drayton', 39s4d.^T

Sept 11, Sat **OATLANDS PALACE**, Weybridge, Surrey.^C
Richard Coningsby with ten men 'for alterations and making ready of her Majesty's house at Oatlands against her coming back from Drayton'.^T

September 12: Duke of Stettin-Pomerania arrived in London.

Philip Julius, Duke of Stettin-Pomerania, 17 (born December 1584; died 1625), sailed from Boulogne to Dover on September 10, to travel in England for three weeks as part of a tour of several countries.

Sept 14, Blackfriars, Lord Cobham to Cecil: 'The Duke of Pomeran is arrived. With a desire to see her Majesty and the country, he came out of France. The company with him are his followers and servants. They are now all arrived here at London'. Enclosing names of 7 gentlemen; with 3 servants and a lackey.

The Duke 'hath the government of one half of that country'. [HT.xii.373].

The Duke's tutor, Frederic Gerschow, kept a diary, from which details of his travels are taken. 'Diary of the Journey of...Duke of Stettin-Pomerania', translated in Transactions of Royal Historical Society. n.s.vi (1892), 1-67.

The Duke visited the law students of the Temple; the Royal Exchange; the Tower armoury and menagerie; went to bear-baiting; dined incognito with the Lord Mayor (Sir John Garrard); visited Westminster Abbey and Whitehall Palace; and visited Walter Cope's private museum.

He also went to three plays, described as:

Sept 13: a play showing Turkish and Christian victories in Hungary.

Sept 14: a tragedy about Samson.

Sept 18: a play about a royal widow, preceded by an hour long concert, played in an indoor theatre by the Queen's child actors and musicians.

The plays can be identified as:

Sept 13: 'Alba Regalis', by Worcester's Men, at the Rose, Bankside.

Sept 14: 'Samson', by the Admiral's Men, at the Fortune Theatre.

Sept 18: 'Sir Giles Goosecap, Knight' (attributed to George Chapman), by the Children of the Chapel Royal, at the Blackfriars Theatre.

The Duke left London on September 20, visited Sir Robert Cecil's house, Theobalds, Herts; spent two nights at Cambridge; visited Oxford and Woodstock Palace; at Windsor visited St George's Chapel, and the Castle.

He saw the Queen at Oatlands Palace on September 26.

By Sept 14: Petition to Sir Robert Cecil by William Duck, Keeper of the Queen's Game: Looking to the game about Richmond, I met with the Earl of Derby, to whom I spoke touching the spoiling of the game with certain partridge takers that follow the court, and his setting dog, and himself in person. The Earl said in a great fury that it was true, and that he would take partridge again in despite of any nobleman in England, and threatened to run his rapier through me.

*Duck prays Sir Robert to take order therein. [HT.xii.580].
He complained of William Stanley, 6th Earl of Derby (1561-1642).*

Sept 15, Oatlands. Proclamation (816): Enforcing Statutes against Hunting.

'Her Majesty doth understand that the statutes...for the maintenance and increase of the game of pheasants and partridges...have taken...so little effect', that by hunters taking and killing the game 'near unto her own houses of residence...her Majesty is deprived both of the use and of the pleasure of the said game'.

She therefore commands that no one shall take 'with any nets, setting dogs, or any other instruments or engines any pheasants or partridges, or any fowl of the river, within six miles of any of these her usual houses, viz. Windsor Castle, Whitehall, Hampton Court, Richmond, Greenwich, Oatlands, or Nonsuch'...

'Whereas her Majesty both for her exercise and for her delight is pleased many times to see her hawks fly, and would more often use the same if...by the spoil and disturbance of the game by the common hawking near unto her houses her pleasure therein were not prevented: her Majesty doth...command that no person or persons of what estate or degree soever they be shall hawk at pheasant or partridge or at any fowl of the river within three miles of any her aforementioned houses, under the degree and quality of a nobleman, or of one of her Privy Council...upon pain of forfeiting their hawks, imprisonment of themselves, and ...the further danger of her Majesty's heavy displeasure'.

If any Justices of the Peace living near her Highness's houses 'have used negligence or connivance herein, her Majesty will extend the pain of her displeasure unto them and cause them to feel the smart thereof'.

Court news. Sept 16, Father Rivers: 'All our intended progresses have not yet passed farther than Oatlands, where and in the parks adjoining her Majesty hath often hunted with great show of ability, to the consolation of her loving subjects. The last week she came to Drayton to visit the Lord Chamberlain, newly returned from Bath, but in no better state than he went. The Queen tarried there two days, and again to Oatlands. Against the term a remove is expected to Richmond'. [Jesuits, MS]. The Queen moved to Richmond on October 8.

Michaelmas law term 1602 began on October 9.

September 17: Lord Roxburghe at Oatlands en route from Scotland to France. Robert Ker, 1st Lord Roxburghe (c.1570-1650), had licence to travel.

Ralph Gray to Sir Robert Cecil, May 18: 'The greatest cause occasions his travel is some debts'. George Nicholson to Cecil, June 27: Lord Roxburghe asks for licence to go through England 'because he cannot brook the seas'; July 4: Lord Roxburghe would be glad to be directed how to govern himself there in England and in his journey, and would not 'seek or press a kiss of her Majesty's hand unless he knew it would be granted'. [Scot.xiii.984,1011,1015].

Sept 17, Fri Lord Roxburghe at Oatlands with the Queen.

Sept 17, Sir Robert Cecil to George Nicholson, in Scotland:

'Roxburghe has been here with the Queen both forenoon and afternoon, having taken an ill dinner with me...I do hold him a gentleman of as wise and gallant fashion as I have seen out of Scotland a great while'. [Scot.xiii.1045].

Also Sept 17: Earl of Nottingham, Lord Admiral, sent Sir Robert Cecil two warrants for Lord Roxburghe to see Windsor and Hampton Court. [HT.xii.376].

Sept 18: *Sir Robert Cecil's verses for the Queen, with music by Robert Hales. Composed after Cecil's niece the Countess of Derby (Elizabeth Vere, a Lady of the Privy Chamber) wore a miniature of Cecil which the Queen took from her to wear herself. Hales, a celebrated singer, was a court lutenist, 1582-1615.*

Lady Anne Clifford later wrote of 'my Lady of Suffolk [formerly Lady Katherine Howard], my young Lady Derby, and Lady Walsingham, which three ladies were the great favourites of Sir Robert Cecil'. [Diary, 8].

Sir William Browne, Deputy-Governor of Flushing, enclosed Cecil's verses in a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury. [Lodge, ii.576; without the verses].

*Verses corresponding to Browne's description are in the Bodleian Library, in a commonplace book of Richard ap Robert. In his book, immediately preceding Cecil's verses, is a poem headed 'Of the last Queen by the Earl of Clanricarde', beginning 'My love doth fly with wings of fear'. It refers to the Earl's love 'never repining, never repenting'; it probably also belongs to 1602, when Richard Bourke, 4th Earl of Clanricarde, was vying with Cecil for the Queen's favour. [Katherine Duncan-Jones: 'Preserved Dainties: late Elizabethan Poems by Sir Robert Cecil and the Earl of Clanricarde'. *Bodleian Library Record* 14 (1992), 136-144]. Sir William Browne spent a few days at court, returning to Flushing in October. His letter and Cecil's verses are here re-united.*

Sept 18, Sir William Browne to the Earl of Shrewsbury:

'I send your Lordship here enclosed some verses compounded by Mr Secretary, who got Hales to frame a ditty unto it. The occasion was as I hear that the young Lady of Derby wearing about her neck, in her bosom, a picture which was in a dainty tablet, the Queen espying it asked what fine jewel that was. The Lady Derby was curious to excuse the showing of it, but the Queen would have it, and opening it and finding it to be Mr Secretary's, snatched it away and tied it upon her shoe, and walked along with it there; then she took it thence and pinned it on her elbow, and wore it some time there also; which Mr Secretary being told of, made these verses, and had Hales to sing them in his chamber'.

'It was told her Majesty that Mr Secretary had rare music and songs; she would needs hear them, and so this ditty was sung...More verses there be likewise, whereof some or all were likewise sung. I do boldly send these things to your Lordship, which I would not do to anyone else, for I hear they are very secret. Some of the verses argue that he repines not though her Majesty please to grace others, contents himself with the favour he hath'.

'From a servant of Diana, as faithful as the best
 A lady got a Picture and wore it at her breast.
 His peerless mistress took it, it pleased her so to do
 And wore it at her elbow, though first tied at her shoe.
 What meant that Angelic Queen to wear the Picture so
 Meant she to scorn her servant, or to disgrace him? No
 She at her elbow wore it, to signify that he
 To serve her at her elbow, doth ever love to be.
 And at her foot she placed it where he would prostrate lie
 To show where he resolved even at her feet to die.
 And at her foot etc'.

Sept 18, London, Lord Roxburghe to Sir Robert Cecil: I have received warrants to see her Majesty's houses, but have to leave visiting them to another occasion. [Scot.xiii.1046].

Sept 19, Sun Lord Roxburghe at Oatlands to take leave.

'The Lord of Roxburghe came to the court, and spoke with the Queen, and then he went on towards France'.^{MK}

Court news. Sept 19, Earl of Worcester to the Earl of Shrewsbury:
 'We are frolic here in court; much dancing in the Privy Chamber of country dances before the Queen's Majesty, who is exceedingly pleased therewith. Irish tunes are at this time most pleasing, but in winter, Lullaby, an old song of Mr Byrd's, will be more in request, as I think'. [Lodge, ii.578].

'Lullaby, my sweet little baby' was the most popular piece in *Psalms, Sonnets and Songs* (1588) by William Byrd, Organist of the Chapel Royal.

Sept 20, Sir George Carew to the Queen, after receiving a letter in her own hand (of Sept 2): 'If I could sufficiently express the joy which my heart conceived when I beheld a letter written by your Royal hand and directed unto me, your Majesty would not, in your more than abounding charity, mislike your pains, having thereby raised the dejected spirit of a poor creature exiled from that blessing which others enjoy in beholding your Royal person, whose beauty adorns the world, and whose wisdom is the miracle of our age'.

I entreat to be allowed to return to England, if for only two months. At your Majesty's 'Royal feet, and in whose service, I am hourly ready to sacrifice my life'.

