

## 1569

At **HAMPTON COURT**, Middlesex.

Jan 1, Sun New Year Gift roll not extant, but Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter King of Arms, gave the Queen: 'A Book of Arms of the Knights of the Garter made in the reign of Henry the Fourth'.

Also Jan 1: play, by the Children of Paul's.<sup>T</sup>

New Year: John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, at Hampton Court with the Queen.

Jan 2, London, French Ambassador, La Mothe, to King Charles IX:

'The Bishop of Ross had leave to go to the Queen of Scots...but as he was taking post-horses in this town he was countermanded to return to Hampton Court'. Jan 6: The Bishop 'has written to me from Hampton Court that the Queen has had him questioned before her, and before her Council, as to whether he wished to accuse Regent Moray of the same crime with which he charged the Queen of Scots [the murder of the King in 1567]'.

The Bishop declared her to be innocent, and falsely accused. [i.87,92].

Court news. Jan 3, Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, Ambassador to France: 'The matter of the Queen of Scots rests in these terms: upon the accusation produced by her Commissioners against the Earl of Murray, they have for their defence produced so much matter to charge her with the procuring of the murder of her husband, as thereupon motion is made on her behalf, for covering of her honour, to have some appointment betwixt her and her subjects, which is communed of secretly by two or three manner of ways, that is to say: That she should affirm her resignation of her Crown to her son, as it hath been made, and live here in England; or else herself and her son to join in title, and the Earl of Murray to remain Regent; or thirdly herself to remain in title Queen, and to live in England secluded, and the Earl of Murray to continue Regent'...

'In the meantime outwardly she offereth to prove herself innocent, so she may be permitted to come to the Queen's presence and answer for herself, which is thought to be the more earnestly required, because it is also thought assured it will be denied'...

'Here is a stay made of certain treasure that came out of Spain to pass into Flanders, which we take to be merchants', and not King Philip's as is alleged; 'if it shall prove merchants, we may be bolder to take the use of it, upon good bonds'. [Cabala, 157].

Jan 3, midnight: News came to the Lord Mayor of London that the English merchants in Antwerp had been arrested and imprisoned on December 29.

Jan 6, Thur, Hampton Court. Proclamation (556):

Ordering Reprisals against Spanish Shipping.

'To admonish all persons to forbear traffic in the King of Spain's countries'.

With a detailed explanation of the reasons for the arrest of Spanish ships in England, November-December 1568. Jan 7: Proclaimed in London.

Jan 7 [London]: James Hamilton, Duke of Châtellerault, to the Queen: I came hither at your ambassador's desire and on your own passport, and have remained 16 weeks, far beyond my expectation; and when I last spoke with you, you seemed to wish my further stay. I beseech that I may depart to Scotland. [Scot.ii.596]. The Duke was not yet permitted to leave.

Jan 7, Tutbury, Earl of Shrewsbury to the Earl of Leicester: 'The Queen of Scots coming to my charge will make me soon grey-headed'. [Pepys, 144].

January 8-July 5: Spanish Ambassador confined to Paget House, Strand. Guerau de Spes. Memoir by Sir William Cecil (January 18): 'After her Majesty understood the general offence and hatred which her subjects conceived against the person of the King's Ambassador here resident...her Majesty found it meet, as well for the safeguard of the person of the said Ambassador as for the reasonable satisfaction of her poor subjects being so cruelly used, specially by his means, that he should be commanded to remain in his own house without suffering any of his folks to go abroad but such as may serve for provisions of his victuals, and for that purpose to appoint certain gentlemen of good discretion to remain in the house with the said Ambassador'.

Jan 8, Sat: The Queen sent Lord Admiral Clinton and Secretary Cecil to the Ambassador. 'The Lord Admiral, beginning to speak in short speech in French... showed him that, because he could not speak Latin, the said Secretary should declare the Queen's pleasure unto him in Latin, which the said Lord Admiral could understand, though he could not speak it'. Sir William Cecil explained the complaints against the Ambassador and the measures to be taken, and three gentlemen were presented who were to be in charge of his guards, viz:

Francis Carew, Henry Knollys, Henry Knyvett.

The Ambassador was told that Dr Man (English Ambassador to Spain 1566-1568) 'had been worse used in Spain'. [KL.v.257-8].

Jan 8, De Spes to Philip II: 'The Admiral and Cecil, accompanied by a large train and most of the Aldermen of the city, came to my house this afternoon at 3 o'clock. The Admiral began to speak but Cecil interrupted him and spoke of the rigour of the Duke of Alba, dwelling with great anger upon the seizure of Englishmen and their property. He said I was greatly to blame for it in having sent the statements I had, and he had to request in the Queen's name, that I should not leave the house. They dismissed all my Catholic servants except one, to go on errands, and they ordered that no Spaniard should leave the house'.

They placed Henry Knollys, brother of the keeper of the Queen of Scots, Sir Francis Knollys, 'in possession of the house'.

De Spes later gave further details of how he was guarded: 'They divided the guard into four parties, for whom they made three wooden houses in the garden, and posted the fourth detachment in the lodge at the principal gate. At the river gate they stationed two armed boats with many arquebusiers and archers, and left three gentlemen with a large suite in the house'. [Span.ii.97,134].

*Jan 9: Statement by the Queen of Scots delivered by the Bishop of Ross.*

*In 1567 Mary had been forced to abdicate in favour of her infant son, but she had revoked her abdication in 1568.*

*Mary, writing in French, began: 'As to the abdication of my Crown...I beg that you will trouble me no more on that point; for I am resolved and determined to die sooner than do so; and the last word which I shall utter in this life shall be that of a Scottish Queen'. [Turnbull, 167-9].*

Jan 9, Sun, Hampton Court. Proclamation (557): Reducing Prizes in the Lottery announced in August 1567. As only one-twelfth of the anticipated amount has been collected, the prizes are to be reduced accordingly. The winner of 'the best and greatest Lot' will receive £416.13s4d. But 'every person having adventured any one Lot...shall be admitted to 12 adventures or hazards'.

*This reduced the value of prizes from more than £100,000 to about £9000. In one box or wheel were placed 400,000 counterfoils, in another 29,505 prize tickets bearing one-twelfth of the original value, with 370,495 blanks.*

*This made the Drawing of prizes a very protracted affair: see January 11.*

Jan 10: The Queen having directed the Commissioners to end their conferences concerning the Queen of Scots, Sir William Cecil made a declaration to the Earl of Moray and his colleagues: 'That forasmuch as there had been nothing deduced against them as yet that might impair their honour and allegiances, so, on the other part, there had been nothing sufficient produced nor shown by them against their Sovereign, whereby the Queen of England should conceive or take any evil opinion of the Queen her good sister, for anything she had yet seen'.

[Strickland (1888), *Mary*, ii.189].

Court news. Jan 10, La Mothe, mémoire:

'The care of the Queen of Scots has been committed to the Earl of Shrewsbury, to whom they have given a commission in writing, enjoining him not to allow her too much liberty, which he did not at first wish to accept; but at length he has been persuaded to take it, by advice of some of the great personages of this kingdom, who have advised him to treat the Queen with the honour, respect and consideration fitting for such a princess, notwithstanding his commission was to the contrary. Very soon she will be conducted to Tutbury Castle'.

Jan 10, London, La Mothe to Charles IX:

'They expect Dr Junius here in five or six days, returning from the Count Palatine, to whom he has only just gone, and it is thought that he will have been to the Duke of Deux-Ponts and the Prince of Orange'. [i.100,103].

John Junius, Councillor to Frederick, Elector Palatine, left again on February 14, with Henry Killigrew, special Ambassador.

Jan 10: Cardinal de Châtillon was accredited as the representative of the Huguenots, by commission from the Queen of Navarre, her son Henri Prince of Navarre, Louis Prince of Condé, and others. [Atkinson, 212-218].

From January-April there was another Huguenot envoy in England, Monsieur de Dovet, sent by the Prince of Condé and the Prince of Navarre to thank the Queen for the assistance she had given to their cause. [SPF.ix.8].

*Jan 10, De Spes to Duke of Alva, describing the measures taken against him, and that people 'both great and small' are discontented with the government.*

*Jan 10, De Spes to Geronimo Curiel: 'If you hear that I am detained here you need not be surprised, since the enchantments of Amadis still exist in this island, and Archelaus is still alive. Nevertheless here I am, safe and sound, a prisoner of Queen Oriana, and I have no doubt, even without the aid of Urgandae or other great effort, this will all end in a comedy'.*

*Endorsed by Cecil: 'Against the Queen's Majesty Oriana'. [Span.ii.105]. De Spes refers to characters in Amadis de Gaule, a popular Spanish romance; Amadis is the lover of the chaste Oriana, daughter of the King of Britain.*

Jan 11: 'A great Lottery being held at London in Paul's Churchyard, at the west door, was begun to be drawn the 11th of January, and continued day and night till the sixth of May, wherein the said drawing was fully ended'.

[Stow, *Annals*]. The purchaser of each lot was denoted by a motto. A list of prizes drawn from February 16-26 has one prize of 7s6d; most were 1s2d or 1s3d.

A winner of 1s3d was a lot with the motto '*Video et taceo*'. [Kempe, 207-215].

The Queen's motto: '*Video et taceo*': 'I see and I hold my peace'.

William Harrison's description: 'The Lottery which some in scorn did call the Sottery hath an end in London after it had continued four months, the great lot falling in the end to the town of Sutton in the Isle of Ely, from whence in the upshot and winding up of the whole a north wind came suddenly as it is said and blew it all away unto another place whereby they lost not only the lot but somewhat else also withal such fools'. [Chronology, f.254v]. The first prize or 'great lot' included tapestry and linen cloth, in addition to ready money.

Jan 12: News of the Spanish Ambassador's offensive 'open' letters (Jan 10).  
 Jan 12, London, Henry Knollys to Cecil: 'Yesternight...we went to visit our  
 Ambassador'. He sent us word that we might send his letters 'open' to you.

'We watch the fox with great care and diligence; but his burrow is large  
 and on every part full of starting holes; our nets be few, slender and weak'.

Instead of sending the letters 'open to the court', Knollys thought it best to  
 send them to several Councillors, who were 'offended grievously'. [KL.v.237,260].

Cecil noted: The Ambassador wrote slanderous letters of the Queen's Majesty'.<sup>B</sup>

Jan 13, De Spes to the Council, explaining the expressions used in his 'open'  
 letters, and that they had been misunderstood. [Span.ii.105].

Jan 13, Basle, Charles Utenhove to Dr Mount (the Queen's Agent in Germany),  
 in Latin, asking Dr Mount to ascertain whether the Queen will permit him to  
 dedicate to her a History of the Spanish Inquisition, about to be printed,  
 in which its evil practices are discovered. It is to be prefaced by an  
 acrostic in her honour. [SPF.ix.13; KL.v.238].

Jan 14: death: Lady Knollys died at Hampton Court. Katherine (Carey), a  
 first cousin of the Queen, and a Lady of the Bedchamber; wife of Sir Francis  
 Knollys, Vice-Chamberlain, who was away as Keeper of the Queen of Scots.

Nicholas White to Sir William Cecil, Feb 26, West Chester: On my way to  
 Ireland I visited the Queen of Scots, now at Tutbury Castle. I told her of  
 Queen Elizabeth's 'natural passions of grief, which she conceived for the death  
 of her kinswoman and good servant the Lady Knollys, and how by that occasion her  
 Highness fell for a while from a prince wanting nothing in this world to private  
 mourning, in which solitary estate being forgetful of her own health she took  
 cold, wherewith she was much troubled'. Of Lady Knollys, I said 'that the long  
 absence of her husband...together with the fervency of her fever, did greatly  
 further her end, wanting nothing else that either art or man's help could devise  
 for her recovery, lying in a prince's court near her person, where every hour  
 her careful ear understood of her estate, and where also she was very often  
 visited by her Majesty's own comfortable presence'. [Wright, i.308].

Funeral: Westminster Abbey, paid for by the Queen (£640.2s11d). [HT.i.415].  
 Lady Knollys' monument in St Edmund's Chapel refers to 16 children.

Broadside 'Epitaph' by Thomas Newton for Lady Knollys, who was

'In favour with our noble Queen above the common sort...

There seemed between our Queen and death contention for to be

Which of them both more entire love to her could testify'. (London, 1569).

Jan 14: Council to the Spanish Ambassador, complaining about his 'open'  
 letters. De Spes was rebuked for 'a light letter altogether made of fantasies  
 gathered out of Amadis books; using speeches of Amadis and of enchantments,  
 and of Archelaus and Oriana a Queen, and such like'.

Jan 16, De Spes to the Council: again declaring that his letters in Spanish  
 have been mis-translated. [Burgon, ii.292; Span.ii.105-6].

Jan 18, Sir William Cecil's memoir: 'They did cause such as were natural  
 born Spaniards to peruse the foresaid letters in Spanish, by whom they found  
 that the sense could be none other than before was conceived'.

Bernard Hampton, the late Queen Mary's Secretary for the Spanish Tongue, and  
 William Winter, her Master of Ordnance, 'discreet persons and well experimented  
 in the Spanish tongue', were sent to enquire what other interpretation the  
 Ambassador would make. He declared that he meant that 'the great and the small'  
 were discontented only with the stay of the King's money. As for being prisoner  
 of Queen Oriana, if in the Spanish court 'they will set forth or praise any lady  
 for a singular and excellent person they call her the Queen Oriana'. [KL.v.261].

Jan 18, Westminster: 'James Regent' acknowledged a £5000 loan.  
 On Jan 14 the Queen had licensed the Earl of Moray, now returning to Scotland, to purchase 18 horses or geldings, two dozen long bows of yew, two dozen sheafs of arrows. [Scot.ii.601,603]. Regent Moray left shortly afterwards to return to Scotland, whereupon the Duke of Châtellerauld had leave to return also.  
 The Bishop of Ross and Lord Herries were permitted to go in February to report to the Queen of Scots.

*Bishop of Ross's Memoirs: At Hampton Court Moray had privately proposed to the Duke of Norfolk 'whom he loved and favoured above all others of the nobility of England' that he should marry the Queen of Scots.*

*He 'affirmed that the Queen and her Realm of Scotland had been troubled with children, young proud fools, and furious men through her marriage in times past (which was his very words to the Duke, meaning of King Francis, Lord Darnley and Earl Bothwell)'. [Ross, 36,38].*

*Duke of Norfolk confessed: 'The Lord of Lethington first broke with me [the matter of marriage] at my being at York, going a-hawking to Cawood... Afterwards both he and my Lord of Murray dealt with me at Hampton Court, at both which times I yielded no consent...After my Lord of Murray's departure the Bishop of Ross did still urge me to like and allow of that match, and...I did show myself willing to further the Scottish Queen's causes, and so the case remained till the Queen's Majesty came from Hampton Court to Westminster'.*

*The Duke of Norfolk's Confession of his 'proceedings with the Queen of Scots' was 'set down' at Queen Elizabeth's command in November 1571, prior to his trial in January 1572, at which one charge was that he secretly plotted to marry Mary. [Extracts from the Confession are from BL Cotton Caligula C.III. f.198-203; supplemented from a printed copy, Scot.iv.32-40].*

Jan 19, Wed French Ambassador at Hampton Court for audience.  
 Jan 20, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'I found the Queen in mourning for the death of Lady Knollys, her cousin, whom she loved above all the women in the world'. She told me 'of her regret at the loss of such a good kinswoman, and that the mourning garb which she had donned very little expressed the great grief which she felt for her'.  
 After talk of foreign affairs, the Queen spoke of the Spanish Ambassador, who had 'already kindled a war between his master's country and hers', for while she was treating courteously with him he had by his letters 'caused the seizure of the goods and persons of the English at Antwerp'. Also 'he had written of her in another way than he should, having called her Oriana in some of his letters'.  
 The Duke of Alba had behaved arrogantly to her, having only written her one little letter, which 'she compared to a Valentine'. [i.123-126].

*January 20: Special envoy from Low Countries at Rochester, Kent.  
 Christophe d'Assonleville, one of King Philip's Councillors, previously in England in 1558 and in 1563. He was now sent from Brussels by the Duke of Alba with instructions to obtain audience of the Queen to require restitution of seized ships and money, and to justify Spanish reprisals.*

*Most of the correspondence, English and French, relating to this mission is printed by Kervyn de Lettenhove, vol.v. p.263 onwards. Shown as KL.  
 The envoy's dispatches, in French, are given here in English versions.*

*D'Assonleville had arrived at Dover on January 18.*

*He reported to the Duke of Alva, January 31: After arriving at Dover 'I heard that the Queen was at Hampton Court Palace, indisposed, partly for the grief she had for the death of one of her relatives, partly for another reason, so that I was told that she would not see anyone, even any of her Council'.*

*D'Assonleville left Dover on Jan 19 for Rochester, where there came to see him next day Thomas Taylor, secretary of William Brooke 10th Lord Cobham, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.*

*Jan 20 (I), Rochester, at 7 in the morning: Thomas Taylor to Lord Cobham:*

*'This morning, as soon as the Flemish Ambassador was stirring, I gave him to understand of my coming...I showed him that it was your Lordship's request that both he and his train should stay till the Queen's Majesty's pleasure were further known...He is that person that came over a five years ago, when the Queen's Majesty lay at Windsor, having in his train and coming over under his name nine persons'.*

*Jan 20 (II): 'This Flemish Ambassador finds himself aggrieved with this stay, and would in all haste dispatch his servant to the Queen's Majesty to understand whether the same be done by order from her or no'. He is coming to your Lordship 'with letters to her Majesty, being conducted with the Posts'.*

*Jan 20, [from Cobham, Kent], Lord Cobham sent Thomas Taylor to court with D'Assonleville's servants and secretary. 'They seek all the means they can to speak with the [Spanish] Ambassador'. [KL.v].*

*Jan 22, Sat, Hampton Court. Proclamation (558): 'Declaring the untruth of certain malicious reports devised and published in the Realm of Scotland'.*

*The Queen absolutely denies reports of a secret agreement between her and the Earl of Moray, to deliver King James into her hands 'to be nourished in England'; to put Edinburgh and Stirling Castles into English keeping; to declare the Earl legitimate, so as to succeed to the Crown of Scotland if the young King dies childless; also 'other such like improbable false devices and slanders'.*

*[Such reports emanated from the Queen of Scots, in a letter to the Abbot of Arbroath, 9 Dec 1568, widely circulated in Scotland]. [Scot.ii.574-5].*

*Jan 22: Sir William Cecil noted that D'Assonleville 'had no commission but to demand money'.<sup>B</sup>*

*Jan 23, Lord Mayor of London (Thomas Roe) to Sir William Cecil:*

*'According to the Queen's Majesty's pleasure...I have appointed Mr John Gresham and Mr Aldersey for the accompanying of D'Assonleville from Gravesend to London (who have done the same accordingly), and have appointed the said D'Assonleville to be lodged and in custody of Mr Alderman Bond'.*

*[William Bond, of Crosby Place, Bishopsgate].*

*Jan 25, Lord Mayor to Sir Nicholas Bacon: D'Assonleville's secretary declares 'that his message was to be by him delivered to the Queen's Majesty and not to her Highness's Council, except he might speak first with the Ambassador of the Catholic King [the Spanish Ambassador]'. [KL.v].*

*Jan 26, Hampton Court, George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury, received his instructions, the Queen having made choice of him to have charge of the Queen of Scots. Including: To treat her, being a Queen, with reverence befitting her degree and nearness in blood. Not to allow her to gain rule over him, or plot for her escape. To allow none about her but her retinue. Should she be sick or wish to speak to his wife the Countess, he shall permit the latter to come to her but very rarely, and no other gentlewoman shall be suffered to come to her presence or sight. The Queen is to be taken to one of the Earl's many properties in the North and Midlands. [Scot.ii.609-610].*

Jan 26-Feb 3: *The Queen of Scots* journeyed from Bolton Castle to Tutbury Castle, Staffs. Ralph Rowlandson, Groom of the Removing Wardrobe of Beds, took 'wardrobe stuff' to Tutbury from the Tower of London, including tapestries of the Passion, of Ladies, and of Hercules. Also carpets, beds and bolsters, counterpanes, chairs, cushions, stools. From the Removing Wardrobe: 12 carpets and a stool. From the Great Wardrobe: sheets, pillowcases.

A quantity of gilt plate was also provided. [Scot.ii.606].

Jan 26: Privy Council sent William Drury, Marshal of Berwick, and John Marsh, Governor of the Merchant Adventurers (also described as Governor of the English Nation resident in Antwerp) to bring D'Assonleville to them 'hard by here'.

He refused, replying: 'This is my charge and commission simply...First to confer with the King of Spain's Ambassador resident here, and afterwards to have talked with the Queen's Majesty herself'.

Jan 29: Council assembled at Lord Keeper Bacon's house (York House), to question De Spes (who alleged an indisposition and did not appear) and D'Assonleville. They told him of the Queen's grief 'for her cousin, the wife of one of her Councillors, who died at court', and objected that the Duke of Alba did not have power to send ambassadors to a foreign prince.

The Council asked for a memoir in writing for the Queen, and would return to court next day for her decision. [KL.v].

Jan 30, Hampton Court, Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, in France: 'D'Assonleville hath been here a good time, being not as yet accepted as an Ambassador, for that he hath no special letters nor commission from the King, but from the Duke of Alba. And all that he can say for himself is that he cometh in the King's name, as one of his Privy Council, and whatsoever he shall do shall be confirmed by the King, before he will depart out of the realm'...

'Yesterday word came to London that all the English fleet, which are feared should have been arrested in Spain, came home safe; and this day I have heard for certainty that Hawkins is arrived at Mount's Bay with the Queen's ship *The Minion*, having in her the treasure which he hath gotten by his trade in the Indies'. [Cabala, 158-9]. John Hawkins returned after a slave-trading voyage. Francis Drake also returned, in *The Judith*.

Court news. Jan 30, La Mothe: D'Assonleville 'wrote to the Queen to know when she would give him audience, which letter Cecil took from the hands of one of his people who was waiting in the Presence Chamber at Hampton Court, and quite roughly forbade him from being found again in such a place'. [i.159].

Feb 1, Tues: Bernard Hampton, a Clerk of the Council, came to bid the special Ambassador from the Low Countries, D'Assonleville, welcome in the Queen's name. She has seen a memoir from him, and has decided that he can communicate with the Spanish Ambassador, and must then open his charge to the Council. [KL.v].

Feb 2, Hampton Court, Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy of Ireland, with thanks for the offer of his son (Philip Sidney, aged 14) in marriage to Cecil's daughter (Anne Cecil, aged 12).

