

## 1596

At **RICHMOND PALACE**, Surrey

Jan 1,Thur New Year Gifts; play, by Admiral's Men.<sup>T</sup>

*c.New Year: christening. Queen was godmother to Earl of Derby's daughter. Parents: William Stanley, 6th Earl of Derby; wife: Lady Elizabeth Vere.*

*Richard Brackenbury made ready 'Russell House in the Strand', January. Nicholas Pigeon, Jewel-house Officer, hired 'one boat from Mortlake to London to make provision of plate given away by her Highness'.<sup>T</sup> Gift: gilt plate.<sup>PS</sup>*

*Child: Lady Elizabeth Stanley (whose parents married at court, 26 January 1595), born 26 December 1595, buried at Edmonton, Middlesex, 25 October 1597.*

Jan 2,Fri Lady Edmondes, the Queen, and Roger Booth.

Jan 3, court, Anthony Standen to Anthony Bacon, of Booth's suit (27 Dec 1595):

'This Lady hath yesterday broken the matter to her Majesty for his liberty, which she says the Queen stood much upon, alleging that for his ears she hath been already moved by Sir John Fortescue and another'. His fine the Queen said she had already given to a 'Rider of her Stable, a very old servant of hers, and that meaning to punish first some way her Majesty will keep him in prison'.

'Nevertheless, her Majesty says that if the Lady Edmondes can make any good commodity of this suit she will at her request give him releasement, which without the Lady Edmondes means will not be brought to pass, she having already possessed the Queen, the Lord Chamberlain and other her friends so far with the matter as she will doubtless cross it and do hurt unless she be the gamester, and this much is told me by others, for I was plain with her that if she would not do it for 150, others would take it for 100. She answered that no fear for that, for she had so provided as none should for £200, the least she will deal for. This it is to have to do with people that have will or power to do little good but very much to do great hurt. Wherefore sir let Mr Booth think on the matter...and resolve to send me word that I may know this evening his resolution...I am sorry that ever I broke the matter unto her, but now there is no remedy'. [LPL 654/1]. (See January 13: Bacon's letters; pardon).

Jan 3, court, Sir Robert Cecil to Lord Keeper Puckering and Lord Buckhurst, of the Earl of Hertford (in the Tower since 6 November 1595): 'Her Majesty hath commanded me to let you know that she is pleased that your Lordships shall call before you the Earl of Hertford, and shall by virtue of her warrant which shall be sent you deliver him out of the Tower and commit him to my Lord of Canterbury's house there to remain until he hear further. Your Lordships may tell him that this favour is derived from his submission, though in it, nor with it, her Majesty is not satisfied'. His Grace [the Archbishop of Canterbury, Whitgift] 'shall suffer the Earl to be at his own charge and diet in his private chamber'.

[PS]. 'I will send you the warrant forthwith when it is signed'.

Jan 3, as above: 'Her Majesty now hath signed the warrant for the Earl of Hertford's delivery, and because my Lord of Canterbury may have some time to prepare her Majesty says it may well be done tomorrow by 8 o'clock and then your Lordships may order your speech not as a discharge but as a mitigation'.

[BL Harl 6997, f.156,158]. The Earl was at Hertford House by June.

Jan 4,Sun play, by Admiral's Men.<sup>T</sup>

*Jan 5: St Mary Woolnoth Church, London: burial: 'William Back, one of her Majesty's servants of the Guard, who was slain in the Tavern called by the name of The Bishop's Head'.*

Jan 6,Tues play, by Lord Chamberlain's Men.<sup>T</sup>

Jan 10, in France: Sir Henry Unton, new English Ambassador, had his first audience with King Henri IV. He complained of Monsieur Lomenie's 'insolent carriage towards her Majesty' at Nonsuch in October 1595. The King defended Lomenie, saying that he was 'a blunt fellow and had a good meaning, howsoever his words were uttered or mistaken'. [Murdin, 701,720].

Jan 13, Tues Queen to Sir Francis Vere, a commander in Holland, recalling him, as being of 'good experience and understanding in martial employments' to advise in view of great preparations in Spain to attack England or her neighbours. [SPF List 7, 101]. Vere duly returned early in February.

Jan 13, Anthony Bacon to Edward Reynolds, having understood from Roger Booth that Sir John Fortescue (a Privy Councillor), who 'proceeds honourably with him', was 'put in mind by one from my Lady Edmondess to seek for the pardon and to conclude. Booth to pay her the £200 in hand and the hundred pounds more six months hence...It had pleased her Majesty to grant him his absolute pardon'.

Bacon to Reynolds, Jan 25: Sir John Fortescue 'being put in mind by Lady Edmondess to send her the pardon for Booth, and to command Booth to pay her £100 in hand, and £100 more in six months', Sir John answered 'that he could not in conscience nor honour...put poor Booth to any hurt or charge, since it had pleased her Majesty to grant him his absolute pardon, for the signing whereof he meant to trouble nobody but himself'. [LPL 654/108,68].

[The case continued all year: details: *Hawarde*, 22-29, 64-66; Lady Gresham died Nov 23]. Undated Pardon: Pardon for all misdemeanours of which Booth and others are accused in the Star Chamber by Lady Anne Gresham, and from the sentence against him of standing in the pillory, having both his ears cut, and other grievous pains both corporal and pecuniary. Granted because he has been many years a scrivener and lived in honest reputation and credit. [SP12/254/76].

Jan 15, Thur Dispute at court between Charles Yelverton, who was suing Sir Thomas Cornwallis for breach of trust: Yelverton met Sir William Cornwallis (Sir Thomas's son) in the Presence Chamber: 'Drawing him privately to the cupboard I used these words following: "Sir William Cornwallis, I have your father in chase for foul dealings, and if I be not able to make good proof thereof, he hath remedy against me by law. In the mean space I wish you forbear to give me evil reports, holding it unreasonable that your father should rob me of my patrimony and you of my good name". This knight flinging from me replied I was mad'.

'This being spoken with a loud voice I followed him, intending to have iterated my speeches in the hearing of Sir Robert Dudley and Sir Robert Crosse, thereby to have cleared myself of that imputation; but being interrupted by Sir William Cornwallis, who, shoving me from him with his hand used these words: "Away, thou art mad; thou art a beggar; thou art unworthy to speak of my father; thou are unworthy the Queen's service; I keep better men than thou art; away, I will beat thee". My reply was: "Sir knight, had I you out of this place I would pluck that periwig off your pocky pate"...Thereupon I wrote to know when the knight would beat me, as I would not fail to keep any appointment he would make, but I was ordered by the Lord Chamberlain to forbear the court and to keep my lodging'. [Yelverton lost his case; *HMC 11th Report*, App. VII, 158].

c. Jan 19: Don Emanuel of Portugal at Richmond to take leave. Elder son of the former King Don Antonio, who died in August 1595. On Jan 19 the Queen wrote in his favour to King Henri IV, taken 'by the Prince of Portingall'; and on Jan 22 to Don Emanuel himself, recalling that Don Antonio had with his last wishes recommended him and his brother to her. [SPF List 7, 221].

The Governor of Terceira in the Azores was also leaving, without audience.

Jan 19: Stationers entered a book published as:

A Watchword for War. 'Not so new as necessary: Published by reason of the dispersed rumours amongst us, and the suspected coming of the Spaniard against us. Wherein we may learn how to prepare ourselves to repel the Enemy, and to behave ourselves all the time of that trouble. Compendious for the memory, comfortable for the matter, profitable for the time'. [By C.G.]

Acrostic verses on 'Elisabetha Regina', including:

'Eternal, good, and gracious God, stretch forth thy saving hand,  
Let not our sins provoke thy wrath, but look upon this land...  
Remember Lord our sovereign Prince, thine own anointed dear,  
Expel her foes, increase her friends, no hurt may happen here...  
Now for thy mercy's sake good Lord, unto our suit incline,  
And so direct her Highness' days, she may at last be thine'.

Dedication: To the Mayor and Aldermen of King's Lynn, by C.G.

'To the Reader', by C.G: 'The mutability of reports had almost dismayed me in proceeding, for one while there run nothing but rumours of war, another while there pass many speeches of peace; the same mouth that saith at one time, the Spaniards will come, another time affirmeth, we need not expect his coming... As there is no smoke without fire...rumours are commonly forerunners of war'. [C.G.: Charles Gibbon]. 50p. (Cambridge, 1596).

Jan 20: Stationers entered: 'The second part of the Faery Queen containing the 4, 5 and 6 books'. By Edmund Spenser.

The first part of The Faerie Queene was published in 1590.

The second part includes Books I-VI, and an expanded dedication:

'To the most high, mighty and magnificent Empress renowned for piety, virtue and all gracious government Elizabeth by the Grace of God Queen of England, France and Ireland and of Virginia, Defender of the Faith etc. Her most humble servant Edmund Spenser doth in all humility dedicate, present and consecrate these his labours to live with the eternity of her fame'. (London, 1596).

Jan 28, court, Thomas Lake (Clerk of the Signet) to Sir Robert Cecil: This morning the Queen 'is advertised that Don Cristophero, the younger son of Don Antonio, is coming over, wherewith she seemeth to be displeased, and would have your Honour at the delivery of her letters to the Governor [of Terceira] or when he shall be with you, to insinuate so much unto him, and that seeing her Majesty hath already dismissed Don Emanuel and his train it would be impertinent that the other should press her anew, and might perhaps discourage her from extending her bounty to either'. [HT.vi.32].

Both Princes of Portugal were back in England in April 1596.

Jan 28: death. Sir Francis Drake (c.1540-1596) died at sea near Puerto Bello in the Caribbean. Report by an eye-witness:

'At 4 o'clock in the morning our General Sir Francis Drake departed this life, having been extremely sick of a flux'...

'The same day we anchored at Puerto Bello'...

'After our coming hither to anchor, and the solemn burial of our General Sir Francis in the sea, Sir Thomas Baskerville being aboard The Defiance, where Mr Bride made a sermon, having to his audience all the captains in the fleet, Sir Thomas commanded all aboard The Garland, with whom he held a Council, and there showing his Commission was accepted for General'. [Hakluyt, vii.194-5].

The fleet set sail for home a few days later. News of the deaths of Drake and of Sir John Hawkins (in 1595) reached court on April 25.

Jan 28, in France: King Henri IV and the Queen's picture.

*Unton's Journal*: Jan 28: 'I spent the greatest part of the afternoon with the King, first in his Cabinet, then in walking (where he caused Madame la Marquise de Monceaux to welcome me), and so returned into his Presence Chamber with him, where he held me in conference some little time, and so I took my leave'.

Sir Henry Unton to the Queen, Feb 3, Coucy: 'When we were alone the King asked me how I liked his mistress...I answered sparingly in her praise, and told him that if without offence I might speak it, that I had the picture of a far more excellent mistress, and yet did her picture come far short of her perfection of beauty. As you love me (said he), show it me, if you have it about you. I made some difficulties, yet upon his importunity offered it unto his view very secretly, holding it still in my hand. He beheld it with passion and admiration...protesting that he never had seen the like; so, with great reverence, he kissed it twice or thrice, I detaining it still in my hand'.

'In the end, with some kind of contention, he took it from me, vowing that I might take my leave of it, for he would not forgo it for any treasure; and that to possess the favour of the lively picture he would forsake all the world, and hold himself most happy, with many other most passionate words'...

'I found that the dumb picture did draw on more speech and affection from him than all my best arguments and eloquence'. [Murdin, 718-719].

*Jan 28 and 29: The Queen and Widow Dent of Mitcham, Surrey.*

*The Queen stayed at Mitcham with John Dent and his wife Alice in 1592 and 1595. Dent, of the Salters' Company, died on 9 December 1595, leaving two daughters, co-heirs, Elizabeth (born 1587) and Mary (1590-1639); Mrs Dent wished to be granted their wardship. The Queen twice sent to Mrs Dent with various messages Sir Thomas Gorges, a Groom of the Privy Chamber, Gentleman of the Robes.*

Court news. Jan 28, John Stanhope (a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber) to Sir Robert Cecil, who was with the Queen on the previous evening:

'After your going, and a little time spent with her Majesty, wherein I remembered Mr Bowes [Ambassador to Scotland], she disposed herself to quietness, and so I waited there till 8 o'clock, and was supplied with Mrs Carr [Gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber], who stayed till 10, and then her Majesty did eat a little, and being remembered of the Earl of Sussex, who attended for the opportunity, he was called in, and dealt in his own suit, and other discourses of Germany till 11. This morning her Majesty hath spent with Mr Robert Bowes till she went to prayers'...

'Whilst I was writing, Ferdinando [Groom of the Privy Chamber] came to me from her Majesty. I found her exceedingly incensed against the Widow Dent for refusing to see or let Sir Thomas Gorges come in at her gates this other day, and for a letter a brother-in-law of hers hath written...Her Majesty's express commandment to me is that you should send for her to come to you, and that you should tell her how far she has forgotten herself to keep Sir Thomas Gorges, being of her Chamber, known to come from her Majesty, without doors'...

'She shall not look for the least favour at her hands...You should tell my lord your father [Burghley, Master of the Court of Wards] and the widow too, that whosoever have the wards, she shall not have them'...

'Yesterday her Majesty took order with me that Sir Thomas Gorges should go to her and expostulate her manner of using him...I write not half the bitterness her Majesty expressed against the widow and her friends, with great threats for her contemptuous usage of Sir Thomas Gorges'.

Jan 29, John Stanhope to Sir Robert Cecil: 'Yesternight Sir Thomas Gorges returning to the court reported unto her Majesty the scornful entertainment he received at the widow's house, Mrs Dent, first of the Porter, and then of Mrs Dent herself, lastly from her brother-in-law and other of her friends'...

'The which indignity her Majesty being very sensible of, both in regard he is of her Privy Chamber, and a gentleman of his quality, and she vouchsafing to send him to one of no better degree than Mrs Dent...her pleasure is you should acquaint my lord your father therewith, and that such persons as Sir Thomas Gorges shall inform of may be sent for afore you, and their rudeness and uncivil usage made known unto them, with infliction of such punishment as may be exemplary, for the satisfying of Sir Thomas Gorges his credit in the City, and a warning to others how any of her Majesty's Chamber, especially sent from her Majesty, ought to be respected'. [HT.vi.33-34,37].

*In April 1596 Mrs Dent married Dr Julius Caesar, a Judge; the Queen stayed with them at Mitcham, Surrey, in September 1598.*

*Elizabeth Dent married Sir Francis Vere (c.1560-1609), and Mary Dent married Henry Savile (II) (1579-1632), in a double marriage at Mitcham, 26 Oct 1607.*

*January: Chapel Royal order, by the Officers of the Vestry:*

'Whereas the two Yeomen of the Vestry are by duty to see her Majesty's stuff, meet for her Chapel, to be trussed up at every remove, and sent to her Highness's next house of waiting'...it is agreed that John Patten, Yeoman, 'shall for the sum of 6s8d being by equal portions quarterly paid to the Serjeant [of the Vestry] by the said John Patten be discharged at every remove throughout the year of his personal being present to see her Majesty's stuff so trussed up and removed, as belongeth to his place'. [Cheque Book, i.72].

*Feb 1: News of Thomas Arundell, Imperial Earl or Count.*

*Thomas Arundell (c.1560-1639), son of Sir Matthew Arundell, of Wiltshire, had licence from the Queen in 1595 to travel and to go to see the wars in Hungary; he had now just returned, after distinguishing himself fighting for Emperor Rudolf II against the Turks; the Emperor had rewarded him by creating him an Earl or Count of the Holy Roman Empire. He was shipwrecked on his way home.*

*Feb 1, Ivybridge [London], Arundell to Sir Robert Cecil: I have 'suffered a shipwreck, and so lost all my apparel, linen, horses, money, and whatsoever else I had, and withal gotten an extreme cold by tumbling into the sea for the safety of my life...I have a letter of the Emperor to her Majesty'. [HT.vi.42].*

*Feb 2, John Charles, Marquis of Baden, to the Queen: 'Upon general report of great preparations made by the Spanish King against your Majesty and realm, your suppliant...made his repair hither more than two months past, at which time he presented unto your Majesty his loyal affection and dutiful service, and since that time hath attended the signification of your gracious pleasure, to his very great charge'. I ask for a 'gracious and speedy answer'. [HT.vi.43].*

*Feb 7: Robert Bowes left to return to Scotland as Ambassador after being absent on leave since October 1594.*

*Feb 7, Richmond, Lord Cobham to Robert Cecil: The Queen wishes 'you to speak to your father in her name that he should send and find Thomas Arundell to let him know that she is much offended that he hath presumed to take any dignity from the Emperor without her privity, and that his Lordship do require to see the patent that he has...and, as it shall seem good to him, to commit him either to his lodging or to Fleet, until her pleasure be further known'. [HT.vi.49].*

*Arundell was sent to the Fleet; he wrote a long explanation to Burghley of Imperial Counts, and the reasons for his creation as one.<sup>RT</sup> Sequel: March 6.*

Feb 17, Tues Sir Francis Vere at Richmond to take leave.

Feb 17, Earl of Essex to Cecil: 'I thought good to put you in mind of the perfecting of Sir Francis Vere's dispatch...for he hath taken his leave of the Queen and shall be ready to sail the night tide tomorrow. I know her Majesty's letter of credit is dispatched...But the instructions for Sir Francis are not yet done...He would be glad to have his errand in writing'. [HT.vi.60-61].

Feb 17-c. April 20: Sir Francis Vere was special Ambassador to the Low Countries, where he was already one of the military commanders.

Feb 19, Thur: marriage. Thomas Berkeley (1575-1611), son of Henry 7th Lord Berkeley, married Elizabeth Carey (1576-1635), daughter of Sir George Carey (later 2nd Lord Hunsdon); both were godchildren of the Queen.

Note: There has been speculation that Shakespeare wrote A Midsummer Night's Dream for this marriage, and that the Queen was present, but a contemporary description relates that Thomas and his father were in lodgings in Fleet Street; Elizabeth was at her father's house in Blackfriars; 'the articles of agreement' were 'drawn and sealed the same morning'. No mention is made of the Queen, nor of any special festivities. [Marion Colthorpe, 'Queen Elizabeth I and A Midsummer Night's Dream', Notes and Queries, June 1987, 205-7].

The Queen became godmother to Berkeley's daughter (30 December 1596).

Feb 20: Dr John Dee was installed as Warden of Manchester College, Lancs. There he was visited by Saxton, the cartographer, and noted: July 10-13: 'Manchester town described and measured by Mr Christopher Saxton'.<sup>D</sup>

Feb 22, Shrove Sun play, by Admiral's Men; play, by Lord Chamberlain's Men.<sup>T</sup>

Feb 24, Shrove Tues play, by Admiral's Men.<sup>T</sup>

Payees for the Lord Chamberlain's Men's five plays at court, December 1595-February 1596: George Bryan and John Heminges.<sup>T</sup>

Heminges was one of the two editors of Shakespeare's First Folio, 1623.

Feb 24, Lambeth Church, Surrey: 'It is agreed in vestry that the ringers for her Majesty's remove shall have every time of her passage here, 3s. And for her Majesty's birthday, 4s6d. And for the Coronation day, 6s8d'.

Feb 26: After the death of the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President of the Council in the North, the Queen, having not decided on his successor, appoints the Archbishop of York (Matthew Hutton), with others, to be 'her Commissioners in the North parts of her Realm'. [Egerton Papers, 210-212].

Feb 28: News of theft at Richmond Palace, from Sir Henry Bagenal. Bagenal (1556-1598), Marshal of Ireland, was at court for several months.

Feb 28, Richmond, Privy Council to the Sheriffs of London: 'Whereas we understand that you have seized into your custody certain goods pretended to be stolen by one Humphrey Hodges and are properly belonging to Sir Henry Bagenal, knight, here attendant about her Majesty's service, these are to require you forthwith to deliver the said goods unto Sir Henry Bagenal'.

Feb 28, to Sir Richard Martin, with 'very hearty thanks' for apprehending and examining Hodges. As he has not yet revealed what has become of £100 hid in the ground, Hodges is to be removed to Bridewell and put 'to the manacles, thereby constraining him to deliver the whole truth'. (See Council's letter, March 9).

Feb 29: death: Sir John Wolley, Latin Secretary to the Queen since 1569 and a Privy Councillor. Funeral: St Paul's Cathedral. The widowed Elizabeth (More), Lady Wolley (1552-1600), married (3) (1597) Sir Thomas Egerton.

Court news. March 5, Anthony Bacon to Dr Henry Hawkins, about Henry Savile (1549-1622, Warden of Merton College, Oxford, 1585-1622):

'Her Majesty of herself hath nominated Savile to be Secretary of the Latin Tongue, and to have the Deanery of Carlisle...to stop his mouth from importuning her any more for the Provostship of Eton, but neither my Lord [Essex] for his sake nor he for himself will relinquish their suit'. [LPL 656/19].

*Dr Christopher Parkins (c.1543-1622) was acting Latin Secretary 1596-1601, when he was officially appointed (to 1603).*

*From 1596-1622 he was Dean of Carlisle, Cumberland, which he visited once.*

*Henry Savile was Provost of Eton College, Bucks, May 1596-1622.*

*John Aubrey, of Savile: 'He was an extraordinary handsome man, no lady had a finer complexion. Queen Elizabeth favoured him much; he read (I think) Greek and Politics to her'. [Brief Lives].*

*His widow's memorial at Hurst Church, Berkshire, calls Savile 'Reader to Queen Elizabeth of blessed memory'; his own monument is at Merton College chapel, Oxford, with statuettes including Tacitus (whom he had translated).*

Mar 5, Fri sermon, Richmond: Dr Lawrence Andrewes.

Text: Luke 16:25: 'Son, remember that thou, in thy life time, receivedst thy pleasure (or, good things), and likewise Lazarus pains: Now therefore is he comforted, and thou art tormented'. [Printed, 1629].

March 5: News of the Baron of Zeirotin, who had been at court.

John Dionisius, Baron of Zeirotin, in England and Scotland, March-June.

March 5, Anthony Bacon to Edward Reynolds (Earl of Essex's secretary), to procure from the Earl a passport for the young Baron, a German nobleman being in England with a safe-conduct from the Emperor and desirous to travel into Scotland. [LPL 656/57]. Also called Jan Divis. Passport: March 7.

c.March 6, Queen to Emperor Rudolf, having belatedly received letters in commendation of Thomas Arundell (in the Fleet after accepting a title):

'Hearing by report that he pretended to have a title to be an Earl of the Empire...we entering into a further consideration of this his allegation, pretending that he should now come home as an Earl that when he went from hence was but a private gentleman' and that no subject 'was ever preferred by any... to such high title of honour' and that a subject is bound to 'his natural lord and Prince...to serve with his life, blood, lands, goods, and all his earthly power', we 'commanded him to forbear to come to our presence, or to challenge to himself any such title of dignity as never any subject of our realm had accepted. And for further satisfaction of a number of our good subjects of greater degree than he was that grudged against him for such an extraordinary title, we committed him for a show of correction to custody'...

'But yet...we cannot but by these our letters give your Majesty our most hearty thanks'. [HT.vi.129-130].

*The Queen declared that 'Between Princes and their subjects there is a most strait tie of affections. As chaste women ought not to cast their eye upon any other than their husbands, so neither ought subjects to cast their eyes upon any other Prince than him whom God hath given them. I would not have my sheep branded with another man's mark; I would not they should follow the whistle of a strange Shepherd'. [Camden, Annals].*

Later in March Arundell disclaimed his title (although for the rest of the reign he was frequently still referred to as 'Imperial Count Arundell').

He wrote to Sir Robert Cecil, April 16: Lord Burghley has given me 'leave to go into the country or anywhere else, the court excepted. He told me of the Queen's pleasure of forbidding my honour, and gave two reasons why I should satisfy myself that I had no wrong', that no man can serve two masters, and that foreign Earls have by courtesy a place above English Earls 'which to be granted to me, being but a squire, were a great inconvenience'. [HT.vi.145].

March 7, Lord Admiral Howard to Sir Robert Cecil (after sending a small gift for the Queen): 'I thank you, for I know your delivery of the toy to her Majesty did better it ten times the value of it'. [HT.vi.85].

March 7, Richmond, Council's passport for John Dionisius, Baron of Zeirotin, 'recommended to her Majesty from the Emperor, to travel into the realm of Scotland and to return', to be 'used with all courtesy', and to be furnished with six post-horses.<sup>APC</sup>

March 8, Edward Reynolds to Anthony Bacon, of the Baron of Zeirotin's desire to have Bacon's man (Jacques Petit, a Gascon) 'for a trunchman [spokesman or interpreter] in his travel...The Baron's pass is to be drawn by the Clerk of the Council, and to be signed by the Lords'.