Sir Robert Cecil told Carew, Oct 1: 'The Queen liked your letter very well'. [Cecil-Carew, 135].

Sir George Carew was on his way from Ireland to the Queen in 1603 when she died. He was created (1605) Baron Carew; (1626) Earl of Totness.

He died in 1629; his monument, with his wife Joyce, is in Holy Trinity Church, Stratford-upon-Avon (where Shakespeare is also buried).

Sept 23, Oatlands, Fulke Greville (a Carrack Commissioner) to [Mary] Countess of Shrewsbury: 'The best news...is of the Queen's health and disposition of body, which I assure you is excellent good, and I have not seen her every way better disposed these many years'.

'Till this time this wayward carrack business hath made me a stranger to this place...Among all the goods there is little delicacies worthy of you'...

'The kinds be calicoes...silks; all manner of spices but netmegs and sugar; jams...carpets, the Queen hath stayed all...damasks, very few; ebony wood, abundance; and this is the sum'.

Sept 25 [Oatlands], Sir Robert Cecil to the Earl of Shrewsbury:

'Good Fulke, our true friend...was about to have stolen down to you, and then should you have had our sack of news, even from the Privy Chamber door to the Porter's Lodge, but further than that you know we are no censors. Well, Sir, he cannot for his life get down now from the Queen; for though his services absent have much contented her, yet she now will not let him go from her'...

'Because you may know where to find us, this comes from Oatlands, and will shortly write from Richmond'. [Lodge, ii.582-584].

Fulke Greville (1554-1628), a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, Treasurer of the Navy; of Deptford, Kent, and Warwickshire, was created (1621) Baron Brooke. His monument is in St Mary's Church, Warwick. He had been one of the Queen's favourites; he celebrated her in a poem beginning:

'Under a throne I saw a virgin sit,
 The red and white rose quartered in her face;
 Star of the North! and for true guards to it,
 Princes, Church, States, all pointing out her grace'.
 [From *Caelica*; published 1633].

Sept 26, Sun Lord Home at Oatlands en route to Scotland.

Alexander 6th Lord Home, who had passed through London in late July without seeking audience, was returning after a special embassy to the King of France.

Chamberlain, Oct 2: 'The Lord Hume came this way home and had audience at court on Sunday; the Queen was very pleasant with him and well disposed'.^{CHA}

Also Sept 26: Duke of Stettin-Pomerania at Oatlands.

Described by the Duke's Tutor: 'His princely Grace arrived at Oatlands, where the common servants of the court had set up their tents like a military camp, there not being enough lodgings. It was a cheerful hunting-box. The Queen gave orders to lead us...to the garden close to the palace, and her Royal Majesty passed us several times, walking as freely as if she had been only eighteen years old, always taking off her mask and bowing deeply to his princely Grace, who however, not willing to make himself known, stood almost behind'.

'Her Majesty also gave him to understand that she would like to see his princely Grace, according to the English fashion, kiss her hands, which however his Grace, for various weighty reasons, politely declined to do'.

'At last the Queen, to show her royal rank, ordered some of the noble lords and counsellors to approach, and they, in their stately dress, were obliged to remain on their knees all the time the Queen addressed them. Meanwhile, the Queen uncovered herself down to the breasts, showing her snow-white skin'.

'To judge from portraits showing her Majesty in her thirtieth year, there cannot have lived many finer women at the time; even in her old age she did not look ugly, when seen from a distance. From the garden we went to the presentation chamber, saw the most elegant gentlemen and well-dressed ladies, most of them in silver cloth; also the ceremonies at table, and the dishes brought in by the halberdiers, who are fine big fellows'.

During dinner the Duke received licence to see the Navy, and to take horses and dogs out of the country; a warship was ordered to convey him overseas.

In the afternoon he visited Hampton Court, staying overnight at Kingston. On September 27 he visited Nonsuch and Richmond Palaces, before returning to London. There he visited St Paul's Cathedral. He left London on September 30, visiting Greenwich Palace en route to Rochester, where on October 1 he saw 40 of the Queen's ships, and went aboard the three largest, The Elizabeth, The Bear, and The Triumph. On October 3 he embarked at Dover for Calais.

The Duke's Tutor mentioned that at the Tower they were shown 'where the brave hero the Earl of Essex was beheaded', and that a song about him 'in which he takes leave of the Queen and the whole country...is sung and played on musical instruments all over the country, even in our presence at the royal court'.

A Lamentable new Ballad upon the Earl of Essex Death, to the tune of 'The King's Last Goodnight', includes (spoken on the scaffold):

'Farewell, Elizabeth, my gracious Queen!

God bless thee and thy Council all.

Farewell, my knights of chivalry;

Farewell my soldiers, great and tall;

Farewell, the Commons, great and small,

Into the hands of men I light;

My life shall make amends for all,

For Essex bids the world goodnight'.

[Anon, 1601; 12 stanzas; the tune became known as 'Essex's Goodnight'.

Shirburn Ballads, ed. Andrew Clark (Oxford, 1907), 328-331].

Court news. Sept 27, Fulham, Bishop of London (Richard Bancroft) to the Earl of Shrewsbury: 'Her Majesty is merry; long may she continue so and in good health, which is our chief worldly comfort'. [LPL 3201/62].

c. Sept 28: via Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey.

Kingston churchwardens: 'For the ringers' dinner when the Queen came to Hampton Court, 3s4d'. [29 Sept 1601-29 Sept 1602].

Kingston Chamberlains: 'Paid for a scarf and for a box for the late Queen Elizabeth returned again to the seller, 5s9d'. [29 Sept 1602-29 Sept 1603].

c. Sept 28: visit, Hampton Court Lodge, Middlesex. Crown property. Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, Lord Admiral, was Keeper of Hampton Court, where he lived at Hampton Court Lodge; wife: Katherine (Carey).

John Killock and other Royal watermen, 'attending at Oatlands with the Lord Admiral's barge by the space of six days'; and carrying the Queen 'from thence to Hampton Court and back again'.^T

At Hampton Court in 1602 the Works mended gates and doors in 'the Park, the Course and Hare Warren'. A carpenter made 'a new standing in the Course at Hampton Court near the Lord Admiral's lodging, the length 20 foot and the breadth 18 foot, being two storeys in height, with three canted windows' and 'a large pair of stairs'. The standing cost £20. The Queen's Serjeant Painter (Leonard Fryer) painted the posts and stair-rails with oil colours.

Court news. Oct 2, London, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, in Paris: 'The Queen's progress went not far...The causes that withheld her from the Earl of Hertford's and the Lord Chief Justice's were the foul weather, and a general infection of the smallpox spread over all the country'...

'Out of Ireland we hear nothing, but that [the Earl of] Tyrone runs up and down distressed and offers to come in upon any conditions with life'.

'The Earl of Clanricarde follows the court and aspires to high favour. I have heard he was offered a great match to marry the Lady Strange, but it seems he more regards courtly hopes than present profit'.^{CHA}

Oct 5, Oatlands Palace, Queen to the Emperor of Russia, Boris Godunov, who sought a bride for Tsarevich Feodor:

John Meyrick brought letters offering 'your princely children to be bestowed upon some convenient persons in our Kingdom...We have found out a young lady, amongst others, being a pure maiden, nobly descended by father and mother, adorned with graces and extraordinary gifts of nature, of convenient years between 11 and 12, of whom we are resolved to make you an offer, that, if God incline the hearts of the young couple to like one another, the mutual bonds of friendship may so be knit closer between us. And concerning all these young ladies, we are resolved to send unto your Highness one of our court to deal freely in all things necessary...which will be in May next'.

This is to be delivered by Richard Barnes, Agent in Muscovy. [HT.xii.421-2].

Oct 8, Fri **RICHMOND PALACE**, Surrey.^{CHA}

Court news. Oct 10, John Manningham: 'The Irish Earl of Clanricarde is well esteemed of by her Majesty, and in special grace at this time; hath spent lavishly since he came over [in May], yet pays honestly'. [Diary, 96].

Oct 12, court, Fulke Greville to Sir Robert Cecil: 'This day the Queen rode abroad in her coach, and this evening hath been a little troubled with a pain in her face, but God be thanked is now free'. [HT.xii.439].

Oct 13-Nov 15: John Killock, with other Royal watermen, brought the Lord Admiral's barge 'from London to Richmond bank', and attended there.^T

Oct 14, Queen's gift delivered 'to Anne Bennett, wife to Anthony Bennett, one of her Majesty's Footmen, one bowl of silver gilt'.^{NYG}
 Bennett was a Footman by 1585; in 1604 he was a 'Footman on pension'.

Oct 14: christening. Queen was godmother to Earl of Northumberland's son. Parents: Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland; wife: Dorothy, sister of Robert Devereux 2nd Earl of Essex. 'At Essex House in London'.

Nicholas Pigeon, Jewel-house Officer, 'hire of a boat from Richmond to London for provision of plate to be given at the christening'.^T

Queen's gifts, October 14: one bowl with a cover of silver gilt; one basin and a lair of silver gilt; one pair of gilt pots.^{NYG}

Queen's Deputy: Lady Marquis [of Northampton].

Godfathers: Earl of Nottingham, Lord Admiral; Lord Buckhurst, Lord Treasurer.

Child: Lord Algernon Percy (1602-1668); born Sept 29, christened Oct 14 at Essex House, Strand (in Register of St Clement Danes, Strand, dated Oct 13).

Lord Algernon Percy became 10th Earl of Northumberland, in 1632.

He married (1) Lady Anne Cecil; (2) 1642, Lady Elizabeth Howard.

Court news. Oct 15, London, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, in Paris:

'The court came to Richmond the eighth of this present, where the Queen finds herself so well that she will not easily remove'...