As to various requests to the Queen for money:

'Your Lordship maketh many motions for money...I only am forced to break the ice, and if I might be answered comfortably as reason requireth, the pain were tolerable, but truly my Lord as it is used I cannot further endure it; every other Councillor is burdened but with assenting and commanding, and I am like a slave put to the drudgery to carry out all disgraces'. [SP63/27/17].

Philip and Anne were contracted in marriage 6 Aug 1569, but married others.

Feb 3: 'Sir Francis Knollys came from the Scots Queen at Tutbury. Mr Henry Knollys went thither'.<sup>B</sup>

Feb 3, court, Bernard Hampton to Sir William Cecil. I came to court this evening, and send D'Assonleville's answer. After he has spoken to the Spanish Ambassador he will let the Queen know which of three choices he will take: to open his charge to the Privy Council; to write to the Duke of Alva for a more ample commission; to take leave and depart.

Feb 5, Sat: D'Assonleville was taken by Sir Thomas Gresham to the Spanish Ambassador. On the same day D'Assonleville wrote to the Queen that he would consult with the Duke of Alva to get more ample powers.

Feb 6, London, Sir Thomas Gresham to Sir William Cecil:

'The chiefest talk he had with me was that he never heard nor saw Ambassadors so hardly kept and so straitly dealt withal'. [KL.v].

Feb 8, Tues **WHITEHALL PALACE.**<sup>c</sup>

St Margaret Westminster: 'To the ringers when the Queen's Majesty came from Hampton Court to Whitehall, 6d'.

*Feb 14-Sept 22: Henry Killigrew was special Ambassador to several German States. La Mothe to Charles IX, Feb 20: 'Killigrew and the men from the Count Palatine, the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Deux-Ponts, and two Italians from this court...and eight servants with them embarked last Monday in a bark of Hamburg, for their voyage to Germany'. [i.202].*

Court news. Feb 15, La Mothe to Catherine de Medici, Queen Mother:

'The Earl of Oxford, a young lord well esteemed in this court, desired to see the war and begged the Queen to give him leave to go to the Prince of Condé'. She gave him many refusals. He then declared that he wished to have leave to serve the King, to fight against the rebels. He was brought before the Council; no action was taken.

'Since then the Council having also called before them another young lord, Lord Southampton, about making the obsequies of his tutor with torches and other ceremonies of the Catholic church, as he replied very sharply to them, in view of his youth have decided that he was led by others...even that it was because he is son-in-law of Lord Montague, who is wholly Catholic, whom they commanded to be arrested, and sent two of his men to the Tower'. [i.198].

Oxford: Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford (1550-1604).

Southampton: Henry Wriothesley, 2nd Earl of Southampton (1545-1581).

Feb 19: D'Assonleville received an answer from the Duke of Alva. He agreed to confer with one or two Privy Councillors.

Feb 22: The Queen sent Sir William Cecil and Sir Walter Mildmay to D'Assonleville, to hear what he wished to say to them. [KL.v].

Feb 22, Shrove Tuesday play, by the Children of Windsor Chapel.<sup>T</sup>

Feb 23: Court news, of conspiracy of Councillors against Sir William Cecil. This conspiracy to oust Cecil, which came to a head in February, is described in a secret mémoire by the French Ambassador, March 8.

La Mothe stated that many leading noblemen resented Cecil's domination of foreign policy, and his support of foreign rebels, and planned to remove him and take over the government themselves. Action had been delayed partly from fear, partly from a desire to secure popular support, but now both merchants and Catholics were discontented with Cecil. The Queen became somewhat alarmed at the situation, and attempted to call the Council together to deal with it, but could not get them together. Many feigned sickness, even the Earl of Leicester made much of a slight cold. They became distant in their behaviour to Cecil. Matters came to a climax on Ash Wednesday.



Feb 23, Ash Wednesday The Queen, Sir William Cecil, and Councillors.  
*La Mothe's description:* The Earl of Leicester came to the Queen's chamber a little before supper-time, when Cecil, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Marquis of Northampton were present. The Queen rebuked Leicester for the behaviour of the Council. He took the opportunity to complain that the better part of her people were discontented with the way the government was being conducted, and that he thought the State was in danger, and that Cecil should be called upon to give an account of his administration in the last eight years.

'The Queen turned upon Leicester in a rage. Norfolk, at the other end of the room, said in a loud voice to Northampton: "You see, my Lord, how the Earl of Leicester is favoured so long as he supports the Secretary, but now that for good reasons he takes an opposed position she frowns upon him and wants to send him to the Tower. No, no, he will not go alone". The Marquis replied "I praise God that you, the first subject of the realm, are willing at last to show your quality. I am prepared to follow you and to support you in every way I can, for I have come to complain". [Here La Mothe's account ends. i.234-237].

*Camden, Annals:* 'Certain Lords of England, amongst whom were the Marquis of Winchester, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Arundel, Northumberland, Westmorland, Pembroke, Leicester and others, sought causes against Cecil... They repined at his power with the Queen, suspected him to favour the House of Suffolk in the succession to the Crown and feared lest he would stop the course of their designs. They conspired therefore secretly to cast him into the Tower ...But the Queen...came to knowledge hereof in fit time, and Cecil, through the magnanimous fortitude of his Princess (who coming upon them in the very instant of time restrained them by a beck) [gesture], easily defeated the plot that was laid against him'.

Feb 25: At Lord Keeper Bacon's house D'Assonleville met Lord Clinton, the Marquis of Northampton, Sir William Cecil, and Sir Walter Mildmay.

Feb 26: The Council replied in writing to his answer to Cecil and Mildmay 'which they two did report to the Queen's Majesty in presence of her Council'. It strongly refuted his arguments and refused his demands. [KL.v].  
 D'Assonleville decided to return to the Duke of Alva.

Court news. [March 1], London, De Spes to the Duke of Alva:

'Some days ago two of the principal Councillors, the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Arundel, sent Roberto Ridolphi, a Florentine gentleman, a great friend of theirs and mine...to tell me that the money and ships would be returned entirely, and that they had only consented to my detention and Cecil's other impertinences because they were not yet strong enough to resist him'.

On February 13 'they took away the guards posted in the wooden sheds they had erected in the garden here, which sheds were then destroyed. I think it was more in consequence of the severe weather than anything else. The garden gates are still fastened up, and the gentlemen who guard me remain in the Porter's Lodge at the principal gate, which is well guarded'.

[March 1], London, De Spes to Philip II: 'Although some of my guards have been removed, the number of spies has been increased, even to dog the steps of the servant who goes errands for me, and to watch all people who approach the door of my house by night'. [Span.ii.111-112; mis-dated Feb 29].

March 1: D'Assonleville received his passport from the Queen. The Queen did not recognise him as an Ambassador, since he came from the Duke of Alva, not from King Philip; she had not given him audience.

March 5: He left London, accompanied by two guides. [KL.v].

March 7, Westminster, Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, in France:

'Monsieur D'Assonleville, who came only from the Duke of Alva, hath been here of long time, hovering to have had access to the Queen as an Ambassador, which her Majesty would not allow of...and yet nevertheless allowed unto him as much conference as he would with her Council'...

'As to that which he opened to the Council, which was a request to have the money released, and the Arrest [arrested ships] set at liberty, it was answered that the money belonged to merchants, and that he could not deny'...

'As to the restitution of the money, and putting the Arrest at liberty, she would neither deny nor grant the same to him, considering he lacked authority to make sufficient contract thereupon; but when the King himself should send one sufficiently authorised, both to understand and to redress the injuries done by the Duke of Alva to her Majesty's subjects, it should well appear that the King should be reasonably satisfied on her Majesty's behalf, and amity and peace should be conserved according to the Treaties'.

'And besides this, it was added, that seeing the Duke of Alva began the Arrest first, it was reason they should also begin the release; and so in the end D'Assonleville, appearing to be much discontented, was licensed to depart, and so is gone, having used all good gentle speech that could be, during his being here'. [Cabala, 160].

Marquis Vitelli arrived on October 15 to attempt to reach a settlement.

March 8, Roger Edwards dedicated

'To his most gracious Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth':

'A few remembrances of Instructions necessary to be embraced for the policy of this and the time to come'.

He who loves 'his own natural and dear prince...the happy, wise, blessed and virtuous Queen Elizabeth...hath skilfully gathered a few remembrances, fruitful for the soul, person, and purse of his gracious Sovereign Lady'.

Edwards describes monarchs from William the Conqueror to Queen Mary, and gives advice on foreign and domestic policy.

At The Red Lion in Watling Street, Roger Edwards to Sir William Cecil, March 29: 'I am bold to send you my faithful present to the Queen's Majesty'.

On May 28 Edwards sent Mr Marsh the book 'containing matter of high compass, and so accepted as never prince accepted any book better than the Queen doth this. The author hath been called before all the Council attendant, for the livelier feeling of his opinion touching the great purpose of the work, wherein he departed with victory'. [SP12/49/75,88]. The book: BL Add MS 36705.

Mr Marsh: John Marsh, mercer, Governor of the Merchant Adventurers' Company.

March 11: D'Assonleville, departing envoy, sailed from Dover 'wafted by the Vice-Admiral and The Phoenix'. [KL.v].

Court news. March 12, De Spes to Philip II: 'M.de Bourdeille has come hither, paid by Condé and the Admiral of France to effect an offensive and defensive league between this Queen and themselves and with certain princes of Germany, and they seem very much set on this with the Cardinal Châtillon, whom they have lodged in a house in the garden of the palace'. [Span.ii.134].

List of Strangers in London sent to the Council by Thomas Roe, Lord Mayor 1568-69, includes: 'Westminster: the French Cardinal, living in Hans Hunter's house, hath to the number of 40 servants'.

Hances House, Crown property, adjacent to Whitehall Palace garden.

March 13, La Mothe's mémoire for Catherine de Medici, who must promise not to speak of it to anyone in the world. Roberto Ridolphi has been charged by the Pope to treat with the Catholic lords of re-establishing the Catholic religion in England. He is principally sent to the Earl of Arundel and Lord Lumley. They also hope to win over the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Derby, Shrewsbury, Pembroke, Northumberland, and many others.

With further details of the conspiracy against Sir William Cecil. [i.258-9].

The Spanish Ambassador later gave news of a further plot against Cecil, allegedly in April: see June 15.

*March 13, in Scotland: Proclamation by the Earl of Moray, Regent of Scotland.*

*Satan persuaded the King's mother to pass into England, and there to complain upon the Regent and others of the nobility, and accuse them of crimes of treason, and so intended to have moved the hearts of the Queen of England and other foreign princes, as to have brought strangers into the realm, to the great trouble thereof. The Regent and the nobility were constrained to pass into England, and before the Queen make their purgation of the crimes falsely imputed unto them. After long and diligent trial it was declared that they had most honourably proceeded in the Coronation of the Prince, and in all their proceedings for the punishment of Darnley's murder. For defence of which proceedings they were compelled to manifest the truth, that the Queen of Scots was participant of the murder aforesaid, and that she rewarded the Earl of Bothwell, one of the authors and chief committers thereof. [SPF.ix.44-45].*

March 13: Queen of Scots sent an Equerry, John Borthwick, to Queen Elizabeth, 'having received a copy of the Proclamation made by my rebels'.

Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, June 16: 'Mr Borthwick...truly I have found always a good servant to the Queen his mistress, and a tractable gentleman at all times'. [Scot.ii.632; Cabala, 164].

*March 13, in France: Battle of Jarnac, a victory by the Duke of Anjou (the King's brother) over the Huguenots. The Prince of Condé was killed. He was Louis de Bourbon-Vendôme (1530-1569), a Prince of the Blood. His son, Henri de Bourbon, Prince of Condé (1552-1588), and the Queen of Navarre's son Henri, later King Henri IV of France (1553-1610) were acknowledged as the new Huguenot leaders. The news of the battle arrived in London c.March 20.*

*To report on it an envoy came from the King of France in April and two from the Queen of Navarre in May. April 12, La Rochelle, Françoise d'Orleans, Princess of Condé, to the Queen: By the death of my husband I am left with six young sons and a daughter, and am deprived of all my possessions. I beg that you will receive me and my children into your protection. [SPF.ix.60].*

Mar 14, Mon new appointment: Thomas Bromley (Recorder of London) was made Solicitor-General.

*March 17: Henry Middlemore, special envoy to Scotland, sent to understand the state of Scotland, and whether Regent Moray's party increases or diminishes.*

*Orders to Sheriffs, etc., to furnish him with post-horses, going on the Queen's special service to Scotland. [Scot.ii.634].*

Mar 20, Sun Four envoys at Whitehall for audience.

March 21, De Spes to Duke of Alva: 'On the 20th the Queen gave audience to an envoy from the Count Palatine, another from the Prince of Orange, another from the Count of Schuarcemburg, and another from the Lord of Emden'. [KL.v.338].

Court news. March 21, London, La Mothe to Charles IX:

'Last week Cardinal de Châtillon and some of his people were escorted by several Councillors to the Tower, where they were feasted...They were shown the artillery, gunpowder and arms, and then the chests of Spanish money'...

'Musters of the Queen's Pensioners and horsemen are commanded for April 1st, and the other general and ordinary musters of the whole kingdom for April 15th'. [i.269]. Each of 50 Gentlemen Pensioners was required to keep 3 horses ready.

Mar 28, Mon Muster of Gentlemen Pensioners, Hyde Park.

'The Pensioners, well appointed in armour on horseback, mustered before the Queen's Majesty in Hyde Park beside Westminster'. [Stow, *Annals*].

De Spes to Philip II, April 2, London: 'The Queen ordered a muster of her Pensioners and their servants, who turned out to the number of 200 horse, not very good. The muster was in the park of the palace, and the Queen was present with Cardinal Châtillon and the Earl of Leicester. She was very free and joked much with everybody. The other musters of infantry have been postponed'.

[*Span.ii.138*].

Mar 30, Wed Scottish Secretary at Whitehall.

John Wood, Regent Moray's Secretary, sent with the true state of Scotland.

March 31, Queen Elizabeth to the Queen of Scots, of Mary's grief at some words in Proclamations made by Mary's subjects signifying that Elizabeth has given sentence against Mary, which she utterly denies; she is still waiting for Mary's answer to accusations against her.

'Yesterday John Wood made me a long declaration, how the Duke [Châtellerault] and the other lords have submitted to your son as to their King and...had approved of that which has passed touching your imprisonment, as having been wisely determined'. [Strickland, *Mary*, i.159-160].

When Mary received this she sent a servant, Alexander Bog, to Scotland to try to ascertain the truth. Sandy Bog came to London on April 28.

*March 31, in Brussels: Proclamation by the Duke of Alva, forbidding trade with England, and for Englishmen in the Low Countries to be arrested.*

*Alva complained that whilst in England D'Assonleville was unable to have audience with the Queen.* [KL.v.354].

Apr 6, Wed King of France's envoy at Whitehall for audience.

The Sieur de Montassier, an Equerry of the Stable to Charles IX, came to inform the Queen of his victory 'over his rebels' at the Battle of Jarnac.

April 6, Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, in France:

Monsieur de Montassier 'this day was brought to the Queen's Majesty's presence to report the victory which God had given to the French King by a battle, as he termed it, wherein was slain the Prince of Condé; whereunto...her Majesty answered that of any good fortune happening to the King she was glad; but she thought it also to be condoled with the King, to have a Prince of his blood slain; and so with such like speech, not wholly to their contentation'.

'Before the coming of your letters we could not firmly believe the reports of the Prince of Condé's death, but now the will of God is to be interpreted in this and all things to the best'. [Cabala, 161].

Apr 7, Maundy Thursday ceremonies and alms-giving.

By the Queen, with Edmund Guest, Bishop of Rochester, Queen's Almoner; to 35 poor women, each 20s in a red purse and 35d in a white purse.<sup>T</sup>

April 12, London, La Mothe to Charles IX, with news of his envoy, Montassier: He waited eight days at Dieppe for a passage, had audience on Wednesday of Holy Week and gave the Queen full details of the battle; he left on April 12.

April 17: After he left there were many rumours that the Prince of Condé was not dead. 'On that there have been wagers of more than 12 or 15,000 crowns, in the court or in the town'. [i.302-3,308].

Venetian Ambassador in France, [April] 27: 'The gentleman who went to England to communicate the news of this victory...states that he had been very ill received there, that his report was not credited, and that the Queen answered him that she could not congratulate the King upon having lost a Prince of his own blood, who was so greatly honoured'. [Ven.vii.433].

Apr 15,Fri Queen drafted a detailed answer to the Duke of Alva's Proclamation of March 31; she explains why D'Assonleville did not have audience. [SPF.ix.61].

Apr 19,Tues French and German messengers at Whitehall with the Queen. The Sieur de Vezines left La Rochelle on March 10, sent by the Queen of Navarre and Admiral Coligny before the Battle of Jarnac; he arrived in April. La Mothe's mémoire, April 20: The Sieur 'who was dispatched from La Rochelle before the battle to come to the Queen and then to go to Germany, took his passport yesterday to continue his journey, with 12 gentlemen and 8 servants'... 'A man from the Duke of Deux-Ponts was dispatched in the evening by the Queen'. [i.326-7].

April 19: death. John Tamworth (c.1524-1569), Groom of the Privy Chamber, Keeper of the Privy Purse, died at his house at Fulham, Middlesex.

Funeral: April 25, St Botolph Aldersgate, London.

[Dates: Funeral Certificate].

April 19: St Martin in the Fields: burial: Georgius Varnam. Description in Middlesex Sessions Rolls: Anthony Marten, one of the Gentlemen Sewers, had been serving the Queen at dinner at Whitehall between 12-1 p.m. George Varneham of Richmond, with sword and buckler, went to the palace and waited over an hour in the Porter's Lodge for Marten to leave. After following Marten he forced an affray on him, within the verge of the court, and was on the point of striking him, intending to kill him, when Marten crossed swords with him and gave him a wound of which he died next day.

Verdict of Coroner's Inquest: homicide in self-defence.

Note: The attack is dated April 27 in the Sessions Rolls, and the Inquest April 29. On May 26 Anthony Marten and his servant were bound over to appear at the next Gaol Delivery to be held at Newgate. [Jeaffreson, i.65-66].

Anthony Marten went on to write several books dedicated to the Queen.

Apr 22,Fri Eve of Garter ceremonies, Whitehall. At a Chapter of Garter Knights the Queen appointed a Lieutenant, as customary.

Apr 23,Sat St George's Day Garter ceremonies, Whitehall. Queen's Lieutenant: Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk.

The Queen was in the processions and at the service.

Apr 24,Sun Final 1569 Garter ceremonies, Whitehall. No new Knights elected.

April 27: Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, in France: 'The Vidame of Chartres is come to Plymouth and his wife, as it is thought, not being well liked of among the nobility, because he married so meanly; indeed it must needs be some reproof to him to come away when service is requisite'. [Cabala, 162].

Jean de Ferrières, Vidame de Chartres, and his wife; Huguenots.

April 28 and 29: Bishop of Ross at Whitehall for audiences. John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, newly appointed Ambassador from the Queen of Scots (now at Wingfield, Derbyshire) was sent from her to court after she heard that the Earl of Moray had used violence and cruelty in parts of Scotland loyal to her. The Bishop was to make urgent request that she be allowed to return to Scotland, or to go abroad to seek help.

April 29, Sir William Cecil to the Earl of Shrewsbury: 'The Bishop of Ross came hither four days past, utterly unlooked for until that Queen had received answer out of Scotland; and now yesterday came Sandy Bog, whereupon the Bishop has had large talk with the Queen's Majesty yesternight'. [Lodge, i.472].

Bishop of Ross's *Memoirs*: 'I presented my letters and declared my credit to the Queen of England at her palace of Whitehall, and exhibited, at her special desire, before herself and her Council my Commission of Ambassade, which I had to treat, conclude and agree on all such heads as might serve for relief of the Queen my mistress...and reconciling of the subjects in Scotland. And after divers conferences...I was desired by the Queen and Council to give in certain offers in writing'. I presented Articles proposing 'a new treaty and league of friendship made betwixt the two Queens and Realms' and conditions for the Queen of Scots to be returned to Scotland and restored to her Crown. [Ross, 46-48].

May 1, court, Earl of Leicester to Thomas Randolph, of the Battle of Jarnac: 'The Vidame of Chartres, with his wife and family, is come into England upon a snuff [in anger], having showed himself in this last action neither fish nor flesh'.

'Hitherto of France, now of Flanders: the Duke of Alva hath ruffled with us ever since Christmas, and not only imprisoned our merchants, but also stayed their goods and ships, whereupon the Queen's Majesty hath done the like here, and stayed certain treasure which by force of weather was driven upon the west coast. She hath likewise armed forth certain of her ships to keep the narrow seas, which have taken divers of their hulks'. [Wright, i.314].

Court news. May 2, London, Bishop of Ross to the Queen of Scots: 'I came here on Tuesday night the 26th instant and had presence at Westminster on Thursday afternoon, being well accepted by the Queen's Highness'. Audience was 'in the garden of Westminster for near two hours'. As Sandy Bog had come, I 'again had access on Friday'. [Scot.ii.642-3].

May 5: *News of proposed visit to Oxford by Cardinal de Châtillon, with the Earl of Leicester (Chancellor of Oxford University), on May 15.*

May 5, Dr Thomas Cooper (Vice-Chancellor) to Leicester, coming 'to see your University': *These exercises are proposed, but you will alter them as you think best. Two sermons, one in Latin by myself, one English by Dr Westfaling. Disputations in Divinity...The questions are the two pillars of Papistry, the authority of the Church and the supremacy of Rome. The questions in Natural Philosophy are not yet appointed. 'We have also in readiness a play or show of the Destruction of Thebes, and the contention between Eteocles and Polynices for the government thereof, but herein I think we shall be forced to desire your Honour's favourable help for provision for some apparel and other things needful. What order we shall use in these exercises we know not because we do not yet hear how long it shall be your Honour's pleasure to remain here'.*

*We hope 'it may be no less than two days, and that it may please you to take lodging both for yourself and my Lord the Cardinal in Christ Church'. [Pepys II.273]. After the Cardinal's brother died this visit was abandoned.*

May 6, Fri **GREENWICH PALACE**, Kent.<sup>c</sup>

St Martin in the Fields: To Oliver Deeping (sexton) 'for ringing in May when the Queen went to Greenwich, 8d'.

c. May 6: Huguenot envoys with the Queen.

The Sieur de Puench de Pardillan, and Monsieur de Saint-Simon.