March 9 and 10, Richmond, Earl of Essex to the Vice-Chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge Universities, in favour of the Baron. 'He hath been in court well received of her Majesty'. March 10, Reynolds to Bacon: 'You shall receive the Baron of Zeirotin's dispatch, letters to both the universities from his Lordship, a pass for your man that attendeth on him'. [LPL 656/15,46,146].

March 9, Privy Council to the Lord Mayor of London (Stephen Slany), of 'A notorious thief named Humphrey Hodges that hath committed sundry notable robberies as well here about the court as in other places'. Out of Sir Henry Bagenal's 'chamber at the court he took the sum of £200, part whereof was secretly hidden in the ground, and of the rest some part was by him changed into gold, and to the value of £25 or thereabouts he bought certain stuff to make apparel and other things for a lewd woman that followed him, whom he alleged he meant to make his wife, and £18 is in the hands of a tailor of London. This fellow being presently pursued was apprehended, and so we understand the Sheriffs do make claim to the gold and stuff because the property of the money was altered by changing the silver into gold and in stuff bought, and have made seizure thereof, which seemeth to us a very hard case and unconscionable'. You are to call the Sheriffs before you, dealing with them to deliver the gold and stuff bought with his money to Sir Henry Bagenal.<sup>APC</sup>

Hodges and his 'lewd woman' were sentenced to death. The Queen signed a Pardon, 31 March 1597, to Anne Cater spinster of London, for receiving into her house Humphrey Hodges, after he had committed burglary. [SPD].

March 9: Roloff Peterson and the alchemical secrets for the Queen.

[For the background to this see 1594: February 20, September 30].

March 9 and 15, Thomas Ferrers, Merchant Adventurer, English Agent at Stade, to Lord Burghley, informing him that Peterson was demanding £500 from the Queen because the 'three glass bodies' were not re-delivered to him at Stade after six months. He was refusing to receive them when offered to him, or to return the Queen's 'note of signature' for the £500. Ferrers had made a protest in front of lawyers and witnesses, and offered the glasses again. A sealed box containing the glasses was now in the custody of the Senate of Stade. [HT.vi.90,98].

In 1597 Peterson took the matter to a foreign court; on December 2 Dr Parkins advised that this would be outside their jurisdiction, that Peterson 'is an infamous person', and there would be ways 'to bury' the case. [SP12/265/37].

March 11, Thur, Richmond: Instructions for such of the Council in Ireland as are deputed to meet with two rebels, one being the Earl of Tyrone.

Lord Deputy Russell and the Irish Council had sent Sir Robert Gardner, Chief Justice of Ireland, to inform the Queen of their dealings with the rebels. She wrote on March 9 to Russell of the 'disorders almost in every part of the realm'. 'We have caused answers to be made to the presumptuous demands of the rebels, such as shall be fit for rebels to receive'.

On March 11 the Privy Council informed the Irish Council of the Queen's 'great cause of mislike' of the rebels' demands. Separate answers were given to the rebellious Earl of Tyrone and to four other rebels. [Carew, iii.166-170].

March 13, Richmond, Anthony Standen to Anthony Bacon, of the Earl of Essex, who had been to his sister the Countess of Northumberland's house in Sussex:

'My Lord went yesterday to Petworth after dinner, and arrived here again this day at dinner-time. We thought there had been some breach in the voyage [to Cadiz], by reason that yesterday my Lord Admiral was sent for in haste, but since we learn that it is about a progress of some fifteen days the Queen hath a desire to make, to consume the Lent, and so to be at Greenwich eight days before the solemn feast, which there she doth purpose to solemnise'.

'Now our Earl is come I judge it will be resolved, for she seems to be weary of Surrey, and would over into Middlesex, from hence to Osterley, Highgate, and Hackney'.

'The old man [Lord Burghley] upon some pet would needs away against her will on Thursday last saying that her business was ended and that he would for ten days go take physic. When she saw it booted not to stay him she said he was a froward old fool'. [LPL 656/2]. The Middlesex progress did not take place.

March 15: Stationers entered a book by Sir Walter Raleigh, published as:

'*The Discovery of the large rich and beautiful Empire of Guiana with a relation of the great and golden city of Manoa, which the Spaniards call El Dorado...Performed in the year 1595*'. Raleigh describes how in Trinidad:

'I called all the Captains of the island together that were enemies to the Spaniards...and by my Indian interpreter, which I carried out of England, I made them understand that I was the servant of a Queen, who was the great Casique [lord] of the North, and a virgin, and had more Casiqui under her than there were trees in that island; that she was an enemy to the Castellani [Spaniards] in respect of their tyranny and oppression, and that she delivered all such nations about her as were by them oppressed, and having freed all the coast of the Northern world from their servitude had sent me to free them also, and withal to defend the country of Guiana from their invasion and conquest. I showed them her Majesty's picture which they so admired and honoured as it had been easy to have brought them idolatrous thereof'.

'This like and a more large discourse I made to the rest of the nations, both in my passing to Guiana, and to those of the borders, so as in that part of the world her Majesty is very famous and admirable, whom they now call Ezzabeta Cassipuna Aquerewana, which is as much as Elizabeth, the great princess or greatest commander'.

In Guiana Raleigh met King Topiawari of Aromaia, aged 110, and told him 'the Queen's pleasure was I should undertake the voyage for their defence, and to deliver them from the tyranny of the Spaniards, dilating at large (as I had done before to those of Trinidad) her Majesty's greatness, her justice, her charity to all oppressed nations, with as many of the rest of her beauties and virtues as either I could express or they conceive'.

Raleigh later asked the old King 'for some one of his country, to bring with us into England, as well to learn the language, as to confer with by the way'. He 'freely gave me his only son to take with me into England'. I received his son 'for a pledge between us, and left him with two of ours' (a man and a boy).

The King's people described the lake and rivers where they gather 'grains of perfect gold'. 'I did not in any sort make my desire of gold known' but 'I gave among them many more pieces of gold than I received of the new money of 20 shillings with her Majesty's picture to wear, with promise that they would become her servants henceforth...The West Indies were first offered her Majesty's grandfather [Henry VIII] by Columbus a stranger...This Empire is made known to her Majesty by her own vassal'.

Raleigh concludes his account by urging the Queen either to defend Guiana, 'or conquer and keep it as Empress of the same...Her Majesty hereby shall confirm and strengthen the opinions of all nations, as touching her great and princely actions. And where the south border of Guiana reacheth to the Dominion and Empire of the Amazons, those women shall hereby hear the name of a virgin, which is not only able to defend her own territories and her neighbours, but also to invade and conquer so great Empires and so far removed'...

'I trust in God...that he which is King of all Kings and Lord of Lords will put it into her heart which is Lady of Ladies to possess it'. (London, 1596). [Reprinted, Hakluyt, vii.272-350].

Raleigh sent further expeditions to Guiana, and returned there himself in 1617.

There were British, French, and Dutch settlements in Guiana before the colony of British Guiana was formed in 1831; it became independent in 1966 as Guyana.

March 16, Greenway [Devon], Sir John Gilbert (Raleigh's half-brother) to Sir Robert Cecil, of a parrot for the Queen: 'I have received your Honour's letter by Adrian Gilbert, which seems very strange unto me that her Majesty should like of a parrot of mine, and your Honour having heretofore written of it, and till now I protest before the Lord I never heard of it. Her Majesty is to have my life and all else whatsoever, and your Honour to command anything that you like of. The parrot shall be delivered to whom it shall please you to appoint'; April 27, Gilbert to Cecil, with a parrot: 'I have sent this bearer, my servant, of purpose unto your Honour with the parikito...He will eat all kinds of meat and nothing will hurt him except it be very salt. If you put him on the table at meal time he will make choice of his meat. He must be kept very warm, and after he hath filled himself he will sit in a gentlewoman's ruff all the day. In the afternoon he will eat bread or oatmeal groats, drink water, or claret wine; every night he is put in the cage and covered warm...Surely if he be well taught he will speak anything'. [HT.MS 31/16; 40/32].

March 16, court, Sir Robert Cecil to Thomas Windebank (Clerk of the Signet): 'I send two commissions for the Earl [of Essex] and the Lord Admiral, and desire the dockets thereof may be read to her Majesty, as containing the substance of all their powers...If her Majesty signs them, send them privately to the Great Seal'. [SP12/256/95].

March 17 (I), Thomas Windebank to Sir Robert Cecil, having that morning taken to the Queen the commissions for appointing Essex and the Lord Admiral.

'Being ready to read the dockets to her Majesty she said...she knew them already, and so signed the bills, which I keep, not making known to anybody that they are signed'...

'As for speeding of them to the Great Seal...all things passing under the Great Seal are usually written in a Chancery hand, which we have no skill of'.

March 17 (II): 'Since the sending to you of my other letter, her Majesty in the midst of the sermon sent a message unto me by Mr Conway, the Gentleman Usher, that I should stay those things which her Majesty had signed'...

'Now, since dinner, her Majesty hath sent me word that I should write to you to be here this night...though it be now almost four'. PS. 'As I was closing this letter her Majesty sent for me and made me read the commission'.

She wishes to alter some words, but will wait until you arrive.

Endorsed 'This letter I met from Mr Windebank upon the way'. [HT.vi.101-2].

Mar 18, Thur new appointments: Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Admiral, and the Earl of Essex were made jointly 'Lieutenant Generals and Governors of her Majesty's Navy and Army'.<sup>APC</sup>

March 22, Coucy, Thomas Edmondes (Secretary to Sir Henry Unton, English Ambassador to France), to Lord Burghley, with news that Unton was in great extremity of weakness and unlikely to live many hours, as the bearer, Captain Hart, could inform him. [Received in London on March 31]. [SPF List 7, 177].

March 23, in France: death. Sir Henry Unton (c.1558-1596), Ambassador to France, died of illness in the King's Camp. As he had wished, his body was brought back to England. Funeral: July 8, Faringdon Church, Berks, with ceremonial 'as a baron', because he died whilst an ambassador.

The widowed Dorothy (Wroughton), Lady Unton, commissioned a painting depicting Sir Henry's death, funeral, and various events in his life.

Lady Unton married (1598) George Sherley, who was later knighted. Lady Sherley, again a widow, died at Faringdon in 1634, after making separate bequests of 'all my story pictures in my Gallery there' and 'the picture of Sir Henry Unton'. [The Unton biographical portrait, National Portrait Gallery, London, is discussed in detail by Roy Strong, Cult of Elizabeth, 84-110].

c.March 26: News of the Queen's plans to review horse and foot-bands in Kent. Lord Cobham to Sir John Leveson and Thomas Walsingham, of Kent [c.March 26]:

'The forces of the county are to be mustered at once. And because her Majesty purposeth as yet to be at Sandwich the 26th of April and that it will be looked that both certain of the Horse-bands and trained Companies of Footmen should show themselves before her Highness as she passeth along, pray let such Captains be earnestly called upon...to have their several Companies in good order, with all expedition possible, as they look to have thanks or blame there for. I have set down the days of her Majesty's passing by every of them'.

March 27, Sir John Leveson to Captains and Justices of the Peace, sending copies of Lord Cobham's letter, one to Roger Twysden. 'And for that you Master Twysden are appointed...shortly to make show of your Band before her Majesty in passing through this county, I desire you for your own credit, the honour of his Lordship and our county, and her Majesty's most royal expectation, that forthwith you do muster your said Band and cause all defects of men, horse, armour and furniture to be supplied and furnished in the best manner'.

[Twysden Lieutenancy Papers, Kent Arch.Soc. x (1926), 104].

See 'Proposed progresses: 1596' for the itinerary for the Queen's proposed April-May progress to the Kent coast to inspect trained bands of horse and foot. After the fall of Calais the progress was abandoned.

Mar 28, Sun sermon, Richmond: Dr Anthony Rudd (c.1548-1615), Bishop of St David's. Text: Psalm 90:12: 'Teach us so to number our days that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom'. [Most of the sermon was devoted to a general discourse on the text, before the Bishop continued as follows]:

'Let me now come to the most reverend age of my most dear and dread Sovereign, who hath (I doubt not) learned to number her years, that she may apply her heart unto wisdom. And therefore I conceive in mind that in her *soliloquia* or private meditations she frameth her speech in this wise: "Remember not the sins of my youth nor my transgressions...I was born in iniquity and in sin hath my mother conceived me. I know my iniquity and my sins are ever before me"...

"Lord, I know and confess that in my predecessor's days and in the 37 years past of my reign thou hast delivered me as wonderfully from all my malicious and dangerous enemies as thou didst deliver thy servant David"...

"O Lord, I am now entered a good way into the climacterical year of my age [63], which my enemies wish and hope to be fatal unto me".

"But thou O Lord who...madest the year of the greatest expectation, even 88, marvellous by the overthrow of thine and mine enemies, now for thy Gospel sake which hath long had a sanctuary in this island make likewise 96 as prosperous unto me and my loyal subjects...Cast me not off in the time of age, forsake me not when my strength faileth...Lord, I have now put foot within the doors of that age in the which the almond tree flourisheth, wherein men begin to carry a calendar in their bones, the senses begin to fail, the strength to diminish, yea, all the powers of the body daily to decay".

*John Harington's description of the Bishop of St David's sermon:*

'There is almost none that waited in Queen Elizabeth's court, and observed anything, but can tell that it pleased her much to seem, and to be thought, and to be told, that she looked young'...

'This notwithstanding, this good Bishop being appointed to preach before her... and wishing...that she would think some time of mortality, being then full 63 years of age, he took this text, fit for that purpose, out of the Psalms...which text he handled so well, so learnedly...as I dare undertake he thought, and so should I, if I had not been somewhat better acquainted with her humour, that it would have well pleased her, or at least no way offended her'.

'But when he had spoken awhile of some sacred and mystical numbers... and lastly...7 times 9 for the grand climacterical year, she perceiving whereto it tended began to be troubled with it'.

'The Bishop discovering all was not well (for the pulpit stands there *vis à vis* to the Closet), he fell to treat of some more plausible numbers, as of the number 666...also of the fatal number of 88'..

'So making indeed an excellent prayer...in her Majesty's person acknowledging God's great graces and benefits, and praying devoutly for the continuance of them, but withal interlarding it with some passages of Scripture that touch the infirmities of age...he concluded his sermon'.

'The Queen (as the manner was) opened the window, but she was so far from giving him thanks, or good countenance, that she said plainly "he should have kept his arithmetic for himself; but I see" (said she) "the greatest clerks are not the wisest men"; and so went away for the time discontented'.

'The Lord Keeper Puckering...to assuage the Queen's displeasure, commanded him to keep his house for a time, which he did. But of a truth, her Majesty showed no ill nature in this, for within three days after she was not only displeased at his restraint, but in my hearing rebuked a lady...for speaking scornfully of him and his sermon. Only, to show how the good Bishop was deceived in supposing she was so decayed in her limbs and senses, as himself perhaps and other of that age are wont to be, she said "she thanked God that neither her stomach nor strength, nor her voice for singing, nor fingering for instruments, nor lastly her sight was any whit decayed".

'And to prove the last before us all she produced a little jewel that had an inscription of very small letters, and offered it first to my Lord of Worcester and then to Sir James Croft to read, and both protested *bona fide* they could not; yet the Queen herself did find out the poesy, and made herself merry with the standers by upon it'. [Nugae Antiquae, ii.215-218].

The Bishop wrote to Sir Robert Cecil, 'from the place of my commitment', April 9, begging him to speak a good word to the Queen for him and sending the words in his sermon concerning her. Dr Rudd also petitioned the Council to pacify the Queen's wrath, for his hope was 'to encourage her in well doing, even by these speeches which proved so offensive'. [HT.vi.139-140].

*This sermon, preached before 'Queen Elizabeth of famous memory' was published in 1603, with a note: 'To all that fear God. This Sermon bred much speech long ago, and the sight of it was greatly desired by many. But it hath been concealed these seven years and more, by him that had the copy thereof. Howbeit, now at the last it is published, upon hope that it may with as good meaning be construed by the Reader, as it was formerly uttered by the Author'. R.S.*

March 29 (o.s.), in France: *Siege of Calais began, by forces commanded by Archduke Albert, Governor of the Low Countries. As soon as the Queen heard the news she sent Essex to Dover in post-haste, and moved nearer London.*

Mar 31, Wed News of Sir Henry Unton's mortal illness reached the Queen.  
March 31, Cecil to Thomas Edmondes, in France: The dispatch carried by Captain Hart brought her Majesty such unpleasant news of Unton's dangerous condition 'as I have not seen the apprehension of such a loss take deeper impression in her royal mind wherein by his merit he had gained so good a degree of favour'.

Unton had already died; on March 28 Henri IV sent Edmondes to the Queen with condolences on the death of a faithful and devoted servant. [SPF List 7, 178-9].

Apr 2, Fri dinner, Putney, Surrey; Mr [John] Lacy.

Richard Brackenbury made Mr Lacy's house ready in March and April 'for her Majesty to dine at when she removed from Richmond to Lambeth'.<sup>T</sup>

Apr 2, Fri **LAMBETH PALACE**, Surrey.<sup>T</sup> Archbishop of Canterbury.

John Whitgift. St Martin in the Fields churchwardens paid:

'The 2nd of April for ringing at her Majesty's coming to Lambeth, and for ringing the 3rd at her Majesty's departure from thence to Greenwich, 2s'.

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

Richard Coningsby made ready 'certain of the Privy Lodgings at Greenwich against her Majesty's sudden coming thither'.<sup>T</sup>

April 3, Dover, Earl of Essex to Sir Anthony Sherley, at Southampton:

'Cousin, The news of the Siege of Calais hath made me be posted down to this place, whence I have sent Sir Conyers Clifford to see whether he can go in and see the state of the town. And I have also sent a gentleman to Boulogne to see what hath become of the King and of his army and what means they do prepare on that side to succour Calais. I do look for answer from both places by tomorrow morning, and on Monday [April 5] will return to Greenwich'. *Endorsed:*

'For her Majesty's affairs...Wheresoever this letter is brought all along the coast let the officer of the town send it away with all speed'. [LPL 656/267].

Apr 4, Palm Sunday sermon, Greenwich: Lancelot Andrewes.

Text: 2 Corinthians 12:15: 'And I will most gladly bestow and will be bestowed for your souls, though the more I love you the less I am loved'. Printed, 1629.

Also April 4, Greenwich, Privy Council to Lord Buckhurst:

'Whereas there is order taken...within the city of London and the suburbs by appointing of Provost Marshals to rid away those idle and vagabond people that keep [stay] for the most part about the city, and in that regard it is to be doubted that if by good order to be taken it be not prevented that many of them being driven from the city will keep about her Majesty's court here, being so near to the city and borough of Southwark, to the great annoyance of the court, those bad people having lewd women that follow them, and divers robberies, pilferings and other disorders being daily committed by them'.

'Because your Lordship is Steward here to her Majesty, we have thought good to pray your Lordship that there may some present and special care be taken, as well by the Knight Marshal's men as other officers, that there be none of these masterless men, rogues, diseased and begging kind of people suffered to be harboured in the town of Greenwich or the villages thereabout, or to come near or about the court, and if any such be found at any time about the court to take order they may be presently apprehended and sent either to prison, punished with putting them in the stocks, or sent away with passports to the places where they were born, as shall be thought most convenient'.<sup>APC</sup>

April 5: Stationers entered a book published as:

*'A Christian Familiar Comfort and Encouragement unto English Subjects, not to dismay at the Spanish threats. Whereunto is added an admonition to all English Papists, who openly or covertly covet a change. With requisite prayers to almighty God for the preservation of our Queen and Country'*.

*'By the most unworthy I.N.'* [John Norden].

*Epistle Dedicatory: 'To the most high and most virtuous' Queen, 'chief protector of the right Catholic religion'*.

*Norden excuses himself for undertaking this enterprise, and 'exhibiting it to your Highness'. I am 'Your Majesty's loyal poor subject'*.

*The first Chapters are: 1. 'We must examine the special causes, why God hath stirred up the Nation of the Spaniards to pursue England'; 2. 'What is to be done to escape the judgements of God, intended by this Antichristian hubbub'.*

*'The cause of this dangerous hubbub of the Spaniard is our sin'.*

*Norden added: 'A humble petition to God, for the preservation of Queen Elizabeth, and the protection of the Church of Christ'*.

*Finally: 'A private Prayer to be said of Magistrates, that they may be fit to perform in these dangerous days, what their several places shall require'*.

*70p. (London, 1596). John Norden (c.1547-1625), wrote numerous devotional and topographical works, including several dedicated to the Queen.*

Apr 8, Maundy Thursday ceremonies and alms-giving, Greenwich parish church.

By Richard Fletcher, Bishop of London, the Queen's Almoner; to 61 poor women, each 20s in a red purse and 62d in a white purse.<sup>T</sup>

Work at Greenwich included 'making ready the Town Church with new tables, trestles, forms, boards and other necessaries for the Maundy'.

The Queen was 62, but after the 1595 Maundy the number of poor women at each Maundy did not increase with the Queen's age, but remained at 61; the number of pennies given to each continued to increase by a penny a year.

Also April 8: visit, Cecil House, Strand; William Cecil, Lord Burghley. St Martin in the Fields: 'Ringing the 8th of April at her Majesty's coming to the Lord Treasurer's and going the same day from Whitehall to Greenwich, 12d'.

Maundy Thursday, William Slingsby to Henry Slingsby:

'With my Lord Treasurer no man can speak, partly by reason of this business now in hand and partly for his sickness. This day the Queen came herself to his house to consult with him about the business of Calais and this new preparation to the sea. Calais is as good as lost, being already battered'.

[Henry Slingsby, *Diary*, ed. D.Parsons (1836), 249].

*Thomas Fuller's anecdote about Burghley: 'Incredible was the kindness which Queen Elizabeth had for him...Coming once to visit him, being sick of the gout at Burghley House in the Strand, and being much heightened with her head attire (then in fashion), the lord's servant who conducted her through the door, "May your Highness", said he "be pleased to stoop". The Queen returned "For your master's sake I will stoop, but not for the King of Spain's". [Worthies, Lincs].*

*The Queen made a similar riposte on board ship: see April 14.*

April 9, Good Friday: Greenwich, Council wrote to five counties and the Lord Mayor of London for 6000 men to be levied and be at Dover 'on Sunday night next'.

April 10: Council wrote that the Queen had news that the forces would come too late; the levy is not to proceed.<sup>APC</sup>

*April 10-May 18: French special Ambassador in London and at court.*

*Nicolas de Harlay, Sieur de Sancy, who was sent off post-haste by King Henri IV to beg for aid for Calais. Duke of Bouillon arrived later in April.*

*When De Sancy arrived the town of Calais had been taken by the Spaniards (on April 7, o.s.), but the Citadel was still holding out.*

*Bouillon and De Sancy's negotiations are described by Motley, United Netherlands, iii.375-383; and in their own report, PRO 31/3/29 (at TNA).*

*Dates here are given in 'old style', to accord with English custom.*

April 11: Council sent letters after news that the Citadel of Calais 'will hold out longer time than before was reported', and the levy of men is to continue, the men to be sent to Dover 'by Monday night next'.<sup>APC</sup>

*April 11, in France: Sir Robert Sidney landed at Boulogne; King Henri went down to the shore to meet him. Sidney requested the King to deliver up the town and Citadel of Calais to the Queen of England as soon as, with her assistance, he should succeed in recovering the place. He gave as the Queen's reasons that she would on no other terms find it in her power to furnish the required succour, as her subjects would never consent to it except on these conditions.*

*The King denounced this proposition with angry and vehement expostulations, and bitter reproaches that the Queen was seeking to profit from his misfortune. Sidney grew red with shame; he sought to mitigate his demand by intimating that perhaps she would be satisfied with the possession of Calais for her life-time.*

*He then assured the King that the Earl of Essex would still be arriving with 8000 men to assist in the relief of the Citadel. He expressed the hope that the King would make a personal visit to the Queen at Dover, as soon as Calais had been saved, where she would gladly come to receive him. The King replied that it was one of the things in the world he had most at heart. Sidney rejoined that the Queen would consider such a visit a special honour and favour. She had said she could leave this world more cheerfully, when God should ordain, after she had enjoyed two hours' conversation with his Majesty.*

*Within three hours of his arrival Sidney was aboard ship again.*

*[Motley, United Netherlands, iii.348-351].*

Court news, of April 11: 'As soon as the Queen heard by the fearful messengers of the French King that Calais was besieged, she commanded a power of men to be gathered that very day being Sunday, while men were at divine service, to aid the French King, and withal provide for the safety of England'...