'Yesterday was the Earl of Northumberland's son christened at Essex House, the Queen by the Lady Marquis her Deputy being godmother, and the Lord Treasurer and Lord Admiral godfathers. The child is called Algernon, after one of his first ancestors that came of the house of Brabant. It is thought somewhat a strange and diffused name'.^{CHA}

Oct 16, Sat, Richmond. Court Proclamation: Vagabonds and others to leave court. [Clauses concerning Vagabonds, Artificers, Laundresses, as in the Proclamation of 23 February 1602]. Wives and children to be removed 'upon pain of imprisonment in the Marshalsea and to be banished the court'. 'No inhabitant within the Town of Richmond do receive in his house any of the aforesaid forbidden persons or any masterless men, rogues, vagabonds, nor any men or women suspected to be of that conversation, name or fame, upon pain to be committed unto the stocks, there openly to sit by the space of three hours at the least, and also to have their houses shut up during the time of her Majesty's abode here'. The Knight Marshal, his men, and 'the Bailiff and Constables of this town of Richmond to see her Highness's commandments observed, obeyed and kept'. [TNA LS 13/168/14].

Oct 28: Presentation of Lord Mayor-elect, at the Court of the Exchequer, Westminster, and a message from the Queen; described by John Manningham:

'In the Chequer, Mr Croke, the Recorder of London, standing at the bar between the two Mayors, the succeeding on his right hand [Robert Lee], and the resigning on his left [Sir John Garrard], made a speech...He remembered many her Majesty's favours to the city... "Great, and exceeding great", said he, "is her Majesty's goodness to this city", for which he remembered their humble due thankfulness'..

'The Lord Treasurer, Lord Buckhurst, spoke sharply and earnestly, that of his certain knowledge there were two things her Majesty is desirous should be amended. There hath been warning given often times, yet the commandment still neglected. They are both matters of importance, and if they be not better looked unto, the blame will be insupportable, and their answer inexcusable. The former is, now in this time of plenty to make provision of corn to fill the magazines of the city, as well for sudden occasions as for provision for the poor in time of dearth. This he advised the Mayor to have special care of, and to amend their neglect by diligence, while their fault sleeps in the bosom of her Majesty's clemency. The other matter was the erecting and furnishing hospitals. These were things must be better regarded than they have been'. [Diary, 112-113].

November: proposed stay, St James's Palace.
During October and November work was done at St James's Palace 'being all done against her Majesty's coming hither which was supposed'. Earlier in 1602 the Works made 'sundry new seats set up in St James's Park and Spring Garden'.

Nov 2, Tues Orders 'For a reformation in her Majesty's Household and Chamber'.
 'The Queen's Majesty's pleasure to her Highness' Officers of the Green Cloth to be presently performed'. They are to discover, from a book of Household orders: 'What bread, beer, wood, coals, white lights, wax lights and torches is now served more than that book signed alloweth, by whose commandment and to what persons, and the reasons of increase now more than in *anno tertio Reginae* [17 Nov 1560-16 Nov 1561] of any kinds of provisions whatsoever in her Majesty's house and stable'. They are also to 'collect and set down out of the Records in the Counting-house at what times order and commandment was given for all those messes of meat and bouge of court now served and not contained in her Majesty's book signed, and by whose order and commandment'. [TNA LS13/168/13v].
 [bouge of court: mainly bread, beer, coal, wax candles; mess: for 4 persons.
 For the sequel see the Queen's discussions with Richard Browne, winter 1602-3].

Nov 2: A 'Song to the Queene at the Maske at Court' is in John Manningham's *Diary* (kept from January 1602-April 1603), dated merely 'Nov 2'; it is on the fly-leaf, and may relate to a masque in another year.

'Mighty Princess of a fruitful land
 In whose rich bosom stored be
 Wisdom and care, treasures that free
 Us from all fear; thus with a bounteous hand
 You serve the world which yet you do command.
 Most gracious Queen, we tender back
 Our lives as tributes due,
 Since all whereof we all partake
 We freely take from you.
 Blessed Goddess of our hopes increase,
 At whose fair right hand
 Attend Justice and Grace,
 Both which commend
 True Beauty's face.
 Thus do you never cease
 To make the death of war the life of peace.
 Victorious Queen, so shall you live
 Till Time itself must die,
 Since no Time ever can deprive
 You of such memory'.

Nov 3: Stationers entered: 'A comfortable song or thanksgiving to be sung the 17th day of November for the most gracious and happy reign of our Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth'.

Nov 4, Sir Robert Cecil to Thomas Windebank (Clerk of the Signet):
 Endorsed 'Mr Secretary to me; to be read to the Queen's Majesty, with a jewel, upon the signing of a bill for the Parsonage of Martock [Somerset] for him'.

'Although by that you have sent me under her Majesty's hand, she gives me no more than she received, yet it proves with the parchment, as it doth with her gloves, that everything is the sweeter which her hand toucheth'.

'In token whereof I send you a toy to represent to her my thanks in the figures, which agree with the life of her eyes and colour of her lips, one by the ruby, the other by the crystalline topaz...Let this (for today) serve to excuse my absence'. [SP12/285/50].

Nov 5,17: A play for court. For the Admiral's Men Philip Henslowe paid on Nov 5: To John Day 'in earnest of a book called Merry as may be for the court', 40s; Nov 17: 'To John Day and Mr [Wentworth] Smith and [Richard] Hathaway in full payment for a book called As Merry as may be', £6. [Henslowe, 206].
The Admiral's Men played at court in December 1602 and March 1603.

Nov 6,Sat: 'England's Joy' by Richard Vennard (or Vennar) to be played at the Swan Theatre. 'The Plot of the Play, called England's Joy. To be played at the Swan this 6 of November 1602'. Nine scenes from English history, including:
Scene 2: 'The entrance of England's Joy by the Coronation of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth'.

Scene 8: 'A great Triumph is made with fighting of 12 gentlemen at Barriers'.

Scene 9: 'Angels...set upon the Lady's head, which represents her Majesty, an imperial crown, garnished with the sun, moon and stars. And so with music both with voice and instruments she is taken up into Heaven, when presently appears a throne of blessed souls'.

John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, Nov 19: 'I must not forget to tell you of a cozening prank of one Vennar of Lincoln's Inn, that gave out bills of a famous play on Saturday was sevensnight on the Bankside, to be acted only by certain gentlemen and gentlewomen of account. The price at coming in was two shillings or eighteen pence at least, and when he had gotten most part of the money into his hands he would have showed them a fair pair of heels, but he was not so nimble to get up on horseback but that he was fain to forsake that course and betake himself to the water, where he was pursued and taken and brought before the Lord Chief Justice [Sir John Popham] who would make nothing of it but a jest and a merriment, and bound him over in five pound to appear at the Sessions'.

'In the meantime the common people, when they saw themselves deluded, revenged themselves upon the hangings, curtains, chairs, stools, walls, and whatsoever came in their way, very outrageously, and made great spoil; there was great store of good company, and many noblemen'.^{CHA}

John Manningham: 'Vennar, a gentleman of Lincoln's, who had lately played a notable conny-catching trick and gulled many under colour of a play...coming to the court since in a black suit, boots, and golden spurs without a rapier, one told him he was not well suited; the golden spurs and his brazen face unsuited'.

[Diary, 123]. 'England's Joy' was remembered for many years. [ES.iii.500-503]. Richard Vennard (1564-1615) dedicated a book to the Queen in 1601, and in 1602 praised her in a poem, also called 'England's Joy'. [Poem quoted: 26 Jan 1602].

Nov 8, Guildhall, Lord Mayor's Precept to London Livery Companies:

'A precept for the meeting of her Majesty coming from her royal palace of Chelsea'. 'Where her Majesty's most gracious pleasure and commandment was yesterday last signified unto me the Lord Mayor by letters from the Right Honourable Sir John Stanhope knight, Vice-Chamberlain of her Majesty's Household, that myself and my brethren the Aldermen with a convenient number of the best and most grave citizens of this City should upon Saturday next in the afternoon [November 13] wait and attend upon her Highness's royal person from Chelsea unto her princely palace at Westminster in as great numbers and no less show than hath been heretofore when it hath been best performed'.

You shall give orders to prepare a specified number of persons 'of the most grave and comely personages of your said Company, every of them to be well horsed and apparelled in velvet coats and chains of gold, and that not only yourselves but also every of the said persons may have one footman with two staff-torches to wait and attend upon him on foot, and to be all in a readiness well and substantially horsed, apparelled, and appointed as aforesaid at Leadenhall' by 1.30 p.m. Next Thursday you are to notify the names of those appointed 'as no man for insufficiency in any respect be turned back again to the disgrace and discredit of his Company'.

The Lord Mayor's Precept included a list of numbers required from each Livery Company, e.g. Haberdashers' Company, 32. [London: Journal 26, f.42].

New Lord Mayor: Robert Lee, merchant tailor. The Queen's arrival was deferred to November 15; she then went to Whitehall by water.

Nov 14, Sun: Paul's Cross sermon by Dr Dawson, of Trinity College, Cambridge. Text: Isaiah: 7:10. John Manningham noted: 'All the while he prayed he kept on his velvet night-cap until he came to name the Queen, and then off went that too, when he had spoken before both of and to God with it on his head'. [Diary, 131].

[Nov 14], London, Beaumont, French Ambassador, to M.de Villeroi:

'The Queen should be making a ceremonial entrance here tomorrow. But it is still doubtful whether she will be able to make the effort, for the good lady... is so reduced in strength, and when she has been on horseback for an hour she is obliged to rest for two days, although she uses all sorts of artifices to make it appear to the contrary'.^{BT}

Nov 15, Mon dinner, Putney, Surrey; John Lacy.

'For her Majesty to dine at as she came from Richmond to London'.^T

Battersea Church, Surrey: 'Laid out the 15th day of November to the ringers when the Queen went by, 6d'.

Nov 15, Mon **WHITEHALL PALACE.**

Postponed from Nov 13. 'Her Highness kept not her first day of remove'.^T

Without notice the Queen went by water from Putney directly to Whitehall. The French Ambassador had gone to Chelsea expecting to accompany her to Whitehall by land; Charles Love, waterman, took him from Chelsea to Whitehall, 16s.^T

Barber-Surgeons' Company: 'Given to 12 torch-bearers when the Mayor went to meet the Queen's Majesty, 13s; paid for 3 dozen of torches then and a great link, 37s4d; paid to a poor man that helped to carry the staff-torches, 12d; given to the Beadle for his pains, 12d; spent on a supper upon those that went to meet her Majesty, being of our Assistants, 48s6d; given to the maids that dressed our supper then and to a poor man, 2s'.