May 6, La Mothe to Charles IX: Envoys have just arrived from La Rochelle, from the Queen of Navarre, and the Prince her son, to condole with the Queen on the Prince of Condé's death, and to describe the Battle of Jarnac. [i.367].

May 6, Exeter, Vidame de Chartres to the Queen (in French):

I hope that my arrival in your kingdom will not be displeasing to you; I had determined to come long before the late sad event in France.

To Sir William Cecil (in Latin): I have come over with my wife to enjoy tranquillity. [SPF.ix.68-9]. First audience: July 18.

*May 7, in France: death: François de Châtillon, Seigneur d'Andelot (1521-1569), Cardinal de Châtillon's brother, who had been wounded at the Battle of Jarnac, but was rumoured to have been poisoned.*

Court news. May 9, De Spes to Philip II: There have arrived 'many rebel Frenchmen, the Vidame de Chartres and his wife, M.de Saint-Simon and others, who have brought letters from the Queen of Navarre, as they call her, for this Queen and Council asking for help'. [Span.ii.145].

*May 10: The Queen of Scots was taken ill. At the Bishop of Ross's request Queen Elizabeth sent two physicians to her at Wingfield, Derbyshire.*

*Dr Caldwell and Dr Thomas Francis arrived on May 22; after Mary's recovery, Dr Francis remained to treat the Earl of Shrewsbury. [Scot.ii.645,649,656].*

Court news. May 12, London, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'The Queen...went to Greenwich because there is some suspicion of sickness in this town, which I believe is only caused by the dry weather, there having been no rain for more than six weeks; she will stay there until St John's Day [June 24]'. [i.373].

c. May 15: Regent Moray's secretary, John Wood, at Greenwich with the Queen.

May 16, Queen to Moray: We have conferred with Wood on matters of weight, which he will declare to you, to be considered and to be answered by some sufficient person. Wood took a plan for the government of Scotland. [SPF.ix.73-4].

He 'went into Scotland with certain articles for restoring of the Scots Queen'.<sup>B</sup>

Duke of Norfolk's Confession (1571): Sir Nicholas Throckmorton and the Earls of Leicester and Pembroke supported my proposal to marry the Queen of Scots, and Leicester and Pembroke wrote to her on my behalf.

'Both they and myself had divers conferences with the Bishop by what means this matter might best be brought to pass, and how the matter should be broken to the Queen's Majesty. About which time came Mr John Wood from my Lord of Murray...My Lord of Leicester broke the matter to Mr Wood, and wished that my Lord of Murray would send my Lord of Lethington hither, who was thought amongst us all the fittest man to break the matter to her Majesty, and thus the matter rested...saving that I made my Lord of Arundel also privy to it, and my brother [Lord] Lumley'. Later I 'broke the matter' to Sir William Cecil.

Court news. May 16, London, La Mothe to Charles IX:

The Sieur de Puench de Pardillan is 'every day taken secretly to the principal people at court, being often in long consultations with them'...

'The Vidame de Chartres has not yet presented himself at court nor has he yet arrived in this town, and it seems as if he will scarcely be welcome to the Queen because of her memory of the first journey he made here, in the first troubles [in 1562]'.

May 16 [postscript], La Mothe to Catherine de Medici:

'I have just been informed that this morning the Earl of Ormond has been banished from court, and that Lady Chic [Cheke] is banished, for having been surprised together in a secret and suspicious place. Lady Chic is one of the Queen's ladies of honour'. [i.385,387,390].

*Thomas Butler, 10th Earl of Ormond, a favourite of the Queen, was separated from his wife; Lady Cheke, widow of Sir John Cheke, was the wife of Henry Macwilliam, Gentleman Pensioner. Both regained the Queen's favour fully, and Lady Cheke was a Lady of the Privy Chamber throughout the reign.*

May 17: *death. George 5th Lord Dacre of the North (c.1562-1569), stepson of the Duke of Norfolk, died at Thetford, Norfolk, after a fall from a wooden vaulting-horse. The title went into abeyance. His three sisters, aged 12,5,4, were contracted in marriage in 1571 to three of the Duke of Norfolk's sons.*

*Their uncle Leonard Dacre styled himself Lord Dacre, but his claim to the Barony was disallowed later in 1569.*

May 20: The Queen lost from 'a gown of black taffeta with three welts [narrow bands] of black velvet one aglet of gold enamelled black'. [Lost, 87].

Court news. May 23, London, La Mothe to Catherine de Medici: 'Cardinal de Châtillon has received 400 casks of white and claret wine from La Rochelle, of which he has, these past days, distributed to the Queen and to her Council twelvescore and has kept eightscore for his own provision, which makes many judge that he does not feel matters in France to be such that he can return for a long time, and he has borrowed about 2000 crowns from a merchant in this town, for which three of the principal lords of this court are answerable'. [i.402].

May 23, De Spes to Philip II: 'The Vidame de Chartres is being entertained in the country; he will shortly arrive in London, where a house has been prepared for him'. [Span.ii.154].

May 25, Hamburg, Henry Killigrew (special Ambassador) to Sir William Cecil, his brother-in-law: 'I think the Queen's Majesty be more feared and honoured this day of all countries, what religion soever they be of, than ever any of her Majesty's predecessors before her was. I beseech God her Highness do hold fast, and then I do not doubt but to see in her days the ancient honour and fame of England restored again, to the glory of God, whom I beseech to preserve your Honour and all yours'. [Haynes, 516].

May 25: *Jan van der Noot, a Dutch poet, a refugee in England, dedicated to the Queen: 'A Theatre wherein be represented as well the miseries and calamities that follow the voluptuous Worldlings, As also the great joys and pleasures which the faithful do enjoy. An Argument both profitable and delectable, to all that sincerely love the word of God'. [Including poems by Edmund Spenser].*

*Epistle (13p): 'To the most high, puissant, noble, virtuous, and right Christian' Queen. 'After my departure out of Brabant...I have...been occupied about this little Treatise, wherein is set forth the vileness and baseness of worldly things, which commonly withdraw us from heavenly and spiritual matters'.*



Your Majesty is 'a most blessed and happy prince...Your Highness, as a rare Phoenix of your time, are singular and peerless in honour and renown, in princely majesty, wisdom, skill, beauty, favour, mildness, courtesy and gentleness: to be short, excellent in all kind of virtue'...

'In respect of your learning, knowledge, counsel, judgement, and eloquence, as well in the Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Dutch, as in your own natural English and other languages...your Grace may be resembled not only to Tully [Cicero] and Demosthenes, but to Mercury the God of Eloquence, as is apparent by your Majesty's most apt and wise answers given in your own person to all Ambassadors, and to every of them in their own natural language with a singular dexterity and princely majesty, and with marvellous sweetness of tongue'...

'Your Grace is expert in song, and in the art of Music, skilful in all kinds of musical instruments, and...exquisite in the measures of the dance; and...embraced of Apollo, and his nine sisters, by whom your Grace is so instructed in the divine Art of Poetry, that you may worthily be called the second Sappho'.

Your Grace has 'great skill and judgement in painting and imagery'.

Besides all these gifts, God 'hath vouchsafed (by inclining your Grace's heart, spirit and mind to humility, peace, mildness, and all kind of lovable-ness) to choose your Majesty especially to be his champion to defend his beloved Church...All faithful and true Christian princes throughout all Europe do esteem and repute you'...

'Never was it seen in any age or time heretofore that this your realm of England hath flourished as it doth at this present under your Majesty's most happy government. First in all kind of liberal arts and sciences'...

'It may truly be said that the kingdom of Saturn and the Golden world is come again, and the Virgin Astraea is descended from heaven to build her a seat in this your most happy country of England'.

After more in the same vein Van der Noot concludes: 'Praying to Almighty God to grant unto your Majesty a most happy reign in this world, and after this life to reign with him for ever, for his only son our Lord Jesus Christ's sake'.

'At London your Majesty's city and seat royal. The 25 of May 1569'.

There follow six 'Epigrams' in verse, each with a facing woodcut 'vision', and 15 Sonnets, similarly illustrated. The text (214p) is headed:

'A Brief Declaration of the Author upon his visions, taken out of the holy scriptures and divers Orators, Poets, Philosophers, and true histories.

Translated out of French into English by Theodore Roest'. (London, 1569).

Van der Noot's book was first published in French, 1568.

The anonymous Epigrams and Sonnets in Van der Noot's book, 1569, translated from Petrarch and Joachim du Bellay, are the first published work by Edmund Spenser (1554-1599), written whilst at Merchant Taylors' School, London.

On 20 May 1569 Spenser became a student at Pembroke Hall (now Pembroke College), Cambridge University.

In 1591 in his 'Complaints. Containing sundry small Poems of the World's Vanity', Spenser included these Epigrams and Sonnets, some in a revised form, as: 'The Visions of Petrarch' and 'The Visions of Bellay'.

May 28, Sat Ambassador of Duke of Deux-Ponts at Greenwich to take leave.

May 28, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'This morning a man who is said to be an Ambassador from the Duke of Deux-Ponts took leave of the Queen to go to his master, and I understand that he is going by France...He is dressed in German fashion, in a black coat...and a big hat of velvet silk...He has gone with hired horses to take leave of Cardinal de Châtillon, who is at Sheen'.

He is leaving on May 30. [i.416-417,419].

May 31, De Spes to Philip II: 'Châtillon and his wife had gone to the county of Leicester and it was thought would go on to Bristol to call to account a French pirate who had failed to pay him a share of the booty'. [Span.ii.157].

May 31: *christening*. Queen was godmother to 'Mr Harvey one of the Gentlemen Pensioners his daughter'.<sup>T</sup> Parents: Henry Harvey, of Chessington, Surrey; Sergeant of the Buckhounds; wife: Mary (Thomas), of Wales. Queen's gift, May 31, 'to Henry Harvey esquire's' child: one gilt tankard.<sup>NYG</sup> Harvey had one son and seven daughters, including 'Elizabeth the elder' and 'Elizabeth the younger', both unmarried at their father's death in 1589.

June: Lady Mary Grey was moved to the custody of Sir Thomas and Lady Gresham, remaining there, despite regular protests by the Greshams, until May 1572.

Court news. June 3, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'I went to the Queen during the Whitsun celebrations at Greenwich'. To Catherine de Medici: News has come confirming the death of D'Andelot, and that he was poisoned.

June 10, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'Cardinal de Châtillon has not been at court since the news of the death of his brother, for whom they say he has great sorrow; he has gone to some baths beyond Oxford'.

To Catherine de Medici: The poisoning of D'Andelot, allegedly by an Italian, 'has horrified the Queen and the court, so that they have ordered I don't know what more than the customary assay [tasting] of her drink and food, and have dismissed some Italians from her service'. [ii.1,9,15-17].

June 11, in *France: death*: Wolfgang Duke of Deux-Ponts. He fell ill whilst supping in the Queen of Navarre's tent, poisoning being at first suspected.

Newsletter from Low Countries, June 30: The Duke 'is dead of a burning fever or rather of a surfeit with drink...The Count Volrad of Mansfield, lieutenant to Deux-Ponts, is now made general in his place'. [KL.v.416].

Court news. June 15, London, De Spes to Philip II:

The Bishop of Ross assured me that the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Arundel intended 'in April last to arrest Cecil and give me complete liberty, restoring all the property stolen and detained belonging to your Majesty's subjects. He said that on three occasions when the project was about to be carried out the Earl of Leicester softened and said that he would tell the Queen...The days ...were the same as those on which the noblemen told me they would be ready. These delays gave Cecil an opportunity of discovering the plot against him'...

'Cecil has spoken to the Duke about marrying a sister-in-law of his, a widow with 3000 ducats income, offering him to increase her dowry if the Duke marries her. The Duke would not listen to it, for he has his thoughts very high, having fixed his eyes upon the Queen of Scotland...The Council now offer to recover her kingdom for her on certain conditions, and the renunciation by her of her claim to the English Crown. With this object this Queen has sent to Scotland to request the Regent to send new commissioners to discuss it'. [Span.ii.166-168].

Cecil's sister-in-law: Elizabeth Lady Hoby, widow of Sir Thomas Hoby.

The French Ambassador also referred to this marriage plan: October 28.

June 18, Greenwich, Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, in France: 'Our Progress is like to be to Southampton'. [Cabala, 164].

June 20: The Queen lost 'one small diamond out of an aglet of gold from the gown of black wrought velvet'. [Lost, 88].

Court news. June 21, La Mothe's mémoire on 'differences' between England and the Low Countries: 'Eschiata, brother of Guido Cavalcanti, having just come to this country from Flanders, has lived for four days hidden in Secretary Cecil's lodgings, for him to see and consider four articles which he says that Chapin Vitelli has deemed suitable to put the differences in good terms of accord'.

[ii.50].

Marquis Vitelli himself arrived in October.

June 28, Tues French Ambassador at Greenwich for audience.

La Mothe's mémoire, July 27: At my audience with the Queen on June 28 'she asked me if the news was true that the King of France was to marry the Emperor's second daughter, and the King of Spain the elder daughter'.

I denied this; we went on to discuss the Queen's own marriage plans.

'The principal people in this Kingdom hold it as certain that the Queen will never marry, and although she may make some semblance of doing so it would only be...in order that her subjects do not press her to declare her successor to the Crown. After sending the Earl of Sussex to the Emperor she turned down Archduke Charles on the grounds of religion [in 1568]'.

'A little while after, the Earl of Arundel wished to shed light on what there was between the Queen and the Earl of Leicester, and if this was why she rejected everybody. He persuaded the Duke of Norfolk...to tell the Earl...that if matters were so far advanced between him and the Queen that he was assured of marrying her, he should say so openly, and proceed in a way...suitable to the grandeur and importance of such a marriage, and he would help him as much as he could; but if not, he should not be as familiar with the Queen as he was accustomed to be, and should content himself with being Master of the Horse, and having more favour than anyone else, without attempting to attain the Crown...for neither the nobility nor the people would suffer it'.

'And he charged him that, having the *entrée*, as he has, to the Queen's chamber when she is in bed, he made so bold as to undo her chemise, in place of her lady of honour, and even dared to kiss her without being invited'.

Leicester admitted that 'the Queen had shown him so much affection that it had given him hope of marrying her...A few days later when the Queen was pressed to declare her intentions she declared very firmly that she did not intend to marry Leicester, and they have since behaved more modestly'. [ii.118-122].

Court news. June 28, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'They have begun to talk about a progress which, as is her custom, the Queen is thinking of making in this next month of July, and although they say it will be to the Isle of Wight, towards Normandy, I am doubtful of it at this time'. [ii.64].

A progress to Hampshire began in August.

June 28, Bishop's Waltham [Hants], Bishop of Winchester (Robert Horne) to Earl of Leicester: 'I understand by the Queen's Majesty's servants that were here to enquire and know the state of this country, that her Majesty meaneth to make her progress into these parts. I wrote unto the Lord Chamberlain that there hath been sick in my house at Waltham 50 persons, and five died since the 25th day of March last, and in the town 13 died since the same time. Now on Saturday at night last past there is at the Constable's house at Waltham one dead, and all the neighbours feareth it was of the plague. But I cannot affirm that to be the disease. But I do assure your Honour...if the weather had been hot, as it hath been a very cold spring and season, it would have been a kindly plague. And this I dare well affirm of my own knowledge that it is a sharp and perilous sickness...There is no part along the sea coast free from it. In my opinion therefore it is not meet that her Majesty should come this summer into these parts of Hampshire: there hath not been since I first knew Hampshire a more perilous time...Some not given to judge well will think I make more of the matter than needeth, to spare my own purse. But whatsoever such will say or think, I have signified the truth for the discharge of my duty therein'. [Pepys, II.315-316].

The Queen visited the Bishop at Farnham, Surrey, but not in Hampshire.

June: Lord Boyd and the Bishop of Ross at Greenwich with the Queen. Robert 5th Lord Boyd (c.1517-1590) came with answer from the Queen of Scots to Articles which she had received in May, from the Queen and 'the nobility'.

Bishop of Ross's *Memoirs*: In May the 'Nobility of England' gave me Articles to be sent to the Queen of Scots, including that she 'should accept some nobleman of England in marriage, specially the Duke of Norfolk'. These noblemen (Arundel, Pembroke, Leicester, on the advice of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton and others) sent a special messenger, Mr Cavendish, to Mary with the Articles 'and certain honourable and costly tokens' and 'very loving and affectionate letters to her specially in great praise and commendation of the Duke of Norfolk...And also that they doubted not but the Queen of England would be persuaded to like well thereof'.

The Queen of Scots 'sent the Lord Boyd toward London with the answer to be given to the Council and nobility by him and me jointly, whereof the sum was that the Queen our mistress approved the offers made by me on her behalf'.

As to marriage 'she had been so vexed by her marriages in times past... yet nevertheless...she was content to use the advice of the Queen and nobility of England in her marriage, and specially in favour of the Duke of Norfolk... When my Lord Boyd arrived at London with these answers, he and I conferred divers times with the Queen of England upon the contents thereof, saving the purpose of the marriage, whereupon the nobility and Council did treat with us, whom we thought credible that they would never have done unless they had made the Queen their mistress privy thereto'. Boyd left with letters to the Queen of Scots and the Earl of Moray. John Wood (who was again in England) was also sent to Moray, but 'wrought clean contrariwise'. [Ross, 50-55].

*c. June: A pamphlet presented to the Queen by the Bishop of Ross.*

Bishop's *Memoirs*: Sampson, a preacher, wrote 'a short pamphlet...whereof they set forth divers copies in the city of London, tending to the dishonour of the Queen my mistress, and the defeating of her title to the succession of the Crown of England...As soon as one of the copies thereof was brought to my hands I presented the same, by the advice of the nobility, to the Queen of England, desiring that the authors thereof might be tried and punished', and that a response might be written by a lawyer. I 'received a very favourable answer and was permitted to respond. [Ross, 65-66].

The 'pamphlet' was 'A discourse touching the pretended Match between the Duke of Norfolk and the Queen of Scots'. The *Discourse* was anonymous. The Bishop attributes it to Thomas Sampson, but it was published in 1570 as by Thomas Norton, lawyer. [Reprinted in Read, *Walsingham*, i.68-74, mis-attributed to Francis Walsingham].

July 1, Duke of Norfolk wrote to Regent Moray (half-brother of the Queen of Scots) a letter in cipher, saying that he was secretly resolved to proceed with marriage to 'the Queen of Scotland, your sister'. It came to Sir William Cecil's hands and was deciphered. Regent Moray had changed his mind about supporting a marriage between the Duke and Mary, and ensured that Queen Elizabeth learnt of the Duke's letter, which was read at his Trial in 1572.

The Bishop of Ross later testified that Mary sent the Duke a ring as a token, and 'a cushion wrought with the Scots Queen's own Arms' and a motto *Virescit vulnere virtus* [Virtue grows strong by wounding] 'and a hand with a knife cutting down the vines...all which work was made by the Scots Queen's own hand'. [Murdin, 50].

July 3, Greenwich, Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, in France:  
 'Of late, about the 15th of June, a Rebellion began in the west part of Ireland about Cork, wherein we care not for the force of the inhabitants, so they be not aided with some Spaniards or Portugals, wherein we are not void of suspicion; and therefore we do presently send certain Captains with a force by sea from Bristol to Cork, meaning to provide for the worst, as reason is'. [Cabala, 164].  
 [Sequel: August 3, Cecil's letter].

July 5, La Mothe to Catherine de Medici:  
 'Cardinal de Châtillon has not seen the Queen nor been to court for some two months. I hear that the Vidame de Chartres has been ordered to come further inland and not to stay near the coast, the Queen it seems not having a good opinion of him, and not saying that he ought to come to court'.  
 'Some new deputies have freshly arrived from Germany'. [ii.78].

July 5: *Spanish Ambassador*, who had been under house arrest for six months, moved from Paget House, Strand, to Winchester House, Southwark.

De Spes to Alva, June 1: 'I shall now have to move my house as the Earl of Leicester has bought this one from Paget's heirs'. [Paget died December 1568].

To Philip II, June 22: 'They are going to give me the Bishop of Winchester's house in exchange for the one I now occupy. I am to pay for it, but the Bishop raised some difficulties...The Council now order it, and I am told that I shall be liberated when I go thither'. July 5: 'I have moved today into Winchester House, and...George Speke has accompanied me hither. He is one of the gentlemen who have guarded me...After he had dined with me, he with his wife and family and others went home and left me at liberty'. [Span.ii.156,169,172-3].

The Earl of Leicester renamed Paget House Leicester House.

July 7,Thur Guido Cavalcanti, a Florentine often employed by the Queen on confidential missions, presented proposals for re-establishing commercial relations between England and the Low Countries. [KL.v.425].

July 7, London, De Spes to Philip II: 'In one of the ships from Rochelle there has arrived a servant of the Duchess of Vendôme [the Queen of Navarre], who brings many jewels'. [Span.ii.173].

July 9, Catherine de Medici to La Mothe, assuring him that neither the Cardinal's brother D'Andelot nor the Duke of Deux-Ponts were poisoned.

Sir William Cecil had definite news that an Italian poisoned D'Andelot.  
 [vii.29; Cabala, 163].

July 10,Sun via Eltham, Kent.  
 Eltham Palace and Parks: Crown property. Keeper: Christopher Hatton.  
 'Lost from the Queen's Majesty's back the 10th day of July one aglet of gold with a small ruby in it. At Eltham'. [Lost, 89].  
 During 1569 Eltham churchwardens 'paid for drink when the Queen came through the town for the ringers, 6d'.

July 15, Greenwich: The Queen lost 'one pearl and a tassel of gold... off the French gown of black satin'. [Lost, 90].

July 18,Mon Vidame de Chartres at Greenwich to meet the Queen.  
 The Vidame lived at Ely House, Holborn, 1569-1570.

July 19, London, La Mothe to Catherine de Medici: 'The Vidame de Chartres, coming further inland, as the Queen had ordered him, has at last come to lodge in the suburbs of this town, and last Sunday supped with the Lords of the Council in the Duke of Norfolk's house. Yesterday he was to kiss the Queen's hands at Greenwich. I do not know yet if he will put forward any plans to her'.

'Cardinal de Châtillon has not seen her since the beginning of May; possibly he will come to see her at Richmond, which is not far from Sheen, where he is living; to which place she is going next Thursday to stay for five or six days and then she will begin her progress, which they still say will undoubtedly be to the Isle of Wight'.

July 19, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'In accordance with some proposal which Councillor Cavaignes made to the principal Lords of this Council, it seems that the Queen of Navarre has sent over her rings to borrow money on them; one need not doubt that she will get a good amount'. [ii.94,96].