'When with mutual thundering of the ordnance (the report whereof was heard as far as Greenwich), the Archduke Albert had shaken the walls, the townsmen withdrew themselves into the castle'. [Camden, *Annals*].

Also Apr 11, Sun French special Ambassador at Greenwich for first audience. De Sancy had been unaware that Sir Robert Sidney was meeting King Henri.

The Queen assured him that it was her intention only to keep Calais out of the enemy's hands, so long as the King's forces were too much occupied at a distance to provide for its safety. De Sancy also had an interview with Lord Burghley.

April 12: Earl of Essex returned to Dover.

Apr 13, Tues Commission appointing Earl of Essex to be General of an army of 6000 men for the relief of Calais. [SP12/257/22].

The prominent command assigned to Essex had angered the Lord Admiral; he had received a letter from Cecil with a 'sharp postscript' from the Queen.

April 13, Lord Admiral Howard to Sir Robert Cecil: 'I am come to Dover, where I have received such a letter from you by her Majesty's commandment as I little looked for, and did think I had deserved more than this disgrace, wherein I wish I had drowned by the way before I had arrived at this place; and my humble suit to her Majesty is that I may by her be discharged of all, for I vow it by the Lord that made me I will never serve but as a private man whilst I live, and if her Majesty lay me in the Tower it shall be welcome unto me...My commission in being joined with the Earl is an idle thing, for I am used but as the drudge'...

'I mean to return with my own two ships...and not lie in Dover to my shame, and thus I leave for ever further to deal in martial causes'.

Endorsed 'Lord Admiral to my master. A passionate letter'. [HT.vi.144].

April 13, Dover, Earl of Essex to Cecil: 'I never saw so afflicted a man as the Lord Admiral with your letter. By Christ, I am so sensible of it as I have written to the Queen in passion'. PS. 'I pray you show you not my Lord Admiral's letter to the Queen, for it is too passionate, and it may break all our actions, if she take him at his word'. [SP12/257/30]. (See April 16).

April 14, Wed visit to *The Due Repulse*, Woolwich, Kent.  
The Queen went aboard the new warship which was to be Essex's flagship.

*The Due Repulse* was launched in March; Thomas Grove, the Master, had a crew of 274 'mariners, gunners and seafaring men'.<sup>N</sup>

*Anonymous description:* The Queen 'at Greenwich took her barge, only attended with the Lord Chamberlain, the Lady Scudamore and the Lady Leighton, only one wherry, went aboard *The Dieu Repulse* at Woolwich, the ship that worthy and famous Robert Earl of Essex sailed in...To clear the ship all the mariners went afore mast, shrouds and tops, afore that the barge boarded the ship, there being 300 of them, in which she was pleased. Mr Grove the Master in absence of the Earl presented a very rich jewel, and she called by name Matthew Baker to her, and reasoned with him, hoping she will prove a well-conditioned ship. He was principal shipwright and built the ship. Going to see the Earl's cabin arise up to the steerage the Lord Chamberlain said "Your Majesty must stoop", she replied presently "It is more than the King of Spain can make me do".

'From her Majesty by the hand of Sir Edward Darcy: Mr Grove and Mr Baker, each a gilt cup'. [Bodleian Rawlinson MS A.173].

April 14, Queen to the Earl of Essex: 'As distant as I am from your abode, yet my ears serve me too well, to hear that terrible battery that methinks sounds for relief at my hands; wherefore, rather than for lack of timely aid it should be wholly lost, go you in God's blessed name as far as that place where you may soonest relieve it, with as much caution as so great a trust requires. But I charge you, without the mere loss of it, do in no wise peril so fair an army for another Prince's town. God cover you under his safest wings'...

'From *The Due Repulse*, where this day I have been and render a million of thanks to Grove for his precious present'. Endorsed 'Copy of her Majesty's letter with her own hand to the Earl of Essex'. [SP12/257/32].

Also April 14: French special ambassador at Greenwich for audience.

De Sancy informed the Queen of letters from Henri IV about Calais. She bade him write that she would embark her forces, but wanted a letter from the King assuring her that when Calais was recovered it would be handed over to her.

He protested that Calais would be lost while those dealing about this demand were coming and going, but he wrote to the King as commanded. [SPF List 7, 179].

April 16, Lord Admiral Howard to Sir Robert Cecil, after the Queen had reprimanded Howard for a 'passionate' letter:

'Let my humblest duty be remembered unto her sacred Majesty...God send me to do her Majesty that service which my unspotted heart hath ever desired, and after this service with her gracious favour to live quietly'. [HT.vi.146].

Lord Howard remained Lord Admiral until 1619.

*April 16-May 18: Duke of Bouillon, special Ambassador, in Kent and London.*

The Duke was Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne (1555-1623); as Viscount Turenne he had visited England in 1590. He was sent by King Henri IV after news that the Citadel of Calais had fallen, and came to negotiate a league with England. The King had insisted that a Dutch envoy, Calvert, should accompany him.

With the Duke were also Antonio Perez (1540-1611), formerly Secretary of State to Philip II of Spain, who had lived in England 1593-1595, and the two Princes Emanuel and Christopher of Portugal, who had spent much time in England; their father Don Antonio, Pretender to the Throne of Portugal, had died in 1595.

Apr 17, Sat The Queen revoked the forces about to sail to France.<sup>APC</sup>

April [17]: Sir George Carew's account of the news of the loss of Calais, and the arrival at Dover of the Duke of Bouillon, two Princes of Portugal, and Antonio Perez:

'On Thursday the 15th the French King's messenger before day came with letters from the King to the Earl of Essex, assuring him that the Citadel would hold out some few days longer'...

'The same morning likewise the Lords Generals received letters from her Majesty giving them full authority and commission under the Great Seal to transport forces over for the succour of Calais'.

'Towards the evening there came to Dover 3000 footmen...which were presently embarked. And the same evening the Lords Generals, the great officers, Commanders and Captains were all aboard ready to set sail, when at that instant a French gentleman from the Duke of Bouillon brought word of the loss of Calais; whereupon we returned to Dover. This day also... Don Christopher, the King of Portugal's son, came out of France unto us'.

'On Friday the 16th early in the morning the Duke of Bouillon, Don Emanuel the King of Portugal's eldest son, and Don Antonio Perez, with 12 persons or thereabouts, landed at Folkestone by Dover, whom the Earl of Essex with the lords and gentlemen brought into the town'...

'The same day the Duke of Bouillon, Don Emanuel and Antonio Perez rode towards the court'.

[Gustav Ungerer, A Spaniard in Elizabethan England: the Correspondence of Antonio Perez's Exile (1974, 2 vols), i.253-4].

Court news. April 17, Anthony Standen to Anthony Bacon:

'The Duke of Bouillon will this night be at Gravesend, and tomorrow at Greenwich, where his lodging is prepared by the Queen with hangings and furniture, which once before dinner being after a resolution revoked, and the Gentlemen Ushers countermanded, was this afternoon again in my hearing established to be in a house in the town'...

'The Princes of Portugal, and Antonio Perez...are reported to be all come over with him, an unpleasant and queasy news to this court, as by their entertainment is judged will fall out, especially the last three'. [LPL 656/170].

April 19: Sir Henry Knyvett completed a book dedicated to the Queen, written after Calais was besieged: 'The Defence of the Realm. A brief treatise or rather a project of a course to be taken for the defence of this Realm against all foreign invasion and for the necessary service of the same in all other actions of war. Scribbled in haste and finished the 19th of April 1596'.

'To the right excellent prudent and renowned Princess Elizabeth the most mighty Queen of England...Most sacred and worthy to be beloved dread Sovereign'...

'At my poor cottage in Charlton. Your Majesty's most faithful servant and loyal subject, H.Knyvett'. [Proposed presentation to the Queen: June 1].

Court news. April 20 [Essex House], Anthony Bacon to Lady Bacon, his mother:

'The loss of Calais is too true, whereby the enemy no doubt is wonderfully puffed up to a most insolent pride and presumptuous hopes to annoy and infest continually this state'.

'The Duke of Bouillon, heretofore called the Viscount of Turenne, is come hither with very large power and authority to treat and conclude for the French King's part a strait league offensive and defensive betwixt the Queen's Majesty, the French King, the King of Scots, his brother [in-law] the King of Denmark, and the States of the Low Countries. This nobleman, the Duke, since his coming into England is fallen sick of an ague, so that as yet he hath had no audience of her Majesty, and this day hath vouchsafed, my Lord of Essex being absent, to send for my coach to transport him from Billingsgate to a fair house in Fenchurch Street where my Lord Treasurer [Burghley] is to visit him this day'...

'My brother [Francis Bacon] hath within this seven nights spoken twice with her Majesty a full hour each time, whom she used at both times with grace and trust, and sent me comfortable speeches'. [LPL 656/180].

Apr 21, Wed French special ambassador at Greenwich for audience.

De Sancy, to deliver letters from the King which the Duke of Bouillon could not deliver because of his sickness. [SPF List 7, 179].

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: Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex.

The Queen was in the processions and at the service.

Apr 24, Sat Final 1596 Garter ceremonies, Greenwich.

No new Knights were elected.

Also April 24: The Queen sent to inform the Duke of Bouillon and Monsieur de Sancy that she had prepared a lodging for them at Greenwich.

Richard Coningsby and George Pollard, Gentlemen Ushers, and their men, made ready Mr Weston's house at Greenwich, and attended on the Duke for 19 days, April and May.<sup>T</sup>

Court news. April 25, Anthony Bacon to Dr Hawkins:

The Earl of Essex 'is to depart to Plymouth and from thence to sea [on a voyage to Cadiz]'...

'You are to understand that Signor Perez is returned hither but not like to stay long, as he purposed, by reason he finds the Queen's Majesty extremely incensed against him by the two fathers and the two sons, to wit the Lord Treasurer and the Lord Cobham, Sir Robert Cecil and Henry Brooke, who have so slandered and peppered him as that he is determined either to return into France with the Duke of Bouillon or to go with my Lord by sea or to retire himself into the Low Countries'. [LPL 656/188].

April 25: 'Sir John Hawkins man Munday brought letters from Captain Troughton signifying his arrival at Milford Haven with her Majesty's ship the *Elizabeth Bonaventure*. He also reported the death of Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins fight performed against the Spanish Fleet'.<sup>MK</sup>

Hawkins died in November 1595, Drake in January 1596.

'*Sir Francis Drake, his honourable life's commendation, and his tragical death's lamentations*'. By Charles Fitzgeffrey. A long elegy.

Dedicated to Lady Elizabeth, Sir Francis's widow.

Fitzgeffrey hails Drake as 'divine Elisa's champion'.

'(Alas!) he drowned in the Ocean main

The richest treasure England did contain,

Save one rare jewel, whose rich price is such,

As none can either prize or praise too much...

Elisa lives, and while Elisa reigns

One England need not fear a hundred Spains'. (Oxford, 1596).

Charles Fitzgeffrey (c.1575-1638) was an Oxford undergraduate.

Apr 27, Tues First conference with French envoys, Greenwich.

Led by Lord Burghley on behalf of the Queen, and by the Duke of Bouillon on behalf of King Henri. Said Burghley: "We have nothing to do except to listen to such propositions as may be made on the part of the King, and to repeat them to her Highness the Queen".

Bouillon replied: "You cannot be ignorant of the purpose for which we have been sent hither by his Very Christian Majesty. You know very well that it is to conclude a league with England. Tis necessary, therefore, for the English to begin by declaring whether they are disposed to enter into such an alliance".

Burghley asked what the King was ready to do in return, and what advantage the Queen could expect from the league. Hard bargaining continued. [Motley].

April 28, Plymouth, Essex to Sir Robert Cecil: 'I am come hither at last'... 'I shall be sorry if the Queen send no man down to view the fair troops I will show here, and the ordering of them'. [Devereux, i.338-9].

April 28: Seditious words at Watford, Herts. Robert Nicholls, of Watford, baker, said 'There was reason every man should have his right (referring to Philip, King of Spain), for it was his due to have the third foot of England by marrying with our last Queen (meaning Mary, late Queen of England), and that every man would seek for his own'. Verdict unknown. [Assizes, Herts, 124].

Apr 29, Thur Second conference with French envoys, Greenwich.

Lord Burghley offered 3000 men from the Queen, on condition that they should be raised at the French King's expense, and should not leave England until they had received a month's pay in advance. The Duke of Bouillon said that this was far from being what had been expected, and that if the King had money he could hire troops in Switzerland and Germany. The English answered that this was all the Queen could do; the Duke and De Sancy rose in much excitement, saying that they had then no further business than to ask for an audience to take leave, and to return to France as fast as possible.

Before taking leave the French sent a memoir to the Queen, stating that the first proposition as to a league had been made by her Ambassador, yet now they had been received in such a way as to indicate a desire to mock them rather than to treat with them. They implored her plainly to declare her intentions.

This resulted in fresh conferences being suggested, which took place at intervals in May. [Motley, *United Netherlands*].

April 29: Slanderous words, reported in Star Chamber.

One Smith confessed that, being a pressed soldier at Dover, and the news being there that the Spaniards were on the sea (which was false), they were shipped, but then dismissed. Smith came to London and reported that the news was through-out the soldiers that the Lord Admiral's ship was searched by the Earl of Essex 'and opening divers barrels, wherein he supposed to have been gunpowder, he found ashes, dust and sand, and thereupon he called him Traitor, and so they came both to the court'.

Smith reported that at court the Earl of Essex and the Earl of Cumberland before the Queen took the Lord Admiral by the beard and said "ah thou Traitor"; and this Smith, travelling by Windsor, called at the house of a Justice of Peace thereby for drink, and reporting the like there, was by the gentleman himself apprehended, for which he was greatly commended'.

Sentenced to lose one ear on the pillory at Westminster, the other at Windsor; to be whipped; to have a paper on his head containing the words; imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure, and fined £20 'which should have been far greater but for his baseness, being a peasant and a boy'. [Hawarde, 39-40].

April 30: death: Sir John Puckering (c.1544-1596), Lord Keeper, died at York House, Charing Cross, his official residence. May 3: St Martin in the Fields: his bowels were buried. Funeral: May 27, Westminster Abbey, where his monument remains, including the figures of his wife and a Purse-bearer and a Mace-bearer. (St Paul's Chapel). The widowed Jane (Chowne), Lady Puckering, married (1606) William Combe, of Warwick, a lawyer who had sold land to William Shakespeare.

May 1: the Great Seal was delivered to the Queen at Greenwich.

Also May 1: Council's warrant for Don Emanuel 'now making his return to France' to be transported in one of 'her Majesty's ships or pinnaces now attending on the Narrow Seas' from Dover to France.<sup>APC</sup>

The younger Prince of Portugal, Christopher, sailed to Cadiz with the Earl of Essex in June; both Princes were in England in the autumn.

May 3, Mon, Greenwich. Proclamation (779): Ordering Punishment of Persons with Forged Credentials.

'Against sundry abuses practised by divers lewd and audacious persons falsely naming themselves Messengers of her Majesty's Chamber, travelling from place to place with writings counterfeited in form of warrants'.

'As also against another sort [company] of vagabond persons that carry counterfeit passports wherewith to beg and gather alms'.

May 5, Wed Queen's visit to Bouillon and De Sancy in Greenwich. The French envoys were at Mr Weston's house.

The Queen came in the morning to walk in the garden of their lodging, staying there for some time, without speaking of business.

Court news. May 6 (I), Edward Reynolds to the Earl of Essex (at Plymouth):

'The Earl of Worcester...hath not yet executed his place of Deputy Master of the Horse [deputy to Essex]. The Lord Northumberland hath been in court this two days'...

'The Master of the Rolls [Sir Thomas Egerton] was yesterday in court, and is to be here again this day...All London says and some in court think it is to be Lord Keeper'. [LPL 657/72].

May 6, Thur new appointment: Sir Thomas Egerton became Lord Keeper and a Privy Councillor. *Description by Stephen Powle, Deputy Clerk of the Crown*:

'Sir Thomas Egerton, knight, Master of the Rolls, was sent for to wait on her Majesty between the hours of 5 and 6 in the afternoon at Greenwich by Sir Robert Cecil, knight, and was attended for in the Lobby at the stairs' head by the Lord Cobham and the Lord Buckhurst, all three being of her Highness's most honourable Privy Council, who presented him to her Majesty, being at that time in her Highness's Privy Chamber, whose pleasure was to stand on a Turkey carpet, under the cloth of state, attended on by the right honourable the Lord Burghley, High Treasurer of England, who was licensed to sit on a stool with his back towards the arras, by reason of his indisposition and weakness'.

'At which time Stephen Powle, the deputy Clerk of the Crown, was sent for to be present by Sir Robert Cecil to record the solemnity of this act, the which deputy Clerk of the Crown kneeled of his right knee, Sir Robert Cecil stood behind him next to the portal door of the Great Privy Chamber. On the north side of the cloth of state, on a little table, lay the Great Seal of England, taken out of the leather bag and red velvet purse, both which also lay apart'.

'Then Sir Thomas Egerton, the Master of the Rolls, kneeling on his right knee, her Majesty enriched his worth with many gracious words, appointing him as fit to be the Keeper of her Great Seal, which her Highness delivered unto him with both her hands, recommending the same to his careful and diligent employing thereof, which he most humbly received, acknowledging his insufficiency being compared with others his predecessors. Then her Highness laying her hands on both his shoulders did after a sort offer to help him up. After this her Highness commanded he should be sworn of her Privy Council'.

'Then the Seal so delivered him, he carried it openly in his hand that it might be seen, and had also the bag and red velvet purse aforesaid upon his arm, from the Privy Chamber, those four of her Majesty's Council aforesaid attending him to the Council Chamber, where the oaths usual being ministered and other ceremonies of stately importance private being performed, the officers and sundry other of the Chancery were admitted to come in. Where an ordinary writ was sealed by the sealer on the upper end of the Council table, to give him seisin thereby of the Great Seal before that honourable presence'.

'Then he caused the Seal to be put into the leather bag, first sealing the same in three places with his own signet, and then to be enclosed according to the usual custom in the red velvet purse, which he took up and delivered to a gentleman of his retinue to carry before him. Then he returned back to her Majesty, with whom she was pleased to confer one half-hour after, and then was licensed to depart. That should have been before the delivery of the Seal'.

'The Queen's words were these: "I began first with a Lord Keeper (and he was a wise man I tell you) [Sir Nicholas Bacon], and I will end with a Lord Keeper". "God forbid, Madam", said the Lord Treasurer, "I hope you shall bury four or five more". "No", said her Highness "this is the last". And clapping her hand on her heart the same repeated, so that she in a manner wept. The Master of the Rolls sympathising with her Majesty wept outright, still kneeling, and then said "Indeed, Madam, he was wiser than any that are ever like to succeed him".

'With that she hastened away, her Majesty's heart (as it might seem) being burdened, saying "None of the Lord Treasurer's men will come in to fetch him away as long as I am here, and therefore I will be gone". So she went away with that word, saying "He will never be an honest man till he be sworn, swear him! swear him!".

'Her Highness's robes were straw-coloured satin, flourished over with silver and coloured silk; over which was a net-work flourished veil, that covered all her body, and the attire of her head likewise, which was a caul with a hat of straw-coloured satin, flourished as her gown, garnished with certain pearl and stone. She had also a straw-coloured cocked shoe'.

Stephen Powle, *The Crown*, Greenwich. [Bodleian Tanner 168, f.93-93v].

Court news. May 6 (II), Edward Reynolds to Essex: 'The Master of the Rolls hath changed his style, and is made Lord Keeper, only by her Majesty's gracious favour, and by her own choice without competitor or mediator. I think no man ever came to this dignity with more applause than this worthy gentleman'. [LPL 657/74]. Egerton remained Master of the Rolls, in addition to Lord Keeper.

May 7, Fri French special Ambassadors at Greenwich 'to take leave'.

The Duke of Bouillon and De Sancy signed a bond for a loan of £6000 or 20,000 crowns French money, for the defence of Boulogne, to be repaid within 12 months. [This was 'discharged in October 1599'. *SPF List 7, 70*].

*After their audience the Queen sent to tell the envoys how mortified she was that the state of her affairs did not permit her to give the King as much assistance as he desired, and to express her wish to speak to them again.*

*Calvert, Dutch envoy, wrote that although the French had rejected the 'intolerable conditions' proposed for a Treaty, and had taken leave, the negotiation was again taken in hand. [Motley, United Netherlands].*

May 8, Sat French special Ambassadors at Greenwich with the Queen.

The Duke of Bouillon and De Sancy, who had asked for audience, found the Queen in the park, where she was walking.

Court news. May 9, Anthony Bacon to Dr Hawkins, in Venice:

'The Duke de Bouillon and Monsieur de Sancy are like to depart very ill satisfied, having obtained only 20,000 crowns, half of which will scarce serve for their own charges in this voyage'...

'The late Lord Keeper, Sir John Puckering, died of an apoplexy very suddenly and hath left no regret of him, into whose place with an extraordinary speed her Majesty hath...advanced Sir Thomas Egerton with a general applause both of court, city, and country, for the reputation he hath of integrity, law, knowledge, and courage'. [LPL 657/25].

May 10, Mon French special Ambassadors at Greenwich for audience.

The Duke of Bouillon and De Sancy agreed secret Articles modifying a proposed Treaty, whereby only 2000 men should be sent to France.

May 14, Fri **Treaty of Greenwich**, for an offensive and defensive League with France against Spain. Signed by the Queen's Commissioners (six Privy Councillors), and by the Duke of Bouillon and Monsieur de Sancy.

May 15, Sat Duke of Bouillon and De Sancy at Greenwich for audience.

May 15, court at Greenwich, Lord Burghley to the Archbishop of York (Matthew Hutton): 'As it hath been thought good and expedient that now, upon the departure of her Majesty's royal navy at sea...that some declaration should be published in print to the world of the causes moving her Majesty thereunto, for the manifestation of the justice of her proceeding; so I have thought good to send unto your Grace 3 of them, 2 in English and one in Latin, both for your Grace's own satisfaction and for the better notifying the same unto that country, who will be glad to hear of it, and by your Grace's report will quickly and easily be divulged thereabout...Not doubting but that our army shall have your Grace's good prayers to God for their good success in this expedition against his professed enemies and ours'.

'For her Majesty's special affairs. 8 at night. Haste, haste, Post haste!'

Endorsed: 'Hertford the 16, at past 8 morning; Royston, the 16 May, at 2 afternoon; Stilton, the 16, at 10 in the night'. [*Surtees Soc.* 17 (1843), 108].

May 16, Sun Secret Articles of Treaty of Greenwich were signed. Villeroy, French Secretary of State, wrote that: 'Two contracts were made; the one public...the other secret, which destroyed the effects and the promises of the first. By the first, his Majesty was to be succoured by 4000 infantry, which number was limited by the second contract to 2000, who were to reside and to serve only in the cities of Boulogne and Montreuil, assisted by an equal number of French'. If the King was 'personally present in Picardy with an army...they might serve in Picardy but nowhere else'. [Motley, *United Netherlands*, iii.383].

May 16, Queen to Essex and Lord Howard, desiring them to put their expedition under the command of some inferior officers and return to court; they being so dear to her, and such persons of note, as she could not allow of their going themselves. [Devereux, i.342].

May, Edward Reynolds to Anthony Bacon: 'The Queen is daily in change of humour about my Lord's voyage, and the other day almost resolved to stay it, using very hard terms of my Lord's wilfulness; insomuch as the wisest was fain to use his wisest reasons and arguments to appease and satisfy her'. [LPL 657/34].

May 17, Mon Duke of Bouillon and De Sancy at Greenwich to take leave. Also: new appointment: Thomas Edmondes: Secretary for the French Tongue.

May 18, Tues Duke of Bouillon and De Sancy left for France. Calvert, Dutch Agent in France, left for Holland with a copy of the Treaty. William Edwards and other watermen 'carrying of the Duke of Bouillon and the Lord Norris and others to accompany him from Greenwich to Gravesend and returning again'.<sup>T</sup>

Antonio Perez also left for France, and did not return. The Duke was back in England in August for ceremonies and celebrations at the Queen's Oath to observe the Treaty.

May 18, Stade, Thomas Ferrers to Sir Robert Cecil, of reports there, e.g. that her Majesty was shot at with a dag, which missed her, but slew one of the ladies - it was practised by an Italian; and that the Lord Admiral was committed to the Tower. 'These things are given out by the Low Country merchants'.

Endorsed: 'From Stade: false reports spread there'. [SPF List 7, 260].

May 22: Necessaries for an Agent or Ambassador's Secretary in France.

