

**THE LETTERS OF LORD BURGHLEY,
WILLIAM CECIL, TO HIS SON SIR ROBERT
CECIL, 1593–1598**

Letter No. 1

**William Cecil, Lord Burghley to Mr William Phayre,
13 February 1565**

½ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I commend me very humbly unto yow / and wher yow have begun to deale in a course of Sir Thomas Greshams ther, although I know his owne friendship / and thankfulness will mene as much as yow can do for hym, yet can I not forbear but both to prayse yow and thank yow, praying you to procede by all good meanes that you come to bring his sute to a good end / and so thy^[n]ky^[n]g shortly to wryte now unto yowe, at this tyme for lack of Lesure / doe end.

From Greenwich the xiiith of Februari 1565

Your Assured,
Loovyng friend,

W. Cecyll

Dorse

[In John Strype's hand]
a paquett of old matters of all sorts

ADDRESS

To my verie loving friend,
Mr. William Phayre, the queens
Ma[jes]ties agent in the
Court of Spaine

RECEIPT

From Sir William Sicill

The 13th of februarye and hear

The 20th of marche, madrite [Madrid]

Letter No. 2**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 21 May 1593**

3 pp. Dictated to Henry Maynard, with a final holograph paragraph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

This evening after I received your Letter¹ I had a letter brought me dyrected from Douer, by which I only am advertised from the Maior² of his receipte of the letters which were sent yesterdaye both from my LLs [Lords]³ and from my selfe,⁴ and from the Ambassador.⁵ and within a litle tyme afterwardes my l[ord] Cobham sent me certen l[ette]rs dyrected to him from his Livetenant of Douer.⁶ To make a Comment of those letters for myne owne ease I leave it to yow and to gather what you thincke fitt thereof to advertise her ma[jes]tie for that they conteyn variety of intelligence, and in some part a lewde

¹Sir Robert Cecil's letter to Burghley of the 20 or 21 May 1593 is not extant, but in it he clearly outlined the threat to Boulogne from Charles of Luxembourg's army. Cecil's agent, Roger Walton, reached Burghley with Robert Cecil's cover letter. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 170/58; *HMCS*, iv, 325. Cecil's reply was probably responding to another of his father's letters of 21 May 1593, in which he referred his son to the most recent intelligence. This dispatch saw the resolution of the Boulogne dilemma. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 169/80; *HMCS*, iv, 318.

²The mayor was Thomas, the eldest son of Sir Thomas Fane (d.1589), *ODNB*.

³The Privy Council.

⁴The letter from Burghley to the mayor of Dover, sent with the Privy Council letter of 19–20 May or before, regarding the Boulogne situation is not extant, although letters from the Council, Burghley and the ambassador are referred to in the reply of Cobham's agent, Geoffrey Fenner. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 169/82; *HMCS*, iv, 319–320.

⁵Letter from Pregent de la Fin, lord of Beauvoir la Noce, vidame of Chartres (d.1624). He was from a prominent Huguenot family who were hereditary administrators for the bishops of Chartres. As French ambassador to the English court he here advised the Queen and Council of the necessity of military assistance to Boulogne. Burghley sent the warrant for levies of troops to Cecil with his letter of 21 May, which was not drawn up and dated until 24 May. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 22/91, 169/80; *HMCS*, iv, 318, 321.

⁶Letter from Lord Cobham, lord warden of the Cinque Ports, to Burghley of 19–21 May from his lieutenant of Dover Castle, Thomas Fane (later Sir) the younger, which Burghley enclosed with this letter. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 169/78; *HMCS*, iv, 317–318. Cobham was Cecil's father-in-law, 10th Baron Cobham (1527–1597), *ODNB*.

act of him that brought the Ladyes l[etter]rs that were dyrected to Diep out of their waye.⁷ And yett it semeth that at the tyme of the writing of her letters to the Governor of Diep she was in some feare of the ennemye, And for that purpose dyrected hir messenger, both to the ffr[ench] King and to Monsieur Esparnon his brother.⁸ But what was conteyned in these letters I cannot gather. By the letters of the Mayor of Dover you may parceave, that it is likely that the Quene's ma[jes]ties good will wilbe notified to the lady, and to the governor of the towne also. And it may be they both wilbe the bolder to Crave some provisions of munitions, and powder, whereof if the Armye be departed they shall have no nede.⁹ And yett we shall have more nede to kepe the same. The greate hast that the LLS [Lords of the Privy Council] made yesterday in the morning shewed a greate difference betwixt their humors and myne

[p. 2] ffor thowghe they were quicke as Marshall men are most commonly, and I slowe (as men in yeares are) yett I used no delaye for the purpose to understand the cause of the perrill. And so to provide

⁷Cecil here was trusted with sifting intelligence and canvassing Council opinion. His agent Roger Walton's letter dated 18 May 1593, reported Charles of Luxembourg was rumoured to have left Picardy for Gertruidenberg in Brabant to assist his father, Count Mansfeld, against Henry IV. Count Peter Ernst von Mansfeld (1517–1604) was effective governor of the Spanish Netherlands between the duke of Parma (Alessandro Farnese, 1545–1592) and the arrival of Archduke Ernest (1553–1595) of Austria, 1592–1594. The rumoured siege of Étapes came as Charles crossed northern France threatening Calais with cartloads of munitions pilfered from the Governess's fortress, as told by Cobham's agent Geoffrey Fenner on 22 May 1593. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 22/fol. 91r; *HMCS*, iv, 321. 'The Ladye' referred to here is Mme de Rouillac, whose deputy, Campagnol, was corresponding with Beauvoir la Nocle and directing Rouillac's letters to Dieppe. TNA SP 78/32/fol. 409r; *L&A*, iv, Analysis no. 337; *L&A*, v, Analysis no. 90. For Campagnol, see *Histoire Universelle de Jean-Auguste de Thou, 1542–1607* (London, 1734), 515, and for governor of Boulogne (deputy), Gustav Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England*, 2 vols (London, 1976), II, 15.

⁸Aymar de Chatte (d.1603) was governor of Dieppe. Cecil's 1584 treatise on the French aristocracy made clear the connection between Mme de Rouillac, née Nogaret, and the duke of Épernon, for her sister Anne married Charles of Luxembourg. The senior member of the Nogaret family was the duke of Épernon, Jean Louis, and the lady governor was a cousin of the dukes of Montpensier and Joyeuse, leading members of the Catholic League. TNA SP 78/12/fol. 245r; Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England*, Vol. I, 6, 53, 62, 343, 351, 372, 415, 418, 439, 461, 465; Vol. II, 27, 69, 127, 128, 130, 152, 160. See also Letter No. 56.

⁹Letter from the mayor of Dover to the Queen of the 19–20 of May 1593, and the prospect for military assistance to the Governess: see Thomas Fane's letter to Cobham, forwarded to Burghley and Cecil. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 169/fol. 78r. Burghley was not yet advised of the considerable theft of munitions from the fortress by Charles, news which would certainly reach Spanish spies interested in weak points in the defence of the northern French coast. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 170/58; *HMCS*, iv, 325. Cecil had been notified by his father of the Queen's requests for powder (*L&A*, iv, no. 337, according Cecil's letter to Beauvoir la Nocle, 24 May 1593).

remedy this I fynd by your letter, that hir ma[jes]tie misliked not my slownes whareby I am the better confirmed in my opynion.¹⁰

I wrote to daye to you, that the augmentation of the shipping might staye awhile untill we might see howe the wether would blowe over. ffor if the Officers of the Admiraltie have commandment to prepare the shipping, it will cost hir Majesty one monethes charge by presting rigging and victualling without a sennight service.¹¹ The matter yow write of concerning the answar to be made by Locke is very picquant¹² for difficulties on both sides. Wherein the Rule of Christian Philosophie consisteth in difference betwixt Utile, and Honestum. And yett utile incertum, and yett Honestum certum. But if Honestum were reciproche it were to be preferred to with more Constancye. In private mens causes Cretisare cum Cretensi is allowable.¹³ Thus yow see how I beginne to wander before I dare affirme any thinge. If my hand were free from payne I would not commytt thus muche to any other man's hand.¹⁴ And yett yow may impart my woordes to hir Majesty, without offence.

¹⁰Burghley's 'slowness' as opposed to the quickness of the 'Marshall' men of the Council: see Lord Admiral Howard's assessment sent to Cecil that 'If Boulogne be not looked to it will be gone.' As for the quality of his intelligence, Howard assured Cecil, 'I pay well for it, and if it be not believed it shall cost me no more.' Essex petitioned Cecil for a captaincy in whatever troops were raised, although none were requested from the French side. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 169/fol. 89r, 90r; *HMCS*, iv, 324. For the lord admiral, Charles Howard (1536–1624), baron of Effingham and earl of Nottingham (1597) and Essex's rival, see *ODNB*.

¹¹The new shipping to Brittany was meant, in the first part of the week, to collect the Queen's ordnance, which had been left at Dieppe. There were also demands for 500 or 600 men for Pempole [Paimpol] and Briac as reinforcements for the duke of Montpensier's service against the Spanish, which the Queen rejected. Sir John Wolley, secretary of the French tongue (1596) was co-ordinating documents. TNA SP 12/245/no. 11, 19 May 1593. See also Elizabeth's letter to Henry IV, 19 May 1593, TNA SP 78/31/fol. 218r. The purpose of the shipping was changed, for Burghley had ready for Cecil a warrant for the levy of 300 men for the Queen sign before he himself received Cobham's intelligence about the relief of Boulogne, see n. 1. A sennight, or seven-night, is one week, so here 'without one week's service'. Sir John Wolley, *ODNB*.

¹²Burghley and Cecil were using the Bothwell faction as part of a Protestant aristocratic faction forcing James VI to take strong legal moves, including forfeiture, against those of his subjects acting in concert with Spain. Henry Lock was to function as a sort of secretary to Bothwell, answering to Sir Robert Bowes, the English ambassador to James's court. *CSPS 1593–1595*, 153–155; Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 133/fol. 104r. Francis Stewart, 1st earl of Bothwell (1562–1612), *ODNB*; see above, pp. 46–47.

¹³See above, pp. 48 and 50. TNA SP 52/50/no. 5; *HMCS*, iv, 296–297; *CSPS 1593–1595*, 1–2.

¹⁴Sir Thomas Wilson, officer of the council (d.1629), *ODNB*. Following Cecil's death in 1612, he retained his papers as the 'state paper office'. Henry Maynard (after 1547–1610), *ODNB*; see above, pp. 12–14, 18n, 20, 26, 48 and 78. Burghley wrote to Cecil the following day, 22 May 1593, that he had written his deliberations on the matters concerning Bothwell which were so delicate that he would not trust their drafting to a secretary, and insisted that

I pray yow require Mr. Woolley to send me my l[ord] Scropes l[ette]rs, and knowe of him what answer I may make to Sir Thomas Wilson who doth only attend here to knowe hir ma[jes]ties pleasure, being verie unwilling to enter into the charge, except there were a Governour in the towne to beare the Brunte of the charge which the late Marshall did and with which charge, Sir Robert Constable was beggard.¹⁵ ffor the sute of Mr. Nowell in my next I will gett meanes to advertise yow.¹⁶

[In Burghley's hand]

I have sondry offers to ease me of my torment in my head, which the offerors conceive to come of the quicksilver, and therfor to gyve me the tyncture of Gold, my nightly paynes ar so grevous as I am redy to receive any offer, and yet with feare for offendynge of hir Ma[jes]tie, if I shold therby empayre [page torn*] helth, contrary to hir carefull advise, and yet [page torn**] will not be hasty therein, but will preserve, [page torn***] the advise of hir ma[jes]tie may have some secret [page torn] from God hir head, and my director to ser[page torn****] for hym. Yow se that my hand now parrets my hart without excuse.

From my house in Westminster the 21 of May 1593 though I want fete to go to the hall, yet I forbear not to be occupied ther, with payne to ease others.

Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

*Possibly 'my'.

** Possibly 'I'.

***Possibly blank.

****Possibly completes the word 'serve'.

Cecil receive them in person before their presentation to the Queen. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 169/fol. 81r; *HMCS*, iv, 319.

¹⁵Political machinations amongst the officers at the garrison at Berwick can be determined from Sir John Carey's letters to Burghley and Cecil of 24 May 1593, wherein it is clear that the Queen did not want Carey as her deputy governor to his father Henry Carey, 1st Baron Hunsdon (1526–1596), privy councillor and the Queen's cousin, *ODNB*. Letters from Carey to Burghley and Cecil show that he knew Cecil read his father's papers, probably from his own father on the Privy Council, *Cal. Border Papers*, i, 461–462, nos 838, 839.

¹⁶Henry Noel made suit for the monopoly of stone jar making to Cecil several times in the summer of 1593. The closest in date to Letter No. 2, CUL MS Ee 3 56, are Noel's of 26 May 1593, and Henry Maynard's letter for Burghley to Cecil of the same date, giving the opinion of the officers of the port of London on the suit. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 169/fol. 85r, 87r; *HMCS*, iv, 323, 342, 346–347; *HPT*, iii, 134–135.

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Burghley's hand:

To my son Sir Rob[er]t Cecill, Knight at the Court

ENDORSED in the hand of Cecil's filing clerk, Simon Willis:

21 Maii 1593

The lo[rd] Thre[sure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 3

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 26 May 1593

¼ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

The beror hereof nameth hymself Mouett, sent from bullen with l[ette]res to hir Ma[jes]ty. The Fr[ench] amb[assador] req[ui]reth me to adress hym to yow, so as hir Ma[jes]ty may receive his l[ette]res and message.¹⁷

By l[ette]res to the ambass[ador] maketh only mention of powder, argent & other munitions: but without limitation.¹⁸

This satyrd[ay] at noon in the Court of wards.¹⁹

Your lo[ving] father,

W. Burghley

¹⁷The identity of the messengers Mouett (seagull?) and Gerenier (granary?) are not further explained in Beauvoir la Nocle's letters to Cecil.

¹⁸Beauvoir la Nocle (see *L&A analysis*, iv, Analysis no. 558) made the case that the Queen could not see how men could help raise a siege if the lower town was cut off, and that no specifications of materiel needed were given. Beauvoir, in his turn, fired off letters to Rouillac and Hillez – governor of the fortress in Boulogne – about supplies needed, matters addressed also in his cover letter to Burghley of 26 May and to Cecil. Burghley had asked the ambassador to make a realistic assessment of the needs of Boulogne. TNA SP 78/31/fol. 82r, 84r, 88r.

¹⁹For Burghley as master of the court of wards and liveries, see Joel Hurstfield, *The Queen's Wards: Wardship and Marriage under Elizabeth I* (London, 1973).

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my Lovinge sonne, Sir Robart Cecill knight, on hir ma[jes]ties
privy Connsell

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

26 Maii 1593, the Lo[rd] Thre[sure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 4**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 26 May 1593**

½ p. First paragraph dictated to Henry Maynard, with a holograph paragraph added.
No address, endorsed, signed.

Text

I have received from my l[ord] Keper, the form of a proclamacion in paper for the Adiournment of part of the next terme, which I have perused,²⁰ and doe send yt heereinlosed to yowe to be ingrossed in parchment by one of the Clerkes of the Signett, which when it shall be so written I praie yowe to offer yt to hir ma[jes]tie to signe, for that as my L[ord] Keper writeth to mee hir ma[jes]ties pleasure is to have yt done.²¹

Ffrom my hose in the Strand this xxvith of May, 1593.

[Paragraphs added by Burghley in his own hand after the section above was dictated and signed]

It req[ui]reth spede, that knolledg may be gyven now at the end of this tearme.

I fynd my self so decayeng in strength as I fynd it ^{more} nedefull for me to be occupyed, about my last will and other establishmentes for my chyl dren.²²

[Maynard's hand]
Your lovinge father

²⁰Proclamation on paper for the adjournment of the legal term of summer 1593 to St Albans by reason of the plague, then rampant in London and environs, sent by the lord keeper, Sir Thomas Puckering. *TRP*, iii, 118–119.

²¹For a discussion of the seals and procuracy of letters to the signet, see above, pp. 13–16.

²²Burghley's last will and testament, TNA PCC PROB 11, Lewyn 92; see Letter No. 6.

[Signed]
W. Burghley

Dorse

NOT ADDRESSED

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

The Lo[rd] Thre[surer] to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 5

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, after 28 May 1593

1 p. Holograph,
Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I have received your l[ette]re of this 28.²³ hereupon though I am weak, and uncertyn how I shall be hable to come to the Court, yet I am in mynd to come to morrow to the Court with opinion that after on or twoo dayes hir Ma[jes]ty will licenss me to return, to seke my amendment, or to tak my Journay to follow universam viam carnis,²⁴ and to this latter Journay I am most disposed, with perswasion that if sowles have sence of earthly thynges, I shall be in God's sight an intercessor for the prosperite of his chyrch here, and for hir Ma[jes]ty, as his Governor thereof to his Glory. Yow must allow me to be in this humor, for I fynd no other tast of any other thyng.

If I shall be hable by Coche or lytter (for I provyde both) I will be with yow to morrow.

[Added beside the signature]

Untill this dynnar tyme I have had nother kyn, nor Inward frend to use my sete or sit with me but multitudes of sutors that only come for ther own causes.

Your loving father,

W. Burghley

²³Burghley's reference to his son's letter of 28 May 1593 suggests that this letter was written 29–31 May, 1593.

²⁴'Universam viam carnis': the way of all flesh.

Dorse

ADDRESS in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my Lovinge sonne, Sir Robart Cecill, knight, one of hir ma[jes]ties
privy Connsell

ENDORSED by Simon Willis:

Maie 1593, The Lo[rd] Thre]sure]r to my M[aste]r

A FRAGMENT OF THE ENDORSEMENT OF THE NEXT LETTER, cut out of the
volume, remains:

27 Maie 1593

Letter No. 6

William, Lord Burghley to Henry Brooke, 22 September 1592

½ p. Holograph,

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

Good Mr. Henry Brook²⁵ I knowe not howe presently to answer yow
to your contentment for I fynd that Mr. Bronker²⁶ had made the lyk
sute afor yow, to which I gave no full assent because the party was not
dead. besyde this in dede I ment this for your sistar²⁷ who wished of

²⁵Henry Brooke, 11th Baron Cobham (1564–1619), Sir Robert Cecil's brother-in-law since 1589 and later political enemy. Brooke succeeded to the title in 1597 at his father's death, inheriting also the office of the lord warden of the Cinque Ports, which might argue for his closeness to Cecil in intelligence operations there in the new secretarial administration. He was attainted for treason for his part in the Main Plot in 1603; see *ODNB*.

²⁶Henry Brounker or Bronker: Irish patentee who assisted Sir Henry Wallop (1531–1599), *ODNB*, the Queen's under-treasurer in Ireland, for whom Cecil negotiated the lucrative fee-farm of the sweet-wine imposts into Ireland – in reversion from Thomas Molyneux, but undertaken actively by Bronker from Michaelmas 1594 – in Aug. 1594 perhaps to favour Wallop. Bronker forwarded the under-treasurer's certificate of the imposts and Cecil's procurement of the suit, *HMCS*, iv, 624; TNA SP SO3/1/fol. 513r. Sir John Fortescue (1533–1607), *ODNB*, was chancellor of the Exchequer, and here joined with the lord deputy, Sir William Russell, and the countess of Warwick in favouring a senior servant of the London Customs House, George Margitts, for the place, but the suit was frustrated possibly by Cecil's criticism of Margitts' attempt to monopolize the Venetian gold and silver imports. *HMCS*, iv, 616. Thomas Molyneux (1531–1597), Irish land grantee and suspected Catholic, *ODNB*.

²⁷Lady Elizabeth Cecil (1562–1597), née Brooke died of a miscarriage Jan. 1597. Burghley made changes to his will on the marriage of his grandson William (Lord Ros) by his elder son Sir Thomas Cecil, later earl of Exeter (1542–1624) in 1589; and on the birth of William's

on granted to hir which within these x dayes I promised here the next which is this. And I do not use to makes Grantes of any whylest the ancestor lyveth.

From Wadstoc, the 22 of 7^{bre}.

Your assured loving frend,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my vearie lovinge frend, Mr. Henry Brook, Esq.

ENDORSED by Simon Willis:

27 Sept[ember] 1592

The Lo[rd] Threasurer's l[ette]re

to Mr. hy: Brooke

Letter No. 7

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 1 December 1595

1 p., with an additional paragraph on the right margin. Holograph. Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I can not but contynew my care for Irland, and therfor though orders ar sent for procedyng with the 2 rebells Tyron and odonnell,²⁸ yet ther is no order for answer to the demandes of monny to pay the army ther,

son in 1591 and on the birth of Robert Cecil's son in the same year. See Gemma Allen, *The Cooke Sisters: Education, Piety and Politics in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2016), 72–74, 106–108.

²⁸See also Letters Nos 70, 73. Sir John Norris, *ODNB* (1547 × 1550–1597).

The earl of Tyrone, Aodh Mór Ó Néill styled Hugh O'Neill (c.1540–1616), *ODNB*, was the 2nd earl from 1587 and Baron Dungannon in succession to his brother, 1562. He had been educated in England and was a member of the household of the earl of Leicester (1538). He had co-operated extensively with the English crown. Elizabeth used Tyrone, or so she thought, as a counterpoise to his kinsman Turlough Luineach, his principal rival in the lordship of Tyrone. On succeeding Turlough he began actively working against the Crown, particularly the president of Ulster, Sir Henry Bagenal with whose sister Mabel he eloped. Sir Henry Bagenal (c.1556–1598), marshal of the army in Ireland, reported frequently to the government, *ODNB*.

Tyrone and his chief lieutenant O'Donnell created an extensive, well-supplied and well-trained military force based in the lordship of Tyrone, communicating through Irish pirates extensively with the king of Spain. Tyrone's resources were immense, estimated in his

which is very chargeable, and if the submissions of the rebels shall be perfected, it war reason to deminish the army, which can not be doone, without a paye to be made, and monny also to contynew them which shall remayn.²⁹ I pray yow inform hir Ma[jes]ty hereof, for my discharg, for that the Depute and the Tresorer wryte hereof, to me only, and not to the rest of the Connsell, and so they expect answer from me, as by 2 l[ette]res which I send yow may appear on from the Depute and the Tresorer dated the 8 of last month which I have underlyned.³⁰ the other from the Tresorer of the same date, which yow may besech hir Ma[jes]ty to heare redd because he concludeth with a demand of a larg some wherof hir Ma[jes]ty may please to have consideration, for the sonar the monny maybe sent the sonar may hir chardg deminish, which the Tresorer reporteth to be viii M l [£8,000] the month and yet ther is but half Novemb[er] payd and yet i M ii C l [£1,200] borrowed and i M ix C [£1,900] dew for Bowes so as to make a paye for November and to pay the dett, is required vii M i C

lordship at £80,000 per annum. O'Donnell was Tyrone/O'Neill's major confederate against the English, 1593–1600, went to the English in Tyrconnell under Sir Henry Docwra in 1600, knighted 1601, lord of Tyrconnell from 1592. Bruce Lenman, *England's Colonial Wars 1550–1688: Conflicts, Empire and National Identity*. (New York, 2001), 113. Hiram Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion: The Outbreak of the Nine Year's War in Tudor Ireland* (Woodbridge, 1993); O'Donnell [Ó Domhnaill], Sir Niall Garbh (1568/9–1626?), *ODNB*.

The proceedings with the rebel earl of Tyrone in Nov. 1595 followed Cecil's explicit instructions to Sir John Norris. He was to begin negotiations on behalf of the Crown with the recently allied rebels Tyrone and O'Donnell. TNA SP 63/183/no. 114, fol. 354r–v. Drafts of the fuller instructions were drawn by both Burghley and Cecil. Burghley's notes were altered in his hand on a corrected draft in Maynard's hand of TNA SP 63/183/no. 110, fols. 346r–347v; 348r–349v. A memorandum enumerating Tyrone's offences against the Queen was drafted by Maynard with corrections in a later version made in Cecil's hand, TNA SP 63/183/ no. 112, fols. 350r–351v; no. 113, fols. 352r–353v. Norris and Sir William Russell (see n. 30), the lord deputy, clashed. They extended their personal enmity to present disputes over the powers granted to Norris in these letters despite Russell's clear insistence to Cecil that the matter was far too delicate for the Irish Council to deal with alone, TNA SP 63/184/ no. 8, fol. 20r, no. 14, fols. 57r–58r; *CSPI 1592–1596*, 427. Copies of a patent for Tyrone's submission were also drawn at that time, in 'project' by Burghley and corrected by both Cecils in another draft, TNA SP 63/184, no. 42, fols. 143r–144v, no. 43, fols. 145r–146v.

²⁹Expenses for the troops may have been calculated from Sir Ralph Lane's 46-page book of the Queen's charges for her Irish troops from 1 Apr. to 30 Sept. 1595, TNA SP 63/184/no. 21, fols. 68r–95v), *ODNB*.

³⁰Burghley inquired of Sir William Russell (1553–1613), *ODNB*, and Sir Henry Wallop in mid Nov. 1595 regarding expenditure and the loss of treasure, particularly the inadequate provisioning by government commissaries George Beverly in Chester and Robert Newcomen in Dublin. *CSPI 1592–1596*, 428–429. Russell had complained about the same losses and shortfalls to Burghley in his letter of the 9 Nov. packet. TNA SP 63/184/no. 14, fol. 53r–v, no. 15, fols. 57r–58r. Wallop's reply of 12 Dec. to this letter of Burghley's letter to Cecil of 1 Dec. noted that the £20,000 sent would last a month once the outstanding debts were paid. This came with Ralph Lane's answers about the musters as requested by Burghley, TNA SP 63/184/ fol. 96r–97.

[£7,100] and now also monny must be sent, for December which will be at an end before the monny can come thither.³¹

I do send yow a note of all the monnyes sent in the yer 1594 and of monnyes sent in 2 months of this present yere non beyng sent in Sept[ember], Octob[er] nor November which hir Ma[jes]ty may also se, and therby be moved to resolv hir plesur.³²

[In the margin on the right side of the page]

I pray yow gyve my most humble thanks to hir Ma[jes]ty for hir offer sendyng to know of my head and neck which on Satyrday, semed to be made of lead and yesterday soemwhat lighter as of Iron. I hope to have then only in weight boan and flesh.

[Added in a paragraph to the right of above addition in the margin]
I have not without some payne written this therfor, yt is not legible for hir Majesty.

p[rim]o Dec[ember] 1595,

Your loving father,

³¹Two large payments in rapid succession went into Ireland in Dec. 1595 and Jan. 1596: £12,000 and £20,000 respectively, TNA SP 63/191/fol. 201r. The £32,000 pounds matched Burghley's worst fears for the projected costs of Ulster alone for the next seven months, as estimated in Sept. 1595, TNA SP 63/183/no. 68, fol. 218r. Payments were due to Sir Robert Bowes (d.1597), *ODNB*, the Queen's ambassador to the Scottish court. These were 'tokens' for John Auchinross and MacLean of Duart, adherents of the earl of Argyll who committed men and ships for a projected invasion of Loch Foyle. TNA SP 52/57/no. 59, SP 52/58/no. 6. In Aug. 1595 1,000 marks had been promised. A naval skirmish off the Ulster coast managed by these intelligence contacts and by Captain George Thornton was also paid out of the Irish Exchequer. TNA SP 63/191/fol. 122v; Letter No. 73. Sir Lachlan Mor Maclean of Duart (1558–1598), *ODNB*, and Archibald Campbell, 7th earl of Argyll (1575/6–1638), *ODNB*, were James VI's leading force against the northern earls, particularly the earl of Huntly in 1594–1596. Both Maclean and Argyll corresponded with Robert Cecil, see above, p. 50. George Gordon, 1st marquess of Huntly (1561/2–1636), *ODNB*, was the sworn enemy of the earl of Moray who was married to Argyll's sister. He was exonerated by the king in 1594 for dealings with Spain together with the earls of Angus and Erroll despite condemnation by the Kirk. The Cecils' 'labyrinth', was to create a party around Bothwell, Moray, and others who would frustrate the pro-Spanish earls in the highlands and islands. James Stewart, 2nd earl of Moray (1565/6–1592), *ODNB*, had been murdered by Huntly's men, thus exacerbating the crisis among the king's family and their opponents. William Douglas, 10th earl of Angus (c.1554–1611), *ODNB*, shifted alliances, befriending Bothwell, for example while being named in the Spanish Blanks and incurring unsuccessful royal military responses in early 1593 and Nov. 1594. The last earl of Erroll, James Hay (1564–1631), *ODNB*, was a convert to Catholicism, and with the other two was implicated directly against the Kirk, and crown, from 1589. In 1593–1596 he, too, was under prohibition but not forfeiture of the crown. Some of his lands were given to the king's lieutenant the duke of Lennox, but he returned secretly in 1596, to the consternation of Burghley and others.

³²Burghley wrote memorials of expenditure on a nearly monthly or bi-monthly basis. This exact estimate is not extant.

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED by Burghley:

To my loving sonn Sir Robart Cecill

ENDORSED by Sir Robert Cecil:

Last first of December 1593

my l[ord] to me

Letter No. 8

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 3 December 1593

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I do send herewith letters directed to the Connsell from the L[ord] depute and Connsell of Irland, which I was bold to oppen and read as yow may se by my apostills in the margynes.³³ two or 3 matters therin ar to be answered by my LLs [Lords] uppon ther reportes to hir Ma[jes]ty wherunto I do forebeare to shew my opinion, because the matters may require debat and oppositions, so as my opinion may varye at the fyrst and yet may alter uppon a second advise.

It had bene well doone that the Depute, had caused the [Marshall] uppon his Journal of his procedynges and Marchynges to have sent a small tryck by description in paper.³⁴

I send also a letter from the Erle of Northum[berland] in answer of ours to hym. he hath not bene sick at all, but troobled with a cold and is now retourned to petworth.³⁵

3 December 1593

Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

³³Sir William Fitzwilliam, lord deputy of Ireland, 1590–1594, and Lady Burghley's kinsman (1526–1599). *ODNB*, was soon to be recalled.

³⁴Bagenal's reports regarding the rebel Maguire's escape from his custody, *CSPI 1592–1596*, 168; TNA SP 63/172/no. 8, fol. 64r.

³⁵Henry Percy, 9th earl of Northumberland (1564–1632), *ODNB*.

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my lovinge sonne, Robert Cecill, knight

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

The Lo[rd] Thre[sure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 9

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 3 December 1593

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. Dictated to Henry Maynard, with a final paragraph and some interlineations in Burghley's hand.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I have received letters this daie from Mr. Yonge,³⁶ that havinge employed an Irishman into the Lowe Contries for the doinge of summ service uppon Sir William Stanleie, whoe failing of his purpose thearein, delt with certaine Irishmen of his Regiment,³⁷ to warne him, and to retorne hither into the Realme: wherein he prevailed so farre with them that at this present there are commen over from thence to the number of xi. And for that I thowght the sending of them over into their contrie might rather doe hurt than good, in

³⁶Richard Yonge or Young, Council servant and Middlesex JP, was used by the Cecils frequently in intelligence matters. For example, the questioning of a double agent, Thomas D'Arques, in Cecil's employ, was left to Young in late 1592 (*HMCS*, iv, 245, 246, 248, 249, 250), as was the examination of Anthony Tyrell, a Catholic with continental connections (*HMCS*, iv, 380–381, 392, 392–394, 419, 428, 432). On 30 Mar. 1593, Young was named in the commission of Council advisers who were to refer seditious persons, foreign seminarians, and other dangerous spies, to a Council committee of three, including Cecil (*APC 1592*, 7), so Burghley's referral of Young's letter was probably routine, but it involved expenditure and passed the Lord Treasurer first for comment. During the Parliament of 1593, Cecil had been placed into the commission examining Richard Hesketh's plots against the earl of Derby. For the commission's letters patent, see *CPR 35 Eliz. I*, nos 569–570.

³⁷Richard Hesketh (1553–1593), *ODNB*. Sir William Stanley (1548–1630), *ODNB*, was a member of the earl of Derby's family whose career in Ireland had been furthered by Burghley in the early 1580s, but his later treasonous act of giving Deventer to the Spanish in 1587 had posed an intelligence problem, as he had significant Irish contacts. These, Burghley held here, would have to be discovered, because the link to the rebels might prove direct Spanish involvement with Tyrone and O'Donnell. See also Rory Rappaport, *Martial Power and Elizabethan Political Culture: Military Men in England and Ireland, 1558–1594* (New York, 2009), 118–125. See Letter No. 122.

that I conceived that theie weare but Base persons, I wroate to Mr. Yonge to examin them as to the places of theire birthe, and of the meanes theie had to live being in theire contrye: which examinacions with his letter I send heereinlosed to yowe to be imparted to my lls [Lords] of the Connsell that theire lls [Lords] maie (if so it shall please them,) grawnt them pasportes to retorne with their letters to the L[ord] deputy in their favour: and if hir ma[jes]tie would be pleased to geve them somethinge to carry themm home, being as yt semeth in pooreCase it might [a long sentence crossed out, illegible] ^{be kepe them from disorder}.

So farre you well, ffrom the Strand this third of December 1593.

[Burghley's postscript]

I wish no men to return, without certen knolledg, how they can lyve at home, wher ther ar allredy to manny lose men as yow may se in on part of the letters from Irland [page ripped].³⁸

[In Maynard's hand, meaning that the paragraph above was added after signing]
your lov[ing] father;

[Signed]
W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my Lovinge Sonne
Sir Robart Cecil knight, one of hir ma[jes]ties privie Connsell

ENDORSED by Sir Robert Cecil:

Two that came ^{with} Le Grenier who bro:

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

3 decemb[er] 1593
The L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

³⁸The substance of the rest of this letter refers to intelligence from Ireland in Dec. 1593: see Letter No. 8. Cecil was well informed of the Irish-Spanish intelligence links. See TNA SP 63/172/no. 19, fol. 127r-v, a notice of Spanish news endorsed 'Simple's report'. This may have been a Scottish agent named 'Semple', 'Semphill', most likely a close servant of the king, Sir James Semphill or Semple (1566?–1626), *ODNB*. News of the king's support or connection to Jesuits in Ireland may have been monitored by the Cecils through him.

Letter No. 10**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil,
7 December 1593**

1 p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I dare not wrtye to yow of my wowyng mentioned ^{sent for} untill I here how hir Ma[jes]ty, alloweth of my absence to follow it. Butt in the meane tyme yow may assure hir Ma[jes]ty, that I fynd no great hope of any spedy success. I fynd the lady some what strange to gyve care to my request, for that she useth not to gyve audience, in clowdy and fowle wether, and herof is here to great plenty, and yet betwixt showres I do attend and follow hir trayne.

Thus much metaphorically I trust without offence to hir Ma[jes]ty. Now literally I do send yow the l[ette]res from Mr. bowes, which I have red, and of ye decre of ye Convention, as yow may se by my notes whereunto if hir Ma[jes]ty will have me make answer I shall so do.³⁹

I send yow also herwth a l[ette]re from Mr. warburton whom hir Ma[jes]ty allowed by hir warrant to exercise the office of vicechamberlain in Chester / by it yow shall se how necessary it is for execution of Justyce to all that have sutes from any superior Courtes in yt [that] Conte Palatyn, that there be a chamberlain, and therfor as hir Ma[jes]ty shall allow the now Erle to occupy yt [that] office, so may hir Ma[jes]ty do well to pass it to hym of hir meare gratuite, without any appearance of this necessite. If hir Ma[jes]ty assent therto may yow well to procure a bill from Mr. attorney.⁴⁰

I look befor I slepe to heare from yow, how far hir Ma[jes]ty do allow of my simple opinion for ye Irland cawses.

7 10^{bre} at Theb[alds]

Your lovyng father, W. Burghley.

³⁹The Scottish convention had voted to excommunicate the northern earls, see Letters Nos 2 and 7, for their plot and Bowes's reporting of their movements.

⁴⁰Sir Peter Warburton of Arley (c.1540–1621), *ODNB*, recently appointed vice-chamberlain of Chester, also recently received the call of serjeant. The Cecils had shown him favour in 1593; A.G.R. Smith, *Servant of the Cecils: The Life of Sir Michael Hicckes, 1543–1612* (London, 1977), 65–66; see Letter No. 136A.

Dorse

ADDRESS

To my verie loving sonne, Sir Robert Cecill, knight, of hir Ma[jes[ty's
Privy Consell

ENDORSED in Sir Robert Cecil's hand:
from my l[ord] to me

Letter No. 11

Peter Warburton to William, Lord Burghley, 5 December 1593

1 p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

Right honorable my very good L[ord]. Your L[ordshi]p's speciall furtherance of me in the call of serjeantes besides other honorable favours which your L[ord] hath done me,⁴¹ doth bynd me to carye in most thankfull remembrance your L[ordshi]p's great goodnes towards me most humblie desiring yur good L[ord] to accomt me to be one that do beare most thankfull goodwill & love and will be ever desirous to do you the best dutie and service I can to you and yours.

I wold have attended your L[ord] for this purpose according to my dutie but percyving it is your L[ord]ship's desire not to be troubled at this tyme with London sub[jects] in respect whereof I beseech your l[ord] to allow my boldness to write.

And wher upon the death of the late Erle of derbye,⁴² chamberlain of the Countie Palatyne of Chester, it pleased her ma[jes]tie (chiefly by your L[ordshi]p's favourable commendaconn) to direct her ma[jes]tie's warrant to me under the pryve signett to exercise the place as vicechamberlen⁴³ till further order were taken which I do

⁴¹See Letter No. 10.

⁴²Henry, 4th earl of Derby had died 25 Sept. 1593. *ODNB*.

⁴³BL Lansdowne MS. 74 no. 78, the attorney general, Sir Thomas Egerton, forwarded the bill for the appointment of Ferdinando, 5th earl of Derby (c.1559–1594) as chamberlain, 30 Sept. 1593, of the County of Chester; *ODNB*. Egerton succeeded to the office on Derby's death in 1594 much to the chagrin of William, 6th earl.

accordingly, may yt please your L[ord] to be advertised that all writts which are awarded from these superior courtes in that cuntry are directed Camararis⁴⁴ and he doth make a writte under that Seale to the sheriff and the sheriff maketh his returne to him and the Chamberlen doth returne them into these courtes in his owne name so that unles there be a chamberlen no persons with causes out of these courtes can be duly returned, for ther can not be a deputie chamberlen unless ther be a chamberlen. therfor it is a matter of necessity that her Ma[jes]ty appoint a chamberlen before the next terme at which tyme they are to be returned into these courtes in the chamberlen's name, and ther is no direccionn of any writtes vicecameransis nor no precedent in that sort. In the meane tyme I may award them to the sheriff but can not returne them in my name. as for hearing & ordering of causes in equity (as ther are divers severall matters ther) this warrant is sufficient but not for things that are to be done in ordinary course of law.

I thought it my dutie to notifie your L[ord] of the state of this cause desiring your L[ord's] honorable considaracion. Thus having troubled your L[ord] I pray god preserve your L[ord] in good health with much honour. ffrom lycolns Inn vth of december 1593. (Your L[ordshi]p's most bounden,

Peter Warburton.

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Peter Warburton's hand:

To the Right honorable my very good L[ord], Wm. L[ord] Burly,
L[ord] Tresorer of England

ENDORSED in another of the Cecil's secretaries' hands, possibly Richard Percival:⁴⁵

vth December 1593

Mr. Warburton, Counsellor at Lawe to my L[ord]

Reasons why it is necessary that a Chamberlane of Chester should be made before the next terme

⁴⁴Presumably Warburton was outlining the letters patent and fees of the office for Burghley's benefit.

⁴⁵Richard Percival, see above, pp. 21–22, whose hand is ubiquitous in Cecil's administrative activity. Alan G.R. Smith, 'The secretariats of the Cecils, circa 1580–1612', *The English Historical Review*, 83 (1968), 482, n. 2.

Letter No. 12**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil,
7 December 1593**

½ p. Dictated to a clerk, Michael Hicckes.⁴⁶

Addressed, endorsed.

Text

I send to yow hereinlosed a letter written unto me by the ffr[ench] Ambassador, and Brought to me by one Belott⁴⁷ who hath made his residence at Caen, for some good tyme where he hath served verie faithfullie and painfully in hir ma[jes]ty's service. This letter as yow shall parceave is written in favour of one Monsieur de St. Marie, a gentleman verie well affected to the Cause of Relligion, and devoted to hir Ma[jes]tie That he may have lycence to buy and transport a pece of Ordanaunce, called a Culvayn of 4000 waight.⁴⁸ I understand that my L[ord] of Essex should be acquainted with the request, and that the Vidam⁴⁹ hath written in his favour. I pray yow therfore speak with my L[ord] of Essex herein and geve the request your best furtherance with hir Ma[jes]tie at your best opportunitie wherein Bellott will atend your answer at Theobalds. the 7 of December 1593.

Your loving father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED Michael Hicckes:

To my Verie Lovinge Soone Sir Robert Cecill knight of hir Ma[jes]ties privy Consell

⁴⁶Michael Hicckes, 1543–1612, see above, p. 12; *ODNB*; Smith, *Servant of the Cecils*.

⁴⁷Thomas Bellott was resident at Caen, as part of the Brittany intelligence connection. Cecil made notes on Bellott's suit for the shipping of ordnance and beer, 17 Aug. 1593. See Maynard's endorsement, TNA SP 78/32/fol. 46r. Cecil was similarly occupied with Sir Noel de Caron (b. before 1530–d.1624), *ODNB*, a Dieppe merchant: see *HMCs*, iv, 167, 216, 224, 245, 246, 468, 602; TNA SP 84/47/fol. 168r. Horatio Palavicino (1540–1600), merchant and money-lender, noted that Cecil read foreign matters routinely by this time, *HMCs*, iv, 351. Cecil was also assisting Sir John Norris's forces with 'Provisions of Beare, Meale and Money'. TNA SP 84/47/fol. 99r. Palavicino was a very close to Cecil in intelligence: see Lawrence Stone, *An Elizabethan: Sir Horatio Palavicino* (Oxford, 1956); *ODNB*.

⁴⁸St Marie's suit procured to the signet seal by Sir Robert Cecil, TNA SO3/1/fol. 438v; Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 24/60. The weight of the culverin exceeded the upper limit set by statute, as drafted by both Cecils. *TRP*iii, 107–108. Burghley procured ordnance on occasion by direct warrant to the officers of the Ordnance, and for shipping to the port officers in the Customs House, e.g. TNA SP 12/243/no. 34.

⁴⁹See Letter No. 2.

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

The Lo[rd] Thre[sure]r to my M[aste]r
In the behalf of one Mr. Bellott
Resident in Caen.

Letter No. 13

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 9 December 1593

¾ p. Nine lines in Henry Maynard's hand, one short paragraph in Burghley's hand, and a holograph postscript.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

The Bearer hereof hath browght letters to my LLs [Lords] of the Connsell, the like whereof have been directed tto my self fromm Sir John Wogan owt of Wales, with the Examinacionns of two lewde persons fugitives,⁵⁰ whoe might have been delt withall in the Contie, without the trowble of my lls [Lords] of the Connsell, but seeing the messenger is cumm upp, yowe maie receive the letters ^{or having acquainted my lls [Lords] hearewith} and to retaine him with such awnswere as yt shall please my lls [Lords] to geve. Soe farre yowe well from my howse at Theobaldes this ~~eight~~ ix of Deember 1593.

[Burghley]

I send also a warrant for his charges being a long foote Journay and if he sent away spedely yow may put in the blank of the warrant, or otherwise i iiii s iiii d.

Hytherto beyng v of the clock towrd even, I have not hard from you, concerning ethr Irland or brytan causes.

For the boglish, I think if uppon the last direction Sir Jhon norrice shall be come away, yet my opinion Contynueth for retyring the forces to the Isles, for which lyk comission wuld be gyven to Sir Jhon Norryce electu-⁵¹

[In Maynard's hand]

Your lovinge father

⁵⁰Sir John Wogan was a member of the Pembrokeshire commission of the peace. *CPR*, 36 *Eliz. I*, no. 1019.

⁵¹For the threat to Sir John Norris's forces at this juncture, see R.B. Wernham, *After the Armada: Elizabethan England and the Struggle for Western Europe, 1588–1595* (Oxford, 1984), 511.