Cutlers' Company: 'Spent the 15th November 1602 at The Paul Head and for torches and torch-bearers and other charges that day the Queen should have been attended upon, 40s6d'. Grocers' Company: 'Paid to the saunderbeaters... on the day her late Majesty should have come to Whitehall, for their pains, 3s'.

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

Barber-Surgeons' Company: 'Paid for our seats in Paul's Churchyard on the Queen's day, 2s6d'.

Drapers' Company: Court order, Nov 10: 'Whereas the whole Livery of this Society which going to Paul's to a Sermon is to celebrate the 17th day of November being the beginning of the year of the reign of the Queen's most excellent Majesty, whom God long preserve, for whose most gracious reign they have a great cause to praise Almighty God. Now for the better encouragement of the more due celebration of the same day with the more thankfulness, it is ordered by this court that there shall be a dinner provided at the Hall for the said Livery by the two younger Master Wardens, wherein they shall not exceed in expense above £20 at the most'.

Nov 17: 'Paid for a dinner then kept at the Hall, £9.7s1d'.

[Drapers' Hall was and is in Throgmorton Street].

Allhallows London Wall paid at the Queen's Birthday and Accession Day: 'For ringers at the two usual times, 4s4d'.

St Christopher le Stocks: 'Paid the Clerk and Sexton for ringing on the Queen's Majesty's day and night 4s4d allowed them by custom yearly'.

St Mary Woolnoth: 'Paid for splicing a rope on the Queen's night, 3d; paid to the ringers on the 17th day of November 1602, 3s'.

St Michael le Querne: 'Paid to the Sexton for ringing the five o'clock bell and on the Queen's day, 11s'.

St Stephen Coleman Street: 'For a new rope for the great bell, November 17th last, for Queen Elizabeth her 45th year beginning, 2s3d; given to the ringers on the Coronation day, 3s4d; more, for 6 pounds of candles used at the lecture the same day at night, 2s'.

St Stephen Walbrook: 'For making clean the branch [candelabra] against the Queen's holiday, and for keeping of it clean for the lectures all the year, 2s6d; paid on the Queen's night for cakes, bread, wine, beer and cheese, 11s10d; for candles on the Queen's night, 15d'.

Canterbury Chamberlains: 'Paid to the Waits of the City for their attendance and music bestowed upon Mr Mayor's deputy and such as dined with him at The Swan on the Queen's holiday, 5s; at the same time for the dinner of the Sergeants, Waits and other officers and servingmen to the number of 18, 12s; for a pottle of claret wine among them, 16d'.

Dennington Church, Suffolk: 'Paid to Wright's wife by the consent of the town for ringing on Crownation day, 3s6d'.

Dover Chamberlains: 'Paid to the ringers at St Mary's for ringing at the Coronation day, 3s4d; the ringers of St James the Apostle for the like, 3s4d'.

Edward Dell, Mildred Cook, widow, and John Pringle, baker, were each paid 7 shillings 'for 7 dozen of bread given to the poor at the Coronation day'.

'To Goodwife Powell for half a hundred of faggots for the bonfire at the Coronation day, 5s; to John Atkins for certain songs (given to the Mayor, Jurats and Common Council) to be sung at the Coronation day, 6s'.

Heckington Church, Lincs: 'Ringers of her Majesty's Anniversary day, 3s9d'.

Horsell Church, Surrey: 'Bestowed on the ringers on Coronation day, 2s8d'.

Kendal, Westmorland, Chamberlains: 'Paid to Edward Archer for playing of the drum upon the Queen's day, 12d'.

Kingston-upon-Thames Church, Surrey: 'Paid for a breakfast and a supper for the ringers the 17 of November 1602, that is to say in bread and beer 13s11d, and in meat 19s, in all 32s11d'.

Leverton Church, Lincs: 'Paid for a strike [two bushels] malt for the ringers against St Hugh's Day, 2s4d; for three pecks of wheat and one of rye then and grinding them, 2s8d; for three stone of beef and white bread that day expended, 6s; for grease and candle then, 7d'.

March Church, Cambs: 'Paid for candle and grease on St Hugh's Day, 4d; paid to the ringers on St Hugh's Day, 4s4d'.

South Newington Church, Oxon: 'Ringers on Saint Hugh, 10d'.

At Oxford, St Mary's: sermon by Dr John Howson 'In Defence of the Festivities of the Church of England, and namely that of her Majesty's Coronation'.

(Printed, 1602). John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 11 Feb [1603], London: 'Dr Howson, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, made a sermon there on the Queen's day that is accused of false doctrine, and hath bred much brabbling and raised such a dust there...Dr Airey [Provost of Queen's College] and divers others are sent for up and imprisoned here and some there. I send you here the sermon'.^{CHA}

Accession Day Tilt preparations. At Whitehall Anthony Abington made ready 'the Galleries against the running at tilt; a standing for the Judges against the Coronation day for the running at tilt'.^T Works: 'mending the Tilt; finishing the standing under the Queen's window in the Tilt-yard'.

Earl of Worcester (Master of the Horse) to Garter King of Arms (William Dethick): 'Mr Garter, whereas Mr Wroth hath made request to run with Mr Bellingham, by reason whereof there must be some alteration [to the tilt-list] I gave you, so now I charge you let Mr Morris be joined to Mr Buckley and leave Mr Denton to be last man to run with my Lord of Cumberland'.

[Tilt-lists, and letter: BL Add MS 10110, f.67v,68,69v].

Nov 17, Wed **Accession Day Tilt**, Whitehall, 1602. 12 pairs.

Earl of Cumberland	v	Robert Knollys
Earl of Sussex	v	Sir Thomas Gerard
Lord Howard of Effingham	v	Thomas Somerset
Lord Grey	v	Sir Henry Carey
Lord Compton	v	Edward Howard
Lord Norris	v	Sir Carew Reynell
Charles Howard	v	Sir Robert Dudley
John Egerton	v	Thomas Tyringham
Richard Bulkeley	v	John Morris
Edward Stanhope	v	Henry Alexander
Robert Wroth	v	Edward Bellingham
Earl of Cumberland [again]	v	Anthony Denton.

Court news. Nov 17, Father Rivers: 'The Queen came to Whitehall from Richmond on Monday last, but whereas she meant to have come in great pomp, she was taken with some sudden distemper by the way, and so went in her close barge, whereby our Lord Mayor and citizens that rode out in great state to meet her lost their labour. She is not yet perfect well'.

'The Earl of Clanricarde is in great and special favour with her Majesty, but hath many, and those of best worth, that envy and malign it'. [*Jesuits*, i.52].

c. Nov 18, Sir Robert Cecil to George Nicholson, in Scotland:

'Her Majesty, thanks be to God, hath passed the 17th of November with as great an applause of multitudes as if they had never seen her before'. [*HT*.xii.495].

Court news. Nov 19, London, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, in Paris:

'The Queen came to Whitehall on Monday by water, though the Lord Mayor with his troops of 500 velvet coats and chains of gold was already mounted and marching to receive her at Charing Cross. The sudden alteration grew upon inkling or suspicion of some dangerous attempt'.

'Her day passed with the ordinary solemnity of preaching, singing, shooting, ringing and running: the Bishop of Limerick Dr Thornborough made a dull sermon at Paul's Cross'.

'At the tilt were many young runners, as you may perceive by the paper of their names; your fool Garret made as fair a show as the proudest of them, and was as well disguised, marry not altogether so well mounted, for his horse was no bigger than a good bandog [mastiff], but he delivered his scutcheon with his *impresa* himself and had good audience of her Majesty and made her very merry'...

'On the Queen's day ten were taken at a mass in Newgate'...

'This morning Robert Knollys had a great mischance in riding a horse of Mr Controller's [his brother Sir William Knollys] in the Tilt-yard, that came over with him and hath sore bruised or as some say broken two of his ribs... I send you here the Queen's entertainment at the Lord Keeper's [Harefield]'.^{CHA}

Garret: John Chamberlain's customary alternative spelling of Gerard, and therefore a reference to Sir Thomas Gerard, not, as has been surmised, to a fool or jester named John Garret. A Page usually delivered a knight's impresa to the Queen, but Gerard did this himself.

The Earl of Cumberland again ran twice on November 20, the second time replacing the injured Robert Knollys.

By Nov 20, at Whitehall: Anthony Abington 'making ready a standing for the Judges against the second running at tilt; altering the Galleries with the Privy Lodgings after the first running; making ready certain lodgings of the garden side for her Majesty to withdraw into at her Highness's pleasure'.^T

Nov 20, Sat Tournament: Tilt: a Challenge. 12 pairs.

Earl of Cumberland	v	Lord Grey
Earl of Sussex	v	Charles Howard
Lord Compton	v	Lord Howard of Effingham
Edward Bellingham	v	Lord Norris
John Egerton	v	Thomas Somerset
Edward Howard	v	Sir Thomas Gerard ('Knight Marshal').
Earl of Cumberland	v	Sir Robert Dudley
Sir Carew Reynell	v	Henry Alexander
Thomas Tyringham	v	Sir Henry Carey
Edward Stanhope	v	Anthony Denton
John Morris	v	Robert Wroth
Richard Bulkeley	v	Lord Grey [again].
'French Ambassador present' [Beaumont].		

Nov 20, Waterford [Ireland], Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, to the Queen:

'Most gracious and dread Sovereign...It hath pleased your Majesty of your most gracious and princely favour, for the continuance of my house and posterity (the predecessors whereof have served your most princely and famous progenitors) that my intended purpose for matching my nephew Theobald Butler to my daughter shall take effect, and that your sacred Majesty in regard thereof and of your Highness's desire (to your immortal fame) to continue ancient houses is pleased to enable him both in blood and honour to succeed me'.

'For which and all other your Majesty's most gracious and princely favours extended towards me, your old and faithful servant Lucas, I do upon the knees of my heart pray to God daily and hourly to bless your Highness with a long, most happy and prosperous reign, to the comfort of me and all other your faithful subjects, and to the utter confusion of all your foreign enemies and unnatural traitors'. 'Your Majesty's most faithful and obedient subject and servant till death'. [SP63/212/71].

The Queen's affectionate name for the Earl of Ormond was 'Lucas'.

He had several children but only one legitimate heir, Lady Elizabeth Butler (1588-1628), a god-daughter of the Queen; she married in February 1603 Theobald Butler, created in August 1603 Viscount Butler of Tullephelim.