May 22, Thomas Edmondes (the Queen's new French Secretary) to Sir Robert Cecil, as to why I desire 'to be excused from returning into France':

The buying of a new equipage of horses and provisions for following the army will cost £200. I must have a horse for myself, another for a servant that writes under me, another for one who goes before with the Harbinger to procure lodging and provision and dress my poor diet, another to carry a couple of trunks containing my clothes and bed, another to carry provisions for the kitchen and servants' necessaries, and often oats. For these horses I require two grooms. I have ever sought to get such as would go afoot, but often cannot avoid mounting one of them, and that requires another horse, making six in all.

Besides these I require a lackey to attend on myself and another to run with my servant to assist in taking lodging. There is 'not the meanest secretary belonging to any man that hath not all these provisions in as large and larger manner, without the which it is impossible to follow the King'. [HT.vi.193].

May 23, 24: News of preparations for the Cadiz Expedition, commanded by Lord Admiral Howard and the Earl of Essex as 'Generals both by sea and land'; other commanders included Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere.

The Admiral of Holland, Jan van Duvenvord, commanded 24 Dutch ships.

May 23, Plymouth, Anthony Standen to Anthony Bacon: 'The ships are all arrived in this haven, and now no more to be done but to embark'.

May 24, Standen to Bacon: 'The Lords General intend to be under sail by Saturday [May 29] at the furthest...The rich apparel that yesterday was shown here was beyond all the sights that ever I saw, for at least 500 gentlemen were covered over with silver and gold lace...This night will both the Lords lie aboard, to give beginning and example. They had jointly yesterday a letter from her Majesty of licence to depart, besides comfortable encouragement. But ours [Essex] in particular had one fraught with all kind of promises and loving offers, as the like since he was a favourite he never had'.

The Queen had sent Fulke Greville 'to carry to the two Generals their royal benediction'. [LPL 657/2,3,8].

Among those preparing to sail was John Donne (1572-1631), later renowned as poet and preacher. A portrait of him as a melancholy lover, 'taken in shadows', c.1596, is reproduced in *Elizabeth I & her People*, ed. Tarnya Cooper, 180-181.

May 24, Mon Privy Council: 'An open placard for Mr George Meissenburg, who was sent from the Landgrave of Hesse in embassage to her Majesty, for so many post-horses as he shall need to bring him and his company to the seaside where he is to embark, and to furnish him of convenient shipping for his transportation back again'.<sup>APC</sup> [Georg von Meysenbug (1560-1597)].

Landgrave Moritz of Hesse-Cassel had written from Cassel to the Queen on April 5, sending his Councillor to inform her that his wife had just given birth to a daughter, and to invite her to be godmother.

The Queen replied in May, accepting the invitation of so valued a friend, and praising his envoy's conduct of his mission. Within two months she would send a nobleman to represent her at the baptism. [SPF List 7, 259].

The Earl of Lincoln's departure for Hesse: July 27.

Court news. May 30, Francis Bacon to his brother Anthony Bacon (who had supplied Sir John Fortescue, a Councillor, with newsletters): 'Yesternight Sir John Fortescue told me he had not many hours before imparted to the Queen your advertisements and the gazette likewise, which the Queen caused Mr John Stanhope to read all over unto her...He willed me to return to you the Queen's thanks'... 'The Queen saluted me today as she went to chapel'. [LPL 657/29].

May 30, Anthony Standen to Anthony Bacon, 'out of the The Due Repulse in the Sound of Plymouth': 'We have 300 green headed youths covered with feathers, gold, and silver lace, at the least 10,000 soldiers, as tall handsome men as ever I cast eye on...Our Navy in this port beautiful to behold, about 150 sail, whereof 18 of her Majesty's own, since her reign never so many before'... 'Here is nothing but haste and away'. [LPL 659/1].

May 31, Mon Privy Council: 'An open placard to all her Majesty's public officers. Whereas the Baron of Zeirotin, a nobleman of Germany, having been here in England to see her Majesty and the country, is now to make his return over the seas homeward by Flushing, these are to will and require you upon sight hereof to see him furnished of ten able and sufficient post-horses for himself, his servants and a guide from place to place until he come to the port where he is to embark, and there to help to provide him convenient shipping for his transportation'.<sup>APC</sup>

By May 31: 'A Prayer made by the Queen at the departure of the fleet'.

'Most omnipotent Maker and guider of all our world's mass, that only searchest and fathomest the bottom of all our hearts' conceits, and in them seest the true original of all our actions intended: thou that by thy foresight dost truly discern how no malice of revenge, nor quittance of injury, nor desire of bloodshed, nor greediness of lucre, hath bred the resolution of our now set out Army, but a heedful care and wary watch that no neglect of foes, nor over surety of harm, might breed either danger to us, or glory to them. These being grounds, thou that didst inspire the mind, we humbly beseech with bended knees, prosper the work, and with best forewinds guide the journey, speed the victory, and make the return the advancement of thy glory, the triumph of their fame, and surety to the realm, with the least loss of English blood. To these devout petitions, Lord, give thou thy blessed grant'. [Liturgy, 666].

The Queen sent her prayer to Essex with a note: 'I make this humble bill of requests to Him that all makes and does, that with His benign hand He will shadow you so as all harm may light beside you, and all that may be best hap to your share, that your return may make you better and me gladder. Let your companion, my most faithful Charles [Lord Howard] be sure that his name is not left out in this petition. God bless you both, as I would be if I were there, which, whether I wish or not, He alone doth know'. [Devereux, i.345].

May 31, Anthony Ashley to Cecil, from aboard *The Repulse*: 'The devout prayer so divinely conceived by her Majesty...is so thankfully and cheerfully accepted that there is no less hope of good effect thereby than was wished at what time it was conceived in the depth of her sacred heart, and is to be recited in the army at fit times (by order from the Generals) as a prayer and invocation unto the Lord purposely indited by His spirit in His anointed Queen'. [HT.vi.201].

June 1, 'at my lodging', Sir Henry Knyvett to Sir Robert Cecil: 'I have presumed to offer unto your Honour's view and judgement (as the only elected patron of my fortunes), the copy of a brief fancy of mine, the which by you patronised and allowed I hope may be some means both to move her Majesty to renew her good opinion of me, and to employ me so in her service as neither she may longer lose the benefit thereof, nor I hold the time ill spent...A book fair written will this day be ready to be presented to her Majesty, if so it may seem good to your Honour that I shall proceed'. [HT.MS 41/44]. Knyvett (c.1537-1598), of St James's Park, and Charlton by Malmesbury, Wiltshire, who had military experience, wrote in April 'The Defence of the Realm'. (Published, London, 1906).

June 3, Thur: The fleet left Plymouth, arriving at Cadiz on June 20.

By June 4: Queen's Printer, Christopher Barker, printed:

'A Prayer set forth by authority to be used for the prosperous success of her Majesty's Forces and Navy'. [Liturgy, 665].

June 4: St John Walbrook paid 'for a prayer to be read in the church, 2d'.

June 5: St Botolph Aldgate paid an Apparitor 3d for a prayer 'to be used for the good success of the Queen's Majesty's Navy now at sea'.

1596. Holy Trinity the Less: 'For a prayer for Cales fleet, 2d'.

St Martin in the Fields: 'Paid unto the Apparitor for a prayer book to be read in the church at the Earl of Essex going to Cales, 12d'. [Cales: Cadiz].

St Mary Woolchurch Haw: 'For a prayer book sent from Dr Stanhope for the good success of our Navy, 2d'. [Edward Stanhope, Chancellor of Diocese of London].

St Mary Woolnoth: 'Paid for a prayer...for the prosperity of our great fleet then at sea, 2d'. Hornchurch Church, Essex: 'For a book which was to pray for the fleet, 3d'. Leverton Church, Lincs: 'For a book of prayer concerning the good success of the Queen's Majesty's Navy, 6d'. Southampton, St Lawrence: 'For a book for the praying for the preservation of her Majesty's Navy, 4d'.

June 7 [Harrow on the Hill], Lord North to Sir Robert Cecil (of the Queen's prayer):

'Since I came from court there was delivered to me...by a person unknown, a paper without superscription containing the form of a prayer, compounded in such divine, religious, and most Christian manner, so briefly, effectually, and... with words of such force as no creature living, neither with wit or art, can put to pull from or remove any word in it, without the defacing of the most heavenly prayer I ever heard or saw...A prayer not above a dozen lines' [described]...

'To bolt out the author hereof is the work of a Councillor, and worthy your labour, that such poor men as I am, knowing where the saint is shrined, may come to worship in Jerusalem and then pray with Simeon...At Harrow Steeple we see far and hear nothing'.

With a note asking Cecil to show this to the Queen or suppress it, as he thinks best. 'Burn or tear this paper'. [HT.MS 41/53].

June 12: *Sir John Smith's seditious words of the Queen and Lord Burghley.*

*Sir John Smith (c.1533-1607) of Essex, a kinsman of the Queen, was a former Ambassador to Spain.*

*At a muster of soldiers at Colchester he used 'seditious words and speeches', to which 25 witnesses testified. Clement Cowey and others deposed that Thomas Wendon told them that Smith, in Windmill Field, before the trained band, had proclaimed Lord Treasurer Burghley a traitor, and said that there were so many men slain and laying upon heaps about the court at Greenwich that men might go over their shoes in blood; upon Cowey's saying 'God save the Queen', Wendon replied that he doubted if it was not too late.*

June 13, at court: 'Letters came from Sir Thomas Lucas and the Bailiff of Colchester of the speeches used by Sir John Smith'.<sup>MK</sup>

June 15: *Smith was brought before the Privy Council, who committed him to the Tower of London, where he was examined by Francis Bacon and others.*

*Examined on June 28 he did not remember using seditious words, but had been drinking white wine and claret at The White Hart in Colchester, and 'misgoverned himself, being overcome with drink and passion against the Lord Treasurer'.*

*Questions at Smith's subsequent examinations included:*

*Why he commended the government of Spain and abased his own, and said it was not lawful to send men into her Majesty's wars beyond sea? Why he said that if the soldiers followed him, the bells should be rung, and the beacons fired, and that the common people had been a long time oppressed and in bondage?*

*What he meant by saying there were traitors in and about the court, and the Lord Treasurer was a traitor? What moved him to give out that a number of men had been slain at Greenwich? [SP12/259/22,27,55]. Smith sent a long letter of explanation and apology to Burghley, June 28. [Ellis, *Original Letters*, 88-97].*

*Guilty of using 'very seditious words', he was in the Tower to February 1598.*

June 15: *death. Richard Fletcher (1544-1596), Bishop of London and the Queen's Almoner, died at the Bishop's Palace beside St Paul's Cathedral.*

*Funeral: St Paul's. By his first wife the Bishop left eight children, including the future playwright John Fletcher.*

*After his second marriage, to Lady Baker, of high rank but low reputation, the Bishop lost the Queen's favour (February 1595).*

*Thomas Fuller: The Bishop married a lady of Kent 'who one commendeth for very virtuous; which if so, the more happy she in herself, though unhappy that the world did not believe it'. [Worthies, Kent].*

*John Harington: 'The Queen being pacified, and he in great jollity, with his fair lady...died suddenly, taking tobacco in his chair, saying to his man that stood by him..."Oh boy, I die". [Nugae Antiquae, ii.46].*

Godfrey Goodman: 'He married my Lady Baker, a very handsome, beautiful lady, as she is pictured. Here many libels were made against him: I remember part of one of them: "We will divide the name of Fletcher:

He, my Lord F; and she, my Lady Letcher".

'I think he had a check from the Queen, and died for sorrow. His son was a poet to a playhouse'. [Goodman, i.134].

John Harington wrote several epigrams against Lady Baker (as 'Galla').

John Davies wrote five bitterly satirical epigrams against this marriage which caused widespread scandal; it is one of these epigrams that Goodman is quoting.

In August the Bishop's brother Dr Giles Fletcher listed 'Reasons to move her Majesty in some commiseration towards the orphans of the late Bishop of London', including his great expenses on the episcopal houses, especially Fulham Palace, 'hoping one day, as himself would say, after...the recovery of her gracious favour, which of all worldly things he most desired, to see her Majesty in his house at Fulham...He satisfied the error of his late marriage with his untimely and unlooked for death'. [Birch, ii.113].

Queen's new Almoner (September 1596): Anthony Watson, Bishop of Chichester.  
New Bishop of London (1597): Richard Bancroft.

Lady Baker (c.1548-1609), married (3) Sir Stephen Thornhurst; her memorial in Canterbury Cathedral ignores her second marriage.

Court news. June 19, Anthony Bacon to Dr Henry Hawkins, in Venice:  
I was told 'yesterday by a Clerk of the Council that her Majesty would commit to my conveyance and charge her picture, which is to be presented in my Lord of Essex's name to the Duke of Florence, which I purpose to send first to you, that upon a fit and honourable occasion you may, if you think it meet, have access and salute the great Duke jointly with Mr Guicciardini, whom her Majesty has named to be the presenter'. [LPL 657/101]. James Guicciardini and Henry Hawkins were two of Essex's agents who supplied him with news.

June 20: English fleet arrived at Cadiz, Spain.  
Cadiz was generally referred to in England as 'Cales'.

June 21: Capture of Cadiz.

Francis Bacon's description (1624): 'This journey was like lightning. For in the space of 14 hours the King of Spain's navy was destroyed and the town of Cales taken. The navy was no less than 50 tall ships, besides 20 galleys to attend them. The ships were straightways beaten, and put to flight with such terror as the Spaniards in the end were their own executioners, and fired them all with their own hands. The galleys, by the benefit of the shores and shallows, got away. The town was a fair, strong, well-built and rich city; famous in antiquity, and now most spoken of for this disaster. It was manned with 4000 soldiers on foot, and some 400 horse. It was sacked and burned, though great clemency was used towards the inhabitants'. [Spedding, ii.39].

June 21-July 4, at Cadiz: Lord Admiral Howard and the Earl of Essex made 66 knights, including Robert Earl of Sussex, Don Christopher the Prince of Portugal, Count Ludovic of Nassau, and several other Dutchmen.

Stow, Annals: 'They made a great many knights, even all almost that did deserve it, or affect it, or not neglect and refuse it (as some did)'.

Fuller: 'A knight of Cales, and a gentleman of Wales,  
And a laird of the North countree;  
A yeoman of Kent, with his yearly rent,  
Will buy them out all three'. [Worthies, Kent].

June 22-July 27: *Prince Ludwig of Anhalt-Cothen (1579-1650) in England.* The Prince visited England from Germany, during several years of travel in Europe with his elder brother and their tutor. He wrote a long Latin verse 'Itinerary' of his youthful travels, in which he described going to Greenwich on two Sundays to see the Queen go to service, and visits to Somerset House, Windsor, Oxford, Theobalds (Lord Burghley's Hertfordshire house), and Cobham Hall in Kent (Lord Cobham's house). [Rye, cxxii].

June: *visit*, Hertford House, Westminster; Earl of Hertford.

Hertford House, Cannon Row; owned by Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford (1537-1621); 2nd wife: Frances (Howard) (c.1554-1598), a Lady of the Privy Chamber; sister of Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Admiral.

The Earl was in the Tower November 1595-January 1596 for secretly attempting to prove his first marriage to Lady Catherine Grey in 1560 lawful and his two sons by her legitimate (and thus in line of succession to the Throne).

Richard Torver and other watermen carried 'her Highness by water to the Earl of Hertford's and back again', June.<sup>T</sup>

July 1, Star Chamber: Lord Keeper Egerton's *oration*, on the Queen's behalf.

Proclamation was made in the Chancery on June 20 that every Justice of the Peace and gentleman of quality in or near London should attend to hear the Queen's commandment delivered by Sir Thomas Egerton.

Egerton declared that 'her sacred Majesty, of her godly and princely care, doth greatly tender the religious and peaceable state of her people', and had given him special charge to say:

First, that she 'specially requireth and commandeth, not only all Justices of Peace, but all sorts of gentlemen of what sort or quality soever, which have left or forsaken their country dwellings and habitations to live in cities or towns corporate, presently to repair to their country dwellings, and there to make their continual abode, as they will answer to the contrary upon their peril and her Majesty's high displeasure; for her Majesty greatly disliketh the same, and expressly commands all sorts presently to return to their countries in regard of imminent dangers, and yet the faintest heart need not to fear: but to be circumspect and careful, especially in the maritime parts'...

'For vagrant and idle persons, especially those which flock together, to punish severely; their mark is idleness and wasteful spending'...

'To have circumspect note of slanderers, who have loose tongues'...

As for 'the excess of apparel in merchants' wives and their daughters, lawyers' wives and their daughters, gentlemen's wives and their daughters, and in all degrees...hereby we prodigally waste our patrimony, and is a pestilent canker in a commonwealth, the confusion of all degrees'...

'The present dearth (for I hope it is not scarcity) to be provided for; and the Justices of Peace, in their wisdoms, to advise of some good course to mitigate the prices'.

With other directions for Justices of the Peace. [Hawarde, 56-58].

July 1 [Cadiz], Earl of Essex to Edward Reynolds: 'Commend me humbly to my Lord Grace of Canterbury, and if he will procure a public thanksgiving for this great victory he shall do an act worthy of him'. [LPL 658/92].

July 3: 'A Prayer of Thanksgiving, and for continuance of good success to her Majesty's Forces'; draft with corrections by Lord Burghley.

Printed by the Queen's Printer. [Liturgy, 472, 668-670].

1596. St Mary Woolnoth paid for a 'Prayer or thanksgiving for the good success of our armies by sea and land, 2d'.

July 5, Mon new appointments: 'By her Majesty's express commandment Sir Robert Cecil...was sworn Principal Secretary to her Majesty'.<sup>APC</sup>  
 John Stanhope was made Treasurer of the Chamber, and knighted.<sup>B</sup>  
 Cecil's father Lord Burghley (a former Principal Secretary) was present.

Also July 5: 'An open warrant to all public officers' for Richard Brackenbury, a Gentleman Usher daily attendant, to have '12 post-horses for himself and his servants to the town of Yarmouth, being appointed to attend the Earl of Lincoln into Germany with certain plate and other things of charge of her Majesty'.

Warrant to Sir George Carew, Lieutenant of the Ordnance, to deliver to Brackenbury 'one cart with the furniture out of her Majesty's store for carriage of her Majesty's stuff, and likewise of 10 muskets furnished for the better defence of those that shall attend the said carriage, being of importance'.

'A placard to all public officers', for the Earl of Lincoln and his retinue to have 'convenient post-horses and guides' to Yarmouth 'at prices accustomed in her Majesty's service'.<sup>APC</sup> [Great Yarmouth, Norfolk].

July 6: Gifts of plate prepared to be taken by Lincoln to Hesse:

One pair of gilt pots; one pair of gilt flagons; one nest of three gilt pots with a cover; one basin and a lair gilt.<sup>NYG</sup>

Nicholas Pigeon, Jewel-house Officer, had hired a 'cart with its draught of horses in conveying of plate from the Tower of London to the court at Greenwich for her Highness to make choice of plate to be given to the christening of the Landgrave van Hesse's child'.<sup>T</sup>

July 6, court, Sir Robert Cecil to the Lord Deputy of Ireland (Russell): The Queen 'requires you to restrain this coming over of Irish servitors and suitors, whereby her person and her Council are pestered, as they might be dispatched by yourself in that kingdom'. [Carew, iii.180].

July 8, Theobalds, Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil: 'The Queen's Majesty would be remembered that she did christen [May 1577] a daughter of was the Landgrave, now sister to the present Marquis, and if she be living, and should be in her brother's house, that she may have a jewel for a token'. [SP12/259/60].

*July 8: christening. Queen was godmother to Earl of Northumberland's son. Parents: Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland, of Petworth, Sussex; wife: Dorothy (Devereux), sister of the Earl of Essex and widow of Sir Thomas Perrot.*

*Simon Bowyer made ready at Petworth House.<sup>T</sup> Queen's gifts, July 3: one pair of gilt flagons; one gilt bowl with a cover gilt.<sup>NYG</sup>*

*Petworth Church register: 'On the 20th of June was born Henry Lord Percy who was baptised on the 8th day of July in the private chapel in my Lord's house. The witnesses were, first for the Queen's Majesty the Lady Buckhurst, then the Earl of Shrewsbury, lastly for the Lord Treasurer [Burghley] the Earl De La Warr'. The child, Lord Percy, died in May 1597.*

July 10 [London], Anthony Bacon to Dr Hawkins, in Venice: 'The Duke of Bouillon is looked for here the 25th of this month, and the Earl of Northumberland now nominated to go into France' [He objected that he was deaf and in debt, and the Earl of Shrewsbury went instead in September]...

'The Earl of Lincoln is departed this day to Yarmouth to embark from thence to Flushing, accompanied with old Mr Brackenbury to direct him for ceremonies and compliment, Mr Wroth to advise and counsel him in matter of negotiation, besides twenty young gentlemen'...

'Upon Monday last *elephas peperit* [the elephant pupped], Sir Robert Cecil being sworn Secretary and my cousin John Stanhope Treasurer of the Chamber, so that now the old man may say with the rich man in the Gospel *requiescat anima mea* [may my soul rest in peace]'. [LPL 658/10].

July 11: Council's Order concerning Blackamoors, after some were brought back from the Caribbean by Sir Thomas Baskerville.

'An open letter to the Lord Mayor of London and the Aldermen his brethren, and to all other Mayors, Sheriffs, etc'.

'Her Majesty understanding that there are of late divers blackamoors brought into this realm, of which kind of people there are already here too many, considering how God hath blessed this land with great increase of people of our own nation as any country in the world, whereof many for want of service and means to set them on to work fall to idleness and to great extremity'.

'Her Majesty's pleasure therefore is that those kind of people should be sent forth of the land, and for that purpose there is direction given to this bearer Edward Baines to take of those blackamoors that in this last voyage under Sir Thomas Baskerville were brought into this realm the number of ten, to be transported by him out of the realm. Wherein we require you to be aiding and assisting unto him as he shall have occasion, and thereof not to fail'.<sup>APC</sup>

July 16: *christening*. Queen was godmother to Sir Edward Wynter's daughter.<sup>T</sup>

Parents: Sir Edward Wynter, of Whitecross House, Lydney, Gloucs; wife: Lady Anne Somerset, 3rd daughter of Edward Somerset, 4th Earl of Worcester.

'At his house at Lydney in the farthest part of Gloucestershire'.

Queen's Deputy: Lady Chandos (of Sudeley, Gloucs).<sup>T</sup> Queen's gifts, July 16: two gilt bowls with covers.<sup>NYG</sup> 1st child: not further identified.

July 17: Seditious words in Kent. Alexander Oven, of Hoath, labourer, said on July 17 at Hoath: 'They (meaning the Spaniards) be long a coming; it is no matter if they (meaning the Spaniards) were come; and I would they were come for the people here be all naught. A plague of God light upon them all (meaning the Queen's subjects)'. Verdict: Guilty of speaking the words, but not maliciously.

[Assizes: Home Counties, 137].

July 18, Sun Council: 'An open warrant to the Lord Mayor of London and to all Vice-Admirals, Mayors and other public officers whatsoever to whom it may appertain. Whereas Casper van Senden, a merchant of Lubeck, did...procure 89 of her Majesty's subjects that were detained prisoners in Spain and Portugal to be released, and brought them hither into this realm at his own cost and charges, for the which...he only desireth to have licence to take up so much blackamoors here in this realm and to transport them into Spain and Portugal'.

'Her Majesty...doth think it a very good exchange and that those kind of people may be well spared in this realm...They are therefore in their Lordships' name required to aid and assist him to take up such blackamoors as he shall find within this realm, with the consent of their masters, who we doubt not...will yield those in their possession to him'.<sup>APC</sup> (Sequel: 29 Nov 1600).

July 19: *death*: Sir Francis Knollys (c.1511-1596), K.G., Treasurer of the Household; Privy Councillor since 1559; widower, his wife having been the Queen's cousin; received an annuity of £40 from the Crown since 1559.<sup>T</sup>

Bequest to the Queen: 'Forasmuch as I do acknowledge that next under God I am most bounden to the Queen's most excellent Majesty, my gracious Sovereign, who of her princely goodness towards me hath called me to her own service, advanced me to honour and preferred me in living. Although I am not able to bequeath anything worth her princely acceptation, yet I will that my executor within three months next after my decease do provide and deliver unto her Highness one ring of gold with a diamond therein of the value of £40, as a poor remembrance of my humble duty to her Majesty now at my death, who have with all the loyalty of my poor heart honoured and served her Highness in my life'.

Funeral: Rotherfield Greys Church, Oxfordshire, where his monument remains. His wife Katherine died in 1569; her monument is in Westminster Abbey.