July 21, Thur dinner, Lambeth Palace, Surrey; Archbishop of Canterbury. Matthew Parker (1504-1575), Archbishop from 1559-1575; wife: Margaret (Harlston) (1519-1570).

Lambeth Church: 'For ringing when the Queen's Majesty dined at my Lord's Grace of Canterbury, 2s'. Cardinal de Châtillon, the Vidame of Chartres, and the French Ambassador, were at Lambeth.

July 21, Thur **RICHMOND PALACE**, Surrey.<sup>c</sup>

St Margaret Westminster: 'To the ringers when the Queen's Majesty came from Greenwich to Lambeth and from thence to Richmond, 6d'.

Court news. July 22, London, De Spes to Philip II:

'The Queen dined yesterday at Lambeth, Cardinal Châtillon being present'... 'The French Ambassador received an affront from the Queen at Lambeth yesterday. He had been given an appointment with her, and was awaiting her in the Presence Chamber, Cardinal Châtillon and the Vidame in the meanwhile going in and out of the Queen's private room, when she sent out to tell the Ambassador that she was busy and that the audience would be postponed to another day'. [Span.ii.179-180].

c.July 22/27: Duke of Norfolk's Confession (1571), of events when the court was at Richmond (which was only for this week during 1569).

One day I went to Richmond, and Leicester sent to tell me 'that he was hard by to see a fishing draught in the Thames'. 'My Lord and I rode to the court talking together...He told me that he had some talk with the Queen's Majesty', and said "I find there is some babbling women that have made her Highness believe that you and we should seem to enterprise to go through without making her Majesty privy, and that the matter was already concluded; but now I have satisfied her Majesty that those tales were false and untrue".

[On a later occasion the Duke met the Queen out walking].

'She called me and began merely enquiring what news was abroad. I told her Highness that I heard of none. "No", said her Majesty "you come from London and can tell no news, no news of a marriage". And therewithal came my Lady Clinton with flowers...When her Majesty went I withdrew myself into a by-alley before my Lord of Leicester's chamber'.

When 'my Lord of Leicester came home, who was gone that morning to hunt a stag about Kingston, I told him what had passed'. He said I should not 'talk of that matter with her Majesty in any open place', but 'he would so deal as I should have a more opportune time and place'. Sir William Cecil 'wished that I might deal with her Highness myself'. [Scot.iv.35-37].

July 24, Sun Bishop of London, Edmund Grindal, at Richmond with the Queen. Concerning the Savoy Hospital for poor people, Strand, and its master, Thurland.

[July 25], Bishop of London to Sir William Cecil, from Barnet [Herts], on 'Monday morning, being 24 [25] of July': 'I moved her Majesty yesterday for the Savoy...I declared to her Highness that the Master of the Savoy had converted great sums of money to his own private use, which ought to have gone to the relief of the poor. I prayed her Majesty that we might proceed to the removing of the Master...Her Majesty was desirous to be informed more particularly in the matter, and then I should understand further of her pleasure'.

[Grindal, *Remains*, 302]. A commission investigated numerous charges against Thomas Thurland; he would not resign, was deprived in July 1570, died in 1574.

Court news. July 25, De Spes to Philip II: 'This Queen sees that all the people in the country are turning their eyes to the Queen of Scotland...She has sent Captain Drury to Scotland in all haste to urge James [Regent Moray] to send his commissioners here as promised, and to say that if their coming is delayed she will send the Queen of Scotland thither with armed force; swearing that she will not have her here any longer or she will raise the country against her'

'She said yesterday publicly that she would marry at once, either Leicester or the Archduke Charles, although I feel quite sure she will do neither'.

'Cardinal Châtillon was in conference with her and Leicester for over three hours'.

[Span.ii.180].

c.July 26: Queen of Navarre's jewels brought to Richmond.

La Mothe to Charles IX, Aug 5: 'Whilst the Queen stayed at Richmond, Cardinal de Châtillon, the Vidame de Chartres, Seigneur Du Doict and Seigneur Dolovyn, Agent of the Prince of Orange, were often with her'...

'During this stay the Cardinal took the Lords of the Council to make good cheer in his lodging at Sheen, and one day last week he and the other deputies from La Rochelle brought to show to the Queen the rings of the Queen of Navarre, which she was curious to see, and several goldsmiths were called to appraise them, who from what I hear estimate their value at £60,000, that is 200,000 crowns. I am told that the Queen has excused herself for not lending anything on them, but they have gone to merchants to find the money; it seems that Sir Thomas Gresham, the principal merchant in London, who is also the Queen's Agent, has undertaken to raise £30,000 on them'.

[ii.140-141].

Court news. July 27, London, La Mothe to Charles IX:

'What the Seigneurs Du Doict and Saint-Simon, being sent a second time from La Rochelle to the Queen, have principally negotiated with her and the Lords of the Council is to find 200,000 crowns here by borrowing on the Queen of Navarre's rings...Although this Queen and these lords have advanced nothing themselves, it seems that nevertheless they have allowed them to pledge the rings to others in this kingdom for £25,000 or £30,000, which is 100,000 crowns, and someone is secretly searching the best London markets to furnish it, offering high interest rates. I shall give as much hindrance as I can'...

'Saint-Simon has already returned with some reply, but Du Doict has stayed to await the money'. Du Doict replaced Cavaignes as Agent from La Rochelle. [ii.98-99].

July 27, Charles IX to La Mothe: 'I am informed that the Queen of Scots is well forward with her proposed marriage to the Duke of Norfolk...which I desire much more than a marriage with the Bastard of Spain...I pray you, dexterously, as if of yourself, and without making known that I have written to you about it, to do everything possible to bring about this marriage'.

[vii.35].

The Duke of Alva had proposed that Mary should marry Don John of Austria, King Philip II's half-brother, here described as the Bastard of Spain.

July 28, Thur via Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey.  
 Kingston Church: 'For ringers at the Queen's coming from Richmond, 21d'.  
 'Lost the 28th of July between Richmond and Oatlands one small diamond  
 out of an aglet, the Queen's Majesty wearing the same aglets'. [Lost, 92].

July 28, Thur **OATLANDS PALACE**, Weybridge, Surrey.<sup>c</sup>  
 Works carried out repairs on the Manor of Oatlands, and on 'the barns and  
 stables at Chertsey'.

Court news. Aug 1, London, La Mothe to Catherine de Medici:

'I went to take leave of the Queen when she left Greenwich [July 21] and  
 begged her to permit me to go to find her on her progress if there should be  
 occasion to negotiate anything of importance with her. She readily agreed,  
 and said that I will be welcome wherever she is, although they tell me that  
 she is not in the habit of dealing with business on her progresses, and that  
 she does not willingly give audience to ambassadors outside Windsor, because  
 most of her Council are not then with her'.

'It is expected that at the end of this month she will be at Southampton,  
 and will then go over to the Isle of Wight, and that her progress will last  
 about two months; although I have just been told, an hour ago, that there is  
 talk of her breaking off the progress'. [ii.135].

Aug 1, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'There was, these past days, some appearance  
 of an uprising in Suffolk and Norfolk, I do not yet know the cause. As many as  
 17 principals have been taken, but the officials have been so diligent that they  
 soon put a stop to it'. [ii.137]. (See August 13, Cecil's letter).

Aug 3, Oatlands, Queen's acknowledgement: Having given the Cardinal £20,000  
 for the use of the Queen and Prince of Navarre, and received from him certain  
 jewels in pledge, we promise to restore the same upon repayment. [SPF.ix.107].

Aug 3, Oatlands, Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, in France:

'You shall perchance hear of some troubles in Ireland...Fitzmaurice of Desmond,  
 one that pretendeth title to the Earldom of Desmond, hath traitorously conspired  
 with divers rebels in the south-west part...to withstand the authority of the  
 Queen's Majesty; and pretendeth to make a change of religion, being provoked  
 thereto by certain Friars that have offered to get him aid out of Spain and  
 Portugal, and upon comfort hereof hath with a rebellious number overrun divers  
 parts in the west...And besides this have procured the Earl of Ormond's younger  
 brethren to commit like riotous acts...But thanked be God, the brothers' powers  
 are dispersed, and they driven into desert places'.

Lord Deputy Sidney last month 'marched with his army against the other rebels,  
 who also fled from him. And so...with God's goodness there is great likelihood  
 of due avenge to be had of them all, and no small profit to grow to the Queen's  
 Majesty by the forfeitures and escheats of their lands, wherewith the better  
 subjects may be rewarded'.

'The French Ambassador hath been here this day'.  
 The Regent of Scotland 'meaneth to send, as I think, the Lord Lethington hither  
 with his mind concerning the Queen of Scots'. [Cabala, 166].

Court news. Aug 5, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'The beginning of an uprising,  
 which appeared in Suffolk and Norfolk, has troubled the whole court'...

'It seems to be increasing in Ireland, and the Earl of Ormond has been  
 dispatched there in post'. [ii.142].



Aug 9, Berwick, Lord Hunsdon to Sir William Cecil:

'I trust the common speech in Scotland and that daily comes from London and the court is untrue, which is that my Lord of Norfolk shall marry the Scottish Queen; and it is now the rather believed, because she hath sent into Scotland to be divorced from Bothwell; if it be true, I am sorry for it'. [SPF.ix.109].  
There was no decree of divorce, or of nullity.

Aug 9, Tues dinner, Woking, Surrey; Crown property.

Woking manor-house. Carpenters repaired 'the chamber where the Queen dined'.<sup>W</sup>  
**Start of SUMMER PROGRESS** in Surrey and Hampshire.

Aug 9, Sir William Cecil to Thomas Heneage: 'I received your letter at Oatlands, when we were expecting the Queen's Majesty to ride hither to Okyns'.  
'From Okyng as soon as I lighted from horseback'. [Finch, i.6; MS].

Aug 9, Tues **GUILDFORD**, Surrey.

Anthony Wingfield made ready 'Guildford Manor, and a standing for hunting'.<sup>T</sup>  
Guildford manor-house and Guildford Park: Crown property.

c. Aug 10: at Guildford: Duke of Norfolk with the Queen.

The Duke's Confession (1571): At Oatlands Leicester had told me to defer speaking of my marriage plans to the Queen 'till my Lady Lennox were gone, who went no further than that house. At her Highness's coming to Guildford... came word that the Lord of Lethington came not, upon the coming of whom the breaking of my cause was so long stayed. And then my Lord of Leicester told me that he would earnestly labour her Majesty to talk with me in the matter'.

'And I coming up one morning unawares into the Privy Chamber at Guildford, I found there one of Mr More's children playing upon a lute and singing, her Majesty sitting upon the threshold of the door, my Lord of Leicester kneeling by her Highness. I was going, but her Majesty commanded me to come by into the chamber. Not long after my Lord of Leicester rose and came to me, leaving her Highness hearing the child, and told me that as I was coming up he was dealing with her Majesty in my behalf...and that her Highness had promised to speak with me at Thornham at my Lord Arundel's'.

'Before her Majesty came to Thornham, her Highness commanded me to sit most unworthy at her Majesty's board, where in the end of dinner her Majesty gave me a nip, saying she would wish me to take good heed to my pillow'.

'I was abashed at her Majesty's speech, but I thought no fit time nor place there to trouble her Highness'.

'Mr More's children': William More, of Loseley, near Guildford, had three children: George More (aged 15) and his sisters Mrs Elizabeth Polsted and Anne More. 'Thornham', belonging to the Earl of Arundel, has not been identified.

Aug 11, Thur visit, Horsley, Surrey.

West Horsley manor-house; owned by Edward, 9th Lord Clinton (1512-1585).

The Queen 'lost the 11th of August at Horsley one pair of aglets of gold enamelled black, parcel of 83 pair'. [Lost, 93].

Aug 11, Paris, Sir Henry Norris to Sir William Cecil:

Robert Etienne, the King's Printer, who for his religion is forced to abandon his country, asks you to present to the Queen the fruit of his last labour, as a token of the service he owes to her as the chief patroness of the Gospel.

Etienne also sends a copy of the unnamed book to Cardinal de Châtillon.

[SPF.ix.110]. Robert Etienne had died in 1559; his son Henri Etienne carried on his business.

Aug 12, Fri **FARNHAM CASTLE**, Surrey; Bishop of Winchester.<sup>C.W</sup>  
 Dr Robert Horne (c.1514-1579), Bishop of Winchester 1561-1579;  
 wife: Margery, died 1576. Anthony Light made ready at Farnham; also:  
 'altering the same house three several times by her Highness's commandment'.<sup>T</sup>

Aug 13, Farnham, Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, in France:  
 'In Suffolk a lewd varlet, not disposed to get his living by labour, motioned a number of light persons to have made a rout in manner of rebellion, to have spoiled the richer sort; but the matter was discovered, and the offenders taken before they did attempt anything more than had passed by words; so as thereby they are punishable, but as conspirers by words, and not as actual rebels'...  
 'On Wednesday last came hither one Alexander Hume from the Regent with letters declaring that he had a universal obedience in Scotland, and that the States there would not consent to anything concerning the Queen of Scots' restitution...wherewith her Majesty is not well pleased, because she hath a disposition to have her out of the realm...which is a matter very hard, at least to me, to compass'.  
 [Cabala, 167].

Court news. Aug 13, De Spes to Philip II: 'A gentleman arrived at court from the Regent of Scotland bringing his master's answer, saying that on no account will he or the nobles enter into any discussion for reconciliation with the Queen of Scotland...The Bishop of Ross went to court today to learn the resolution that this Queen will take in the matter'.

The Queen, who was 'altogether unsatisfied' with the Regent, sent his messenger back to him.  
 [Span.ii.187; SPF].

Bishop of Ross's *Memoirs*: 'The Earl Murray sent Alexander Hume to the Queen of England and her Council, for Mr John Wood his accustomed messenger durst not return again...He made privately information to some ladies in the court and others of good credit about the Queen of England, to give her warning to beware with her estate, for that the Duke of Norfolk, by the advice and assistance of the principals of her nobility, went about by secret devices and practices to marry the Queen of Scotland, and thereby to possess both the Kingdom of England and Scotland presently'...

'This being reported to the Queen of England...she began to conceive a high jealousy [suspicion] against the Duke and principals of her nobility and Council, specially the Earls of Arundel, Pembroke, Leicester and others, and used some froward speeches in parables touching them divers times, before she did utter anything to themselves; which moved the noblemen to retire themselves from court, so that the Earl of Arundel went into Sussex, the Earl of Pembroke went to his house in Middlesex'.  
 [Ross, 71-72].

c.Aug 15/22: hunting, Kingsley, Hants; Mr Backhouse.  
 Anthony Light made ready a standing at Kingsley at Mr Backhouse's house.<sup>T</sup>  
 Marsh manor, Kingsley, owned by Nicholas Backhouse, London Alderman, of the Grocers' Company, died 1589; wife: Anne (Curson).

c.Aug 17: French Ambassador and Rouen Deputies at Farnham.  
 The Sieurs de Cavellier and De Vimont were in England from August-November.  
 La Mothe to Charles IX, Aug 22, London: 'I went to find the Queen on her progress at Farnham Castle, which is 35 miles from here, to present the two deputies from Rouen, whom she heard benignly; and as they came by your commission she permitted them to kiss her hand'. The Deputies came to discuss restitution of captured French property. La Mothe includes the Council's Latin declaration on the subject, Aug 17, at Farnham. [ii.165,223].

Aug 20 [Farnham], Queen to Regent Moray, complaining of his pursuit by force of the Queen of Scots' friends. Taken by Thomas Fleming, a servant of the Queen of Scots. [SPF.ix.114].

[Aug 23,Tues] via Crondall, Hants. Crondall churchwardens paid: 'For drink for the bell ringers when the Queen's Majesty came through our parish, 5d'.

Aug 23,Tues dinner and hunting, Odiham, Hants.  
Odiham manor-house; Crown property. 'Odiham, for dinner'.<sup>W</sup>  
Anthony Light made ready at Odiham, and a standing.<sup>T</sup>

Aug 23,Tues **BASING**, Hants; Marquis of Winchester.<sup>C</sup>  
Basing manor-house, Basing House; owned by William Paulet, 1st Marquis of Winchester (c.1483-1572), widower, Lord Treasurer.

George Tyrell made ready 'at Basing the Lord Treasurer's house and for a standing'.<sup>T</sup>

Duke of Norfolk's Confession (1571):

'Having some urgent business for three or four days, I went to London, and returned again to the court at Basing...finding her Highness looking out at the gate-house window, which was then appointed for my lodging, where, at my coming up, I had the last gracious countenance of her Majesty'.

27 August 1569-May 1570: **Russian Ambassador** in London and at court.  
*Andrea Saviena, one of Tsar Ivan IV's secretaries, with a company of about 60, came on The Harry with Thomas Randolph, special Ambassador to Russia 1568-69.*  
*On August 27 'Andrew Gregorevich Savin, ambassador from Muscovy, landed at the Tower Wharf, and was there received by the Lord Mayor of London, the Aldermen and Sheriffs in scarlet, with the Merchant Adventurers in coats of black velvet, all on horseback, who conveyed him riding through the city to the Muscovy house in Seething Lane there to be lodged'. [Stow, Annals]. Audience: c.Sept 25.*

Court news. Aug 27, London, De Spes to Philip II: Ships have arrived from Muscovy with 'whale-oil, wax and skins...Randolph, this Queen's Ambassador in Muscovy, has returned, and with him comes a Muscovite ambassador. They entered London today and were received with great discharges of artillery. I understand their business relates to merchandise and the duties thereon'...

'The Queen is at Basing, intending to go to the Isle of Wight, although it is believed for certain here that she will go direct to Windsor in consequence of the affairs of the Queen of Scotland'. [Span.ii.189].

Aug 28,Sun: Basing: Marquis of Winchester defrayed most of the Queen's Cofferer of the Household's payments, reducing the amount to £21.2s8d.

Aug 29: the Cofferer paid £100.15s8d.<sup>C</sup>

\*Aug 30: knightings, Basing: William Kingsmill; Henry Wallop.<sup>M</sup> [Of Hants].

Aug 30,Tues **ABBOTSTONE**, Itchen Stoke, Hants; Lord St John.<sup>C,T</sup>  
'Aberston'.<sup>W</sup> Abbotstone manor-house, Itchen Stoke parish; owned by William Paulet, 1st Marquis of Winchester; occupied by his son John Paulet, Lord St John (c.1510-1576), later 2nd Marquis of Winchester.

3rd wife: Winifred (Brydges), daughter of Sir John Brydges, draper, Lord Mayor of London 1520-1521; widow of Sir Richard Sackville, and mother of Thomas Sackville, 1st Lord Buckhurst; she died in 1586.

Aug 31, Wed dinner, Soberton, Hants; Lady Lawrence.<sup>T,W</sup>  
 Soberton manor-house; occupied by Lady Lawrence: Anne (Wriothlesley),  
 sister of Thomas Wriothlesley 1st Earl of Southampton, and widow of:  
 (1) Thomas Knight of Soberton; (2) Sir Oliver Lawrence. She died in 1610.  
 Edmund Clerke to Richard Oseley, 21 January [1570], from Micheldever [Hants],  
 of 'The right worshipful lady, the Lady Lawrence of this county, widow, a woman  
 right godly and a great housekeeper to the uttermost of her living, at whose  
 house the Queen was at this last summer' . [SP15/17/39].

Aug 31, Wed **TITCHFIELD**, Hants; Lady Southampton.<sup>C,W</sup>  
 Titchfield manor-house; owned by Henry Wriothlesley, 2nd Earl of Southampton  
 (1545-1581). Lady Southampton, his mother: Jane (Cheney), Dowager Countess  
 of Southampton, widow of Thomas 1st Earl of Southampton (died 1550); she died  
 1574. Titchfield Church has a monument to her, her husband and their son Henry.  
 Anthony Wingfield made ready 'at Titchfield and two standings in the park'.<sup>T</sup>

Court news. Sept 1, London, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'The Queen has granted  
 me audience one day next week, towards Southampton, 60 miles from here'...  
 'A fleet well laden with merchandise from the cold countries has returned...  
 and with it arrived an ambassador from the Duke of Muscovy'...  
 'He is well accompanied, and because all his men wear *paternosters* at their  
 belts this makes them to be very badly thought of by those of the new religion,  
 who consider them to be Catholics'.

Sept 1, La Mothe's secret letter to Catherine de Medici:  
 'I no sooner understood your desire concerning the proposal between the Queen  
 of Scots and the Duke of Norfolk than I at once took pains to advance it by all  
 the means I could, and have conducted the matter so well that he in person,  
 and she by the Bishop of Ross, have declared to me to have, under hope of her  
 restitution to the Crown and his promise that he will restore her, a mutual  
 consent for marriage between them'. PS: 'I very humbly beg you to burn this'.

Sept 1, La Mothe's Mémoire: 'As to the uprising in Suffolk and Norfolk, it  
 appears that those who rose up were of the new religion, and nearly all workers  
 in wool, who had mutinied because no one employed them in their customary work  
 during this suspension of trade with the Low Countries, and they had no other  
 means of livelihood...The uprising in Ireland appears to be the largest ever  
 seen in that country'. [ii.190-201].

Court news. Sept 5, London, La Mothe to Charles IX: On Sept 2nd 'I considered  
 leaving to go and find the Queen...but I was advised that when she left Basing  
 she deviated from her intended route to go and see several remote little places,  
 and I was told that I would do much better to wait until she had arrived at  
 Southampton; and therefore I have waited until this afternoon before leaving,  
 so as to get there at the same time as she does'. To Catherine de Medici: 'I  
 hope to find the Queen in three days' time at Southampton, 60 miles from here'.  
 La Mothe lists and gives goldsmiths' valuations of jewels from the Queen of  
 Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and others, including agate vases. [ii.218-222].

Sept 5, in London: death. Dr Edmund Bonner (c.1500-1569), a former Bishop  
 of London, a notorious persecutor of Protestants during Queen Mary's reign,  
 died in the Marshalsea, where he had been imprisoned since 1560.

Bonner was buried at night in St George's Churchyard, Southwark, Sept 8.  
 Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London, to Sir William Cecil, Sept 9, Fulham,  
 explaining why, to avoid disturbances, the burial was private and at night.  
 PS. 'My grapes this year are not yet ripe; about the end of the next week  
 I hope to send some to the Queen's Majesty'. [Grindal, Remains, 307-9].

Sept 6, Tues Duke of Norfolk at Titchfield with the Queen.  
On this day, with the Queen at his bedside, the Earl of Leicester, who was sick, revealed to her the details of the Duke's marriage plans, craving pardon for his own part in them.