[signed]

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my lovinge sonne Sir Robert Cecill knyght one of hir Ma[jes]ties
privy Connell

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

9 decemb[er] 1593
The L[ord] Treas[urer] to my Master

Letter No. 14

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 7 December 1593

5 pp. Dictated to Michael Hikes.

Addressed [holograph], endorsed.

Text

I have received your letter written this daye late at nyght and because with it and other writinges which yow sent me, there are many poyntes to be answered. ffor ease of my hand I doe use my Secretarie. And do answere the partes of your letter as they lye in order. I like well of the Conference yow had with Swynnerton⁵²

⁵²John Swinnerton (1564–1616), *ODNB*, was farmer of the Imposts for Wines and worked closely with Carmarthen and Billingsley of the Customs, a crucial source of revenue affected by war. *CSPD 1591–1594*, 511–512. The agreement alluded to Swinnerton's farming of the wine impost as sole purveyor to the court, according to this agreement, which lasted 1593–1597 and from which he made great profit. BL Lansdowne MS 81, no. 25. Over the first year his profit through London was £4,024, with £1,454 10s through outports. His cost was £4,640, yielding a profit of £839. A 1591 agreement was made between Swinnerton with Carmarthen as the Queen's agent thus obviating the previous role of guarantor held by Thomas Fanshawe, Queen's Remembrancer in the Exchequer, for the bonds. Alderman Billingsley was to have had, by the earlier agreement, the bonds on the Queen's behalf during the first half year. The division of payment was to have followed on the half year. Burghley had noted then that he doubted Billingsley would be happy with the arrangement, because there was some question as to how Swinnerton would repay debt; the new covenant removed Billingsley and Swinnerton became sole patentee until 1597 when the Crown decided to farm the wines directly. *CSPD 1591–1594*, 140. See Allegra Woodworth, *Purveyance for the Royal Household, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, NS 35 (1946), 56 and n. 24. Cecil adjudicated in a dispute between Carmarthen and another customs house servant, George Margitts, in obtaining the impost of Irish sweet wines. *CSPD 1592–1594*, 424.

and Carmarthen⁵³ and have perused the articles of agreement, which seeing they both do Allowe, I am gladd therof and in that yow have acquainted hir ma[jes]tie therewith^{yow} have donne well. But yett as you may fynd by my note in the margent to the 2 article. I dowbt of Billingslies⁵⁴ [Alderman] consent therto or that otherwise hir ma[jes]tie may be a loser. for the explanation of one poynt in Swynnerton's patent I like well yow send for Mr. Sollicitor⁵⁵ and informe him of the Clause to be changed by the Quene's warrant, but for the perfetting thereof I thinke it mete that he speake both with Carmarthen and Swynnerton. The 2 poynt of your letter concerneth my former allegorical letter written to yowⁱⁿ which I perceive her ma[jes]tie discovered the literall sence thereof befoer the mydst of it seene. I must confesse that my Cunninge therein was not sufficient to the hide sence from her ma[jes]tie, although I thinke never a ladye^{besides her} nor Decipherer in the Courte would ha[v]e dissolved the figure to have found the sence as hir ma[jes]tie hath done. And where hir ma[jes]tie alloweth of me, that I made my self merye in verie truth I did it rather to make hir some sport (my self therein not altered no otherwise then hir ma[jes]tie's lute is in hir own hand, that maketh others merry, and contynueth it self as was.) ffor the matters of Ireland I parceave hir ma[jes]tie yesternight ment to heare them this day. And for the questions what somme of money might be reasonable required I think 5 or 6000 l varie nedefull so as Sir Henry Walopp be moved to procure payment of the overplus of the Quene's ordinarie Revenne^{due} there above al ordinarie ffees for officers of the Realm payd.⁵⁶

[Margin, in Cecil's hand]

⁵³Richard Carmarthen, an officer of the London Customs and merchant, was a valuable intelligence link and investigated suspicious persons on behalf of the Privy Council; see, for example, *HMGS*, v, 15, 6 Sept. 1595. H.A. Lloyd, 'Camden, Carmarthen and the Customs', *English Historical Review* 85 (1970), 776–787.

⁵⁴Sir Henry Billingsley (d.1606), *ODNB*, was part of the Customs House intelligence network for the Privy Council, merchant of London, and lord mayor 1596. His son married the daughter of John Quarles, merchant of London and sometime victualler of the navy. One account claimed Billingsley was far more efficient as Customs farmer in the port of London than his predecessor Sir Thomas Smith. Sir Robert Cecil had worked closely with him and Carmarthen in gathering and selling the prizes from the carrick *Madre di Dios* in 1591. *CSPD 1591–1594*, 64, 140.

⁵⁵Sir Edward Coke (1552–1634), then solicitor general, *ODNB*.

⁵⁶The matter of paying the patentees of Ireland out of deteriorating Irish revenues was put to Burghley by Wallop (then at Hampton Court) on 6 Dec. 1593, in which he expressed frustration that the entire revenues from Connacht went to Sir Richard Bingham, and those of Munster to Sir Thomas Norreys. *CSPD 1592–1596*, 190; TNA SP 63/172/no. 37. These

Brittany

[Text continued]

Now to the greatest matter of all theise, concerning the letters from Sir John Norreis written the last of October⁵⁷ which I retorne unto yow dated at Pontrieux and so do I also

[p. 2] now send yow another of his dated the next daye following at Pempole⁵⁸ [Burghley] which cam to me with yours, And for the matter conteyned in his former letter and the disposition in hir ma[jes]tie for the safetie of hir Troupes uppon hir opynion of the reach of the Truce.⁵⁹ I am in doubt what to advise to give unto hir Majesty by reason of the diversitie of the dyrections which have bene sent to John Norreis. The last whereof as yow may remember was wherewith hir ma[jes]tie was acquainted.⁶⁰ That considering hir ma[jes]tie was advertised both

standing allowances were balanced against an extraordinary payment of £5,000–£6,000 in Dec. 1593 sent for pay of the garrison. A Privy Council brief in Willis's hand, endorsed by Cecil, discussed the question of proceeding with a campaign against Maguire, awaiting the Queen's assent. That winter was not good for such a campaign, because victualling and supplies were very costly. Money was sent: 'of necessitie some money would be sent to Ireland, for all that was last sent is distributed to the souldiers imprest', TNA SP 63/172/no. 43, fols. 234r–v, 235v. Sir Thomas Norris [Norreys] (1556–1599), *ODNB*, deputy to his brother in Munster (see n. 58), long-standing Irish military governor. Sir Richard Bingham (1527/8–1599), governor of Connacht, sequestered by the government in 1596 but relieved under Essex's patronage; a Crown servant of long standing, Bingham's position in Connacht was complex and he had to deal with the lingering opposition of Burghley and Fitzwilliam, Rapple, *Martial Power*, 250–300.

⁵⁷Sir John Norris's letters to Burghley dated 31 Oct. 1593 from Pontrieux, TNA SP 78/32/fols. 273r–274v; *L&A*, v, Analysis: nos 270, 271, 275, 276, 277, 283, 397.

⁵⁸Sir John Norris to the Queen and Privy Council of 1 Nov. 1593 is not extant, but Burghley might have been mistaken about the date of Norris's second letter. Norris's dated 1 Dec. set forth French dealings which had the effect of turning the Queen's cautious support for the relief of Pempole [Paimpol] to outright revocation of her Brittany troops, TNA SP 78/32/fols. 372r–373v; *L&A*, v, Analysis: nos 282, 284. Sir John Norris, Burghley's favoured military commander, was governor of Munster. The warning of Henry IV's intentions informed Cecil's work in furnishing Norris with points to consider. Particularly suspect were the king's intentions, given (as deciphered from Norris to Cecil) 'yf he may be received into the church he will not only make war agaynst the protestantes of France but al Christendom', TNA SP 78/32/fols. 42r–3v, 44r–45v, 277r–80r.

⁵⁹Norris's opinion on the breach of the truce in Oct. 1593, in his letter of 1 Nov. 1593, is given in the previous note. Jean VI d'Aumont (1522–1595) and the duke of Mercoeur had negotiated the prolongation of the truce. Mercoeur, Philippe-Emanuel de Lorraine (1558–1602), was a commander of the Catholic League, later married to Henry IV's illegitimate daughter to secure Brittany for the French crown, and pressed his claims to the duchy of Brittany through his wife Marie of Luxembourg.

⁶⁰TNA SP 78/32/fol. 298r; *L&A*, v, Analysis no. 282. Burghley's careful noting of the Queen's involvement suggests that advice, rather than royal commands, had been supplied to Norris through privy councillors and their agents.

from the king and from the States of Brittanie,⁶¹ the Duke's Deputie should come from the States to treat with hir ma[jes]tie for the Contynuacion of hir fforges and Satisfaction for hir charges paste and to come. and that Sir John Norreis desyred privately to come over he was lycenced by hir ma[jes]tie to informe him selfe well of the legations of the deputies and so to come over to give hir ma[jes]tie better information ^[Burghley] and to leave the troops in Jursy. And this was the last dyrection made unto hym to my knowledge. Which might be allowed to contynewe, if there were not nowe matter advertised by Sir John Norreis by this his last letter, wherein he declareth his opynion that notwithstanding the Truce accepted by the Duke Mercury by letters written from the Mareschall⁶² unto him he is advised to stand upon his gard, arguing thereby a doubt whither the Truce would be performed or not. he also writing some reasons which move him to doubt of the performance of the truce for that the Spaniardes have lately dislodged from place to place to come to St. Bryene [^{ryene} is added above the line in Burghley's hand] and there to Joyn with both the Lorrynners and the Ffrench⁶³ which place is but a good dayes march from Pempole. Besides this, he writeth that the Ffrench, which he had procured to lye nere unto him, for his assistance, ar by the Mareschall revoked and disparsed to their garrisons so as it semeth playnlie that whither the truce hold or breake he shalbe in danger by the enemye, in so muche also as I note that he doubteth that when shipping shall come to revoke him and his Troupes whither he shalbe albe to embarke the enemye comminge⁶⁴ [in Burghley's hand] nere unto him

[p. 3] and yet if shipping shall come he offreth to adventure though it cost him deare. and therefore requireth to be no longer delayed with irresolutions, wherewith I am sure he will come with a mynd to charge me with the lack of resolutions and varietie of dyrections, whereof I am sure hir ma[jes]tie will discourage me, and the various accidentes that have happened by the fir[ench] Kinge's breach of his promises, and reiterations of better observations though not hitherto performed, will iustifye hir ma[jes]ties actions to satisfye Sir John Norries or any other reasonable man. These doubtful poyntes hav I

⁶¹Letter from the *parlement* of the States of Brittany to Queen Elizabeth informing her of their desire to send a legation to negotiate terms of the truce and her commitment, 15 Oct. 1593, TNA SP 78/32/fol. 227r-v; *L&A*, v, Analysis no. 279.

⁶²Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne, marshal of France from 1592, titular duke of Bouillon (1555–1623), converted to Protestantism in 1572, Huguenot leader.

⁶³The troops under Charles of Lorraine, duke of Aumale (1573–1595), prominent Leaguer who was deprived of his title by Henry IV in 1595.

gathered out of the letter which yow sent me which make me doubtfull what advise to give, for bringing awaye the Troupes as yow do write to me of hir ma[jes]tie's disposition. And to increase theis doubttes of myne moving me to encline to hir majestie's disposition by his latter letter, which hir Majesty hath not yett seene, I see the intention of the sending of the deputies hither from the States, is as I at the first did coniecture to borrowe money of hir ma[jes]tie which in a paraphrasis, is to Carrye aware money and to leave writings under scales whereof hir Majesty hath greate plentye, so as the comminge of these Deputies may be better looked for then wellcome.⁶⁴ And therefore fynding the care which hir Majesty hath for hir people (which is varie princely) and knowing as I thinke my L[ord] Admyrall will confesse how desparate a matter it is to provide a number of hoyes in this wynter tyme, and how longe it wilbe, being too be provided in the Threasurie and how unable they shalbe this wynter tyme to brooke the seas in so long a voiage and yett to shew my disposition how to have the people saved I thinke wylth my Lord Admyrall's⁶⁵ advise to allowe the same, if 3 or 4 Barkes might be had from South[hamp]ton and Poole for the Coast and be sent to the Yles of Jersey and Gurnsey, which with the help of some smale vesselles belonging to those Ylandes, might safely bring and spede conveniently

[p. 4] all the Quene's people from Pempole to the Ylandes or to some of them the way being short, and so the people might be there in safetie, and at no greater charge to hir ma[jes]tie then they be in Brittanie. And this for the tyme which ^{[Burghley] may} serve to two ends. The one to have the people brought away with more safetie ^{[Burghley] hereafter} as shipping may be provided ^{hereafter}, and so also Sir John Norreis maye with more safetie repaire to hir ma[jes]tie. [In Burghley's hand in the margin] ther ar ii or iii at Southampton that lately and fortunately took the kinge of Spayne's ship of warre. The other may well serve hir ma[jes]tie in honor in not revoking her fforges into England, untill the Deputies might com hither and to be hard what they can saye for the contynuing of hir ma[jes]ties fforges thereof.

⁶⁴The Queen's expenditure in France is outlined in Wernham, *After the Armada*, 415–416. There was a massive French debt owing to England in money sent under seals out of the Exchequer. The sum for 1594 included £14,173 for eight ships off Brest; a further £36,719 for the 4,000 troops required in Brittany during the balance of the year. TNA SP 78/38/fols. 256r, 257v, 259v.

⁶⁵The lord admiral co-ordinated this effort: 'On December 10, John Troughton was instructed upon receiving warrants and commission from the Lord Admiral, to take up twelve ships, manned and victualled at Southampton, Poole, Plymouth, Lyme and their members', *L&A*, v, Analysis nos 285, 266–267.

And for the Contentations of them of Brittanie, Sir John Norries may be dyrected and ^{that} at the time when he shalbe ready to come away to the Ilandes ^{[Burghley] he may have} advertise both the Mareschall and others of the States there, that the cause why he removeth his Troupes from thence to the Ylandes is for that the place where his Troupes are, is not fortified, and that he understandeth [Burghley] yt [clerk] both the Spaniard, Lorayne and French are approaching to St. Briece and that the Mareschall hath Revoked the ffrench, which laye nere unto hym to their garrisons, so that he fyndeth him selfe in smale danger, for him self and the Quene's peoples ^{[Burghley] for which purpose} he hath thought ^{[Burghley] now} to retyre him self, in some of hir ma[jes]tie's Yles, lying nere to the coast of Brittanie, there to be in some more suertie, untill hir ma[jes]tie may have hard what the deputies of the States have to treat with hir for mayntenance of hir charges, if she shall agree to Contynew hir former promise of greater forces there. By this hir ma[jes]tie may maintayne honour in hir late offer ^{[Burghley] to} to ~~suffer~~ ^{[Burghley] revok} them untill the coming of the deputies, ffor hereby hir generall doth but retyre them for their suretie where they may be readye hereafter to serve without Cashing of them by sending then home into England. Thus you see I am somewhat long in delivering of my doubtfull opynions, wherein none of the Counsel

[p. 5] can better iudge for their bringing away then my L[ord] Admyrall. And if his L[ordshi]p will make choice of some discrete man by the help of his vice Admyrall in Hampshire and to gett such 3 or 4 nymble Barkes there and ^{[Burghley] that may be} the Samsone I am sure if they may be sufred by hir ma[jes]tie's assent to carye each of them but xxtie tonne of beare to be solde at Pempole or in the Ylandes to which places they do use many tymes to steale some smale quantitie without lycence.

In the 2 letter which I send to yow from Sir John Norreis there is a clause in Ciphre, which I cannot decipher here readely for lack of my Alphabete which is with my bookes at the Courte which I ghesse be to ^{[Burghley] no} other purpose, but to have the Duke Mounpensier the Governor there in favour of the Protestantes of that countrie.⁶⁶ But if my stuff be come from Windsore, yow shall fynd a bigg paper Booke in folio entituled Mattars of France, in which by looking into

⁶⁶The duke of Montpensier (1573–1608) and the Brittany Protestants: see *L&A*, v, Analysis no. 284, for discussion of the factions between adherents of Jean d'Aumont and the king's lieutenants. These lengthy instructions here set forth by Burghley were incorporated into the Privy Council's directions on shipping for John Troughton, TNA SP 78/32.fol. 366r–v. Cecil was organizing much of the correspondence with the Brittany Protestants: see, for example, TNA SO3/fols. 436r–v, SP 78/32/fols. 403r–404r. Essex drew up the military plans, TNA SP 78/33/fols. 189r–v, 217r–v.

the table yow shall fynd the Alphabet of Sir John Norreis.⁶⁷ Thus have I at lenght [*sic*] enough as I thinke answered your whole letter, and the rest of the thinges sent with it.

[Burghley]

I perceave hir Ma[jes]ty looketh for me by the end of the next weke whereuppon yow may saye merely to hir Ma[jes]ty, that am so disposed if God permit me whyther I spede in my vowyng or no for if I do spede, then I may not fayle, but if I spede not by all that wekes pursute, I will trooble my self no more at follwyng here in the conntrey, but will lyve in hope to fynd hir at the Court where I know she will come[,] to serve hir Majesty all the Christmas hollydayes.

God gyve yow grace. From my howss at Theobalds the 7 of Decembre 1593.

Your loving father,

W. Burghley

[Postscript]

If hir Majesty mislyk my opinion for the ease of hir Ma[jes]ty, I am no opinionaster but an opyner.

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Burghley's hand:
for my son Sir Robert Cecil

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:
The L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

⁶⁷Sir Robert Sidney (1564–1636), *ODNB*, governor of Flushing (Vlissingen), was on an embassy to Henry IV in 1593 undertaken partly to assure Henry IV's protection of the Huguenots after his conversion. The book of intelligence codes is secondary to the 'Matters of France' which can be identified in the SP Various 45/vol. 20, no. 45 (list) of volumes of papers Burghley left at his death at the court. Queen Elizabeth changed her mind over the best course of action concerning the relief of Pempole: on reading Norris's first dispatch she was prepared to entertain support for Henry's troops, but when the hard conditions of her offer were set forth in his second letter, she informed Norris that she would revoke his troops. *L&A*, v, Analysis no. 285; TNA SP 78/32/fols. 372r–373v, draft corrected by Burghley. Here Henry Maynard and Cecil had open access to the alphabet or cipher codes, retained in Burghley's custody. For Cecil's drafts of letter containing Sidney's instructions and orders for the end of his embassy, see TNA SP 78/32/fols. 258r–61v, SP 78/33/fols. 19r–20r, 38r–39r, 46r, SO3/1/fol. 439r.

Letter No. 15:**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 23 January 1593**

1 p. Dictated to Henry Maynard, with a holograph paragraph added.
Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I doe send yowe Mr. Guilpin's⁶⁸ letter and thearewith certaine letters that he maketh mention of to be intercepted: whereof one is written by Holt the Jesuit⁶⁹ to Cardinall Allen,⁷⁰ which doth spetially conveie summ his privatt busines, and in sum part his Advertisements of the execucion of Richard Hesketh.⁷¹ An other longe letter is written from Rich[ard] Hopkins to the Cardinall, conteininge a longe colloquie

⁶⁸George Gilpin (1514–1602), *ODNB*, English accredited councillor to the Council of State of the United Provinces of the Low Countries from 1593–1602.

⁶⁹William Holt, SJ (1553–1593), *ODNB*, rector of the English College in Rome from 1586 and polemicist, was intimate with Father Joseph Creswell, strong in his position for an English prelate in Rome. Holt's work is discussed in Anthony G. Petti (ed.), *The Letters and Despatches of Richard Verstegan (c.1550–1640)*, Publications of the Catholic Record Society, 52 (London, 1959), 77, 87, 91, 103, 222, 234. Richard Verstegan (c.1548–1640), *ODNB*, the Brussels publisher, was a clearing-house for Catholic intelligence emanating from Rome, especially. Holt was one of his two main suppliers of information; the other was Hugh Owen, vice-prefect of Cardinal Allen's English mission in the Low Countries until 1598, where he administered funds provided by Philip II. Holt corresponded frequently with Robert Persons, an old sparring partner of Burghley's. Holt was no. 108 in Verstegan's code used with Roland Baines. The exact matter to which this letter refers remains, as so much of this sort of material, mysterious. John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion, and Other Various Occurrences in the Church of England, During Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign* (Oxford, 1725), iv, 208. The letter of 6 Jan. 1594 from Holt to Allen suggests that a highly clandestine incident, possibly the move to convert Ferdinando, earl of Derby or perhaps the recently discovered implication of the Queen's physician Rodrigo Lopez in a regicidal plot. Those of 'religion' meant the papal missioners responsible for English conversion.

⁷⁰William, Cardinal Allen, Principal of the English College at Rome (1532–1595), *ODNB*. Together with the Jesuit Robert Persons (or Parsons), he established seminaries at Douai, Rheims, and Rome, and was a leading force in providing missionary priests into England.

⁷¹Richard Hesketh (1553–1593), *ODNB*, convicted of the murder of Ferdinando, 5th earl of Derby who was descended from Henry VIII's sister, Dowager Queen Mary of France through his mother Lady Margaret Clifford. Wernham, *After the Armada*, 455–456; *CSPD 1591–1594*, 162, 208–209, 222, 227–228, 246, 259–263, 267, 269–277. A complex investigation of persons close to Hesketh led to Sir John Savage delivering Hesketh to the Privy Council under warrant. *HCMS*, iv, 403, 408–409, 418, 421–424, 461–463. Cecil took a leading role, together with Sir John Puckering, in the arraignment, subsequent trial, and execution of Hesketh. *HMCS*, iv, 381, 390. Willis's hand appears on Hesketh's answers to interrogations by William Waad, clerk of the council. *HMCS*, iv, 407–408.

betwene him and Moodye,⁷² concerninge the letters that weare writtenn hither into England by the said Hopkins to move a tolleracion in Religion by the meanes of the Cardinall: And for that it appeareth their former letter tooke noe effect, which weare sent to Mr. Heneage and so browght to mee. Modye preidenteth that he hath an other corse in hand, and looketh to heare owt of England, howe to renewe the former treatie: but what meanes Moody meaneth, or shall use I knowe not, nor by whome, but it semeth he busieth himselfe muche, and heareby the States have entred into suspicion, that his treatie shoulde be done with her ma[jes]ties provitie heare, which Guilpin hath vearie honestlie disavowed.⁷³ The third l[ette]re is to one Baines⁷⁴

⁷²Richard Hopkins (1553–before 1596), *ODNB*, was a papal agent and prominent spy in the Low Countries. He had close ties to the English Catholic community in Rome whose designs were at odds with the regicidal plots out of Spain in accordance with the Donative Bull of 1588, and the Bull *Regnans in Excelsis*, 1570, anathematizing Elizabeth I, particularly following Cardinal Allen's idea of a loyal English Catholic. The 'Colloquy' here mentioned was with Father John Cecil or John Snowden's accomplice Michael Moody, both of whom had presented themselves, to little avail, in 1591 to both Cecils. Snowden/Cecil (the agent) figured prominently in Cecil's later service. A manuscript copy of this 'colloquy' in the BL, Cottonian MS Titus B ii, fol. 225 was published in *The Letters and Despatches of Richard Verstegan, c.1550–1640*, edited by Anthony G. Petti (London, 1959), 201, n. 11. The original was intercepted possibly by Anthony Standen, an agent in Essex's employ who had been discovered, necessitating his return to England. TNA SP 77/5/fol. 102r. Holt observed the Cecils' investigation of Richard Hesketh was now underway. Hesketh was remotely linked to John Dee, as was Derby, and a trained astrologer and alchemist. See C. Devlin, 'The earl and the alchemist', *The Month*, NS 9, 1–3 (Jan.–Mar. 1953). This letter from Moody appears to have been lost. For Standen and the radical shift in Essex's intelligence, see Paul E.J. Hammer, 'An Elizabethan Spy Who Came in from the Cold: The return of Anthony Standen to England in 1593', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 65 (1992), 277–295. It discusses the Cecils' distrust and coldness once Standen had been recruited by Essex, *ibid.* 292–295.

⁷³This disavowal was typical of Burghley's refusal to take on Walsingham's intelligence remnant while Essex did so and underlines Gilpin's role as intelligence assistant in the Low Countries. Cecil's notes in 1598 show these connections were still 'live': 'In such States as are freindes to us, as Scotlande Hollande Zelande Italye Germanye Denmarke and Swedlande' included 'Lawerence Bright in Sussex near Hastings brings news of Normandy "divers Traitors"—this year alone discovered two seminaries and corresponds with Owen, also friends with a priest who was with Jacques; from Brussels an unnamed who works through Gilpin'. 'Mr. Gilpin gets letters from Balt. Peterson in Lisbon'. Stone, *Palavicino*, 238–239, citing TNA SP 12/265/133.

⁷⁴Roland Baines fled to the continent 1579 and was educated at Rheims: 'The most important of [Verstegan's correspondents] at Rome for whom Verstegan acted as intelligencer and agent was William, Cardinal Allen, who resided there from 1585 until his death in Oct. 1594.' *Letters and Despatches of Richard Verstegan*, xx. Baines also circulated Verstegan's correspondence to prominent Catholics in Rome. Baines was the Cardinal's secretary and major-domo. He corresponded with Verstegan for many years, well into the next century. Most of what is known of Baines was provided by Anthony Copley's 'declaration' before the Privy Council in 1596 (printed in Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, iv,

that serveth the Cardinall, containing noe matter of weight otherwise than commonn Advertisements.

Hir maj[es]tie willed I shoulde consider whoe weare fitt deputies under the erle of Derby in Lancashire, and wheare Sir Rich[ard] Sherbourne and Mr. Holland weare his deputies before, I thinke goode to forbear Sir Rich[ard] Sherbourne, and in his place to appoint Mr. Richard Ashton of Midleton that was sherif the last yeare, a vearye sufficient gentleman and well disposed in Religion and soe is Mr. Holland.⁷⁵ In Cheshire I think theie that before weare named to be the fittest, being Sir John Savadge, and Sir Hugh Cholmeleie:⁷⁶ If her maj[es]tie like heareof, yowe maie doe well to write to my L[ord] Keper to cawse the commision to be made accordinglye.

[Cecil notes beside the final sentence of the last paragraph in the right margin, but concerning the following paragraph] For my l[ord] Chamberlayn⁷⁷ to reade.

Whereas my L[ord] Chamberlaine hath of late written unto mee to further Mr. Crane⁷⁸ to the office of the Comptroller and MusterM[aste]r at Barwick I have thought good to require yow to knowe my llords opinionn whither he cowlde not allowe that Crane might have the office of the clerke of the checke and musters, with the usuall fee which [is] by the yeare and a clarke at 13 7s 8d, 1 and 2

386), which notes that he was also attached to Cardinal Báthory in Poland, for whom, see Letter No. 55, and for Copley (1567–1609), *ODNB*.

⁷⁵Sir Richard Sherbourne, Richard Ashton or Assheton of Midleton (later Sir Richard), and Richard Holland of Upholland. Burghley here suggested a continuity of county power drawing old-line families into their usual role in royal and legal administration perhaps tempering rumours of Sherbournes as papists with more Protestant lieutenants. Christopher Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1975), 318.

⁷⁶Sir Hugh Cholmondeley (c.1513–1597), *ODNB*. Deputy lieutenants for Cheshire: Sir Hugh Cholmeley [Chalmondeley] and Sir John Savage. Of the latter it may be noted his role in sending Hesketh up for examination. See *CSPD 1591–1594*, 408–409, 418, 421–424, 461–463.

⁷⁷Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon (1st baron, 1526–1596), *ODNB*, the Queen's cousin through his mother Mary Boleyn. His influence in Borders affairs surpassed others on the Privy Council.

⁷⁸John Crane's angling for office in the fortress at Berwick had support from the Careys and Cecils, and his letter of 29 Feb. 1594 makes clear his suit was successful as clerk of checks and muster master, but the office of comptroller was given to Robert Bowyer—a fact which exercised Crane somewhat, as he cited precedent including that of his predecessor Nicholas Erington, *Cal. Border Papers*, i, 521, 522. A 46-page inventory of all ordnance in the eastern Border fortresses by Crane was endorsed by Burghley in June 1594, which attests to his work. *Cal. Border Papers*, i, 535–537.

servantes at 43s 3d. which in the whole cometh to lxxiii^l and yet one Bowier,⁷⁹ whoe is a skilful man in worke ther as his L[ord] knoweth, might be the Comptroller of the Workes, to the which theare belongeth no profit, but accordinge to the quantitie and charge of the workes, and so to have allowance as the charges of the workes doth amount: If his L[ordship] showlde allowe of this then theare might be a cople preferred that is Crane, whoe doth well deserve, and so might Bowier also have somme intertainment, whoe is more skilfull in workes that Crane is thought to be:

But if his l[ord] shall not like of this devisiion, than yowe maie tell my L[ord] that I would have yowe to move the Q[ueen] to make the grawnt to Crane of the whole office. And so I praie yowe lett hir ma[jes]tie understand howe necessarie it is to have the office supplied forthwith by reason of the monethlie payments, and howe fit the man is havinge alwaies been brought up in the office under Mr. Errington,⁸⁰ & others that have gonn before him. I doe send yowe a paper containinge the allowance to both thes offices, the better to informe yowe howe to speake thereof with my L[ord] Chamberlaine.

[Burghley's holograph paragraph]

I am not in Tune to wryt my self beyng forced with very Iaynturs to kepe my couch, 23 Jan[uary] 1593.

In ***** folly I se no poynt of treson intede to the Q[ueen] but a redynes to mak some gayn to the hurt of

[two words carefully scratched out, but two words, probably a proper name, and starting with an "R". As for whose folly: the name ***** begins with "I" and has a p halfway through—possibly "lopez"?]

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my lovinge sonne Sir Robert Cecill knight one of hir ma[jes]ties privie connsell

⁷⁹Sir Robert Bowyer (c.1560–1621), *ODNB*. Bowyer, too, resorted to the Cecils with his letters. *Cal. Border Papers*, 1, 520.

⁸⁰Captain Nicholas Errington's death in 1593 left the office vacant; he was also an officer in Flushing who had served with Sir Philip Sidney, and held the constable's place in Ramekins Castle as a long-standing captain of horse. He received £64 for his place as comptroller, muster master and clerk of the check at Berwick, which he deputed to his nephew and heir Cuthbert who did not replace him. TNA SP 84/33/f. 135r.

ENDORSED by Simon Willis:

23 Jan[uary] 1593

The lo[rd] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

[Cecil also wrote on the dorse]

Crane

Letter No. 16:

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 28 January 1593

½ p. Dictated to Henry Maynard, with a holograph paragraph added.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I have receaved your letter, whearebie it semeth that hir ma[jes]tie would knowe mine opinionn towching Mr. Danyell⁸¹ to be made sarient, whose staie at the prickinge of the rest grewe uppon an informacionn to hir ma[jes]tie that a letter shold be written to him, by tht lewde fellow Hackett:⁸² whearewith I have charged Mr. Daniell, and he pretesteth deepelie that he never knewe, sawe, or ever hard from him: and so farre condemning his wickedness, as that he was one of his Judges uppon his triall and arrainement: which his speache I doe varelie beleve, for that I understand and knowe him to be, a vearie honest learned and discreate man, and mine opinion of him. I prairie yowe to lett hir ma[jes]tie understand, of whose gracious favour to be hearin shewed to him, I doe not dowbt but he will be worthie

⁸¹William Danyell had been deputy recorder of the City of London, 1584–1599, and since 1589 undersheriff. *Chamber Accounts of the Sixteenth Century*, edited by Betty R Masters, London Record Society (1984), xx–xxi. He was subsequently mentioned as a member of the commission to try Rodrigo Lopez during the illness of the lord chief justice of the Queen's Bench, Lord (John) Anderson. *CSPD 1591–1594*, 449, 459–460; TNA SP 12/248/no. 26 enclosure I. He was named in the letters patent for both Privy Council commissions in Feb. and Mar. 1593 for the examination of church non-attenders, conventicles, and others of suspicion in and around London to the extent of 10 miles, see Letter No. 9.

⁸²William Hackett's prophetic and public proclamation against the Queen was made in the claim that he was Jesus Christ. For an analysis of how his case was used to discredit Presbyterianism through a variety of contemporary diagnoses, rather than as merely 'lewd', see Alexandra Walsham, 'Frantick Hacket: Prophecy, sorcery, insanity, and the Elizabethan Puritan movement', *The Historical Journal*, 41 (1998), 27–66.

of. Soe fare yowe well. ffrom my house in the Strand thiss xxviiith of January 1593.

[Burghley]

I am greatly comforted to perceave hir Majesty's gracious allowance of myn opinion in the Scottish case, which I do themore firmly hold, because it is warrantid by hir former.⁸³

[Maynard's hand]

Your Loving Father

[Burghley]

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my loving sonne Sir Robert Cecill knight, one of her Majesty's Privye Counsell

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

28 Jan. [uary] 1593

L[ord] Treasurere to my M[aste]r his opinion of Mr. Danyell to be Serjeant

[Cecil has also entered vertical list in his own hand in the dorse, which is, characteristically, in abbreviations]

Erscot

Coop. M.S.w[ith] ye q[ueen]

fling

Daniell

⁸³See above, pp. 46–48. Burghley's holograph postscript might reflect the secrecy of the Scottish work. He and Cecil wrote the instructions to the agents surrounding Bothwell, and the complicated embassy of Lord Zouche. In his letter of instruction to Zouche of 23 Jan. 1594, Cecil noted in the margin beside Zouche's role in the Queen's covert support of the group surrounding the earl of Bothwell, 'This argueth that the Queen would have her ministers doe what she will not avowe.' TNA SP 52/52/ fols. 25–29, 30–31; *CSPS 1593–1595*, 268–270. The ambassador was to deny any official English involvement with the earl or other disaffected Scottish Borderers. The matter to which Burghley referred to in this present letter may have been formulated in Cecil's further letter to Zouche on 1 Feb. 1594 in which he instructed the ambassador to answer the king's mention of money with the observation that he is daily surrounded by the adherents of the Catholic earls, and that the earls themselves wander freely, TNA SP 52/52/ fols. 31–35; *CSPS 1593–1595*, 274–276; Letter No. 2.

Letter No. 17**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 10 February 1593**

2 pp. Dictated to Henry Maynard with a paragraph added in Burghley's hand.
Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I am not in so good health as to write with mine owne hande, yet I cannot forbear to impart unto divers thinges as followeth. Ffirst I praie yowe move hir Majestie from mee to graunt hir warrault for sum portion of monie to be sent into Ireland, where theare was want at Christmas last, as Sir Henry Wallop can well report, and doth nowe presse mee earnestlie to remember hir ma[jes]tie to send somm treasure thither where hir Armie hath had noe monie of longe time, for that the last portion of monie that was sent was at mich[ael]mas, which was £7000 wherof a great part had been borrowed there at Dublin, before it came thither and yowe maie informe hir ma[jes]tie that where hir yearelie charges by hir Armie cometh neare hand to £28 or £29,000 sent, so as theare is continuallie a past £20,000 sent, so as theare is continuallie a debt remaining in that land. the sooner hir ma[jes]tie shall graunt this warrant whiche cannot be lesse than severn of eight thowsand pound the better it shall be for hir service there.⁸⁴

⁸⁴A privy seal of 19 Feb. 1593/4, issued £8,000, received 28 May 1594, *CSPI 1592-1596*, 253, with Wallop's reckoning of the discharge and remain, 248. Enniskillen was then under siege. Connor Roe Maguire, having raised a force, had secret meetings with Tyrone in November. Here was the outset of the 'Nine Years War'. Assistance was required because 'noe monie of longe time' would jeopardize the forces. Desertions and moves to the rebels were inevitable. Intelligence noted strong Spanish assistance with large numbers of troops, and covert work by Irish priests in the Low Countries and Spain could be expected. For the news leading to Burghley's conclusion, see *CSPI 1592-1596*, 181-209. Sir William Fitzwilliam was then being replaced as lord deputy by Sir William Russell amidst widespread and accurate suspicions of corruption. Fitzwilliam had to answer for his knighting so many men and provide an account of revenues which suggests Burghley knew perfectly well that the army was in peril from more than rebels. *CSPI 1592-1596*, 200, 221. See also Letter No. 14 for the Dec. payment out of the Exchequer into Ireland. Sir George Carew asked Sir Robert Cecil on 15 Feb. 1593/4 for the £1,600 owed him 'to aforder your honorable ayde to my Lord your father that I may receive some favour in this privie seal now to be granted for Ireland', offering his service only, TNA SP 63/173/no. 27, fol. 89r. Carew petitioned Burghley on 23 Feb. for speed in sending money, TNA, SP 63/173/no. 55, fol. 147r; SO3/1/fol. 445r.

I would have yowe informe my l[ord] Admirall that Mr. Quarles⁸⁵ did demaund a prest of monie for victuells to serve uppoun the seas for 8000 men, which came to £16,800 wheare as at the first an Estimat was made for 12000 men, which his L[ord] knoweth was with his liking reduced to 8000 and after this, yt was thought good by advise of the officers to make a preparacion to serve for a lesse number, which being rated by the officers onelie in fowre thinges, in wheate, malt, oxenn and caske theie thought it meete to have imprested to him, £4666, which yf his L[ord] shall finde neadefull to be taken in hand I desire his L[ord] would move hir ma[jes]tie to grawnte warrant for that, or somuch as shall please hir.⁸⁶ I doe find that the grawnt of this small quantitie for the Venetians being nozed in the Contries hath raised the price of wheate greatlie.⁸⁷ I doe hearewith send to his L[ord] a letter from Sir Thomas Leighton⁸⁸, which I thinke concerneth the same matter that yowe tolde me Troughton⁸⁹ had written unto him,

⁸⁵James Quarles, surveyor of the navy victuals (1582–1595), wrote to Burghley on 31 Jan. 1594 with an account of victuals required for 8000 men for three months, at a total value of £16,800, *CSPD 1591–1594*, 420. Quarles noted that the prices were good, and requested imprest of part of the money and letter of assistance. Sir William Becher (bap. 1580, d.1651), *ODNB*, was his business partner, see also Letters Nos 111–114. Quarles was clerk of the kitchen, the board of Greencloth (a Household department and committee of the lower household), in addition to navy victualler. *ODNB sub.* Sir Francis Quarles.

⁸⁶Sir John Hawkins (1532–1595), *ODNB*, navy treasurer, and three others, appended a note to Quarles dated 6 Feb. 1594, allowing that the present service was to go ahead, but the amounts to be provided were so large that time would be saved with a smaller order: recommending 1,000 quarters (12½ tons) of wheat, 1,000 cwt of malt, 1,000 tons of cask, and 5,000 oxen, with letters of assistance as demanded, totalling £4,666, 13s, 4d. from Portsmouth and Dover. This document is referred to in the text of Letter No. 17.

⁸⁷Giovanni Bassadona was the Venetian agent and friend of the earl of Essex's who was given the warrant of 30 Jan. 1593/4 for the transportation of 4,000 quarters (50 tons) of wheat, rye or beans, 'from those parts of the realm where, for cheapness it may well be spared, there being a great dearth of corn in Venice', Letter No. 74; *CSPD 1591–1594*, 419; TNA SP 12/247/no. 26.

⁸⁸Sir Thomas Leighton, governor of Jersey (c.1530–1610), *ODNB*; Wernham, *After the Armada*, 369–370, 372. Burghley's detailed instructions had Cecil move the administrative instruments for the supply of shipping and troops then removed from Brittany to the Channel Islands. Letter No. 17 is typical of a letter to Cecil which contained numerous enclosed letters for evaluation by Cecil, the Queen, and the Privy Council. Sir Robert Cecil's closer acquaintance with the facts of this matter is telling: a messenger had been sent from Leighton to Norris at Pontrieux informing him that the ships were ready to go to Paimpol to embark the troops, but two other letters sent from Leighton to Norris note that contrary winds had delayed the messenger at Paimpol. *L&A*, v, Analysis, no. 296. The messenger returned, late, to Leighton, with the message that Norris was unable to victual his troops and make provision for the shipping. Troughton and the other shipmaster departed for England for fresh supplies. These supplies were apparently the subject of James Quarles's original petition to Burghley for imprest on 31 Jan.

⁸⁹Capt. John Troughton, who transported English supply into Brittany and the French coast for the English government, Wernham, *After the Armada*, 511, 522, 553–554. Troughton

of which cawse I knowe not. What maie prove to be the event, but for the monie and the Apparell,^{both} which Sir John Norris did expect before he would cumm from Pempole. I am certainlie advartzed that the Apparell is alreadie come to him to Pempolle. and for the monie it was readie in the Charles the 18 of Januarye and whether by contrary winde or by negligence of him that had the charge, it came to Portesmouthe of late time, from wheare as I understand by Sir Thomas Sherley,⁹⁰ the Capteine named Franklin⁹¹ refused to depart, thowgh

[p. 2] he had goode winde untill as he said he would have further awnswere from my L[ord] Admirall, as I thinke Sir Thomas Sherley made it knowen to his L[ord] and I was bold in his L[ord's] absence to command the captaine by my letters to depart without anie further delai.

Besides this, because I understand that Trowghton's victuells would shortlie be spent, I gave order to Sir John Hawkins to send him one monethes victuells more, which I knowe Sir John Hawkins hath alreadye directed to be done, and yet it maie be dowbted that Trowghton finding Sir John Norris to use delai for his comming awaie, will be also himself come to the coast of England befor the victuells cann cumm unto him which I knowe not howe to remedie.

Theare is also a further proporcion of victuells sent to the Islandes for maintenance of the soldieus when theie shall come thither, but when all is done that can be, I dowbt it will be founde that Sir John Norris hath noe disposition to cumm owt of Bretainne. Of all these thinges I praie yowe make my L[ord] Admirall acquainted, and returne me awnswere from him

[Burghley's hand]

Even now I received your l[ette]re wherin yow report hir Ma[jes]ties care for my helth for the which I most humbly thank hir, hopyng that her good wishyngs shall help to return me to strength for hir service

was to have led the shipping for supply of Norris's troops, according to a plan hatched by Burghley (Letter No. 14), and set in motion by 14 Jan. 1594, *L&A*, v, Analysis no. 271, 272, 293. The expense and delays prompted the Queen's decision to 'revoke' (re-deploy) Norris's troops on 11 Dec. 1593. Norris took his troops to Paimpol with no money for nine weeks until supply was sent in January. Captain Franklin's obstinacy was, in part, because he was on a separate mission directly to Paimpol, or Trequier which Norris had approved as more suitable points of embarkation.

⁹⁰Sir Thomas Sherley (1542–1612), *ODNB*, treasurer at war in the Low Countries with responsibilities for French expeditions from 1586–1597 when his enormous embezzlement was proved, here to take the charge of extra shipping and provisions. *L&A*, v, Analysis nos 271, 293, 317.

⁹¹The Captain of the Charles, Franklin is unidentified.

which I esteeme the service of God, whose place she holdeth in erth. that was spoken of my answer that befor dynnar I was no man, and after dynnar half a man was thus far misreported for I sayd befor dynnar I was but on quarter of a man and after dynnar half a man and now for some incress to better, by drynkyng of a draught of redd wyne and sugar sence your goyng from me, I make accompt to be iii quarters of a man hole and one quarter syck. thus I am pleased in a phansy to express me estat, wherewith yow may acquaint hir Ma[jes]ty, whan she hath no other matter to hasten to.

I thank hir Ma[jes]ty for hir offer to me of my L[ord] Admyrall's lodgyng but I never had audacite to require other lodgyng than was allowed me. and yet I presume my L[ord] Admyrall, will without offence yeld therto.

God send her Ma[jes]ty a well disposed carnyvall,⁹² or a Carerate to be rid of all cares.

Your loving father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my lovinge sonne
Sir Robart Cecill knight
one of hir ma[jes]ties privie
Consell

ENDORSED in Sir Robert Cecil's hand:

x Feb. 1593
my lord to me
[Fragment of a seal attached]

Letter No. 18

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 12 March 1593

½ p. Dictated to his secretary Maynard, with a final sentence added in Burghley's hand.
Addressed, endorsed, signed.

⁹²Here 'carnyvall': an interesting reference to the carnival of Mardi Gras preceding Lent.