Nov 23, Tues visit, Blackfriars, London; Lord Hunsdon.

George Carey, 2nd Lord Hunsdon (1547-1603), Lord Chamberlain; in his illness.

Thomas Style and other watermen carried 'the Lady Scrope and other Ladies of the Privy Chamber from Whitehall to Blackfriars and back again', Nov 23.^T

Sir Robert Cecil to one of Hunsdon's brothers: 'Her Majesty was with your brother yesterday at Blackfriars, where she found him much better than he hath been, yet not able to speak'. [HT.xiv.271; undated].

From internal evidence Sir Robert Cecil's letter can be dated November 1602; it is endorsed 'to Sir G.Cary'. Lady Scrope, wife of Thomas 10th Lord Scrope, was Philadelphia (Carey), Lord Hunsdon's sister.

November: George Pollard 'making ready for her Majesty at Richmond'.^T

[Nov 30], London, Beaumont to Villeroy: 'The Queen has had a cold and has kept to her chamber. This is why she is still in this town, contrary to her resolution to return to Richmond to spend the winter there. Before she leaves she is to visit the Lord Admiral and Cecil in their new houses in London, and the opinion is that that will keep her here until after Christmas'.^{BT}

Dec 3: Sir John Harington (of Somerset) at court with his son, a fifth former at Eton College. Dec 3, Harington to Mr Richard Langley, Schoolmaster of Eton: 'Because my son should not lose all his time being with me here at the court I have employed him in exercises to the Queen and some of my Lords'.

Eldest surviving son, John, born c.1590. His exercises were writing Latin verses. [Kilroy, *Harington*, 301].

Court news. Dec 4, London, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton:

'We had no new Sheriffs till Sunday last [November 28] and then not all neither, but some on Thursday [Dec 2], and some are yet to set down'...

'The Queen should have come to the warming of Mr Secretary's new house on Monday, but then the cold hindered it, and on Wednesday the foul weather, and whether it hold appointment this day is a question. On Monday or Tuesday next [December 6 or 7] the Lord Admiral is to feast her at Arundel House, and then the Lord Thomas Howard [Charterhouse], and the Lord Chamberlain [Blackfriars], and all is to entertain the time, and win her to stay here if it may be'.^{CHA}

Dec 4 [London], Earl of Shrewsbury to Sir Robert Cecil: 'This pursuivant bearer tells me the Queen comes not to you till Monday [Dec 6]'. [HT.xii.507].

Dec 6, Mon dinner, Strand; Sir Robert Cecil.

Cecil (1563-1612), the Queen's Secretary since 1596; a widower, had moved in October to his newly built house. 'Sir Robert Cecil, Principal Secretary to her Majesty, hath lately raised a large and stately house of brick and timber, as also levelled and paved the highway near adjoining, to the great beautifying of that street and commodity of passengers'. [Stow, *Survey of London*].

Cecil was created Baron Cecil, May 1603; Viscount Cranborne, 1604; Earl of Salisbury, 1605. His monument, to his design, is in Hatfield Church, Herts.

The Queen's visit, planned as a house-warming, was postponed three times. Chamberlain to Carleton, postscript, December 6: 'The Queen dined this day at Mr Secretary's, where they say there is great variety of entertainment prepared for her, and many rich jewels and presents'.^{CHA}

Cecil House entertainment. Contemporary descriptions enable two undated pieces by John Davies (1569-1626) to be assigned to this occasion.

1. 'A Contention between a Wife, a Widow and a Maid for Precedence at an Offering'. Also entitled 'A Dialogue between the Maid, the Wife and the Widow for the Defence of their Estates'. [In verse; Krueger, 216-224].

2. 'A Conference between a Gentleman Usher and a Post before the Queen at Mr Secretary's house'. [Modern edition: Nichols, *Progresses*, (2014), iv.204-208].

Verse dialogue between a Wife, a Widow and a Maid.

On 'Astraea's holy day, The saint to whom all hearts devotion owe' they are going to make their offering 'at Astraea's shrine'. After much debate the Wife and Widow yield precedence to the Maid, or Virgin, to take their offering to 'the goddess', who 'hath both wives and widows loved, Though she would never wife nor widow be'.

Prose dialogue between a Gentleman Usher and a Post.

A Post bringing letters from the Emperor of China to the Secretary is urged by the Usher to deliver them directly to the Queen, who 'speaks and understands all the languages in the world which are worthy to be spoken or understood... Sawest thou ever more majesty, or more perfection, met together in one body?... Besides all her perfections all the earth hath not such a Prince for affability: for all is one, come Gentleman, come Serving-man, come Ploughman, come Beggar, the hour is yet to come that ever she refused petition... Draw near her, kneel down before her, kiss thy letters and deliver them, and use no prattling while she is reading; and if ever thou have worse words than "God have mercy, fellow!" and "Give him a reward!", never trust me while thou livest'.

Court news. [Dec 7], Earl [and Countess] of Shrewsbury to Sir Robert Cecil:
 'We have heard somewhat of your most dainty, most bountiful and chargeable
 entertainment yesterday, and that her Majesty parted full of satisfaction and
 contentment, whereof we are very glad with you'...

'We are both grieved that our ill-haps was to be absent...She little more
 than half awake, and both of us in bed this Tuesday morning'. [HT.xiii.560].

[Dec 8] Count Beaumont to M.de Villeroy: 'Two days ago the Queen dined at
 Cecil's house, where she was received magnificently and honoured with valuable
 presents...Such visits are as costly as they are honourable'.^{BT}

[c.Dec 9] John Manningham: 'On Monday last the Queen dined at Sir Robert
 Cecil's new house in the Strand. She was very royally entertained, richly
 presented, and marvellous well contented, but at her departure she strained her
 foot. His hall was well furnished with choice weapons, which her Majesty took
 special notice of. Sundry devices: at her entrance, three women, a maid, a
 widow, and a wife, each commending their own states, but the virgin preferred.
 Another, one attired in habit of a Turk desirous to see her Majesty, but as a
 stranger without hope of such grace...answer made, how gracious her Majesty in
 admitting to presence, and how able to discourse in any language; which the Turk
 admired, and admitted, presents her with a rich mantle, etc'. [Diary, 150].

*A portrait of Sir Robert Cecil, 1602, is attributed to John de Critz the
 Elder. National Portrait Gallery. Reproduced in his biography, ODNB.*

*The Rainbow Portrait of the Queen, clasping a rainbow, with a Latin motto
 meaning 'No rainbow without the sun', and in a golden cloak covered with painted
 eyes and ears, was (and is) owned by the Cecils. Discussed by Roy Strong,
 Gloriana, 156-161, attributing it to Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, c.1602.*

*Dec 9: christening. Queen was godmother to the French Ambassador's daughter.
 Parents: Christophe de Harlay, Count de Beaumont; wife: Anne Rabot.*

*Queen's gifts, Dec 8, to 'Monsieur La Count de Beaumont, lieger Ambassador
 out of France': one fair basin and a lair gilt; one pair of gilt stopes
 [drinking vessels]; one gilt bowl with a cover.^{NYG} Queen's Deputy: Lady
 Marquis of Northampton. Other godparents: Elizabeth, Countess of Worcester;
 Earl of Nottingham, the Lord Admiral. Second child: Elisabeth.*

Court news. [Dec 10], London, Friday, Philip Gawdy to his brother:

'The court should have removed as yesterday, and now it is appointed upon
 Tuesday [Dec 14] to Richmond if it hold'...

'There was a great christening of the French Ambassador's child as yesterday,
 where the Queen was godmother and my Lady Marquis was her deputy. The banquet
 was so great as it was reported that there was a thousand banqueting dishes'.
 The only matter of mark that was besides was that the child being a girl was
 carried and held by a man according to their own fashion'.^{GY}

*Dec 13: Barber-Surgeons' Company, payments for an unspecified petition:
 'Spent the 13th of December at The Bell at Westminster at dinner when the
 Masters went to deliver the petition to the Queen, 16s6d'. Other payments:
 'At The Boar's Head at supper when we delivered our petition to the Queen,
 10s4d; to Mr Johnson for fair writing of the petition to the Queen, 2s6d;
 to Mr Wilbraham, Master of the Requests, for setting down the Queen's answer
 to our petition, £5; given in gratification to his Clerk, 10s'.*

*Dec 15, Wed dinner, Arundel House, Strand; Earl of Nottingham.
 Arundel House had recently been leased by Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham
 (c.1536-1624), Lord Admiral; wife: Katherine (Carey), a Lady of the Privy
 Chamber and of the Bedchamber; she died in February 1603.*

Court news. [Dec 15], Father Rivers: 'Her Majesty dined with Mr Secretary at his new house by Ivybridge. He gave her ten several gifts, the most part very rich jewels. I have heard the dinner and presents valued at £3000'.

'The Queen was merry and well pleased. At her departure she refused help to enter the barge, whereby stumbling she fell and a little bruised her shins, but they were soon well again'...

'Last week the Queen, the Admiral, and Countess of Worcester were invited to christen a young daughter of the French lieger Ambassador's. The Lady Marquis of Northampton was constituted Deputy. She with the other gossips [godparents], attended on by many ladies and courtiers, rode thither with great state and pomp, where entering the Chapel with the infant carried by the Lady Effingham, and perceiving the priest, and all things prepared according to the Papist use, delivered the child with the name immediately to a French gentlewoman, and returned to the banquet. Many other of the ladies and courtiers...of mere curiosity stood to behold those ceremonies, which were performed by the Chaplain in all decent manner'.

'Divers days have been since appointed for her coming to dinner to the Lord Admiral, now lying at Arundel House; this very day as many times before provision is made, but all expectations yet frustrated. She seems very inclinable to remove to Richmond, there to keep Christmas; now it is thought she will be persuaded to continue at Whitehall. Now I hear for certain that this day the Queen is come to dine with the Lord Admiral'.

'The Earl of Clanricarde holdeth still in good grace with her Majesty, many compliments pass between him and the Secretary, yet it is thought each underhand is undermining the other'. [Jesuits, MS].