Duke of Norfolk's Confession (read at his Trial, 1572):  
'Being at Titchfield, the Queen's Majesty called him to her Gallery, asking of him, Whether he had dealt any wise for the marriage of the Queen of Scots, as it was reported?...He declared that he had received letters from her; that the matter had been moved and written unto her; but he had not made any conclusion in that matter with her. Whereupon her Majesty, showing herself to mislike thereof, commanded and charged him that he should not deal any further therein'.  
He was charged 'upon his allegiance'. [State Trials, i.989].

Duke of Norfolk's earlier Confession (1571): 'Her Highness did charge me on my allegiance to deal no further in the Scottish cause. After which time everybody began to be afraid to keep me company, insomuch as where before the lords' board was ever replenished as full of gentlemen as could sit at it, now if I could get three or four to dine with me it was all. Besides her Majesty's sharp speeches and grievous looks did so kill my heart as I could not tell what to do, and when I came to my Lord of Leicester thinking to find some comfort there, I found him very cold; whereupon I determined to withdraw myself'.

By September 7: At Southampton: preparations by Aldermen's wives.  
Order by Mayor and Aldermen, Aug 4: 'Memorandum that where time out of mind it hath been an ancient order and use that every Alderman's wife within the town of Southampton should and ought to have and wear a gown of scarlet at certain days and times accustomed, which ancient use and laudable order of late by some of them hath been and is broken. For reformation and continuance of the same use and order, it is ordered and commanded by common consent to all the Aldermen of the same town that they and every of them cause to be made and provided for their said wives scarlet gowns...and that every of them have their said gowns in a readiness to be worn now against the Queen's Majesty's coming, upon... pain of £10 for every of them wanting [lacking] the same gowns. And it is also further ordered that every Alderman's wife within the said town shall wear a French hood with their scarlet gowns'. [A.L.Merson, ed. Third Book of Remembrancia of Southampton (Southampton, 1955), ii.105].

Sept 7, Wed **SOUTHAMPTON**, Hants.<sup>c</sup>

\*At the Friary; a former Franciscan friary recently purchased from the Earl of Pembroke by John Caplin; merchant, son of a Mayor of Southampton; owner of three houses in the town; died c.1570; wife: Margery.

St Lawrence's churchwardens paid: 'For ringing of the bells when the Queen was here at her coming and going, 2s6d'.

Sept 8, Southampton, Sir William Cecil to Nicholas White, in Ireland:  
'You may hear plentifully of a marriage intended with the Queen of Scots here with us...but...I can assure you the Queen's Majesty at this present so misliketh it, as I know nobody dare deal therein. And the principal party with us here doth cease'. PS. 'My Lord of Leicester is nearly recovered of an ague which held him twelve days'. [Wright, i.323-4].

From Southampton the Duke of Norfolk left court for his London house, the Charterhouse, and left there later in September for Kenninghall, Norfolk.

Bishop of Ross's Memoirs: 'The Queen used certain sharp speeches to the Duke himself, which moved him to depart, leaving the Queen at Southampton, and at his coming to London he had certain advertisements sent after him from court of evil will borne against him, and of many threatenings spoken by the Queen to put him in prison, which moved him to retire into his country of Norfolk'. [Ross, 72-3].

Sept 8/11: at Southampton: Muster of soldiers from the Isle of Wight.  
Viewed by the Queen from Mr Caplin's garden. Anthony Light made ready  
'at Southampton and a standing there to see the muster'.<sup>T</sup> Carpenters made a  
'standing in Mr Caplin's garden for the Queen's Majesty to see the muster'.<sup>W</sup>

Sept 8/11: French Ambassador at Southampton for audience. (See Sept 14).

Sept 8/12: visit, Calshot Castle, Hants; Crown property.  
Thirty-three watermen 'for serving the Queen's Majesty's train with six great  
boats from Southampton to Calshot Castle and returning again to Southampton'.<sup>T</sup>

*September 13: The Queen left Southampton.*

*Southampton expenses for the Queen's visit included:  
'Paid at London for a purse for the Queen's Majesty 30s; for a button for the  
said purse, 1s; presented the Queen's Majesty in the said purse the 9th of  
September, £40; Clerk of the Market for a reward, £1; Serjeant of the Arms, £1;  
Footmen, £1; Trumpeters, £1; Musicians, £1; the Marshal for a Proclamation, 5s;  
for his fees, 10s; Clerk of the Market's crier, 2s; Drum and Flute of Ports-  
mouth, 10s; certain Lords' minstrels, 5s; Peter Glasier for his drum and flutes,  
5s; Queen's Majesty's Porters, 6s8d; 3 load of boughs fetched by the commandment  
of Sir Francis Knollys, 5s; for helping of the gunners, 2s6d; new making of the  
Butts, 9s'. [Mayor's Account, in R.C.Anderson, ed. Letters of the 15th and 16th  
centuries from the Archives of Southampton (Southampton, 1921), 84-85].*

c.Sept 13: visit, Melchet, Hants; Mr Audley.<sup>T</sup>  
Melchet Lodge, Melchet Park parish. The parish was largely within Melchet Park,  
a royal deer-park. Melchet Lodge was occupied by Richard Audley, Chief Ranger  
of Melchet Forest, who died in 1581; wife: Elizabeth.

Sept 13, Tues **MOTTISFONT**, Hants; Lord Sandys.<sup>C,W</sup>  
'Motson'.<sup>T</sup> Mottisfont Priory, later called Mottisfont Abbey.  
Owned by William 3rd Lord Sandys (c.1545-1623).

Court news. Sept 14, London, La Mothe's secret letter to Catherine de Medici:  
'There have been rough words between the Queen and the Duke of Norfolk...  
and I hear that she spoke very sharply to him that he was treating without  
her knowledge of marrying the Queen of Scots'. The Duke strongly denied it.

Sept 14, London, La Mothe to Charles IX:  
'I did not return until yesterday evening from Southampton, where I went to  
find the Queen, who arrived there three days later than she intended, because  
a sharp fever came upon the Earl of Leicester in a remote house of the Earl  
of Southampton, where he was compelled to stay, and the whole court for love  
of him; but at the end of three days he followed in a litter and at present  
is well'.  
As to the Queen of Navarre's rings, the Queen 'wished to assure me that she  
had lent nothing on the rings, nor did she think that anyone had pledged them in  
this kingdom; she believed that Monsieur de Lizy had taken them to Germany, and  
she herself had not even wanted to see them. It was true that she had heard from  
her own goldsmith, to whom they had been shown, that there was a beautiful agate  
vase which she would willingly have kept, but knowing where it came from she had  
not wished anyone to speak of it'. [ii.229-231,236].

Sept 14: Passport for Marquis Vitelli. The Duke of Alva had appointed Chapin Vitelli, Marquis of Cetona, to go on a special embassy to the Queen. On September 9 De Spes sent a servant in haste to Southampton for the Queen's passport for Vitelli, which he received and sent off to the Duke September 14. [Span.ii.191]. Vitelli's arrival: October 15.

Sept 16, Frankfurt, Cassiodorus Reimius to Sir William Cecil, in Latin: *After 11 years' labour I have finished translating the Bible into Spanish. Various obstacles were thrown in the way by Satan. I ask you to procure the Queen's favour for my work.* [SPF.ix.124].

*Cassiodorus de Reyna was formerly a preacher at a Spanish church in England, but was obliged to leave on suspicion of some crime. Dr John Sturm had written from Strasbourg to the Queen, Sept 6, asking her to favour him, so that 'if he may not come into England himself, his Bible may at least obtain a place'.*

*Sturm wrote to Cecil on September 8, saying: 'We only petition her Majesty to allow the work to be exposed for sale in your booksellers' shops, should any copies happen to be brought over'.* [Zurich, 325-7].

*The Spanish translation, La Biblia, was published at Basle, 1569.*

Sept 16, Fri **WHERWELL**, Hants; Sir Adrian Poynings.<sup>C,T</sup>

Wherwell manor-house; occupied by Sir Adrian Poynings (c.1515-1571), Captain of Portsmouth; illegitimate son of Sir Edward Poynings, Treasurer of the Household to Henry VIII; wife: Mary (West), kinswoman of William West, owner of Wherwell manor (who became in 1570 Lord De La Warr); she married (2) Sir Richard Rogers.

*There has been speculation that the Queen visited Hurstbourne Priors, near Wherwell and Steventon, because of a statement by Sir Nicholas Throckmorton that he spoke about the Queen of Scots' title to the English Crown with 'Mr Garrett, this progress time, at Sir Robert Oxenbridge's house in Hampshire'. However Throckmorton says that Garrett 'came then from the court'. [Haynes, 547-8]. Hurstbourne Priors Church has Oxenbridge's monument, with wife and 14 children.*

Sept 18: News of proposed stay at Hampton Court, Middlesex.

Richard Todd, Keeper of the Standing Wardrobe and Privy Lodgings at Hampton Court, with 8 yeomen and grooms, made ready at Hampton Court, 10 days. £8.3s4d.<sup>T</sup>

Sept 18, London, Antonio de Guaras to Duke of Alva: 'The court is coming to Hampton Court in ten days from Southampton, where it has been lately, but will not come to London where the plague is raging, and Hampton Court, whither it is to go is, as you know, isolated. Everybody here is talking of the persons said to be sent by Your Excellency, and lodgings are being prepared for them by orders of the court'. [Span.ii.193]. Alva was sending Marquis Vitelli.

*Duke of Norfolk's Confession (1571): I was summoned to Hampton Court 'whither her Highness was then appointed to have come, although after her Majesty came to Windsor'. Earl of Leicester sent a warning 'that he feared I should be presently remitted to the Tower'. 'This sudden news' appalled and amazed the Duke, and he left London for his house at Kenninghall, Norfolk.*

Sept 19, Mon dinner, Steventon, Hants; Sir Richard Pexall.<sup>T</sup>

Steventon manor-house; owned by Sir Richard Pexall (or Pecksall), Master of the Buckhounds; with his 2nd wife Eleanor (Cotgrave). Sir Richard died in 1571; his monument with figures of him and his two wives, Lady Eleanor Paulet and Eleanor Cotgrave, is in Westminster Abbey (St Edmund's Chapel).

Lady Pexall married: (2) Sir John Savage; (3) Sir Robert Remington, whom the Queen visited at Beaurepaire in 1601; (4) Sir George Douglas. She died in 1618.

Sept 19, Mon **THE VYNE**, Sherborne St John, Hants.<sup>C</sup>  
Lady Sandys' house.<sup>W</sup> 'Lord Sandys house'.<sup>T</sup>

The Vyne; owned by William 3rd Lord Sandys (c.1545-1623; also of Mottisfont), grandson of Thomas 2nd Lord Sandys (died c.1560) and son of Henry Sandys (died c.1555) and his wife Elizabeth, who married twice more.

Lady Sandys, who was occupying The Vyne, was the 3rd Lord's grandmother, Elizabeth (Manners), widow of Thomas 2nd Lord Sandys.

Court news. Sept 19, London, La Mothe to Charles IX:

'The Queen left Southampton...without going over to the Isle of Wight as she had considered doing, but some of the principal lords of her court did go over, and Captain Horsey, who is the Governor, came for a review before the Queen of around 2000 arquebusiers from the island...She is coming to Hampton Court on the 26th of this month, in order to be near this town'. [ii.238].

*Sept 20, Charles IX to La Mothe, in cipher, urging him to do all he can to forward the marriage of the Queen of Scots and the Duke of Norfolk, and to encourage the Catholic lords to re-establish the Catholic religion, and to foment divisions in England.* [vii.53].

*Sept 21-c.October 13: George Carey was special Ambassador to Scotland. Sept 21: Carey, eldest son of Henry Carey Lord Hunsdon, was 'sent in post to the Earl of Murray, to understand his doings in the marriage'.<sup>B</sup>*

*Also to discuss what Scottish noblemen should be hostages in England for the security of the Queen of Scots if she is returned to Scotland.*

Sept 22, 'at our manor of the Vine', the Queen wrote separately to the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Earl of Huntingdon (who was to go to assist him), over precautions to be taken to prevent the escape of the Queen of Scots, who had been moved further south, to Tutbury, Staffordshire, on Sept 21.

Sept 22, The Vine, Sir William Cecil to the Earl of Shrewsbury:

'The Queen's Majesty is entered into no small offence with the intention that she thinks hath been to devise of a marriage with the Scottish Queen. For my part, I was not made privy thereof but of late'...

'My only scope is to serve God and her Majesty'. [Lodge, i.482-5].

Sept 22, Thur **HARTLEY WINTNEY**, Hants; Lady Mason.<sup>C</sup>

Hartley Wintney manor-house; owned by Lady Mason. She was Elizabeth (Isley), widow of (1) Richard Hill, of Hartley Wintney, Sergeant of the Cellar to King Henry VIII; he died 1539; (2) Sir John Mason, Queen Elizabeth's Master of the Posts and Treasurer of the Chamber (died 1566); she died in 1594.

Sept 22: Henry Killigrew returned to court from his embassy to some of the German States; with an envoy from Landgrave Wilhelm IV of Hesse-Cassel.

Court news. Sept 23, London, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'The Queen is now making her way back by some remote houses, where she is not accustomed willingly to speak of any matters of business, because her Councillors are not with her. I am waiting to go to her when she has arrived at Hampton Court, which will be, so they say, where she will stay for two months'. [ii.243].

The Queen changed her plan to go to Hampton Court.

Sept 23, Fri dinner, Bagshot Lodge, Surrey.

'The Lodge in the Park at Bagshot'.<sup>W</sup>

George Tyrell made ready 'a dining house at Bagshot'.<sup>T</sup>

Bagshot Park and Lodge: Crown property.



Sept 23, Fri **WINDSOR CASTLE**, Berks.<sup>c</sup>

*Eton College payment, whilst the Queen was at Windsor: 'To Philip Wilde for making the two ways for the Queen's Majesty to pass through Brocas, 12d'. [Sept 1569-Sept 1570]. Brocas: Brocas meadow, bordering the River Thames.*

Sept 24, Kenninghall, Duke of Norfolk to the Queen: 'My enemies found such comfort of your Highness's heavy displeasure that they began to make of me a common table talk; my friends were afraid of my company...All the town reported...one while that I should be committed to my own house, another while to the Tower, which is too great a terror for a true man'. [Haynes, 528-9].

c.Sept 25?: Saviena, Russian Ambassador, at Windsor for first audience. Hugh Underhill, of the Wardrobe of Beds, with his man 'being sent from Windsor to the Tower of London to fetch certain wardrobe stuff thither against the coming thither of the Emperor of Russia's Ambassador'.<sup>T</sup>

Court news. Sept 27, London, La Mothe to Charles IX:

'One of my men whom I sent to the Queen...found her still 50 miles from here, considering not coming as near to London as Hampton Court, because of a suspicion of plague which appeared at the beginning of the autumn, and she is making her way to Windsor, where they say she will stay two or three months'...

'The Queen has sent a gentleman to the Queen of Scots without a letter but with charge to say to her in the presence of the Earl of Shrewsbury that she has been informed that she is making plans to marry the Duke of Norfolk, and that she should not have thought of doing it without her knowledge'...

'She [Mary] wrote a very courteous and sage letter and sent it in reply by the gentleman...The Bishop of Ross has gone to seek an audience with the Queen at Windsor, to remove from her mind those bad impressions which have caused her to double the guard of his Queen'. [ii.249-251].

Court news. Sept 27, De Spes to Philip II: 'The Duke of Norfolk, who was in London, having learnt that the Queen desired to have him arrested, suddenly departed for his country, and on the road sent a letter to the Queen...As soon as he arrived in his country men flocked to him, both horse and foot. The Queen is greatly alarmed about it, and has summoned to Windsor, where she is, all the members of the Council, sending Master Garrett, Captain of the Pensioners, with her reply to the Duke...They are meeting today to consider the situation'...

'The Bishop of Ross is at Windsor praying for audience, which has not been granted'. [Span.ii.196].

Sept 29, Thur 'Interrogatories' were put to Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and John Lord Lumley, who had been summoned to Windsor, as to their assent to a marriage between Norfolk and the Queen of Scots. Others interrogated by Councillors concerning this were Sir Nicholas Throckmorton and several of Norfolk's servants. [Haynes, 534-537].

Sept 30, De Spes to Philip II: 'When the Earls of Pembroke and Arundel and Lord Lumley arrived at Windsor, they were very warmly welcomed by the Queen, but when they got to their lodgings they were ordered not to leave them without the Queen's permission. This has caused great consternation in the country... The Duke of Norfolk would not receive the Captain of the Pensioners, who had been sent to him, but dispatched a servant of his to excuse himself to the Queen, saying that he was indisposed...The Queen...has again sent the same Captain and another gentleman...with orders not to lose sight of the Duke'...

'The Bishop of Ross had audience without the presence of a secretary, and he was told that the Council would give him an answer'. [Span.ii.197-8].

Bishop of Ross complained about keeping the Queen of Scots in the hands of the Earl of Huntingdon 'who doth pretend a title' to the Crown of England 'and might have benefit by her death...But I could have no resolute answer thereto; and was commanded to attend at court, as I did a whole month after'. [Ross, 78-79].

*Camden*, of the Duke of Norfolk: 'All the whole court hung in suspense and fear lest he should break forth into rebellion; and it was determined (so the report went) forthwith to put the Queen of Scots to death'. [Annals].

Sept 30, Lord Wentworth to Sir William Cecil: One Richard Cavendish 'hath reported, as I heard, that it is concluded by astronomy that the Scottish damsel shall be Queen, and the Duke the husband'. [Haynes, 538].

*September: Expenses for twice summoning the Duke of Norfolk to court. Edward FitzGarrett, Lieutenant of the Gentlemen Pensioners, 'riding post from the court at Windsor to the Duke of Norfolk being at Killinghall [Kenninghall] in Norfolk, with his 6 men and two guides, and for the hire of 9 post-horses to and fro, and also for the charges of the said Edward FitzGarrett and Mr Skipwith, one of the Equerries of the Stable, with their 11 men and two guides, and for the hire of 14 post-horses for being sent one other time to the said Duke at the same place and returning again to the court'.*

*'And lastly for the charges of a messenger and his guide with the hire of two post-horses being sent from Killinghall aforesaid to the court at Windsor about the Queen's Majesty's affairs and returning thither again', £40.<sup>T</sup>*

Oct 2, St Albans, Edward FitzGarrett to Sir William Cecil:

The Duke 'hath 34 or 40 with him, gentlemen and yeomen of his own servants... and I and my company be not past six or seven...I pray you let me understand her Majesty's will...before I come to Uxbridge...The Duke hath sent already to the court for the preparation of his lodging'.

Oct 2, Queen to Edward FitzGarrett: We had willed the Duke to come to Windsor, but 'we now have determined that he shall, before he come hither, resort to the house of Paul Wentworth at Burnham...You shall conduct him thither, and there remain with him'. Oct 3: Sir Henry Neville was instructed to take charge of the Duke at Burnham, where he arrived that day. [Haynes, 539-540].

Paul Wentworth (1534-1594), was Steward of Burnham manor, Bucks.

Oct 3 [Windsor], Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, in France:

'The Queen's Majesty hath willed my Lord of Arundel and my Lord of Pembroke to keep their lodgings here, for that they were privy of this marriage intended, and did not reveal it to her Majesty; but I think none of them so did with any evil meaning...My Lord Lumley also is restrained'.

'The Queen's Majesty hath also been grievously offended with my Lord Leicester, but considering he hath revealed all that, he saith, he knoweth of himself, her Majesty spareth her displeasure the more towards him'...

'Her Majesty saith she will know the truth, so as everyone shall see his own fault, and so stay'. [Cabala, 168].

Bishop of Ross's *Memoirs*: 'Certain of the Council' examined the Duke 'upon the purpose of the marriage intended...At the same time the Earl of Leicester, who had chiefly meddled in that cause of the marriage, was likewise examined by the Queen and Council. And because he did plainly utter the whole proceedings at the first accusation he was pardoned by the Queen. Also I was divers times examined by the Queen and Council upon the same matter, and brought face to face with my Lord of Leicester before the Queen and Council'. [Ross, 79-80].

Oct 3, Mon, Windsor. Proclamation (565):

Prohibiting Access to Court because of Plague.

'Forasmuch as it cannot be but dangerous to the Queen's most excellent Majesty and her court now residing in the castle of Windsor if any common resort should be suffered from or to the city of London or the suburbs of the same, where (by God's sufferance) many places are infected with the plague:

'Therefore her Majesty willeth and straitly commandeth that no manner of persons shall come from the said city or suburbs to Windsor or to the town of Eton, or shall cause to be brought any apparel, stuff, or wares from thence... neither that any person attendant or following her Majesty's court...or dwelling or any wise belonging to the towns of Windsor or Eton...shall repair by land or by water to London...with any intent to return from thence within one month... upon pain to be imprisoned without bail for...one month, or (if the quality of the party shall so require) to be also whipped and punished like a common vagabond'. Those who have of necessity to come to the court or to Windsor or Eton should obtain a warrant from one of the principal officers of the Queen's household, or from a Councillor. For 'the ceasing of the plague, Almighty God is to be with daily prayers called upon'.

Court news. Oct 3, La Mothe to Charles IX, concerning letters of Sept 27, taken by Jean de Boulogne, who went to Lord Cobham (at Cobham Hall, Kent) for a passport. Afterwards 'when he was going through a wood three miles from the house, some men on good horses, with their faces covered, but not so much that one could not be recognized, came charging at him with their swords, brought him down at the feet of their horses, demanded the letters for France, took them from him, tied him up to a tree and left him there. I have made great complaint to the Queen and her Council'...

'At present they are considering what to do about the Duke of Norfolk and the Queen of Scots'. [ii.256-7].

Oct 5, Wed Scottish envoy at Windsor with the Queen.

Robert Pitcairn. 'Abbot of Dunfermline came from the Earl of Murray', Oct 5.<sup>B</sup>

La Mothe's *mémoire*, Oct 8: 'The deputy from Scotland...was sent a passport for 12 horses. Because he comes on behalf of the Earl of Moray, and arrives when the Queen is angry and discontented, I very much fear that he will obtain more than he would have requested against the Queen of Scots'. [He left in late October].