Text

I made yowe acquainted this afternoon with a forme of somme letters to be directed for a privie serche,⁹³ as my L[ord] Admirall and yowe hath informed me to be the Quene's minde: otherwise I know nothinge of the purpose, but like yt well to have it done. I have thearefore cawsed fowre letters to be written to fowre severall places and have my self subscribed the same, which I would have yowe to impart to my L[ord] of Essex, my L[ord] Admirall, and others theare in secrett sort, and have left in everye letter towards the ends a blanke for the daie which would be in mine opinion, either Saturdaie, or sondaie next, as my lls [Lords] shall like yt: and then the daie would be putt in a small Billet included in the letter, not to be known to the Serchers, but to the principall Commanders, beyen the time of the Execucioinn. And so I remitt the matter to be ordered as my lls [Lords] shall thinke fitt. Ffrom Hampton Cort this xiiith of March 1593.

With my blessing to Will Cecil⁹⁴
Your loving father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in the clerk's hand:

To my lovinge sonne Sir Robart Cecil knight
one of hir ma[jes]ties privye Connsell

⁹³Sir Thomas Windebanke (c.1550–1607), owed his obtaining of the clerkship of the signet to Burghley, and he was guardian of Thomas Cecil on his continental tour. *CSPD 1547–1580*, 177–220. Burghley's direction for a privy search for evidence in the arraignments against Rodrigo Lopez's co-conspirators, and the method used gives an illuminating example of the Privy Council intelligence apparatus in the domestic arena, W.D. Acres, 'The early political career of Sir Robert Cecil, c.1582–1597: Some aspects of late Elizabethan secretarial administration', PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1992, 129. See also, Thomas Windebanke to Sir Robert Cecil, referring to the search warrant, *HMCs*, iv, 485–486; *CSPD 1591–1594*, 466–469, 432–433. An undated draft warrant for such a search in London and Westminster, confining foreigners and Irish in their beds at midnight to be incarcerated until the following day when interrogations would begin, is found in Burghley's hand, BL Lansdowne MS 75/ no. 89, fol. 199r. The Queen did not believe Lopez's conspiracy and stalled until June over his execution. The Cecils and their secretaries drafted the official version for the Crown of the investigation and proof of Lopez's treason. See Dominic Green, *The Double Life of Doctor Lopez: Spies, Shakespeare and the Plot to Poison Elizabeth I* (London, 2003), chs 13–16.

⁹⁴William, Lord Roos (1590–1618), *ODNB*, the son of William Cecil, later 2nd earl of Exeter (1566–1640), is probably implied here: Cecil's great-nephew and grandson of Sir Thomas Cecil, later 1st earl of Exeter.

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

13 Mar[ch] 1593
Lo[rd] Thre[ausre]r to my M[aste]r
[Also on the dorse]
hast hast hast

Letter No. 19

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 25 April 1594

1 p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I marvell that I heare not from yow concerning the letters to be sent into Irland, whyther also I have in redynes some from myself.⁹⁵

Now will ^{yow} thynk also long to heare of my forspoken pilgrimage to the bath, but I am yet in deliberation non in Judicially. my continuance in payne withowt remission moveth me to harken to all meanes of remedy or ease. I have been occupyed both with litigious cawses in the chequer and the wardes all this daye, and have found meanes to ease the just greves of Complaynants. I have had also now this evening by report, the sondry opinions of phisicians concerning the bathes, but therin are reasons of dissuasion then of provocations, and that which is worst than none any direct advise, for my care. Only exercise of body and Idlenes of mynd is prescribed. for these ii I have non to furder me but hir Ma[jes]ty.⁹⁶ if I might have a receipt thereof from hir Ma[jes]ty's Cabynett I would mak poost, to be hable to be hir

⁹⁵Burghley received letters going to Ireland, Cheshire and Lancashire by Cecil after a four-day delay on 29 Apr. 1594. *CSPD 1591-1594*, 493; TNA SP 12/248/no. 84. The ailing lord deputy of Ireland, Sir William Fitzwilliam begged for recall. On 7 Feb. Fitzwilliam wrote to Cecil urging the appointment of Sir William Russell as the new lord deputy, TNA SP 63/173/no. 20, fol. 69r, no. 35, fols. 95r-98v; LPL MS 612/fol. 25r. Burghley had despaired of the 'misgovernment' of 'this Martial broken state' of Ireland in a letter to his son of 22 Feb. 1594, as the rebels increased in strength, TNA SP 63/173/no. 51, fol. 140r. Expert opinions were sounded for the new dispensation and on 13 Apr. 1594, Sir George Carew filed a treatise on Irish policy with Cecil: 'I have sent your honour the poorest treatyse of Ireland that you have seene', TNA SP 63/174/fols. 26r, 28r-32v. Letters for Cheshire and Lancashire may have concerned the administration, or Carew's advice for the fortification of Milford Haven, SP 63/174/ fol. 28v.

⁹⁶Burghley may have making an oblique reference to Essex's frenetic intelligence efforts against Dr Lopez at this juncture, and he refers also to his gout and removal to the baths.

Majesty's portar at Thebaldes, uppon hir second Journay. Thus much yow may blab to hir Ma[jes]ty if she ask of me. I wryt almost in the dark.

25 April 1594

Your loving father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED Holograph:

To my son Sr Robart Cecill at [the] Court

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

25 Apr[il] 1594

L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 20

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 5 May 1594

1 p.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

As I was comming in my Coche from Grenewych, certen letters war brought to me directed from Mr. Bowes,⁹⁷ the readyng wherof occupied me until I cam to Lambeth felde neare paris Garden,⁹⁸ which I folded up into a pece of paper lackyng wax sufficient which

⁹⁷Burghley received the urgent dispatch from Sir Robert Bowes the Queen's ambassador to James VI, dated 30 Apr. and sent from Montrose in Scotland, TNA SP 52/53/no. 45. Bowes reported that he had followed Burghley's and Cecil's instructions on how best to answer the king's secretary (Sir Robert Cockburn) on the five articles of negotiations which concerned the conduct of the Queen's ambassador extraordinary, especially in view of the recent rising on Borough Muir outside Edinburgh Castle. Bowes responded on 20 Apr. 1594, to the Cecils' articles of instruction as to how to proceed with these articles, which were drafted in Maynard's hand and copied into Sir Robert Cecil's letter book by Willis. TNA SP 52/52/pp. 68–72; SP 52/53/no. 37; *CSPS 1593–1595*, 315–317. Cecil's private letter to Bowes of 20 Apr. and Burghley's private letter of that date were also copied by Willis into Cecil's letter book, TNA SP 52/52/pp. 68, 73–74. Two more of the Cecils' drafts of these fair copies remain, TNA SP 52/53/nos. 39, 40.

⁹⁸Burghley may have been at his son's house at Wimbledon returning by the horse ferry at Lambeth.

I thynk also will occupy yow redyng as they did me. but how hir Ma[jes]ty will Judg therof, and how she will procede, I know not. certainly I see that without some monny the kyng will contynew his delays.⁹⁹ I am not habile to warrant any Connsell, and yet some what must be aventured ether with monny or without monny.

I send yow a bill to be signed for ~~returning~~ reduction of the xi^C [1,100] men from flushyng, for that I see ther is no sufficient warrant, as ther is for them that shall come from pempole.¹⁰⁰

If the Scottish causes shall not hynder me, I mynd only to se Thebaldes on Wednesday at night and return on Thursday at night to the Court to London.

[In the margin]

I pray yow cause the bill to be ready wrytten because ther was left out iii^{xx} pr. [£60] to Sir Thomas Baskerville¹⁰¹ for his charges in conduction. v Maie 1594.

Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

⁹⁹Bowes had had audience with King James on 29 Apr., after a postponement on 27 Apr., giving him the Queen's answers to the five articles. On the annuity, specifically, James addressed the fourth article, and here he professed himself mystified by Queen Elizabeth's tardiness in the matter of receiving Scots across the border. Elizabeth made the speedy prosecution of the Catholic earls, a condition of the royal annuity to the king; he claimed the annuity was necessary to proceed against them. The earls were to be put under forfeiture, which meant that they might never have to appear before parliament. James knew that Elizabeth, her ministers (the Cecils), and their spies had organized his cousin the earl of Bothwell as head of a 'vagabond' Protestant aristocratic faction, Bowes to Burghley, 29 Apr. 1594, TNA SP 52/53/no. 45; *CSPS 1593-1595*, 321-325. Bowes enclosed intelligence of Spanish money sent north to the Catholic earls, which might increase their strength against the king, TNA SP 52/53/no. 43, as copied by Bowes clerk, dated 29 Apr. 1594. There was also news of a Flemish barque arriving at Montrose on 29 Apr., allegedly carried priests bound for the three Catholic earls. TNA SP 52/53/no. 48; *CSPS 1593-1595*, 329-330.

¹⁰⁰See Wernham, *After the Armada*, 527-529. The Spanish moved toward Brest, so threatening Henry IV's position, the English troops employed there and England's entire western shipping. A levy of 1,100 men was raised in the English counties at that time (*ibid.* 529). Troops under Sir Thomas Baskerville (d.1597), *ODNB*, were taken from English garrisons in the cautionary towns as her forces under Sir Francis Vere (1560/1-1609), *ODNB*, and paid by the States. But troops sent for the relief of Groningen had not yet returned to their garrisons in the towns necessitating the fresh levy. Baskerville was to have taken 1,500 men to Brest and so the 1,500 troops which returned from Groningen under Sir Francis Vere were paid by the States General. Reimbursement of the Queen's charges was outstanding at the end of 1594. See Letters Nos 34 and 36.

¹⁰¹Burghley here wished Cecil to correct a deficiency in Baskerville's warrant to conduct the Groningen troops to Portsmouth, Wernham, *After the Armada*, 529-530.

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my loving sonne Sir Robert Cecil knight
one of her Majesty's Privy Counsell

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

5 May 1594

Lo[rd] Treasurer to my M[aste]r

[Seal: partial, cracked]

Letter No. 21**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 14 May 1594**

½ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I do return to yow the draught of your letter to Mr. bowes havynge no lesur nor yet cawse to alter the sence but in the report of the wordes of the Q[ueen's] letter, by them remembered.¹⁰² I have taken order with Sir Thomas Shyrley to stay all expeditors sayynge to have monny and

¹⁰²Cecil wrote two letters to Bowes dated 17 May, final versions of the one sent to his father on the 14th, and possibly requiring his father's attendance in conference with the Queen. The first was the official account of the Queen's receipt of James VI's letter where he promised to prosecute the Catholic earls, despite his having lost most of his friends by following Elizabeth's demands. Cecil recounted the Queen's summoning of her council in the presence of James's ambassadors: Buckhurst, Burghley, Lord Admiral Howard and himself. Burghley put the case to the king's ambassadors (see Letter No. 19), Colville of Easter Wemyss and Edward Bruce, that the Queen had never sponsored Bothwell in his designs nor authorized him to go to the king's person. She had made a proclamation to her three Borders wardens instructing them to refuse Bothwell. The Queen demanded the king's actions against the Catholic earls before she could derive any comfort from his words. TNA SP 52/53/no. 53, copied into Cecil's letter book, SP 52/52/, 75–79; *CSPS 1593–1595*, 332–335. Cecil's second letter of that day was more private: 'various' in detail, but not contrary to the meaning of the first. The Queen had formulated a secret channel to the king through Cecil as insurance against the ambassadors colouring her denials of their requests on the five articles: Cecil asked Bowes to go straight to the king to request his urgent prosecution of the earls, at which time she would send his annuity immediately, without naming the sum. Cecil to Bowes, TNA SP 52/53/no. 54, SP 52/52/p. 80; *CSPS 1593–1595*, 335. Bowes received these 23 May, TNA SP 52/53/no. 58; see Letter No. 20. John Colville (1542–1605), *ODNB*, had been a conspirator with Bothwell, but had been pardoned. James distrusted Colville's closeness with the English Queen and court. Edward Bruce (1548/9–1611), later 1st Baron Bruce of Kinloss, *ODNB*. See above, pp. 46–47.

apparel redy to depart to pempol, wherof they shal have nede, whyther they shall go to brest or return.¹⁰³

Yow may do well to wryt to Sir Tho[mas] Baskerville not to still the men, otherwise than to have them in redynes specially they of ostend, until he shall be further advertised.¹⁰⁴

I meane to come thyther to morrow at night

Your loving father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my lovinge sonne
Sir Robart Cecill knight
one of hir ma[jes]ties privy connsell

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

14 Maii 1594
Lo[rd] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r
[Faint mark of seal]

Letter No. 22

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, May 1594

1/8 p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

¹⁰³Burghley notified Sir Thomas Sherley of the stopping of all war expenditure on about 14 May. The victuals and apparel were for the 1,100 men set for Brest to relieve Henry IV's forces, under the conduct of Sir Martin Frobisher, sailing in the *Merehonour*, *Vanguard*, *Rainbow*, *Hope*, *Dreadnought*, and *Mercury*, with two pinnaces, Wernham, *After the Armada*, 529; Letter No. 20.

¹⁰⁴Sir Thomas Baskerville replied to Cecil's letter of 23 May 1594, from Rammekens [Ramekins], TNA SP 84/48/fol. 216r; *L&A*, v, Analysis no. 117. It discussed the troops for Brittany: 'on receiving on May 22 a letter from Sir R Cecil Baskerville ordered the Ostend companies to stay there until Her Majesty's pleasure were further known'. Baskerville asked for three hoys not sent to Portsmouth to go to Ostend to carry troops to Brittany. In the event, he returned without incident, taking 1,080 troops, 500 of whom were from Ostend. The troops under Baskerville were the only English troops from the Low Countries to go to Brittany in 1594. Wernham, *After the Armada*, 530–531.

Text

If hir Ma[jes]ty shall ask of my mynd for mr. fletewood,¹⁰⁵ I thynk hym so Sir Christopher Edmundes¹⁰⁶ may have satisfaction, to be very mete for the office.¹⁰⁷

Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED Maynard:

To my lovinge sonne Sir Robart Cecill knight one of her ma[jes]ties pryve Connsell

ENDORSED Willis:

Maii 1594

L[ord] Threas[urer] to my M[aste]r

Mr. Ffleetwood, Sir Christopher Edmundes

[Seal fragment, some wax remaining]

Letter No. 23

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, March 1593

⅔ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

Yow shall understand that Mr. vichamb[erlain] cam to me yesterday and did declare hir Ma[jes]ty's disposition, to have one named to be

¹⁰⁵Sir Thomas Heneage (1532–1595), *ODNB*, vice-chamberlain of the chamber, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster and significant pluralist, he worked very closely with the Cecils in intelligence. See above, p. 24. Sir William Fleetwood of Missenden (d.1593), recorder of London and the serjeant-at-law's eldest son, is referred to here.

¹⁰⁶Sir Christopher Edmundes (1524–1596), MP for Wallingford 1584, was appointed to the commission of the peace in letters patent of 15 May 1594, *CPR 36 Eliz I*, no. 996. See Letter No. 46, where Fleetwood is referred to in documents as the receiver-general of the wards.

¹⁰⁷The countess of Warwick (Anne Dudley, 1548/9–1604), *ODNB*, petitioned Cecil on behalf of Mr. Fleetwood ('the eldest brother of that name'), of Ealing in a matter (unspecified) with Sir Christopher Edmundes, Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 21 Apr. 1594; *HMCS*, iv, 514. Edmundes was appointed Receiver of the Court of Wards and Liveries, 31 May 1594, *CSPD 1591–1594*, 513.

an asistant to the lyeutenant of the tower, namyng Sir Dru. Drury,¹⁰⁸ whom I thought fitt for his trustynes, but I thought he would require interteynment for hym self and a nombre of servaunts, besyde that he is often syck. but in my opinion I sayd Sir G[eorge] Care[w],¹⁰⁹ the Lieut[enant] of the ordonnance might be meter, because he hath an office and an ordinary lodgyng in the towr. Whereon Mr. vichamberlayn, (as allowyng the same), prayed me to signefy thus much to yow, to be shewed to hir Ma[jes]ty, submyttyng my self to hir Ma[jes]ty's Judgement.

Your loving father,

W. Burghley

[Postscript]

He Inswared of hir Ma[jes]ty's care in moovyng to hym that I might have his lodgyng for which I humbly thank hir Majesty

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To m lovinge sonne

Sor Robart Cecill

knight, one of the Q[ueen's]

ma[jes]tie's privie connsell

ENDORSED in one of Cecil's clerk's hands:

March 1593

[In another Clerk's hand]

my l[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

[Seals cut out]

¹⁰⁸Sir Dru Drury (1531/2–1617), *ODNB*, became lieutenant of the Tower in 1595–1596. The current lieutenant, Sir Michael Blount, was removed under suspicion of treason, R.B. Manning, 'The prosecution of Sir Michael Blount, lieutenant of the Tower of London, 1595', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 57 (1984), 216–224.

¹⁰⁹Sir George Carew (1555–1629), *ODNB*, lieutenant-general of the Ordnance office, and staunch Cecil ally with significant Irish experience. See Letter No. 19 for Carew's Irish treatise. Carew was then attempting reforms of the Ordnance office, Richard W. Stewart, *The English Ordnance Office, 1535–1625: A Case Study in Bureaucracy* (Woodbridge, 1996), 16, 46.

Letter No. 24**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 29 March 1594**

½ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

By your letter and by the Messadg of mr. Loveless, I perceave hir Ma[jes]ty wold have me com to the Court to morrow beyng Satyrday but the tide serveth me at night, for I am not in good helth, on the fornoons and therfor I will prevent the Comannment, makyng it meritam, and with God's leve I will even thither at this evening tide, yow may tell Symons so, but not provyde me any thyng but a new layd egg, for I have vowed to fast this day, without superstition.¹¹⁰

I send yow such 2 l[ette]res as I received from Sir rob[ert] Sydne.¹¹¹ the latter of the 16 by which I see that as, than he had not received, the letters sent from hence. I send yow also, Otwell Smyth's¹¹² assuryng the rendition of Roan whichi must nedes bryng on St. Mallos.¹¹³

¹¹⁰A reference to the Catholic religious practice of fasting during Lent, while Burghley was abstaining he sought to make the distinction. Mr. Symons maybe James Symons, for whom see Letter No. 47. Mr. Lovelace, messenger of the Chamber, BL Lansdowne MS 44/nos 14, 15.

¹¹¹Burghley referred to Sidney's letters of 15 and 16 of Mar. 1594, TNA SP 78/33/fol. 138r, 141r; *L&A*, v, Analysis nos 229, 366, 410, 141, 414, 416, 484, 487, 620, 639–640, 653. Sidney was on embassy in France having been given the letters of instruction and credence on 21 Nov. 1593, audience of Henry IV on 21 Jan. 1594, and recall in early Apr. 1594. See Gary M. Bell, *A Handlist of British Diplomatic Representatives, 1509–1688* (London, 1990), 99.

¹¹²Otywell Smyth, merchant and intelligence source for the Privy Council received news of the cautionary towns and elsewhere in the Low Countries in Dieppe, as he had been driven from Rouen by the League in 1589, R.B. Wernham, *The Making of Elizabethan Foreign Policy, 1558–1603* (London, 1980), 77. The letter referred to here is Smyth to Burghley, 23 Mar. 1593/4 from Dieppe, where he notes that Villar, who had been virtual ruler of the city, surrendered Rouen on 20 Mar. after which he was named the duke of Montpensier's lieutenant in Normandy, TNA SP 78/33/fol. 160r. Smyth and Aymer de Chatte (governor of Dieppe) were to meet with Villar to discuss liberty of conscience in religion and privileges for English traders. *L&A*, v, Analysis no. 229. Wernham refers to this group around Smyth as the pro-Henry IV 'Dieppe' party. For Montpensier, prince of Dombes and duke of Montpensier, Henry de Bourbon-Vendome, see Wernham, *After the Armada*, 501, 518, 532–533, 543–547; Letter No. 26.

¹¹³The town officers of St Malo acknowledged Henry IV on 11 Aug. 1594, as Burghley here predicted. TNA SP 78/33/fol. 303r–v, 147r; *L&A*, v, Analysis, no. 340.

29 Ma[rch] 1594

Your Lo[ving] Father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my lovinge sonne

Sir Robart Cecill

knight, one of the Q[ueen's] ma[jes]ties privie Connsell

At the Cort

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

29 Martii 1594

Lo[rd] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 25

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 31 May 1594

½ p. Dictated to his clerk Hicke.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I send you hereinclosed two billes wich I receaved from my L[ord] Keeper to be signed by hir Ma[jes]tie, the contentes whereof yow shall perceave by the docketts there underwritten. I prairie yowe procure them to be signed assoone as yow shall have convenient tume. And so fare yow well.¹⁴⁴ Ffrom my howse in West[minster], the last of May 1594

Your loving father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in the hand of the clerk to whom the letter was dictated:

To my lovinge sonne Sir

¹⁴⁴Typical example of Cecil's *de facto* secretarial work, see above, p. 20. For a description of the seals and their uses, see also *Guide to the Contents of the Public Record Office*, 3 vols (London, 1963–1968), II, 258–259.

Robert Cecill knight of her ma[jes]ties most honorable privy Connsell
[with a small sign in the margin]

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

ul[ti]mo Maii 1594

lo[rd] Thres[ure]r to mu M[aste]r

[Seal missing]

Letter No. 26

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 4 September 1594

1 p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I do send herinclosed, l[ette]res sent from Mr. Edmundes¹¹⁵ of the 21 of August conteaning sondry thynges, wherof I thynk ~~will have~~ hir Ma[jes]ty will have much mislyking as that dowtfullnes of the D[uke] of Mon[t]pensiers Journay to brittann with new forces, wherof the kyng by his letter made so firm a promiss, as in truth I made accompt that we would have hard out of britanne, of his arryvall ther. herewith I thynk hir Ma[jes]ty shuld doo well to cause the fr[ench] ambassador to be charged for as I thynk he did inform hir Ma[jes]ty, uppon letters from the kyng, of the D[uke] Monpensier's purpose.¹¹⁶

The other matter to be mislyked is the messadge under hand from the k[ing] of Spayn to have on sent to bayon to conferr of a peace. Wherto, though the kyng pretendth a mislyk, yet suerly the Catholique Connsellers¹¹⁷ with the disposition also of the pope will work some

¹¹⁵Thomas Edmondes (d.1639), *ODNB*, the Queen's agent to the French king, in the capacity as *chargé d'affaires* and secretary of the French tongue in May 1596. See Bell, *Handlist*, 99. Edmondes was sent 1 June 1592–14 Apr. 1596 and again in 1597 and again later that year until 1599. Sir Thomas Wilkes was also on diplomatic mission to the French king at the same time, but with Edmondes as his second: 8 Mar. 1592–15 Apr. 1592 and 18 July 1593–2 Sept. 1593, and finally to Henry IV with Cecil and John Herbert, Wilkes dying on the way to the king 1 Mar. 1598.

¹¹⁶Cecil's communications with the ambassador, Beauvoir la Noche, at this time, asking for relief and munitions, were all balanced against Sir John Norris's letters relaying his version of events. See TNA SP 78/34/fols. 57r, 63r, 68r, 69r, 84r, 94r, 96r, 98r, as examples. Cecil and Beauvoir la Noche were also having private meetings during this time. TNA SP 78/34/fols. 11r, 19r, 22r.

¹¹⁷Nicholas de Neufville, lord of Villeroy (1543–1617), was certainly one of the leading 'Catholique Councillors', Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England*, Vol. I, 178–183, 343.

furder operation therin. and so both England and all the protestantes in France, shall fele the smart therof.¹¹⁸ but I am bold to hope of the favor of the kyng of kynges, that [blob of wax] can abridg the k[ing] of Spaynes lif, and shew some notable avendg upon the fr[ench] kyng for his perfydye towards God and Man.

My hand is so weak as I am unhable to wryt any more. 4 7^{brc} 1594

Your lov[ing] father

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Burghley's hand:

To my loving sone Sir Robart Cecil knight at the Court. W. Burghley

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

4 Sept[ember] 1594

L[ord] Threas[urer] to my M[aste]r

[Seal missing]

Letter No. 27

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 28 September 1594

½ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I send to yow such letters as ar directed to hir Ma[jes]ty's Connsell from Irland which I have not opened,¹¹⁹ because it is mete thath they

348, 434–438; Vol. II, 86–89, 95, 96, 241–244. Villeroy had been secretary of state successively to the three Valois kings before Henry IV and was a principal enemy of Épernon. Note also Henry IV's dealing with Aldobrandini the papal nephew: see N.M. Sutherland, *Henry IV of France and the Politics of Religion*, Vol. II (Bristol, 2002), ch. 15. Sutherland discusses the intricate path to the king's absolution begun once the League was reduced in earnest in mid 1594.

¹¹⁸Henry IV's use of Huguenot envoys exploited the connection between Brittany Protestants and the English crown: see a letter of 25 Sept. 1595 to Burghley, TNA SP 78/36/fol. 19r.

¹¹⁹Russell and the Irish Council to the Privy Council, 12 Sept. 1594, TNA SP 63/176/no. 12, fol. 39r. This principally concerns the lord deputy's agent Thomas Lee. See Letter No. 231.

be opened by hir Ma[jes]ty, as upon a Caveat gyven uppon the last sent from thence,¹²⁰ I perceaved was best lyking to hir Ma[jes]ty.

by a nombre of Copyes now sent not sealed, I see the uncertan accompt to be made of the Erle of Tyron.¹²¹ Ther is both monny and munition gon,¹²² whyther the Depute send for men I know not.¹²³

I am rather worss than better, but better for heaven than for the world.
this Satyrday
Your loving father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED

To my Lovinge Sonne Sir Robert Cecill knyght of her ma[jes]ties
honorable privy Connsell

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

28 Sept[ember] 1594

Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 28

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 5 October 1594

½ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

¹²⁰The 'Caveat' on the last letter requesting that the Irish letters be unsealed and opened by the Queen alone may have come with Russell's dispatch of 19 Aug. 1594, TNA SP 63/175/no. 62; *CSPI 1592-1596*, 264.

¹²¹Russell had been out-manoeuvred by Tyrone, and he reported to Burghley on 12 Sept. that he could make only an uncertain account of the earl's dealings, and viewed future negotiations with him pessimistically. TNA SP 63/176/no. 13, fol. 41r-v. Tyrone's ambitions were documented by Carew in his treatise for Cecil in Apr. 1594, TNA SP 63/174/no. 13, fols. 26r, 28r-32v; see Letter No. 19.

¹²²Russell petitioned Cecil for the swift sending of money into Ireland in the packet of 12 Sept. 1594, in which he also asked for the Queen's further instructions on how to deal with the rebels. TNA SP 63/176/no. 16, fol. 47r. Six hundred men were sent in August, and Russell asked that no new captains be appointed, as so many other petitioners begged places. TNA SP 63/175/no. 62; *CSPI 1592-1596*, 264.

¹²³The situation with Tyrone deteriorated as Russell's perspective of his strength and alliances became clearer, causing his petition for a large-scale military commitment in Nov. 1594 in response to the earl's well-financed troops. TNA SP 63/177/no. 5; *CSPI 1592-1596*, 281-282.

Text

Although I know hir Majesty hath Care of all hir chyrch offices, to have them bestowed, uppon persons worthy the vocations, both as well for vertew and Godly liff, as for lernyng, yet I pray yow shew to hir Ma[jes]ty what my L[ord] of Huntingdon wryteth for the supply of the Archb[ishopric] of york,¹²⁴ wherof the last incumbent was a person of gret sufficiency, & as well approved in the chardg, as any prelat in England. It is lykly many will gape after it, and I wish the choiss war rather in hir Ma[jes]ty's own Judgment, then in the ambitioos desyre of them which seke que sua sunt non que Dei et ecclesie.¹²⁵

5 8^{bre} v [5 October] 1594

Your loving Father

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED

To my Lovinge Sonne Sir Robert
Cecill knight of her ma[jes]ties honorable
privy Connsell

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

28 Sept[ember] 1594
Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

¹²⁴The demise of Dr John Piers, archbishop of York, on 28 Sept. 1594 marked the seventh bishopric vacated by the death of the incumbent in that year. Acres, 'The early political career of Sir Robert Cecil', 162, n. 2. Neither the earl of Huntingdon's petition nor Howland's own asking was enough for his suit, and the appointments to both York and Durham, on the elevation of Matthew Hutton to the archbishopric, occasioned much clandestine manoeuvring, *ibid.* 164–174; Smith, *Servant of the Cecils*, 75. BL Lansdowne MS vol. 76, no. 78: 'The Earl of Huntingdon to Lord Burghley; that a worthy successor may soon be place in the room of that good Prelate deceased, Dr. John Piers.' 2 Oct. 1594. BL Lansdowne MS 76/No. 87: petition of Dr Richard Howland, bishop of Peterborough, to Burghley for the place. 20 Oct. 1594. BL Lansdowne MS 76/No. 90: 'Dr. Matthew Hutton, Bishop of Durham, to Lord Burghley, of his removal to York; he sues for a pardon for Lady Margaret Nevil, taken in company with Boast, a seminary priest, 11 December 1594'.

¹²⁵Translation: 'Those who seek for themselves rather than God or the Church'.

Letter No. 29**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 5 October 1594**

¼ p. Dictated to Henry Maynard.
Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

Where the B. Willoughbys l[ette]res sent to the lls [Lords] of the Consell with the Examinations oof the complaints against the Erle of Lincolne by his tenantes of Tattersall theare war a writinge entituled a Premonition, which writinge I have sum occasion to see.¹²⁶ And therefore I prairie yowe, to speake to the Clarke of the Connsell that attendeth theare to seke for yt, and with your next letters to send yt to mee.

Ffrom my howse in the Strand this fift of October 1594

Your lovinge father,

W. Burghley

[On the left side of the foot of this letter Maynard has written]
Sir Robart Cecill

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:
To my lovinge Sonne
Sir Robart Cecill knight
one of the Quenes Ma[jes]ties
privie Connsell

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:
5 October 1594
l[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r
[Seal missing]

¹²⁶Edward Fiennes de Clinton, 1st earl of Lincoln (1512–1585), *ODNB*. The 'premonition' regarding the tenants of the principal residence of Edward Clinton, 2nd earl of Lincoln at Tattersall in Lincolnshire was investigated by the Privy Council by Lord Willoughby d'Eresby (1555–1601), *ODNB*. Both men sat on the commission of oyer and terminer as well as the commission of the peace the following year. *CPR 37 Eliz. I*, no. 714, 756. Burghley referred to a long-standing conflict with the earl of Lincoln and cousins in his mother's family, the Dymokes, Ayscoughs and others, 'my ancient adversaries', who had persuaded various tenants to complain about Lincoln. *HMCS*, vi, 366.

Letter No. 30**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 13 October 1594**

¼ p. Dictated to Henry Maynard.
Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I receivid this morninge this letter and writings inclosed from my L[ord] Scroope,¹²⁷ whearewith I praie yowe at your soonest commodite to acquaint hir Ma[jes]tie, and Theareuppon to understand hir pleasure for the awnswaere to be made theareto, which assone as I shall understand what hir Ma[jes]tie's will shall be, I will accordinglie retorne awnswaere by post to my L[ord] Scroope.¹²⁸ Soe fare yow well. ffrom my howse in the Strand this xiiith v of October 1594.

Your Lovinge father,

W. Burghley

¹²⁷Henry, 10th Lord Scrope of Bolton (1567–1609), warden of the West March and keeper of Carlisle Castle, whose letter to the Cecils received on 13 Oct. is not extant. This packet might have included a private communication over James VI's intention to progress south to the Borders to discover more concerning the ill-fated English attempt to manoeuvre Bothwell into position in the Scottish court as a counter-poise to the three earls. Scrope himself warned 'changeable truth breeds strongest poison', *Cal. Border Papers*, i, 546–547, 547. Despite blaming his deputies for his mistakes, he alleged to those of the Privy Council that he had control of his march. However, strong management was needed in the diocese of Durham, for which it seems likely that Tobie Matthew was at this time nominated to the see instead of William Day. Day appears to have been promised the place: see Acres, 'The early political career of Sir Robert Cecil', 168–169. He was not slighted, but rather superseded by Matthew's evident political strengths in secret policy, for he was intimately linked to the Bothwell plot, particularly to Colville. *Cal. Border Papers*, i, 528. Willis endorsed Matthew's letter to Cecil: 'Mr. Deane of Duresme to my Master, a letter of Mr. Colville's [Bothwell's secretary] herewithall'. For Colville, see Letter No. 44. In Apr. 1594 Matthew reported to Cecil, 'It maie be, that it wilbe reported, thErlc Bothuell and I have lately mette at Hexham . . . neither did I see his Lordship or heare from him . . . the Kinges ministers care not what reportes they geve out of me.' *Cal. Border Papers*, i, 532. Matthew had sent intelligence to Sir Francis Walsingham in these matters since 1583, when he was named dean *in commendam* with the deanery of Christ Church, Oxford. See also Letters Nos 2, 16, 20, 41; William Day, bishop of Winchester (1529–1596), *ODNB*.

¹²⁸Burghley's flight to court (see Letter No. 31) may well have been occasioned by the receipt of letters enclosed with Scrope's which Sir Robert Cecil mentioned in his reply to the warden: 'The Queen having been informed of the King of Scots' intention to march against "the rebellious erles" to the good of both realms, commands that good order may be kept in Scrope's march, so as not to weaken the King's forces. Sir John Forster has been notified in the same terms.' Draft letters remain of those sent to Scrope and Sir John Forster by Cecil, *Cal. Border Papers*, 1560–1594, i, 548, no. 983.

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my Lovinge sonne Sir
 Robart Cecill knight
 One of hir Ma[jes]ties Privy Concill

ENDORSED

L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r
 [Seal cut out]

Letter No. 31**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 13 October 1594**

¼ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I se by your l[ette]re how desyrous hir Ma[jes]ty is to have me ther.
 now I have a mynd to even thyther to Morrow, but yow shall not be
 known thereof untill I shall come. cause my chamber to be made redy.
 Herein I shall venture parcaß [perchance] my liff, but I remitt all to
 God, fiat voluntas sua.

13 October 1594

Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED Holograph:

To my lov. Sonn Sir Robert Cecill Kt. at the Court

ENDORSED Holograph:

13 October 1594
 L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r
 [Seal missing]

Letter No. 32**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 19 October 1594**

1 p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

Though I did require yow to inform hir Ma[jes]ty, of my great weaknes increased uppon me sence I cam from the Court, so as I found ^{my self} unhabile to perform my resolut intention to retorn as this daye, with a mynd if hir Ma[jes]ty shold remove shortly to Rychmond, to aventur to come thyther, yet because Mr. Chancelor now at xi of the clock telleth me that hir Ma[jes]ty sayd she looked for me this night which he sayd he thought I was unhabile to do.

I have thought good in this my perplexity, beyng cheffly carried afor all other releve the Erle¹²⁹ with some grant of parkes in such sort, as may be no deminution to hir Ma[jes]ty's revennew, and yet releve hym, in a sort very resonable. I move not these thyngs for the Erle, pro merito in, but pro condeynno for hir Majesty.

[On the lower right of the text]

This Satyrd[ay] 18 or 19.

Your loving father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Burghley's hand:

To my lovyng son Sir

Robert Cecil knight

at the Court

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

19 October 1594

L[ord] Threas[urer] to my M[aste]r

¹²⁹The earl of Essex was perhaps seeking grants for himself or his retinue, although there is no specific mention of such a gift at this juncture. On 27 Sept. 1594, he and his wife Frances (née Walsingham) gained a wardship by 'bill of the Court of Wards', *CPR 36 Eliz. I*, no. 748. A few weeks later they may have begun to sue for livery: 'For the Queen rather than the earl's own merit'.

Letter No. 33**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil,
2 December 1594**

½ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I thank yow for sendyng to me the Copy of hir Ma[jes]ty's letters to the fr[ench] kyng, assuryng my self, that ther cold no such marye come owt of any knuckles but of hirs; that in all graces by natur, by callyng, by long experience, is of such perfection, as none can attayn unto. In this letter, though I knolledg my weaknes of Judg therof, yet I see every sentence full of matter of great vallew a princely kyndnes to a kyng very acceptable, in Congratualyng his escape very comfortable, in advising hym how to preserve his person more carefull than she is for hir self, otherwise than she beareth all to the care of God, in advise further to remove the nursery of his coniured ennemyes, without relenting to contrary Connells so wisely and religiously, as of all these thoughts I am suer no secretary nor orator cold so lyvely express hir princely mynd.

For hir hope to have me dance, I must have a longer tyme to lern to goo. but I will be redy in mynd to dance with my hart, when I shall behold hyr favorable disposition to do such honor to hyr Mayd, for the old mans sake.¹³⁰

I wish hir Majesty wold send som tresur into Irland and that hir Tresuror might se to the orderly expence therof better than his clerkes have doon these 6 yeres.¹³¹

The argument of my letter hath tempted my hand to wryt thus much.

Your loving father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my Loving sonne
Sir Robart Cecill knight

¹³⁰This may refer to the Derby marriage or forthcoming festivities at the court over Christmas.

¹³¹See Letter No. 27.

one of the Quene's Ma[jes]ties
privie Connsell

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:
2 Dec[ember] 1594
l[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r
[Seal cut out]

Letter No. 34

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 23 December 1594

½ p. Dictated to Henry Maynard, with postscript also in Maynard's hand.
Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I doe send unto yowe a letter which I have receved from Mr. Guilpin owt of the Lowe Contries, with the contentes wherof, yowe maie acquaint her ma[jes]tie.¹³² There is also browght to mee this eveninge a letter with thes other writings of the B[ishop] of Limerick,¹³³ which should have been sooner delivered unto mee: & although it semeth by his letter that he hath written of the same matters to her ma[jes]tie, yet

¹³²TNA SP 84/49/fols. 255r–256r; *L&A*, v, Analysis nos 589, 544. No. 589: the letter makes an implicit link between Gilpin's work in the Low Countries and the letter received from Thornborough (see n. 133) concerning Irish intelligence. Of the Irish soldiers in Stanley's regiment, 'They seemed anxious to abandon the Spanish side altogether and to serve the States. They were very good soldiers, so they were likely to be accepted . . . As there was long a practice to break Stanley's regiment, with Burghley's knowledge, Gilpin had agreed upon seeking to draw them from the enemy and from returning to their own home.' It was rumoured also that the Archduke Albert was in straits paying his Italian soldiers, and that Spanish 'Entretenidos' (payments) were late.

¹³³John Thornborough (1551–1641), *ODNB*, sometime bishop of Limerick, was a leading player in Cecil's Irish intelligence connections, disagreeing over these matters with his dean, Dioness Campbell. He was a kinsman of the earl of Argyll, Archibald Campbell, who was, for a time, a powerful influence in the creation of a Scottish force against the Irish rebels' troops in Ulster. Thornborough owed Burghley his promotion from the mastership of the Savoy to the bishopric of Limerick. In late 1594 Thornborough examined the spy Thomas Gravenor, who was supplying Tyrone with information, and carrying messages into Scotland for him, together with an accomplice, John Hales. (Limerick's examination is so mentioned, *HMCs*, vi, 427–428; Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 45/fol. 61r). For Gravenor's probable suicide, see Letter No. 38. The lord deputy, Russell, appears to have been somewhat threatened by Thornborough's extensive intelligence connections, desiring to score political points in this area himself to gain the Queen's approval. Thornborough to Cecil, TNA SP 63/183/no. 106, fols. 331–332r; *CSPI 1592–1596*, 425. See Acres, 'The early political career of Sir Robert Cecil', 246–248.

shall yowe doe well to acquaint hir with this as yowe find commoditie. ffrom my howse in the Strand the xxiiird v of December 1594.

[Postscript]

I received even nowe your letter sygnifienge the Q[ueen's] determinacion to send Mr. Bodeleie into the lowe Contries,¹³⁴ and D[r.] Parkins into Poland,¹³⁵ both which I doe allowe of.

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my Lovinge Sonne Sir

¹³⁴Sir Thomas Bodley (1545–1613), *ODNB*, then on embassy to the States General of the Low Countries was given draft contractual negotiations, made in Willis's hand, which formed the substance of Bodley's instructions, TNA SP 84/49/fols. 277r–282v, 285r–288r; Bell, *Handlist*, 193. The return of English troops under the treaty is the only section of Bodley's instructions in Cecil's hand, TNA SP 84/49/fol. 289r, SP 84/50/fols. 3r–8r. These included letters of credence, endorsed 2 Jan. 1594/5, to the States General, fol. 9r; and letters to the Council of State, and to Maurice of Nassau. The negotiating points, corrected by Cecil, included the Queen's demand for reimbursement for the pay of the 1,500 men levied under Sir Francis Vere who had not been returned to their garrison, *L&A*, vi, Analysis, no. 70. Some of these men were alleged to be too ill to return to service, even though they had been used by the States in continual and dangerous employment. See Letters Nos 21, 36, 37, 43, 47. Cecil had drafted Bodley's original instructions in May 1594, TNA SP 84/48/fols. 185r–88r. This was a pattern sustained through Bodley's work with the States. See also n. 135 for eastern and central Europe.

One way of discerning custody of papers between Cecil and Burghley is to read the procurations of the SO₃, signet seal: for minutes are noticed as remaining with Cecil. For merely a few of these dozens of records indicating his own archival formation, see, e.g. instructions from the Queen to the States General covering Bodley's mission at TNA SO₃/1/fol. 454r, with numerous correspondence noted and commented on by Burghley, but endorsed as noted or drafted by Willis, now bound in SP 84. The same pattern emerges in SP 78. For Christopher Parkins (1542/3–1622, later Sir), see *ODNB*, a former Jesuit with extensive knowledge of Rome and diplomatic systems in post-Tridentine central Europe who came into Burghley's service in the 1590s.

¹³⁵Christopher Parkins's embassy to Poland: see *L&A*, v, Analysis no. 680; *L&A*, vi, Analysis nos 42–43, 390. The instructions for Christopher Parkins were dated 6 Jan. 1595. Parkins was to arrive in Poland before the end of the session of the Parliament there. TNA SP 88 /1/fols. 215r–216r. 'The principal purpose of his mission was to seek to conserve the quiet trade and residence of the English merchants at Elbing.' Parkins was to speak to the king and then the chancellor. See *L&A*, vi, Analysis no. 391. Rudolf II had tried to persuade the Polish king to declare war on the Turks, but the chancellor opposed the move as potentially catastrophic before the kingdom was brought to one religion—there were Lutherans and Orthodox, of course, as the Union of Brest was signed in 1596. Ambassadors from Wallachia, Moldavia, the Emperor, Hungary and Transylvania could not prevail on the Polish unwillingness to break with the Grand Signor; while the Papal nuncio was content to let diplomatic matters rest as the chancellor pressed for the Catholic religion. Bell, *Handlist*, 59, 138. See Letter No. 55.

Robart Cecill knight, one of hir ma[jes]ties privie Connsell

ENDORSED by Simon Willis:

23 dec[ember] 1594

Lo[rd] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 35

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 13 December 1594

Page ripped. ⅓ p. Eight lines. Dictated to Henry Maynard.

Addressed, endorsed.

Text

I doe meane tomorrowe in the morninge to give order that all such monie as shall be aunswered of her ma[jes]ties Customs outwards in the office that Mr. Yonge had, shall be paid in the Customhouse [and] & theare savelie locked upp: and to be paid at the ende of everie weeke into hir Ma[jes]tie's receipt at Westminster.¹³⁶ Owt of my bed beinge not hable to signe anie letter this xiiith of december at night.

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my lovinge sonne

Sir Robart Cecill knight

one of the Q[ueen's] ma[jes]ties

privie Connsell

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

[Date obscured in the margin]

Lo[rd] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

¹³⁶Richard Carmarthen was in receipt of Cecil's directions concerning the customs money on 19 Dec. 1594, presumably immediately following Burghley's order on the 14th. Richard Young's debt and abuse of his office as customer in the port of London saw Burghley order Alderman Billingsley's interim oversight. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 29/35; *HMCS*, v. 40. Carmarthen noted that Burghley's health was impaired by the shock of Young's £10,000 debt. See Letter No. 36. Carmarthen to Burghley of 1 Feb. 1595, covered a full list of all customs received, incoming and outgoing, in the port of London from each collector, from 30 Dec. 1594 to 1 Feb., proposing monthly reckonings, Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 25/9; *HMCS*, v. 100–101.

Letter No. 36**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil,
14 December 1594**

½ p. Dictated to Henry Maynard.
Addressed, endorsed.