July 23: death: Henry Carey, 1st Lord Hunsdon (1526-1596), K.G., died at Somerset House, Strand; a first cousin of the Queen, being son of Mary Carey, Queen Anne Boleyn's sister; brother-in-law of Sir Francis Knollys.

His posts included Lord Chamberlain, Privy Councillor, Governor of Berwick, Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners, Keeper of Hyde Park, Master of the Hawks.

He made an oral declaration at midnight on July 21 to his eldest son Sir George Carey that he had nothing to leave to his wife and servants, but that:

'Her Majesty hath sent me sundry gracious promises, that in the word of a Prince she would fully relieve my estate (which if I shall not live to enjoy, that she will confer it upon mine). And therefore doubt not but she will bestow my offices upon you, which if she do, you may be the better to my said poor servants, which I am not able to recompense'. Funeral: August 12, Westminster Abbey. His monument, the tallest in the Abbey, is in St John the Baptist Chapel.

The widowed Anne Lady Hunsdon was Keeper of Somerset House; in November the Queen gave her £400, and paid £800 for the funeral; in July 1597 she was granted an annuity of £200 for life; she died in 1607. Sir George Carey (1547-1603) became 2nd Lord Hunsdon. In November 1596 he was made Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners, and in April 1597 Lord Chamberlain and a Privy Councillor.

George's brothers John Carey and Sir Robert Carey became respectively Marshal of Berwick, and Warden of the East and West Marches (later of the Middle March).

Thomas Fuller: 'Three times was this lord in election to be Earl of Wiltshire, a title which in some sort belonged unto him in the right of Mary his mother; but still some intervening accident retarded it. When he lay on his death-bed the Queen gave him a gracious visit, causing his patent for the said Earldom to be drawn, his robes to be made, and both to be laid down upon his bed; but this lord (who could dissemble neither well or sick) "Madam", said he, "seeing you counted me not worthy of this honour whilst I was living, I count myself unworthy of it now I am dying"'. [Worthies, Hertfordshire (1662)].

That the Queen made such a visit appears to be doubtful.

Lord Hunsdon was grandson of Thomas Boleyn, whom King Henry VIII created Earl of Wiltshire and Earl of Ormond, but who was later attainted.

He had planned to make a claim to the Earldom of Wiltshire and of Ormond. There was already an Earl of Ormond, an Irish peer. George Carey, 2nd Lord Hunsdon, wrote to Lord Burghley, 6 October 1597 (prior to the opening of a new Parliament): 'My late father, on the authority of heralds and lawyers, ever assured me that a title to the Earldom of Ormond was to descend to me, which if he had lived until this Parliament he meant to challenge, unless her Majesty had bestowed some greater honour upon him'. There might be two Earls of Ormond, without taking away the right of either. [SP12/264/35].

As to the Earldom of Wiltshire, Sir George Buc was told by Sir Robert Carey that 'the Queen said that she was the next heir to Sir Thomas Boleyn Earl of Wiltshire her grandfather, by her mother Queen Anne his eldest [2nd] daughter'.

George Lord Hunsdon 'renewed the said suit for the Earldom of Wiltshire, and took great pains to seek records and matters of evidence...But Queen Elizabeth answered him that she had denied that suit to his father who was a man of more desert than he was'.

Buc adds that after the Queen's death Lord Hunsdon 'claimed to be the next to Queen Elizabeth by her mother and therefore prayed the King James that he might have her private lands and goods. The Crown swalloweth all'. [Modern Language Review 30 (1935), 11].

July 25, Cobham Hall [Kent], Lord Cobham to Sir Robert Cecil, of the Duke of Bouillon's impending return to England: 'I have written to the Sheriff to make his repair to Dover, accompanied with such gentlemen as dwell thereabout, to bring the Duke of Bouillon to Sittingbourne, where the Earl of Northumberland shall meet him...You may not forget the coaches for the Duke, for there are none in the country to be had, and the ways are marvellous foul'. [HT.vi.285].

July 25, London, Lord Mayor, Stephen Slany, to Lord Burghley:

'There was brought to my hand a certain ballad containing a complaint of the great want and scarcity of corn within this realm, which, forasmuch as it containeth in it certain vain and presumptuous matter, bringing in her Highness to speak with her people in dialogue in very fond and indecent sort...I thought good to call before me the printer and the party by whom it was put to print, who pretended a licence; but finding the same to be untrue, I have committed him to one of the Counters, and have taken sureties of the printer himself for his appearance...The maker himself, who is one Deloney (an idle fellow...), I cannot yet find'. [Wright, ii.462-3]. Thomas Deloney, silk-weaver and prolific author, wrote many popular ballads, including on the Queen's 1588 Tilbury visit.

July 27-October 7: Earl of Lincoln was special Ambassador to Hesse.

Henry Clinton 2nd Earl of Lincoln embarked on July 27 to go to represent the Queen at the christening of the daughter of Landgrave Moritz of Hesse-Cassel and his wife Agnes; the child was born in April (Elizabeth, 1596-1625).

The Earl, with a large company including Sir Richard Fiennes, John Wroth, and Richard Brackenbury, one of the Queen's Gentlemen Ushers, sailed in *The Answer from Great Yarmouth to Brill*.<sup>N</sup> They landed on July 28 and were very well entertained in the Low Countries on the way to and from Cassel.

Because the Landgrave's child was weak she had been christened on July 27, being given the name Elizabeth by the Landgrave Ludovic of Marburg as Deputy for the Queen, but 'the solemnity was reserved till his Honour's coming', and took place on August 25. Richard Brackenbury 'appointed the ordering of the chapel'. There were several days of celebrations, including fighting at Barriers and running at the ring. Sir Richard Fiennes wrote to Sir Robert Cecil on August 30 describing the ceremonial and celebrations.

Fiennes then travelled on to convey the Queen's salutations to Frederick Elector Palatine and his wife. [SPF List 7, 261-2].

c.July 30, Privy Council: 'A warrant for her Majesty's Serjeant Painter and to all public officers to yield him their assistance touching the abuse committed by divers unskilful artisans in unseemly and improperly painting, graving and printing of her Majesty's person and visage, to her Majesty's great offence and disgrace of that beautiful and magnanimous Majesty wherewith God hath blessed her, requiring them to cause all such to be defaced and none to be allowed but such as her Majesty's Serjeant Painter shall first have sight of'.<sup>APC</sup>

George Gower, Serjeant Painter since 1581, died in August 1596.

Aug 1, Sun Sir Anthony Ashley at Greenwich on return from Cadiz. Ashley (1551-1628) was knighted at Cadiz. On July 7, west of Cadiz, Sir Walter Raleigh sent him ahead with news, telling Sir Robert Cecil that Ashley 'hath seen all...The 21 of June we beheld the city of Calize, the fleet of the King and that of Nova Hispania, all which we mastered the same day'. [Latham, no.102].

[Aug 1], Anthony Bacon to Dr Hawkins, of 'joyful and important news which I received at this instant...brought about noon by Sir Anthony Ashley, Clerk of the Council, that my Lord of Essex is very well God be thanked, that there hath been great service done, but the particulars are yet reserved *pour le Cabinet*, saving that Cales is taken and much treasure and little loss not yet spoken of and that Sir John Wingfield is slain, that my Lord was in purpose to return and hoped to be here within fifteen days'...

'I have letters from his Lordship and others, but her Majesty and the Council must be first served'. [LPL 658/17].

Aug 2, court, Lord Burghley to the Archbishop of York (Matthew Hutton):  
 'The good news that are commonly reported of the great victory of her Majesty's  
 army and navy in Spain is so certainly confirmed by the Generals as it is meant  
 that both in the Province of Canterbury and of yours at York there should be  
 public prayer and thanksgiving'. [Surtees Soc. 17 (1843), 111].

c.Aug 3: George Buc at Greenwich on return from Cadiz.

George Buc (1560-1622), an Esquire for the Body, took leave of the Earl of  
 Essex aboard *The Due Repulse* on July 24, being sent on ahead by Essex and Lord  
 Howard to report to the Queen. At Greenwich the Queen summoned him into the  
 'Drawing Chamber', where he was 'graciously heard'. She willed Buc to make a  
 new report of what had happened at Cadiz, 'which she was pleased also to hear  
 several times'. [Buc's report: BL Cotton Otto E.IX, f.349-350].

Aug 6, court, Lord Burghley's passport for the Laird of Bomby, a gentleman  
 of Scotland, with King James's leave repairing to the Bath for the recovery of  
 his health, who is well affected in religion and to her Majesty and the State.  
 [Scot.xii.298]. Further news of Thomas Maclellan, Laird of Bomby: 9 June 1597.

Aug 7: Lord Admiral Howard and most of the fleet reached Plymouth.

Aug 8: The Dutch ships arrived at Plymouth, followed by the Earl of Essex.  
 There was already controversy about what had been achieved, and the division of  
 the great booty taken. The Queen, in an undated letter to Essex, described the  
 voyage as more 'an action of honour and victory against the enemy and particular  
 spoil to the army than any profitable to ourself'. [BL Cotton Otto E.IX, f.363].

Aug 8, Sun new appointments: William Brooke, 10th Lord Cobham,  
 'was made Lord Chamberlain by her Majesty in delivering to his Lordship  
 the White Staff before her Majesty went to the Chapel in the forenoon'.

Sir Henry Grey, Lieutenant of the Gentlemen Pensioners, was appointed  
 'to have charge of her Majesty's Privy Buckhounds and authorised to take  
 up hounds for her Majesty's disport and pastime'.<sup>APC</sup>

Aug 8: Celebrations. 'Great triumph was made at London for the good success  
 of the two Generals and company in Spain, the winning, sacking, and burning  
 of the famous town of Cadiz'. [Stow, Annals].

Allhallows London Wall: 'To the ringers at the return of my Lord of Essex  
 from Cales, 3s4d; a prayer book at the same time, 4d'. [Cales: Cadiz].

St Alphage London Wall: 'Spent on the ringers at the return of our ships  
 from Cales, 2s2d'.

St Botolph Bishopsgate: 'For ringing the same night we made bonfires for  
 the good success of our Navy at Cales, 2s4d; for prayers for the same Navy,  
 and two Proclamations set up in the church, 8d'.

St Christopher le Stocks: 'For ringers when my Lord of Essex came home from  
 Cales, 6s'.

St Lawrence Jewry: 'For a prayer used in the church at the return of our  
 English fleet from Cales, 2d'.

St Margaret Westminster: 'Paid the bell-ringers...for joy of victory against  
 the Spaniards, 7s6d'.

St Martin in the Fields: 'For ringing the 8th of August being upon commandment  
 from the Council for the good success that the Earl of Essex and the rest of his  
 followers had at Cales voyage, 3s'.

St Mary Woolchurch Haw: 'To the Sexton to give the ringers which rang for  
 the happy success of our Navy at Cales in Spain, 3s4d'.

St Mary Woolnoth: 'Ringers upon the triumph day for our army's victory, 20d'.

*St Matthew Friday Street: 'For a prayer for the Earl of Essex, 2d'.*

*St Michael Cornhill: 'For ringing at the triumph for Cales, 12d'.*

*St Olave Jewry: 'To the Clerk for ringing the 8th of August, 16d'.*

*St Peter Westcheap, August 8: 'Commanded to ring. Paid for a rope for the great bell and oil...2s9d; paid for a prayer to be said in the church for the preservation of her Majesty's forces, 2d'.*

*St Stephen Coleman Street: Ringers 'at the return of the Lord of Essex from Cades, 8d'.*

*St Stephen Walbrook: 'Paid for wine and to the ringers upon the winning of Cales, 7s6d'.*

*Canterbury, St Andrew, 1596: 'Given unto the ringers when our noble Earl of Essex did return from Spain, 4d'.*

*At Bristol, when Captain John Hopkins returned, and his booty was being secretly unloaded from his ship, the townspeople lit 'all their tallow candles and a great bonfire at the High Cross, very beautiful to behold'. [Hasler].*

Court news. Aug 9, Edward Reynolds to the Earl of Essex:

'Sir Anthony Ashley...came to the court on Sunday the 1st of August, who made relation of all the action the same day, first at the Council table, and after dinner to her Majesty'...

'I may not forget to let your Lordship understand how honourably my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury [Whitgift] hath carried himself towards your Lordship, in procuring a thanksgiving for this victory, which once was granted to be general in all parts, but afterwards restrained by her Majesty's commandment to London only'. [Birch, ii.95].

*Aug 9: Lord Mayor's Precept to the Livery Companies, noted by the Merchant Taylors: 'The livery of your Company apparelled in their best clothing are upon Sunday next by the hour of seven in the morning [August 15] to be at Paul's there (according to her Majesty's pleasure) to yield thanks and praise to Almighty God for the late victory given to our Army and Navy in Spain'.*

Aug 11, Wed Earl of Essex at Greenwich, on return from Cadiz.

Aug 11, Edward Reynolds to Anthony Bacon: 'He came to the court about 12, and is a little lame by reason of a fall in this posting journey. The fleet is arrived at the Downs, and the most of the army dispersed'. [LPL 658/149].

On their return the Queen 'welcomed them very graciously, and gave singular thanks to every of them of better note, especially to Essex and the Admiral, whom she extolled with extraordinary praises'. [Camden, Annals].

*Aug 12: christening. Queen was godmother to 'Earl of Sussex's son'.<sup>T</sup>  
Parents: Robert Radcliffe, 5th Earl of Sussex; 1st wife: Bridget (Morrison).  
'At his house at Bermondsey'. Queen's Deputy: Countess of Oxford.<sup>T</sup>  
Queen's gifts, Aug 12: one pair of gilt pots; one gilt bowl with a cover.<sup>NYG</sup>  
1st son: Henry Radcliffe, Viscount Fitzwalter (1 August 1596-1620); married (1614) Jane Stanhope; she married (2) Sir William Withipoll; she died 1642.*

Court news. Aug 13, Anthony Bacon to Dr Hawkins: 'Our most worthy and dear Earl is returned (God be thanked) with great honour and safety, and hath brought back an army victorious, hale and rich. His Lordship arrived at the court but on Wednesday last, and ever since hath been continually removing to and fro, from the court to the ships, and from one port to another'...

'As I was writing hereof I understood that Monsieur le Duc de Bouillon, Monsieur Le Grand and Le Comte St Pol were arrived at Dover, and are to be lodged at Winchester House and royally entertained at her Majesty's charge'.

[LPL 658/103].

The Duke did not arrive at Dover until August 15.

c. August 15: Venetian traveller at court.

Francesco Gradenigo, a young Venetian nobleman, made a report to the Venetian Ambassador in France on his two week stay in England.

'I landed at Dover and took the post and in two days came to London... They are in great alarm about the enemy; they will not allow anyone to enter who is not quite well known and who has not been thoroughly examined, nor will they allow anyone to leave without a passport from the Queen. These precautions serve admirably to let them recognise the spies who are always passing backwards and forwards...As for the country itself, it is the most lovely you can imagine in all the world; so opulent, fat, and abounding with all things that it may with truth be said that poverty hath no place there...Of the Queen's riches there is no need to speak. Her subjects are very rich, and therefore she is...During my stay in England the Earl of Essex arrived with the fleet on his return from Spain...I have received extreme attention and favours from the illustrious gentleman Zuan Basadonna, who is held in such esteem and repute at the court that greater could not be...He is so loved and respected by all'.

Giovanni Basadonna, a merchant of Venice, lived in London 1593-1599.

c. Aug 15, Sun Venetian traveller at Greenwich for audience.

Francesco Gradenigo had letters of recommendation from the King of France, and was presented to the Queen by the Earl of Essex. 'The Earl is a great favourite of the Queen...He is a right modest, courteous, and humane gentleman. He sleeps in the Queen's palace. He was followed by almost all the nobility of England. He has twice asked me to dine with him, and insisted that he should be the person to present me to kiss her Majesty's hand'...

'I was introduced into the private or audience chamber, and found the Queen under the canopy. I was presented to her Majesty, and no sooner had I kissed hands than she said to me in Italian, which language she speaks extremely well:

"My brother the King of France writes to me that I am to show you the most beautiful things in this kingdom, and the first thing you have seen is the ugliest, myself"; to which I replied that the splendour of her virtues was so great that the whole universe knew how excellent she must be, their source; and now that I had satisfied my eyes and fed my soul with the sight of her person, I cared to see naught else, for I was right well aware that the rest could not compare with her. At this the Queen smiled and said: "Once on a time, when I was princess, I was more esteemed by your Lords than I am now that I am Queen; but you are afraid of that old fellow" - alluding to his Holiness'.

'I replied that her Majesty had ever been esteemed by the Republic... I knew quite well that the sentiments of the Republic towards her Majesty were manifestly most cordial. After some further compliments I took my leave'.

Francisco Gradenigo also saw the Queen touching for the King's Evil:

'I arrived in England at the season when the Queen touches for scrofula... She touched ten, and then washed her hands', being served by three courtiers, all on their knees, one in the middle holding a basin, one on the right with an ewer of warm water, and 'on the left the Earl of Essex with a napkin, which the Queen used to wipe her hands'. [Ven. ix. 236-9].

**August 16-September 7: Duke of Bouillon** again in London and Greenwich. The Duke came to witness the Queen's Oath to observe the Treaty of Greenwich, which was signed whilst he was in England in May.

Lord Burgh to Sir Robert Cecil, Aug 14, Dover: 'His train is fitter for Harbingers, the better sort you should take notice of'. [SP12/259/98].

The Duke landed at Dover on August 15, with a suite of 140, including 80 nobles. With him were the Governor of Dieppe, and the Sieur de Reau, who was to remain as resident French Ambassador.

The Duke wrote at once to Cecil for a passport and a ship for M. du Viergier, whom he was sending to inform the King of his arrival. [SPF List 7, 193].

*Richard Coningsby, Gentleman Usher, made ready for the Duke Winchester House in Southwark, and Lord Admiral Howard's house at Deptford, Kent.*

*Nicholas Stallenge, Gentleman Usher, and his men, 'waiting and attending on the Duke of Bouillon at Winchester House', August 16-September 8.*

*Robert Cranmer, Jewel-house Officer, 'for hire of one bark from the court at Greenwich to the Tower of London to deliver plate to her Majesty's Officers of the Household for the service of the Duke of Bouillon at Winchester House'.*

*William Darrett, Master of the Barges, with 42 others, 'carrying her Majesty's royal person and train and also the Duke of Boulogne at his being here in England with divers others by water at sundry times'.<sup>T</sup>*

Aug 17: Draft passport for Sir Anthony Mildmay (newly knighted), new resident Ambassador to France. Draft warrant for his 'diets and entertainment'.

Aug 19: Draft warrant for the Master of the Jewels and Plate to issue to him 'a competent proportion of plate' for his table, not exceeding 1,000 ounces.

c.Aug 19: Memorial by Thomas Edmondes for requirements before Sir Anthony Mildmay leaves for France, e.g: A passport for his baggage, plate, money, horses. A warrant to take up shipping for his horses. His Instructions. Letters of credit. The plate allowed by the Queen. A copy of the Treaty.

Some scutcheons of his arms 'to put up in the inns as he doth journey, according to the custom of all ambassadors. A warrant to pass from time to time provisions for his house, such as beer, wax, candle-lights, spices, and other things that are far dearer there than here'. [SPF List 7, 196-8].

Court news. Aug 19 (I), Edward Reynolds to Anthony Bacon:

'The Lords are again in Council, and shut up with her Majesty in the Privy Chamber, and therefore you may think that their Councils are very secret. But it is thought to be about the matter and spoil of Cales'...

'I wish you a sight of that excellent discourse my Lord [Essex] is in hand withal'.

Aug 19 (II): 'The Lords have been all this afternoon with her Majesty about these Cales matters...My Lord hath made an excellent apology for himself in writing'. Essex answered objections that the Spanish fleet bound for the Indies was not seized, that the English abandoned Cadiz after taking it, and that they did not attack other ports. [LPL 658/146,157].

Aug 20: Draft Instructions for Gilbert Talbot, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, who is to go to France to witness the King's ratification of the Treaties of May 1596, and also to invest him with the Garter (the King was elected to the Order of the Garter in 1590). [SPF List 7, 195-6].

Aug 20, Sat Earl of Derby at Greenwich Palace.

William Stanley, 6th Earl (1561-1642) married Lord Burghley's grand-daughter Lady Elizabeth Vere (1575-1627) at court, 26 Jan 1595; there were rumours about her relationship with the Earl of Essex.

At Greenwich Derby signed a statement:

[1596] Aug 20: 'If anyone can say that I know my wife to be dishonest of her body or that I can justly prove it by myself or anyone else, I challenge him the combat of life. If anyone suppose any speeches of mine to have proceeded out of that doubt, he doth me wrong'. Witnessed by Burghley, Lord Howard, Robert Cecil.

[HT.xiv.20; assigned to 1597]. Dr John Dee, in Manchester, noted in his Diary: 27 July 1596: 'The Earl of Derby went by to London-ward'.<sup>D</sup>

[Sequel: 1 December 1596; 8 August 1597].

Aug 20, Anthony Bacon to Dr Hawkins: 'The Duke of Bouillon shall have his first audience tomorrow, accompanied with the Governor of Dieppe, two Earls of Friesland, and many other gentlemen to the number of a hundred'. [LPL 658/124].

Aug 21, Sun Duke of Bouillon at Greenwich for first audience. Richard Coningsby made ready 'against the Duke's coming thither'.<sup>T</sup>

c. Aug 22/27: hunting, Eltham, Kent. Richard Coningsby made ready 'the standing at the Little Park at Eltham'.<sup>T</sup> Eltham Palace and Parks: Crown property. Lord Cobham was Keeper of Eltham and the Great and Little Parks, 1592-1597.

Aug 28, Sat Duke of Bouillon at Greenwich.

Aug 29, Edward Reynolds to Anthony Bacon: 'Yesterday the Duke was all the afternoon here, both with the Queen and the Council'. [LPL 658/147].

Aug 29, Sun Queen's Oath to observe the Treaty of Greenwich.

'Her Majesty took her oath into the hands of the Duke of Bouillon to observe all the articles of the league offensive and defensive agreed upon betwixt her and the French King on the 14 and 16 of May last'.<sup>MK</sup>

'To these things the Queen was sworn in her Chapel at Greenwich... The Bishop of Chichester holding to her the Book of the Gospels and a great multitude of noblemen standing round about'. [Camden, *Annals*].

*Anonymous description*: 'The Queen came out of her travers...and the Duke resorted towards her Majesty standing before the altar, and Mr Secretary Cecil did with an audible voice read the oath for the League, after the styles of them both pronounced. The Queen did first put her right hand unto the Duke and he kissed her hands, and whilst the words of the League were read by Mr Secretary her hand remained in the Duke's hand. And at the words of the Evangelists she did lay her hand upon the Book there presented by the Bishop open, and then took it away and paused until it came to the words of confirmation..and their union'.

'She put again her hand into the Duke's hands and so stayed until all was read. And then the Queen laid the writing upon her desk upon the pillows where she stood and did sign the said oath and then turned and delivered the writing to the Duke, which he received and delivered to the Queen again to be testified and sealed. And so they departed to dinner'.

Additional details of the day's events by a foreign eye-witness:

'Three peers of the realm waited upon the French Ambassador at his lodgings, and escorted him and his suite in 17 royal coaches to the Tower. Seven splendid barges then conveyed them along the Thames to Greenwich. On the pier the Ambassador was received by the Earl of Derby at the head of a great suite of nobles and high functionaries, and conducted to the palace'...

'There was a religious ceremony in the royal chapel, where a special pavilion had been constructed'. Psalms were sung and the organ played.

At dinner the dishes were placed on the board 'by the highest nobles of the realm, who, upon their knees, served the Queen with wine'. The Duke alone sat at her table. At another table the Earl of Essex entertained many distinguished guests, young Count Lewis (or Ludovic) Gunther of Nassau among them.

'In the midsummer twilight the brilliantly decorated barges were again floating on the historic river, the gaily-coloured lanterns lighting the sweep of the oars' to 'the sound of lute and viol'. 'As the Ambassador came into the courtyard of his house, he found a crowd of several thousand people assembled, who shouted welcome...and invoked blessings on the head of Queen Elizabeth' and King Henri. 'Meanwhile all the bells of London were ringing, artillery was thundering, and bonfires were blazing, until the night was half spent'.

[Motley, *United Netherlands*, iii.382-4].

With the first description there is a plan of the Chapel at Greenwich.