Dec 17, Westminster, Queen to Sir George Carew, in Ireland, in favour of the Earl of Clanricarde: 'This nobleman, our cousin Clanricarde, by his carriage here doth challenge our extraordinary good opinion. His coming over was to do his duty to us...He is now returning back with expedition...He is an honour to the nobility of that kingdom, whereof so many scandalous rumours have been spread'. 'Thanks for all your great and honest services'. 'Your most assured constantly affected Sovereign, Elizabeth R'. [Carew, iv.392-3].

Richard Bourke, 4th Earl of Clanricarde (1572-1635), in England since May, did not at once return to Ireland. He exchanged New Year gifts with the Queen in 1603, and married Frances (Walsingham), Countess of Essex, widow of Sir Philip Sidney and of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex. This became publicly known in April 1603, just after the Queen's death.

Dec 18: Sir John Harington, of Somerset, sent Tobias Matthew, Bishop of Durham, a manuscript Tract on the Succession to the Crown.

In discussing the Queen's attitude to marriage Harington says of her: 'To make the world think she should have children of her own, she entertained till she was fifty years of age mentions of marriage; and though in mind she hath ever had an aversion and (as many think) in body some indisposition to the act of marriage, yet hath she ever made show of affection, and still doth to some men which in court we term favourites, to hide that debility, enduring rather to run into some obloquy of strangers of a fault that she could not commit, than to be suspected to want anything that belongs to the perfection of a fair lady, and that this is most probable the man lives yet to whom Sir Christopher Hatton, the goodliest man of person of all the favourites her Highness hath had, did swear voluntarily, deeply, and with vehement asseveration, that he never had any carnal knowledge of her body, and this was also my mother's opinions, who was till the 20th year of her Majesty's reign of her Privy Chamber, and had been sometime her bedfellow'.

Sir John Harington's mother, née Isabella Markham, had served Elizabeth at Hatfield before her Accession, and was a Gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber from the beginning of the reign until her death in 1579.

Harington's Tract was edited by C.R. Markham, A Tract on the Succession to the Crown, AD 1602. Roxburghe Club (1880).

Dec 22, Wed new appointments:

'Sir William Knollys, knight, was promoted by her Majesty from the office of Controller to Treasurer of the Household, and Sir Edward Wotton, knight, made Controller, and by her Majesty's commandment sworn of her Privy Council'.^{APC}

Court news. Dec 23, London, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 'at the Lord Ambassador's in Paris', referring to Wat Cope (Walter Cope, who hoped to be made a Groom of the Privy Chamber):

'Mr Secretary did him a very extraordinary favour to admit him a partner in his entertainment to the Queen [December 6] and to permit him to present her with some toys in his house, for the which he had many fair words, but as yet cannot get into the Privy Chamber, though he expect it daily'.

'You like the Lord Keeper's devices [at Harefield] so ill, that I cared not to get Mr Secretary's that were not much better, saving a pretty dialogue of John Davies twixt a maid, a widow and a wife'...

'The Lord Admiral's feasting the Queen had nothing extraordinary, neither were his presents so precious as was expected, being only a whole suit of apparel, whereas it was thought he would have bestowed his rich hangings of all the fights with the Spanish Armada in eighty-eight'.

'These feasting have had their effect to stay the court here this Christmas, though most of the carriages were well onward on their way to Richmond'...

'There is no show of any great doings at court this Christmas'.^{CHA}

The Earl of Nottingham, Lord Admiral, who commanded the English fleet against the Spanish Armada in 1588, had commissioned Brussels tapestries of the Armada campaign, which he later sold to King James; they were in the House of Lords from 1650-1834, when Parliament was destroyed by fire.

John Pine had published engravings of them in 1739.

Christmastime: Lady Anne Clifford (1590-1676), daughter of George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland, and niece of Anne Countess of Warwick, recalled:

'In Christmas I used to go much to the Court and sometimes did I lie at my Aunt Warwick's chamber on a pallet, to whom I was much bound for her continual love and care of me, insomuch as if Queen Elizabeth had lived she intended to prefer me to be of the Privy Chamber, for at that time there was as much hope and expectation of me as of any other young lady whatsoever'. [Diary, 3].

Dec 25: Sir Robert Cecil's secretary listed New Year Gifts which Cecil had received, mainly plate, but also porcelain, a cushion, sweet bags, a chair, fire-shovel and tongs, barrels of figs. Some were given away, e.g. a 'great standing cup' from a ward 'given at the christening of the French Ambassador's child'. Some plate was sold at 5s10d ounce, January 1603. [HT.xii.527-8,630].

Dec 26, Sun play, by Lord Chamberlain's Men.^T

Dec 27, Mon play, by Admiral's Men.^T

Philip Henslowe paid for the Admiral's Men, Dec 14: 'Mr [Thomas] Middleton for a prologue and an epilogue for the play of Bacon for the court', 5s.

[Henslowe, 207]. The play: 'Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay', by Robert Greene, or an anonymous lost play 'Friar Bacon and John of Bordeaux'.

Court news. Dec 27, Sir John Harington (of Somerset) to his wife Mary:

'Sweet Mall, I herewith send thee, what I would God none did know, some ill bodings of the realm and its welfare. Our dear Queen, my royal godmother, and this state's natural mother, doth now bear show of human infirmity'...

'I find some less mindful of what they are soon to lose than of what they may perchance hereafter get. Now, on my own part, I cannot blot from my memory's table the goodness of our Sovereign Lady to me, even (I will say) before born: her affection to my mother, who waited in Privy Chamber; her bettering the state of my father's fortune...her watchings over my youth; her liking to my free speech and admiration of my little learning and poesy, which I did so much cultivate on her command'...

'It was not many days since I was bidden to her presence. I blessed the happy moment; and found her in most pitiable state. She bade the Archbishop ask me if I had seen Tyrone? I replied with reverence that "I had seen him with the Lord Deputy" [Earl of Essex, in 1599]. She looked up, with much choler and grief in her countenance, and said "Oh, now it mindeth me that you was one who saw this man elsewhere", and hereat she dropped a tear, and smote her bosom'.

'She held in her hand a golden cup, which she often put to her lips, but in sooth, her heart seemeth too full to lack more filling'...

'She gave me a message to the Lord Deputy [Mountjoy, in Ireland] and bade me come to the chamber at seven o'clock'...

'Her Majesty enquired of some matters which I had written; and as she was pleased to note my fanciful brain, I was not unheedful to feed her humour, and read some verses, whereat she smiled once, and was pleased to say

"When thou dost feel creeping time at thy gate, these fooleries will please thee less; I am past my relish for such matters; thou seest my bodily meat doth not suit me well; I have eaten but one ill tasted cake since yesternight"...

'Several men have been sent to, and when ready at hand her Highness hath dismissed in anger; but who, dearest Mall, shall say that "your Highness hath forgotten"...Next month I will see thy sweet face and kiss my boys and maids'...

'Send me up, by my man Combe, my Petrarch. Adieu, sweet Mall. I am thine ever loving John Harington'. [Nugae Antiquae, i.320-324].

Court news. Dec 28, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney, 'at Exton, Sir John Harington's house in Rutlandshire': 'My Lord Thomas Howard is commanded to wait as Lord Chamberlain, but he hath yet no white staff, nor they cannot get the other Lord [Hunsdon] to resign it, nor to lend him his lodging. He sends to the court to see what is done and hopes they will not bury him alive. Here is a rumour that he might be Lord Privy Seal, but he will not give over his place of Lord Chamberlain. And it is thought that Mr [Fulke] Greville looks for a place of honour to be a Councillor, having so long served her Majesty. My Lord Cobham is at court and carried the sword before her Majesty yesterday'...

'Mistress Mary upon St Stephen's Day in the afternoon [Dec 26] danced before the Queen two galliards with one Mr Palmer, the admirablest dancer of this time; both were much commended by her Majesty. Then she danced with him a corante. The Queen kissed Master William Sidney in the Presence as she came from the Chapel, my Lady Warwick presented him. I would your Lordship would be pleased to be here some part of the Christmas, lest the Queen take some offence'.^{SD}

Sir John Harington of Rutland was a cousin of Sir John Harington of Somerset. 'Mistress Mary': Sir Robert Sidney's eldest daughter Mary, aged 15, had married (27 Sept 1602) Robert Wroth. At court with her brother William (1590-1612).

George Carey 2nd Lord Hunsdon resigned as Lord Chamberlain on 4 May 1603 and died on September 8.

Dec 28, Tues bear-baiting 'on Childermas Day', Whitehall.
Anthony Abington made ready 'for her Majesty against the bear-baiting'.^T

Winter 1602-1603: The Queen and the Clerk Controller of the Household. On November 2 the Queen had ordered enquiries into various Household expenses, with a view to 'a reformation in her Majesty's Household and Chamber'.

Richard Browne (c.1538-1604), the Clerk Controller, had discussions with the Queen on the expense of the Royal Household; shortly after her death he made a note of the Queen's speeches and commands, and her complaints about some of her principal officers, such as the Controller and the Treasurer of the Household, known from their white staff of office as 'white staves'.

'Richard Browne's service to the late Queen and her Majesty's speeches and commandment at sundry times to him for Household Causes, known to some of the Lords in Council and white staves'.

'The Household charge abridged from £50,000 to £44,000 per annum... Her Majesty, this notwithstanding, told Browne that in the beginning of her reign less than £40,000 defrayed the charge. Browne answered that all provisions then were cheaper. The Queen said: "It may be so, and I save by the late composition (as I am informed) £10,000 per annum, and therefore I charge you examine the difference of some year in the beginning of my reign with one year's expenses now and let me understand of it".

'An examination and conference was made between the 3rd year and the 43rd year [Nov 1560-Nov 1561 and Nov 1600-Nov 1601]. It was found that in bread, beer, wine, wood, coals, wax-lights, torches, tallow-lights and some meat and other allowances of incidentals, necessaries, carriages, wages, etc. to the sum of £12,000 per annum at the least more was spent in anno 43 than in anno 3, and no sufficient warrant for the increase. Whereby it did plainly appear that the book signed by her Majesty for the honourable allowance to all persons was exceeded'.

'The Queen's Majesty being informed of this difference, and being therewith moved greatly, said: "And shall I suffer this, did I not tell you, Browne, what you should find? I was never in all my government so royally with numbers of noblemen and ladies attended upon as in the beginning of my reign, all offices in my court being supplied, which now are not, and all those then satisfied with my allowances agreed upon by my Council, and signed by me with that care as by all former princes hath been used. And shall these now that attend and have the like allowances not rest contented?"