Text

I doe send hearewith unto yowe an Addition to that former declaracion which yowe have of som further cawses movinge hir Ma[jes]ties ^{dislike that the 1500 men levied for their service, have not been returned} whereof hir ma[jes]tie hath often spoken and I thinke will be agreable to hir minde thearein, which yowe maye acquaint hir majestie withall as yowe shall finde commoditie: meaninge in like manner (as I maie have anie ease of my paine to sett downe sum like reasons to awnswear the obiections that maie be made by the States that theie are not to make payment of this monie, untill the ende of the warres),¹³⁷ but my paine is such as I cannot further travell thearein at this time. I praie yowe also to acquainte hir ma[jes]tie with the letter inclosed which I received this Eveninge from Mr. Edmondess.¹³⁸

I am not hable by reason of the weaknes & paine of my hand to signe this letter.

ffrom my howse in the Strand this xiiith of December, 1594

¹³⁷ Bodley later assured Burghley that he acted under orders sent by Cecil presumably delivered verbally (Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 171/81; *HMCS*, v, 111; Thomas Birch, *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth from the Year 1581 until her Death . . . and the conduct of her favourite, Robert Earl of Essex . . .* 2 vols (London 1754), I, 207–208). Burghley's preparatory notes of instruction and on the terms of the treaty were made for his son's benefit. Cecil was, thus, seen to be the Queen's and Privy Council's hand controlling Bodley's embassy although he wrote equally to Essex. *L&A*, vi, Analysis nos 70, 71. The States General wanted assurance of English troops. TNA SP 84/50/fols. 29r–30r; *HMCS*, v, 102–103. Burghley's civil law interpretation of the terms of the 1585 treaty covered mutual defence between the States General and England, stipulating exact reciprocal financial and naval obligations. Burghley's treatise dated probably from early Jan. 1595, Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 25/91; *HMCS*, v, 99–100.

¹³⁸ Letter from Thomas Edmondess to Burghley dated 8 Dec. 1594, from Abbeville included Henry IV's declaration of war on Spain, TNA SP 78/34/fol. 285r enclosing fol. 283r–v. The French wanted assurance of English assistance for the duke of Bouillon, and noting the king's insistence on the boundaries of his kingdom. This was a last-ditch effort by the French to persuade Elizabeth to retain her forces in Brittany, Wernham, *After the Armada*, 553. Henry IV had been stabbed by a Jesuit, thus the order was banned outright from France. See Edmondess to Burghley, 22 Dec. 1594, *HMCS*, v, 43–44.

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:
To my Lovinge sonne
Sir Rob[er]t Cecill knight
one of the Q[ueen's] ma[jes]ties
privie Connsell

ENDORSED

14 dec[ember] 1594
Lo[r]d Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r
[Seal cut out]

Letter No. 37

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 27 December 1595

⅔ p. Dictated to Henry Maynard, with a one sentence postscript by Burghley.
Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I send hearewith unto two packettes¹³⁹ of letters browght owt of Ireland: The greater is of elder date, and the lesse of a later. I minde not to write unto yow the perticulers herof, for that theie be vearie manie & therefore to be nowe diligentlie perused. My healthe serveth mee not to enter into anie final consideracion herof, but onelie two thinges are necessarye: Increase of the forces, which I am sorie to see longe delaied from comminge owt of Bretaine, althowghe I knowe not whome to blame.¹⁴⁰ The second is to send monie thither for maintenance of the Garrisons already in that Realme, consideringe it doth appear by the Certificat of the Thres[urer's] Deputie that of treasure sent

¹³⁹Russell warned of a swiftly deteriorating situation in Ulster on 15 Nov. 1594. He urged that either the Queen dispose of Tyrone or lose her realm of Ireland. TNA SP 63/177/no. 10; *CSPI 1592–1596*, 282. Russell sent intelligence that Tyrone was ruled by Jesuits and seminary priests. TNA SP 63/177/no. 9; *CSPI 1592–1596*, 282. In addition, the earl's answers to the Queen were deemed evasive. TNA SP 63/177/enclosure 3 with no. 9. Rumours held that some rebels were ready to leave Tyrone's tyrannous rule, *ibid.* On 28 Dec. Burghley referred to Russell's letter to Cecil of 8 Dec, TNA SP 63/177/no. 37; *CSPI 1592–1596*, 286. Here he answered the Queen's criticism of several months' stalling with Tyrone.

¹⁴⁰The Britanny troops under Norris were directed into Ireland. There was diplomatic consternation caused in Anglo-French relations when this secret movement became known. The official protest of the French ambassador, Beauvoir la Noche, TNA SP 78/34/fol. 274, 320r; Wernham, *After the Armada*, 553–554; Letter No. 45.

over last, theare is nothings remaininge, as by the Accompt of the Thres[urer's] deputie maie appeare.¹⁴¹ But thearein noe mention is made of a great some of mony that remained in the handes of the Thres[urer's] deputie this last year, for which the thres[urer] had good assurance for repaiment. Ffrom my howse in the Strand this xxviith of December 1594

[Maynard]
Your loving father

[Burghley]
W. Burghley

[Burghley's postscript]
I have no hope to amend towards the world.

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:
To my lovinge sonne
Sir Robert Cecill
one of hir ma[jes]ties privie Connsell

ENDORSED in Sir Rober Cecil's hand:
28 Decemb[er] 1594
my l[ord] my Fathre to me
[Seal cut out]

Letter No. 38

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 13 January 1594

½ p. Dictated to Henry Maynard, with a one sentence postscript added in Burghley's hand.
Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I doe send this bearer, the Quene's pusuivant at Yorke¹⁴² with the letter from my L[ord] of Huntingdon for the Sendinge upp hither

¹⁴¹See Letter No. 38 for the charge on Wallop's war account.

¹⁴²The Queen's pursuivant at York: Richard Outlawe. *HMCS*, v, 83. For a full list of the pursuivants of 1594, BL Lansdowne MS vol. 77, no. 85.

of Gravener, but as yt semeth both by the pursuivant, and by the testimonie of the Maior of Northampton, and a Phisitian theare, which I doe send unto yowe, the said Gravener is fallen soe sicke, as he is unable to be brought from theare, and yet as the pursuivant saithe he hath left his mann with him to keape him as a close prisoner.¹⁴³ Of this yowe maie informe hir ma[jes]tie, for hir further pleasure to be done theare in.

If yowe see Sir Henry Walloppe, I prairie yowe will him to comm to mee towching monie to be sent into Ireland.¹⁴⁴ ffrom my howse in the strand the xiiiith of Jan[uary] 1594.

Your loving father

[Signed]
W. Burghley

[Burghley's postscript]
My flux in myn eie begynneth to fall to an ebb

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my loving sonne
Sir Robart Cecill knight
one of hir ma[jes]ties privy Connsell

¹⁴³The Irish examinations of Thomas Gravenor, Tyrone's agent, were taken by the bishop of Limerick, John Thornborough, which reached the Privy Council at approximately this time (see Letter No. 34). Lord Huntingdon sent Gravenor south without further examination at the council of the north. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 24/90; *HMCS*, v, 81. Cecil received most of the papers concerning Gravenor. (Edward Mercer to Cecil dated 13 Jan. 1594/5, Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 24/100; *HMCS*, v, 83.) The lord president sent in the same post Anthony Atkinson's cover letter to Cecil giving further examinations of David Ingleby, Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 27/6; *HMCS*, v, 83. Richard Topcliffe (1531–1604), *ODNB*, chief interrogator and torturer of the Privy Council (whose influence was waning under Burghley in the 1590s) was sent north to investigate Gravenor's death. He argued to Cecil for the exhumation of the corpse to determine what business of Tyrone's they were pursuing. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 24/102; *HMCS*, v, 91. Henry Hastings, 3rd earl of Huntingdon (1536?–1595), *ODNB*.

¹⁴⁴The list of privy seal payments authorized by the Queen for Ireland is found at TNA SP 63/191/fol. 201r. Burghley's chief concern here was the related contract he had made with George Beverly of Chester for the victualling of Irish troops, TNA SP 63/178/no. 34, fol. 69r; *CSPI 1592–1596*, 295. Burghley's conference with Wallop he described to his son, planning details for subsequent warrants for the Queen's and Privy Council's information, but remaining indifferent to Wallop's separate suit for Irish monies. Wallop urged Cecil separately to have the Queen sign the warrant for the repayment of his personal debt out of the monies set for Ireland. TNA SP 63/178/no. 40, fol. 92r; *CSPI 1592–1596*, 296. Wallop first spoke with Maynard about the matter and was told that Cecil was charged with moving the warrant to the Queen for signing following Burghley's draft.

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

14 January 1594 l[ord] thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r
[Seal cut away]

Letter No. 39

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 25 January 1594

½ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

Though my hand be unhable to fight and my right eie unhable to take a levell, yet thay beth do stoop to return my humble thanks for contynuanace of hir favor at this tyme whan I am more fitter for an hospitall, than to be a party for a marriadg.¹⁴⁵

I will be a precise kepar of myself from all cold untill fryday on which daye I will ventur to come thyther.

If yow shall here that this nyght I have playd at post and pare, yowe will gness that I shall recover, for I have lost all I playd for.

Your lov[ing] fath[er],

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my Loving Sonne
Sir Robert Cecill
one of hir ma[jes]ties pryve Connsell

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

25 January 1594
Lo[rd] Thre[asure]r to my [Maste]r
[Seal cut away]

¹⁴⁵See Letter No. 44 for Burghley's advice to the Derbys, the 6th earl, William, and his grand-daughter Elizabeth Vere, on the will of the 5th earl, whereby the heirs general rather were named as recipients of the peerage lands. Barry Coward, *The Stanleys, Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby 1385–1672: The Origins, Wealth and Power of a Landowning Family* (Manchester, 1983), 46, 53. See also Helen Payne, 'The Cecil women at court', in Pauline Croft (ed.), *Patronage, Culture and Power: The Early Cecils* (Yale, 2002), 265–281. See esp. 266–270 for discussion of the importance of the Cecil women in court office but also the unhappy beginnings to the Derby marriage in 1595.

Letter No. 40**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 12 February 1594**

½ p. Eight lines. Holograph.

Addressed and endorsed, with a list of secret Scottish intelligence codenames in silverpoint or crayon on the dorse in Henry Maynard's hand.

Text

I know not what resolution hir Ma[jes]ty hath made with Sir Jhon Norryce, for the service in Irland,¹⁴⁶ nor for the manner of discharge of the rest of the nombres beside the ii^M [2,000] to be sent into Irland.

I understand ther ar noo Capt. in bogland than ar to serve with the ii^M [2,000] wherof regard wold be had what shall become of them.

12 febr[uary] 1594

Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my lovinge sonne Sir Robart Cecill knight
one of hir ma[jes]ties privie Connsell
At the Cort

¹⁴⁶Sir John Norris's revocation to Ireland from Brittany caused difficulties with the French and a lengthy protest from the ambassador, Beauvoir la Nocle, TNA SP 78/34/fol. 320–321v, 29 Dec. 1594; Letter No. 37; Wernham, *After the Armada*, 553–554. The 2,000 troops out of Brittany and 100 horse were to be sent into Ireland for which thanks were given on 26 Feb. by the council in Dublin Castle. TNA SP 63/178/no. 54, fols. 126r–127v; *CSPI 1592–1596*, 299. Cecil had procured supply for Norris prior to his removal and charges of corruption in ordnance: see TNA SP 78/34/54r, 84r–5r, 94r, 96r, SO3/1/fol. 477r (Sir George Carew for ordnance), fol. 484r (Jean d'Aumont's letters), fol. 484v for the warrant for all manner of provisions for supply of the Queen's forces in France. The work parcelled out to Cecil begins to make sense of the terse notes sent by his father. Extant letters to Caron follow a similar pattern: nearly constant letters with notations, draft replies—commented on by Burghley—endorsed as filed by Willis, e.g. TNA SP 84/48/fols. 189r–v, 195r, 249r, 266r, 278r, 283r, 286r; 49/48r, 71r, 114r, 122r, 261r. The procuration to the signet of official royal documents was done at this time by Cecil, e.g. SO3/1/495v where two letters, on the privileges of Flushing and a royal directive to Gilpin, were procured with the minutes remaining with Cecil. Burghley's extensive notes in Letter No. 14 give a general sense of direction for how this awkward diplomatic transfer of troops would take place. Norris seemed reluctant to leave Brittany for Ireland.

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

12 ffeb[ruary] 1594

[List in Henry Maynard's hand, added in crayon, pencil or silverpoint]

6 The Duke [of Lennox]¹⁴⁷

2 Ch[ancellor] of Scot[land]

35 [Maitland of Thirlestane,¹⁴⁸ Lennox's adversary at the Convention]

B The Kyng [James VI]

[In pencil on the dorse]

8o

[Seal cut out]

Letter No. 41

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 14 February 1594

1 p. Nineteen lines dictated to a clerk, ten lines in Burghley's hand.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I would wishe yow to be carefull towching the proceeding to be had for the ^{nominated} Bishoppes of Winchester¹⁴⁹ and

¹⁴⁷The 2nd duke of Lennox, Ludovick Stuart (1574–1624) – see *ODNB* – loyal to his cousin James VI, also a strong supporter of their cousin Bothwell, chamberlain and first gentleman of the king's chamber, was granted the lieutenancy of the north in 1594 to reduce the northern earls, and fought with the king at the battle of Glenlivet in Nov. 1594 when the royal forces were routed. Lennox enjoyed great favour after Maitland of Thirlestane's fall from favour in 1592 (see n. 148) and succeeded where Colville of Easter Wemyss did not. He may also have helped the English cause: when Cecil's agent (and later Essex's) Henry Lok (or Lock) fell, he was rescued by adherents of Lennox. TNA SP 52/53/no. 35. The list of names may have nothing to do with the other MSS in the volume, and refer solely to matters in a Scottish MS noted by Cecil on the dorse of his father's letter. James certainly suspected Cecil's evil will. *CSPS 1593–1595*, 485, 492, 497. In early Feb. 1595 James Colville, commends himself to Cecil, *ibid.* 537, 548, 550, 552. Burghley did not correspond with Colville or Lock.

¹⁴⁸The chancellor of Scotland, Maitland of Thirlestane (1543–1595), *ODNB*, was an adversary of Lennox whose conflict spilled into the English intelligence network managed by Bowes at the court. He was blamed for leniency against those who attacked the king in 1589 at the 'Brig O' Dee' incident, principally Huntly who he was wrongly suspected of protecting.

¹⁴⁹William Wickham (1539–1595), *ODNB*, bishop of Lincoln 1584–1594, had just been appointed when he died, after being granted restitution to temporalities following a rather sharp correspondence with Cecil who made demands of royal grants pending. After Bishop Thomas Cooper's death in 1594, Cecil had forwarded the *congé d'élire* to the signet in Dec. By Feb. 1595 arrears owing the Crown were still at issue, because the massive first fruits and tenths were unpaid. Cecil was here instructed to get the matter in motion. Warrants had to be perfected and the attorney general, Coke, had only one serjeant to assist him before

Durham,¹⁵⁰ that before they be perfected there be sufficient provision made, and assurance to hir ma[jes]tie of such rentes and ameties as aught¹⁰ be assured by them. As namely from the B[ishop] of Winchester of a Rent Charge of CCCC^{li} [£400] p[er]annum graunted by the late Bishopp deceased out of the manor of Taunton and other manners. As also, of viii^C and iiiii^{xx} li [£880] yearlie rent essing out of the lordshipp of Allerton and other lordshippis within the Bishoprick of Durham, which the late now Bishop of Durham payd to hir ma[jes]tie. And further of a Cxl li [£140] yearlie rent for the Castle of Norrham, and a ffysching uppon the ryvar of Twede, which my L[ord] Chamberlaine holdes with Rent was likewise answered to hir ma[jes]tie by his l[ordshi]p.¹⁵¹ I pray yow thearfore have a Care too, these thinges towching hir Ma[jes]tie before any further proceding be had therein. ffrom my house at Westm[inste]r the 14 of febr[uary] 1594.

[Burghley's addition]

I sent for Mr. attorney¹⁵² to have care hereof, who is herin wary how to procede, but I have directed to speak with the L[ord] ch[ief] Justyce¹⁵³ and Mr of the rooles¹⁵⁴ who war attorneys, and so he will, but he complayneth of want of others, seyng ther is but on sergeant and no sollicitor, alledgyng that ther ar many weighty cawses of hir Majesty to be ordered.

he conferred with the lord chief justice of the Queen's Bench (1592–1607), John Popham (1531–1607), *ODNB*, former attorney general, and with the master of the rolls, Sir Thomas Egerton. Wickham was now responsible for these payments but he had inherited some long and unprofitable leases made by Cooper soon before his death. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 29/fol. 60r; *HMCS*, v, 55. Cecil warned Wickham not to expect restitution to temporalities without payment of the Crown rents. *HMCS*, v, 128. Wickham also petitioned Burghley for restitution to temporalities on 21 Mar. 1595, BL Lansdowne MS 79/no. 38, fol. 102.

¹⁵⁰The newly nominated bishop of Durham, Tobie Matthew (1544–1628), *ODNB*, was elevated from the deanery of Durham. Matthew thanked Cecil for his long-delayed promotion on 16 Feb. 1594/5 (Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 171/fol. 125r; *HMCS*, v, 174), which argues for the speedy transmission of business there after the long stalling of Matthew Hutton in taking up the archdiocese of York. See, inter alia, Hutton's debate with Cecil, beginning, 13 Oct. 1594: *The Correspondence of Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, etc.*, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Society (1843), 86, Letter no. XXXII; Acres 'The early political career of Sir Robert Cecil', 166–175.

¹⁵¹The fight over lands in the diocese of Durham between Cecil and Hutton in Dec. 1594 involved royal and Privy Council suitors. Lord Hunsdon was angling for the suit of Sir Edward Denny for lands out of the diocese of Worcester vacated by the translation of Richard Fletcher to the bishopric of London, *HMCS*, v, 31–32, 32, 130. For Matthew Hutton (1520?–1606), see *ODNB*.

¹⁵²The attorney general, Sir Edward Coke (1552–1634), *ODNB*.

¹⁵³Sir John Popham (c.1531–1607), *ODNB*.

¹⁵⁴The master of the rolls, Sir Thomas Egerton. He was also lord keeper (after Puckering's death) from 1596.

yow may inform hir Ma[jes]ty hereof, and for a serieant I know non fitter than Mr. yelverton,¹⁵⁵ as for any sollicitors I will not presume to name any for some respectes.

Your lov[ing] Father

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Maynard's hand:

To my varie lovinge sonne Sir Robart Cecill knight of hir ma[jes]ties honorable privy counsel.

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

14 ffeb[ruary] 1594

L[ord] Threas[urer] to my M[aste]r

[Cecil's additional note on the dorse]

con. Sir J. Hawkyns sergeant

h. myll¹⁵⁶

Letter No. 42

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 26 February 1594

1 p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I see that I am so yoked with others, as my fortun is to be allweis thrust in to the furrow.

¹⁵⁵[Sir] Christopher Yelverton (1536/7–1612), sergeant-at-law from 1589, *ODNB*.

¹⁵⁶Henry Mill was probably an Exchequer servant; his name on the dorse of Letter No. 41 may possibly refer to the contents of Letter No. 42, where Burghley was more probably noting examinations in Henry Long's murder by the Da[n]vers brothers, to whose examination Sir Herbert Croft – [Crofts, Craftes] (c.1565–1629), *ODNB* – referred when he petitioned Cecil to join Mill, Mr. Osborne, and Mr. Fanshawe, the latter two also Exchequer servants. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 173/77; *HMCS*, vi, 188. Cecil used Charles Danvers in intelligence: 'Sir Charles Danvers doth very discreetlye advertise me of all Italian occurentes', Stone, *Palavicino*, 238–239; TNA SP 12/265/133, an example is found in SP 78/30/fol. 221r for Austrian, Hungarian and Turkish news in 1593. The Danvers brothers were later relieved of the charge of murder. They were cousins of Sir Thomas Cecil's wife Dorothy Nevill. Henry Danvers, earl of Danby (1573–1644), *ODNB*; Sir Charles Danvers (c.1568–1601), *ODNB*.

I perceave by yow that hir Ma[jes]ty is informed that I did committ on Roger Mill to prison, uppon pretence that he did inform soemthyng as a wytness ageynst Parkynson in the Cause of Davers whereto I answer that I did not of my self committ hym, but he was before the Consell at Sommersett houss long before the deth of Long by Daverss and by them all committed for informing of Mr. lane of some evill words to have bene spoken by parkynson at a dynnar about xii monthes before, whereof he cold produce no proff, but sayd that he had hard such a report, by on that had served parkynson as a soldior and was putt owt of service uppon displeasure. And parkynson beyng charged herwith utterly denyed the same, so as this Mill was committed for concealyng such speches so long tym, and cold not prove the same.¹⁵⁷

This happened long befor the deth of Long by Davers at what tyme parkynson was Generally well lyked of. And yet I did move 1 month past spek to on of the clerkes of the Consell to move the Consell to delyver hym as sufficiently punished and so untill now I thouwght he had bene delyvered, as it may be that he remayneth only for fees of the prison.

I pray yow inform hir Ma[jes]ty, that she may see how I am wronged ^{herein} as in many other lyk.

I think on of the clerkes can inform yow of the tyme and manner of his Concell, by testimony of the Consell letter

[To the lower left side]
Your lov[ing] fath[er]

W. Burghley

Dorse

¹⁵⁷Henry Long's murder continued to be investigated with Danvers family forfeitures a consequence. On 15 July 1596 Elizabeth, Lady Danvers, mother of Sir Charles and Sir Henry Danvers wrote to Cecil for their protection. *HMCS*, vi, 267–8; BL Lansdowne MS 827, no. 6, duplicated at no. 13: 'A lamentable discourse taken out of sundrie examinations concerning the wilful escape of Sir Charles and Sir Henry Danvers, knights and their followers after the murder committed in Wiltshir uppon Henrie Longe, gent.' which contains Henry Parkinson's evidence against the Danvers. On 23 July 1595, John Calley, a servant, wrote to Sir Robert Cecil on behalf of the senior Lady Danvers. *HMCS*, v, 288. During the first week of Jan. 1595 a series of examinations concerning their conduct were held by the Privy Council at Calshot Castle, and a commission of the Exchequer, John Osborne (the Lord Treasurer's remembrancer) and Thomas Fanshawe (the Queen's remembrancer) were under coroner's inquisition (which found Sir Henry, the younger guilty) to 'receive monies due on the queen's behalf' from various indentures held by Sir John Danvers, senior. *HMCS*, v, 84–90; *CPR 37 Eliz. I*, no. 1369.

ADDRESSED

To my lovyng son Sir Robart Cecill at the Court

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

26 ffeb[ruary] 1594

L[ord] Threas[urer] to my M[aste]r

[Seal cut out]

Letter No. 43**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 17 February 1594**

1 p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed. Additions [2] in the left margin. Signed.

Text

I send to yow herewith Mr. bodeleys letter beyng the first received sence he departed. by it only appeareth his entrance into the matter of his chardg¹⁵⁸ By his next will appear uppon the States answer, what may be expected.¹⁵⁹ so as untill then I se no cause of his further instruction.

[Opposite the opening of the preceding paragraph in the margin]

I perceave that Mr. bodeley hath in his proposition well followed his Instruction

[Main text continues]

As for Colonells Stuartes negociation, I way it not much, if he can get for the kyng a pece of monny. I thynk it will Gage hym that waye from harkening to papaticall confederacy, or from other harmfull leage with France, from whence he may have shews of frendshipp without substance.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸See Letter No. 36 for Bodley's embassy and Burghley's compilation of civil law arguments for the engaging of the Low Countries' naval support. TNA SP 84/50/fols. 29r–30r; Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 25/fol. 18r–19r; *HMCS*, v, 102–103. Bodley had appeared before the States to make the English case for repayment of debt.

¹⁵⁹Note also Bodley's letter on 14 Feb. 1594. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 171/81; *HMCS*, vi, 111. See n. 160.

¹⁶⁰James Stewart, 2nd earl of Moray (1565/6–1592), *ODNB*. Colonel James Stuart of Houston had been sent by James VI of Scotland as special envoy to the States General, where he made the charge that the Scottish king was forced by English parsimony to court other sources of income, exacerbating a dangerous situation. He was also corresponding with Essex and another agent, James Hudson, LPL MS 651/fols. 21–23. Bodley replied to Burghley that several instructions from Sir Robert Cecil had kept him appraised of Stuart's

I am glad that hir Ma[jes]ty is satisfied with myn answer for Mill's imprisonment.¹⁶¹

Yow forgett the matter for the Q[ueen's] assurance of Certen rentes from the 2 BB [Bishops] of wy[nchester] and durham and therewith, the attorney's request to be furder asisted with another serieant and sollicitor.¹⁶²

[Opposite the opening of the preceding paragraph in the left margin] I send yow also a letter from Sir Edm[und] uvedall with a confession of G. Sommersett, a person that hath long strayed.¹⁶³

[Main text continues]

How hir Ma[jes]ty will have the L[ord] depute of Irland answered uppon your report of our Conference which because yow wryt, that yow have reported with her Ma[jes]ty's allowance, I have privatly, havng oportunite to send to hym, by my present letter advertised hym a good part of our opinions without prescribyng to hym any direction untill hir Ma[jes]ty shall direct the same and so inform yow

ploy, providing answers to the King's alleged miseries. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 171/81; *HMCs*, v, 111; Birch, *Memoirs*, I, 207–208. Bodley referred to Scottish affairs set forth by Cecil in his first letter of 5 Feb., where he said this was the second such advice given him by Cecil. Bodley also sent a copy of Houston's instructions, in French, to Cecil and a copy to Essex, Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 30/64; *HMCs*, v, 108–109. James VI played on his desire to defeat their common Spanish enemy, now so entrenched in the highest ranks of his nobility. References to Elizabeth were duly reverent.

Cecil had been fully informed of Stuart's embassy by his agent James Colville of Easter Wemyss, whom the king had sent on embassy into England. TNA SP 52/55/no. 24. Wemyss also sent a copy of Stuart's instructions, SP 52/55/no. 23, dated 14 Feb. 1595. Bodley sent a further copy, Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 30/fol. 64r–65r; *HMCs*, vi, 108–109. Wemyss argued to Cecil that James did not intend hostility towards Elizabeth, but because of the terms of his annuity acted out of financial desperation.

¹⁶¹See Letters Nos 42, 73 for Long's murder in which Burghley led the indictment against Mill.

¹⁶²The orderly course of the dean and chapter of Durham returned the *conge d'elire* with Tobie Matthew's name as of 14 Feb. 1595, Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 171/125; *HMCs*, v, 174. The conference on the payment to the Crown of lands and rents was required for the drawing of books for lands, manors, and tenements where the Queen was, by statute, remainder in reversion.

¹⁶³Letter from Sir Edmund Uvedall to Burghley of 12 Feb. 1595 enclosed the confession of George Somerset, TNA SP 84/50/fol. 39r, 41r–v. Somerset claimed to be a cousin of the present earl of Worcester, as son of a prominent Montgomeryshire gentleman (the earl's surname was Somerset also). Uvedale detained Somerset as he returned to England through Flushing, having been sent to Bruges to learn 'the language' 16 years before. Somerset was acquainted with Michael Moody, Sir William Stanley, and Stanley's lieutenant-colonel Jacques, as well as Francis Owen, pensioner to the king of Spain. Sir William Uvdall or Uvedale (d.1606), *ODNB*.

how I have remembered the same.¹⁶⁴ I send yow a Copy of my privat letter, which may be affirmed or controlled by a more Generall letter from the Connsell.

Your lov[ing] fath[er],

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Maynard's hand:

To my lovinge sonne Sir Rob[er]t Cecill knight one of hir ma[jes]ties privy connsell.

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

7 ffeb[ruary] 1594

L[ord] Threas[urer] to my M[aste]r

[No seal]

Letter No. 44

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, February 1594/5

1 p. Holograph. Main text with two additions in the margins; as the text is continuous, the shifts to the additions are marked [*1] to the lower left margin, and [*2] to the continuation in the upper left.

There is an additional sentence overleaf.

Text

I perceave by your letters, that my L[ord] chamberlain hath made an honorable report to his Ma[jes]ty of my upright and favorable dealing in the hearyng of the cause, betwixt my L[ord] of derby and the Conntess his sistar,¹⁶⁵ wherin he hath done me right as he promised me that he wold and so deserveth my thankes which I pray yow gyve

¹⁶⁴The reply of the lord deputy, Russell, to Burghley's letter of 17 Feb. was dated 12 Mar. of that year; it noted that his forces arrayed against the Irish rebels held their ground. Money was needed, a point he made at length to Cecil in a letter of 11 Mar. 1595, as Norris was delayed in getting his Brittany forces across into Ireland. TNA SP 63/178/no. 82, fol. 192r–v, 194r–195r. See the totals of payments for forces sent into Ireland and Russell's desperate further requests for money, *HMCS*, v, 165; *CSPi 1592–1596*, 308.

¹⁶⁵See *CSPD 1595–1597*, 73; TNA SP 12/253/no. 15 of 15 July 1595 for the abstract of the claims of Alice, dowager countess of Derby, against William, 6th earl (1561–1642). Ferdinando 5th earl (1559–1594) had left everything in his will to his widow rather than by primogeniture, and the 6th earl bought back the estate which took until 1610, *ODNB*.

his Lord[ship]. but wher hir Ma[jes]ty hath pronounced hir graciowss sentence of me, as of hir spryt and hath commanded yow, as yow wryt to gyve me a million of thankes, I am most glad of hir favorable censur for which also I most humbly thank hir Ma[jes]ty, as not meriting so much, but for hir Millions of thankes yow may as merrely saye from me, that she may be noted soemwhat over liberall, for to gyve a million of thankes wher she oweth none, but may challendg all that I can do to be as a dett not hable to fre me from bondage to hir, both by God's ordinance, and by hir regalle and princely favors. and to wryt seriously I have doone^{no} thyng in this cause but that my conscience did prescribe me. and if the Erle shall thynk otherwise of me, as I dowt he may be thereto ledd yet he shall understand that I gave my child to hym, but not my conscience nor my honor which no blood shall ever gayn of me. and yet I pray yow tell hir Ma[jes]ty, if the Conntess had not such great

[the page ends and the sentence continues as the lower of two marginal comments]

cause of compleynt as was pretended, nother shall have if I may direct the cause, but fyndyng some wondryng of both sydes, I only shewed them ther errors, and directed them to the Q[ueen's] Ma[jes]ty's high wayes, wher law and equite used to walk hand in hand, which I trust they will follow.

[the upper of two marginal comments]

I warned both parties, that nether his entayle nor the Conntess Dower, shuld draw me from myn office, to se to the right of the wardes.

W. Burghley

[At the right foot]

turn this

[Overleaf]

I fynd no ease of paynes, nor increass of strength and yet I assure yow I expedite more poore sutors, than I thynk any Judg or master of law doth in this term.

For the duration and intense acrimony of the case, see Coward, *The Stanleys*, 56–82. The legal squabbles came to the fore in the summer of 1595, see Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, TNA SP 12/253/no. 14; *CSPD 1595–1597*, 72–73: 'I am sorry my lady of Derby or friends complain of my doings concerning her causes, without advertising me thereof. I have only done, in the ratings of her fine to the Queen, what by law I am bound to do, as her case is, to demand dower because she has no jointure' referring to the betrothal of his grand-daughter Elizabeth Vere to the 6th earl.

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Burghley's hand:

To my wellbeloved sonn Sir Robart Cecill knight at the Court

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

Ffeb[ruary] 1594

L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 45

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 29 April 1595

½ p end. Dictated to Maynard.

Addressed, endorsed.

Text

I thank yow for your letter, which I cannot answeere with myn owne hand in any sort. I allowe your discretion in concealing from the Q[ueen] my last nights paines. And though I had yesterdaie a painfull iorney with my hand, & have had this night a continuance therof with some new paine in my foote, whereby I am force to kepe my bed this forenoone, yet yowe shall do well not to be knowne herof to any. If I had come well hither and the wether fayre, I might have tarryed here but two daies. But now I know not how long I shalbe forced to tarry here by this ill Accident, which seeing it was to fall out at this time I am glad I am here without Company to troble me. and so god bless yow with his grace. From my howse at Theobaldes the xxixth of April 1595.

[To the lower left of the page]

I praie yow speake to Mr. Edward Darcy⁶⁶ to remember the Q[ueen] for the sealing of certane letters of the wardes and if he not there,

⁶⁶Edward Darcy (1543/4–1612), *HPT*, ii, 16–17, privy chamber official and patentee (controversially, for sealing leather), allied with the Killigrew family politically. See Letter No. 94.

require Mr. Killigrew¹⁶⁷ or Mr. Stannhoppe¹⁶⁸ to gett them signed, for there are twise as many to do when they ar done.

I send you a letter of Mr. Caryes¹⁶⁹ with a ticket of a progresse intended by the k[ing] of Scottes to come to the sight of Barwick for which purpose he is desirous to know, how he shall behave himself at that time.¹⁷⁰ Whereof I praie yow make my L[ord] Chamberlayn privie to the intent he may understand the Q[ueen]s mind, & as for the workes to be done there, I will give order by my next letter to have the same performed.¹⁷¹

[Not signed]

¹⁶⁷Sir William Killigrew (d.1622), *ODNB*, Burghley's nephew, the son of Sir Henry Killigrew (1525/8–1603) who was Burghley's brother-in-law through his wife Mary (née Cooke). See Letter No. 94, of which Killigrew was the recipient. Richard Carmarthen recalled to Cecil on 29 May 1595 that the Queen had sent Killigrew to Cecil for the drafting of a letter to Sir Francis Godolphin. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 32/fol. 70r; *HMCS*, v, 222–223. Cecil also procured Killigrew's suit, as one of the 'Gromes of her Majesty's privie chamber' for the manors and parks of Hamworth and Colkemington in Middlesex, to the signet Seal in consequence of his expenditures while 'building and repaying there'. The bill had to be amended to relieve Killigrew of certain burdensome incidental payments due the Crown, TNA SO3/1/fols. 485r, 494v.

¹⁶⁸Together with Killigrew and Darcy, Michael Stanhope was looking for grants of diocesan lands during the Crown's custodianship while the sees were vacant. See Letter No. 94. He petitioned for duchy of Lancaster lands, though his connections to the vice-chamberlain of the chamber, Sir Thomas Heneage. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 25/fol. 21r, Petitions, 416, 422; *HMCS*, v, 104–105. Cecil procured to the signet Michael Stanhope's suit for the right of sole import of Spanish wool for twenty years, the letter having been subscribed by Burghley and the attorney general, Coke (TNA SO3/1/fol. 491r). The most influential of the sons of Sir Thomas Stanhope, cousins through Mary Cheke, was Sir John Stanhope, of the privy chamber, who was relaying political news of high secrecy and importance to Cecil at that time, e.g. *HMCS*, v, 128, 178, 219, 347, 370, 413, 431, 508, some of which included land transactions, 214. John Stanhope appeared to have some weight in seeking vacant positions after the death of Nicasius Yetswiert, including the secretary of the French tongue. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 32/fol. 2r; *HMCS*, v, 189. He would become treasurer of the Chamber in 1596 having been named master of the posts in 1590. See John Stanhope, 1st Baron Stanhope (c.1540–1621), *ODNB*.

¹⁶⁹John Carey also wrote of the king's intentions to visit the borders on 25 Apr. 1595, *Cal. Border Papers*, ii, 30.

¹⁷⁰Hunsdon provided the answer for Cecil the following day. The precedent for a royal Scottish visit was Mary, Queen of Scots, when Sir John Forster was the deputy to the earl of Bedford. All honour was to be done, and all the available ordinance was to be fired in their Majesties' honour, with the implication that Carey would also be his father's deputy in this case.

¹⁷¹Hunsdon wrote to Cecil the following day, 30 Apr. 1595, telling Cecil of John Carey's letter to him received at the same time as Burghley's, Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 32/fol. 7r; *HMCS*, v, 192.

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Maynard's hand:

To my loving sonne Sir Robert Cecil
Knight, of her Ma[jes]ties privy Counsell

ENDORSED

29 April 1595:

L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 46

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 20 May 1595

½ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I am willingar than hable to come on Monday, and yet Mr. chan[cellor] and I have apoynted a special metyng here that afternoone with the office of the Custom houss, and so must my L[ord] Keper and I with other Judges mete to morrow about diffikult busynes.¹⁷² so as I am not Idle in my afternoons, though farr unhable to beare such burdens.

I can not saye that I will come on Monday, but I must saye, I must be carryed there very paynfully, and unmete to be sene to hir Majesty's presence.

I have bene thurghly occupied this day.

Your lo[ving] father,

W. Burghley

¹⁷²The Court of Wards was saddled with a huge debt owed to the Crown on the death of the receiver-general, Sir George Goring; his heir, also George, wrote to Cecil, *HMCS*, v, 205. Sir George died owing £19,777 2s. 3½d., *ODNB*. Richard Carmarthen of the Customs House administration had the elder Goring's patronage and wished to protect the honour of the son, George Goring, who had failed to secure his father's receivership, *HMCS*, v, 222. Carmarthen there referred to Burghley's position as protector of the Crown's interest requiring of him to 'deal very severely' with the younger Goring for the recovery of the debt. The new receiver-general, William Fleetwood wrote to Burghley out of concern for the payment of his emolument, *HMCS*, v, 222, but the case had not been heard by 23 June 1595. *HMCS*, v, 256. The Gorings, as many families, had total 'dependence on the rewards of court connection, its extravagant outlays, and its complicated and fragile network of financial credit' *ODNB*.

Dorse

ADDRESSED

To my lovinge sonne Sir Rob[er]t Cecill knight one of hir ma[jes]ties
privy Connsell

ENDORSED

20 May 1595

Lo[rd] Thre[asurer] to my M[aste]r

'1595' and 'Mr'

[Seal cut out]

Letter No. 47**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 12 May 1595**

1 p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I am not yett gott owt of my bedd. what I shall be hable to do tomorrow, I know not. for the manner of retorning of Mr. bodeley, with hir Ma[jes]ties answer of mislykyng both of the States answer and of his coming back uppon ther advise, I can not but very well allow thereof, and I thynk he shall ought to ply them with so many reasons, as the tyme serveth for hir Ma[jes]ty, after x yers chardg without ether mony or any suratye of Gratitude from them by waye of presenta[tion] of ther thankfulness,¹⁷³ addyng that hir Ma[jes]ty is now also provoked in Irland to enter into a charg not estimable, wherto she hath no hop of any help, but of hyndrance by Spayne and otherwise.

If they shall be content to pay hir Ma[jes]ty's people and grant a good yerly some, towards the discharg of the dett, hir Ma[jes]ty

¹⁷³Bodley was returning to England and George Gilpin wrote to Essex that he hoped the ambassador would press for increased expenditure in the Queen's cautionary towns; which might argue for the Essex's interest in supply of the Queen's troops there. Bell, *Handlist*, 194; Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 171/fol. 136r; *HMCS*, v, 196. Sir Horatio Palavicino (c.1540–1600), *ODNB*, had sought re-payment of bonds for raising money for the Low Countries but was not satisfied and urged a new embassy or Bodley's swift return. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 171/fol. 139r; *HMCS*, v, 202. Cecil was extending secret overtures into the Low Countries, as is evidenced in a reply by Thomas Fane of Dover Castle to Cecil's instructions concerning an agent James Symons, *HMCS*, v, 202. Henry Maynard's letter of 12 May to Cecil noted Bodley was unable to draw full co-operation from the States in the matter of re-payment of their debts. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 32/fol. 30r; *HMCS*, v, 203. Maynard also hinted at letters to Buckhurst arriving with intelligence through Thomas Fane at Dover.

remanying ther protector and they Contynuyng ther defence agenst the k[ing] of Spayne, I cold be content to se hir Majesty so eased of this growing chardg.¹⁷⁴

This I can scribe not without payn.¹⁷⁵

Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley.

Dorse

ADDRESSED in the same hand as Letter No. 45:

To my loving sonne Sir Robert Cecyll knight, one of her ma[jes]ties privie Connsell

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

12 May 1595

L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 48

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 6 May 1595

¼ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I can not wryt at any length, but do send these included from Sir Ed[ward] Norryce which I pray yow shew to hir Ma[jes]ty and to know hir plesur, for his answer.¹⁷⁶ The matter purporteth more dannger

¹⁷⁴See Letter No. 43. Wernham, *After the Armada*, 557: 'But already by 1595 in the Netherlands Elizabeth was not only limiting, and indeed a little reducing her present military aid, she was also beginning to send in her bill for past successors.'

¹⁷⁵Burghley's instruction to Henry Maynard in the morning of this day, 12 May, noted his great pain and inability to go to court, Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 32/fol. 30r; *HMCS*, v, 203. The supply of these several paragraphs for his son's meeting with Sir Thomas Bodley attests to the importance of these lines on the Low Countries' debts. John Clapham, another of Burghley's secretaries, assured Cecil on 29 Apr. that Burghley's pain might not increase in fair and dry weather, Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 32/fol. 6r; *HMCS*, v, 191–192.

¹⁷⁶Sir Edward Norris (c.1550–1603), *ODNB*. Sir Edward Norris's letter to Burghley, 3 May 1595, from Ostend suggested there was local secret support for Spain and stockpiling of weapons in Bruges and Antwerp for forces upon the arrival of the Archduke Ernest's body for burial. TNA SP 84/50/fols. 146r–147r; *L&A*, vi, Analysis no. 56. Norris was sceptical, but the rumours made sense of Gilpin's desire for more aid, for which he appealed also

than is mete for me to pass over without hir Majesty's Judgment. I think Monss. de Caron wold be acquaynted herwith.¹⁷⁷

Maii 1595,

Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my loving sonne Sir Robert Cecill knight, one of hir ma[jes]tie's
privie Connsell
At the Cort

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

6 May 1595

L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

[Seal missing]

Letter No. 49

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 23 June 1595

¾ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

to Essex, *HMCS*, v, 196; Letter No. 47. Burghley had Norris's letter sent to the Queen by Cecil, as he was unable 'by some infirmity', *L&A*, vi, Analysis no. 56. The Queen did not panic over the rumours of arms. She instructed Bodley to tell the States of the condition of Ostend, requesting of them men, munitions and victual as needed. TNA SP 84/51/fol. 151r.

¹⁷⁷Cecil may have replied to Noel de Caron in a conversation. Burghley replied to Sir Edward Norris on 7 May from his house in the Strand, agreeing that a siege by Count Fuentes was unlikely. Burghley, as ever, argued that the States answer these needs unless there was imminent danger, TNA SP 84/51/fol. 151r; *L&A*, vi, Analysis 56. Caron was used as an intermediary in public causes concerning the debt including repayment of Sir Horatio Palavicino's bonds. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 171/fol. 147r; *HMCS*, v, 234. Cecil's agent Thomas D'Arques reported all of this to Cecil, as well as on Palavicino's suit for repayment, noting Caron's work on his behalf was not successful, *HMCS*, v, 220, 221, 224; Letter No. 47. Fuentes would prove a formidable enemy during the summer of 1595, taking several towns and turning toward the siege of Cambrai. But while these cost Henry IV strategic places, the Dutch negotiations were not directly affected, as they might have been at Ostend.

Text

I thynk Mr. Wyndebank will delyver yow a bill to be signed for W[illia]m Spicer and for H[enry] fade, so as H. fade shall receive no fe nor proffitt duryng Spycers estat.¹⁷⁸ Yow may doe well for furderance hereof to inform hir Ma[jes]ty that Spycer can not allwise personally attend, for that he is Surveyor of the workes at barwyk, and hath also cause to se to the workes at woodstock. but if notwithstanding these reasons hir Ma[jes]ty will not have H. fades Joyned nor yet to have a Grant in reversion, I must content my self at hir Ma[jes]ty's plesure, not meaning to be a sutor to hir Ma[jes]ty for any thyng but for her favor, and allowance of my poore service.¹⁷⁹

I pray yow procure the dispatch of the warrant for barwyk for the Garrison who have great nede to be helped this deare yere.¹⁸⁰

Mr. wyndeb[ank] hath in redynes the letters for 1^m [1000] soldiers to be in redynes.¹⁸¹ I send a letter for the matter of plymmouth for

¹⁷⁸The bill was for a grant in survivorship from the death of Thomas Fowler to William Spicer and Henry Fadis, comptroller of works within the realm of England dated 3 and 4 Philip and Mary (1556): Burghley fulfilled the letters patent, as Spicer was to receive income during his life, and Fadis only in reversion. This was confirmed 16 July 1595, *CPR 38 Eliz. I*, no. 33.