In front of the altar were the Bishops, the Lord Admiral, the Earl of Essex, and 'the cushion where the Queen stood and prayed', with the Duke beside her, next to the Earl of Cumberland bearing the Sword. 'The Queen's Majesty (her 3 trains borne) put her hand unto the Duke's hand'. On the other side Lord Burghley 'came privily and sat here'. Numerous lords and ladies are listed.

A plan of the arrangements when 'the Duke dined with her Majesty' names the noblemen who acted as Cup-bearer, Carver, Sewer, and 'had the towel at her drinking', and those who when 'the Queen's Majesty washed' brought and held the towel, the water, and the cloth, and took the assay. 'The service of meat was brought in by knights and gentlemen and the Duke's meat by the Guard'.

There were a 'cupboard of stages all gold pots' and a 'cupboard of plate all gilt'. On one side was 'Music at this window'. [Bodleian Tanner 77, f.152].

Robert Cranmer, Nicholas Hottoste, Nicholas Pigeon, Jewel-house Officers, hired five carts 'for furnishing of two great cupboards of plate for her Highness feasting the Duke of Bouillon'.<sup>T</sup> During the Duke's visit there were made 'two high stools covered with crimson velvet, fringed with gold and crimson silk with gilt nails...for service to the Duke of Boulogne'. [TNA LC5/37, p.84].

Aug 30, Mon, Greenwich: new appointments: Roger 2nd Lord North 'was by her Majesty's express commandment sworn of her Highness's Privy Council as Treasurer of her Majesty's Household'. Sir William Knollys was 'sworn also of her Majesty's Privy Council and Controller of her Majesty's Household'.<sup>APC</sup>

Sept 1, Wed New French Ambassador at Greenwich for audience. Antoine de Moret, Sieur de Reau; the Duke of Bouillon had delayed presenting him. He had been in England in 1591 on special embassies. [SPF List 7, 194].

Sept 1: At Greenwich: Edmund Spenser wrote his dedication to Four Hymnes, of Love, Beauty, Heavenly Love, and Heavenly Beauty; dedicated to the sisters the Countesses of Cumberland and of Warwick; published autumn 1596.

Sept 2: Queen's gifts to the Duke of Bouillon: 3 basins and 3 lairs gilt; 3 pairs of gilt pots; 2 pairs of gilt stoups; 3 pairs of gilt flagons; one nest of 3 gilt bowls with a cover; 6 gilt cups with covers; 5 gilt bowls with covers; 3 gilt chandeliers; one gilt standish; one crystal spice box with a salt having a spoon white and a little pepperbox gilt therein; 4 gilt salts with one cover; 2 gilt spout pots. All bought of Richard Martin, goldsmith.

Also one nest of 3 gilt bowls with a cover, bought of Hugh Keal, goldsmith.<sup>NYG</sup>

Sept 3: Council's 'open placard to all her Majesty's public officers to see Monsieur Le Chatte, Governor of Dieppe, provided of a convenient number of post-horses and carriages for himself and retinue to Dover'.<sup>APC</sup> (See Sept 9).

Sept 3, Barbican, Susan (Bertie), Countess of Kent (widow of Sir John Wingfield, killed at Cadiz), to Sir Robert Cecil: 'I had not one penny in my house when this most heavy news came to me, to buy meat either for myself or child, till her Majesty, most like a gracious Princess, hearing of my misery, sent me £40'. [HT.vi.366]. In July 1597 the Queen granted an annuity of £100 to the Countess and her son Peregrine Wingfield, born in 1586. John Donne, who had returned from Cadiz, wrote an Epigram in verse 'On Cavallero Wingfield'.

[Sept 3], Venice, Dr Henry Hawkins to Anthony Bacon, Essex House, with a request for portraits of the Queen and the Earl of Essex: 'I most heartily thank you for your relations of Cadiz in Spain exactly set down, wherein though I find sundry hard terms...yet will I endeavour to make them speak the best Italian I can and afterwards send them on pilgrimage throughout Italy'.

'I could wish I had...her Majesty's picture to accompany them. This and other her Majesty's most glorious res gestae [achievements] have so filled this part of the world so full of her renown as all stand astonished in admiration of her greatness, and an infinite number have instantly desired at mine hands her picture; which I am the more desirous of in that I find here of late given abroad the same, but so evilly done, and so unlike, as I am angry to see it. With it I would be glad to join my most honourable good Lord's picture, whose heroical virtues have made his fame pass the Alps and the Apennine besides'.  
[LPL 659/280].

Court news. Sept 4 [Essex House], Anthony Bacon to Dr Hawkins: 'On Sunday the royal solemnities of the Oath were performed by her Majesty with all princely courtesies and compliments, her Majesty feasting the Duke that day at her own table, being served in all state possible, for the better accomplishment whereof two officers were created, and two white staves bestowed...On Tuesday [Aug 31] our good Earl made a most magnificent noble banquet to the Duke and all his train here at his house, which stood him at the least a 1000 marks'.

'The Duke is this day to take his leave, her Majesty having presented unto him a very rich cupboard of plate prized at 2000 marks, and a goodly jewel to the Governor of Dieppe, Monsieur de Chatte, Commander, who departeth this day by the King's commandment to prepare and provide for the Earl of Shrewsbury, who will depart on Monday next [Sept 13]. My Lord Burgh is sent by her Majesty with the Duke into the Low Countries to associate him in the League'. [LPL 659/111].

Sept 4, Sat Duke of Bouillon at Greenwich to take leave.

Sept 5, Sun, Greenwich, Privy Council: 'Warrant to all her Majesty's public officers to suffer Count Ludovic of Nassau, who is returning into the Low Countries, to take with him such necessary provisions as he shall have occasion to use, without search, molestation or hindrance'.<sup>APC</sup>

Sept 6, Queen to Count John of Nassau, of the good report the Earl of Essex had made of his son Count Ludovic's valour and good sense. He has spent several days at our court. March 1597, Count John of Nassau to Essex, in French, thanking him for his kindness to his son, both in his voyage to Spain, and at the court, in opening his way to the Queen's acquaintance and favour; with a letter thanking the Queen for her kindness and honour bestowed on his son.  
[SPF List 7, 105; HT.vii.104].

Sept 6: Council warrant: This bearer, Robert Turner, one of her Majesty's Gentlemen Sewers, 'is commanded to make his speedy repair unto Gravesend and thence to Margate, to make provision of post-horses and carriages with other things necessary for the Duke of Bouillon and his retinue now going to the said port of Margate, there to embark for the Low Countries'.<sup>APC</sup>

*c. Sept 6: Dutch Deputies arrived in London.*

*Dr Abel Frankena, of Friesland; Sebastian van Loosen, of Holland; Jacques Valck, Treasurer of Zeeland. Sept 2, Flushing, Sir Robert Sidney to the Earl of Essex: 'The Deputies of the States-General, who have been so long expected in England, are now passing the sea'. With Monsieur Valck are 'Monsieur Loosen, whom your Lordship hath often seen both here and in England, an ancient Councillor of this State, and Dr Frankena, a man of very good reputation in Friesland. As for Monsieur Valck...truly he is the honour of this Province of Zeeland'.*

*Second letter: 'The going over of these Deputies of the States is to desire further succour of her Majesty...These Deputies I think will offer some £20,000 a year to the Queen, to be paid upon her birthday, and £80,000 a year for four years, so as they may be acquitted of all the Queen can challenge of them'.*

*[Murdin, 738]. Sidney, Governor of Flushing, had returned there at the end of August after eight months in England; Rowland Whyte resumed his newsletters.*

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

St James Garlickhithe: 'Paid for ringers at the birth and Crownation days of the Queen, 3s'. St John Zachary: 'To certain ringers on days of thanksgiving, 2s; To the ringers on the Queen's birthday, 8d'.

St Martin in the Fields: 'Paid for two new bell-ropes against the Queen's birthday, weighing 11 pound and the half at 4d the pound; for ringing the 7th of September, being her Majesty's birthday, 3s6d'.

St Michael Cornhill: 'Candles and oil for ringers the Queen's birthday, 6d'; same account: 'For ringing to try the great bell, 16d'.

Court news. Sept 7, Anthony Bacon to Lady Bacon: 'The Duke of Bouillon on Sunday last after dinner vouchsafed to visit me...He is this day departed, having received a cupboard of plate of £1200 of her Majesty for a present'.

'The Ambassadors of the States are arrived to be joined with her Majesty and the French King against their common enemy the Spaniard'. As to Essex 'the Queen useth him most graciously...He hath begun since his return not missing preaching nor prayers in the court, and showing true noble kindness towards his virtuous spouse entirely without any diversion'. [LPL 659/7].

Sept 7: Queen's gifts for 'the installing of the French King: one Collar of gold of the Order of the Garter, containing 22 pieces enamelled with roses within the Garter and 22 pieces with knots; one George of gold garnished with 4 table diamonds and smaller diamonds of sundry cuts; one Garter of purple velvet embroidered with letters of gold, garnished with small diamonds and rubies with buckle and pendant of like gold garnished likewise with diamonds and rubies'.<sup>NYG</sup>

Also Sept 7, Council placard: 'William Dethick, King of Arms, is presently dispatched in company with...the Earl of Shrewsbury towards the French King in her Majesty's special services' and is to have post-horses for him and his servants and a guide to the seaside.<sup>APC</sup>

Sept 8, Earl of Shrewsbury to Sir Robert Cecil, about William Dethick:

'If Mr Garter attend on you today, I beseech you bestow a few words to scold him a little...He hath given out already that after he go from hence he will take the advice of none, that he will take place before all that goes with me, for being joined in commission with me he ought to have precedence next me, that he will set up his scutcheons on the inn where he comes, as ambassadors used to do; and many such like tricks, they say, he hath in his head'.

Endorsed 'Garter the Herald to be admonished of his folly'. [HT.vi.374].

The Heralds provided the Earl with 'one trumpet banner wrought taffeta; 20 lodging scutcheons wrought on paper'. They charged 'for his pedigree making on vellum, £3'. [College of Arms Vincent 188, f.14].

Court news. Sept 8, Greenwich, Earl of Essex to Anthony Bacon (after Essex had failed to account adequately for the missing booty from Cadiz):

'Yesterday my Lord Treasurer [Burghley] and Sir Robert Cecil did before the Queen contest with me, that though Sir George Carew and his fellows were appointed Commissioners for her Majesty's profit to seize, keep, and bring her all, yet I was to be charged that nothing was brought home, for this committed to them was no excuse for me. And this day I was more braved by your little cousin [Robert Cecil] than ever I was by any man in my life. But I am not nor was not angry, which is all the advantage I have of him'. [Birch, ii.131].

Commissioners at Plymouth drew up 'A brief Abstract of all such money, plate, jewels, and goods taken' at Cadiz. [Devereux, i.376-377].

Sept 9: *Governor of Dieppe's complaints of his mis-treatment in Kent.*  
 Aymar de Chatte. Sept 9, Gravesend, Sir John Leveson to Lord Cobham, concerning  
 'the abuses offered to the Governor of Dieppe at Gravesend and Rochester'.

The Governor complains they could not obtain horses or carts at Gravesend, and received opprobrious words from the hackney-men there, and that a woman dwelling in or near to the sign of The Horn took a gentleman of the Governor's company by the beard with extreme violence, and would have struck the Governor himself had not a gentleman put her back.

Leveson's examinations in Gravesend showed that 'there were two horses in the stable of William Clarke of The Horn...and because they were the horses of strangers left there, and no hackneys, they were locked up in a stable, the door whereof two Frenchmen did break open to take out the said horses, and the wife of William Clarke...came into the stable and would have stayed the said horses there; and thereupon the Frenchmen thrust her from them and overthrew her, as she saith, and took out the said horses'.

Mrs Clarke denies that she pulled any by the beard. As for the Rochester men, the horses which had been taken from Gravesend to Rochester being taken on to Sittingbourne and payment only made as far as Rochester, the hackney-men stayed the horses in the street there for the horse-hire to Sittingbourne, and some disorder ensued. Leveson has three or four of them in custody, and asks what punishment he shall inflict upon the woman and them. [HT.vi.375].

Sept 9, Margate, Sir Thomas Fane to Lord Cobham: 'The Duke...has put aboard his baggage and most part of his train, and resolves to embark himself this afternoon. I purpose attending until I see him on board, as I find the inhabitants very perverse, and unwilling to show his train any assistance, when my back is turned'. [SP12/260/5]. The 400 ton Antelope (Sir Henry Palmer, Captain) took the Duke of Bouillon to Flushing.

The Duke's description of the Queen: end December.

Sept 14: The Governor of Dieppe left Dover in The Scout.

Court news. Sept 16, Anthony Standen to Anthony Bacon, of James Guicciardini, in England from Italy, with letters from the Grand Duke of Tuscany:

'He says that within fourteen days he must back again, and hath spoken secretly with the Queen a whole hour and was wonderful favourably used by her and as secretly sent away again'...

'The Queen hath used Sir John Buck, come from the Lord Willoughby, with great honour and favour, and writes this day to my Lord by him'. [LPL 659/2].

[James Guicciardini, born in England but of a well-known Florentine family, provided the Earl of Essex with information on Italian affairs, which was passed on to the Queen. Sir John Buck, knighted at Cadiz, died in November 1596].

Sept 16, Dover, Jacques Petit to Anthony Bacon, in French: On Wednesday [Sept 15] the Earl of Shrewsbury sent on board part of his horses, and the rest the day following, amounting to the number of 240. [LPL 659/45].

Sept 16, Dover, Sir Anthony Mildmay to Sir Robert Cecil: The wind has served well ever since our coming to Dover but we have neither sufficient shipping to escort us nor other vessels to carry our horses and stuff. We sent to Sandwich where there were hoys enough, but were refused them. All that is left at Dover are the 180 ton Advantage and the 50 ton Advice. Bouillon went in The Antelope, Sir Robert Sidney in The Adventure, the Governor of Dieppe in The Scout.

Endorsed: 'Canterbury at past 10 in the morning. Sittingbourne 3 o'clock. Received [Rochester] past 5 of the 16th day, Dartford at 8 on the 16th day.

Received the same day at night at Greenwich'. [SPF List 7, 199].

Earl of Shrewsbury embarked on The Antelope later on Sept 16.

Sept 16, Thur evening: Sir Anthony Mildmay, new **Ambassador** to France, with the Earl of Shrewsbury, Ambassador Extraordinary, embarked for France.

The Earl was to witness Henri IV's oath to observe the Treaty of Greenwich, and to invest him with the Garter insignia.

Amongst those going with the Earl were: Lord Cromwell; Lord Rich; William Dethick, Garter King of Arms; William Segar, Somerset Herald.

List (Sept 1) of some of those accompanying the Earl to France (78).

16 'sent by her Majesty's appointment'; 14 'gentlemen that go with my lord, being not the Queen's servants'; 17 'gentlemen my lord's domestical servants', including 4 pages and a preacher; 31 'yeomen, my lord's domestical servants', including Rowland, Francis Bacon's harper; 4 cooks, 3 stablers, 3 footmen.

Mildmay had a suite of 28, 'Master Garter' had six.

Sept 20, 'aboard The Antelope in Dover Road', Earl of Shrewsbury to Sir Robert Cecil, with details of the voyage so far. On September 18 bad weather had forced the Queen's ships to return to the Downs, and the smaller ships to Dover.

'All our gallants have been notably sick and some of them ready to make their will but that they wanted a scrivener'. Sir William Brooke and 'my cousin Strangeways' had been very sick. [SPF List 7, 198-200].

c. Sept 22: new appointment: Sir Richard Berkeley to be Lieutenant of the Tower, after Sir Dru Drury resigned on grounds of ill health. Drury died in 1617; his monument is in Riddlesworth Church, Norfolk.

Sept 22, at court, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney, in Flushing: 'The Queen hath put off her remove till Friday come sennight, and yet it is not known whither she will go, but hoped not to Windsor. The States have audience upon Friday in the afternoon [Sept 24]; and my Lord Treasurer sent for; if they mean to do any good here they must take the course the Duke of Bouillon did, to gain the furtherance of my Lord Treasurer and Mr Secretary [Burghley, Cecil]'...

'Monsieur de Reau I hear is returned into France, and as he gave out, to be married; but he was much troubled with this speech her Majesty did use of him, which came to his ears: "Good God! what shall I do if this man stay here, for I smell him an hour after he is gone from me". It is indeed confirmed here by divers that he had a loathsome breath'. [He left for France in December].

Sir Walter Raleigh 'is not pleased that the Queen doth not esteem his services worth thanks, and protests he will go to the plough, and never hearken after employments any more'.<sup>SD</sup>

Sept 23: Criticism of accommodation provided for the Dutch Deputies. Sept 23, London, Thomas Bodley to Sir Robert Cecil: By a letter to the Lord Mayor you had required that the Deputies should be provided with necessaries at a reasonable price. When I was with them I asked to see how well they were lodged. One had a merely indifferent chamber, the other two 'so bad and so dark and so unfurnished of tables and common necessaries as they would hardly have pleased a very mean servant. They are forced besides to hire their bedding at the upholsterers, to buy all their pewter, and to seek about for other stuff in several places of the city'. I was informed that there were very fair chambers and very good furniture elsewhere in that house. Most of their train lodged out of doors, as they themselves would have done but for some doubt about how it would be construed. It is customary to accommodate ambassadors and messengers, 'unless they be liegers' [resident Ambassadors], with all kinds of necessaries at the country's charge, as the States did with the Earl of Lincoln on his way through Holland. Kind or unkind entertainment of public ministers is often a means to hinder or further the proceeding of the service. [SPF List 7, 110].

Whyte: 'The States do lie at Customer Smith's house in Fenchurch Street'.

Court news. Sept 24, Strand, this Friday night, Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney: 'This Friday the States thought to have had audience, but they were put off till tomorrow because of the absence of my Lord Treasurer and my Lord Admiral, and my Lord Chamberlain being not well...The court removes this day sennight [October 1] towards Nonsuch, and the Household towards Windsor'.<sup>SD</sup>

Sept 24, Anthony Standen to Essex, of the Scottish Agent, David Foulis, 'having been as it were refused audience'. The Queen is resolved to deduct £1000 'of the accustomed gratuity' (of £3000 for King James). [LPL 659/16].

Sept 24, in France: death. Giles Strangeways, who had accompanied the Earl of Shrewsbury, died at Dieppe, the day after landing. Funeral: September 25.

Sept 25, Dieppe, Earl of Shrewsbury to Sir Robert Cecil, with full details of his cousin's illness and death. He was buried 'in a place where all those of the Religion [Protestants] that die in this town are buried. Divers gentlemen and others both of our own company and of the French that are of the Religion solemnising his funerals'.

John Harington wrote: 'That pretty youth Strangeways died in the prime of his youth'; marginal note: 'died of the plague'. [SPF List 7, 201-2; Kilroy, 304].

His young widow was Frances (Newton), daughter of Sir Henry Newton, of Gloucs; her mother Lady Newton was at Greenwich as one of the Ladies of the Bedchamber; when news reached court the Queen sent condolences to Sir Henry. (See Oct 3).

Sept 25, Sat Dutch Deputies at Greenwich for first audience.

Sept 26, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney: 'The States had audience yesterday in the afternoon. Mr Bodley with six gentlemen were sent for them and with three barges they came to court, very orderly accompanied and followed with their own private train. At Court Bridge Sir Francis Vere with many of his Captains met them. They were brought through the Hall to the Conduit Court, and so to the Council Chamber, but none of the Lords were there; when they had rested there awhile, the Guard brought in all kind of wine, and made them and all their train drink. Then were they called up to the Queen to the Privy Chamber, where the Lords sat in Council. They went up by the Lobby, and all their train suffered to go with them, to the Privy Chamber'.

'The Queen used them very graciously indeed, and after some hour's conference they passed through the Presence and Great Chamber to their barges, very much contented with the honour done unto them. After their departure the Lords came down and sat a good while in the Council Chamber'...

'The Queen goes upon Friday [October 1] to Mitcham and so to Nonsuch'.<sup>SD</sup>

Sept 26: The Queen and a proposed marriage between a son of Edward Griffin, of Dingley, Northants (a Catholic family) and one of the three daughters of Sir Thomas Gorges and the Lady Marquis of Northampton, of London and Wiltshire.

Sept 26, Queen to Mr Griffin, of Dingley (draft): Sir Thomas Gorges, Gentleman of the Robes, proposes a marriage between your son and his daughter. We know that others may offer more money with their daughters than he can do, and 'it be not usual with us to take knowledge of our servants' dealing in their domestical causes, yet out of just consideration of the long and faithful service of the gentleman and the nearness unto us of the Lady Marquis his wife, a Lady of our Privy Chamber well favoured by us, we have been moved with a desire to further any matter whereof we can'. We remind you that in settling a child there are things to be more considered than money; as birth, nearness to those in our service, and favour borne them by us'.

'We hope therefore that you will consider these things; we do not wish to use authority, but will take your compliance as a mark of respect. You may consider our writing to you strange, considering that we were estranged from you on account of your proceedings in matters of religion, but we have lately had a good report of your loyalty and conformity, and think this alliance would confirm you in the course you have begun.

'The alliance would be very beneficial, the gentleman offering no incompetent sum. Our writing with our own hand is an argument of our oblivion of anything past amiss in you. We demonstrate our satisfaction with you by moving this match, and your compliance will not be done to a prince who will forget any future occasion of favouring you'. [SP12/260/25,26].

Elizabeth, Frances, Bridget Gorges did not marry into the Griffin family.

Court news. Sept 28, Penshurst [Kent], Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney:  
'Yesterday I was at court...The States had yesterday in the afternoon audience again. They find themselves exceedingly satisfied in her Majesty's gracious usage of them, howsoever they speed in their business'.

'Monsieur de Reau [French Ambassador] is in London, yet comes not to court, but means to come to take his leave and be gone'.<sup>SD</sup>

*Sept 29: death. Dowager Countess of Derby (c.1537-1596), a first cousin of the Queen. She was Margaret (Clifford), widow of Henry Stanley, 4th Earl of Derby.*

*Bequest to brother Francis Clifford (later 4th Earl of Cumberland):  
'My gilt bowl with a cover that her Majesty gave me'. 'My body to be buried where it shall please the Queen's Majesty to appoint, or otherwise at the discretion of my executors'. Funeral: October 22, Westminster Abbey.*

*Sept 29: Sir Richard Bingham arrived in London from Ireland. Bingham, Governor of Connaught, who was facing trial to answer complaints by the people of Connaught, came suddenly, without Lord Deputy Russell's leave.*

*Bingham to Sir Robert Cecil, Sept 28, Coventry: I have come 'to appeal unto her Majesty (the true pattern of justice)'. [SP Ireland].*

*Sept 30: 'Sir Richard Bingham being come out of Ireland was committed to the Fleet by her Majesty's commandment'.<sup>MK</sup>*

Court news. Sept 30, Strand, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney:

'The States were in court upon Michaelmas Day [September 29] and in conference with the Lords about their business'...

'This day they were looked for at court again, but my Lord of Essex made them so great a dinner...there were unmeasurable healths drunk amongst them'...

'Sir Richard Bingham is stolen away hither without the Deputy's leave or knowledge, which is very ill taken'...

'My Lord Deputy shall have leave to come away, and my Lord Burgh, by all consents, chosen to succeed him. The Queen removes tomorrow, and dines at my Lord Burgh's house, and lies at Mitcham'.

'Young Strangeways in his journey with my Lord of Shrewsbury died of the plague in Dieppe; my Lady Newton [his wife's mother] takes it heavily'.<sup>SD</sup>

*Bingham was in the Fleet until mid-November. The Queen was determined that he should return to Ireland to answer the serious complaints against him, but he fell ill on the way, was replaced as Governor, and did not return until late in 1598, having been made Marshal of Ireland. He died in Dublin, January 1599. He has a memorial in Westminster Abbey. (South Quire Aisle).*

Sept 30, Greenwich, Sir Thomas Wilkes to Thomas Edmondes (in France):

'The Deputies of the States have arrived, with an offer of £20,000 yearly during the continuance of their war, and at the end thereof to pay her Majesty £400,000 in four years, to be accepted in lieu of all the treasure expended in their defence, amounting...to £1,200,000'. [SP12/260/39].

September: dinner and hunting, Eltham, Kent; Crown property.

Richard Coningsby made ready 'a standing in the Little Park and a dining house at Eltham'.<sup>T</sup> Works, Eltham Palace, 1596-1597: hanging 'great iron hooks and ladders for defence of casualty of fire'.

Oct 1, Fri dinner, Lambeth, Surrey; Lord Burgh.

Lambeth Marsh house owned by Thomas, 5th Lord Burgh (c.1558-Oct 1597), Governor of Brill in Flanders 1587-1597, Lord Deputy of Ireland 1597;

wife: Frances (Vaughan) (c.1562-1647), a former Maid of Honour.