"I will not suffer this dishonourable spoil and increase that no prince ever before me did, to the offence of God and great grievance of my loving subjects, who I understand daily complain and not without cause that there is increase daily of carriages and of provisions taken from them at low prices and wastefully spent within my court, to some of their undoings, and now (myself understanding of it) they may justly accuse me to suffer it".

'With many other discontented speeches delivered with great vehemency complaining of the weakness of the white staves to suffer it and accusing herself for making so slender choice, with many more speeches'.

"But my speedy order for reformation shall satisfy my loving subjects grieved, for I will end as I began, with my subjects' love. It is no marvel though those grievances were complained in Parliament. Those that are nearest me, and have daily great benefit by suits, have these wasteful increases daily, but my white staves and those of my Green Cloth, by whom all good order and honourable allowances should be maintained, are principal defaulters herein, for no increase can be without their privy and unlawful warrant, whereby I find the difference of officers now and in the beginning of our reign. But the best of them would have been content with less than my book allows them...But I will send some of them home if my commandments be not better regarded".

'Whereupon her Majesty gave strait charge and commandment to Browne forthwith to repair to the Lord Treasurer, Lord Admiral, and the two white staves of Household (which Browne did), that order might be taken to abridge all messes of meat, and other expenses, more than the book signed doth allow, and further said:

"Myself will speak unto them and give them charge, and then let me see or learn what he is in my house that dareth break and disobey my orders and commandments signed". With very bitter speeches that she would cleanse her court and not suffer such numbers of persons and families more than are to be allowed to be kept within the court. Whereupon her Majesty sent certain notes in writing to the white staves to be put in present execution'.

'In the meantime, before the effecting whereof, it pleased God to take her Majesty to His mercy'. [TNA LS 13/280/82].

Browne was in the Queen's funeral procession as Clerk of the Green Cloth.

1602: Proposed Petition by three members of the Society of Antiquaries.

'A Petition to be exhibited unto her Majesty for the erecting of her Library and an Academy. The scope of this Petition, is to preserve divers old books concerning matter of history of this Realm, original charters and monuments, in a Library to be erected in some convenient place of the Hospital of the Savoy, St John's, or elsewhere'.

'Secondly, for the better information of all noblemen and gentlemen studious of Antiquity, whereby they may be enabled to do unto her Majesty and the Realm, such service as shall be requisite for their place'.

'This library to be entitled the Library of Queen Elizabeth, and the same will be well furnished with divers ancient books and monuments of Antiquity, which otherwise may perish; and that at the costs and charges of divers gentlemen which will be willing thereunto'...

'The name of this Corporation to be The Academy for the study of Antiquity and History founded by Queen Elizabeth, or otherwise as it shall please her Majesty'. [Joan Evans, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries* (Oxford, 1956), Plate II]. The Society, founded in 1586, closed down early in the next reign.

The present Society of Antiquaries was founded in 1707.

1602: Nicholas Breton wrote: 'A Dialogue full of Pith and Pleasure: between three Philosophers, Antonio, Meandro, and Dinarco. Upon the Dignity or Indignity of Man. Partly translated out of Italian, and partly set down by way of observation. By Nicholas Breton, Gentleman'. Including:

Meandro: 'A Queen...I say not only with Antonio, 'God preserve her', by knowing such a queen in a little, but I may say, a great blessed Island... I say such a queen as not the greatest monarchy in the world hath the like, to love and honour'.

'Let me say thus much in her due, that what dignity soever may be justly given unto man above all other creatures, that and much more may be given unto her Majesty above all others; who in all the judgements of the worthiest wits on Earth, is worthily held not only the Grace of all her Court, but under heaven the very glory of her kingdom; whose patience in all trouble, whose temper in all passion, whose bounty to the well-deserving and justice over the obstinate; whose mercy to the offendant and love to the virtuous; whose beauty in nature, whose wisdom in judgement, whose magnanimity in dangers and constancy in religion; whose providence in care and resolution in performance; makes her the true figure of the Phoenix and the worthy honoured wonder of the world; whose praises so far pass the reach of human reason to set down, that Admiration may rather contemplate than Conceit express them'.

'For while the wise serve, the virtuous love, the valiant fear and the mighty admire, what can be said? but that since in the dignity of human nature she is the worthy wonder of her days, let her subjects ever pray, that in the ever wonder of the world, she may live the blessed Majesty of her kingdom, and be persuaded that where the virtue of beauty and beauty of virtue, the mercy of Justice and care of Judgement, the eye of Grace, the heart of Truth, and the hand of Bounty, makes that angel of a woman, which proves the glory of a creature'.

'Let the Phoenix be drawn from her spirit, and the dignity of man in this world under heaven from her Majesty: whom the Chronicles of never-ending ages may eternize for the gracious queen of the world. Of which truth, while Envy is eating of her snaky hairs in anger to hear of, Fame joyfully soundeth her name in eternal triumph'.

'But lest I blot my paper in seeking to show a fair hand and abridge much of her worth in so little touching the wonder of her worthiness, I will only leave princes to admire her, the virtuous to love her, the honourable to attend her, the learned to commend her, the devout to pray for her, that God, who by His Almighty power for the good of her kingdom, did in her seat of Majesty place her, will so in His glorious mercy in the same ever preserve her, that while the whole world is full of her worthy fame, her subjects may joy to behold the Majesty of her person, and while the greatest part of the world doth admire her, the heart of England may ever joy to enjoy her: to which prayer I hope he lives not so unworthily born that will not joyfully say Amen'.

Entered by Stationers: 8 Sept 1602. (London, 1603).

1602: Thomas Campion published: Observations in the Art of English Poesie. Dedicated to Lord Buckhurst. (London, 1602). Campion (1567-1620), poet and musician, describes many kinds of poetry, and gives examples of each.

'Of Ditties and Odes' includes an example of 'English Sapphick':
'This Poem made upon a Triumph at Whitehall, whose glory was dashed with an unwelcome shower, hindering the people from the desired sight of her Majesty'.

'Faith's pure shield, the Christian Diana,
England's glory crowned with all divineness,
Live long with triumphs to bless thy people
At thy sight triumphing.

Lo, they sound; the Knights in order armed
Entering threat the list, address'd to combat
For their courtly loves; he, he's the wonder
Whom Eliza graceth.

Their plum'd pomp the vulgar heaps detaineth,
And rough steeds; let us the still devices
Close observe, the speeches and the musicks
Peaceful arms adorning.

But whence showers so fast this angry tempest,
Clouding dim the place? Behold, Eliza
This day shines not here; this herd, the lances
And thick heads do vanish'.

Campion's 'Of the Iambic Dimeter' includes 'An example Lyrical':

'Greatest in thy wars
Greater in thy peace,
Dread Elizabeth
Our muse only Truth,
Figments cannot use
Thy rich name to deck
That itself adorns
But should now this age
Let all poesy feign
Feigning poesy could
Nothing feign at all
Worthy half thy fame'.

1602: William Clowes (c.1543-1604), one of the Queen's surgeons, published: 'A right fruitful and approved Treatise for the Artificial Cure of that Malady called in Latin Struma, and in English the Evil, cured by Kings and Queens of England. Very necessary for all young Practisers of Surgery'.

An 'Epistle to the Reader' describes 'The King's or Queen's Evil: A disease repugnant to nature, which grievous malady is known to be miraculously cured and healed by the sacred hands of the Queen's most royal Majesty, even by divine inspiration and wonderful work and power of God, above man's skill, art and expectation. Through whose princely clemency a mighty number of her Majesty's most loyal subjects, and also many strangers born, are daily cured and healed'.

Commendatory verses by Thomas Parkin, Surgery Professor, begin:

'The happy sacred hand of our dread Sovereign Queen,
The Princely loving zeal of her most royal heart,
Throughout her Highness land her subjects all have seen
To cure, to help, to heal, our care, our harm, our smart'.

Clowes describes 'A most miraculous Cure healed only by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, when neither Physic nor Surgery could take place or prevail'.

'Amongst an infinite number (which I have known daily cured by her Highness, of the foresaid evil), this cure following is worthy of great admiration'.

After a 'stranger' [foreigner] had long been treated without result by 'divers skilful surgeons', he persuaded the Queen's Surgeons to present him 'unto our most sacred and renowned Prince, the Queen's most excellent Majesty... which, through the gift and power of Almighty God, by her Grace's only means laying of her blessed and happy hands upon him, she cured him safely within the space of six months'. When Clowes afterwards met the man in London and asked how he did, he answered "I thank God and the Queen of England, I am by her Majesty perfectly cured and healed; and after her Grace had touched me, I never applied any medicine at all, but kept it clean with sweet and fresh clean cloths, and now and then washed the sore with white wine; and thus all my griefs did consume and waste clean away". 'And that I should credit him the more, he showed me the angel of gold which her Majesty did put about his neck'...

'For the certain cure of this most miserable malady, when all arts and sciences do fail, her Highness is the only day-star, peerless and without comparison; for whose long life, much happiness, peace and tranquillity, let us all (according to our bounden duties) continually pray unto the Almighty God that He will bless, keep and defend her sacred person from the malice of all her known and unknown enemies, so that she may for ever reign over us (if it please the Lord God) even unto the end of the world, still to cure and heal many thousands more than ever she hath yet done. Amen'. 68p. (London, 1602).

1602: John Davies (1569-1626), who wrote 'A Contention between a Wife, a Widow and a Maid', performed for the Queen at Cecil House, 6 Dec 1602, wrote undated poems which can be assigned to the last year or years of the reign. [Poems of Sir John Davies, ed. Robert Kreuger (Oxford, 1975)].

Davies wrote: 'A Maid's Hymn in Praise of Virginitie', beginning:

'Sacred virginity, unconquered Queen,
Whose kingdom never hath invaded been;
Of whose sweet rosy Crown, no hand hath power
Once but to touch, much less to pluck a flower'.

Another undated poem by John Davies:

'To the Queen'.

'What Music shall we make to you,
To whom the strings of all men's hearts
Make music of ten thousand parts...
How shall we frame a harmony
Worthy your ears, whose princely hands
Keep harmony in sundry lands...
For you which down from heaven are sent
Such peace upon the earth to bring,
Have heard the choir of Angels sing'.