¹⁷⁹Stewart, *English Ordnance Office*, 112–113: 'There seems to have been little or no armaments or ancillary industries in the north. Almost all military supplies seem to have been sent from the central office in London.' Burghley's notice of scarcity may refer to the great cost of such shipments, Letter No. 113.

¹⁸⁰Robert Vernon, surveyor of victuals reported great scarcity to Burghley in late May 1595; a conflict between Vernon and the captains had broken out over stores, *Cal. Border Papers*, ii, 30–33. There were regular suits for office at Berwick: Bishop Tobie Matthew's suit for Henry Sanderson, searcher of the port of Newcastle, possibly for the surveyorship at Berwick in preference to Vernon, Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 33/10; *HMCS*, v, 256; Ralph Gray sent his petition for one Ashton of Lancashire to replace Mr. Robert Bowes in his position as treasurer of Berwick, *HMCS*, v, 261. In any case, Burghley was not about to meddle in the letters patent for comptroller of the works.

¹⁸¹On Sir John Norris's arrival in Ireland he made harsh criticisms of Russell's military policy, disputing most of his decisions, including the lord deputy's petition for sole nomination of captains for 1,000 foot and 100 horse and their officers, a requirement apparently answered with this warrant held by Windebanke. TNA SP 63/180/no. 9, fol. 43v for Norris's criticisms of 4 June 1595; *HMCS*, v, 262 for Burghley's warranting as lord lieutenant of Hertfordshire and Essex to supply footmen for Ireland, dated 30 June 1595. Some Privy Council discussion with the Queen may have stalled the sending of the men in that week, considering Norris's opinion that the troops were unnecessary. This followed Russell's disbanding of 12 of 19 companies of English soldiers with Irish experience in early Apr. See Norris to Cecil, 14 Apr. 1595, TNA SP 63/179/no. 31, fol. 68r. These numbers connect directly with Burghley's fear in Letter No. 40, that there were no captains to serve as commanders of the 2,000 troops then in readiness.

which to be signed by the Connsellors ther, I pray yow send to me.¹⁸²
23 Ju[n]e 1595.

Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my lovinge sonne Sir Robt. Cecill knight, one of her ma[jes]ties
privy Connsell, At the Cort

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

23 Junii 1595

L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 50

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 24 June 1595

½ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I have red your letter reportyng the Q[ueen's] Ma[jes]ty's favorable
compassion for releff of Sir Thomas Wylkes and that hir Ma[jes]ty
wold receive knolledg from me of his sutes, which I do send in a paper
herinclud, which I pray yow to shew to hir Ma[jes]ty whose favor
my request cannot increas.¹⁸³ but suerly I thynk if he be not releved

¹⁸²These warrants may have been for the provisioning of the expedition planned that summer by Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins, as indicated by Burghley's reply to Sir Robert Cecil, *CSPD 1595-1597*, 95-96). One Marwood was then named customer of Plymouth on the suit of Serjeant John Hele at that time. *CSPD 1595-1597*, 71.

¹⁸³The grant of lands was meant to defray Sir Thomas Wilkes's expenses on his embassy for the Queen to Brussels, which did not take place, *HMCs*, v, 11, 12, 19, 20, 34, 252. Wilkes's petitioned for lands out of the duchy of Lancaster while the chancellorship was vacant following Sir Thomas Heneage's death, Letter No. 72. In the event he received rents of Crown leases but not land. See 14 Feb. 1596, *CPR Eliz I*, no. 762, for the lengthy list of Crown leases out of which Wilkes was awarded income. For Wilkes (1545-1598), see *ODNB*. Extensive preparatory documents had been drawn for his embassy to the Archduke Ernest, brother of the Emperor Rudolf II. Wilkes would have pressed the archduke on the Lopez conspiracy and the implication of regicide by Philip II at the same time suggesting England would work for peace in the troubled Danubian regions, mediating with the Turks, the Poles and the eastern imperial armies in Hungary. As the Queen was offended by the archduke's

by some of these or some equivalent he shall not be hable to serve hir Ma[jes]ty as he ~~very~~ is as hable to do as any of his degre in England.
24 Junii 1595.

Your lovyng father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Simon Willis's hand:

To my lovinge Sonne Sir Robert Cecill knight,
one of hir Majesty's Privy Counsell

ENDORSED

24 Junii 1595

l[ord]. thre[sure]r to my Mr. Concerning Sir Thomas Wilkes

[In pencil on the dorse]

IOO

[Seal cut out]

Letter No. 51

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, June 1595

1 p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

Yow may by the begynning of this included letter of Sir Jhon Norrice[']s forwardnes, which yow may shew to hir Ma[jes]ty with an Intention how it is met to tak the Erles cheff howss, which they cannot doe, without passyng the blackwater, how so ever a contrary opinion afor hir Ma[jes]ty.¹⁸⁴

cover letter in reply, Wilkes was never sent. He was very close to secretarial operations. His treatise on the office and duties of a councillor suggests he hoped to be appointed as a second to Cecil in the office of Secretary, BL MS Stowe 296, fols. 7–20.

¹⁸⁴The Blackwater fort, which stood on the river of the same name, was the earl of Tyrone's chief house. Sir John Norris wrote to both Cecils on 13 June 1595 noting Russell's perfidy in sending the 1,000 foot lately levied into O'Donnell's country – presumably to assist Sir Richard Bingham in Connacht – even as Norris awaited his instructions on dealing with Tyrone. TNA SP 63/180/fols. 110r–111; 112r–113r. The task of proclaiming Tyrone traitor had fallen to Norris. TNA SP 63/179/no. 41, fol. 90r–v; Bruce Lenman, *England's Colonial Wars 1550–1688: Conflicts, Empire and National Identity* (Harlow, 2001), 116.

Yow may also se the reasons Iterated, for acceptyng of few Mc Hugh. but his offers have not been secrett, nether will his person, nor his other Companion be easly taken and delyvered.¹⁸⁵ I have sent for Sir H[enry] Killygrew and the rest to be with me to morrow at 7 of clock wher I wish Sir Tho[mas] Wilkes might be present & so tell hym.¹⁸⁶

I thnck to speak with Sir Francis Drake this night for plymmouth.¹⁸⁷

And so I thank yow your to much Care of me in sendyng to know how I do, which I thank God is well, but tyred with london sutors.

Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

[Holograph postscript]

I miss 2 of my brood, a male and a female, but I thnck they are forthcomming redy to return whan they shall be called for.

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Burghley's hand:

To my loving son Sir Robart Cecill

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

June 1595, Lo[rd] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

¹⁸⁵Fiach Mac Aodh Ui Broin or Fiach MacHugh O'Byrne (1544–1597) was the chief of the O'Byrnes who had supplanted the O'Tooles in the vast lordship of the Wicklow mountains. He was to be dealt with by Norris with troops assigned to this campaign. Norris wrote to Cecil on 13 June 1595, reporting that Feagh McHugh's offers to the Irish Council were 'impugned' by them. Russell wrote to Cecil on 23 May 1595 that he had been occupied for five weeks in the prosecution of Feagh McHugh, TNA SP 63/179/no. 90, fols. 226r–227r. McHugh's confederate may have been his son, Turlough McFeagh O'Byrne, whom Russell planned to have put to death by extraordinary means. TNA SP 63/180/no. 41, fol. 125r–v. See also Letter No. 61. McHugh's wife had been taken, Hatfield, Cecil papers, 32/30; *HMCS*, v, 20.

¹⁸⁶The projected meeting of Wilkes, Killigrew and Burghley may have been to discuss draft instructions for his proposed French embassy. For the confession of Nicholas Williamson to the lord keeper, Puckering, of 21 June 1595, where the intelligence implications of Wilkes's proposed embassy to the Low Countries was discussed, see Letter No. 50; *HMCS*, v, 252.

¹⁸⁷Sir Ferdinando Gorges (1567–1648) was then in charge of the town but he was dealing with chaos, as he was contravened by the mayor in public. *HMCS*, vi, 207–208. Gorges would have the office of captain or keeper of the new fort then being built in Plymouth, and a patent of 12 June 1596 responded to these disorders giving him the power to 'remove, expel and replace foot-soldiers, gunners, porters, watchmen and others serving' at the fort and on St Nicholas Isle at the entrance to the port. *CPR 38 Eliz. I*, no. 2582. Gorges played a pivotal role in Channel defences, prevailing over local and regional interests in support of the national government. With minor breaks Gorges held this post until 1629, *ODNB*.

Letter No. 52**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 8 July 1595**

½ p. Dictated to Henry Maynard.
Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I hae received your letter by this bearer at xii of the clock, whearebie yowe require to understand of mee whither yowe shall move the Quene about the Bill of the Provost Marshall. ffor awnswear, besides that I wroate unto yowe this daie by Coppin¹⁸⁸ concerning that matter I did move hir ma[jes]tie thearein yesterdaie, whome I fownde veary willing to have a provost Marshall¹⁸⁹ but very unwilling to make anie allowance to him, without which I told hir the Gentleman would not nor could not well serve, for that the service would be chargeable unto him, becawse of his continuall attendance, and that with summ good Companie to resist the violence of anie disordred person. and hearof yowe maie doe well to acquaint summ of my lls [Lords] to assist yowe in anie newe motion to be made to hir ma[jes]tie.¹⁹⁰

Ffrom my howse in the strand this viiith of Julye 1595

[Burghley]
Your loving Father,

W. Burghley

¹⁸⁸Burghley's secretary George Coppin's patent for clerk of the Crown in Chancery and clerk for the writing of pardons, *CPR 39 Eliz. I*, no. 269. See also Letter No. 80; *CSPD 1595-1597*, 353.

¹⁸⁹See Ian W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge, 1981), 1-2, for a discussion of the tensions between the lord mayor, the governance of the city and anti-alien riots. The great apprentice riot of 29 June 1595, is discussed in Manning, 'The prosecution of Sir Michael Blount', 218-219. The City and government officials left few records of questioning or procedure in Star Chamber, one reason for this was that Wilford's patent abrogated the normal course of justice, see note 190.

¹⁹⁰Sir Thomas Wilford was to be named provost marshal under a commission dated 18 July 1595 'for the execution of rebellious and incorrigible offenders by martial law'. Previous Star Chamber orders to the lord mayor for imprisonment and corporal punishment had failed. This was also the case with the proclamation of 4 July 1595 to commit vagrants to prison, which had not stopped the unrest. Public execution under Wilford was deemed to be the only method remaining. *CPR 37 Eliz. I*, no. 1364. See also Letter No. 80; *ODNB*.

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my Lovinge Sonne Sir Rob[er]t Cecill, knight,
 one of hir Ma[jes]ties Privy Counsell

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

8 July 1595,
 L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r
 Provost Marshall

Letter No. 53**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 11 July 1595**

¼ p. Holograph except for address.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I send herewith the last letter I had from Mr. Gylpyn¹⁹¹ and also certen letters from Mr. Edmundes¹⁹² all which yow may impart to hir Majesty.

I propose with God's will to be ther to night or in the morning to impart to hir Ma[jes]ty Mr. Bodeley's last answer.¹⁹³

11 Jul[y] 1595.

Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my lovinge sonne Sir Rob[er]t Cecill, knight, one of hir ma[jes]ties
 privy Counsell

¹⁹¹Letters to Burghley and Cecil from George Gilpin of 8 July 1595, TNA SP 84/51/fol. 9r; 11r–12r; *L&A*, vi, Analysis no. 72.

¹⁹²Thomas Edmondson to Burghley of 22 June 1595, TNA SP 78/35/fol. 178r. Burghley used the word 'last', by way of distinguishing its contents from another letter of 14 June, TNA SP 78/35/fol. 171r.

¹⁹³Bodley's answers to the Cecils' and the Queen's questions were made on 11 July 1595. As Bodley was in England, the letter arrived the same day. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 33/30; *HMCS*, v, 275.

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

11 July 1595

L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 54

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 13 July 1595

1 p. The first section, 9 lines, dictated to Henry Maynard; the remaining section, 20 lines, holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

[Maynard's hand]

Since my comminge home I have spoken with l[ord] derbey towchinge the writinge that concerneth the C[ap]teine Wainemen, whoe telleth me that he delivered the same to yowe, and therefore it semeth yowe did not remember yt this daie when the same was spoken of [in Burghley's hand] this day upon the deliverie of Sir Edward Norris['] letter to the lls [Lords].¹⁹⁴ I praie yowe cawse your man to seek yt owt, and if yowe shall misse yt emongest your papers, yowe maie looke for yt emongest mine of the Lowe Contries, least peradventure yowe might leave them with mee [Burghley] which I do not remembre, but yet I remembre yow told me that Mr. bodily brought such an information ageynst weynman.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴Sir Edward Norris to the Cecils of 8 July 1595, TNA SP 84/51/fols. 13r–v, 15r; *L&A*, vi, Analysis no. 174. This includes discussion of Wainman, a captain in Brittany presumably under Sir John Norris who had been sending intelligence of members of Sir William Stanley's Irish regiment in the Low Countries. He had been implicated in the confession of one Thomas Hull as being a connection between Stanley's lieutenant-colonel, Jacques Fransico, and Maurice of Nassau. Wainman was now in Ireland, which underscores again the interrelatedness of intelligence in Ireland, Brittany and the Low Countries. Wainman was alleged to have conspired to blow up Maurice's store of weapons when Count Fuentes made his way into the Low Countries. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 24/82, and copy 83; *HMCS*, v, 78; Letter No. 48. How William, 6th earl of Derby knew of this information is uncertain. Hull confessed that he was persuaded to commit treason, as had Babington and Salisbury. The circumstances of the 1593 plot to implicate Ferdinando, 5th earl of Derby, in a regicidal plot emanating from Spain were apparently known to the 6th earl despite his not being a privy councillor. Derby shared intelligence with Cecil about the Scottish ambassador, Cockburn, who was at court to collect James VI's annuity 22 July 1595, *HMCS*, v, 286.

¹⁹⁵This volume reposes with much of the Cecil's official papers, but is noted as an administrative entity in 1598 as among Burghley's papers at TNA SP 45 (Various) /20. Henry Brooke was sent to find Bouillon's cipher in Burghley's papers on 1 Oct. 1595 telling of his closeness with the Cecils' and his father's intelligence work. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 173/fol. 137r; *HMCS*, v, 1.

I send to yow herwith a bill for a warrant for monny for Sir Thomas layton, which as my L[ord] admyrall can tell yow is required to be iii^C [£300] and for Jersay ii^C [£200] with monny for iiiii tons of lead. I pray yow procure these to be signed, and pass to the signet and prive seal.¹⁹⁶

Yow may tell my L[ord] of Essex, that wher hir Ma[jes]ty hath apoynted certen men for Silley only for the sommar tyme I fynd the cap. bevon unwilling to serve ther except he might have a contynuaunce for which I have no warrant, but express order to contynew this new chardg, but for the sommar tyme.¹⁹⁷

13 Jul[y] 1595

Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

[Added after signing in Burghley's hand]

I had almost lost my tyde to come under the Bridg hytherward.

the letter also for my L[ord] of Pembroke for 100 men willsh[ire] and 200 in Som[erset] wold be remembered.¹⁹⁸

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my lovinge sonne Sir Robert Cecill, knight, one of hir Majesty's Privy Counsell

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

13 Julii 1595

L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

[Seal remaining]

¹⁹⁶Despite these temporary expenditures for the Channel Islands, military expenditure would now lean towards Ireland. See the intelligence from Sir Nicholas Clifford to Essex of the landing of Spanish troops in Cornwall. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 172/35; *HMCS*, v, 290; Wernham, *After the Armada*, 536.

¹⁹⁷The note regarding the government of the fortress at Scilly may have arisen on Sir Francis Godolphin's visit to the court from his command there with news containing Irish, Breton, Spanish and Scottish intelligence. Essex presumably sponsored Captain Bevan for a captaincy, but whether this was for intelligence reasons is unclear. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 33/29; *HMCS*, v, 274.

¹⁹⁸Warrants to Burghley for levies in Essex and Hertfordshire on 30 June 1595 for troops to Chester were part of the Irish levies accompanying Sir John Norris as he took the command of the Queen's troops there. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 33/13; *HMCS*, v, 262. See also an account of payments under privy seal warranted for Ireland in Mar. and Apr. 1594/5, dated 21 July 1595. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 139/49; *HMCS*, v, 286.

Letter No. 55**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 23 July 1595**

½ p. Dictated to Henry Maynard.
Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I doe retorne unto yowe, three writings of D[oc]tor Parkins conceipt. The one to the k[ing] of Pole, the other to the Brethren Battores of Transilvania, the third to the Chancellor of Poland.¹⁹⁹ The first two to be written by hir ma[jes]tie, the third by him self: the which I have perused seriouslie, and cannot in mine opinion ad or deminishe anie thinge, but thinke the same written very well cum drewro.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹Letters were then drafted by Christopher Parkins, suspected of being Catholic, having been foreign-educated and trained as a civil lawyer. He protested that the papal legate to the emperor, Speciano (Letter No. 58) had offered £2,000 on his life. Here he was to draft letters to the king of Poland (Sigismund III Vasa, 1566–1632) married to the Archduchess Anna of Austria, who had evaded the Queen's direct questions about the provisioning of ships bound for Spain. Sigismund argued that Poland was neutral. The dwindling revenues for his nobility and his own treasury, owing to the reduced price of corn, had to be augmented; crops on the Vistula were nothing to do with Spanish trade, save that it was loaded at Danzig or Elbing, and would form part of the growing dispute and eventual Imperial embargo against the Merchant Adventurers in 1597. TNA SP 88 [Poland]/1/ fol. 230r–v; *L&A*, vi, Analysis no. 408. The Queen could not ignore a neutral power who abetted her enemies, yet this was the year before the Union of Brest which created the Uniate churches, thereby establishing Poland as a 'Catholic' power following Sigismund's own faith. Parkins also drafted letters to the Báthory brothers of Transylvania then in conflict with the Poles, which made room for manoeuvring with their affections. Alliances between the Báthorys and the Poles shifted, because the former had designs on the Polish throne. Furthermore, while Transylvania supported a war with the Turks, this was opposed by Poland. *L&A*, vi, Analysis no. 409. Parkins drafted correspondence for the chancellor of Poland, John Sarius Zamoyski (1542–1605), with a report on his embassy, TNA SP 88/1/fols. 234r–237r. Congratulations for Sigismund III were sent, as he had fathered an heir, Vladyslaus IV Vasa (d.1648), future king of Poland, by his wife Anna of Austria. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 172/19; *HMCS*, v, 268–269. The Báthorys: Cardinal Andrew (1563–1599) and Balthasar (1560–1594) had staunchly opposed the support of their cousin Sigismund (1573–1613, Voivode of Transylvania, 1581–1594 when Rudolf II took regency) for Clement VIII's Holy League against the Turks and the resulting return of Jesuits to Poland mandated by the king. For earlier drafts of correspondence with Rudolf II, see TNA SP 80/1/fols. 179r, 185r, 186r, 187r. Parkins would also draft letters to Moulay Ahmed IV of Barbary, the chancellor of the margrave of Brandenburg, the earl of Friesland and the duke of Brunswick-Luneburg, TNA SO3/1/600v.

²⁰⁰The words may mean 'as drawn'.

And therefore, I think if theie weare redie written fitt to be signed by hir ma[jes]tie, the sooner theie be doone, and sent awaye the better.²⁰¹ but hearewith must be remembered that theare be our letter written to Mr. Barton, which would be written with somm good Caution, least it might be miscarried and so cumm to the handes of suche as ar readie to detract anie thinge, thowghe never soe well ment by hir Majestie.²⁰² soe fare yowe well.

Ffrom my howse at Theobaldes this xxiith of Julye 1595.

[Burghley]
Your loving father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:
To my lovinge sonne Sir Rob[er]t Cecill knight
one of the Q[ueen's] ma[jes]ties
privie Connsell.

²⁰¹The Queen's letter was sent following Parkins's draft, see n. 202; TNA SP 88/1/fol. 230r-v. There is no record of Cecil retaining Parkins's draft of the letter, or of his having procured the final version to the signet.

²⁰²Edward Barton (1562/3-98), *ODNB*, was agent in Constantinople, principally concerned with mercantile causes, while also gathering intelligence conveyed through his agent Thomas Wilcocks. Barton corresponded with Parkins at least once, writing on 18 July 1593; TNA SP 81/7/fol. 144r. Barton was secretly encouraging the Sultan Amurath and his successor Mehmed III against the Habsburgs and followed the sultan's army into Hungary in 1596. His efforts required the utmost secrecy because if discovered, they might have provoked 'neutral' powers against England. Parkins drafted each of the letters after soundings were taken by Cecil. Parkins and Cecil were asked by the Queen to devise 'some convenient meanes to keepe thinges quiet in Polonia with her highnes' dignitie', and to encourage the Báthorys gently by noting that the Queen would continue her 'inhibition of bearing corne to Spayne'. BL Cottonian MS Nero B II, fols. 245v-246r-v. What lay behind these diplomatic efforts to encourage a Turkish anti-Habsburg policy was an attempt to secure trade which was threatened in the Empire, see Letter No. 34. The custody of Parkins' drafts is not clear but Cecil's control of such papers may be inferred from a signet docquet entry of Dec. 1593: 'A letter to Edward Barton Esq, her Majesty[s] ambassador with the Grand Seigneur in favour of the Prince of Transilvania, The m[inute] rem[ain]ing with Sir Robert Cecill, dated at Hampton Court, the xxiith of December', TNA SO3/1/fol. 437v. For the drafting of the Turkish letters, see Thomas Lake telling Cecil in Jan. 1596 that they would be given to Sir John Wolley's man 'who knoweth the style', since his clerks (at the council) would not bear the charge of the silk used in their sealing. Rayne Allinson, *A Monarchy of Letters: Royal Correspondence and English Diplomacy in the Reign of Elizabeth I* (Basingstoke, 2012), 30-31.

Letter No. 56**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 24 July 1595**

½ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I thank for your often wrytyng. I am glad of the Erles delyvery to his own howss, wherof I do Imagyn he shall stey a good tyme.²⁰³ Yow wryt not whyther I be looked for ther, but I meane to be at London on Satyrday, and at the Court on Sunday.

I send yow such letters as presently I received from Otwell Smyth, wherein I only mislyke that which he wryteth of desparnon.²⁰⁴ And so bless yow. Fom my howse of Theobaldes. 24 Jul[y] 1595.

Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED by Burghley:

to my sonn Sir Robart Cecill
knight at the Court

²⁰³Burghley may be referring to Thomas Butler, 10th earl of Ormond and 3rd earl of Ossory (1531–1614) old friend of the Queen's, rather than Tyrone. The rebels' forces were held to be growing daily in strength and discipline. Cecil's agent John Talbot's reported: 'The traytors are growen strong and bold through to long sufferance', TNA SP 63/180/no. 45, fol. 144r; *CSPI 1592–6*, 331. Russell sent the Cecils John Bellevue's confession, in which he told of a priest on board with great sealed letters, presumably from Spain to the Irish rebels. TNA SP 63/180/no. 45, fols. 125r–v, 127r–v. Burghley collated Irish intelligence for his son on 30 June 1595, noting that in the reports of allies sent for Spain and intercepted, there was named the earl of Ormond: 'whose name I thynk is rather used to incite the Spanyard than upon sure ground', SP 63/180/fol. 184r. It is possible that Ormond returned to his house as commanded by the lord deputy and council for reasons of his own safety and security. However, he preferred to stay away from his ancestral lands, taking refuge in the south, because he was then struggling with the uprising of some of his kinsmen, *ODNB*.

²⁰⁴Otywell Smyth to Burghley of 18 July 1595, TNA SP 78/35/fol. 195r; *L&A*, vi, Analysis no. 133, 135, 136, 158, 190. Smyth enclosed three letters with his own. Of these, Burghley paused at Charles de Saldaigne's (Sieur d'Incarville) to Smyth where it was implied that Épernon, now reconciled to Henry IV, was suspected of maintaining close connections to the Spanish (he was a Lorrainer), to whom he might deliver Boulogne. Hopes were now reposed in the integrity of Campagnol, the governor of the town, to prevent this action. SP 78/35/, fol. 194r; *L&A*, vi, Analysis no. 158. For an earlier example of treachery in Boulogne and the current threat against Boulogne, see Wernham, *After the Armada*, 488–489; Acres, 'The early political career of Sir Robert Cecil', 57–67.

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

24 July 1595

L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 57

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 3 September 1595

½ p. Dictated to Henry Maynard, with one holograph sentence added before Burghley signed.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I am vearie well contented that my dawghter your wief maie have the use of anie part of my howse either the Chamber wheare my Ladie of derbye used to lie in,²⁰⁵ or anie other place to hir choise and best likinge. and so I prairie yowe to lett hir understand, and that she maie remove thither when and assone as yt shall best like hir. from the Cort, this third of Sept[ember] 1595.

[Burghley adds]

If myne owne bedchamber shall lyk hir she may command it.

[Maynard]

Your loving father,

[Signed]

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my loving sonne Sir

Rob[er]t Cecill knight, one

of hir ma[jes]ties privye Connsell

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

3 Sept[ember] 1595

Lo[r]d Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

²⁰⁵Elizabeth Vere, countess of Derby, Burghley's grand-daughter, recently married to the 6th earl of Derby.

Letter No. 58**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil,
12 September 1595**

2 pp [recto and verso in the MS]. Dictated to Henry Maynard, with one holograph paragraph.

Addressed, endorsed.

Text

At your departure yesterdaie I had noe leisure to deliver sondrie thinges unto yowe, which nowe with thes my letters in a heape I send unto yowe.

Ffirst yowe shall receive Mr. Bodelies letter dated the 27th of the last moneth, the contentes whereof yowe maie at convenient time, or the letter itself showe to hir Majestie, wherein I see he moveth som scruples and dowbtes howe hir ma[jes]t[ie] maie be satisfied.²⁰⁶

I send to yowe also a Copie of a letter written owt of Russia by John Merick Agent for the Englishe Companie there,²⁰⁷ whereby he doth advertise a matter of summ weight delivered to him by Boros Federick principall Connsellor to the Emperor of Muscovia, by which it appeareth howe readie the Popes legat²⁰⁸ hath been to slawnder hir

²⁰⁶Bodley to the Queen of 27 Aug. 1595 was copied to Burghley and to the earl of Essex. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 34/69; *HMCs*, v, 352–353. Burghley referred to Bodley's pessimism about the States' ability to repay their debts to the Queen, in view of their military support of Henry IV's efforts at Cambrai. The French held Cambrai and it was besieged by the Count of Fuentes in 1595. Burghley's express instructions to Bodley had been to negotiate within the terms of the 1585 agreement.

²⁰⁷Sir John Meyrick (c.1559–1638/9), *ODNB*. Letters were received from Meyrick, agent for the Muscovy Company. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 37/12; *HMCs*, v, 521–522. Burghley reiterates much of the content of the extract. The Papal legate to Russia had tried to convince both Boris Godunov and the Tsar of the Queen's support for Amurath III of Turkey, against the wishes of all other Christian princes. See n. 208.

²⁰⁸The papal legate at Prague to Rudolf II sent to Poland, Cardinal Cesare Speciano (1539–1607), see Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin *Catholic Europe 1592–1648: Centre and Peripheries* (Oxford, 2015), 152–154. The legate had made explicit Habsburg claims that Elizabeth had supported the Turks in their war. This, together with the Emperor Rudolf's later interdiction on the English Merchant Adventurers, shaped a potential European-wide isolation of England, especially if the Spanish could be persuaded by Clement VIII to lead the war against the Turks together with the Austrian Habsburgs. Burghley was concerned to let these matters to rest, hence the secrecy of the Queen's letter to Edward Barton, see Letter No. 55. The papal nuncio's policy was less interventionist in Poland where the chancellor decided that declaration against the Turks was less important than establishing Catholicism. This also exposed the Transylvanian Báthorys, to whom the pope had sent Cardinal Visconti, to Turkish aggression, see n. 209; Letter No. 34. The legate was here employing more incendiary tactics to rouse anti-English, rather than specifically anti-Protestant, feeling for the question was mercantile rather than religious.

ma[jes]tie after the accustomed manner of his master the ffather of Lies. And consideringe the discreate discoverye hereof by the Muscovite, and his not accrediting of the untrwethe, It weare well done that the Agent had hir ma[jes]ties letters both to the Emperor, and to Boros Frederick²⁰⁹ declarring to themm the untrewthe of this report, and hir ma[jes]ties disposition to have peace for the Emperor of Almaine. hir ma[jes]tie dare in honor referre himself to the Emperor of Almaine to whome hir ma[jes]tie did send an Ambassador expreslie a yere past,²¹⁰ offeringe all the meanes in hir power to reduce the Turk to peace. And of this matter none can better make declaracion, than D[oc]tor Parkyns whoe in mine opinion weare veary fitt to conceive the two letters to the Emperor of Russia and to Boris Frederick.²¹¹

I doe also send unto yowe a letter of Archibald dowglas,²¹² whoe also came himself after his letter written in person. by his letter and speeche I finde by him a disposition to doe sum good service for quietnes in Scotland, and perticularlie for the Q[ueen's] ma[jes]tie's satisfaccion. his Negotiation consisteth upponn two partes: The one

²⁰⁹Boris Fedorovitch Godunov (1551–1605), grand duke of Moscow succeeded as tsar (1598–1605) rather than Feodor I (1551–1598), heir of the Tsar Ivan ‘the Terrible’, who was not considered of sound mind. Godunov appears to have been the shrewd mind behind this scepticism, although see the Queen’s willingness to tread a very delicate line in this matter in her relations with the Poles and the Báthorys of Transylvania, while keeping instructions to her agent at Constantinople, Edward Barton, strictly secret (see Letter No. 55). Godunov specifically requested that Merrick supply letters from the Queen to himself and to the Tsar notifying them of the Queen’s neutrality with the Turks. Cecil had procured suits for the fellowship of English merchants trading in Muscovia and Russia. TNA SO3/1/fol. 448r. On 2 Oct. 1595 the year’s import of Russian timber, intended largely for the construction of ships of war, came to 4,980 hundredweight, valued at £5,810. *HMCS*, v, 399.

²¹⁰The Queen’s ambassadors to the Emperor of Almaine, i.e. to Rudolph II, Holy Roman Emperor: Parkins had been the last emissary, 1590–1591 and 1593 to the emperor and German states, also visiting Hanse towns and Poland. Bell, *Handlist*, 138. Henry Fiennes, 2nd earl of Lincoln, would be sent 30 June–Sept. 1596.

²¹¹Imperial, Scandanavian, Hanse, Russian, Turkish (Edward Barton), and Danubian correspondence, all in Latin, came to Parkins for translation and drafting. Burghley was in regular communication with Barton whose letters from Constantinople were compiled into a large letter-book, BL Cottonian MS Nero B xii, fols 1–361. After the 1596 ratification of a League Defensive and Offensive, the Triple Alliance, and the restoration of a Habsburg–French balance, Parkins’s correspondence with the princes of the Holy Roman Empire, particularly in the somewhat chaotic Bohemia of the Emperor Rudolf II, assumed increasing importance. Parkins sought ecclesiastical preferment by Cecil valued at £50 per year so that he might finance his work. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 34/49. When Cecil was made Secretary, he petitioned with eventual success to be made a master of requests. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 42/17; *HMCS*, vi, 248. He was not successful in his bid through Cecil to be made Latin secretary in Oct. 1596 after Sir John Wolley’s death. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 45/66; *HMCS*, vi, 432.

²¹²The letters of intelligence here are from James Hudson and George Nicolson, Cecil’s main Scottish connection, *CSPS* 1593–1595, no. 568. Bothwell’s overture to Henry IV had been rebuffed.

for the Erle of Angus: the other for the Erle Bothwell.²¹³ The grownd of his dealinge procedeth of a letter from his Nephewe Richard dowglas, which he did shewe mee, and whearof I send yowe a Copie.²¹⁴ The purpose is, wheare the Erle reconciled to the Kinge, and to learne of his confederacie with Huntley, Arroll and others, and if hir ma[jes]tie would intercede for him to the kinge he would discover unto hir

[p. 2] ma[jes]tie sondrie thinges preiuciall to her State. But yt semeth except he maie have the k[ing's] favor wrowght by hir Majestic, he will not discover his knowledge. The second matter concerninge Bothwell is an offer that one James Dowglas called the L[aird] of Spott, an offender which Bothwell offreth to comm into Ingland, and so to passe into France wheare the Erle Bothwell is, and not onelie to disswade Bothwell from conspiringe with the Spaniard, but to discover all his knolledg of anie attempt against the Q[ueen's] ma[jes]ty, or hir Realme.²¹⁵ And this he offreth to performe, so as his charges be provided for, for his comming and retorning. Of thes two matters I would yow would informe hir ma[jes]tie and receive hir pleasure.

²¹³Huntly and Erroll were prepared to receive Bothwell into their confidences. Archibald Douglas, Bothwell's maternal uncle, was to help with this and report through Hudson to Cecil. Douglas was then leaving for Holland with Andrew Hunter, a Cecil correspondent, who reported fully to Cecil in the latter half of 1595. TNA SP 84/51/fols. 63 r–v, 298r. In Dec. 1593, both Archibald and Richard Douglas had mishandled intelligence matters with the public knowledge of the rebel Scottish earls' petition through Sir John Fortescue, Letter No. 10.

²¹⁴See above, pp. 48–49.

²¹⁵James Douglas wrote to Archibald Douglas one month later, 13 Oct. 1595, about the plots referred to here. Archibald Douglas was to have obtained the Queen's writ to advise Scrope of James Douglas's letters reporting on the very slow progress of Angus's reconciliation with the king, noting that James VI's favour to Lady Bothwell grew out of hatred towards the lairds of Buccleuch and Cessford rather than any actual regard he held for the Bothwells. *HMCS*, v, 415–416. This letter contains a full account of the pertinent changes in Scottish government after the death of Chancellor Maitland of Thirlestane including Bothwell's attempt to gain the confidence of Henry IV of France against his cousin James VI. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 29/40; *HMCS*, v, 41–42. This letter is calendared 1594, but Burghley's letter of Spott's interest in Bothwell dates it closer to 20 Dec. 1595. Bothwell also sought Sir Hugh Carmichael's support as aide to the prospective French envoy to Scotland, the duke of Rohan. Spott was furthering his causes for the Douglases with the earl of Cassilis. These matters were discussed in James VI's letter to Robert Bowes of 3 Nov. 1594, which criticized Spott's role as intermediary between Huntly and Bothwell. The 20 Dec. letter really gave news of Bothwell's French intrigues. Bothwell consoled Essex from Paris, probably on 3 Apr. 1596, on the death of Sir Henry Unton. *HMCS*, v, 134. Unton (c.1558–1596) was appointed ambassador on 30 Nov. 1595, a position held until his death on 23 Mar. 1596. Bell, *Handlist*, 100; *L&A*, vi, Analysis no. 236. Spott appears to have been quarrelling with Archibald Douglas's two nephews (James and Richard) by early 1596, which led to their causes foundering. Samuel Cockburn warned of this in a letter to Douglas on 17 June 1596, *HMCS*, vi, 216. For Spott's excommunication by the Kirk, see David Calderwood *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1842), Book V, 365.

I send also unto yowe A request of the Merchantes Adventurers to be recommended to Mr. Bodelie and Gilpin, or to one of them, which request consisteth upon two partes, both vearye necessarie for to be reformed by the States, as by the readinge thereof yowe will perceive.

And therefor I praie yowe move it to my Lordes theare that theare letters might be written to Mr. Bodeleie and Mr. Gilpin, accordinge to the request of the Marchauntes.

I have since yor departure fownd A plat of Milford haven,²¹⁶ and also the opinion of my l[ord] of Pembroke,²¹⁷ which was delivered to hir ma[jes]tie uppon hir Messuage sent by yowe unto him, wherein it doth appeare directlye that he misliketh of the fortificacion. whereof I will nowe make no report unto yowe bicawse I perceived yowe had received A copie thereof from his L[ord's] Secretary Mr. Messenger: and yet uppon a second consideracion not knowinge howe the Copie maie agree with the originall I doe send that which I thinke to be the same which was sent by the Erle, for so yowe shall find yt subscribed with his name.

[Burghley adds]

If I shall not recover my helth, at this tyme, wherein the son is departyng, I shall dispayre to contynew this next wyntar a lyve, or owt of misery, for within 40 howres I shall mak my period of lxxiiii y[ear]s, and what so ever shall be more, shall be by the Judgement of King David labor and toyle.

xiii Sept[ember] 1595

Your loving father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my lovinge sonne Sir Rob[er]t Cecill knight
one of hir ma[jes]ties privie Counsell

²¹⁶George Owen (1552–1613), *ODNB*, for his pamphlet or platt for the expansion of the fortress in Nov. 1595. A full account is in Owen, *Description of Pembrokeshire* (1602) 531–532.

²¹⁷This is the first letter mentioning the large-scale military preparations, including the various difficulties in mustering, for the autumn of 1595. Burghley made notes on Privy Council plans and expenditures at that time (including Milford Haven), as an invasion was expected. See also Letter No. 59; *CSPD 1595–1597*, 102. Henry Herbert, 2nd earl of Pembroke (c.1538–1601), *ODNB*, an unpopular lord president of the council of the Welsh marches; Essex was a major rival.

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

13 Sept[ember] 1595

L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

[Misdated: see text of No. 59 where Burghley allows that he was one day out in his reckoning around his birthday, 13 September. So the letter is actually 12 September 1595.]

[Seal cut out]

Letter No. 59

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 3 September 1595

1½ pp. Dictated to Henry Maynard with holograph additions to 2 paragraphs as noted in the text.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I have recevid this letter inclosed from my L[ord] of Rutland whoe is vearie desirous to have his license to be signed by his ma[jes]tie that he might at his comminge upp to take his leave of hir ma[jes]tie have noe cause of staie.²¹⁸ Yowe shall, therefore, much content my L[ord] to gett the same to be signed: and as I remember I gave to yoww hearetofore his bill.²¹⁹ but if the same should be missinge, yowe maie cause Mr. Lake to make an other,²²⁰ and therein to inset two gentlemen, the one named

²¹⁸Roger Manners, future 5th earl of Rutland (1588–1612), *ODNB*. For his grand tour and profligacy, see Lawrence Stone, *Family and Fortune: Studies in Aristocratic France in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1973), 148–179. Early in 1595, the Countess Elizabeth, the 5th earl's mother, died thus reducing the jointures charged on the estate from three to two and the 5th earl, though still a minor for another two years, came into his own and overspent hugely for the next five years exactly like the earl of Southampton, *ibid.* 179. The Cecils were, technically, embroiled in an extensive lawsuit with the Manners family over the marriage of Burghley's grandson William in 1589 to the Rutland co-heiress Elizabeth, *ibid.* 177. From 1597, Rutland moved in Essex's orbit. Stone notes that the travelling which Burghley here facilitated was running at between £6,000–£7,000 a year, *ibid.* 180.

²¹⁹Manners also wrote to Cecil on 6 Sept. 1595 concerning this licence to travel, asking that Cecil procure the paper for signing and thanked Cecil for his trouble on the 27th of that month, having received the licence, and wishing papers for one Tristram Tyrwhit to travel abroad to Prague and Germany. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 30/20, 34/102; *HMCs*, v, 365, 392.

²²⁰As clerk of the signet, Thomas Lake (1561–1630), *ODNB*, would become embroiled in a lawsuit c.1618, through his daughter Ann's marriage to the grandson of Sir Thomas Cecil, Lord Exeter.

Madox who is to attend my L[ord] in his travell, the other Robart Wellbie.²²¹

I must nowe acquaint yowe with an Accident that fell owt heare yesterdaie in the afternoone, least the same showld be otherwise reported to my l[ord] of Essex then the trewth was. Abowt tenne of the clock in the morninge one Capt[ain] Trowghton came hither to ^{Waltham} whoe is to be appointed to be muster M[aste]r of Rutlandshire, and beinge offred of the Constable and post M[aste]r to have horse, he semed not to care to have anie but rather had a minde to ride in journey as he said. and towardes the Eveninge havinge loytered in the towne all the daie, an honest man and a trumpett of hir Majestie's that dwelleth at Totnam whose name is ffisher, comminge through the towne with his wief beinge a sicklie womann, this Trowghton would neades unhorse ffisher and have his horse to ride past, which the other refusinge, and the Constables & post m[aste]r beinge by, and offeringe other horses, which he refused, he drewe his rapier, and hath hurt ffisher in one of his handes. wheare uppon the constables apprehended him and brought him hither to mee, together with ffisher the trompeter that was hurt, which disorder beinge testefied by all that camme with them, I committed him to the Custodie of the Constable. But for that he said he was my l[ord] of Essex's servant, within half an hower after I released him. Wheareuppon he had a post horse for himself, and an other for his guide. but most lewdely by the waie, towardes ware, he turned of his guide and is riden awaie with the other horse, wheareof a newe Complaint is againe made to me this morninge by the post M[aste]r and Constables. I have at length acquainted yow hearewith, that the trewth maie be knowne to my L[ord] of Essex, as yow shall see cawse, for that I dowbt not this lewde Companion careth not what he reporteth to excuse his own misdemeanon.²²²

[Burghley's hand]

²²¹Madox may be the Gryffyn Madox, sometime clerk of munitions at Flushing. TNA E 351/240, Discharge of account, chief officers, commissaries, entertainments, 12 Apr. 1586–30 Jan. 1587.

²²²At least one list of lord lieutenants, deputies in counties without lord lieutenants and their respective muster masters contains Captain 'Throwghton' beside Rutland, where the lord lieutenant was Lord Huntingdon, *HMCS*, v, 523. Burghley was troubled by such incidents. He wrote to Cecil on 17 Sept. 1595 calling attention to the difficulties experienced by the commissioners for musters in Northampton and hoping that the usual 'Michaelmas summer' would suffice for the training of newly mustered troops. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 35/fol. 16r; *HMCS*, v, 381–382.

I pray yow inform my Lo[rd] herof, declaryng that dyvers coming through the town, and hearyng hereof report this Trowghton to be of very lewd liff and conditions.

[Maynard's hand, on verso, p. 2 of letter]

By your letter yowe require to have the shedule of the proportion to be sent to yow that yowe might speake with Sir G[eorge] Carroe thearof, which I conceive to be the shedule for the Isle of man.²²³ If yt be that, yowe shall finde thes letters and papers I had from him in my Chamber theare at Nonsuch in one of the packettes uppon the shelfe, where my other papers are.²²⁴ Soe farre yowe well. ffrom my howse at Theobaldes the xiiith of September, 1595.

[Burghley's hand]

I mistok yesterday to have bene the xiiith so as this to have bene but 13 and to morrow the 14 my birth daye, ^{the son entryng into to libra}. God send yow to lyve so manny within which tyme manny accidentes shall happen reknown to all astrologers.²²⁵

Your loving father,

W. Burghley.

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my Lovinge sonne Sir Robart Cecill knight one of hir ma[jes]ties privy connsell

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

3 Sept[ember] 1595

L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 60

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 23 October 1595

½ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

²²³The Manx ordnance appears under Carew's ordnance account, TNA E351/2610, for which the accountant was Sir Simon Musgrave with Carew as deputy. Carew laboured to reform old abuses and stop new ones as they appeared in the office and accounts during this time. *HMCs*, v, 377.

²²⁴See above p. 18.

²²⁵See Letter No. 126.

Text

The 2 letters which I send yow from Holland²²⁶ do gyve cawse for hir Ma[jes]ty to consent to that which this daye was spoken of with Caron which the sonar it shall be doone, the more comfortable will it be to our frendes.²²⁷

I am advertised from Depe that the D[uke] Nevers is dead but balloygne lyved and is used in service to besege la fere. Soissons is rendred to the Kyng.²²⁸

23 Oct[ober] 1595.

On Saturday I hope to se hir Majesty, with a forrigh head.

Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

²²⁶Thomas Bodley alluded to these letters in a short letter of 22 Oct. to Burghley, an appendix to his much longer advertisement of 19 Oct. 1595. The two letters were from the States General of the United Provinces, who deputed Johan van Oldenbarnveldt to advise Bodley of their contents: they had been written to the Queen and Privy Council advising them of their intention of fulfilling their contract; of the necessity of taking measures should the Queen dissolve their treaty; and to ask the Queen for her patience in the event a shorter solution to their mutual difficulty might be reached. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 35/87; *HMCS*, v, 428–429; Letter No. 58. Elizabeth reduced her Low Countries expenditures as far as possible. In 1595, ‘upon the French, too, there was pressure for some repayment of debt, but the pressure was a good deal less upon them than upon the Dutch’, Wernham, *After the Armada*, 557. Over the course of 1595 the Queen had relented on the Dutch repayments, partly out of fear of a Franco-Spanish peace and more significantly because Fuentes had attacked and taken Doullens, and was turning on Cambrai. Wernham, *Return of the Armadas: The Last Years of the Elizabethan War against Spain, 1595–1603* (Oxford, 1994), 34–36.

²²⁷George Gilpin’s letter to the earl of Essex of 18 Oct. 1595 showed Caron’s role: he was to return an answer as soon as he received the Queen’s and Council’s response to the two letters sent by the States General. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 35/fol. 75r–v; *HMCS*, v, 420; Letter No. 48.

²²⁸Otywell Smyth informed Essex, 22 Oct. 1595, that he had received news from M d’Incarville at Amiens dated 18 Oct., noting that the duke of Nevers (Louis Gonzaga, 1539–1595) was dead, his arch-rival the duke of Bouillon had gone to Sedan, on his way to Henry IV’s siege of La Fère; Arles, in Provence, had surrendered to the king. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 172/82; *HMCS*, v, 429–430. Soissons, in Picardy, was ready to surrender in late 1594 having been under the duke of Mayenne’s control for the League. Wernham, *After the Armada*, 520. Smyth reported to the earl of Essex on 24 July 1595 that the governor of Soissons had ejected the Spanish after Mayenne left by alerting them to ‘Lutherans’ within two leagues of the town, and when the Spaniards became aware of the ruse they were refused entry to the fortress without passports. *HMCS*, v, 288–289. The duke of Mayenne’s accord was certain on 8 Sept., by Saldaigne’s letter to Smyth of that date, but it was not yet publicly known. *HMCS*, v, 368.

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my Lovinge sonne Sir Rob[er]t
Cecill knight one of hir ma[jes]ties
prive Connsell

ENDORSED in the hand of another of Cecil's clerks:

L[ord] Tre[asure]r to my M[aste]r
[15]95 Octob[er].

Letter No. 61

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 7 October 1595

½ p. Holograph.

Addressed only.

Text

I do send to yow this included to be shewed to hir Ma[jes]ty wherof I can mak no comment the next being so barren. I praye yow remember the cawse of feagh Mc Hue who wold ether be established a good subjecte, or born with all, untill hir Majesty's forces may be spared to suppress hym.²²⁹

The attempt of Tho[mas] Lea,²³⁰ in killng of them that brought Walter Reogh and his 3 brothers to ther end wold be sharply reformed, for els the lyk servie will not be performed.²³¹

And yet I dowt of my l[ord] deputies intention to reform it, though the service which the Otooles that ar slayn was doone by his L[ord s] procurement.²³²

²²⁹For this ill-conceived plan, see Letter No. 51.

²³⁰Thomas Lea or Lee (1551–1601), *ODNB*, was a cousin of the Queen's Champion, Sir Henry Lee, who almost certainly commissioned the portrait of Lee as a kerne in 1594 by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger. Lee was of dubious loyalty, and at this moment had accused Feagh O'Byrne (as it was spelled by him) of interfering in efforts to treat with Tyrone. He had returned to Ireland in Sept. 1595, and killed Kedagh MacPhelim Reagh, an act of deeply questionable legality attached to the Queen, which was here questioned by Sir Henry Harrington who arrested Lee. The two captains had a rivalry. In 1596 Lee accused Harrington of supporting O'Byrne, and preferred charges of treason against him, *CSPI 1596–1597*, 48, 304. Lee was executed at Tyburn for his role in the Essex rebellion.

²³¹Throughout the years 1595–1596 Sir William Russell used Captain Thomas Lee to move against the O'Byrne chieftain. The petition of the O'Byrnes and the O'Toole's, *CSPI 1592–1596*, 329.

²³²Russell had encouraged Lee's efforts in this service.

Your lov[ing] father.

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in the hand of another of Burghley's clerks:
To my loving sonne Sir Robert Cecil

NO ENDORSEMENT

Letter No. 62

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 15 October 1595

½ p. Dictated to Henry Maynard.
Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

This Bearer Sir Edmund Uvedall, being as I thinke unkowen to yowe, is one whoe hath longe served hir Majestie both faithfullie and carefullie in his charge at Fflushing and in other services in the Lowe Contries.²³³ And because I would have yowe to take knowledge of him and to give him your good word and speche to hir ma[jes]tie, that he maie have accesse to hir presence to kisse hir handes, I have made him the messinger heareof to yowe.²³⁴

Ffrom my howse in the Strand this xvth of October 1595.

I have been more beholdinge to this gentleman for his often writinge to mee, than to anie other.

²³³Sir William Uvdall or Uvedale had accounts long in arrears, which he then expected confidently to have remitted, as Sir Robert Sidney's deputy as governor of Flushing. Sidney expected his deputy's return with confidential letters in mid Nov. 1595, *HMCS*, v, 450. He suggested to Essex that if Uvedale was not returning another Flushing officer, Captain William Brown (or Broune), might be a suitable replacement (he had been an officer there since 1587 and would get command in 1598).

²³⁴Uvedale's information might be taken as indicative of the Cecils' discontent with Sir Robert Sidney's pointed criticisms of the Queen's policies in her cautionary towns. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 35/fol. 105r; *HMCS*, v, 440–442. Sidney was willing to share intelligence matters with Burghley as they touched the safety of the realm. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 20/fol. 79r; *HMCS*, v, 453–454. See Letter No. 63 for the necessity of assisting the cautionary towns.

At your next writinge hither, I pray yowe send mee Sir Walter Raleigh's Journall.²³⁵

Your loving father,

W. Burghley

Letter No. 63

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 18 October 1595

½ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I send to yow, these included from Mr. Bodely, to be shewed to hir Ma[jes]ty.²³⁶ herby is to be sene what harm, the french kyng[s] reconcilment with such dishonorable and servill conditions, is lyk to work in the world.²³⁷ but I most feare, the intent of the princes of the Empyre, that ar purposed to propownd codicions of peace to a people

²³⁵Burghley refers to Raleigh's *The Discovery of Guiana*, and the author himself wrote to Cecil, in a state of dejection, in Nov. 1595, inquiring 'What becomes of Guiana I much desire to hear, whether it pass for a history or fable', even as he offered less comforting news of Spanish naval preparations. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 36/fol. 4r; *HMCS*, v, 444–445. Raleigh was at great pains to convince Cecil of the truth of his writing, and of the worth of the 'image' he had sent Cecil. He stressed the need to act quickly before the Spanish and French made their way to conquer the territory. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 36/fol. 9r; *HMCS*, v, 457–458; *The Discovery of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana, with a relation of the great and Golden Citie of Manoa (which the Spaniards call El Dorado)* . . . (London, 1596; facs. edn, Menston, 1967), sig Ir. In the event of a Spanish invasion, Raleigh's work may have appeared extremely far-fetched as a solution. See Letter No. 69. Since the capture of the carrack *Madre di Dios* (original Portuguese name *Madre de Deus*) in 1592, Raleigh had been well disposed to Cecil and would remain so, but Burghley remained suspicious of him.

²³⁶The enclosure may have been Sir Robert Sidney's letter to Burghley of 13 Oct. 1595, received approximately 18 Oct. outlining these shortages. TNA SP 84/51/fol. 190r–192r; Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 20/48; *HMCS*, v, 409–412. The cover letter to Essex is of interest because it specifies the States General's difficulties over their treaties with the Imperial princes, *HMCS*, v, 408–409.

²³⁷Sidney felt that the Queen's refusal to assist Henry IV had created a situation whereby France would have to seek peace with Spain on conditions dictated by the enemy. *HMCS*, v, 409. Anglo-French diplomatic relations were now at stalemate during Lomenie's disastrous embassy from Henry IV charging the Queen with negligence in refusing to assist in the relief of Calais, charges the Queen refuted vigorously in Oct. 1595, following the ambassador's return to France, TNA SP 78/36/fols. 52r–54r.

wearied of war, will worke a revolt.²³⁸ Specially the tyme being now taken, when the Ennemy doth prosper and the States with ther forces, have decayd all this yere.²³⁹

The Eventes hereof ar only in God's disposition. 18 8^{bre} [October] 1595.

Your loving father,

W. Burghley

[Postscript] It is here sayd that Mr. Vicecham[er]lien is half dead.
God Bless his sowle²⁴⁰

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my Lovinge Sonne Sir Robert Cecill knight
hir ma[jes]ties privy Connsell

²³⁸The conditions of the cautionary towns, and the scarcity of supply, led Sidney to suspect that they would succumb to revolt if any diplomatic shift moved their control out of English hands and her servants would have to look to their adversaries for succour. *HMCS*, v, 411. Bodley's letter of 19 Oct. showed that deputies of the States were aggrieved at noting that the Chamber of Imperial deputies at Speyer had appointed commissioners for discussion at Cologne and Frankfurt. This was a delaying tactic while the Archduke Albert was awaited. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 35/77; *HMCS*, v, 421–424. The princes charged with negotiating a Franco-Spanish peace were named in Thomas Bodley's dispatch of 26 Nov.: the elector of Mainz and the archbishop of Salzburg were to be included, *HMCS*, v, 471. Giovanni Baptista Taxis had plans for the Spanish to double-cross the French, as was made clear in his letter intercepted in the Mediterranean on their way from Austria to Spain, *ibid.*

²³⁹The decay of the forces in the cautionary towns did present diplomatic difficulties. On 21 Sept. 1595 Cecil had instructed Sidney to look to the States General for supply of his munitions and powder, although the States had never made such a grant. TNA SP 84/51/fol. 159r. The situation worsened, partly because Bodley's embassy to the States had not found success in the matter of the 1585 treaty of Nonsuch's terms, obliging them to assist England in their times of need. Furthermore, by Oct. 1595 Sidney had still not received supply of victualling and other provisions (*L&A*, vi, Analysis no. 81). In Nov. 1595 the Queen informed the States General that she had withdrawn her shipping from the cautionary towns for defence of her realm, TNA SP 84/51/fol. 246r–v. Burghley's financial plans for readiness in the face of Spanish invasion, drawn up in Sept. and Oct. 1595, urged the furnishing of ships for the cautionary towns as in 1588, TNA SP 63/182/fol. 243v.

A Cecil agent told another story: that the Spanish troops were near to mutiny, and tales of English fears told by exiled English Catholics were worthless for such fear 'is of your own shadow'. *HMCS*, v, 433, 457.

²⁴⁰Sir Thomas Heneage (1532–1595), *ODNB*, vice-chamberlain of the chamber and chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster was gravely ill, and died. He had worked very closely with the Cecils in intelligence. A pluralist of note, his many offices came vacant, and much patronage angling ensued. The official Council record of his passing excludes the actual date of demise, *APC 1595–1596*, 4.

ENDORSED by Simon Willis:

18 Oct[ober] 1595

L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 64

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 10 October 1595

1 p. Holograph.

Dorse missing, signed.

Text

Robert Cecill ther ar sondry matters of hir Ma[jes]ty, that have latly ^{ben^c} treated of ther; but I thynk not put in due exection. and of two extremities I had rather to be busy, than to neglect.

The matter of Milford Haven hath had some stay uppon the opinion of the Erl of Pemb[roke] comming to hir Ma[jes]ty, which being uncerten may bryng dannger consideryng all comen reportes from spayne mak mention of the Haven.²⁴¹

Secondly all the provisions for the ordonnance have ben set down, but no special direction how to have the same provuded specially for powder, saltpeter nor mach. all which ar to be bought beyond seas, Wher I here the prises do arise, and yet I have bene diligent, to thynk of good meanes, but without the allowance of the LLs [Lords] that have to doo therin I dare not propownd my opinion. But than also hir Ma[jes]ty is to disburss a great some of monny, wherin I cannot be so forward as others.²⁴²

The matter for a staple of vittelles for the army and navy this next spryng, requireth some conference lest therby prises of vitellis might

²⁴¹The Privy Council was united on the necessity of fortifying Milford Haven, *CSPD 1595–1597*, 103; Birch, *Memoirs*, ii, 292–294, shows the appointment of additional deputies to the lord lieutenant, the earl of Pembroke, for the Welsh counties, as given in the schedule sent by the Council to the lord keeper, Puckering, for enrolment at the Great Seal, *APC 1595–1596*, 14, 17–18.

²⁴²The provisions for Milford Haven were not addressed specifically in the general Council notes on business, but a list of provisions in Henry Maynard's hand mentions prices of saltpetre; ordnance; and naval, chamber, and household expenditures, TNA SP 12/254/nos. 63, 64; *CSPD 1595–1597*, 153. A conference on the role of Milford Haven was intended to resolve the use of forces in south-west Wales with Pembroke's objections, *ibid.* 129–130. Burghley mentioned Milford Haven in a list of general notes, a memorial, on Irish borders and coastal defences. TNA SP 12/254/no. 49; see Letter No. 69.

increass, and monny also to be had for the same now at Hallowmas as my L[ord] Admyrall I thynk can best consider therof.²⁴³

I am both sorry and sore greved that I can not indur the paynes to come thither, which maketh me thus bold to will yow to informe hr Majesty hereof.

10 Octob[er] 1595

Your lov[ing] fath[er],

W. Burghley

Letter No. 65

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 6 October 1595

[Burghley has dated 3 October in the text of the letter].

1½ pp. Dictated to Henry Maynard.

Addressed, endorsed. Not signed, but sealed with Burghley's own seal, now missing.

Text

Though I am not hable to write, yet I am not nor meane not to be careles of hir Majestie's affayres, as I hope shall appear at my retorne, if God shall please to inhable mee thearof, from the which at this part I am thorough great torment of paine and other infirmities discouraged. And yet I strained my self to be at this date at the Checqhuer with the l[ord] keper and Justices for nominacion of men to be sheriffes this next yeare, findinge great lack of Martiall men, though other wise hable for wealthe and knowledge: And so retorning forthwith to my howse I am Laide downe with great paine not being hable to sitt up: and for the present having receive certaine knowledge of great quantitie of powder and other municion intended to be shepped from Hamborowgh ^{which is to passe in 14 sortes of shippes} for the K[ing] of Spaine, and the same to be carried by Longe seas above Scotland and Ireland, not knowinge how to have it intercepted

²⁴³Victualling the troops for the following spring may have referred to the nascent Cadiz plans to have 12,000 men at sea by the following spring, TNA SP 12/254/no. 53; *CSPD 1595-7*, 121. Further to these designs, estimates were made on shipbuilding, *CSPD 1595-7*, 109, 112, 119. As for victualling, this too was plagued by the high price of grain, TNA SP 12/254/no. 10; *CSPD 1595-7*, 107.

otherwise than by direccion of the K[ing] of Scottes to his llandes of Orcany, wheare the said shippinge must neades passe.²⁴⁴ I have intred onto consideration howe the k[ing] might be stirred upp earnestlye to impeache both this and other the like²⁴⁵ with Municion or graine for the king of Spaine's purpose to sett a foote A title for himself and his dawghter to the present succession to the Crowne of England, which doth appear manifestlye by a seditious Booke²⁴⁶ published for the said K[ing] by a Number of Englishe Rebels residing in Spaine, by which booke it is maintained that kingdoms are at the disposition of the people without regard of right by Blood and succession; and to be preferred to that for their greatnes are most hable to Govern Contries. And consequentlie the Awthors of theses Bookes have manifestlye improved anie title that the k[ing] of Scottes might pretend; and in like manner disprovinge all other pretended titles onelie preferring the k[ing] of Spaine wither himself or his eldest dawghter Bretaine, which Booke hath manie other Tirannous²⁴⁷

²⁴⁴Intelligence concerning the shipment of Hamburg cargo by way of the Orkneys: see Letter No. 69.

²⁴⁵Burghley refers to James VI's reluctance to prosecute his rebellious Catholic nobility. As for stirring the King, Roger Aston reported to the English ambassador Bowes on 28 Nov. 1595 that James VI had resolved absolutely to fight the Spanish, in Scotland and in England. This might have implied sending mercenaries or others into Ireland, *CSPS 1595-1597*, xxi, 66-67.

²⁴⁶The king of Spain is here blamed for *The Conference on the Succession to the Crown of England*. It was attributed to Father Dolman, and written by Father Robert Persons in Rome, a close adviser to Cardinal William Allen (d.1595). Rumour was rife in Spain that Queen Elizabeth's health was failing and, consequently, action after her death must be swift if the king of Spain's Scottish and English subjects were to affect their own gains. See the dispatch of the Venetian ambassador in Spain, Augustino Nani, of 23 Sept. 1595, *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and other Libraries of Northern Italy*, Vol. IX, ed. Horatio F. Brown (London, 1897), 167. A letter called 'A Jesuit to—' in the State Papers gives a fictitious and detailed account of plans for the subversion of the English crown. The notorious agent John Cecil, alias Snowden, described the book to Cecil in late Dec. 1595 as 'a dialoge betwene a civilian and comen lawer towchinge the succession'. TNA SP 12/255/no. 22.

Roger Aston further informed the ambassador Bowes on 16 Dec. that an English translation had recently arrived from Antwerp. The author excludes all those in the succession save the Derbys and the infanta of Spain by right of her title to Brittany, *CSPS 1595-1597*, 93. An Italian treatise of that year discussed James's inviolate claim to England, even though he was born outside that kingdom, while urging him to establish Catholicism in Scotland, although Henry VIII's Act of Succession is not mentioned, *CSPS 1595-1597*, 104-111. John Carey sent Burghley a long report on the *Conference* noting the 'King meaneth to answer' the text with the aid of civil lawyers and other experts. Shipping had been forced into the Orkneys as of 1 Feb. 1596, *Cal. Border Papers*, ii, 102-104.

²⁴⁷Tyranny used here to describe succession by conquest, or the right of a people to determine by force their own rulers, manifestly contravenes what Burghley calls the orderly succession of crowns and owes something to French Protestant 'resistance' theory of a kind obliquely employed by the Cecils in their secret policies against James VI of Scotland

determinacions against all ordinary sucessions of Crownes, and is nowe spetiallye published

[p. 2] to prepare the corruption of mens mindes that are spetiallye for poperie addicted to the k[ing] of Spaine, against the time of his intnded invasion, Which owt of Spaine is generallie threatened. And uppon thes consideracions: consideringe otherwise the Book is likely to comm to the knowledge of the k[ing] of Scottes, I wishe it weare nowe afore hand, sent to him by order of hir ma[jes]ty hearbie to move him to take hart to him against the k[ing] of Spaines tirannous practizes, and particularye at this time to require him to geve order to the hand as in the Northe part of his Realme, and namelye the iles of Orkeneis to staye all shippinge that shall comm uppon ther coastes with anie municion or graine to passe from theare Northward about Ireland whearein the k[ing] maie eislie offend the k[ing] of Spaine, and the lak to himself the benefitt of all such shippinge municions and victuells.²⁴⁸ This my conceipt I prairie yowe impart to hir ma[jes]tie with the more speed to impeache thes Navigations intended for Spaine: The consideracion whearof notwithstanding I leave to hir Majestie's ludgement.²⁴⁹ And so beinge desirous more for hir ma[jes]ties service, than for my privat condicion to be restored to somm better strength and ease of my Bodye. I ende from my howse in the Strand this third of October 1595.

Subscribed with my seale for want of a right hand.
[Seal mark: missing, with impression left]

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my Lovinge sonne Sir Robert Cecill knight one of her ma[jes]ties privy Consill

through the earl of Bothwell in 1594. See also Burghley to Cecil, 14 Oct. 1595, TNA SP 12/254/no. 26.

²⁴⁸According to his instructions of Feb. 1596, Bowes was to present James VI with a copy of *The Conference*; the first time the book appears to have been brought into diplomatic discussion. Cecil had Bowes's instructions copied by Willis into his Scottish Letter Book, TNA SP 52/52/pp. 111–114. The interrogation of one Father Thomas Wright by the Privy Council mentioned Persons in no. 14 of the questions, TNA SP 12/255/no. 22; *CSPD 1595–1597*, 156–7.

²⁴⁹Order by the Queen to impeach navigation intended for Spain touched negotiations with the Hanse cities, of which Hamburg was principal. Dr Christopher Parkins was to be informed of any innovation or interdiction on shipping, TNA SP 12/254/no. 28, 36; *CSPD 1595–1597*, 115, 117.

ENDORSED 3 November 1595

L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

[A further page, seal removed following the dorse bears Sir Robert Cecil's hand]

My l. about provisions

[No date]

Letter No. 66

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 7 December 1595

1 p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

The berors herof, ar. ii of the Senior fellows of St. Jhons Colledg in cambridg, who brought me the l[ette]re included syned by 23 of the company which yow may read, and therby the caws of ther wrytyng ^{to me} as being the Chancellor of ye university may appeare very reasonable and just, which is to suffer and help the Colledg, according to ther statutes to have liberty to mak a free chois of a Master, without being impeached, as the Statutes confirmed by hir Ma[jes]ty do warrant, or any inhibition or pression by any superior power.²⁵⁰ This ther manner of Election hath bene allweiss used, and is most convenient for concord, and to avoid factions.²⁵¹ my request is that yf ye shall fynd any intention in hir Ma[jes]ty upon any sinister sute, to prefer any on other than the voyces of the Company shall frely choose,²⁵² to besech hir Ma[jes]ty, that at my sute being ther Chancellor, and havng bene wholly brought up ^{ther} from my age of xiiii yers, and now the only person lyving of the tyme and education, the Statutes of the Colledg to which all that ar electors ar sworn, may not be now broken, as I hope hir Ma[jes]ty will not in hir honor and conscience ^{do}. I my self have no purposse therin beyng a poore benefactor of the Colledg for the which I have assured landes, to increass the Comens of

²⁵⁰Burghley forwarded the petitions of the 23 fellows to Cecil for presentation in which they cited precedents for *libera electio*, BL Lansdowne MS 79/no. 62, fols. 156r–v, 170r; see above, p. 42.

²⁵¹Factions had already formed, Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge, 1982), 197.

²⁵²John Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury (1530/31?–1604), *ODNB*. Cecil was only to present the fellows' dissenting petition, should the Queen give weight to outside suitors. Whitgift, used Sir William Cornwallis to inform Cecil that he and Roger Manners supported Laurence Stanton. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 36/fol. 79r, 83r; *HMCS*, v, 497, 498.

the scollars, from iid to xiid a weke, and so hath your mother also gyven a benefitt of propertie.²⁵³ If hir Ma[jes]ty should be privatly or otherwise moved I pray yow offer hir the letter to be redd from the fellows.

[In the margin]

This fowle wether holdeth me back, from comfort of recovery ffrom my howss. 7 10 br 1595

Your loving father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED

[Date obscured]

L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r
lls [Letters] from the ffellows of
St. Jhon's Colledg in Cambridg

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

To my Varie Lovinge Sonne Sir Robert Cecill Knyght of her
Ma[jes]ties privy Counsell

Letter No. 67

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 7 December 1595

½ p. Holograph,
Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I send yow by this bearer Peter boon, Edmond's letter which yow may receive.²⁵⁴ by my titles in the Margyn I have red wishyng that hir Ma[jes]ty wold spedely send hir Ambass[ador] to the Kyng,²⁵⁵ to

²⁵³Neither Lord nor Lady Burghley endowed the College with gifts of land, but maintained commons and other gifts there out of income. It appears from Burghley's will that no further provisions of rent charges for maintenance of the College was intended, TNA PCC PROB Lewyn 92, 11.

²⁵⁴Sir Edmund Uvedale's letter to the Queen of 7 Dec. 1595; not extant.

²⁵⁵Cecil drafted documents for Unton's instructions. His complete diplomatic instructions were corrected in both Cecils' hands. Unton's passport was issued on 21 Dec. 1595. TNA SP 78/36/fols. 113r-114r, 119r-126r, 144r.

ste y hym from violent courses, wherein I hope the Constable may do much good, to temper other furious actors.

Your loving father,

W. Burghley

[Beside the signature on the left side Burghley added]
Of Necessite Edmondes wold be releved.²⁵⁶

Dorse

ADDRESSED [Date obscured in the margin, but] 7 Dec[ember] 1595

ENDORSED

L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 68

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 6 December 1595

1 p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I bethynk with my self of so many thynges to mete to be considered by hir Ma[jes]ty, and by hir authoritie to hir Connsell for hir affaryes in respect of the noyss from Spayn,²⁵⁷ as though I can not without conference with such connsellers as hir Ma[jes]ty shall pleas to name, do or furder such thynges to execution by my self yet I am willyng to come thyther to be neare hir Majesty though I am not hable to mak access to hir person, but of force, without more amendment in strength must presume to kepe my chamber, not as a potentat²⁵⁸ but as

²⁵⁶Edmondes continued as *chargé d'affaires*. Unton was to play on his personal friendship with Henry IV in drawing some sign from the King that he did not mean to establish peace with Spain. Bell, *Handlist*, 99; *L&A*, vi, Analysis no. 236, 179–181.

²⁵⁷News of massive Spanish preparations against England, *L&A*, vi, Analysis no. 308. English propaganda was somewhat successful at this juncture in containing the seriousness of the Irish situation, by calling attention to the earl of Tyrone's truce, TNA SP 101/95/fols. 160r–161r. A general muster had taken place. The Queen had viewed some of her coastal defences in person, *L&A*, vi, Analysis no. 308. To compound anxieties came the news of massive naval and troop movements in Flanders. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 36/fol. 52r; *HMCS*, v, 484; Letter No. 69.

²⁵⁸Burghley may have intended a secret slight at Essex who did keep to his chamber during times of political disfavour. Cecil and Essex now conferred on Scottish secret diplomacy.

an Impotant, aged man, nether yet as a bankrupt, but as a respondent to any action or demand. and if by ^{your} speche with hir Ma[jes]ty, she will not mislyke to have ^{so} a bold person to lodg in hir howss I will come as I am, in body not half a man, but in mynd passable to the master of the rest of my good Lordes hir Ma[jes]tys Counsellors and my good friends.

God gyve yowe his grace, to ask his grace faythfully to serve hir Ma[jes]ty, and to respect non but for hir and for hir Justyce.

6 10^{bre} [December] 1595.

Your loving fath[er],

W. Burghley

[Burghley adds at the left foot of the letter]

Upon your answer, I will mak no unecessary delay, by God's permission.

Dorse

ADDRESSED Holograph:
To my loving son Sir
Robart Cecill knight
of hir Ma[jes]ty's prive Connsell

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:
6 Dec[ember] 1595
L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my Maste[r]

Letter No. 69

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 6 December 1595

1 p. Holograph.
Addressed, endorsed, signed.

HMCs, v, 485; Letters Nos 69 and 70. The consensus of the Privy Council was for fortification of the realm, while some of Essex's French correspondents appeared to expect his imminent arrival with large numbers of troops to help the French king raise La Fère. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 172/ 123; *HMCs*, v, 481. One account makes clear that Essex was to relieve Calais and he had made himself champion of the Low Countries forces at this awkward time, *HMCs*, v, 483, 485–486.

Text

I am very glad to perceave of hir Ma[jes]ty's favorable permission for my absence, and I thank you for your advise for the manner of my coming. Think you would expect my coming this daye, but ther sight would be dymmned with the snow. I return Ashton's letter, wherin many good thynges ar well advertised, and I think Mr. Bowes presence necessary ther.²⁵⁹

6 10^{bre} [December] 1595

Your lov[ing] fath[er],

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my verie Loving sonne Sir Robert Cecill knight of
hir ma[jes]ties privy Consell

ENDORSED in Simon Willis hand:

6 Dec[ember] 1595

L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 70**William, Lord Burghley to Robert Devereux, Earl of
Essex, 5 December 1595**

1 p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

My very good Lord I have perused the I[ette]res which you sent me. Ye first from the Justices with an examination of the party that cam

²⁵⁹Roger Aston's letter was sent to Robert Cecil from Robert Bowes from Edinburgh on 26 Nov. and received in London 4 Dec., *CSPS 1595-1597*, 66-69. He sent news of a two-pronged Spanish campaign, into Scotland and to Milford Haven. James VI's musters proceeded apace. The agent Gilbert Lamb's report, as here relayed, on Philip II's designs on the English throne were related to Person's *Conference*, suggested that Philip II's designs were known rather widely in intelligence circles to be set on Scotland and Milford Haven.

from britayn.²⁶⁰ the second a letter from on Mak Cadell²⁶¹ an Irishman serving in Britayn to Sir Jhon Norriss.²⁶²

And in dede I thnk the party examyned hath sayd truth for I now that when Sir John Norrice was in Briten, this blak²⁶³ gaven hym Intelligences, and promised Sir Jhon Norrice at his coming thence so to contynew and I now he hath a brother in Gallywey whom I discovered to be trafficquar with Spanyardes, wheruppon I advertised Sir Rich[ard] byngham.²⁶⁴ and now in my opinion Blakes letter to Sir Jhon Norryce, is to small purpose to be yelded to, for he wold have a ship furnished, but how or by what Collur he should have a shipp or what assurance ther is that he wold do service therat to hir Ma[jes]ty I see not, but an Irishman's word.

but for the letter I se no cause until may be sent Sir Jhon Norreyce, who may comment more than I can and so praying yowr L[ordship]

²⁶⁰The examination of persons out of Brittany followed the successful English capture of Fort Crozon from the Spanish. Most of the Spanish garrison were slaughtered almost to a man, Wernham, *After the Armada*, 551. Norris's forces were summoned from Brittany for deployment. Intelligence connections in these troops were notable for their usefulness in Irish matters. See the explanation of Piers O'Cullen, TNA SP 63/no 71, VIII; *CSPI 1592-1596*, 409-410.

²⁶¹TNA SP 63/189/no. 22 fol. 48r-v were reports from the mayor of Galway Mark Linch receiving intelligence from James Black (Caddell). Black was the spy Burghley refers to here. These Spanish-Irish connections are also linked to Letter No. 15, because Cecil appears to have extended his intelligence through agents used in the depositions taken at the time of the *Madre di Dios* done with his father's approval. *HMCS*, iv, 409; BL Additional MS 48029, fols. 170v, 180v; TNA SP 94/4 (i)/fol. 33r. For further intelligence: *HMCS*, v, 274. Caddell may well have been O'Donnell's assassin in 1607.

²⁶²Caddell appears on a list of all Irish priests in the Low Countries by the spy Thomas Finglas, TNA SP 63/173/no. 18. Finglas noted Breton and Norman priests sailed directly from St Malo or Calais to Ireland if winds were favourable. Finglas also noted the names of dangerous Irishmen in the service of the duke of Mercoeur, including one Cadell, alias, [James] Blake [or Black], in Brittany. Blake was a Galway merchant who had enjoyed extensive favour with Lanco de Leyva since the Armada; Leyva paid Blake for news. Leyva was attached to the house of the Prince of Ascoli. Further, Blake was to recruit Irish into Philip II's service. The current use of Cadell was verified by a priest, Piers O'Cullen, see n. 261, who claimed the intelligence links with Tyrone had collapsed.

²⁶³Blake's brother Robert was arrested by Mark Linch, mayor of Limerick, in May 1596 on suspicion of fomenting pro-Spanish designs, *CSPI 1592-1596*, 518, 520, 524, 527, 528, 533. These papers chart a very shadowy course with both Blakes. Spanish agents circled around Tyrone and O'Donnell. Apparently, Blake was outfitted with a ship, for after Robert Blake's arrest, the mayor asked Russell for final direction for the release of the poor Frenchman and the ship that brought James Blake over. Sir Francis Godolphin told the earl of Essex in July 1595 of his suspicion of Cadell's desire to serve the Queen. *CSPI 1592-1596*, 527; *HMCS*, v, 274.

²⁶⁴Burghley to Bingham not extant.

to extend the sight of both your eies, to redes this staggering letter with a weak hand.²⁶⁵

5 Dec[ember] 1595, at your L[ord]'s Commandment

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To the R[ight] honorable my vearie good L[ord] the Erle of Essex one of the lls [Lords] of his ma[jes]ties prive Connsell

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

5 Dec 1595

L. Threr to the Erle of Essex

Letter No. 71

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 2 December 1595

½ p. Dictated to Henry Maynard, with one sentence added, the date and signature by Burghley's hand.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

By your letter Emongest other thinges yowe write, that by direcions of the lls [Lords] l[ette]res wherof yowe have sent mee the Copie, theare hath bene summ iniurie done to one Mr. Machell, Capteine of the horse in Midlesex, and that the same is done by omission by the Clerkes, which yowe would have remedied by my direcion to them.²⁶⁶ But perusinge the Copie of the letter written by Mr. Waad whearunto my hand is not subscribed, I finde not anie thinge in the letter, neither doe I finde, though he weare a Capteine of the horsemen, whic he should be named nowe than other Justices of the

²⁶⁵Essex's interest in Scottish secret policy connected to the news of Spanish naval designs on Milford Haven and Scotland. Essex and Norris clashed over the nomination captains for Irish companies which reached a climax in Oct. 1595, *HMGs*, v 413–414; *CSPi* 1592–1596, 474. Russell's reduction of the companies earlier that year contrasted with the ten new companies raised out of the shires which were to be mixed with the Brittany forces returning which needed new captains.

²⁶⁶Machell's slight was noted on the dorse of the muster list by Cecil after his omission. TNA SP 12/254/no. 60; *CSPD* 1595–1597, 124–125.

peace within Middlesex, wheare there be divers others that are not named spetiallie by the letter whoe may thinke themselves asmuch iniured as Machell.²⁶⁷ and thearefore I doe not knowe what your meaninge is howe to have this remedied, otherwise than to have a newe letter from the Connsell whearein Machell maie be named, if he be thowght so fitt, to be putt in trust, for though he be A Capteine of horsemenn, yet it is not a Consequence to make him as yt were a deputie to a Lieutantante.

[Burghley adds]

As to the rest of your letter I will expect the Q[ueen's] resolutions.

2 10^{bre} [December] 1595

Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my Lovinge sonne Sir
Rob[er]t Cecill knight one
of hir ma[jes]ties privie Connsell

ENDORSED by Simon Willis:

2 Dec[ember] 1595
L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r Concerning Mr. Machell

Letter No. 72

Lords of the Privy Council to Sir Robert Cecil, 2 December 1595

½ p. In Henry Maynard's hand, Privy Council letter subscribed by three of the Lords of the Privy Council.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

[Duchy of Lancaster under commission]

²⁶⁷The manuscript was written by Sir William Waad (1546–1623), *ODNB*, clerk of the council, and presumably the final list was corrected. Waad is scarcely mentioned in the letters in CUL MS Ee 3.56, but he was a highly experienced council servant and diplomat who aided Cecil, Parkins and Burghley when necessary. He was probably one of the persons most able to locate and summarize documents.

Text

After our hartie Commendacions. Wheareas yt pleased the Queen's ma[jes]tie to grawnt to Sir Thomas Wilkes a lease in reversion of somuch of hir mannors and Landes as shall accomt to the yearelie vallew of one hundred markes £33. 6s. 8d., wheareof the the one moitie to be of Landes within the Surveie of hir duchie wheareuppon we have seen particulirs which have been vewed by the Attornie of the duchie,²⁶⁸ which wee thought convenient to passe to him, but inasmuch as wee have noe warrant to cawse the booke to be drawn upp, the warrant for the duchie havinge been directed to Mr. Chancellor decesseds we thearefore praye yowe to move hir ma[jes]tie heerein, that if yt be hir good plesure wee maie have hir warrant to proceade in the same book as Mr. Chancellor might have done if he had lived, otherwise the same will cawse a stoppe in the proceadinge with Sir Thomas Wilkes grawnt, whereof he hath little neade. Soe farre yowe well. ffrom Westm[inste]r this second of december 1595.
Your vearie Lovinge frendes,

[Signed]

W. Burghley
T. Buckhurst
J. Fortescue

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:
To our vearie Loving frend
Sir Rob[er]t Cecill knight
one of hir Majesites privie Counsell

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:
2 Decem[ber] 1595
L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r
L[ord] Bouckhurst
Sir Jo[hn] Ffortescue
Warrant for Sir Tho[mas] Wylkes

²⁶⁸One of two Privy Council letters in CUL MS Ee.3.56. Wilkes asked Cecil to further his poor bill in Jan. 1596, for the parties were to leave London at the end of Hilary term. *HMCs*, vi, 41.

Letter No. 73**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil,
2 December 1595**

1 p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I have red your letter, wherby I perceave yow have red and shewed my letter of my hand wrytyng to hir Ma[jes]ty who sayeth that she will have a battell with my fyngars and than afor hand I know who ^{shall} have the victory by the battel, for I have no warrant for my fyngars. but hir Ma[jes]ty is allowed to saye as kyng David sayth in the i C xliiii psalme, as the same was repeated the 30 of the last month: Benedictus Dominus Deus meus, qui docet manus meas ad proelium et digitos meos ad bellum.²⁶⁹ and in his next vers [verse] he addeth that which properly belongeth to hir Ma[jes]ty: refugium meum, susceptor meas, et libertator meus, protector meus, et in ipso speravi, qui subdit populum meum sub me.²⁷⁰ and if hir ^{Ma[jes]ty's} handes or fyngars evar to fight, I durst ~~hir~~ Match hir with king philip and overmatch hym. This yowe see that I can not spare my fyngars, wher my hart is fully contented to utter my opinion of hir estate and vallew.

I am glad that hir Ma[jes]ty is disposed to send some monny into Irland wherof suerly there is great want a matter dangerous to be known to [the] rebells is [whose] yeldyng hath grown only, by sight of hir Ma[jes]ty's forces. I send yow a form for a warrant wherin hir Ma[jes]ty may do well, to allow some good rownd some, or otherwise she must be must be shortly pressed for more. for the dett ther is allredy great and untill the rebells submission be perfected,²⁷¹ hir forces may not be deminished.

²⁶⁹Burghley used the Geneva Bible, 1560. Psalm 144, Verse One: 'Blessed be the Lord my strength, which teacheth my hands to fight and my fingers to battel.'

²⁷⁰Psalm 144:2, 'He is my goodness & my fortress, my tower and my deliverer, my shield, and in him I trust, which subdueth my people vnder me.'

²⁷¹Notes on the Cecil's drafts of the rebels' submission: see Letter No. 7. There was to be no perfection of the rebels' submission. Russell's letter to Cecil on 26 Jan. 1596 discussed new demands for religious toleration, not unlike the demands the English made with the Brittany Protestants. TNA SP 63/186/no. 24, fol. 91r; Letter No. 75. In late Dec. 1595, the Queen sent more specific additions concerning Tyrone's submission, in view of her dislike of having to replenish her dwindling Irish forces with money and supply. TNA SP 63/185/no. 38, fol. 162r.

I wish such as nevill and waynman, war ether in some other prison, or not at liberty in the towre, wher now with a spark of fyre, they may secretly disarm the Q[ueen] of all hir powdre and armor pieces.²⁷²

[In the lower left margin]
2 10^{brc} [December] 1595

Your loving father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my Loving sonne
Sir Rob[er]t Cecill knight
one of hir ma[jes]ties privie
Connsell

ENDORSED in Simon Willis hand:

2 Dec[ember] 1595
L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 74

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, December 1595

¼ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

²⁷²Burghley's concern in keeping Sir Edmund Nevyl [Neville] de Latimer (1535–1636) and Captain Waynman under closer watch away from the Tower derived from the revelation that Sir Michael Blount, lieutenant of the Tower, was implicated by these men in a plot to blow up the Queen's ordnance kept there, a design it had taken months to discover. Blount's dismissal: TNA SP 12/254/no. 77; *HMCS*, v, 476. Latimer was related to Sir Thomas Cecil's wife, Dorothy, daughter and co-heiress of Lord Latimer, and opposed her claim to the estates of the 6th earl of Westmorland, attainted for treason. Lords Buckhurst and Cobham investigated Blount together with William Waad. Manning, 'The prosecution of Sir Michael Blount', 219. Both Waynman and Nevyl were allowed the liberty of the Tower, and their long-term residence there argues for their employment as Privy Council spies, BL Lansdowne MS 79/fol. 4r. Waynman apparently offered credibly received testimony against Sir Charles Danvers during his trial for murder in Feb. 1596. *HMCS*, vi, 69. On 23 Dec. he wrote to the Council that he had received word from Sir Thomas Wilkes that he was to be warranted by them to serve Henry IV or the Emperor Rudolf II, clearly in some sort of intelligence capacity. TNA SP 12/255/no. 16; Manning, 'The prosecution of Sir Michael Blount'.

Text

I send unto you my L[ord] of Essex letter and therewith a Copy of such a saveconduct as is required for octavio the venecian at the sute of Bassadonna²⁷³ in which form of saveconduct, I have put owt certen wordes, unfitt in my opinion, and so yow may recommend it to hir Ma[jes]ty, if my L[ord] shall allow of my abridgment.

[On left side of the page Burghley has written]
p^o [primo] x^{brc} [December]
ulet inceruum

[At the right foot of the letter]
Your loving father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:
To my Lovinge sonne
Sir Rob[er]t Cecill knight
one of hir ma[jes]ties privie
Connsell
At the Cort

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:
pr[imo] Dec[ember] 1595
Lo[rd] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

²⁷³On 18 Aug. 1595 [N.S.] the Venetian Doge, Marino Grimani (89th Doge, 1532–1609, elected 1595), asked the Queen to return Octavio Negro to them for justice. Giovanni Bassadona was to supply details, which argues that Negro was involved closely in some sort of intelligence. On 13 Oct. 1595 [N.S.] the Doge warned that Negro was further implicated in the misappropriation of exports to England which defrauded the Venetian government in collusion with Michael Simanchi and Marco Cornaro. This letter gave notice of the Queen's decision to return Negro to Venice, presumably after some intercessions and explanations by Bassadona. *L&A*, vi, Analysis no. 362. Bassadona was involved in Essex's Italian intelligence, particularly developed to court allies for loyal English Catholics. For Bassadona's career and Essex's assistance giving details of bitter Venetian rivalries, in this case by one Ribera who brought the initial charge to the Doge, see Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England*, II, 174–182.

Letter No. 75**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 2 January 1595**

½ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I am hartely sorry, that to begyn a new yere I can send yow no better news out of Irland than such as ar for them selves greatly to be mislyked, and for the sequels likely to follow, to bryng great Dannger.

And so, I am grieved to Thynk that herby I am provoked to follow with the same, which I will do to morrow as soone as I can. And therfor I leave to yow the perusal and impartying of these Irish bad letters to hir Ma[[jes]ty and the Connsell, conteaning matters of good consultation with expedition.²⁷⁴

2 Janu[ary] 1595

You lov[ing] fath[er],

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my Lovinge sonne Sir Robart Cecill
knight one of hir ma[jes]ties
privie Connsell

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

2 Jan[uary] 1595
L[ord] Thre[asure]r to ma M[aste]r

²⁷⁴The result of Cecil's presentation of these letters to the Queen was a scathing indictment of Russell's financial mismanagement in which Elizabeth warned her lord deputy that no amount of the recent treasure was to be squandered by Irish councillors on private patronage, a section added in Cecil's hand at the close of the letter, TNA SP 63/186/no. 6/fols. 14r-16r.

Letter No. 76**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 2 January 1595**

½ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

This fornoone I sent to yow, by the L [ord] deputes present the Irish letters conteaning no good thynges.

and so, I return to yow Sir Jhon Norrices letters wherby I see a manifest disiunction betwixt the L[ord] depute and hym. and in on part I note that Sir Jhon Norrice, was to bold to command the Companyes in the english pale for Wat[er]ford, with out assent of the deputie, for out of Monster he hath no sole autorite.²⁷⁵

I feare contynually evil desasters

post meridiem 2 Janu[ary]

Your lov[ing] fath[er],

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED Holograph:

To my sonn Sir Robert Cecill
knight of hir Ma[jes]ty's prive
Connsell

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

2 Jan[uary] 1595

L[ord] Thre[aure]r to my M[aste]r

²⁷⁵Russell had his jurisdiction questioned by Norris in treating with the rebels. TNA SP 63/185/no 11, fol. 27r–v. Animosity between these men dated from the time of Norris's appointment. TNA SP 63/180/no. 9, fol. 43v; *CSPI 1592–1596*, 323–326. Russell had then borne the Queen's displeasure over the loss of the fort at Monaghan, on top of other charges of incompetence he was concerned to deny. TNA SP 63/185/fol. 31r, 186/no. 6, fols. 14r–16r. Essex apparently vilified Russell at every turn. *HMCd*, ii, 197–198. In Feb. 1596 Russell alluded to Sir John and Sir Thomas Norris's continued presence in Dublin, away from their respective charges in Ulster and Munster. TNA SP 63/186/fol. 196v; *CSPI 1592–1596*, 472. Russell and Sir John proceeded together in their campaign to Armagh in the summer of 1596.