Lambeth Church: 'To the ringers the 1st of October when the Queen came to my Lord Burgh's house and when she went from thence, 4s'.

[Oct 1, Fri] visit, Putney, Surrey.<sup>T</sup> [John Lacy].

Oct 1, Fri **MITCHAM**, Surrey; Mr Branch.<sup>C</sup>

Works, at Mr Branch's house: 'boards, ironwork, quarters and nails; a carpenter and labourer'; total 56s10d.

Oct 2, Sat **NONSUCH PALACE**, Cheam, Surrey.<sup>C</sup>

Court news. Oct 2, Strand, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney, of De Reau, who came to England in August with the Duke of Bouillon as new French Ambassador: 'The Queen is this day at Nonsuch...Monsieur de Reau is not yet gone, but lies here very private, and much discontented, for since the Duke's departure no courtier hath come near him. He purposes to depart, when he receives the King's pleasure'.<sup>SD</sup>

Oct 2: Letters Patent appointing four Commissioners, including Dr Matthew, Bishop of Durham, and Sir William Bowes, to treat with Scottish Commissioners on Border matters, e.g. murders committed in the Borders. [Scot.xii.335].

The Commissioners assembled at Berwick in January 1597, and a Treaty was signed on 5 May 1597.

Oct 3, Barr's Court [Oldland, Gloucs], Sir Henry Newton to Sir Robert Cecil, after a messenger brought the Queen's condolences on the death of his son-in-law Giles Strangeways in France:

'What a comfort it is unto me in my distress to have such a gracious message from her Majesty that it appears she is partaker of our sorrows. How should I answer her most royal kindness, but daily in my prayers unto God to bless her uprising and down-lying, her forth-going and home-coming, and to increase those most excellent and royal graces in her which never any histories have recorded in any Queen as in our most excellent paragon'.

'For the death of my son Strangeways, the Lord's hand is outstretched as well beyond the seas as on this side'...

'For her Majesty's most gracious comfort sent me down by you, I mean to keep it as the most precious thing which I shall ever have, and so leave it to my son'. [HT.vi.416].

Oct 4, Edinburgh, Robert Bowes to James Hudson, of Princess Elizabeth, born August 19, second child of King James and Queen Anne:

'The baptism of the young Princess is appointed to be solemnised at Edinburgh the 28th of November next, whereunto her Majesty shall be entreated to be a witness, and no other prince, for it is meant that the solemnisation thereof shall be done without great ceremonies or charge. The custody of this child is granted to the Queen her mother'. [LPL 659/220]. Christening: November 28.

Oct 4, Francis Bacon to the Earl of Essex, a long letter of advice counselling him to 'win the Queen'.

She at present sees 'A man of a nature not to be ruled...of an estate not grounded to his greatness; of a popular reputation; of a military dependence. I demand whether there can be a more dangerous image than this represented to any monarch living, much more to a lady'.

Bacon advises on each point in turn. [Spedding, ii.40-45].

Oct 7, Nonsuch, Earl of Essex to Lord Henry Howard:

'We had never in this court so busy a time...We are to provide for the saving of Ireland, the contenting of France, the winning of the Low Countries to such conditions as they are yet far from'. [Birch, ii.163].

Oct 7: Earl of Lincoln returned to England 'with a prosperous wind', from the christening of the Queen's god-daughter in Hesse. The Landgrave had given him 'princely gifts' of cups of ivory, amber, and crystal, and horses.

John Wroth, who had accompanied him, remained abroad until early 1597 as special Ambassador to several other German States.

Four of the Earl of Lincoln's attendants at the christening in Hesse were not paid until October 1597 towards their expenses, viz. Richard Brackenbury, esquire, Gentleman Usher, 105 marks; John Case and Owen Garvey, Grooms of the Chamber, £50; and John Cotton, a Groom of the Wardrobe, £40.<sup>APC</sup>

John Cotton received a further £100 in 1603.<sup>T</sup>

Oct 8, Fri French Ambassador at Nonsuch with the Queen.  
De Reau, Ambassador August-November 1596.

Anthony Bacon to Essex, Oct 12: 'The Ambassador was at the court on Friday last'. Sir Francis Vere 'told me that her Majesty had given good contentment to Monsieur de Reau by her gracious usage of him, which he said came in good time, for that the gentleman was much distasted for remaining solitary at his lodging, without any respectful visitation'. [LPL 659/242].

Court news. Oct 9, Anthony Bacon to Dr Hawkins, in Venice: 'By reason the court is at Nonsuch, where the Earl [of Essex] attends most diligently, I have not yet had his Lordship's leave for sending the Queen's picture and his own, but I hope they shall be ready before Mr Guicciardini's departure'.

[LPL 659/165]. Hawkins received the Queen's picture: see Dec 10.

[Oct 12, Tues] dinner, Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey; Mr Cox.<sup>T</sup>

John Cox, Under-Steward of Kingston, died 1603; 2nd wife: Lettice.  
Kingston Church: 'Given to the ringers when the Queen dined in the town, 5s'.

Oct 12, Tues **RICHMOND PALACE**, Surrey.<sup>C</sup>

Simon Bowyer 'making ready Richmond for her Majesty, she deferring her coming from Saturday till Tuesday'.<sup>T</sup>

Court news. Oct 16, Anthony Bacon to Dr Hawkins: 'The Earl of Lincoln is returned from the Landgrave of Hesse, no less charged [laden] with most princely honours and liberalities, than he hath left behind him, which I am most sorry and ashamed to hear, dishonours, clamours, and curses for his base miserliness and insupportable fancies or rather furies'. [LPL 659/166].

For Lincoln's unenviable character and reputation see 15 July 1600.

Oct 17, Sun Richmond: Privy Council sent letters to London, Southampton, Harwich, and Gravesend, where forces were preparing to leave for France.

'To make stay of them all until her Majesty's pleasure be further known'.

Oct 18, Mon Letters were sent countermanding previous letters. 'Her Majesty being again resolved that they shall be dispatched and sent away with speed'.<sup>APC</sup>

*Oct 21 (o.s): in Holland: Treaty of Alliance between France and the United Provinces, to defend themselves against Spain, signed at the Hague.*

*George Gilpin, English Councillor on the Dutch Council of State, was to bring a copy under seal to the Queen.* [Birch, ii.199].

Oct 25, Mon, Richmond, Queen to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, answering his letters brought by James Guicciardini, to whom she has communicated certain particulars which cannot conveniently be committed to letters. Endorsed: 'Copy of a letter from her Majesty to the Duke of Florence in Italian, the instructions given me by her Majesty's self at Richmond'. [SPF List 7, 57,251].

Oct 26: Dispute over Sir George Carew's lodgings at Richmond.

Carew (1555-1629), Lieutenant of the Ordnance, wrote from his official residence in London to his friend Sir Robert Cecil, about a Harbinger.

Oct 26, The Minories, Carew to Cecil, complaining of Cecil's old servant 'that proud Welshman Wynne', who when Carew was ready to come to court has, with a servant of Lord North's to protect him, violently broken the chamber door of Carew's lodging, and placed another therein, with scornful words.

I pay for my lodging whether present or absent, and although Wynne says that I shall be otherwise lodged when I come, I think I am only displaced because I have not given a bribe. I beg you to send for Wynne. I have never been accustomed to be placed by the Harbingers, and will feel disgraced if the party who replaces me be not of far better quality than myself. My trunks of apparel and other stuff are still in the chamber taken from me. [HT.vi.454-5].

*Oct 26: Stationers entered The Landgrave of Hessen his princely receiving of her Majesty's Ambassador (by Edward Monings, describing Earl of Lincoln's embassy to Hesse).* Modern edition: Nichols, *Progresses* (2014), iv.3-30.

*Oct 28: death: Dowager Countess of Northumberland.*

*She was Catherine (Nevill) (c.1545-1596), widow of Henry Percy 8th Earl of Northumberland, who died in the Tower in 1585. She was survived by her second husband, Francis Fitton. Funeral: Westminster Abbey.*

c.Oct 29: Colonel Baldi, of Switzerland, at Richmond with the Queen.

Baldi, Colonel of the Swiss in France, was in London in the last week of October; on his behalf the French Ambassador requested that he might have the honour of kissing the Queen's hands.

Oct 30: Two men came to Baldi's lodging in London to deliver a present from the Queen. He passed it on to an unnamed young gentleman who had travelled with him, telling the Earl of Essex that 'for myself it is enough to have kissed the hands of the most virtuous Princess in Europe'. [HT.vi.454,461].

Oct 30: Queen's gift: 'To a French youth one chain bought of the goodness of 22 carats'.<sup>NYG</sup> Colonel Baldi left for Switzerland.

Oct 30: Earl of Shrewsbury arrived at Dover on return from his special embassy to France. Rewards he gave included: 'To Madam Matrigna a martial woman a jewel of £20. To Sir Henry Palmer, Admiral of the Queen's ship in which his Lordship went, a jewel of the Queen's picture, and a ring sent to his Lady. To the mariners of the Queen's ships, in way of largesse, among them £150'.

[Description of the Earl's embassy: Nichols, *Progresses* (2014), iv.30-45].

William Dethick, Garter King of Arms, had accompanied the Earl of Shrewsbury. Robert Glover, later Somerset Herald, wrote of Dethick's 'abuses', including: 'His behaviour in France when he went with the Earl of Shrewsbury to carry the Garter to the French King...is most ridiculous, as challenging to sit above, and to be served at a board by himself. His wearing of a blue riband, like a Knight of the Order, his withholding the Commission from the Ambassador, etc'.

'As the Earl had often reported, and protested, that he was never more troubled with a man in his life'. [Bodleian Ashmolean MS 857, f.495].

Dethick (1543-1612) was knighted by King James in 1603. After complaints about another overseas embassy he was dismissed by the King in January 1604, but would not surrender his office until December 1606, in return for a large annuity.

Oct 30: Stationers entered a book published as:

'A new discourse of a stale subject, called *The Metamorphosis of Ajax*', by Misacmos ['hater of filth'].

The author was rapidly identified as *John Harington* of Somerset (1560-1612), one of the Queen's godsons. He proposed the introduction of water-closets to replace the old-style 'jakes' (causing him to be jocularly known as 'Ajax' Harington). He also included satire on courtiers and others, which resulted in him losing the Queen's favour for a considerable time.

He wrote Epigrams: 'To the Queen's Majesty, when she found fault with some particular matters in *Misacmos Metamorphosis*'; 'To the Queen when she was pacified, and sent Misacmos thanks for the Invention'; 'To the Ladies of the Queen's Privy Chamber, at the making of their perfumed privy at Richmond the book hanged in chains saith thus...'. [Kilroy: I.85,94,86].

Robert Markham to Harington [c.16 March 1599]: 'Your book is almost forgiven, and I may say forgotten; but not for its lack of wit or satire...Though her Highness signified displeasure in outward sort, yet did she like the marrow of your book...The Queen is minded to take you to her favour, but she sweareth that she believes you will make epigrams and write misacmos again on her and all the court; she hath been heard to say "that merry poet, her godson, must not come to Greenwich till he hath grown sober, and leaveth the ladies' sports and frolics".

'She did conceive much disquiet on being told you had aimed a shaft at Leicester'. [Nugae Antiquae, i.239-240].

The deceased Earl of Leicester's crest was a bear and ragged staff; there is an allusion to 'a little stick like a ragged staff'. Harington also writes:

'We may one day be put into the *Chronicles*...more worthily than the great bear that carried eight dogs on him when Monsieur was here'.

'Monsieur': the Duke of Alençon. Several biographers have supposed this to be a reference to Leicester, but during the Duke's visit, 1581-1582, bear-baiting took place a number of times; several bears became legendary for their prowess.

Oct 31, Westminster, William Camden to Sir Robert Cecil, fearing to offend him 'but fearing more to offend her most sacred Majesty and displease the humour of the court...I submit this enclosed to your honourable censure out of a chapter of Anagrams incidentally to be handled after a discourse of English names and surnames in a treatise'. [HT.vi.461]. Camden's *Remains concerning Britain* (1605) includes several anagrams made from the Queen's name and title.

Nov 1, Mon, All Saints' Day: the customary service at Richmond. Jewel-house Officers provided 'plate against the Feast of All Saints'.<sup>T</sup>  
 Also: new appointment: George Carey, 2nd Lord Hunsdon, was made Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners, in succession to his father.

Nov 2: Proclamation (784). Clauses include 'a prohibition to men of hospitality from removing from their habitation in the time of dearth' and a 'strait commandment to all officers having charge of Forts to reside thereon personally, and no inhabitant to depart from the Sea coast'.

Nov 2, London, Noel Caron (resident Dutch Agent) to Sir Robert Cecil, partly in French: 'I entertained the Deputies of the States at Streatham at their arrival; and would very willingly entertain them again to bid them adieu in my little lodging in London'. I ask for 'a female deer (which they call a doe)', and two young pheasants. [HT.vi.467].

Caron leased Dr Robert Forth's former house at Streatham, Surrey, which the Queen had visited several times.

Court news. Nov 3, Earl of Essex to Sir Robert Cecil:

'The Queen yesternight signified her pleasure to me that she would have a meeting of such persons as were experienced in martial courses, that by them some advice might be given her, as was in the year '88. She hath named my Lord Willoughby, my Lord Burgh, my Lord North, my Lord Norris, Mr Controller [Sir William Knollys], Sir Francis Vere, and Sir Conyers Clifford...I will move her also that Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir George Carew may be named... The place I moved might be at my Lord your father's, who shall be our president. The time is 3 o'clock this afternoon'. At Cecil House, Strand. [HT.vi.469].

Court news. Nov 4, Thomas Lake (Clerk of the Signet) to Sir Robert Sidney, from my house near Charing Cross: 'In an old court...there falleth not every day new air to write of...The factions never more malicious, yet well smoothed outward, and it cannot be but if the storms break out from beyond sea, whereof we see some clouds appearing, great inconvenience must follow; and she whom it most concerneth doth rather use her wisdom in balancing the weights than in drawing all to one assize, which shall be the wiser way'.<sup>SD</sup>

Nov 6, Anthony Bacon to Dr Hawkins, in Venice: 'There hath been here alarms of the Spaniards' speedy coming hither, 90 sail being already at the Groyne [Corunna], where are expected 60 more. Hereupon general order is taken both to defend and offend'. [LPL 660/8].

A Spanish Armada had set sail on October 13, it was suspected for Ireland, but in a storm four days later it had lost about 40 of its 90 ships.

Nov 8: 'Came to Bristol 750 soldiers, and remained 7 weeks to look for a wind for Ireland, and then were sent every man to his home'. [Seyer, ii.241].

Nov 8, Mon: double marriage, at Essex House, Strand, beside the Thames, of the 1st and 2nd daughters of Edward Somerset, 4th Earl of Worcester.

Edmund Spenser wrote 'Prothalamion, or A Spousal Verse...in honour of the double marriage', with the refrain

'Against the bridal day, which is not long,  
 Sweet Thames, run softly, till I end my song'.

Lady Elizabeth Somerset (1572-1627), a Lady of the Privy Chamber, married Sir Henry Guildford, of Benenden, Kent (died 1646).

Lady Katherine Somerset (c.1574-1624), a Maid of Honour, married William Petre (1575-1637), later 2nd Lord Petre, of Ingatestone, Essex.

Queen's gifts: To Lady Elizabeth: 'One short carcanet containing one row of pearls threaded and 13 pieces of gold garnished with sparks of diamonds, rubies and pearls'.

To Lady Katherine: 'One carcanet with a row of pearls threaded and pearls pendant and five pieces of gold like flowers, garnished with small diamonds, rubies and pearls between and five small diamonds pendant'.

These were New Year gifts to the Queen in 1596. [BL Add MS 5751A, f.240,241v]. She became godmother to both brides' first-born children (May 1598, Oct 1597).

Nov 10, Edinburgh, Robert Bowes to Sir Robert Cecil:

'I have made known to the King and Queen that her Majesty is pleased both to be witness at the baptism of the young princess his daughter, and also to direct me to be at his commandment in the performance of all things therein'...

'The solemnisation of this baptism is appointed to be at Holyroodhouse, the 28th of this month...and it may peradventure be looked that her Majesty will employ and send some present to the child, and reward amongst the nurse, rockers and such like'. [HT.vi.475-6].

Nov 10: Seditious words at Audley End, near Saffron Walden, Essex.

Henry Went, of Audley End, weaver, said 'It would never be better until men did rise and seek thereby an amendment, and he wished in his heart a hundred men would rise, and he would be their captain to cut the throats of the rich churls and the rich cornmongers, for he had served as a soldier divers times beyond the seas and could lead men'. Guilty; remanded.

Henry Went escaped from Colchester Gaol in 1599. [Assizes, Essex, 459].

Nov 10: Seditious words at Beckenham, Kent. Edward Ewer, of Beckenham, husbandman, said 'It would never be a merry world till her Majesty was dead or killed; and that her Majesty was ruled by her lords at their pleasure, but we must not say so'. On November 30 Ewer stole a grey gelding (value 30s).

Guilty of grand larceny and seditious words; to hang. [Assizes, Kent, 402].

Nov 10, Dec 20: Scandalous words at Lamberhurst, Kent.

Joan Gurr, of Lamberhurst, spinster, said on November 10 'I pray God either convert or confound her Highness'. Ellen Usher, also of Lamberhurst, spinster, said on December 20 'I would the Queen were as old again as she is'. Both had been indicted for recusancy. Verdicts unknown. [Assizes, Kent, 404].

Nov 11,Thur: proposed visit, Clapham, Surrey; Henry Maynard.

Henry Maynard (one of Lord Burghley's secretaries), to Sir Robert Cecil, Nov 8, Strand: 'I am scared with a message that hath been sent to me from Clapham by a man of mine that I have left there, that one of the Guard hath been at my house this day to see it, signifying her Majesty's meaning to drive there on Thursday next [Nov 11] in her remove hither. If there be any such speech (as I hope there is not) I beseech you Sir be a means to alter that purpose. For I may truly say to you I am not yet certain whether I shall agree for the house or not...I doubt not Sir but by my Lord Cobham's good favour, being now the director of these removes as Lord Chamberlain, and your good means in such sort as you can best devise the same, but to be rid of this fear'. PS: 'If there should be no remedy I must disclaim from being owner of the house'. [HT.MS 28/113; dated 1594, but Lord Cobham was Lord Chamberlain only from August 1596-March 1597].

Nov 11: Stationers entered a book published as: 'Ecclesiastes, otherwise called The Preacher. Containing Solomon's Sermons or Commentaries...upon the 49 Psalm of David his father. Compendiously abridged...in English poesie...Composed by H.L.Gentleman. Whereunto are annexed sundry Sonnets of Christian Passions heretofore printed, and now corrected and augmented. with other affectionate Sonnets of a feeling conscience of the same Author's'. By Henry Lok.

Epistle-Dedicatory: 'To the right excellent and noble Princess, Lady of rarest virtues, Queen Elizabeth, our most gracious Sovereign: her Highness's faithful subject Henry Lok wisheth perfect and perpetual felicity'.

'The purest liquor drawn out of the heavenly fountain of Solomon's inspired wisdom, I here...offer to your thrice sacred Majesty...It seems most fit the dedication to your Majesty...in Empire being a peer unto him...in happiness a rival'. We 'may not conceal the perfect resemblance your Highness hath of him in name, disposition, and fortune: and we with his subjects in honour, prosperity and peace'...

'We take palpable assurances of the blessed Spirit of God working in you, by the like fruit of peace, prosperity, and plenty, derived by your Majesty's most excellent government and wisdom, unto us: whose first work of building up the Church of Christ, providing for learning, restoring the decayed strength and munitions of the realm, enriching the treasury of the Land by refined coin, retaining...the ancient ample bounds of your Empire, the establishment of so many profitable factories...the chargeable discoveries of so many unknown parts, the honourable repulsion of so many foes, the bounteous purchase of so many neighbour friends, the charitable relief of so many Christians oppressed, the equal distribution of justice into all, - all tending to the glory of God, and prosperity of your reign - do sensibly, without any disparagement of the greatness of that mighty Prince, draw on a certain lively comparison of both your prosperities and blessings'...

'For this my presumption - which indeed hath been founded on your Highness's gracious acceptance of my former Passionate present - and recommending them anew to your Majesty's favour herewithal, augmented and reformed, I will with all fervency of prayer commend your Highness to the protection of the Almighty. Who as He hath confirmed your throne these - now nigh forty - years amongst us, to the universal peace and comfort of His Israel, the Church of Europe, so may He redouble and continue even to the end - if so His Highness please - your Majesty's most happy reign over us for ever'.

There are 320 sonnets, and also 60 'Sonnets of the Author to Divers, collected by the Printer'. Running title: Extra-Sonnets.

Addressed to: 'The Lords of her Majesty's Privy Council' (11 sonnets); 'Other Lords, Ladies, and approved Friends' (27); 'The Gentlemen Courtiers in general'; various court ladies (19); 'The Honourable Ladies and Gentlewomen attendants in the Court' (described as 'worthy nymphs of chaste Diana's train'); 'To all other his Honourable and beloved friends in general'; 'To the King's Majesty of Scotland'. (London, 1597). Note: As lists of court ladies are rare, Lok's list is given at the end of this year, 1596.

Nov 12, Edinburgh, Robert Bowes to Lord Burghley: 'The King hath conceived great offence against Edward [Edmund] Spenser publishing in the second part of the Faerie Queene, and ninth chapter, some dishonourable effects (as the King deemeth thereof) against himself and his mother deceased. He alleged that this book was passed with privilege of her Majesty's Commissioners for the view and allowance of all writings to be received into print. But therein I have (I think) satisfied him that it is not given out with such privilege; yet he still desireth that Edward Spenser, for his fault, may be duly tried and punished'. [SP Scot]. Book V, Canto 9, describes the Trial of Duessa, with parallels to the Trial of the Queen of Scots. Spenser escaped without penalty.

The King had refused to allow his second part to be sold in Scotland.

Court news. Nov 14, at night, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil:

'I was first advertised this evening...that her Majesty deferred her remove unto Wednesday [November 17], which is the very day of her access to the Crown, being right sorry for the cause...Let her Majesty know that I do send to hear of her Majesty's amendment, for by her impediment to order her affairs all her realm shall suffer detriment'. [Wright, ii.465].

[Nov 15], Gray's Inn, Francis Bacon to Earl of Shrewsbury: 'I was desired by Mr Helmes our late prince to use my favour with your good Lordship to borrow him a horse and armour to show as a prince upon this day of change'. [LPL 3199/855].

Mr Helmes: Henry Helmes, the Prince of Purpoole at the Gray's Inn Revels which came to court in March 1595.

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

Brewers' Company: 'Paid for forms at Paul's Cross on the Queen's day, 2s6d'.

Allhallows Staining: 'Paid for two books to be read in the church upon the 17th of November the Queen's Majesty's day, 8d; paid to the ringers the same day, 2s6d; paid the same day for candles, 8d'.

St Botolph Bishopsgate: 'Paid for making clean the candlestick for the Queen's night, 8d'. St Ethelburga Bishopsgate: 'Paid to Johnson the Paritor for a prayer for the Queen, 2d; for 3 pound of candles and for wax for the Preacher, 15d; paid the ringers the same night, 2s'.

St John Walbrook: 'The 17th of November for mending the great candlestick, 10d; for oil for the bells the same day, 4d; the same day for 4 pound of candles, 16d; paid to the ringers, 2s6d'.

St Lawrence Jewry: 'Paid to a carpenter for his work about the bell wheels against the Coronation day, 2s3d; paid for 6 pound of candles for the lecture and for the ringers at night, at 4d the pound, 2s; paid and delivered to Peele for the ringers, 6s8d'.

St Mary Woolnoth: 'Paid for thirty and nine wax candles spent in the branch [candelabra] on her Majesty's day, 3s6d; for 2 pound of candles for the ringers on the 16th and 17th days of November, 9d; for 3 pound of candles for the sermon on the same 17th day, 13d; spent on the ringers on those days, 2s6d; for flowers, bays, and pack-thread spent at the same time, 12d'.

St Michael Cornhill: '2¼ pound wax candles on the Queen's day, 7s6d; 6 pound cotton candles on the Queen's day, 2s; bread and drink for ringers, 2s'.

Bristol Chamberlains: 'To the trumpeters on the Queen's holiday, 6s8d; for wood and attendance for the bonfire on the same day, 3s8d'.

Cambridge, Holy Trinity: 'For a pound of candle and half a pint of oil for the bells on Coronation day, 5d',

Canterbury, St Andrew: 'Laid out on the Coronation day for bread and beer and candle, 12d'.