La Mothe to Catherine de Medici, Dec 10: 'A plan to put the Queen of Scots into the hands of the Earl of Moray has been carried on so secretly...She, the Bishop of Ross and I are now very certainly informed that Mr Carey, Lord Hunsdon's eldest son, was last September dispatched post into Scotland to propose it to the Earl of Moray. In October the proposal was continued to the Abbot of Dunfermline when he came here. It is to consign the Queen to Moray, provided she is taken to the port of Hull to go by sea to Scotland, in order not to pass through the North'. He would send eight high-ranking hostages to England 'as security for the person and the life of the Queen of Scots...This is the thing that the Queen of Scots fears above all'. [ii.275,389-390].

Court news. Oct 7, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'The ports have been closed for seven days, and they sent a Trumpet to notify...Chapin Vitelli and the other deputies from Flanders, whom they believe to be already at Calais'...

'As for my letter to the Queen complaining bitterly of the theft of my packet, she replied to me by the Lord Chamberlain that she had immediately called her Councillors to swear that they knew nothing of it, who had all replied that they did not. She begged me to believe that it did not proceed from her or her Council, that she was extremely displeased and would send a commissioner to the place to enquire into it'. [ii.260].

Oct 7, Windsor, Leicester and Cecil to Francis Walsingham: Order has been given to arrest Roberto Ridolphi, who is to remain at your house. [SP12/59/3].

*Roberto Ridolphi, an Italian merchant long resident in London, was in Francis Walsingham's custody for a month. At this time Walsingham was living at the Papey, Aldgate, London, formerly a hospital for poor priests.*

*The 'Ridolphi Plot' in favour of the Queen of Scots was discovered in 1571.*

Oct 8, La Mothe's mémoire: The Queen 'has sent to all parts to warn her subjects, and has commanded her nearest kinsfolk, and those in whom she had most confidence, to come to her...Many in the North show themselves well affected towards the Queen of Scots, and it is thought that soon there will be people in the country on both sides, led by the Earl of Leicester on one side and the Duke on the other, although it is known that Leicester and Secretary Cecil had from the beginning given their word and their hand to the Duke in this cause, but since, having on their knees begged pardon of the Queen their mistress, have left it...The Duke returned last Monday against the advice of all his friends'.

'When Councillor Cavaignes left for La Rochelle, Lord Cobham was commissioned to lead him to Gillingham to see the good state of the Queen's ships, to show him they will be ready when needed'...

'Recently young Viscount Rohan has arrived from Germany, for some intrigue he has in hand'.

'There is rejoicing in this court for the alliance which Killigrew has concluded for the Queen with the Count Palatine, the Duke August of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, although he has been unable, so they say, to treat with the Emperor. He brought a gentleman from the Landgrave to come to ratify, who was favourably received by the Queen, and after receiving presents from her and the Earl of Leicester, and several blood-hounds for his master, he was dispatched and is ready to return'. [ii.271-274].

Court news. Oct 8, London, De Spes to Philip II:

'Arundel, Pembroke and Lumley were detained by the Queen at Windsor... They were judicially interrogated by Cecil and four other commissioners as to who had initiated the plan of marrying the Queen of Scotland to the Duke of Norfolk', who 'has abandoned for the present his attempts at revolt, and returned with a few horse, and the gentlemen who accompanied him...Nearly all his servants took leave of him...He has been interrogated like the others. The prisoners expect to be free shortly, and to take possession of the court'...

'The friends of the prisoners, who are the Earls of Northumberland, Westmorland, Cumberland, Derby, and many others, all Catholics...say that they will by armed force release the Queen and take possession of all the north country, restoring the Catholic religion in this country'...

'Certain German gentlemen have landed in Dover coming from the castle of Châtillon, and have gone today to the court'. [Span.ii.198-200].

Oct 9, Antwerp, newletter: 'Chapin Vitelli is departed hence toward England, who as some say of birth as noble as some born in East Cheap or St Nicholas Shambles, notwithstanding for his wisdom and virtues to be honoured'.

[KL.v.476].

Marquis Vitelli's arrival: October 15.

Oct 10, Windsor Castle, Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, in France: 'Howsoever any evil bruits shall come thither, at this present all the realm is, as yet, as at any time it hath been, and no doubt of the contrary, and yet the Duke of Norfolk is in custody, and so are the Earl of Arundel and Lord Lumley; but the Lord Steward [Earl of Pembroke] only keepeth his chamber in the court, and I trust shall shortly do well'. [Cabala, 168-9].

Oct 11, Tues: *Duke of Norfolk* taken to the Tower.

Edward Wyngate, Clerk of the Cheque of the Guard 'and 54 Yeomen attending on Sir Francis Knollys their Captain, conveyance of the Duke of Norfolk from Paul Wentworth's house in Bucks to the Tower, £18.10s. And to Sir Francis Knollys for charges of 28 of his servants attending upon him', 104s.

William Scarlet (Master of the Barges) and 34 of the Queen's watermen 'waiting and attending upon Mr Vice-Chamberlain [Knollys]...for the conveying of the Duke of Norfolk from Westminster to the Tower of London, and for the hire of five wherries for the carrying of the Guard and of Mr Vice-Chamberlain's men, and for money laid forth for rushes'. 60s.<sup>T</sup>

Oct 12, The Tower, Sir Henry Neville to Sir William Cecil:

The Duke is lodged in the Constable's lodging in the same chamber which was occupied by his grandfather. Myself and my men lie without. We have had to send to Sir Thomas Gresham's for beds. [Gresham House, Bishopsgate]. [HT.i.433].

Thomas Howard 3rd Duke of Norfolk was in the Tower from 1546-1553.

Oct 13, Windsor, Sir William Cecil to Earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon:

'It may be that you have or shall hear of a fond rumour stirred up the 6th of this month in the North Riding [of Yorkshire] and the Bishopric [of Durham] of a rising should be; but it was a vain smoke, without any spark of any account'.

At York the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland had denied rumours of intended 'ill doings'. [Sharp, *Memorials*, 5-6]. Northern Rising began on Nov 9.

Court news. Oct 13, London, La Mothe to Charles IX, about a stolen packet:

'To content me for the loss of my packet the Queen has ordered the officers at Rochester to make diligent enquiries and to punish those who were guilty... When the Spanish Ambassador's master of household was returning from Flanders with a packet from the Duke of Alva it was similarly taken from him on his way, and it seems they do not wish to return it any more than mine'.

'Last Thursday [October 6] I sent to ask for audience', partly to complain, but the Queen asked if I would have patience for five or six days, because she was a little unwell, and was so hindered by the affairs of the lords who were arrested that she could not hear anyone else until she had attended to that'...

'The Duke of Norfolk...was taken by water in the Queen's barge from Windsor to the Tower of London...The other lords are still under arrest at Windsor, and many others have been made prisoners...and it is said they have ordered the Catholic bishops everywhere to be made close prisoners...there being doubt of an uprising in the country'.

Oct 13, to Catherine de Medici: 'Several days ago the Countess of Montgomery crossed to the island of Jersey, where they have been ordered to receive her, and to permit her to go to England when she wishes'.

Young Viscount Rohan has left for La Rochelle. [ii.277-9,281].

Countess of Montgomery: wife of Gabriel de Lorges, Count Montgomery.

October 15-December 26: **Marquis Vitelli** in England.

Chiappino Vitelli, Marquis of Cetona, usually known in England as Marquis Vitelli (or Vitello); a renowned Florentine soldier, the Duke of Alva's Chief of Staff; notable for his great obesity.

The Marquis came to attempt to reach a settlement between England and Spain over the ships and money seized by the Queen and the Duke of Alva, winter 1568-1569, and over the question of restitution. With him were Jean Fonck, Provost de St Severin (as Councillor), and Jacques de la Torre (as Secretary, previously in England in 1564), whom De Spes calls 'Dr Junglo' and 'Secretary Torre'.

The Marquis's dispatches in French to the Duke of Alva and report on his mission are printed by Kervyn de Lettenhove, vol.v.

Given here in English versions. [KL].

Oct 15: The Marquis crossed to Dover, whence he wrote to the Duke of Alva: 'I was received at the shore by the Captain, Mayor, and other officers of the place with a great number of people, and congratulated on my coming in the name of the Queen, and all showed themselves very joyful at my arrival'. [KL.v.482].

Thomas Leighton esquire was 'sent in post by the commandment of the Queen's Majesty from Windsor to Dover in message unto the Marquis Vitello upon his arrival there for the conduction of him from thence', £14.8s.<sup>T</sup>

Oct 16, Vitelli to Alva: Yesterday Captain Leighton came to welcome me, on behalf of the Queen. She wished me to come to her with only six persons; I said I had only gentlemen and domestic servants with me. The Queen had not known that a Councillor and Secretary were with me; each could bring one servant. I offered to go to her with one page, and to send all the others over the sea. Leighton is taking me to Greenwich, two leagues from London, to find the Spanish Ambassador, who is away from London because of plague, as is the Queen, who is 12 miles from London. Some 40 of my attendants have been stopped at Dover, including my barber, cook, and three of my four pages.

*The Queen soon allowed a further eight attendants to join the Marquis, the rest later being permitted to leave Dover for Canterbury. He was conducted by Thomas Leighton to Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey, 15 miles from the court, arriving on October 19 at Kingston, where De Spes joined him. [KL.v.483-4].*

*They moved to Colnbrook, Bucks, on October 21. First audience: October 22.*

Oct 18, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'The Council appear to wish, now that the Duke of Norfolk is in the Tower, to proceed to put him on trial. It seems they have not found evidence to send the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke and Lord Lumley to the Tower; but they are kept under strict guard, Lumley in a house very near Windsor, the Earl of Arundel in Windsor College [in Castle precincts]. The Earl of Pembroke, as he is old and weak, is shut up in his lodgings'.

Seven Councillors are commissioners for this trial 'all tried and chosen Protestants...The Earl of Leicester...leaves the Council as soon as they touch on these lords' deeds'.

Oct 18, to Catherine de Medici: 'I need to speak to the Queen, who because there is still plague in London, from which I have not stirred, has asked me to spend a few days at Colnbrook, a place near Windsor, to take the air, and says that thereafter I can go to her'. [ii.284-5,287].

Oct 20, Sheen, Cardinal de Châtillon to Sir William Cecil: Dr Wolph, Councillor of the late Duke of Deux-Ponts, has just arrived from La Rochelle, commissioned by all the nobles there to kiss her Majesty's hands and to inform her of the state of their affairs. He asks when he may have audience. [SPF.ix.133].

Oct 21, Fri French Ambassador at Windsor for audience.  
La Mothe to Charles IX, Oct 24, London: 'After having been only two days in a village outside here, to take better air than that of the town, where plague is suspected, I went on October 21 to Windsor to the Queen, who received me most favourably...She made excuses that she had desired to see me, but could not do so because 'affairs' had arisen. She said, laughing, that she believed that the Spanish Ambassador and I had known for a long time which affairs those were. I replied that on the contrary I feared to be greatly at fault for having known too late'. I complained of the theft of my packet, and spoke of the treatment of the Queen of Scots, and the news that day of the Battle of Moncontour on October 3rd, another Huguenot defeat.

PS. 'Sieur d'Amour has arrived with your dispatch of Oct 7, having had to wait several days at Dieppe for a passage'. [ii.288-293]. Audience: Oct 29.

Oct 22, Sat Marquis Vitelli's first audience, Windsor.  
With the Duke of Alva's two other Commissioners, Severin and De la Torre; the Queen still declined to receive the resident Spanish Ambassador, Guerau de Spes.

Oct 23, Colnbrook, Vitelli to Alva: On arrival at Kingston we sent to ask for audience. We received word that the Queen would give us audience on Saturday and that 'to be nearer to her and better accommodated, we could come and lodge at Colnbrook, a village a Flanders league from the court at Windsor, she being very sorry that owing to the smallness of the lodgings at Windsor she could not lodge us there...We therefore all arrived here the day before yesterday'...

'At two o'clock yesterday afternoon Captain Leighton, accompanied by some of the principal gentlemen of the household, was sent to conduct us to the court, where we arrived at about four o'clock and were received on entering by Lord Hunsdon, Governor of Berwick, a cousin of the Queen. He led us to the Council Chamber to take off our boots and refresh ourselves a little, and he and many other gentlemen then took us to the Presence Chamber, where we found the Queen with the Earls of Leicester and Bedford...Secretary Cecil, and many other gentlemen and lords'.

The Queen read letters from King Philip and the Duke of Alva, then went on to complain that Alva had 'without provocation arrested in the Low Countries the persons and property of her subjects...After much more talk, showing how she had taken this to heart, she said she was determined not to do as we asked until all the world knew who had been the origin of these arrests and who was in the wrong ...After some altercation on both sides, seeing that the Queen was getting over her anger a little we ceased to reply, in order not to incense her again'.

'She brought the audience to a close by saying that she would send some deputies to us to learn what powers I had from his Majesty to negotiate for the restitution which I requested. And so we took our leave'.

PS. 'Someone has come to say that the Queen has designated a house in a park midway between here and the court to serve as the meeting-place, and that we should assemble there next Tuesday, but that before going there it would be necessary to show the deputies my powers to treat'. [KL.v.488].

Oct 24, Windsor, Queen to the Earl of Sussex (at York), to send for the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland and inform them that she wishes to confer with them, and that they are to come to court without delay. [SP15/14/100].

Court news. Oct 24, Antonio de Guaras, newsletter:

The Queen of Navarre's jewels 'were pledged for some 60,000 crowns, although they say they are worth 120,000'...

'Twenty German gentlemen have arrived here from the army in France, and went to court to offer their services. They went away without arranging anything, and people at court are now downcast'...

'The gentlemen who came over with the Marquis have been allowed to come to court'. [Span.ii.204-5].

Oct 26, Windsor Castle, Sir Walter Mildmay (Chancellor of the Exchequer), completed a long discourse: 'The question to be considered on is whether it be less perilous to the Queen's Majesty and the realm to retain the Queen of Scots in England, or to return her home into Scotland'.

Mildmay listed:

'Dangers in retaining the Queen of Scots';  
'Cautions if she be returned';  
'Dangers in returning her' [longest list];  
'Cautions if she be retained'. [Pepys, 166-170].

Oct 26, Wed Marquis Vitelli's second audience, Windsor.

Vitelli to the Duke of Alva, Oct 31, Colnbrook: 'Secretary de la Torre went on the 24th to Secretary Cecil...On his return he said he had found the Earls of Warwick and Leicester, accompanied by Lord Chamberlain Howard and Cecil, in the fields, coming from the park designated for our meeting'.

'I decided...to ask for another audience to insist courteously on having a response from the Queen to my demands'. I sent De la Torre back to Cecil, but 'as the Queen was out hunting, Cecil said he would speak to her on her return'.

On October 25th I was granted audience for next day.

I went to the Queen on October 26th, and briefly repeated what I had said at the first audience.

The Queen replied that she could decide on nothing until I had shown my powers to treat, as was the custom for ambassadors. She then deputed eight Councillors to inspect my credentials, who went with me to the Council Chamber.

Cecil found various faults in the letters of authorisation from King Philip and the Duke of Alva, and required to have copies of them. [KL.v.494].

*Oct 27: Those interrogated at Windsor concerning the Duke of Norfolk were Edward Clere, Thomas Kitson, and Michael Hare. [HT.i.439-440].*

*Edward Clere, of Norfolk, was a second cousin of the Queen and of the Duke. In November two Yeomen of the Chamber were paid £4.12s 'for attending upon Mr Kitson and Mr Hare at Windsor 23 days, being committed to their keeping by the Queen's Majesty's most honourable Privy Council'.<sup>T</sup>*

Court news. Oct 28, London, La Mothe to Charles IX, of Marquis Vitelli:

'Chapin was more favourably received at his arrival at this court than he was at his entrance to this Kingdom, the Queen having welcomed him very graciously, and admitted the principals of his company to kiss her hand'. [ii.297].

Oct 28, La Mothe's mémoire: To guard against an uprising 'the Council have dispatched letters from the Queen to the officers and people who are in charge in the provinces, especially towards the North. They are to provide that no assembly is made on whatever pretext, and to withdraw all sorts of arms, even arquebuses, from the people...to forbid everyone from speaking of the state of the government, or of the Queen or the Council, on pain of prison, and...to keep their eyes open to the actions of known Catholics'...

'The northern lords, whom they dared not summon, for fear they refused, all showed themselves well disposed to the Duke of Norfolk'...

'When one of the commissioners ventured to say to the Queen that according to the laws of the country they did not find him guilty of anything,

"Go", she said, "what the laws cannot do, my authority can do". She became so angry that she swooned, and someone ran for vinegar and other remedies to revive her. Next day the Duke was sent to the Tower'...

'All that the Council have against him are: a letter which he sent to the Earl of Moray touching the marriage, which the Earl sent to the Queen; a suspicion that he plotted with princes overseas; and his departure from court without leave'...

'Before he leaves the Tower they wish to constrain him to marry Lady Hoby, widow of the last English Ambassador to France, who is the sister of Secretary Cecil's wife'. [ii.299,301-4].



Oct 29, Sat French Ambassador and the Sieur d'Amour at Windsor for audience. Amour, one of the French King's *valets de chambre*, came to report on the Battle of Moncontour, a Huguenot defeat on October 3.

La Mothe to Charles IX, Nov 1: 'When I went to the Queen on Friday, the day she had assigned me audience...I found her very pressed with business, and she deferred me to Saturday at two o'clock, when she received us very favourably. She enquired of the Sieur d'Amour the details of the Battle of Moncontour'.

'She mentioned the coming of Chapin Vitelli...whom she had found frank and open, and a fit man for treating the business which they have to unravel together, in which she hopes the Duke of Alva's wrongdoing will be manifest; for she swore by God that she had never thought to keep the money of the King of Spain, her brother, who also had shown that he did not believe it, and had sent him to her courteously'...

'I saw the Lord Marquis and the Spanish Ambassador in passing at Colnbrook, where we met...These people have some suspicion of the Marquis, and fear that he may stir up some changes in the country whilst he is here'. [ii.308-310].

The Sieur d'Amour left for France on November 5.

Oct 30, Sun: Marquis Vitelli and Councillors at Ditton Park, Stoke Poges parish, Bucks. Works repaired 'her Majesty's house at her manor of Ditton'. Anthony Light made ready 'at the house within the park called Ditton near Windsor' for the meeting of the Privy Council 'and the Lord Marquis Chapino di Vitello and other Ambassadors from the King of Spain', October. Hugh Underhill, of the Wardrobe of Beds, gave attendance 'at Ditton upon certain of the...Privy Council sitting there about her Highness's affairs', October and November.<sup>T</sup>

On October 30 Vitelli and his colleagues were taken to Ditton to meet the Queen's deputies, accompanied by Dr Walter Haddon and an Admiralty Judge.

Oct 31, Vitelli to the Duke of Alva: 'On Saturday evening a Latin Secretary of the Queen came to tell me that next day at two o'clock the Queen's deputies, namely the Lord Keeper, the Marquis of Northampton and the Earl of Leicester, with Secretary Cecil, would be at the park designated for our meeting'.

Sir William Cecil asked repeatedly if I did not have fuller powers to treat, and I said repeatedly that I wished to have the Queen's reply to the demands for restitution of the seized ships and money. [KL.v.496].

Oct 31, Colnbrook, De Spes to Philip II: 'The Marquis met the Queen's representatives yesterday at a house near here, but they could come to no agreement, and refused to allow me to be present, saying that the Queen was not yet reconciled with me'. [Span.ii.205].

Nov 1, Catherine de Medici to La Mothe, in cipher, asking him to favour all he can the marriage of the Queen of Scots with the Duke of Norfolk, but so secretly that Queen Elizabeth and her ministers know nothing. [vii.71].

Nov 6, Sun Marquis Vitelli's third audience, Windsor.

Nov 7, Colnbrook, Vitelli to the Duke of Alva: 'I requested a third audience with the Queen...to hear her final resolution and intention, which was granted.. and so yesterday I went to her, and in a full chamber and in presence of many lords and ladies (as is the custom here), I repeated to her in brief...my charge, and remonstrated about what took place at the meeting held in the park'.

There was a long discussion on my supposed insufficient powers to treat; in conclusion the Queen said that within two or three days she would depute some of her Council, lawyers, to communicate with me about this.

'She also said that she well knew that we were very badly accommodated (as in truth we are, being lodged in a public hostelry, and as well as other inconveniences having to pay 9 to 10 gold crowns a day for a room), but that soon she would provide a lodging nearer her'. [KL.v.505-7].

Court news. Nov 8, London, De Spes to Philip II:

'I came from Colnbrook to my house...The Earl of Pembroke is allowed to remain in his house near here [Baynard's Castle], but only permitted to communicate with his servants. Arundel is in the College near Windsor under guard, and the rest of them are similarly disposed of'.

'The Queen has ordered the Earl of Northumberland and others from the north country to come to court. They however have no intention of doing so, as they are suspicious that they might be detained like the rest. They say they will release the Queen of Scotland and take possession of this country if your Majesty only will favour them'. [Span.ii.207-8].

Nov 8, York, Earl of Sussex to the Queen: I have this morning had replies from the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland to their summons to York. The first deferred his coming, the second refused to come. [SP15/15/14].

Also Nov 8: The Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland wrote to Pope Pius V, requesting him to excommunicate the Queen.

Their letter was received in Rome on 16 February 1570, long after the Northern Rising was defeated.

The Pope issued a Bull, 25 February 1570.

**November 9: Northern Rising began.**

The Rising or Rebellion of northern Catholics, which began in County Durham, was led by Thomas Percy, 7th Earl of Northumberland (1528-1572), and Charles Neville, 6th Earl of Westmorland (c.1542-1601).

Nov 10, Windsor, Queen's letter (before learning of the Rising), to the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland: 'Where our President of our Council in those North parts [Earl of Sussex] hath in our name and by our order willed you to make your repair hither to us, setting all delays apart, our will and pleasure is, and by these presents we do command you upon the duty of your allegiance, forthwith to make your speedy repair hither unto us without any delay or excuse whatever the same be'. [Haynes, 552].

To disobey an order 'on your allegiance' was treason.

*Nov 11, Fri: Vitelli's second meeting with the Council, Ditton Park. Simon Bowyer 'waiting and giving attendance upon the Queen's Majesty's Privy Council sitting in commission at Ditton in the park near Windsor about her Highness's affairs', November.<sup>T</sup> Vitelli to Alva, Nov 18, Colnbrook: 'On November 6 the Queen said she would depute some of her Council, Doctors of Law, to discuss the validity of my powers, so on November 8 I sent my secretary to the Earl of Leicester to say that I was ready to meet them at any time'.*

*Leicester sent word that the Doctors and other deputies would be in the park on November 11.*

*At Ditton, on one side there were Leicester, Lord Keeper Bacon, the Marquis of Northampton, Dr Walter Haddon, and an Admiralty Judge, and on the other side Vitelli and his colleagues. Dr Haddon asked if Vitelli had a more ample power than that which he had shown. A long discussion followed.*

*'On Sunday afternoon November 13 Dr Haddon and the Judge came to me in my inn, sent by the Queen to give me her final resolution touching the validity of my powers'. She found the powers insufficient to treat with all disputes both new and old.* [KL.v.513,515].