Letter No. 77**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 26 January 1595**

½ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I pray inform hir Ma[jes]ty, that Mr. Treasurer hath bene with my L[ord] Kepar and me, and informed us of sondry misusages of the marchantes of St. Mallos, abowt the ordonnances whereof the informacion is that it was carryed unlawfully owt of the realm, but the proves thereof he had not redy to shew us. and though the wrytt ^{of error} is lawfully granted, yet to delaye the cause, my L[ord] kepar and I have accorded, that wher we both should be in the chequer chamber.²⁷⁶ Both for other wrytts and for that also, on of us shall be absent, and so the wrytt shal be delayed. Whereof the Fr[ench] men will storm, exclaiming already of Iniustyce done them.

26 Janu[ary] 1595

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in the hand of a Cecil clerk, Vincent Skinner's hand.²⁷⁷

To my varie Loving sonne Sir RobertCecill knight of hir ma[jes]ties honorable privy
Connsell

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

26 January 1595

L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

²⁷⁶One of the few mentions in the letters of equity causes in the Exchequer court, usually debtors.

²⁷⁷Vincent Skinner's hand, auditor of priests from 1593. See Smith, 'The secretariats of the Cecils', 484–485, 491–493.

Letter No. 78**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 26 January 1595**

¾ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I do send yow Sir Henry Unton's depeche wherein I see a most dangerous course intended, by the most ingrattfull k[ing] that lyveth.²⁷⁸ I will not comment hereuppon, but I am sure hir Majesty will depely consider of this indignetye, and intend some courss mete herwith in tyme²⁷⁹

I thynk our Amb[assador] hath, by his privat letter to hir Ma[jes]ty enlarged his furdur opinion.²⁸⁰

We had nedede to crave and expect the favor and protection of Almighty God, wherof I dowt not for the goodnes of our Cause, though I can not devise the meanes.

26 Januar[y] 1595

Your Lov[ing] father,

²⁷⁸Unton received a cold welcome from the French king, who charged Elizabeth with the redundancy of an embassy where no further points of negotiation and succour were offered beyond those made by her resident *chargé d'affaires*, Thomas Edmondcs. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 37/92; *HMCS*, vi, 11–12. Unton's letter of 17 Jan. 1596 to Burghley was copied and sent to Essex, who had provided the ambassador with a set of secret instructions. *HMCS*, vi, 17; Birch, *Memoirs*, I, 353, 397; *HMCD*, i, 376. Such matters appeared to have influenced little the course of the earl's own policies in France concerning Antonio Perez, but the lingering suspicion that the resident secretary Thomas Edmondcs might have been meddling in with policies other than the Queen's earned him a very sharp rebuke from Cecil in May 1596. *HMCS*, vi, 193. Unton saw little hope of reconciliation with Henry over Elizabeth's refusal to offer succour to La Fère, even as the Archduke Albert was approaching Luxembourg with 8,000 men. *HMCS*, vi, 11–12, 16–17. The king's recalcitrance on this point offered the Spanish an opportunity to attack and obtain Calais in Mar.–Apr. 1596, see Letters Nos 89, 90, 92.

²⁷⁹Cecil's spy, Wyat, told also of Unton's poor reception from Henry IV as the king occupied himself with La Fère. But this account was not received in England until 7 Feb. *HMCS*, vi, 13. It was noted that the Papal nuncio was expected, and an envoy from Henry was sent to the duke of Savoy, an intermediary between France and Philip II. The Queen's intended courses are found in her letter to Henry IV carried by the Portuguese pretender Cristoforo Moro. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 133/132; *HMCS*, vi, 19. See also the Queen's letter to Henry's sister, Catherine de Bourbon. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 133/133; *HMCS*, vi, 21.

²⁸⁰Sir Henry Unton to the Queen of 17 Jan. was copied and sent to Essex, together with his letter to Burghley and a short cover letter to the earl. TNA SP 78/37/fols. 25r–28r; Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 171/55; *HMCS*, vi, 16–17.

bitter with cold

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED

To my loving sonne Sir Robert Cecill
knight, one of hir ma[jes]ties Privie Connsell

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

26 Jan[uary] 1595
L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 79

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 20 February 1596

¾ p. Dictated to Henry Maynard.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

Although I cannot cumm to the Cort as my desire is findinge my infirmite rather to growe uppon mee than to deminishe, yet I can not be careles of such hir ma[jes]ties service as I dowbt is not remembered by others. Yowe shall understand, and so I would have yowe informe hir Ma[jes]tie, that the Commission for the Consell in the North, whereof the late Erle of Huntingdon was president is nowe discontinued, and thowgh hir ma[jes]tie by hir letters the xviith of December,²⁸¹ authorized the nowe Archb[ishop] of yorke and the rest of Conncell to continue their assemblies, and to heare and

²⁸¹The death of Henry Hastings, 3rd earl of Huntingdon in Dec. 1595, left vacant the lord presidency of the Council of the North as well as the lord lieutenancies of Leicestershire, Rutland, Yorkshire, Cumberland, Northumberland and Westmorland. Yorkshire was assumed by Burghley; Cumberland by George Clifford, earl of Cumberland. Claire Cross, 'The third earl of Huntingdon's death-bed: A Calvinist example of the *ars moriendi*', *Northern History*, 21 (1985), 80–107. As Burghley noted, the council's work had to continue. The Queen's letter of late Dec. 1595 authorized a commission pro tem headed by the new archbishop of York, Matthew Hutton. In Feb. 1596, the bishop of Durham, Tobie Matthew, was given 'the leadership of the Commission to treate amongst others with the K[ing] of Scottes Commissioners for mutual redresse of incursions upon the boarders'. TNA SO₃/fol. 572r; *CPR 38 Eliz. I*, no. 1066. See also the letters of 13 Jan. 1596 to the archbishop of Yorke and sheriff of the diocese of Durham to raise 80 light horse for service under the warden of the Middle Marches, TNA SP TNA/503/1/fol. 568r.

detemine cawses of the Subjectes, as hearetofore they used to doe in the absence of the L[ord] Presedent, which theie have done as I understand vearie diligentlie: yet bicawse the late L[ord] Presedent did before his deathe appointe a generall session to be kept the first of marche, wheareof by hir ma[jes]ty's instruccions theare be onelie fowre kept in the yeare, which genearell session cannot be kept, but in the presence of a Lord president or a vicepresident to be named by the President: thearefore this generall session appointed to beginne the first of Marche cannot take place, withowt the autorite of A president or vice president, which is to be performed by hir ma[jes]ties Com[missio]n, and otherwise theie that remaine theare Councillors cannot Juditially proceade: And herof bicawse the time approcheth, And not knowinge what hir ma[jes]tie hath determined heerein, I requier yowe with speed to advertise hir ma[jes]tie accordinge to this my writinge. So as hir ma[jes]tie maie determine hir plesure in convenient time.

Ffrom my howse in the Strand, this xxth of February 1595.

Your Lovinge father,

[Burghley]
W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my lovinge sonne Sir Robart Cecill knight
one of hir ma[jes]ties privie Connsell

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

20 ffeb[ruary] 1595

Letter No. 80

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 7 February 1595

1 p. Dictated to Henry Maynard with a holograph addition

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I send unto yow hearewith two warrantes, one in paper to the office of the Ordonnance for sendinge of municion to Barwick, Carlile and

Newcastell accordinge to a Scedule in paper conteining the parcells within the same:²⁸² And an other Bill parchemente to be signed by hir ma[jes]tie for a privie seale for severall sommes of monie to be paid for the said townes of Barwick, Calile and Newcastell, which I prairie yowe procure to be signed assone as nomination of my l[ord] of Essex.²⁸³

[Burghley]

I pray yow lett my Cosyn Sir Jhon Stanhop,²⁸⁴ understand that whan Mr. Watson²⁸⁵ of the Chancery lyved and was in helth, uppon knolledg of hir Ma[jes]ty's regard to paynfull service of my servant G[eorge] Coppyns wiff to grant this sayd office in reversion to hir husband, I did abteyn my L[ord] kepars good will therein notwithstanding that he had a determination to have preferred on of his own therto, and sence that tyme understand that my Cosyn Stanhope hath bene a sutor to hir Ma[jes]ty for hym self, which I thynk if he had known of hir Ma[jes]ty's former disposition towards the Gentlewoman notefyed offen by sondry both ladyes and others of hir chamber he wold not have interrupted this the Gentlewoman's sute.²⁸⁶ Whereof I pray yow do inform hym, assuryng hym that the office is not of that vallew, that I thynk he is informed of.

ffrom my howss in Strand 7 feb[ruary] 1595

Your lov[ing] fath[er],

W. Burghley

[Holograph postscript]

I am ashamed to have warned Sir Thomas Wilford to prepare hym self to be the provost Marshall, wherein he loketh for some fee for his

²⁸²Warrant issued on paper noted by Burghley was doubtless duplicated; for Berwick, see *Cal. Border Papers*, ii, 105.

²⁸³Who Essex supported is not clear, but Godolphin got the place, an extension of the Scillies command, so it is likely Essex supported Godolphin. Sir Francis Godolphin (1534–1608), *ODNB*, was already exercising the role of lieutenant in the Scilly Islands by July 1595. *HMCS*, v, 274. See Letter No. 70 for his role in intelligence.

²⁸⁴Sir John Stanhope was made treasurer of the Chamber in 1596.

²⁸⁵Roland Watson (d.1595), *HPT*, iii, 589. The deputy clerk of the Crown in Chancery from 1574, he lobbied Burghley and Sir Thomas Bromley thereby obstructing the reversion of Thomas Powle's clerkship of the Crown in 1589. Powle outlived Watson, see n. 286.

²⁸⁶George Coppin (d. 1620), *HPT*, i, 652–653, received the office. He attended Burghley in last of his illness. On 28 Jan. 1596 he received Watson's reversion, succeeding Powle in 1601 – Sir Thomas Egerton, master of the rolls and lord keeper (at this time), had the gift in his office. See above, p. 26.

mayntenance which will be chargeable, as the Connsell knoweth who gave hym comfort to put hym self in redynes. but I am more ashamed that the same hath bene publyshed by hir Ma[jes]ty's proclamation that such on shold be, and the Cite also warned thereof. if now noon shuld be I pray yowe perceave some of my Lordes to remembre hir Ma[jes]ty hereof.²⁸⁷ and so I shall be discharged.

Dorse

ADDRESSED

To my Lovinge sonne Sir Rob[er]t
Cecill knight, one of hir ma[jes]ties privie Connsell

ENDORSED by Sir Robert Cecil:

My l[ord] to me

Letter No. 81

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 21 February 1595

¼ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I am begynning of a lesson that is to me iii^{xx} and x [70] y(ea)res old, that is to hold my pen in order to wryte. but being as yet unhable I only retourn yow for answer the book of the Irish army as it was the last quarter.²⁸⁸

Your loving father,

W. Burghley

²⁸⁷Sir Thomas Wilford (c.1530–1610), *HPT*, iii, 618–619; Letter No. 52. He was a distinguished soldier in the Low Countries, governor of Ostend (1586–1589), deputy lieutenant of Kent 1589, and marshal of Berwick 1593. On 5 Apr. 1596, Wilford was appointed colonel of the English forces for the invasion of France. L. Boynton, 'The Tudor Provost-Marshal', *English Historical Review*, 87 (1962) 437–455.

²⁸⁸The expenditure of the Irish army in the last quarter of 1595 was noted in the book of receipts of Eliz. 36 ending in Michaelmas, which the Irish auditor Christopher Peyton sent Burghley in lieu of the current account. TNA SP 63 186/no. 69 I, fols. 223r, 226r. Other evidence suggests that the Irish packets were delayed by poor weather in the Irish Sea, and that Peyton's letter dated 17 Feb. may have arrived in London with much earlier packets, or was expected by Burghley at the time he wrote Letters Nos 81 and 82.

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my lovinge sonne
 Sir Rob[er]t Cecil knight
 one of hir ma[jes]ties privie Connsell.

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

21 ffeb[ruary] 1595
 L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 82

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 22 February 1595

½ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I forgott to delyver to yow, these included from Mr. wallop and Just[ice] Gardener.²⁸⁹

Yow may shew ther lamentable opinion of Irland by 4 or 5 lynes in the first page of ther letter which I have underlyned.

Other partes of ther letters sheweth disorders, without advise how to reform them because the fete dare not reform the head. and so

²⁸⁹Wallop to Burghley, 9 Feb. 1596 telling of the extreme dangers posed by O'Donnell's confederacy with all other Irish and Ulster chieftains, TNA SP 63/186/no. 52, fol. 183r–v. This destroyed English hopes of dividing and conquering. Sir Robert Gardener (c.1540–1620), chief justice of the Queen's Bench in Ireland from 1586 was expected in England, exercising pro tem judicial head of the Exchequer and Chancery in Ireland. As Burghley warned Robert Cecil, 'I send yow herwith ii bundells of Ireland letters and wrytyngs containing a chaos of matters to be Metamorphosed as I think into some perfection by Sir Robert Gardener, but when he wil be here I know not'. TNA SP 63/186/no. 79, fol. 249r. Sir Geoffrey Fenton warned of Wallop's distress at the financial corruption in Ireland, SP 63/186/no. 83, fol. 256r. Sir John Norris saw Gardener as impartial, but he was never granted audience of the Queen, so incensed was she at the failures of her Irish administration. Sir Robert Gardener, SP 63/186 no. 63, fol. 211r–v; Thrush and Ferris, *The House of Commons, 1604–1629*, IV, 69.

maye yowe say to me, that nether have a good fete head nor fete, but no body is payned herewith but my poor self alon.²⁹⁰

22 feb[ruary] 1595

Your father's weak hand,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my lovinge sonne Sir
Robart Cecill knight
one of her ma[jes]ties
privie Connsel.

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

22 February 1595

L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r.

Letter No. 83

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 23 February 1595

½ p. Dictated to Henry Maynard, 21 lines.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I do send unto yowe herewith a drought of a Commission of the northe agreeable to former Commissions. Showing that there is noe presedent

²⁹⁰Grave Irish news may have arrived in plenty at this juncture following a spell of poor weather which delayed shipping and posts. Sir John Norris complained that his packet had been delayed while the lord deputy's was sent secretly, so implying that Russell wanted to control communication, TNA SP 63/186/no. 34, fol. 124r–125r. Norris saw an English ceasefire as a necessary evil given the Irish rebels' unification and the decay in English forces and supply SP 63/186, no. 34 fol. 126r–v. Russell's special letters to the Cecils berated Norris and his fellow commissioners' failure to draw Tyrone and his adherents to submission, SP 63/186, no. 22. There were 19 inclusions by Russell, most of which were handled by Cecil: 300 horse, money victuals and Scottish mercenaries were requested. Tyrone demanded of Russell a full compliance with the terms of the cessation, SP 63/186, no. 58 I, fol. 199r–200r. On the other hand, Norris's alarm at the increase of rebel forces was typical of English reports that Tyrone had no intention of fulfilling his part of the treaty, SP 63/186 no. 63, fol. 211r–v. Burghley's chagrin at lack of initiative by the lord deputy and the Irish Council appears to have been laid at Russell's feet. See above, pp. 61–62.

made for that Connsell, to which draught have put my hand, for the warranting thereof to be in good forme.²⁹¹ So as yowe maie apresentlie cause yt to be ingrossed in parchement by somm of the Clarkes of the Signet & so to be signed by hir ma[jes]tie to serve as A warrant to the L[ord] kepar to passe the great seale;²⁹² executed by the first of Marche: And yet by a clawse which I have added to an instruccion hearewith also sent, it shall suffice to have the same begonne at anie time after the first of Marche. And for that theare is a clawse in this Com[missio]n ordinarie to referre them to the former Instruccions, I have not formed anie number of newe Articles for the Instruccions but have onelie formed 3 Articles to supplie the want of anie newe Instruccions to be nowe sent, which Articles I would yowe should also cause to be written in paper to be signed by hir Ma[jes]ty.²⁹³ And so I committ the care hereof to your Expedition. ffrom my howse in the Strand this xxiith of feb[ruary] 1595.

[Burghley]
Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my lovinge sonne
Rob[er]t Cecill knight
one of hir ma[jes]ties privie Connsell.

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

23 Feb[ruary] 1595
Lo[rd] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

²⁹¹ See Letters Nos 80 and 86.

²⁹² The new commission, their instructions, and a warrant to the receiver-general of Yorkshire for their pay and provision was passed at the signet, TNA SO3/1/fol. 572r; Letter No. 79.

²⁹³ The paper version (enregistered) of the 3 additional articles supplying legal remedy for the situation, which would obtain in the Commission after 1 Mar., 1596 was addressed by Tobie Matthew, bishop of Durham, responding to Burghley's letters and articles of instructions of 23 Feb. Matthew wanted administrative matters for the renewal of the Ecclesiastical High Commission taken in hand. He argued a precedent for military musters in the vacancy of the lord presidency of the Council might be looked to in the case of a Spanish invasion, a condition which Archbishop Hutton of York wished to rectify. *HMCS*, vi, 72–74, 95; *CPR 38 Eliz. I*, no. 1065.

Letter No. 84**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 23 February 1595**

¼ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I wold not have yowe come hyther to me, for by God's leave, I will venture to be ther to morrow by water in the afternoone wher I pray yow to send but 2 horsse for to accompany me with my coche from Mortlack. If this night shall mak me be unhable I will in the morning send yow word. This Monday, 23 feb[ruary] at night.

Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my lovinge sonne

Rob[er]t Cecill knight

one of hir ma[jes]ties privie Connsell.

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

23 Feb 1595

L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Mortlake, near Richmond Palace, on the Thames

Letter No. 85**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 13 March 1595**

1 p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I thank yow for your letters for which I looked untill now at 8 I received them. I am sorry to se the uncertenty for resolution consideringe the delaye doth harm, both weyss as well as for loss in contynuanche of

the matter [^{that?}] shuld dissolve as for hyndrance to the expedition, by the staggering:²⁹⁴ I do hold and will allweiss this courss in such matters as I differ in opinion from hir Majesty as long as I may be allowed to gyve advise. I will not chang my opinion by affurmyng the Contrary for that war to offend God to whom I am sworn first, but as a servant I will obey hir Ma[jes]ty's commandment, and no wise contrary the same, presuming that she be God's cheff minister hear it shall be God's will to have hir commandmentes obeyed after that I have performed my dutye as a Counsellor, and shall in my hart wish, hir Commandmentes to have such good successes, as I am sure she intendeth. Yow se I am in a mixture of divinite and polycye preferring in polecy, hir Majesty afor all others on the erth and in dyvynitie the Kyng of heaven above all betwixt alpha and omega.

This my cogitatos yow may use to your own good besechyng God to bless yow.

This Satyrd[ay] 13 March 1595

Your lov[ing] fath[e]r,

W. Burghley.

Dorse

ADDRESSED in another clerk's hand, Hickee or Percival:

To my Loving sonne Sir
Robert Cecyll knight
one of hir ma[jes]ties
privy Connsell.

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

13 March 1595
L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r.

²⁹⁴Lord Admiral Howard was principally responsible for the victualling of the fleet for Cadiz then numbering 260 men at great charge to the Crown, an expense which probably met with Burghley's objections. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 30/106; *HMCS*, vi, 85–86. There was also the movement of troops in the Low Countries, 700 of whom were sent out of Zutphen to Flushing, which suggests the possibility of a naval force there to be joined with the main group bound for Cadiz. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 30/111; *HMCS*, vi, 88. Protracted negotiations with the States General of the Low Countries had borne fruit in their agreement to supply men and ships for the English naval expedition, as is shown in Essex's strategic calculations for the supply and use of these forces made in Apr. 1596. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 47/97; *HMCS*, vi, 162.

Letter No. 86**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 14 March 1595**

½ p. Dictated to Henry Maynard
Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I have bene here earnestlie moved by this Bearer ffrauncis Goston for my favor in the obtyninge from hir ma[jes]tie of the Revercion of the Receevership of Nottingham and derbie because I knowe him of myne own knolledge to be a varie honest man and varie sufficient for the place as also for that he hath served hir ma[jes]tie under Mr. Connyers²⁹⁵ many yares, varie dilligentie and painfullie. And because he did likewise require my letter to yowe for the preferring of hir Bill to hir ma[jes]tie for the desire I have procure it unto him, as sone as Convenientlie may be to avoid prevenccion.²⁹⁶ I pray yow, if so yow dare to make offer of it unto her, to take yor best opportunitie yow can fynd for the effecting of it. ffrom my howse at Westmin[ste]r the 14 of Marche, 1595.

[Burghley]
Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in a different clerk's hand, this one larger and rounder and more labourious:

To my vaire Lovinge sonne Sir Robert
Cecill knight one of

²⁹⁵Francis Goston, an auditor of the Imprests granted the auditorship of the imprests and foreign accounts in 1597, on reversion after Charles Wednester's death. BL Lansdowne MS 83/nos 76, 78; *CSPD 1598-1601*, 382. Letters Patent were issued, see *CPR 38 Eliz. I*, no. 386, 19 July 1597: 'to determine all accounts, and views of accounts of clerks and surveyors of the Queen's works in England and Wales and the marches thereof, the treasurer or keeper of the Queen's ships, the master of her ordnances, all persons accountable for any sums of money concerning the Queen's business, the clerk or keeper of the hanaper of Chancery, the keeper of the great wardrobe and the chief butler of England', together with an auditorship of First Fruits and Tenths. Whether he received the reversion for Nottingham and Derby is not known.

²⁹⁶John Conyers (d.1610), *HPT*, i, 643, auditor of the prests and foreign accounts, and greatly involved in military accounts. *HMCs*, ix, 82-83; xi, 141-142; xiii, 114.

hir ma[jes]ties privy Connsell

ENDORSED in the hand of Simon Willis:

[14 March 1596]

L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

In favour of Ffrancis Guston

Letter No. 87

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 16 March 1595

1 p. Holograph.

Endorsed, signed.

Text

I have received your letter with the paper book for the Commission wherin as it semeth hir Ma[jes]ty wold have some caution to restrayn the Generalls from offendyng of such as ar not [in] hir Ma[jes]ty's ennemyes, but ar in amyty both with the k[ing] of spayn and with hir Ma[jes]ty wherin hir Ma[jes]ty's care and wise foresight is highly to be commended.²⁹⁷ And therfor though these ii lordes being Connsellers²⁹⁸ and knowyng what complayntes remain ar satisfied to Denmark,²⁹⁹

²⁹⁷The terms of the generals' commission were revised, as a clerk of the signet, Thomas Windebanke, wrote to Cecil advising him of the inclusion of clauses by the Queen for avoiding offence to those who were neither the enemies of England nor of Spain. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 31/fols. 20r, 21r; *HMCS*, vi, 101, 101–102. Windebanke mentioned that the Queen had informed Essex that she had signed the paper book of the commissions, a fact which caused the clerk some perturbation as his first letter of the day alludes to some covert action on Cecil's part to have the books signed without conference with the commanders. For the impossibility of avoiding the secretarial seals in the passing of this paper directly to Chancery, see *CSPD 1595–1597*, 188; Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, 57–58. See also Burghley's letter for the document and the general's reply, *CSPD 1595–1597*, 189, 190–191. The preparations were defensive, so as not to offend neutral powers, Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, 58. Their commission passed the Great Seal 18 Mar. 1596, authorizing 5,000 men and 5,000 mariners. For the substance of the commission, see *APC 1595–1596*, 257, 307–309, 323–324; *HMCS*, vi, 114, 117–118.

²⁹⁸The earl of Essex and Lord Admiral Howard were joint commanders of the expedition. Howard complained to Cecil on 13 Apr., 'My commission in being joined with the Earl [of Essex] is an idle thing, for I am used as but the drudge', a situation dramatically different from that which he had anticipated on his final audience of the Queen before departing. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 40/fol. 6r; *HMCS*, vi, 144.

²⁹⁹Thomas Ferrers, agent of the Merchant Adventurers in Stade made mention of an outstanding suit of the merchant Roloff Petersson. For example, *HMCS*, vi, 98–99.

and sondry for cites in Germany.³⁰⁰ For some spoyles made, will carefully ^{have} regard ^{for} all such offences yet ad maiorum cautelum. I have by enterlyning in certen places, added such special wordes, as in my poore concept will manifestly directly ^{then} whom iustly to invade and offend, and observng those wordes, no frende of hir Ma[jes]ty's shall have cause to compleyn, except they shall openly shew ennimyte to hir Ma[jes]ty.

But I leave this my opinion to hir Ma[jes]ty's censure and to the Lls [Lords] allowance.

I am here all this daye bedred, by reason of sorre head and stomach tormented syck night past, and yet in my head and stomack tormented, so as I wryt this with payne of head, hart and hand, and therfor I do desyre of hir Ma[jes]ty pardon, I shall not have satisfied hir expectations which is the mark I desyre to shoot to.

Out of my bed at 3

Your Lov[ing] Fath[er],

W. Burghley

Dorse

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

26 Mar 1595

L[ord] Thre[surer] to my M[aste]r

³⁰⁰The embassy of the earl of Lincoln and John Wroth to the Landgrave of Hesse and others were to offer a separate negotiation, because the English merchants' position was deeply unpopular with imperial traders and the Hanse cities who felt constricted by their absolute powers under Elizabeth's mandate. Bell, *Handlist*, 138–139. For Lincoln's correspondence with the Secretary of State, Cecil, see *HMCS*, vi, 254, 255–256, 289–290. Cecil shadowed the embassy with an agent used in Spain, George Cramner (*ibid.* 289–290). Thomas Ferrers's letter to Burghley of 23 Mar. 1596 names Hamburg and Lubeck as specifically preparing against the Merchant Adventurers. Two spies were noting the proliferation of shipping: Joachim Showmaker and Francis Tusser the latter working for Lord Buckhurst in Scotland. *HMCS*, vi, 98–99, 112. A dispute over ordnance with the German duke of Holstein touched Hamburg shipping, as Andreas Hoffman, the duke's agent complained to Cecil, 27 Feb. 1596, *HMCS*, vi, 71–71. The English trading monopoly had a direct bearing on Anglo-Spanish conflict. Ferrers wrote that Spanish pensioners were raising trouble among the German princes. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 40/3; *HMCS*, vi, 143–144. The king of Denmark's double toll charge on Spanish shipping to pass the waters between his kingdom and Holstein was also unpopular with the territorial rulers in the empire and east. A polemic, 'Reasons for James VI joining with the Pope', allied the king with the Hanse Cities, the Danish king and many German princes, because of the Queen of England's piratical practices on the seas. *CSPS 1595–1597*, xii, 230–233, 232, pt. 16.

Letter No. 88**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 31 March 1596**

¼ p. Dictated to Henry Maynard.
Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I doe send yow hearewith such letters as at this present I received from Sir Henry Unton,³⁰¹ and Mr. Edmondes bearer Capteine hart browght hither,³⁰² whoe can informe yowe of the weake estate whearin he left the Ambassador.³⁰³ ffrom my howse in the Strand this last of Marche, 1596.

Your Lovinge father,
[Burghley]

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:
To my lovinge sonne
Sir Rob[er]t Cecill knight
one of hir ma[jes]ties privie
Connsell

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:
Ulm March 1596

Lo[rd] Thre[surer] to my M[aste]r

³⁰¹Unton wrote to Burghley on 20 Mar. 1596, giving Henry IV's objections to the withdrawal of English troops from the Low Countries, although men from Zutphen and elsewhere were already bound for Ireland, TNA SP 78-37-fols. 112r-113r. A copy of Unton's letter to Burghley was made for Essex, *HMCS*, vi, 106.

³⁰²Thomas Edmondes, who replaced Unton, wrote of Unton's great illness and enclosed his last letter, TNA SP 78-37-fol. 117r. Simon Willis retained and endorsed this letter.

³⁰³Following a bad fall from his horse Unton had caught the plague which ravaged the forces in the camp near Coucy, as Edmondes informed Essex on 17 Mar. Unton was forced to use Edmondes as his intermediary *HMCS*, vi, 103, 106. The French *chargé d'affaires* and minister of the French church, Robert le Maçon, *dit* de la Fontaine, held secret discussions with Essex on the English relief of Cambrai, and expressed his alarm over Unton's health at that delicate juncture, *ibid.* 131. For the post mortem on Unton by Henry IV's doctor, see Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, 61; TNA SP 78/37/fol. 119r.

Letter No. 89**Henry Maynard to Sir Robert Cecil, 31 March 1596**

½ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

Sir, My l[ord] hath willed mee to write to yowe himself not beinge well hable without paine, of removinge to be sett upp, that he is much trowbled in his minde with the Alarme of Callis, wheareof my L[ord] Admirall wrote to him, and which advertisement he sent yow by his L[ord]’s servant:³⁰⁴ And thearefore for the quiett of his minde he praieth yowe, assone as yowe shall understand anie certaintie theareof, to lett him knowe the same: And in case it showld fall owt to be trewe, his opinion is that my L[ord] of Essex and L[ord] Admirall, cannot with more honnor emploie them selves, hir Majestie’s forces, then to be the succoringe theareof³⁰⁵ even theare whole paie to be answered by hir Ma[jes]ty but this his opinion his L[ord] would have yowe as yet to keape to your selfe.³⁰⁵

And so, I most humble take my leave. ffrom my L[ord]’s howse in the Strand this last of March 1596.

Most humblie at your honours Co[mmandme]nt],

H[enry] Maynard

[Added to the lower right of the above text, and directly to the right of the signature, and therefore, added after signing]

³⁰⁴Vidausin (seigneur de Widessan), the governor of Calais, raised the alarm about a Spanish attack under Fuentes and Velasco to the lord admiral on 30 Mar. 1596, TNA SP 37/110r. Burghley was notably exercised about the need for English assistance, realizing this was a great success for the Archduke Albert’s army, Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, 64. The Council, but not the Queen, agreed with Burghley: ‘England may not endure this town to be Spanish’. Edmund Lodge, *Illustrations of British History, Biography and Manners in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, and James I* (London, 1838), ii, 459–66. Wernham calls Henry’s unpreparedness at Calais by committing of his forces to the siege of La Fère ‘astonishing’, *Return of the Armadas*, 64. The town remained under Spanish control for two years until the Peace of Vervins.

³⁰⁵Referring to Sir Henry Palmer (c.1550–1611), *ODNB*, to whom the relief effort would have been entrusted. For the logistics of provisioning Calais, see Letter No. 90. Vidausin alerted Henry IV’s ambassador to the United Provinces, Paul Choart, lord of Buzenval, to the necessity of providing shipping near Gravelines. To Villeroy, chief negotiator for peace with Spain, Vidausin argued that if the siege continued, the mighty English preparations might be diverted entirely to Calais. *HMCS*, vi, 132.

Nowe towardes eveninge my l[ord]s paine beginne to hold him in his head and neck, as yt did yesterdaie, but I hope with lesse grief.

Dorse

ADDRESSED Holograph [Maynard]
To the R[ight] honorable
Sir Rob[er]t Cecill knight
one of hir ma[jes]ties right
honorable privy Connsell
At the Cort

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:
Ulm March 1596
Lo[rd] Thre[surer][to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 90

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 31 March 1596

1 p. Holograph.
Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

This alarm of Calliss hath kept me wakyng all night, and hath styrred up in me manny cogitations. first that it war necessary to be informed from the Governor, what he wanteth of men or munition to defend the town[;] how he is hable to receave succors[;] of what nombres the army ar that doth besege it. Wher the battery is planted. How the haven remayneth fre for such succor to come with shyping. if the haven be possessed by the enemy with his shipping. Why may not ayd be sent by shippyng to a place est from Callies toward Gravelienes or to willoby and if the town may be defended for xiiii days, in this space la fare will be yelded or taken, and ther it may be hoped that the Kyng will levy the sege.³⁰⁶ Wharunto he had v or v[i]^M [5,000 or 6,000] Footemen, that may be had in this sort, ii^M [2,000] from London, i^M [1,000] from Essex, ii^M [2,000] from Kent, i^M [1,000] from Sussex or such lyke for England may not endure this town to be Spanish. and the Q[ueen] that also promised hym ayde.³⁰⁷ I wish these men war

³⁰⁶See above, p. 185.

³⁰⁷Vidausin's requests to the English did not arrive until 4 Apr. by which time Thomas Windebanke and Palmer had been sent on a fact-finding mission. *HMCS*, vi, 133, 134.

put in order that ether some of them may spedely enter Callis to hold rule. and that powder and musketts was presently, sent to Dover.³⁰⁸ but of these thynges I am sure, more will be ther forsene.³⁰⁹ I confes I am trobled so herewith as I se not well what I wryt.

[Margin]
Your lo[ving] father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my Lovinge sonne
Sir Robert Cecill knight
one of hir ma[jes]ties
privie Connsell
with speed

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

un[ti]mo March 1596
L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 91

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 30 March 1596

¾ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

³⁰⁸Howard and Essex held their places as they awaited further instructions later in the week, especially for news of the removal of troops and supply, as outlined by Burghley in the present letter. Essex and Howard were eager to relieve Calais from the forces and supply already assembled for their proposed expedition. *HMCS*, vi, 135. The English stalled for the need of better information, and their slowness came in agreement with Sir Henry Palmer's alarm of 9 Apr. that the Spanish were setting sail for the Scillies, and thence to England or Ireland, *ibid.* 138. Sir Francis Vere was outraged at the prevarication, yet urged the Cadiz voyage to move royally forward, *ibid.* 140. Burghley added his voice to those who supported the immediate aid, adding to the letters here on the need for relief, Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 39/fol. 111r; *HMCS*, vi, 141, 10 Apr. 1596. Five thousand men were needed in the Cadiz levies which could have been used for Calais, *HMSC*, vi, 126.

³⁰⁹See *CSPD 1595–1597*, 189. Burghley received an answer from the Queen that the Cadiz forces could be re-deployed to Calais. See Ian W. Archer, *Gazetteer of Military Levies from the City of London, 1509–1603* (2001) at <https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:adb577fc-6ffb-440b-9dd9-7c5c39a4a64c>, no. 085 for 6 Apr. 1596 for the relief of Calais, 1,000 troops on City charge to be sent to Dover, 11 April, Easter Day, 1596.

Text

I send yow a letter wrytten to me by Sir Geoffrey Fenton which yow may as se cause, shew to hir Ma[jes]ty and procure such answer as shall best please hir, and if she shall still rest uppon stryct poyntes as I have noted she hath doone hir charges and dangner for hir whole realm being now become insupportable, and yet I can not deny but hir royall state moveth hir, to be so precise as she is, but non sunt procedi rumores ante salutem.³¹⁰

I understand that my L[ord] Depute hath gyven commandment by his french man, that no letters shall be suffred to pass owt of Irland to me, but by his L[ord's] own warrant. what his L[ord] meaneth herby I know not though I can probably gess, for herein yow ar also included. I wish my Lord had such skill or good Luck in his government as ther neded no advertisement or advise but from hym self.³¹¹ I heare ther cometh over with his L[ord's] passport many soldiers out of Ireland, more hable, than such as now ar redy to go over.³¹² for so proby³¹³ wryteth to me, how mych it is mislyked, to send from hence new men, whan sufficient men come from there, but I will not [text continues on the left margin] deale heron, for my L[ord] depute is privatly

³¹⁰Referring here to the Queen's proposed articles of negotiation with the rebels. See also Letter No. 81. 'Nothing good may proceed on rumour alone.'

³¹¹This control of the posts from Dublin Castle to the presence Chamber admits the quarrel between Sir William Russell and Sir John Norris had affected court and Privy Council, for Norris told Burghley on 31 Jan. 1596 that the general packets had been delayed by poor weather, while Russell's letters were sent separately to the Queen and Privy Council by means of special shipping, TNA SP 63/186/no. 34 fols. 124r–125r. The Cecils allied themselves with Norris, also using Sir Geoffrey Fenton as their link with the Council during the negotiations with Tyrone. See Fenton's receipt of specially sealed letters from Sir John Norris's secretary in Jan. 1596, TNA SP 63/186/no. 26, fol. 99r; *CSPI 1592–1596*, 459.

³¹²Evidence for the release of soldiers out of Ireland by Russell's warrant over objections from Norris came in the packet stalled at Chester. Norris railed at Russell over the inefficiency of returning perfectly good troops brought to Ireland with Norris, in favour of a large-scale muster of untrained new troops to be sent to Bristol, at the expense of all Irish shipping, TNA SP 63/187/no. 46, fol. 111r–v; *CSPI 1592–1596*, 498–499.

³¹³Peter Proby, Burghley's man running the Chester posts was likely a significant part of the Cecils' intelligence to and from Ireland and in the port of Chester and environs. Burghley had made exhaustive notes on his letters patent and estimates for all distances to court and back, BL Lansdowne MSS, vol. 78, nos 92–100. He had been in the employ of Sir Thomas Heneage, *HMCS*, ii, 177, 182. Proby to Burghley, 29 Mar. 1596, noted that Russell's Frenchman, Mons. Meroelack, had brought word that no post without the lord deputy's warranting could proceed to Burghley, TNA SP 63/187/no. 64, fol. 149r–v. Proby then held letters from Sir John Norris and Sir Geoffrey Fenton and advised Burghley on the 19th that, as instructed, he had asked the lord deputy to return all shipping from Ireland for the transport of troops. TNA SP 63/187/no. 41, fol. 96r–97r; *CSPI 1592–1596*, 493. He held a cipher of Burghley and may have been charged with opening mails as well as passing them on. Proby had petitioned Cecil for a pension of 100 pounds in a letter dated 1595, Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 35/fol. 37r; *HMCS*, v, 525.

advertised that all his family ar sought out by me. I wish they did not deserve to be sought owt.³⁴

Your lo[ving] father,

W. Burghley.

[Postscript]

I have this last night some ease of me head by a sleep or ii.

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my lovinge sonne Sir
Robart Cecill knight
one of hir ma[jes]ties privie
Counsell

ENDORSED by Sir Robert Cecil:

30 Martii, my l[ord] to me

Letter No. 92

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 4 April 1596

$\frac{3}{5}$ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I wryte with payne, and se many difficulties, which I dare not tak uppon me to resolve.

³⁴Burghley may have meant 'family' to mean the extended Russell clan, but the countess of Bedford's loyal gesture in sending suspected Jesuits to Cecil on 16 Mar. 1596 precludes enmity between the Cecils and all the Russells. They were, in any case, close relations through Robert's aunt, Lady (Elizabeth) Russell, née Cooke. *HMC5*, vi, 100. Russell may have been convinced of faction all around him, since by Norris's letters, it appears that he was adept at creating one devoted to undercutting Norris. Norris felt that his collision with the earl of Essex over the nomination of Irish captains in Aug. 1595 was, even in Feb. 1596, insufficiently cooled: 'His Lordship will not be an indifferent interpreter of my actions.' *CSPI 1592-1596*, 474.

I send yow my L[ord] of Essex letter who semeth very diligent in this cause.³¹⁵ by Sir Co[n]yers] Clyfford we shall know more certainly.³¹⁶ I marvell the Holland shippes will not attempt the boates of Grevelyng.³¹⁷ the night tydes must serve for our men to pass the town.

I have drawn a warrant for my L[ord] Cobham³¹⁸ and for monny to be delyvered to Sir Thomas flud, which can not be expressly sett down, but by Estimation consideryng the uncertenty of the shippingng, and victells wherof if ther be sufficient in Calliss, the care will be the less, so as every soldier carry with hym self, some bread and chese for a weake or ii weake. [sic].³¹⁹

³¹⁵The earl of Essex worked ceaselessly to relieve Calais, as reported in a letter sent by Lord Thomas Howard. See Letters Nos 2 and 90. While Burghley was writing this letter, Essex received the Queen's letter as he returned from Dover to court, Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, 65; *HMCS*, vi, 133, 138, 141; *HMCD*, i, 335; *APC 1595–1596*, 338–342; Stow, *Annals*, 1281–1282. The letter assured him of her desire to wrest Calais from the Spanish. Sir Robert Sidney had been sent to negotiate English custody of the port in exchange for succour. Henry turned his back on the ambassador, ending the Queen's support.

³¹⁶Sir Conyers Clifford (d.1599), *ODNB*, was integral to the Cadiz preparation. A commission in his name to one Captain Fowkes dated 31 Mar. 1596 is perhaps mistitled 'Expedition to Cadiz', for this might have been the earliest warrant for a levy to relieve Calais, as the warrant was never sent and may have been stopped by the Queen. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 47/fol. 107r; *HMCS*, vi, 126.

³¹⁷French sources make it clear to Essex that English relief of Calais must begin with the disembarkation of Her Majesty's troops at Boulogne. This plan was hinted at in intelligence received by 9 Apr. 1596 by Sir Thomas Leighton on Guernsey where Spanish moves on Pempole where expected, *HMCS*, vi, 136, 138. The French were never going to let the English govern Calais, even temporarily.

³¹⁸Cobham's warrant was probably close in content to the privy seal letters directed to Burghley as lord lieutenant of Essex to raise 1,000 men to be sent into Picardy, Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 39/fol. 101r; *HMCS*, vi, 138. For these documents, see Archer, *Gazetteer of Military Levies*, at <https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:adb577fc-6ffb-440b-9dd9-7c5c39a4a64c>, no. 086. Burghley had recommended the numbers, the most convenient being 2,000 men from Kent where Cobham was lord lieutenant, Letter No. 89. The Queen decided against assistance for Calais, presumably sticking on Henry's refusal to cede her custody of Calais, a move which angered Essex and displeased Burghley. On 10 Apr. 1596, Burghley wrote to Cecil, noting that, even as the Queen reversed her warrants, the earl of Essex was to have embarked that morning: 'And surely I am of opinion that the citadel being relieved will be regained, and if for want of her Majesty's succors it shall be lost, by judgement of the world the blame shall be imputed to her'. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 39/111; *HMCS*, vi, 141. This was one of the harshest verdicts Burghley made of the Queen. He was concerned by the imminent arrival of Henry's envoy, Nicolas de Harlay, Sieur de Sancy (1546–1629), superintendent of the king's finances 1594–1599. Sancy grossly overestimated the size of the Queen's forces assembled in the Channel for Cadiz, as he arrived to negotiate the Leagues Offensive and Defensive. Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, 63; *HMCS*, vi, 171. Maynard's note of French bonds due since 8 Sept. 1589 included the loan of £6,000 to France for present relief (7 May 1596), *ibid*.

³¹⁹Sir Thomas Flood's accounts as payments of the Castle of Dover, Walmer, Deal, Landover, Sandgate, and at Queenborough, and of Archcliffe Bulwater, TNA Ao/1/2516, roll 574, 15 June 1596–1598 May 1599.

I wish the Capt[ains] had no allowance of dead payes. the nombres wold consist of pykes and shott.³²⁰

I can not endure to wrytt any more

Your lo[ving] father,

W. Burghley.

Dorse

ADDRESSED Holograph

Robert Cecil knight one of hir ma[jes]ties privie
Connsell

ENDORSED by Sir Robert Cecil:

From my l[ord] to me

Letter No. 93

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 26 May 1596

½ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

Yow filled my hart so full with your large reportes of hir Ma[jes]ty's allowance of my insufficiencyes as sufficient and of hir superabundant care and desyre of my amendment, as I cannot conteane in the flowyng of my hart, withowt sendyng to yow to be presented to hir Ma[jes]ty, some portion of the comfort of my hart by waye of most humble thankfullnes to hir Ma[jes]ty with a porcion also of my sacrifice to Almighty God by my harty prayers, In the contynuaunce

³²⁰Sir Thomas Sherley confirmed to Burghley the landing of troops at St Valéry on 10 Apr. noting imprest for one week was to be paid to these men, for their six month's service was ended on 3 Apr., Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 40/1; *HMCS*, vi, 141. For the dead pays: Burghley was trying to save money by withdrawing the 10% allowance for men, i.e. pay for 150 men for only 135 actual soldiers. Burghley made this clear to Cecil, 10 Apr. 1596, when he criticized the Queen's changed plans several times during the previous ten days as unpopular. He chastised his son for allowing public knowledge of this vacillation, for 'These so many changes breed hard opinions of counsel.' Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 39/fol. 111r; *HMCS*, vi, 141.

of hir happynes, wherin she exceedeth, all hir equalls in body and Government.