Verses of 1602-1603:

'Verses of the Queen'.

'A virgin once a glorious star did bear,
Like to the sun enclosed in globe of glass;
A virgin's heart is now the golden sphere
Whence to this earth that influence doth pass.
He shines on her, and she on him again,
Reflecting love all earthly stars doth stain.
He whilom took a stable for his cell,
Thrice happy cell in which a god hath been,
But he will now in prince's palace dwell,
And weds himself to rare Eliza queen.
Come wise men come, present your gifts divine,
Here stands the star that makes your star to shine.
This sacred nymph, because no mortal wight
Deserved to link with her in chains of love,
Unto the god of souls her faith hath plight,
And vowed herself to him without remove.
Thus doth this bride ten thousand children breed,
And virgin's milk the Church of God doth feed.
To see this birth did angels sweetly sing,
Now sings that nest of nightingales again,
Joy, peace, goodwill on earth to men they bring,
Of forty five years thus tuning they remain.
Long may they tune that sweet and pleasant song,
And long may she our angel sing among.
For Syon's sake preserve from death
Our noble Queen Elizabeth. Amen'.

1602: Lodowick Lloyd dedicated to the Queen:

'A Brief Conference of divers Laws: divided into certain Regiments.
By Ludowick Lloyd Esquire, one of her Majesty's Serjeants at Arms'.
'To the most high and mighty' Queen. 'I knew not how, most gracious Queen,
to make my most bounden and dutiful service known unto your Majesty'...
'Myself thought it my duty to travel into some far countries, in no danger
but of your Majesty's displeasure, by presenting some strange Jewels'...
'I present your Highness but with Jewels...the Jewels which we ought to
seek with all the study and travail we can...Of these Jewels also I brought
the best Pearls I could find among them unto your Majesty, in hope of your
wonted gracious favour to accept these Jewels for their own sake'.

Divided into 14 Regiments or chapters, dealing mainly with laws in the
Old Testament, and laws of Greece and Rome. 143p. (London, 1602).

1602: Sir Thomas North, who in April 1579 had dedicated to the Queen Lives of the noble Grecians and Romans, translated from Plutarch, now dedicated to her: 'The Lives of Epaminondas, of Philip of Macedon, of Dionysius the elder, and of Octavius Caesar Augustus: collected out of good Authors. Also the lives of nine excellent chieftains of war, taken out of Latin from Emylius Probus by S.G.S. By whom also are added the Lives of Plutarch and of Seneca. Gathered together, disposed, and enriched as the others. And now translated into English by Sir Thomas North, knight'. Dedication: 'To the most high and mighty' Queen:

'The Princely bounty of your blessed hand (most gracious Sovereign) comforting and supporting my poor old decaying life, of right challengeth the travails in my study, the labours of my body, and the prayers of my devotions, to be wholly employed for your Highness, and altogether dedicated to your service'...

'I present in all humbleness into your Majesty's sacred hands this my second translation of the late addition of fifteen other lives, unto those former in Plutarch, published for benefit of my country, under protection of the most royal name of your most gracious Majesty'...

'The famous memory of renowned Emperors, mighty Kings, worthy Chieftains and Generals of armies, yea and of two famous Philosophers Plutarch and Seneca... is worthily published under your Majesty's patronage. Whose rare virtues and wonderful wisdom, neither former mighty Kings nor learned Philosophers might equal; from whose blessed fortunes many oppressed Kings and distressed Kingdoms have sought and found their succours; and whose most honourable and most happy peaceable government is world's wonder to all posterity'. 136p. (London, 1602).

Sir Thomas North (1535-c.1603), brought out another edition of his earlier Lives in 1603, with these further Lives added, and both Dedications repeated.

1602: In a Commonplace Book of Sir Walter Raleigh (1554-1618), Captain of the Guard, who presented a New Year gift to the Queen at New Year 1603, are eight stanzas, endorsed 'Verses, 1602'. [HT.MS.140/32].

They begin: 'Now we have present made
To Cynthia, Phoebe, Flora,
Diana and Aurora,
Beauty that cannot fade'.

1602: William Segar, Norroy King of Arms, dedicated to the Queen:

'Honor, Military and Civil, contained in four Books. viz. 1. Justice, and Jurisdiction Military. 2. Knighthood in general, and particular. 3. Combats for life, and Triumph. 4. Precedency of great Estates, and others'.

'To the most high, most mighty, and most excellent Sovereign Princess Elizabeth'. 'Considering (most sacred, and most mighty Princess) that the duty of every Subject is, not only to obey, but also to the uttermost of his power, in his degree and quality, to advance the Honour of his Prince and Country, I have...endeavoured...to frame these Discourses concerning Arms, Honour, and the Princely Magnificence of your Majesty's Court...Fit to be known of all Noble and worthy personages, being persuaded that as your Majesty hath been a Mirror to all the world for excellent gifts of Mind, Person, and Fortune: So your Reign most happy both for victorious Arms, and flourishing Arts, which shall remain glorious to all posterity, may haply receive some Honourable note from hence'...

'And so most humbly beseeching your Majesty to vouchsafe that your poorest Servant may in all duty and humble devotion prostrate himself, and his Labours, at your most Sacred feet, I beseech the Almighty God to grant your Majesty to exceed all other Princes in length of life, in perfect health, in prosperous Reign, and all felicity'. 256p. (London, 1602).

William Segar's descriptions of the Armada Thanksgiving, 1588, and of several tournaments, e.g. 17 November 1590, have been quoted on the appropriate dates.

1602: William Shakespeare: 'A most pleasant and excellent conceited comedy, of Sir John Falstaff and the Merry Wives of Windsor. Intermixed with sundry variable and pleasing humours, of Sir Hugh the Welsh Knight, Justice Shallow, and his wise Cousin M. Slender. With the swaggering vein of Ancient Pistol, and Corporal Nym. By William Shakespeare'.

'As it hath been divers times acted by the right honourable my Lord Chamberlain's servants. Both before her Majesty and elsewhere'.

John Dennis, in his adaptation of the play, 1702, alleged that this comedy was written at the Queen's command 'and by her direction, and she was so eager to see it acted that she commanded it to be finished in fourteen days'.

Dennis later changed fourteen days to ten days.

Nicholas Rowe, in his edition of the plays, 1709, alleged that after seeing Falstaff in the two Henry IV plays the Queen commanded Shakespeare to write one more play, and to show Falstaff in love.

c.1602: Anon: Histriomastix, or The Player Whipt. (Published 1610).
The play, or its revision, has been attributed to John Marston (1576-1634).

Conclusion: 'Enter Peace, Bacchus, Ceres, and Plenty...at the one door. At the other Poverty with her attendants who beholding Peace approach, vanish'.

After a speech by Peace, and a song: 'Enter Astraea, ushered by Fame, supported by Fortitude and Religion, followed by Virginity and Arts'.

Peace: 'No more:

Be dumb in hush'd observance at this sight:
Here comes Amazement's object, Wonder's height,
Peace's patroness, Heaven's miracle,
Virtue's honour, Earth's admiration,
Chastity's Crown, Justice's perfection,
Whose train is unpolite Virginity,
Whose Diadem of bright immortal Fame...
Still sway thy gracious Sceptre. I resign;
What I am is by Thee, myself am thine'.

Q.Eliza. Astraea mounts unto the throne.

'Mount, Empress, whose praise for Peace shall mount,
Whose glory, which thy solid virtues won,
Shall honour Europe whilst there shines a Sun.
Crown'd with Heaven's inward beauties, world's applause,
Thron'd and reposed within the loving fear
Of thy adoring Subjects: live as long
As Time hath life, and Fame a worthy tongue.
Still breathe our glory, the world's Empress,
Religion's Guardian, Peace's patroness.
Now flourish Arts, the Queen of Peace doth reign,
Virtue triumph, now she doth sway the stem,
Who gives to Virtue honour's Diadem.
All sing Paeans to her sacred worth,
Which none but Angels' tongues can warble forth.
Yet sing, for though we cannot light the Sun,
Yet utmost might hath kind acceptance won'.

Song.

'Religion, Arts and Merchandise, triumph, triumph.
Astraea rules, whose gracious eyes, triumph, triumph.
O're Vices conquest, whose desires, triumph, triumph.
Whose all to chiefest good aspires, then all triumph'.

1602: Anon: 'A pleasant comedy, showing the contention between Liberality and Prodigality. As it was played before her Majesty'.

The final scene is Prodigality's Trial for an alleged crime committed on 4 February 43 Elizabeth [1601], when he feloniously stole from Tenacity, a yeoman, at Highgate in Middlesex, one thousand pounds of gold and silver, then 'with a sword price twenty shillings' gave Tenacity a mortal wound 'whereof he is now dead, contrary to the Queen's peace, her Crown and dignity'.

Prodigality: 'I will confess that indeed I am guilty,
Most humbly appealing to the Prince's mercy'.

He is sentenced to death, but declares that
'The Prince is merciful, of whose great mercy,
Full many have largely tasted already,
Which makes me appeal thereto more boldly'.

Judge: 'Prodigality, I not mislike your wailful disposition,
And therefore, for you to the Prince, there shall be made Petition,
That though your punishment be not fully remitted,
Yet in some part it may be qualified'.

Prodigality: 'God save your life'.

'Virtue, Equity, Liberality, Judge, and all come down before the Queen,
and after reverence made, Virtue speaketh:

The Epilogue.
Most mighty Queen, yonder I sat in place,
Presenting show of chiefest dignity.
Here prostrate, lo, before your Princely grace,
I show myself, such as I ought to be,
Your humble vassal, subject to your will,
With fear and love, your Grace to reverence still'.

(London, 1602). This was played by boys; the date for performance has been suggested as 22 Feb 1601, when the Children of the Chapel Royal played at court.

In view of the subject-matter, with a condemned man pleading for his life, this would have been a most inappropriate choice on that date, coming as it would between the Trial of the Earls of Essex and Southampton (19 Feb 1601), the Queen's signing of the Earls' death-warrant (Feb 20), and the Earl of Essex's execution (Feb 25). The Earl of Southampton's life was spared.

The Children of the Chapel Royal played three times at court during 1602 (in January and February).