Court news. Nov 12, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'The Earl of Arundel and Lord Lumley are still under arrest, but with some freedom to go riding... The Earl of Pembroke, having with great show of discontent asked to be discharged as Lord Steward of England and not to be of the Council, was given leave to go to his house near London, but was not discharged of his offices'.

To Catherine de Medici: 'The Council have made a decree for restitution of prizes, and for free trade...Seigneurs Vimont and Cavellier, the deputies who were here from Rouen, having done their duty very well...are already on their way to have the decree executed at Calais and Rouen'. [ii.331-333].

Nov 13, at York: Proclamation by the Earl of Sussex, Lieutenant-General in the North. Against the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, who have 'conspired to levy war against her Majesty'. [SP15/15/21].

Nov 15, at Durham: Proclamation by Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, 'the Queen's true and faithful subjects, to all the same of the old and Catholic faith'. Their intention is 'the restoring of all ancient customs and liberties to God and this noble realm'. [SP15/25/29].

Nov 15, York, Earl of Sussex and the Council in the North to the Queen: 'The Earls do not intend to obey to your commandment, for their repair to your presence...They have been at Durham with their force in armour to persuade the people to take their parts, and some of their company have thrown down the communion table, and torn the Holy Bible in pieces, so as it appeareth directly they intend to make religion their ground'. The Council ask for instructions how to proceed, and for money and munitions. [SP15/15/24].

Nov 15, Sussex's private letter to the Queen: 'These simple Earls...assemble such force as they can get; and on the other side I have prepared to assemble force to suppress their force'. [He entreats her to send orders by November 21]. 'And what you shall command, that I will obey to the uttermost; and if it come to the fight, either God shall give you the victory, or if any men will stand with me, you shall find my carcass on the ground...for, besides my duty to your Majesty, I will for my conscience sake spend all my lives, if I had a thousand, against all the world that shall draw sword against our religion'. [SP15/15/25].

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

*Allhallows London Wall*: 'Paid to such persons as upon the 17th day of November last rang the bells, as triumph for the entering of the 12th year of the reign of our now most gracious Sovereign lady the Queen's most excellent Majesty, 8d'.

*St Botolph Aldersgate*: 'For the hire of ringers on the 17th of November for a joyful memorial of the Queen's Majesty's entry as on that day to reign over us, 20d'. *St Botolph Aldgate*: 'For a white brush and for ringing for the Queen's Coronation day, 12d'. *St Botolph Bishopsgate*: 'For bread and drink when we rang for the Queen's Majesty's entrance, 12d'.

*St Martin in the Fields*: 'Oliver Deeping sexton...ringing for the Queen, 12d'.

*St Mary Woolchurch Haw*: 'The 17th of November for ringing in remembrance of the Queen's Majesty, 12d'.

*Kingston-upon-Thames Church, Surrey*: 'Paid to the ringers the first day of the change of the Queen's reign, 2s8d'.

*Lambeth Church, Surrey*: 'For ringing the 17th day of November being the beginning of the Queen's Majesty's reign, 2s'.

*Salisbury, St Thomas*: 'To the seven men that rang the bells for the Queen's gracious reign into the 12th year, 4s8d'.

*Shrewsbury, Holy Cross*: 'The ringers for the Queen's Majesty's reign, 12d'.

*Wandsworth Church, Surrey: 'Given to the ringers that day that they rang for memory of the Queen's Majesty's Coronation, 8d'.*

*Warwick, St Nicholas: 'To the ringers for ringing of the entrance of her Grace's proceeding of her years, 12d'. Worcester, St Michael Bedwardine: 'For ringing at the day of the Queen's entry, 8d'.*

*Dr Thomas Wilson wrote congratulatory verses in Latin on the Queen's 12th anniversary, sent on November 13 to Sir William Cecil, with a letter in Latin in which he asks him to show these verses to the Queen, or to destroy them if he thinks them unworthy of her. [Ellis, Original Letters, 28-32. The letter and the verses remained with Cecil's papers. BL Lansdowne MS 12/15].*

Nov 17, Thur Marquis Vitelli's fourth audience, Windsor.

Nov 18, Colnbrook, Vitelli to the Duke of Alva:

'On Tuesday November 15 at dinner-time Captain Leighton came to tell me that her Majesty was ready to give me audience at two o'clock, and that he was charged to take me there'.

I received 'secret intelligence from court' that I should defer my audience, made the excuse that I could not get enough horses in time, and was appointed audience for November 17th.

'Yesterday at two o'clock my colleagues and I went to the Queen, and before going in I asked the Earls of Bedford and Leicester if I could have audience more privately than the previous times; but nevertheless it took place in the usual way in a roomful of people, before everybody, even servants who could easily hear'. I repeated what Dr Haddon and the Judge had said on November 13th, and asked to hear from the Queen herself whether she found my powers insufficient. There followed a long and at times heated discussion about my powers, the arrests of ships, and the grievances on each side.

'As I was taking leave of her, I asked for a passport to send a courier to your Excellency with her decision, as I intended to stop here awaiting your reply...She was content for me to stay, and said that in the meantime she would no longer treat me as a commissioner, but as Chapin Vitelli. She has still not had us accommodated in another lodging, as over a fortnight ago she said she wished to do'. On Nov 19 Vitelli sent the Duke of Alva further details of the audience, as that when the Queen spoke very loudly, Vitelli had raised his own voice, and obliged her to withdraw aside to speak to him. [KL.v.517-520,522].

Court news. Nov 18, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'The Queen feeling a little more moderate towards these prisoner lords, was to allow the Duke of Norfolk to move to the royal lodgings in the Tower, which are spacious and large, because he began to feel ill from the poor air in his lodging, which is narrow, and is the same place where his father was put when he was executed, and was to grant to Lady Lumley the freedom of the Earl of Arundel her father and Lord Lumley her husband, but at that moment a letter from the President of the North arrived, stating that he could with very great difficulty prevent the people there from rising...The Earl of Pembroke, who was going to withdraw to Wales, where his principal house is, was ordered to return to court'. [ii.336].

When Norfolk was eight his father Henry Howard Earl of Surrey (a poet) was executed in the Tower by King Henry VIII for high treason, 1547.

Nov 19, York: Proclamation by the Earl of Sussex, in the Queen's name, declaring the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland and six other named men 'to be rebels and disturbers of the peace'. [SP15/15/30].

Also on November 19 the Earls were at Tadcaster, Yorkshire, 54 miles from Tutbury, Staffordshire, where the Queen of Scots was. [Scot.iii.6].

Nov 20, Sun Queen issued Commissions for Lieutenants to put the counties and London in readiness to suppress 'any stir or rebellion'. [Haynes, 559-560].

Nov 20, London, De Spes to Philip II, as to 'this new rising in the North'. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland 'with 5000 men and 400 horses entered the city of Durham, where...in the cathedral they had mass performed with great ceremony, and now intend to go to York with a similar object'...

'Most of the Pensioners [Gentlemen Pensioners] left the palace tonight, and it is believed that they are going to join the revolted Catholics. The Duke of Norfolk is guarded closely. The Earl of Pembroke has given a thousand pounds to a favourite of the Queen, and left his two sons as hostages, and has therefore been set at liberty. He is now at his house on the road to Wales, but Arundel and Lumley are guarded as before'. [Span.ii.211-212].

Earl of Pembroke went to his house at Wilton, Wiltshire.

Nov 20, midnight, Doncaster, Lord Hunsdon (on his way to be Governor of Northumberland) to the Privy Council: The rebels' meaning 'is to take the Scottish Queen; therefore for God's sake let her not remain where she is, for their greatest force are horsemen'. [SP15/15/31].

Nov 21, Queen to Lieutenant of the Tower [Francis Jobson]:

You are permitted to remove the Duke of Norfolk to any other lodging in the Tower, near joining to the Long Gallery, so as it be none of our own lodgings.

Nov 22, Queen to Captain of the Isle of Wight [Edward Horsey]: You are to repair to us with all speed with 500 of your best arquebusiers. [HT.i.443-4].

Nov 22, Queen to the Earl of Shrewsbury: With the Earl of Huntingdon you are to remove the Queen of Scots from Tutbury to Coventry. [Scot.iii.8].

Nov 24, Thur, Windsor. Proclamation (567): Declaring the Rebellion of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland to be Treason.

Nov 24, Queen to Lord Admiral Clinton, appointing him and the Earl of Warwick Lieutenant-Generals of the forces against the rebels, to assemble at Leicester by December 5. [Haynes, 561].

*Nov 25: The Queen of Scots was brought by the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Earl of Huntingdon to Coventry, to the Black Bull Inn, Smithford Street.*

*Nov 25, Shrewsbury to Sir William Cecil, informing him of where they had been compelled to place Mary, for lack of other accommodation, promising to keep her secluded from every eye, and recommending Nottingham Castle as a fitter place for her safety. [Strickland (1888), Mary, ii.243].*

*The Earls wrote to inform Queen Elizabeth; her response: Nov 30.*

Nov 26, Sat At Windsor Castle the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland 'were proclaimed traitors' by a Herald 'by the sound of a trumpet'.

*Note: Earl of Leicester to Francis Walsingham, 10 October 1586, when the Earl was pressing for the execution of the Queen of Scots after her involvement in the Babington Plot: 'Remember how, upon a less cause, how effectually all the Council of England once dealt with her Majesty for justice to be done upon that person; for, being suspected and informed to be consenting with Northumberland and Westmorland in the rebellion, you know the Great Seal of England was sent then, and thought just and meet, upon the sudden, for her execution'.<sup>LEY</sup>*

c. Nov 26: Leonard Dacre at Windsor with the Queen.

Dacre, of Cumberland: the second son of William 3rd Lord Dacre of the North.

In February 1570 Leonard Dacre raised a new rebellion in the North, but was defeated and fled. (See 20 February 1570).

A Proclamation in March 1570 (No. 570) offering Pardon to Dacre's followers stated that the Queen was at the beginning of the Earls' rebellion 'contented... to admit him at Windsor to her presence; where, being privately with herself, he made offers of his service against the said Earls, being then proclaimed traitors'. 'He departed in all haste...and conspired with the rebels'.

Also Nov 26: The Queen gave Elizabeth Knollys and Frances Howard:

'One whole piece of blue satin raised with crimson work like chequer work.

Given to her Majesty by Vitello. Containing 28 yards'. [Lost, 100].

Nov 27: Marquis Vitelli was requested to leave England.

Vitelli to the Duke of Alva, Dec 6, Colnbrook: I was refused permission to go to London for a few days, and was informed 'that there was great discontent at court with me, because the Lieutenant of the Tower of London had sworn to the Queen...that I had raised an exceedingly large amount of money in London to aid the rebels in the North'. I declared that the Lieutenant had lied.

'This rumour ran through the whole court, and even the Queen was informed that I had secret intelligence with the rebels'. On November 27 Lord Cobham's brother was sent by the Council to ask me to withdraw from the kingdom.

'To show my innocence I offered to renounce my passport and privilege as an ambassador, and that her Majesty could cut off my head if she found that I was guilty...and I offered my person and life to defend her. I wished to hear the order from the mouth of the Queen or in writing, not from the Council'.

Henry Cobham came on November 29 to say the Queen was content for the Marquis to remain until the Duke of Alva's reply came. [KL.v.541-3].

*Nov 27, Sun, at St George's Chapel, Windsor: Earl of Northumberland was degraded from the Order of the Garter. The Queen had issued a special Proclamation that the Earl be degraded and that his arms, ensigns and hatchments 'be taken away and thrown down, and he be clean put from this Order'.*

*Herald's description: 'First Chester Herald of Arms, with the Queen's coat of arms on his back, came to the back side of the stalls of the same Earl, and with a ladder being set up against his hatchments ascended to the top of the ladder. Then Garter and Clarenceux, two Kings of Arms, Richmond, Rouge Dragon and Rouge Cross, Pursuivants of Arms, came out of the cloister, having the Queen's coats of arms on their backs, way being made by the Knight Marshal and his men, directly against the stall of the said Earl and, Chester being on the other side, came upon the ladder and strode by the hatchments. Then Rouge Cross made with a loud voice the Queen's proclamation of the Earl's degrading which was under her Majesty's hand; this being read over against the stalls'.*

*'Chester did hurl down with violence the Earl's banner of arms to the ground; then his sword, and after his crest and copper, and after his helm and mantle, and after being all thrown down, they were with like violence spurned from that place out of the window of the same Chapel of Windsor by the Garter King of Arms aforesaid; and after he had spurned, first the banner of arms, then the sword, then the helmet and mantle and last the crest and copper, which crest and copper was not only spurned out of the west door of the same Chapel, but clean out of the uttermost gates of the Chapel'. [Proclamation and description: SP12/59/40].*

*[Earl of Westmorland was not a Knight of the Garter].*

Nov 28, Coventry, Earl of Huntingdon to Sir William Cecil: *The Queen of Scots*  
 'lieth in an inn, where for me there is no lodging; her men also lie in the town  
 and go where they will, so as they may practise [plot] how they list. I have  
 sought to get another house, which I have obtained, but we cannot go thither  
 for lack of stuff, which I have also sought for amongst the citizens here,  
 which yet they have not answered. My companion [Shrewsbury] hath brought none,  
 nor will send for any till he knows whether he shall continue in the charge  
 [Keeper of the Queen], whereof he seemeth doubtful. I also make no provision,  
 for that I look not to stay here. It were very good that her Majesty's  
 determined pleasure were known, and the sooner the better, both in what place  
 this Queen shall remain, and who shall have the guard of her'.

Nov 29, as above: 'How unfit such a place is for her, you can consider'.  
 This Queen would 'fain come to Windsor to be a courtier'...

'You write that you would have her to be kept from sight and conference,  
 but must tell you that neither is done'. [Scot.iii.11-12].

Nov 30, Queen to Earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon, of the Queen of Scots:  
 'We greet you well. By your letters sent from you both jointly the 25th of  
 this month, we perceive that you brought the Scottish Queen to that our city  
 of Coventry the same 25th at night'...

'But this we find strange, that she should in that city be placed (as we hear  
 she is) in an Inn very inconveniently even for name's sake, and what might be  
 the cause we cannot guess, considering we ourselves know how commodious a house  
 that is there where we ourselves did lodge, commonly called the Friars, and if  
 any let had been why that should not have been meet, yet there are great plenty  
 of merchants' houses in that city, and surely until we may hear of some reason-  
 able cause why an Inn was chosen, we cannot be satisfied. And howsoever it be,  
 for avoiding of evil speech, we will that you better contrive of the matter, and  
 if she be lodged in an Inn our pleasure is that she be removed either to the  
 Friary or to some other convenient house, and that you should lodge in the same  
 house with her and not suffer her to be seen abroad on any pretence whatsoever'.

[SP53/4/77]. Reply: December 2. The Queen had stayed in 1566 at the White  
 Friars, the house of Stephen Hales.

Court news. Nov 30, La Mothe to Charles IX:

'Those who have risen in the North are pursuing their enterprise'...

'The Earl of Bedford has been dispatched to Wales to contain the country, where  
 they fear an uprising no less than in the North'.

'The Earl of Leicester has many times pleaded on his knees to the Queen to send  
 him as chief and general of this undertaking, but not only has she refused it to  
 him, but has very expressly ordered him not to stir, and as if he alone of the  
 principal nobles near her is capable of conducting these great matters, she has  
 committed them to him and has made him her Lieutenant-General and superintendent  
 of the whole Kingdom, since nearly all the other Councillors here are either too  
 old or are men of letters, and Secretary Cecil has fallen very ill'.

'But she has made Leicester's brother, the Earl of Warwick, General in the  
 field to command the army...He has gone to Warwickshire, on the route which the  
 Northerners are taking, to assemble forces promptly to resist them. The Lord  
 Admiral has also left to raise men in his district, Lincolnshire'...

'Many gentlemen and Pensioners of the court have been dispatched for each one  
 to raise a company, but many have also left without leave, whom they say are on  
 the other side. They are raising 4000 men in London, at the expense of the  
 inhabitants. Three hundred arquebusiers, old soldiers, from the Isle of Wight,  
 have arrived near the Queen's person'.

The Queen of Scots is to be escorted 'to Kenilworth, the Earl of Leicester's  
 house, or even to Windsor, from whence they say that the Queen of England, to  
 make room for her, is coming next week to Hampton Court'. [ii.366-369].

\*November: Privy Council to the Earl of Sussex: As the rebels seek to alter the established religion, and use the Mass and 'superstitious ceremonies', they direct him to order 'that daily there should be in several places convenient for the whole army public and common prayers used'. Also, 'some discreet preachers' are to use 'honest and godly exhortations to the people...to move them to serve God...and to be faithful and true to the Queen's Majesty their Sovereign Lady appointed by Almighty God to be their ruler; of whom much good may be truly spoken, through God's goodness, as of any Prince that ever reigned over them, for her clemency and mercy, and for her care and love towards her people'.

The preachers are 'to deal in their sermons only with matter proper for the common people in the army'. [Haynes, 558-9].

*November: A Homily against Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion was printed, with a Prayer for the Defence of the Queen and her people. [Liturgy, 536].*

*1569-1570: Allhallows London Wall: 'Paid for a book of Homilies sent from the Queen's Highness's most honourable Privy Council, publicly to be read in all churches especially in the time of any commotion or rebellion, 8d'.*

*St Botolph Bishopsgate: 'Paid to the Summoner for a book of Homilies against the Rebels, 8d'.*

*St Michael le Querne: 'For a Homily book against disobedience or wilful rebellion, 8d'.*

*Leverton Church, Lincs: 'For the Homilies against wilful rebellion, 10d'.*

Dec 1, De Spes to the Duke of Alva: 'The people in the North are strong and have 12,000 infantry and 3000 horse...They have stopped with the intention of giving battle to the Queen's forces...The Marquis thinks that if these people in the north were to march straight here there would be nothing to withstand them, seeing the confusion of the court'. The Earl of Leicester sent to tell him 'that the Queen and Council considered his stay here very suspicious'.

'Lord Montague and the Earl of Southampton have sent to ask me for advice as to whether they should take up arms or go over to your Excellency'. [Span.ii.213].

Dec 2, Fri A 'Protestation' by the rebel earls was received at Windsor. Endorsed by Sir William Cecil: 'The two earls rebels' Protestation, sent to the Earl of Derby, and by him sent to the court the second of December'.

*The rebels' Protestation, dated November 27, was to signify the meaning of 'the assembly of these noblemen', devised by the Duke of Norfolk, Earls of Arundel, Pembroke, Northumberland and Westmorland and others 'of the ancient nobility...to make known...to whom of mere right the true succession of this Crown appertaineth...Which...hath been sought...to be prevented by certain common enemies of this realm near about the Queen's Majesty's person'...*

*'We have therefore...assembled ourselves to resist force by force...resolved...to adventure our lives, lands and goods'.*

*'God save the Queen, and the Nobility'.*

*A copy of the rebels' Protestation was sent to the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, who wrote respectively from the Tower, from Nonsuch, Surrey, and Wilton, Wiltshire, denying involvement. [Haynes, 566-9].*



[Dec 2, Windsor], Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, in France, describing 'the state of things here'.

'About the midst of the last month, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, assembling themselves with some Companies (after refusal to come in to the Lord President) came to Durham, where they have made Proclamations in their own names for reformations of the disorders of the Realm (as they termed it) and for restitution of the ancient customs and liberties of the Church, and so directed the same generally to all of the old and Catholic Religion. In their Companies they have priests of their faction, who to please the people thereabouts give them Masses'...

'Upon the sudden, having levied of all sorts (as it is thought) of Footmen about four thousand, simply appointed for the wars, and of Horsemen about a thousand, where indeed all their strength is, and with these numbers (before the Earl of Sussex could gather numbers meet to resist them), they came down to Tadcaster, Ferrybridge, and Doncaster, being 12 miles or thereabouts wide from York, and were not indeed resisted until at Doncaster the Lord Darcy of the North, with certain numbers which he was leading to York, did very valiantly repulse a number of them. Hereupon they are retired to Richmondshire, and know not what to enterprise by their straggling in this sort'.

'The Earl of Sussex is at York, where Sir Ralph Sadler is, and hath levied the power of Yorkshire against them; the Lord Hunsdon is sent to Berwick, and to the Borders, to levy the like there; Sir John Forster to do the like in his Marches, the Lord Scrope also in his Wardenry, the Earl of Cumberland and the Lord Wharton to join with their forces in Westmorland and that side; and besides the Lord Admiral with the forces of Lincolnshire, and the Earl of Warwick, with other numbers of Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Warwickshire, and other parts of the south, are appointed Lieutenants of the Army, who are to join with my Lord of Sussex, and to do further as shall be found meet. And by this means you shall hear shortly, I doubt not, of the confusion of this rebellious enterprise'...

'The Queen's Majesty hath besides ready upon all occasions an Army of fifteen thousand near to her own person'...

'Under the conduct of the Army of the southern parts is the Viscount Hereford, with the power of Staffordshire, very well appointed, and divers gentlemen of credit and service of the court, and other places, of themselves are gone thither to serve under the said Lieutenants'.

'In company with those said rebels are not many gentlemen of name... All the Realm and all the Nobility, besides these only two rebels, are as obedient as ever they were, and surely so like to be'. [Cabala, 169-170].

Dec 2, Coventry, Earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon to the Queen, of another lodging for the Queen of Scots:

'As your Majesty doth mislike with the lodging of this Queen in an inn, it may please you to understand that upon Mr Skipwith coming (by whom your Highness did send your commandment for the bringing her hither), we did immediately send our men to prepare a lodging for her, and gave them in charge to get either Mr Hales' house or some merchant's, which by no means upon so short warning could be obtained; and since our coming hither we have done the best we could to prepare a lodging, which till this day could not be made ready for want of necessary stuff, whereof I, the Earl of Shrewsbury, could not be provided at such sudden notice, for want of carriages, which in this town were not to be gotten'.

This Queen is to be moved 'this night or tomorrow'. [Scot.iii.17].