Cobham Church, Surrey: 'Laid forth on the Coronation day for the ringers more than was gathered, 2s10d'.

Coton Church, Cambs: 'At the Crownation day for 3 bell-ropes, 5s4d; on the ringers upon Crownation day, 2s'.

Houghton-le-Spring, Durham, churchwardens: 'Our charges upon the Coronation day the ringers' dinners and the churchwardens, 4s6d; paid to the ringers for ringing the bells, 3s'.

Kendal, Westmorland, Chamberlains paid: 'To one that played the drum through the town being the Queen's day, 12d'.

Leverton Church, Lincs: 'For soap against St Hugh's Day, 3d; for bread on St Hugh's Even, 3d'.

Oxford Chamberlains paid: 'Prisoners in Bocardo on the Queen's day, 2s; a bonfire then, 18d; bread and wine for the Communion the same day, 11d; for prayers the same day, 14d'.

Seale Church, Surrey: 'Ringers on the Coronation day 3 men 9d apiece, 2s3d'.  
 South Elmham Church, Suffolk: 'For the ringers at the day of the Crownation of the Queen's Majesty's reign, 18d'.

Walberswick Church, Suffolk: 'To the ringers on the Crownation day, 2s'; same account: 'Unto the Painter for writing of the Ten Commandments and making of the Queen's Arms, 14s4d'.

Accession Day Tilt preparations,  
 Richard Brackenbury made ready 'Whitehall for her Majesty against the Coronation Day; the Gallery at Whitehall against the Running; three several standings for the Judges'. Thomas Conway made ready 'the standing in the Tilt-yard for the Judges to stand in two several times when her Majesty saw the running on the Coronation Day'.<sup>T</sup> Works made 'steps going up to the Queen's window in the Gallery at the Tilt-yard, and taking the same down again after the Joust and pastimes performed, and mending all the Tilt poles with boards'.

Tilt-lists, Judges' book: College of Arms MS M.4, f.50,51; Portfolio.

Nov 17, Wed dinner, Putney, Surrey; Mr [John] Lacy.<sup>T</sup>

Nov 17, Wed **WHITEHALL PALACE.**<sup>C</sup>

**Accession Day Tilt**, Whitehall, 1596. 11 pairs.

Earl of Cumberland	v	Earl of Essex
Earl of Sussex	v	Sir Thomas Gerard
Earl of Southampton	v	Sir James Scudamore
Earl of Bedford	v	Sir William Knollys
Lord Mountjoy	v	Thomas Vavasour
Lord Compton	v	Sir Charles Blount
Sir William Howard	v	Robert Knollys
Sir Richard Bulkeley	v	Henry Carey
Sir Thomas Knollys	v	Sir Edward Wingfield
Sir Robert Drury	v	Carew Reynell
Henry Helmes	v	Henry Goodere

Judges: Lord Thomas Howard, Lord North, Lord Norris.

Tilt-yard speech 'for the Earl of Sussex at the tilt anno 96', having recently been ill, 'the wounds of whose disease still sticking in his forehead'. [F.J.Burgoyne, ed. *Transcript of an Elizabethan Manuscript* (1904), 65].

Nov 19, Fri Tournament: Tilt: Challenge by Earl of Essex. First day.  
 Earl of Essex v 18 defendants, over two days. Defendants, in order:  
 Earl of Cumberland; Earl of Southampton; Earl of Bedford;  
 Lord Mountjoy; Lord Compton; Sir William Knollys;  
 Sir William Howard; Sir Edward Wingfield; Sir Thomas Knollys;  
 Sir Thomas Gerard; Sir Robert Drury; Sir Charles Blount;  
 Sir James Scudamore; Robert Knollys; Thomas Vavasour;  
 Carew Reynell; Henry Carey; Henry Helmes.  
 [Those who tilted only on November 17: Earl of Sussex; Bulkeley; Goodere].

Nov 20, Sat Tournament: Tilt: Challenge by Earl of Essex. Conclusion.  
 Judges for the Challenge: Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Norris, Sir Thomas Gorges.  
 They 'judged the best prize' to the Earl of Southampton, who broke 22 staves, and the second prize to Henry Carey, who broke 14.  
 'Courses 108, Staves broken 97'. Endorsed 'The Judges' book made ready for her Majesty for the Challenge of the Earl of Essex'.

Nov 21, Whitehall: Council placard to all public officers for Monsieur de Reau, Ambassador returning to France, 'to see him furnished of 25 post-horses, and guides to the seaside, and there of convenient shipping to pass into France, and to be used with all favour and courtesy, for so it is her Majesty's pleasure'. De Reau was wind-bound at Dover until December 13.

Also Nov 21: Passport for Don Emanuel and Don Christopher, 'sons to the late King Don Antonio, to pass into France with their servants and retinue, and to be furnished with post-horses from place to place to the seaside, and there of convenient shipping for their more safe transportation'.<sup>APC</sup>

Nov 25, Thur Prince of Portugal at Whitehall with the Queen.

Nov 25, Don Christavao to Anthony Bacon, in French, asking to use his coach, for he has to go today to kiss the royal hands. [LPL 660/44].

*The two Princes delayed their departure for France until March 1597. Later in 1597 at The Hague Don Emanuel married Emily of Nassau, sister of Count Maurice of Nassau.*

Nov 28, in Scotland: christening, at Holyroodhouse, Edinburgh: Princess Elizabeth, first daughter of James VI and Queen Anne. Queen Elizabeth was the godmother, her Deputy being Robert Bowes, resident English Ambassador.

Description by Bowes, December: The Princess 'was carried and presented to the baptism by myself supplying that office for and in the name of her Majesty, the only godmother, and she was named Elizabeth...The whole honours in the solemnisation of all the ceremonies were given alone to her Majesty with good observation of all due compliments requisite in the same'.

'According to the usual custom it was generally expected that I should have presented the child with some gift from her Majesty. But...I had not any present to deliver, nor knowledge of her Majesty's pleasure...of any to be given at that time or afterwards'...

'I now understand...that her Majesty is pleased and purposed to send to the Princess some present...and I attend on the receipt of the gift'.

[Scot.xii.387]. 15 Feb 1597: 'To George Nicholson servant to Robert Bowes... laid out by him at our commandment at the christening of the Lady Elizabeth daughter to the King of Scots our good brother', £39.<sup>PS</sup>

Princess Elizabeth, born Aug 19, married (1613) Frederick, Elector Palatine, who was King of Bohemia 1619-1620, when they were dubbed 'the Winter King and Queen'; she died in 1662. Two of her descendants became Queens of England:

Queen Mary (died 1694), who reigned with King William III; and Queen Anne, the last of the Stuart monarchs, who reigned 1702-1714.

Nov 30: Seditious words at Hertford. Roger Slyford, of Hertford, gentleman, said 'That now the Spaniards had gotten their purpose for they had already gotten Calais and Mutterell and had also divers towns in the Low Countries, therefore now they would shortly come amongst us, whereby he hoped to see such rule in England as he should domineer over that knave Ralph Coningsby'.

Guilty; remanded. [Assizes, Herts, 129]. Ralph Coningsby, of Hertfordshire: a Justice of the Peace.

November: visit, Hertford House, Westminster; Earl of Hertford.

In Cannon Row. Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford (1537-1621).

2nd wife: Frances (Howard) (c.1554-1598), a Lady of the Privy Chamber.

Edward Roberts and other watermen 'carrying of her Majesty to the Earl of Hertford's, November 1596', 16s. Richard Torver and other watermen 'carrying her Highness by water to the Earl of Hertford's and back again two several times...November and June 1596', £4.16s.<sup>T</sup>

December 1596-March 1597: Danish Ambassador in England.

Dr Nicolas Theophili was sent by the young King Christian IV to announce to the Queen his Coronation, and to present a list of complaints against English merchants and seamen. He had several audiences with the Queen, who assigned commissioners to discuss and answer his complaints.

Dr Christopher Parkins to Sir Robert Cecil, 21 Feb [1597]: The King 'now of late crowned and come unto his government', sent an Ambassador 'to enter into some compliments and seek some end of divers...controversies'. [HT.vii.77].

Dr Theophili wrote an account in German of his proceedings in England from December 1596-15 March 1597. [HMC 45th Report, 51].

Dec 1: Court rumours linking the Earl of Essex and a lady (Countess of Derby). The young Countess, Lady Bacon's great-niece and a god-daughter of the Queen, married at court in January 1595; she was formerly a Maid of Honour, and was now a Lady of the Privy Chamber.

Dec 1, Lady Bacon to Essex, of speeches at court of his 'carnal dalliance' with 'a nobleman's wife, and so near about her Majesty', who is 'both unchaste and impudent, with as it were an incorrigible unshamefacedness', and whom her jealous husband should send away to cleanse the court.

Lady Bacon quotes 1 Thessalonians, 4:

'Ye should be holy, and abstain from fornication'.

Also [Hebrews 13:4]: 'Fornicators and adulterers God will judge'.

Dec 1, Earl of Essex replied to Lady Bacon, protesting that since he left England for Spain [June 3] he had been free from 'incontinency with any woman that lives. I never saw or spoke with the lady you mean but in public places, and others being seers and hearers...But I live in a place where I am hourly conspired against...Be assured I do endeavour to be good'...

'Burn, I pray you'.

[Birch, ii.218-220].

Court news, of John Dowland (1563-1626), lutenist and composer, now at the court of Landgrave Moritz of Hesse-Cassel.

Dec 1, London, Henry Noel to John Dowland: 'I understand that you remain in the Landgrave's court, a Prince whom I honour for his high renowned virtues... It is reported here of his purpose to see the Queen. I wish it for the good of either, hers to see a Prince without peer, his to see a Queen without comparison...Her Majesty hath wished divers times your return: Ferdinando hath told me her pleasure twice'.

'Your old master and friend, H.Noel'. [Braunmuller, 261-2].

Ferdinando Heyborne alias Richardson: a Groom of the Privy Chamber. Henry Noel, a patron of musicians, died 26 February 1597; Dowland was one of the musicians who composed tributes to him. Dowland returned to England from time to time, and had great success with his Books of Songs or Airs (1597,1600).

Dec 2, The Hague, George Gilpin to Essex: 'The States' Deputies have returned, and their entertainment and favour received there very well liked, though they could have wished an answer more to their contentment'. [HT.vi.502].

[Dec 10], Venice, Dr Hawkins to Anthony Bacon:

'I received from you by Sir Thomas Chaloner her Majesty's picture, a most acceptable present, wherewith I took no delay but caused it presently to be drawn by the best artificers here and published, cancelling as much as lay in me all the other pictures set forth before, resembling rather the old mother of France [Catherine de Medici] than her Majesty of England'. [LPL 660/170].

Dec 20, Mon Sir Robert Gardner arrived at Whitehall from Ireland.  
 Sir Robert Gardner, Chief Justice of Ireland, was commanded by Sir William Russell, Lord Deputy of Ireland, and by the Irish Council, to go to inform the Queen and the Privy Council of the 'dangers of Ireland'. [SP Ire].

Dec 23, Thur dinner, Strand; Sir Robert Cecil.  
 Strand house owned by Sir Robert Cecil (1563-1612), Lord Burghley's younger son and from July 1596 the Queen's Principal Secretary;  
 wife: Elizabeth (Brooke) (1563-24 Jan 1597), a Lady of the Privy Chamber and the Bedchamber; daughter of William Brooke 10th Lord Cobham, Lord Chamberlain.  
 St Martin in the Fields: 'For ringing the 23rd of December at her Majesty's going to Sir Robert Cecil's to dinner and coming from thence the same day, 12d'.

Dec 25, Christmas Day. Privy Council meeting, court at Whitehall.<sup>APC</sup>  
 Anthony Bacon to Dr Hawkins: 'Though it be Christmas Day...in lieu of cards and dice I have betaken myself to my pen and paper, thinking meet to advertise you by these few lines that Sir Robert Gardner, Chief Justice of Ireland, is newly come hither much against his will, being commanded upon his allegiance to undertake the journey, to the end the Queen might both know all and believe one of his place and credence'. [LPL 660/102].

Dec 26, Sun play, by Lord Hunsdon's Men.  
 Dec 27, Mon play, by Lord Hunsdon's Men.

*Lord Hunsdon's Men were formerly the Lord Chamberlain's Men.  
 After Henry Carey, 1st Lord Hunsdon, died in July 1596 his players, the Lord Chamberlain's Men (Shakespeare's company) were retained by his son George Carey, 2nd Lord Hunsdon, and became Lord Hunsdon's Men. George Carey himself became Lord Chamberlain in April 1597, and his players were the Lord Chamberlain's Men.*

Dec 29, Wed Queen and Council in conference on Ireland, at Whitehall.  
 There was a note of 'things agreed on in Council before the Queen, at the chamber of the Lord Treasurer'. The Queen sent Sir Robert Gardner back to Ireland with letters to the Lord Deputy, stating that she had long speeches with him 'and conferences for reformation of divers causes'. It was decided to replace Sir William Russell by Lord Burgh as Lord Deputy. [SP Ire].

Dec 30: christening. Queen was godmother to 'Mr Berkeley's child'.<sup>T</sup>  
 Parents (married on Feb 19): Thomas Berkeley, son of Henry 7th Lord Berkeley;  
 wife: Elizabeth (Carey), daughter of George 2nd Lord Hunsdon. 'At Lord Hunsdon's house at the Blackfriars'. Queen's Deputy: Lady Marquis [of Northampton].<sup>T</sup>  
 Queen's gifts, Dec 30: one basin and a lair gilt.<sup>NYG</sup>  
 Child: Theophila Berkeley, born December 11. Godfather: Earl of Essex.  
 Dec 30: St Ann Blackfriars register: baptised: 'Theophila, daughter to Mr Bartlet'. Theophila (1596-1643) married (1613) Sir Robert Coke (1587-1653).  
 Thomas Berkeley was knighted by King James; he died in 1611; the widowed Lady Berkeley married (2) 1622: Sir Thomas Chamberlain, a Judge.  
 She died in 1635; her monument is in Cranford Church, Middlesex.

*Hunsdon heirlooms: The Queen had made valuable gifts of jewels to her cousin Henry Carey, 1st Lord Hunsdon (1526-1596). When his son George 2nd Lord Hunsdon died in 1603 he bequeathed the Queen's gifts to Elizabeth Berkeley, to be preserved 'so long as the conscience of my heirs shall have grace and honesty to perform my will for that I esteem them right jewels and monuments worthy to be kept for their beauty, rareness, and that for money they are not to be matched nor the like yet known to be found in this realm'.*

*There continue to be preserved at Berkeley Castle, Gloucestershire:  
 An Indian rock crystal bracelet studded with rubies and diamonds.  
 An Italian sardonyx cameo representing Perseus rescuing Andromeda.  
 A miniature prayer-book which the Queen wore on a long chain hanging from her  
 girdle; inside is a manuscript recording the last prayer of King Edward VI.  
 An enamelled gold pendant ship, said to represent Drake's Golden Hind.  
 [Illustrated: Diana Scarisbrick, Ancestral Jewels (1989), 13-15].*

*Dec 30: death. Lord Mayor of London died in office; he was Thomas Skinner,  
 clothworker. New Lord Mayor: Henry Billingsley, haberdasher and translator.*

Court news. Dec 31, Anthony Bacon to Lady Bacon, of Francis Bacon:  
 'My brother, God be thanked, hath received gracious usage and speech this  
 holidays of her Majesty, who I hope at the last will vouchsafe to exemplify  
 her good words by some Princely real effects'. [LPL 660/87].

Duke of Bouillon, who visited England twice in 1596, recorded some general  
 information about the Queen, including: 'The government is entirely in the  
 hands of the Queen, who has at the same time established an admirable obedience  
 to herself, and is extremely beloved and honoured by the people. The Parliament  
 had formerly great weight in this kingdom but now turns whichever way the Queen  
 pleases. The prelates are dependent - the barons few in number; neither dare  
 to displeas her, and the people have had such experience of the mildness and  
 convenience of her government that they grant her whatever she wishes'.

'She possesses much understanding and courage, and is adorned with many  
 great qualities. She speaks Spanish, French, Italian, and Latin; is thoroughly  
 acquainted with the affairs of her kingdom; knows those of her neighbours; and  
 judges well of them...Though she is 63 years of age, she still dresses like a  
 girl. Those whom she has loved have perhaps had much power in the affairs of  
 the state, but never all. She has constantly had the commendable prudence of  
 trusting much to able statesmen, and by their influence counterbalancing such as  
 enjoyed her personal favour. The Earl of Essex is at present the person most in  
 favour. The Lord Treasurer [Burghley] directs the most important affairs, which  
 he thoroughly understands; he is rich, has powerful connections, and entertains  
 great designs, but his health begins to give way'. [Raumer, 448-450].

1596: Tradition of Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch at court.  
 Sir Walter Scott (1565-1611); created in 1606 Lord Scott of Buccleuch.  
 William Armstrong of Kinmont, known on the Scottish Borders as 'Kinmont  
 Willie' and notorious for feuding and thieving, was captured by English  
 Borderers who took him over the border to Carlisle Castle. There Lord Scrope,  
 Warden of the West Marches of England, and Keeper of Carlisle, imprisoned him.  
 Sir Walter Scott, Warden of the West Marches of Scotland, demanded his  
 release, and swore that he would bring Kinmont Willie out of the Castle, alive  
 or dead, with his own hand. On a dark night, 13 April 1596, with 200 of his  
 men he succeeded in freeing the prisoner and returning to Scotland.

Lord Scrope at once wrote to the Privy Council to describe this 'outrage',  
 and to urge that the Queen should insist that King James deliver up Scott for  
 punishment. The Queen wrote an indignant letter to James, and in August Scott  
 was committed to prison at St Andrews, and in October was sent on parole to  
 England. Scott's exploits inspired a popular Scottish ballad, the 'Ballad of  
 Kinmont Willie' according to which he was sent for by the Queen. She demanded  
 of him how he had dared to storm her castle, to which he replied "What, Madam,  
 is there that a brave man may not dare?". The Queen exclaimed to her courtiers  
 "Give me a thousand such leaders, and I'll shake any throne in Europe!".

[Tytler, ix.195-200, 385-388].

1596: Allen Apsley (1567-1630) at court and at Cadiz.

Apsley's daughter Mrs Lucy Hutchinson recalled that her father, youngest of seven sons, at his father's death 'being but a youth at school, had not patience to stay the perfecting of his studies, but put himself into present action, sold his annuity, bought himself good clothes, put some money in his purse, and came to London; and by means of a relation at court, got a place in the household of Queen Elizabeth, where he behaved himself so that he won the love of many of the court; but, being young, took an affection to gambling, and spent most of the money he had in his purse. About that time the Earl of Essex was setting forth for Cadiz voyage, and my father, that had a mind to quit his idle court life, procured an employment from the Victualler of the Navy to go along with that fleet. In which voyage he demeaned himself with so much courage and prudence that after his return he was honoured with a very noble and profitable employment in Ireland'. [N.H.Keeble, ed. *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson, with a Fragment of Autobiography* (1995), 9]. Apsley was knighted in 1604; he became Lieutenant of the Tower of London in 1617; Lucy was born in 1620.

1596: John Davies wrote Orchestra.

Dedicated to Richard Martin, of the Middle Temple. 131 stanzas.

A second edition in 1622 is subtitled 'A poem expressing the antiquity and excellency of dancing, in a dialogue between Penelope and one of her wooers: not finished'. This notes that there should have been 'some stanzas describing Queen Elizabeth', and concludes with five stanzas describing the Queen watching her courtiers dancing. These begin:

'Her brighter dazzling beams of majesty  
Were laid aside, for she vouchsaf'd awhile  
With gracious cheerful and familiar eye  
Upon the revels of her court to smile'.

Davies (1569-1626) wrote several works dedicated to or in honour of the Queen.

1596: Thomas Morton (of Berwick) dedicated to the Queen:

'Salomon, or A treatise declaring the state of the Kingdom of Israel, as it was in the days of Salomon, Whereunto is annexed another treatise, of the Church: or more particularly, Of the right constitution of a Church'. Frontispiece: an engraving of a Queen of Peace and a King of Peace, with a crouching lion.

'To the most mighty and majestical, peaceable and happy Monarch Elizabeth... the most constant protector of the Gospel and Church of Christ, supreme head of all estates, ruler of all persons, and judge of all causes within her Majesty's Dominions'. 'Thomas Morton her Majesty's unworthy subject desireth from God a long continuance and a daily increase of temporal Majesty: and after the satiety thereof, the fruition of eternal Majesty and glory with Jesus Christ. And in testimony of all unfeigned love, loyalty and thankfulness dedicateth in most humble wise these treatises of the Kingdom of Israel, and of the Church'.

With Latin verses to the Queen.

[Israel: 71p; Church: 144p].

1596: Henry Savile dedicated to the Queen: Rerum Anglicarum.

*Chronicles, Histories, and Annals of England in Latin* by: William of Malmesbury; Henry Archdeacon of Huntingdon; Roger of Hoveden; Ethelwerd; Ingulf Abbot of Croyland [now known to be a 14th century forgery].

Latin dedication.

520p. (London, 1596).

Henry Savile (1549-1622), became Provost of Eton College in 1596.

1596: Petrucchio Ubaldini dedicated to the Queen: 'Rime di Petruccio Ubaldino, Cittadin Fiorentino'. Italian verses, and dedication. Four sonnets to the Queen, followed by other sonnets and songs. 35p. (London, 1596).

Ubaldini, 'Florentine citizen' resident in London, dedicated many works to the Queen, often as New Year gifts.

1596: John Udall: Certain Sermons, taken out of several places of Scripture. Published posthumously. (London, 1596).

John Udall (c.1560-1592) religious controversialist, was tried in 1590 for writing 'a wicked scandalous libel', viz. a book containing seditious matters against the Queen and ecclesiastical laws; he was sentenced to death in 1591; the Queen signed neither his death-warrant nor his pardon; he died in prison at the end of 1592. The Queen's own copy of Udall's Sermons, bound in crimson velvet, is at Cambridge University Library.

1596: Portraits of the Earl of Essex.

Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger painted Essex with a red beard which he began to grow on the Cadiz expedition in 1596. The portrait and a miniature are reproduced in *Dynasties*, ed. Karen Hearn, 133,178.

Another portrait by Gheeraerts of 1596, and various portraits of Essex, 1590-1595, are discussed by Roy Strong, *Cult of Elizabeth*, 61-67.

1596: **Henry Lok** in *Ecclesiastes*, dedicated to the Queen (see Nov 11), includes 19 sonnets addressed to 20 court ladies. These are, in order:

Lady Marquis of Northampton: Helena (Snakenborg), widow of the Marquis of Northampton and wife of Sir Thomas Gorges.

Countess of Derby: Elizabeth (Vere), wife of William Stanley 6th Earl of Derby.

Countess of Cumberland: Margaret (Russell), wife of George Clifford 3rd Earl of Cumberland.

Countess of Warwick: Anne (Russell), sister of Margaret Russell and widow of Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick.

Countess of Pembroke: Mary (Sidney), wife of Henry Herbert 2nd Earl of Pembroke.

Countess of Essex: Frances (Walsingham), wife of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex.

Lady Scrope: Philadelphia (Carey), wife of Thomas 10th Lord Scrope.

Lady Rich: Penelope (Devereux), wife of Robert 3rd Lord Rich.

Lady Hunsdon: Anne (Morgan), widow of Henry Carey 1st Lord Hunsdon (who died in July 1596).

Mistress Elizabeth and Anne Russell: 1st and 2nd daughters of John Lord Russell.

Mistress Elizabeth Brydges: 1st daughter of Giles Brydges, 3rd Lord Chandos.

Lady Southwell: Elizabeth (Howard), wife of Sir Robert Southwell.

Lady Cecil: Elizabeth (Brooke), wife of Sir Robert Cecil (to whom another sonnet is addressed).

Lady Hoby: Margaret (Carey), sister of Philadelphia Scrope and wife of Sir Edward Hoby.

Lady Leighton: Elizabeth (Knollys), wife of Sir Thomas Leighton.

Lady Wolley: Elizabeth (More), widow of Sir John Wolley (died February 1596).

Lady Carey: Elizabeth (Spencer), wife of Sir George Carey (to whom another sonnet is addressed), who became in July 1596 2nd Lord Hunsdon.

Lady D. several possibles: see 'Court': *Women at Court*.

Mistress E.Bowes: Eleanor (Musgrave), wife of Robert Bowes, Ambassador to Scotland (to whom another sonnet is addressed).

*Henry Lok also dedicated Sundry Christian Passions to the Queen, 1593.*