*Dec 4 [Coventry], Earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon to Sir William Cecil: Yesterday we brought the Queen to this house 'which was sometime the Lord Chief Baron's, where to lie long will not be convenient for the house is so strait of room that the Queen's people must of necessity be in the town'. [HT.i.448].*

*Sir Edward Saunders, Chief Baron of the Exchequer from 1559-1576, was formerly Recorder of Coventry; his mansion was part of St Mary's Hall.*

Court news. Dec 5, London, La Mothe to Charles IX:

The northerners, finding that the Queen of Scots had been moved south, retreated 60 miles. When this Queen had this good news 'instead of the 24,000 men she had ordered to be levied, she is putting only 12,000 in the field...but for the safety of her person and of her court she has ordered 800 arquebusiers and 600 horse, in addition to her guards and her ordinary household servants'.

'The Earl of Arundel has been released, with permission to go to his house, under a solemn promise which he has made to be good and loyal to the Queen, but he has not seen her...At the Earl of Bedford's return from Wales they sent him to join Viscount Montague in Sussex, for some suspicion they have of the Viscount...The arms of the Earl of Northumberland have been degraded and taken down publicly by the Garter Herald from the ranks of the others at Windsor, and put low with ignominy, trampled underfoot and then thrown into the ditches'.

Dec 5, La Mothe to Catherine de Medici:

As to the theft of my packet (in October): 'The Queen having sworn on her prayer-book that she knew nothing of the fate of my packet, and that she would be at pains to do me justice, an unknown man came the day before yesterday at eight in the evening, and, the gate of my lodging being already closed, threw the packet through it into my courtyard, with an envelope on which were written a few words in English...protesting that it has not been opened'.

The message on the returned packet: 'Mr Ambassador, I leave you these letters, which can be of no use to me, and assure you on my faith that they have never been opened, and Lord Cobham threatened everyone that if he could find who took the letters he would hang him; so that for fear of that I have brought them to London, and I dared not be known by my name'.

On another subject: 'The Queen having three and four times refused to give audience to the Bishop of Ross on the affairs of the Queen of Scots, and even having considered putting him under arrest, for her suspicion of him, has nevertheless written to him very graciously by Secretary Cecil that she will be ready to hear him when he pleases to go there'.

PS. 'I hear that the Earl of Southampton and Viscount Montague have gone to the Duke of Alva'. [ii.377-382]. (See Dec 18, De Spes).

*Dec 9, Coventry, Countess of Shrewsbury to Sir William Cecil: 'The removal of the Queen of Scots from the Black Bull Inn to a house in Coventry has been accomplished, and all possible measures taken for her safe and sure keeping'.*

*Dec 9, Coventry, Earl of Huntingdon to Cecil, of accommodation for the Queen: 'The Charterhouse here is no evil lodging for her, and in a fortnight or three weeks may well be prepared, strong enough it is, and good for the solitariness of it'.*

*Dec 10, Coventry, Earl of Shrewsbury to Cecil, of 'this Queen's lodging here in the house late the Lord Chief Baron's...This is the meetest house in the city or hereabouts'. [Strickland (1888), Mary, ii.244; HT.i.451; Scot.iii.21].*

*One of the Coventry City Annals states:*

*'The Queen of Scots brought hither prisoner and kept in the Mayoress's parlour at St Mary Hall and from hence went to Tutbury'. [BL Add MS 11364].*

*Mary began her move to Tutbury, Staffordshire, on 2 January 1570.*

Court news. Dec 10, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'Count [Volrad] of Mansfield, who succeeded to the place of the old Duke of Deux-Ponts [who died June 11], has written to the Queen that he held himself for ever her good servant and bound soldier, and that he had added to his arms the red rose and the phoenix, as a sign that he wishes to fight all his life under her ensign and favour'.

Dec 10, to Catherine de Medici: 'Today there has arrived in this court a gentleman from La Rochelle, a native of Flanders...whom the Queen of Navarre sends...to treat for some aid, and to have, for her and Madame Catherine her daughter and for Madame the Princess de Condé and her little children, assurance of being safely received in this kingdom in case necessity constrains them to take refuge here'. [ii.387,391].

Dec 14: Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Steward, was asked to come to court before Christmas, where he would enjoy the Queen's 'gracious favour'. [Haynes, 572].

Dec 15, Thur Marquis Vitelli's fifth audience, Windsor.

Vitelli had received word on December 10 from the Duke of Alva that there was no point in prolonging his stay, but he should press for freedom of navigation.

Vitelli to the Duke of Alva, Dec 17, Colnbrook: After discussion of the matters in dispute, the seized ships and money, the interruption to navigation, the pirates and their robberies, the Queen said 'that she would consult her Council, and asked me not to leave for two or three days...And, changing the subject, she told me that she had become mistress of her rebels in the North, had removed their leaders...and would soon cut off their heads'.

She also said she saw she had been wrong to have suspected me. [KL.v.546-8].

*The Bishop of Ross testified in 1571 concerning the Queen of Scots:*

*'There was a device of an Italian who came with Marquis Vitelli, who should have conveyed her away...He would have had ships ready for her, and certain Hungary horses, who should run 40 miles without a bait [non-stop]'. The Italian 'tarried' in England for about two months after Vitelli left. [Murdin, 23].*

Dec 16, Valentine Browne to Lord Hunsdon: 'We are presently advertised... that the rebels, at one of the clock this present day, have given warning to the common people to make shift for themselves; and thereupon have themselves departed in a great number of horsemen westward, as is reported'.

'Written at haste upon our march...at night'. [Wright, i.343].

Dec 18, Ripon, Earl of Warwick and Lord Clinton to Privy Council: *The rebels are dispersed and their horse fled from Durham to Hexham, and from thence, it is thought, to Scotland. It is intended to pursue them.* [SP12/60/41].

Court news. Dec 18, London, De Spes to Philip II: 'Lord Montague and his son-in-law the Earl of Southampton had embarked for Flanders, but contrary winds drove them back and they had to land. An order thereupon arrived from the Queen and they did not refuse to go to court in order to clear themselves'.

'The Count of Mansfield has arrived here, brother of Count Volrad, who is in France. He comes from there on his way to Germany, and has been well received. He is accompanied by M.de Lumbres...one of the Flemish exiles, who comes nominally as an ambassador from the Duchess of Vendôme [Queen of Navarre]. They request more money to bring further German aid into France'. [Span.ii.218-219].

*Anthony Browne, 1st Viscount Montagu (c.1528-1592); and his son-in-law Henry Wriothesley, 2nd Earl of Southampton (1545-1581); Catholics.*

*Count Charles Mansfield came with Seigneur Lumbres, who was sent to represent William of Orange and his brother Count Louis of Nassau, who had both hoped to be able to visit the Queen in person.* [KL.v.486].

Dec 18, Sun Marquis Vitelli at Windsor to take leave.

Dec 19, Vitelli to the Duke of Alva: The Queen asked to see me again after dinner on December 18 to hear her answer.

'Before being admitted to her, there came to find me in the Council Chamber (where I was escorted by the Earl of Bedford to take off my boots), the Lord Keeper, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Leicester and Secretary Cecil'.

Cecil summed up what had passed in my last audience, and gave the Queen's answer that she would accept no assurances settling the matters in dispute unless they came directly from King Philip, which would require new and fuller powers of negotiation than I at present had.

After the Councillors had given an account of their conference to the Queen, she summoned me to her, explaining that she had sent her Councillors to me first, since 'as her answer was to be a negative one, she thought it had better come from the mouths of others than from her own. She expressed great sorrow that I should have such insufficient powers...but the only thing to be done was to await the arrival of more ample powers from Spain'. I took my leave.

[Span.ii.219-221; KL.v.556-7].

*Dec 19: Marquis Vitelli left Colnbrook for an inn at Kingston, and reached London next day to make report to De Spes, prior to leaving for Kent with Henry Cobham as guide. At Gravesend he received the Queen's Latin letters for King Philip and the Duke of Alva; he embarked from Dover December 26. [KL.v.581-2]. The Sweepstake, of Dover, took the Marquis from Dover to Calais.<sup>N</sup>*

*Henry Cobham, Gentleman Pensioner, was sent 'to accompany Marquis de Vitello, the King of Spain's Ambassador, and to conduct him and his train from the court at Windsor unto Dover, viz. for his post-horses for him and his three men with a guide, and also for the diet of himself, his men and guides', 10 days, £13.6s8d.<sup>T</sup>*

*Dec 19, midnight, Newcastle, Earl of Sussex to Sir William Cecil: The rebels are at Hexham. I 'will remove them of their lodging, or make them pay dearly for it, and so will follow their footsteps wheresoever they fly, over hills, wastes, or waters, until I have either given them the overthrow, or put them out of the realm'. PS. 'Good Mr Secretary, remember to send money'. [SP15/15/109].*

Dec 21, La Mothe to Charles IX: Merchants will furnish money and munitions for 'Seigneur Dolovyn and the Bastard de Brederode, to whom Seigneur Lumbres and a man named Taffin, both Flemings, who are here to negotiate this, have already sent an express messenger to this effect. And Count Mansfield's brother, who arrived with them, after treating very secretly and at length with the Queen and Secretary Cecil many times, has been dispatched for Germany'. [ii.404].

Dec 24, Windsor, Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, in France:

'Thanked be God, our Northern Rebellion is fallen flat to the ground and scattered away. The Earls are fled into Northumberland, seeking all ways to escape, but they are roundly pursued...The 16th hereof they broke up their sorry Army, and the 18th they entered into Northumberland, the 19th into the mountains. They scattered all their Footmen, willing them to shift for themselves, and of a thousand Horsemen there fled but five hundred. By this time they be fewer, and I trust either taken or fled into Scotland, where the Earl of Murray is in good readiness to chase them to their ruin'...

'The Queen's Majesty hath had a notable trial of her whole Realm and subjects in this time, wherein she hath had service readily of all sorts, without respect of religion'. [Cabala, 170].

Dec 24, Darlington, Lord Clinton to Sir William Cecil: Many of the rebels have been taken. The Earls have fled into Scotland conducted by an outlaw.

Dec 25, Durham, George Freville to Cecil: There is a report that the Earl of Northumberland has been taken 'as he was wandering alone disguised in simple apparel'. [SP12/60/50,51]. He was put into the Regent's custody.

Christmas preparations at Windsor: Richard Paget and John Phillips, Yeomen of the Chamber, were sent 'to fetch the Standards, with the rich coats for the Guard, to the court, viz. from...Westminster to Windsor against Christmas... and for hire of carts for the carriage and recarriage of the said Standards'.<sup>T</sup>

Christmas 1569-Shrovetide 1570: Revels prepared 'plays, tragedies and masques'.

\*Christmas 1569-Twelfth Night 1570.

Thomas Pound (1539-1615), a cousin of the Earl of Southampton, directed plays, games, and masques at court, some of which he wrote. There is a description in Latin of this and of how his attempt to repeat an intricate dance-step at the Queen's request resulted in an embarrassing fall. All laughed as she commanded 'Arise, Sir Ox'. In a voice loud enough for bystanders to hear Pound muttered 'Sic transit gloria mundi' [So pass the glories of the world]. [ES.iii.468-9].

Thomas Pound quickly abandoned court life.

December 25: Payments to Harbingers, by the Treasurer of the Chamber.

Clement Norris, harbinger, 'being sent to make harbengage at Uxbridge, Wycombe, Marlow, and other places', 8 days.

William Lilly, harbinger, 'for like service done at Maidenhead, Colnbrook, Staines, Egham, Kingston, Brentford, and other places', 10 days.

Ipolito Lynnett, harbinger, 'for like service done at Guildford, Bagshot, and other places', 10 days.

Nicholas Haynes, harbinger, 'for the like service done at Henley, Reading, and other places near the same', 9 days.

Harbingers were paid 'at 2s by the day for every of them, by the Council's warrant dated 25 December 1569: 74 shillings.

John Ownsted, 'servant of the carriages...being sent to make harbengage', [same places and number of days as Clement Norris].

George Middleton, a surveyor of the stable [same places and days as Lilly].

John Reade, a surveyor of the stable [same places and days as Lynnett].

Thomas Harrison [same places and days as Haynes]. These four, 4s per day.

[The only such payments to Harbingers in these accounts].

John Ownsted esquire's monument at Sanderstead Church, Surrey: 'Servant to the most excellent Princess and our dread sovereign Queen Elizabeth and Serjeant of her Majesty's Carriage by the space of 40 years', died 9 Aug 1600 aged 66.

Dec 26, Queen to the Earl of Warwick: 'Forasmuch as we are credibly advertised of the dispersing of this late rebellion by fleeing away of the two Earls, Heads of the said rebellion, so as we find no cause to continue our army under the charge of you and our Admiral'. Warwick may return to court. [Haynes, 572].

Admiral: Lord Clinton, Lord Admiral.

Court news. Dec 27, London, La Mothe to Charles IX:

Marquis Vitelli was given two 'beautiful geldings' by the Earl of Leicester.

'The Queen has very graciously dispatched the young Count Mansfield, and has given him 1000 crowns, of which it seems he had very great need, and has written by him fully to the Princes of Germany'. Count Charles Mansfield embarked for Germany in February 1570. [ii.404,413].

Dec 27, Tues play, by the Children of Windsor Chapel.<sup>T</sup>

December: proposed visit, Bisham, Berks; Lady Hoby.<sup>T</sup>  
 Bisham Abbey. Robert Cotton and John Wynyard, Grooms of the Wardrobe of Beds, 'for their allowance for three days for making ready for the Queen's Majesty at Bisham the Lady Hoby's house', December 1569, 10s.<sup>T</sup>

Lady Hoby: Elizabeth (Cooke) (c.1540-1609) widow of Sir Thomas Hoby, of Bisham; a visit to her would have required an overnight stay.

c.1569-1570: Poem 'The doubt of future foes'. By the Queen.

Written after the Queen of Scots arrived in England in 1568, and probably after the Northern Rising of 1569.

John Harington the elder (c.1517-1582) sent it in an undated letter, stating: 'It is of her Highness's own inditing...My Lady Willoughby did covertly get it on her Majesty's tablet, and had much hazard in so doing; for the Queen did find out the thief, and chid for spreading evil bruit of her writing such toys, when other matters did so occupy her employment at this time; and was fearful of being thought too lightly of for so doing'. [*Nugae Antiquae*, (1769), i.58].

The poem first appears in a manuscript miscellany c.1570. Other contemporary manuscripts have a number of variant readings; the text given here is the first printed version, in George Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie* (1589). There it illustrates 'gorgeous' poetical ornament, and is described as:

'That ditty of her Majesty's own making...And this was the occasion: our Sovereign Lady perceiving how by the Scottish Queen's residence within this Realm, at so great liberty and ease (as were scarce meet for so great and dangerous a prisoner), bred secret factions among her people, and made many of the nobility incline to favour her party: some of them desirous of innovation in the State, others aspiring to greater fortunes by her liberty and life. The Queen our Sovereign Lady, to declare that she was nothing ignorant of those secret practices, though she had long with great wisdom and patience dissembled it, writeth this ditty most sweet and sententious'.

'The doubt of future foes exiles my present joy,  
 And wit me warns to shun such snares as threaten mine annoy;  
 For falsehood now doth flow, and subject faith doth ebb,  
 Which would not be if reason ruled or wisdom weaved the web.  
 But clouds of toys untried do cloak aspiring minds,  
 Which turn to rain of late repent by course of changed winds.  
 The top of hope supposed the root of ruth will be,  
 And fruitless all their graffed guiles, as shortly ye shall see.

Then dazzled eyes with pride, which great ambition blinds,  
 Shall be unsealed by worthy wights whose foresight falsehood finds.  
 The daughter of debate that eke discord doth sow  
 Shall reap no gain where former rule hath taught still peace to grow.  
 No foreign banished wight shall anchor in this port,  
 Our realm it brooks no stranger's force, let them elsewhere resort.  
 Our rusty sword with rest shall first his edge employ  
 To poll their tops that seek such change and gape for joy'.

1569: In a painting of 'Elizabeth and the Three Goddesses' by Hans Eworth, the Queen, wearing her crown and holding the orb and sceptre, confronts three Goddesses: Juno, Pallas, and Venus.

This painting was seen by Baron Waldstein at Whitehall Palace in 1600. Another version of the same subject is attributed to Isaac Oliver, c.1590. Both are reproduced in *Elizabeth I & her People*, ed. Tarnya Cooper, 58-61.

1569: John Day published: 'Christian prayers and meditations in English, French, Italian, Spanish, Greek, and Latin'.

A collection of prayers, with a frontispiece woodcut portrait of the Queen kneeling in prayer. (London, 1569).

Lambeth Palace Library has the Queen's own copy. In this a 'Prayer for wisdom to govern the Realm' is written in the first person, as are the final prayers in six languages. Some of the prayers are from Henry Bull's Christian Prayers and Holy Meditations (London, 1568).

Richard Day, John Day's son, published in 1578: A Book of Christian Prayers.

This is another collection, including some of the same prayers as the earlier book, and the same portrait. Both are sometimes referred to as 'Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book'. [For Richard Day's book see 1578, end].

1569: Clement Perret, a writing-master, published in Antwerp a writing manual: Exercitatio alphabetica nova. The Queen's copy, with her arms in gold on the cover, is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

c.1569: Thomas Preston's play Cambyses, King of Persia was published.

'A lamentable tragedy mixed full of pleasant mirth, containing the life of Cambyses King of Persia, from the beginning of his kingdom unto his death, his one good deed of execution, after that many wicked deeds and tyrannous murders, committed by and through him, and last of all his odious death by God's Justice appointed'.

Epilogue addressed to 'Right gentle audience' ends:

'As duty binds us for our noble Queen let us pray,  
And for her honourable Council the truth that they may use:  
To practise Justice and defend her Grace each day,  
To maintain God's word they may not refuse,  
To correct all those that would her Grace and Grace's laws abuse,  
Beseeching God over us she may reign long:  
To be guided by truth and defended from wrong.

Amen. Thomas Preston'.

Entered by Stationers in September/October 1569.

The characters include Huff, Snuff, and Ruff, ruffianly soldiers. A play with these three was played at court in February 1561.

1569: William Wager 'newly compiled': 'A very merry and pithy Comedy, called The longer thou livest, the more fool thou art. A Mirror very necessary for youth, and specially for such as are like to come to dignity and promotion'.

With 15 characters, including Confusion, Cruelty, Discipline, Fortune, Exercitation, God's Judgement, Idleness, Ignorance, Piety, Wrath.

At the conclusion Exercitation prays:

'God save the Queen's Highness and the Nobility,  
Defend her long we beseech thee, Lord,  
Which is the patroness of all humility,  
A setter forth of truth, and lover of concord'.

Piety prays for 'the Queen's most honourable Council'.

Finally Discipline prays for the Clergy, and the 'whole commonalty'. (London, to be sold by Richard Johnes 'at his shop under the Lottery house').

1569-1570: Churchwardens' payments in Surrey, London, and Essex:  
 Kingston, Surrey: 'Paid to the ringers at the command of Master Bailiffs when word was brought that the Earl of Northumberland was taken, 20d'.  
 St Botolph Aldgate: 'For three prayers against the Rebels of the North, 4d'.  
 St Dunstan in the West: 'For a dozen of ballads to sing against the rebels, 8d'.  
 St Mary Aldermanbury: 'To a Summoner that brought a psalm of thanksgiving for the overthrow of the Rebels in the North, 6d'.  
 St Michael Cornhill: 'Paid for a prayer of thanksgiving for the overthrow of the Rebels in the North, 4d'.  
 Chelmsford Church, Essex: 'For a book of prayers against the rebellions, 12d'.

1569-1570: Five ballads, reprinted in *Seventy-nine Black-letter Ballads and Broadsides*. (1867).

1569-1570: 'A godly ditty or prayer to be sung unto God for the preservation of his Church, our Queen and Realm, against all Traitors, Rebels, and Papistical enemies'.

'Preserve thy servant, Lord,  
 Elizabeth, our Queen;  
 Be thou her shield and sword, -  
 Now let thy power be seen.  
 That this, our Queen anointed,  
 May vanquish all her foes;  
 And, as by thee appointed,  
 Let her lay sword on those.

Give, Lord, true faithful hearts  
 To us, her subjects all,  
 That we play not the parts  
 Of these traitors that fall  
 Both from their God and prince,  
 And from their lawful oaths; -  
 All such, O Lord, convince,  
 And give them overthrows'.

'Sing this after the tune of the 137th Psalm, which begins, When as we sat in Babylon; - or such like'. Seven more stanzas. By John Awdeley.

1569-1570: 'A Ballad entitled, A new Well a day,  
 As plain, Master Papist, as Dunstable way'.  
 Including: The Queen 'is the lieutenant of him that is stoutest,  
 She is defender of all the devoutest;  
 It is not the Pope, nor all the Pope may,  
 Can make her astonied, or sing Well a day.

God prosper her Highness, and send her his peace  
 To govern her people with grace and increase'.  
 [By William Elderton].

1569-1570: The Plagues of Northumberland. To the tune of Appelles.

Concludes: 'Now let us pray, as we are bound,  
 All for our Queen's high majesty,  
 That she her enemies may confound,  
 And all that to rebels agree;  
 And plant true men up in their place;  
 The Lord from heaven now give her grace!'  
 [By John Barker].



1569-1570: A Ballad rejoicing the sudden fall,  
Of Rebels that thought to devour us all.

Begins: 'Rejoice with me, ye Christians all,  
 To God give laud and praise,  
 The rebels stout have now the fall,  
 Their force and strength decays.

Concludes: To God 'still daily let us pray,  
 Our noble Queen to send  
 A prosperous reign, both night and day,  
 From her foes to defend

Her and her Council, realm and all,  
 During her noble life,  
 And that ill hap may them befall  
 That seek for war and strife'. Anon.

1569-1570: Joyful News for true Subjects, to God and the Crown,  
The Rebels are cooled, their Brags be put down.

Begins: 'All true English subjects, both most and least,  
 Give thanks unto God, with humble knees down,  
 That it hath pleased him, at our request,  
 To vanquish the rebels that troubled the Crown.

Refrain: Come, humble ye down, - come, humble ye down,  
 Perforce now submit ye to the Queen and the Crown...

Concludes: God save the Queen's Majesty and confound her foes,  
 Else turn their hearts quite upsidedown,  
 To become true subjects, as well as those  
 That faithfully and truly have served the Crown!  
 Come, humble ye down, etc.

God grant everyone, after his vocation,  
 To remember the account he must lay down;  
 And that we may all, in this English nation,  
 Be true to God, the Queen and the Crown!  
 Come, humble ye down, - come, humble ye down,  
 God grant Queen Elizabeth long to wear the crown!'  
 [By W.Kirkham].