My hart hath forced my weak hand thus farr. 26 maii.

Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley.

Dorse

ADDRESSED in a clerk's hand:
To my Lovinge sonne Sir
Rob[er]t Cecill knight
one of hir ma[jes]ties privy Connsell.

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:
26 March 1596
L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 94

William, Lord Burghley to William Killigrew, 26 May 1596

1 p. entire. Dictated to Henry Maynard
Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

Sir,

Wheare I understand that theare remaineth with yowe a Bill for hir ma[jes]ties signature for one Cornelius Cure to be joined in patent with olde Yonge the Master mason, beinge a man throwgh age and sicknes verie unhabile to discharge his duetie in that place: I doe thearefore praiſe yowe to take summ good oportunitie to offer the said Cures bill for hir ma[jes]tie's signature, being a man both honest, and of as good understandinge and skile to discharge that place, as anie other.³²¹ And so I commend me vearie hartelie to yowe. ffrom my hows in the Strand xxvth of Maye 1596.

³²¹Cure was to be joined in letters patent for the reversion of master mason in the Tower of London, issued 28 June 1596 which he surrendered in 1605, *CPR 38 Eliz. I*, no. 589.

Your verie Lovinge frend,

[Signed]
W. Burghley

[Postscript dictated to the clerk]

Since the writinge of this letter, I understand the olde man is dead and of this man I dare affirme and so hath spicer and the rest of the officers of the workes testified that he is both honest, expert, and full of invencion and hath seen much work in forrein places. And of annie place this had neade to be supplied being dailie to be used in hir ma[jes]ties workes, especially Seeinge theare is noe Surveior.

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To the R[ight] worshipful my vearie lovinge frend
Mr. William Killigrew Esquier one of the Gromes
of hir ma[jes]ties privie
Chamber And in his absence to Mr. Darcy³²²

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

26 Maii 1596
L[ord] Thre[asure]r to Mr. Wm. Killagrew

Letter No. 95

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 27 May 1596

½ p. Dictated to Henry Maynard.
Addressed, no receipt, signed.

Text

I have perused the warrant yowe sent unto me for plimmowthe, which I retorne unto yowe, and like the same well, savinge wheare by the same it is expressed that the soldiers showld onelie have such paie as they have in the Lowe Contries, yowe shall understand that wheare

³²²Darcy and Killigrew were grooms of the privy chamber assisting Cecil with procurations of the Queen's signature, as the volume of his secretarial work increased, Letter No. 45. They received minor rewards, for example Killigrew retained the warrant for the payment of Maundy money in Apr. 1596, to be directed to the bishop of London as well as a suit for his uncle Sir Francis Carew of the Queen out of Winchester diocesan lands in 1594. TNA SO3/fol. 578r; Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 29/fol. 39r; *HMCS*, v, 41.

the wages of solder commeth to iiis viiid a weeke, theie have but iis vid theareof paid them for lendinges and the rest is aunswared them in Cloathes and Armes, and theareof^{fore} the warrant is to be considered in that point, so as theie maie have theire full paie, and what that same commeth unto, and what offices I thinke fitt to have kept theire, will appeare unto yowe, by this Colleccion of mine heareinclosed.³²³ ffrom my howse in the Strand this xxvith of Maye 1596.

Your Lovinge father,

[Burghley]

Forced to kepe to my bed to my great payn,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my Lovinge sonne

Sir Robt Cecill one of Her Ma[jes]tys

Privy Consell

Letter No. 96

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil

½ p. dictated to Henry Maynard

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

This letter which I send yow included came hither by the comon Poste from the l[ord] Scroop to certifie the comminge of certen of the Graimes committed to come as prisoners, contrary to the advise geven to the said l[ord] Scroop bethowgh nowe by his letter thought necessary to change. This matter would be well considered of and better then my leisure serves me to give advise in. Therefore yow may do well to impart the same both to hir Majestie and to hir Counsell for their dyrection against the comminge of these prisonners, whose accusations do not yett appeare, but are as I perceave to follow from

³²³A warrant issued in late May 1596 for soldiers embarking at Plymouth, soldiers levied for the relief of Calais – the Cadiz expedition was now on hold – at Low Countries wages of 4s. 8d. per diem. Further levies were now going ahead – for 180 foot in Essex with a disbursement of £6,000. See Letter No. 92; *HMCS*, vi, 193.

my l[ord] Scroope after they be committed,³²⁴ ffrom my howse at Westm[iniste]r the 30th of Maye 1596.

[Burghley]
Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED

For the right honorable Sir
Robert Cecill one of hir ma[jes]ties Privey Counsell.

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

30 May 1596

L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 97

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 30 May 1596

½ p. Dictated to a clerk [Henry Maynard], with 2 sentences added in Burghley's hand.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I send unto you here included a letter directed into me for the Archbishop of Yorke, brought by a Purcevante who hath also brought upp with him the 6 Graimes and hath them here in howse taken upp for them, and because theare is nobody als here to take charge of them I pray you move the Quene to knowe hir pleisure what shalbie donne with them and send me woorde forthwith because the Messenger may

³²⁴The various branches of the Grahams, while often raiding each other, could raise 3,000 men. On this occasion, the laird, Walter Scott of Buccleuch (1566–1611) violated the marcher laws with a spectacular raid on Carlisle Castle and the rescue of William Armstrong of Kinmount (c.1540–1603), a noted border reiver. This was a formidable display of force which directly touched the amity of the kingdoms. The affair occupied a great deal of council time during 1596. A full account is given in John Spottiswoode, *History of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1850) Book Six, 1–4. The warden of the East March from 1593, Scrope, governor of Carlisle Castle – the raid happened on the watch of his deputy, Richard Lowther – sent various Grahams named in a schedule to London for investigation by council their journey to proceed ‘shrive’ to ‘shrive’ (sheriff to sheriff), because they had no security of bonds, BL Lansdowne MS 82/no. 7/fol. 14r.

be returnd and I no futher trobled with them.³²⁵ ffrom my howse at Westm[inste]r the last of Maye 1596.

[Burghley]

I have already wrytten to my L[ord] Scroop, not to com upp, but to send some sufficient person with proves ag[ainst] these Grymes.³²⁶

Your lo[ving] father

W. Burghley

[Postscript]

God send me some good howres, for I have no good dayes.

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To the right honourable
Sir Robert Cecil knight
of her Ma[jes]ties privy Connsell.

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

Wmo May 1596
L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 98

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 13 July 1596

½ p. Dictated to Henry Maynard, with two holograph postscripts.
Addressed, endorsed signed.

Text

I Doe send hearinclosed unto yowe A petition of Nicholas Sanders whoe as it semeh remaineth under arrest at Plimmowthe at the suite of the Maior there, upon some bargaine passed between them for the part of his prize sugers. But inasmuch as Mr. Sanders is by order & dirrecion of the Generalls to follow them in this Action, as doth

³²⁵Burghley noted a general tightening of Border defences at that juncture to Cecil, TNA SP12/259/no. 60; *CSPD 1595–1597*, 253.

³²⁶The Privy Council wrote back and forth all summer about the Grahams, the place of their custody and the method of their correction. Scrope wrote to Burghley, on 30 May 1596, noting he had already sent the Grahams southwards by way of the Council of the North at York, thence to London, *Cal. Border Papers*, ii, 131–132.

appeare by their writinge under their handes and seales, I see noe reason he should be staied at anie privat persons sute.³²⁷ And therefore I praie yowe to acquaint my lls [Lords] of the Connsell that are there at the Cort with the peticion and to procure their LLs [Lords] letters to Sir fferdinando Gorges, to treat with the Maior, so as he maie take sum such order as he can betwene them, whearebie Mr. Sanders maie be released to proceade on his voiadge, the staie wheareof I cannot but be vearie chargeable to him.³²⁸ Soe fare yowe well. Ffrom my howse at theobaldes this xiiith of Julie 1596.

Your loving father,

[Signed]
W. Burghley

[Burghley]
I am forced to kep my bed all this day, havying small hope of amedment.

I long to heare some good news of Hulst³²⁹

[Maynard]
I send yowe a letter signed for Mr. Sandars to ease the messinger from returning hither for my hande.

[In Maynard's hand at the left foot of the page]
Mr. Secretary

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:
To my Lovinge Sonne
Sir Robert Cecil, knight
hir ma[jes]ties principall secretarye

³²⁷The mayor of Plymouth informed Cecil of a merchant, Nicholas Sanders or Saunders, who was embroiled in a dispute over the custody of his prize sugars. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 42/39, 40; *HMCS*, vi, 258–259, 259. Sanders had been licensed to proceed according to higher instructions – probably Howard's or Essex's – and had been detained under suspicion of theft.

³²⁸James Baggervas, the mayor of Dover, *HMCS*, vi, 209–210.

³²⁹George Gilpin warned Essex that the loss of Hulst would certainly mean the consequent loss of Bergen-op-Zoom and Auxelle. Elizabeth was pressured heavily to send troops and men, while Henry IV redeployed forces used to relieve Calais and Boulogne, *HMCS*, iv, 243–244, 258, 294–295, 276. The archduke was defeated by a combined force with English troops with the earl of Lincoln, *HMCS*, vi, 289–290.

ENDORSED in Cecil's hand:

This L[ette]re comes to me from my L[ord]. I pray yowr L[ordshi]p reade it and that Included to which my l[ord] wold be glad of your hand in maiorem autoritatem.

Letter No. 99

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 16 July 1596

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I am right sorry that I can send yow no better stuff out of Irland by these letters and other wrytyngs wherby I se no lykhood of peace ther and therfor Hir Ma[jes]ty must be forced for a present furder chardg, to procedde more rowndly with force than with words.³³⁰

I meane though I am still possessed with payne to come thyther to morrow, to attend this and other service for I se a harvest of busyness more redy, than a good harvest of corn.³³¹

from my bed almost at x of the clock
16 July 1596

You lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

[Postscript added after signing]

³³⁰The Queen had proclaimed Tyrone and O'Donnell rebels and traitors at this juncture, and the proclamations were read in early July, to little response. Tyrone burnt his castle of Dungannon to the ground, razing the land in his estates, preventing forage for any troops. The rebels had refused the articles for their 'submission' and were now officially outside the law. An anonymous report then attached referred to the present attainder of Feagh McHugh O'Byrne, whose tormenting of the English on the southern edge of the Pale unbalanced any future campaigns to the north. The lord deputy, Russell, had licensed Sir John Harrington (1560–1612), *ODNB*, to proceed with a savage attack on O'Byrne. *CSPI 1592–1596*, 334–337.

³³¹Burghley may well have referred to the heavy administrative work ahead for raising horse and foot out of the counties for Ireland and Flushing, with the attendant needs of victualling, apparel, arms, and transportation. See his memorandum of 21 July 1596, TNA SP 12/259/no. 74; *CSPD 1595–1597*, 288; Letter No. 111.

I have severed the advertisementes and wrytyngs accordyng to ther several conditions and tyed with threds.³³²

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my Lovinge Sonne
Sir Robart Cecill
knight, hir ma[jes]ties
principall secretarie³³³

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

26 July 1596
L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r ffrom Theobaldes

Letter No. 100

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 15 July 1596

1 p. Dictated to Henry Maynard.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

With your letters nowe received theare is comen letters from the Archb[ishop] of Yorke and the Counsell theare directed to mee wheareof the one concerneth a priest named Dawson, beinge A ronagate into and owt of Ireland, whose Examinations also I have seen:³³⁴ And consideringe he sheweth himself obstinat in awnswearinge, it weare convenient that the Counsell would take order to cawse him to be pinched with manacle or summ such like thinge, without danger of anie member of his Bodie, and thereby compell

³³²Burghley had suffered serious infirmity during Apr. and May 1596, and from 20 Apr. to 14 May virtually all Irish letters were retained by Cecil.

³³³Here is the first mention of Cecil's appointment as the Queen's Principal Secretary of State, for which no letters patent survives on the rolls.

³³⁴Miles Dawson, a priest, was examined by Hutton, archbishop of York on 23 July 1596. Here Burghley refers to Hutton's letter of 10 July 1596. Direction to proceed with Dawson's examination the following day was returned by Hutton, BL Lansdowne MS 82/no. 29; Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, iv, 305; *HMCS*, vi, 283, 431, 432. Dawson's orders were in question. He provided salient intelligence of his travels in Ireland and Scotland and knew Essex's rehabilitated Jesuit servant, Thomas Wright. He had been to Spain and met Cecil's agent, John Cecil. A further examination before Hutton in Oct. 1596 yielded more information about Wright and his 'cavilling' to 'worshipful Bacon', in fact the truth of Essex and Anthony Bacon's use of Wright in their intelligence. *HMCS*, vi, 431, 432. See Hutton's list of cases for Burghley, 15 July 1596, BL Lansdowne MS 82/31/fol. 64r.

him to answere more directlie. And yet nevertheless to for beare proceedinge against him at ther Asisses, for that he maie afterwarde be further tried by ordinarie commission theare of oyer and terminer.³³⁵

The other letter concerneth one Atkinson, whoe if he doe not appeare the xviith daie before the Counsell heare, as it is written, he is commaunded. but whither it be uppon bond or noe is not expresse, then is there anie cause to ~~doubt~~ ^{feare that} he shall proccede at the Assisses the xixth as he pretended to doe.³³⁶ One other letter which yowe have sent me from Mr. Attorneie, concerneth the confession of the great Cossener Williamson, which I meane to keepe with mee untill I cumm to the Cort.³³⁷ and soe I will doe these from Yorke, And be bold to make awnswere to that Connsell by my privat letter.³³⁸ But a letter of most importance is that which is written to mee from Mons[ieur] Caron, expressing the same dangers, wheareof yowe mak mention in your owne letter.³³⁹ And the same also confirmed by the letter written by the States of Zeland to the Counsell heare,³⁴⁰ which I doe returne unto yowe with mine opinion.³⁴¹ that it is most necessarie

³³⁵Burghley wished to extract a further confession from Dawson and appears to be requesting that the Privy Council warrant the use of a minor form of bodily inhibition – the manacle – rather than full torture, which might require Dawson's removal to London.

³³⁶Richard Atkinson appeared before the Privy Council answering charges that he had assaulted the gaoler at Ripon, BL Lansdowne MS 82/no 31, fol. 64r; *HMCS*, vi, 252, 252–254. Hutton later sought Dawson's pardon, BL Lansdowne MS, 84/no. 78. Atkinson may have worked in some capacity for the Cecils in Scottish intelligence, *HMCS*, vi, 378.

³³⁷Nicholas Williamson had been accused of trying to turn the earl of Shrewsbury into an enemy of the Crown. The Talbot entourage was then engaged in a huge quarrel with the Stanhope family, ostensibly over weirs on the Trent. For the period covered by these letters, see Thomas Stanhope to Cecil cited in Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'Talbot and Stanhope: An episode in Elizabethan politics', *Bulletin of the Institute Historical Research*, 33 (1960), 73–85. While this feud is not touched in Burghley's letters here, both sides approached the Cecils, with an extensive correspondence remaining at Hatfield in the Cecil Papers.

³³⁸No copy of this letter is extant.

³³⁹Noel de Caron's urgent message referred to the relief of the Low Countries' forces, which were protecting territory from the Archduke Albert who had attacked Hulst rather than heavily defended Ostend.

³⁴⁰Noel de Caron advised the earl of Essex on 21 July that the States were pressing the Queen for reinforcements of 500–600 men with promises of 800–1,000 more. They had all wished that Essex and his fleet had been there to help, *HMCS*, vi, 276. These matters refer to the Triple Alliance then being negotiated first between England and France before it was widened to include the Dutch, Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, 80. The League capitulated to the king and signed 14 May 1596, TNA SP 78/37/fol. 194. In the following months, Henry IV would continue secret negotiations with both papal legates and the Archduke Albert earning blistering criticism from Burghley. The balance between continental and Irish expenses would galvanize the Cecils, as Essex was frustrated by the continental peace and the depth of anti-Spanish sentiment outside the States General.

³⁴¹Burghley's reply is not extant.

that hir Ma[jes]tie should have speedie regard thearto be aidinge them with somm further succourse to be sent to Flusshinge, accordinge both to the necessitie of the cawse and for the promise made by Sir Fr[ancis] Veare in hir ma[jes]ties name, which to my remembrance he had warrant so.³⁴² And though I finde my selfe nothing amended of my greefe yet uppon this occasion I will with Gods leave, if I shall be hable to lie in my Coache, be theare on Saturdaie night, or Sondaie some time of the daie. From Theobaldes this xv of July 1596.

[Burghley]
Your lov[ing] lame,
paynfull father.

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:
For the Q[ueen s] Ma[jes]ties Affayres
To my Lovinge sonne Sir Robarte Cecill
knight hir Majesties principall Secretary

[Signed, on the dorse]
W. Burghley

[Maynard]
hast
post hast
hast

ENDORSED in Burghley's hand:
at Theob[alds]
15 Julii, 1596

³⁴²Sir Francis Vere had been advised to give verbal assurances while the amount of assistance possible was calculated. He sought assurances that his forces would not be depleted in the relief of Calais, but a new force entirely would be raised. See Letter No. 91; *HMCs*, vi, 140, for Vere's men were used extensively as auxiliaries to the Dutch. In June 1596, Burghley replied to Sir Robert Sidney at Flushing that ordnance was 'to be defalked again upon the pay of the garrison' by the treasurer at war in the Low Countries, Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 41/fol. 62r; *HMCs*, vi, 212. Burghley alluded here to the royal assurances made to the States General for provisions for Flushing given by Sir Francis Vere.

Letter No. 101**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 28 July 1596**

¼ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I most humbly thank hir Majesty for imparting to me the reportes of hir victoryes hoping to have that knolledg so veriefed by hir own Generals, as hir Ma[jes]ty shall have iust cause to have publyck thanks gyven to that Almighty God that maketh hir so mighty ag[ainst] hir ennemyes and and most humble to acknoledg from whence she hath hir strength and wordly glory.³⁴³

28 July 1596

Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED

To my lovinge Sonne
Sir Robart Cecill knight
Principall Secretarye
to hir ma[jes]tie.

ENDORSED in a clerk's hand [Henry Maynard?]

28 July 1596

Lo[rd] Thresorer to my M[aste]r.

[Note: This hand could be that of Richard Percival, the same clerk who took over the compilation of the Scottish Letter Book, TNA SP 52/52]

³⁴³The first news of the spectacular success of the Cadiz raid. The correspondents from Rome, Antwerp, Venice, Madrid, and Middlebury all reported the English rout and subsequent slaughter of the civilian population. *The Fugger News-Letters*, 2nd ser., ed. Victor von Klarwill (London, 1926), 276–281. The Cecils would be among those to make a very critical assessment of the voyage's true value later in 1596.

Letter No. 102**Draft of a Privy Council Letter dated 13 October 1596**

¾ p. with slightly frayed left margin.

Signed by Burghley and Lord Buckhurst.³⁴⁴

Dorse: missing.

Text

After our hartie commendacions unto yow. According to her ma[jes]ties pleasure signified by your letter, we called before us aswell suche Creditors being about vi on number as did impugn the sute of all the rest of the Creditors of Umfrie Abdey for her ma[jes]ties protection unto them as also certein Alderman and other[s] who came before us in name of all the rest of the Creditors being above syxteen in number.³⁴⁵ and after we had heard both parties we concluded in the end that with the generall consent of them all her ma[jes]tie might at her good pleasure graunt the said protection which the said Alderman and the rest of the Creditors had so humbly and so earnestlie desired, as they affirmed before us that if her ma[jes]tie did not vouchsave at their humble peticens to graunt the same it wold redound to the grete losse and hindraunce of the said Crediters. We did also caus diligent enquire to be made for such as had exhibited any peticcens to Abdey, we cold not lerne of any suche. but thus much we understand That there hath ben in several peticons exhibited to her ma[jes]tie [page frayed] by sundrie of the Crediters of on Umfrie Abdey for the not graunting of his protection by her ma[jes]tie, which likelihood may be thos peticens wherof her ma[jes]tie spake with you. And thus we wishe you hartelie well this xiith of October 1596.

you verie loving ffrendes,

[Signed]

³⁴⁴Thomas Sackville, 1st Baron Buckhurst and 1st earl of Dorset (1536–1608), *ODNB*. He was Burghley's successor as Lord Treasurer and an ally of Cecil on the Council.

³⁴⁵Humphrey Abdey or Abdie was responsible for settling debts out of his father, Roger Abdie's, estate. Abdie had died on 20 June 1595 leaving assets totalling £23,767 6s. 3d. against debts of £20,748 15s. 5d., for which the son was bound to make good, *CSPD 1595–1597*, 113. One creditor, Tristram Conyers, petitioned Burghley's secretary Bernard Dewhurst for payment of the £205 owed him, *ibid.* In Feb. 1596, another creditor, Alexander Weller, clothier, appealed to the Privy Council for them to cease their protection of Abdey, otherwise the creditors 'should be prejudiced to ther utter undoing for the benefit of one privat man' well capable of payment. *APC 1595–1596*, 202. Cecil and others gave the council order to a committee of oversight composed of Sir Richard Martin, Sir William Webb, the recorder of London (John Croke), Alderman Houghton, Thomas Campbell, George Sutherland, and Sheriff Loe.

W. Burghley
T. Buckhurst

[No dorse, no address]

Letter No. 103

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 31 October 1596

1 p. Dictated to Henry Maynard.
Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I neither can my self write, nor yet forbear to expresse the grief to thinke of the dangerous estate of hir ma[jes]ties Armie in Ireland, where all the treasure sent in August is expended,³⁴⁶ and the Armie consistinge of the number of abowt seaven thowsand widening [withdrawing?] paie of her ma[jes]tie, besides a great number of others havinge extraordinarie paiements by waie of pentions and such like, the monethlie charges whereof commeth to viii^M v^C ix l sterlinge [£8,509], and hereunto is to be added 1000 newe men nowe latelie transported, whose monethlye paie must cumm to MCxxii l [£1,122] the moneth, for which the treasurer hath never a pennie in Ireland & nowe to this charge doth presentlye followe the charge of 2000 newe men alreadye levied and appointed to be sent thither for whome at their arrival there, there is also noe monie to entertaine them.³⁴⁷ What great danger this maie be I doe trembell to utter, consideringe theie will force the Countrie with all manner of oppressions, rather than furnishe. And thearebie the multitude of the Q[ueen s] loiall subiectes in the English pale tempted to Rebell. Thes unpleasant lines I am most sorie to be presented to hir ma[jes]tie, but I cannot endure to

³⁴⁶ *CSPI 1596–1597*, 142–146. The lord deputy, Russell, and the Council outlined their considerable needs, 15 Oct. 1596.

³⁴⁷ The earlier payment of treasure on Aug. 1596 was swamped under the arrival of 1,000 troops levied in 18 counties for Irish service *CSPI 1596–1597*, 289). Burghley issued warrant for 100 foot out of Lincolnshire, 27 Aug. 1596, *HMCs*, vi, 330. A warrant to pay Sir Henry Wallop, treasurer at war in Ireland, was sent in Nov. 1596, £20,000 of which £15,000 was for the army and £5,000 for victualling. The warrant stipulated that the lord deputy and Irish Council were to advise Wallop on expenses with ordinary pay defalcated from the monthly checks, and all new, extraordinary contracts and changes to be avoided. *CSPD 1595–1597*, 306. See above, pp. 69–70.

bethinke my self of the perill. ffrom my howse in the Strand this last of October, 1596.

[Burghley]
I am homo illiterate

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:
To my Lovinge Sonne
Sir Rob[er]t Cecill
knight, hir ma[jes]ties
principlall secretarye
Ul[ti]mo Oct 1596
Lo[rd] Thr[esore]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 104

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 1 November 1596

¼ p. In Henry Maynard's hand. Two lines in Burghley's hand.

Text

For that Mr. Lake war not in the waie to engrosse the warrant for the Ile of Wight, I doe the messure herinclosed send the same to yowe to be written by such of the Clerkes of the Signett as attend theare at the Cort which is all I have at this time to write yowe.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁸The warrant for 900 men for the Isle of Wight was recalled by the Queen through Cecil of Windebanke, the clerk of the signet present, who had taken it to Richmond, TNA SP 12/260/no. 113; *CSPD 1595–1597*, 358.

Burghley was writing detailed memorials for the security of the ports and coasts of the realm in case of a Spanish armada that winter or the following spring, *CSPD 1595–1597* 303, 305. There was a general tightening of Cecil's secretarial control at this time, particularly over privy seals, with Cecil's command to Maynard to produce letters and to continue a monthly docquet for the Queen. At the same time as his father was making calculations for the proposals, he was preparing them for his son to set before Queen and Council, *CSPD 1595–1597*, 306; see above, p. 26. The alarms of Nov. 1596 contrast with a long 'memorial' Burghley wrote on 1 Oct. in which he set down the priorities: Scrope was to be licensed to court (during the parliament for which writs were sent); commission for the Borders; lawyers for the court of Requests; bishoprics of Chester and London in need of supply (levies); renewal of Sir Robert Carey's 20 horse at Berwick; need for horse by Eure and

Ffrom my house in the strand this first of November 1596.

[Burghley]
 An other such tormenting night will
 Shorten my dayes, wherof I desyre some end.
 Your lo[ving] father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED by Henry Maynard:

To my Lovinge Sonne
 Sir Rob[er]t Cecill
 Knight hir ma[jes]ties
 Principall secretarye

ENDORSED by Simon Willis:

L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 105

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 6 November 1596

½ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I send to yowe heareinclosed a letter which I received this morninge from the Maior of Dartmouthe directed to my lls [Lords]: of the Counselle with certaine Advertisementes theareinclosed.³⁴⁹ I have

Scrope, as well as need in Berwick. Again, while these matters required steady order and drafting, the Council and the Cecils had to move quickly in another direction with the expected return of the Spanish armada. Cecil having obtained the seal of the office, now seemed to concentrate less on the tasks parcelled out to him in the earlier letters, delegating matters to trusted messengers (e.g. Darcy, Killigrew, the Stanhopes), concentrating instead on policy and renewed rigour in the administrative instruments of his office and their records. Due to Cecil's and the Queen's suspicions about fraudulent or suspicious privy seal accounting, he asked Windebanke on 23 Aug. for the original warrants paid by him since the death of Walsingham, *CSPD 1595–1597*, 269. This suggests that Burghley in turn had given others work not sufficiently tracked during his pro tem secretariat.

³⁴⁹Russell was similarly alarmed in Aug. 1596, calling the entire kingdom in conspiracy against the Queen, while the army was destitute of money and victuals, *HMCS*, vi, 351. The charge here entered was nearly £10,000 per month, approaching the level of expenditure

thearewith acquainted my L[ord] of Essex and yowe maie impart the same there to hir Ma[jes]tie or the Counsell as yowe shall see cawse. ffrom my howse in the Strand this vith of November 1596.

[Postscript]

I have received a certaine Advise from my L[ord] Willoughby which I have sent to my L[ord] of Essex.³⁵⁰

Yo[ur] Lovinge
father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my Lovinge Sonne Sir Robart Cecill knight, hir Ma[jes]ties principall secretarye

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

6 Nov. 1596

L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

in the Low Countries, 1585–1589, which by treaty had been set at about £120,000 per annum.

³⁵⁰Intelligence from Morlaix was taken from seven Flemings whose ships and goods were seized by the king of Spain and sent by the mayor of Dartmouth, Gilbert Staplehill, to the Council. Dartmouth, as other ports, was a rich ground for Cecil's intelligence. TNA SP 12/260/no. 87; *CSPD 1595–1597*, 301–302; Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, 272–273. Essex and Willoughby d'Eresby were included in a commission of senior military advisers, a council of war, created in late 1596 for planning the Islands expedition. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 46/fol. 32r; *HMCS*, vi, 469; Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, 136–137. Willoughby's advice may have been incorporated into Burghley's general proposition which gave opinion on the Adelantado, TNA SP 12/260/nos. 92, 93, 94; *CSPD 1595–1597*, 302. Further notes by Burghley on the wider scope for defence may have been incorporated into Willoughby's papers, because he sent his ideas to him in writing on at least one occasion when he was not notified of the meeting of Council, allowing that words might be misconstrued and offering clarification as needed. TNA SP 12/260/nos. 82, 101, 102; *CSPD 1595–1597*, 298, 305; Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, 144–145. There were, throughout, major points of disagreement for the so-called 'council of war'. Another member, Sir John Borough, proposed divergent ideas as well. TNA SP 12/260/no. 83; *CSPD 1595–1597*, 209–210; Letter No. 106.

Letter No. 106**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil,
7 November 1596**

½ p. Dictated to Henry Maynard.
Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I send to yowe hearewith such letters as I have this daie received. yowe maie as yowe shall see cawse acquaint hir ma[jes]tie both with Mr. Bowes letter³⁵⁴ and the L[ord] Scropes, towchinge his request for the paie of the footebandes theare.³⁵² Yowe shall also do well to acquaint hir ma[jes]tie with that part of Sir Edward Norris letter, wheareby he advertisethe the sendinge of certaine forces to Callis, which in mine opinion hath good probabilitie in yt.³⁵³ So farre you well. ffrom my howse in the Strand, this viith of November 1596.

Your Lovinge father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my Lovinge Sonne Sir
Robart Cecil knight, hir ma[jes]ties principall secretary

ENDORSED in Richard Percival's hand:

7 Nov. 1596
Lo[rd] Thre[surer] to my M[aste]r

³⁵⁴Letters from Robert Bowes to the Queen or Council or the Cecils would have come with Scrope's, see n. 352.

³⁵²Scrope's letter was received with the Scottish post for the pay of footbands in the marches. Acknowledging his letter of the 12th received that day with the Queen's command to return the 100 footmen to Berwick, Scrope argued against the order. He explained that when he wrote for leave to go to court, he noted the march was quiet and likely to remain so only by means of these 100 men. He asked that the footbands remain and that the laird of Buccleuch not be released for he would disturb the peace. *Cal. Border Papers*, ii, 206, 208–209.

³⁵³Norris's advice was taken at the very height of the armada scare of Nov. 1596. It dovetailed with Lord Willoughby's dissenting view of a 1597 naval expedition against Spain directly in favour of a large army sent through Ostend. See Birch, *Memoirs*, ii 164–168. No one knew precisely if the Spanish fleet would attack, but the Council was unified in the need for an offensive manoeuvre, as no single coastal town could have withstood an invasion. Crippled by slow and untimely intelligence, the Council only knew that the Spanish fleet had already been beaten by the weather. Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, 69–81 137–145, 156.

Letter No. 107**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil,
9 November 1596**

½ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

Though at your departure, you found me not disposed to mak any censur of the certificates thynkyng the borden to heavy for me alon, yet if yow Fynd hir ma[jes]ty's disposition or expectation from me, yow may shew hir this included, which I began by Candell light, but my head would not answer my desyre.³⁵⁴

I have gyven this mark in the margats, for the matters to be executed.

Your loving father,

W. Burghley

[Postscript]

I send yow my L[ord] Willoughbyes opinion much vareyng from the rest.³⁵⁵

³⁵⁴Burghley's work on the privy seal certificates in this letter are discussed above, p. 25. Burghley was not left completely alone in drafting the certificates for levies, musters, imprests, and money, all of which emanated from the preparations of new defences by the war commission prompted by the rumoured Spanish invasion. Letters Nos 103, 104, 105; TNA SP 12/260/nos. 120,121. A reckoning of payments was issued at Easter 1596 for the Cadiz expedition and further charges issuing from Michaelmas 1595 until 16 Nov. 1596 at which time Burghley may have completed a thorough accounting of such payments, *CSPD 1595–1597*, 313. Monies had been disbursed as follows: for Cadiz, £16,000; for the year 1595–1596: to the Admiralty, £55,685 16s. 7d.; for victualling, £63,491 3s. 6d.; for ordnance, £14,788 6s. 8d.; for powder, £16,445 15s.; for Ireland £91,579 11s.; for the Low Countries £75,145 4s.; total, £330,135 10s. 9d. Burghley made rough notes on 14 Nov. for the victualling and arming of the forces, TNA SP 12/260/no. 105; *CSPD 1595–1597*, 306; Letter No. 105. Ireland was a growing concern directly related to the Spanish threat through the rebels. For the Exchequer year, 1 Oct.–30 Sept., Sir Henry Wallop's new privy seal was issued 11 Nov., for £20,266 13s. 4d. Sterling, or Irish £27,022 4s. 5d. ob. Irish. TNA E 351/236 mn 19b. See Letter No. 103.

³⁵⁵*CSPD 1595–1597*, 305. For Willoughby's idea of an army through Ostend thence to Calais, Birch, *Memoirs*, ii, 164–168. The Council was generally agreed on Burghley's notations, to begin preparing against a rumoured Spanish invasion. The Council list is comprehensive: heavy shipping to combat light Spanish vessels out of the Low Countries, would prevent them landing in England or crossing from an occupation of Calais, see Letter No. 106. Domestic preparations were in hand: the soldiers had to be sent to train the newly mustered men; horse and armour and new captains with troops were levied to fight a Spanish landing. A second, inland army was to protect the land and the Queen's person, with the

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Michael Hicckes' hand:

To my loving sone Sir Robert Cecyll knight hir ma[jes]ties principall
Secretarie.

ENDORSED in Richard Percival's hand:

9 November 1596

The Lo[rd] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 108**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil,
14 November 1596**

3–4 pp. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I was first advertised this evening by my Lo[rd] Chamberlens letter, that hir Ma[jes]ty deffered hir remove unto Wednesday which is the very daye of hir access to the Crown and now by your letter I perceave the lyk beyng right sarry for the cause.³⁵⁶ and therfor I pray yow whan tyme may serve yow, lett hir Ma[jes]ty know that I do send to heare of hir Ma[jes]ty's ammendment, for by hir impediments to order hir affayres, all hir realm shall suffer detriment.³⁵⁷

Thames and estuary guarded, and new fortifications, not unlike 1588 and the renewed articles drafted by Burghley in late 1595, *HMCs*, vi, 472–473. Pinnaces for reconaissance were also necessary. Munitions were to be sent so that all towns and counties were amply provisioned with gunpowder and ordnance. All ports under strict surveillance. The French and Dutch churches required to present the names of 'strangers' in and around London newly attending at their churches. The defence of the Isle of Wight, Plymouth, Portsmouth, and the Isle of Man were to be addressed. The levies were countermanded in late Nov. 1596 when the danger had passed.

³⁵⁶The Queen's accession day, 17 Nov. Burghley here refers to another generational replacement, that of 2nd Baron Hunsdon, George Carey (1548–1603), *ODNB*, who was named captain of the gentlemen pensioners after his father's death, 23 July 1596, lord chamberlain and privy councillor (14 Apr. 1597), and knight of the garter (23 Apr. 1597). Hunsdon's death left vacant the governor's place at Berwick to which the second baron eventually succeeded. His brother John, frequent correspondent with both Cecils, was marshal of Berwick, 1596–1598, *ibid*.

³⁵⁷Burghley may have alerted his son to the necessity of bringing matters of expenditure to a final account, especially in view of the £20,000 sent into Ireland three days before for victuals and pay, with deferment of unnecessary rewards, *CSPD* 1595–1597, 306. The present need also touched on the delegation from the Low Countries then in England, with

I have not bene Idle sence yow went havyng (though not prophaned this sabeth day) made it a full workyng day such is the Importunitie of sutors and now wearyed I end my scriblyng.

14 Nov. at night.

You lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my Lovinge sonne Sir Rob[er]t Cecill knight hir ma[jes]ties principall secretarye

ENDORSED Possibly in the hand of Richard Percival:

14 Nov. 1596

Lo[rd] Thr[esuro]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 109

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 15 November 1596

1 p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I know not, what determination hir Ma[jes]ty hath for any furder proceeding in the cause for which the deputies of the States cum hyther.³⁵⁸

But for your information I have thought good to sett down breffly the State of the cawse, as I do tak it now to rest.

whom terms of payment for the cautionary towns were now under negotiation. See Letter No. 109. Burghley was also here stressing the Queen's pre-eminence in affairs, ordering the working of her kingdom directly to her person.

³⁵⁸See Burghley to Cecil, 15 Oct. 1596: 'I send the answer made the States' deputies of which only a short answer was given to them; with their reply in French. I see no cause to answer further till the Queen has been acquainted therewith. I have sent for Mr. Bodley, and required him to deliver them the Queen's message.' TNA SP 12/260/no. 62; *CSPD 1595–1597*, 294. Burghley's reference is to the delegation in England, then negotiating outstanding payments due by treaty.

Beynge moved therto because by the suspence hereof hir Ma[jes]ty is charged with the contynuanse of hir auxiliary, which at the lest is above I^M 1 [£1,000] yerly. and if the nombres that ar contrary to the Contract, brought into the Cautionary towns, might be paid by the States, hir Ma[jes]ty might therby be eased of a gretar some. but as those ii towns, have drawn in from the auxiliary great nombres, the chardg of the auxiliary now cometh but to xxiiii^M v^C iii^{xx} iii [£24,563] which is the some of the States pretend to discharg, and so hir Ma[jes]ty for hir cautionary shall still stand charged with xlii^M [£42,000] yerly.³⁵⁹

These matters ar not pleasyng, and yet I can not please my self, without disburdening my self therof, and so at tyme convenient I pray yow inform hir Ma[jes]ty hereof.

15 Nov[ember] 1596

Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my Lovinge sonne Sir Robart Cecill knight hir Ma[jes]ties principall secretarye

ENDORSED in Richard Percival's hand:

15 Nov 1596

My lo[rd] Thre[suro]r to my M[aste]r

³⁵⁹The English wanted relief from the charge of £42,000 for the cautionary towns of Brill and Flushing. Instead, the Queen wanted outstanding debts repaid, because a vast expedition was planned for the summer of 1597, *CSPD 1595-1597*, 313. Bodley's embassy in 1595, set forth by Cecil, began to move in this direction until the Triple Alliance was signed in Oct. 1596. Burghley's figures here were meant to argue that the English bore more than their share. For a summary of the expenditure for the towns, Brill and Flushing, in 1598, see TNA SP 12/268/no. 8. There was disagreement on both sides about amounts, as can be seen from the various accounts maintained by Sir Thomas Wilkes and their interpretation by Burghley, TNA SP 12/259/nos. 90, 91, 92; *CSPD 1595-1597*, 265. These figures included expenditure on Cadiz, with troops drawn from the cautionary towns for the expedition, according to a brief made by the treasurer at war, Sir Thomas Sherley, TNA SP 12/259/no. 92. Amidst the pressing matter of the Low Countries treaty and the confusion in English accounts, Cecil's desire to have sole control of the privy seal warrants at this juncture appears abundantly justified. See Letter No. 107. The armada threat during this time caused concern. Archduke Albert's aggression in France continued, although he was without funds, as the Spanish crown was about to declare bankruptcy.

Letter No. 110**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil,
15 November 1596**

¼ p. Dictated to Henry Maynard, signed.
Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I doe send hearewith unto yowe the letters that yowe left with me of the L[ord] Scroopes, which I doe returne unto yowe,³⁶⁰ and thearewith the forme of a submission conceived by mee to be made by the Graimes which I think indiffernt for them to make, and for the L[ord] Scroope to receive from them.³⁶¹ ffrom my howse in the Strand this xvth of November 1596.

Your Lovinge ffather,

W. Burghley

[Left foot of the page in Maynard's hand]
Sir Robert Cecill

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my Lovinge Sonne Sir Robart Cecill knight, hir Ma[jes]ties
principall secretarie

ENDORSED in Richard Percival's hand:

15 Nov 1596
My Lo[rd] Tresorer to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 111**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil,
19 December 1596**

½ p. Holograph.
Addressed, endorsed, signed.

³⁶⁰See *Cal. Border Papers*, ii, 210. Scrope's letter to the Privy Council, 1 Nov. 1596, is endorsed: the submission which his lordship requires at the hands of the Graymes and by Cecil, 'To be shewed to the lordes. R. C.' with a further enclosure which was the manuscript.

³⁶¹The version of Grahams' indifferent submission received by Burghley at that time with their offer to Scrope, *Cal. Border Papers*, ii, 211–212.

Text

Neither my hand nor eie sight alloweth me to wryte. I thynk it will be hard to persuade the Citizens to be at a new charge, considering the lavy set for Cales, is not yet discharged, althowgh they had my L[ord] of Essex and L[ord] admyrall solemn word for to be answered of the spoyles.³⁶²

The Cite also taketh it unkyndly that hir Ma[jes]ty privedgeth both billingsley and rich[ard] Saltygsto [Salstonstall] to wax rych, and to be disburdened of the Corn charges of the Cite wherby a nombre of Aldermen will gyve over ther clokes.³⁶³ I can not but wryte this though I will do my uttermost for hir Ma[jes]ty's service.
W. B.

Dorse

ADDRESSED possibly in the hand of Hicke or Clapham:
For Mr. Secretary

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:
19 Dec 1596
L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 112**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, May 1597**

½ p. Holograph.
Addressed, endorsed, signed.

³⁶²Burghley's note refers to the preparations for Calais, then underway. The correspondence concerning the tax-free imports of grain and corn, probably an investor arrangement between the commanders and City merchants, seemed inequitable to Burghley. The letter may be dated in Dec. 1596 or Jan. 1597.

³⁶³Grievances over taxation were growing in the City. The lord mayor, Henry Billingsley, and Sir Richard Saltonstall, *ODNB*, lord mayor in 1598, had proposed a joint stock venture of merchants to provide corn for the City and the Queen's forces as well as an import of wheat and rye exempt from ordinary customs. The syndicate included John Jolles, victualler of the Queen's forces, see Letter No. 134. Two others, William and Ralph Freeman, were to provision 3,000 quarters (37½ tons) of wheat, also exempt from customs, *CSPD 1595-1597*, 307, 325. Here Burghley notes offending the aldermen was risky. They had already asked the lord mayor and commonalty for relief from provisioning warships for the following summer's proposed expedition. *HMCS*, vi, xv-xvi, 534-536; Archer, *Military Gazetteer*, 095; Ian Archer, 'The burden of taxation in sixteenth-century London', *Historical Journal*, 44 (2001), 599-627. Carmarthen opposed Saltonstall's interim appointment as customer of the London port after Thomas Phelippes's massive debt and imprisonment, *HMCS*, vi, 529.

Text

This lack of a resolut answer from hir Ma[jes]ty dryveth to the wall. Therfor I pray yow once ageyn move hir Ma[jes]ty for hir people suffre great extremities for want of releff of monny and clothes, as yow may se by Sir Rob[er]t Sydney's letter.³⁶⁴

I dowt how to gett Mr. Chancellor to come because he complayneth of his helth.³⁶⁵

I way not who shall have the offer.

Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Burghley's hand:

To my son Sir Robert Cecill hir Ma[jes]ty's principall Secretary

ENDORSED in Richard Percival's hand:

Maii 1597

My lo[rd] Tresorer to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 113**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 13 May 1597**

⅓ p. Dictated to Henry Maynard.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

³⁶⁴English food supplies had been scarce all winter. The Queen was known to be negotiating fiercely for the reduction of expenditure in the granting of licences for her military supply, *Fugger News-Letters*, 287, 293. There were complaints from Sidney to which answer was made 21 May 1597; the Privy Council's letter to Sir Francis Vere enclosed the Queen's letter outlining resolutions taken for the relief of Flushing and Brill, *APC 1597*, 132–133. The bankruptcy of the government's contractors for the supply of apparel, as well as that of several leading merchants, created delays in the delivery of supply as well as money; with the government ordering the paymaster of the troops in the Low Countries to defalcate apparel charges immediately, *APC 1597*, 135; Letter No. 113.

³⁶⁵Sir John Fortescue had to assist in the deliberation over options then available for sending money and clothing to the troops in the Low Countries. Sir Thomas Sherley (see Letter No. 113) was then ordered to declare his Treasurer's account amidst charges of staggering speculation, thereby causing merchants' failures. On relieving Sherley of his office, the government had to find a new treasurer at war and compound with new contractors.

Text

Even nowe Mr. Carmarthen and Becher came unto me, and acquainted mee with the offer of Quarles, mr. Becher's brother in Lawe, for this service which Anton should undertake, which is (as I understand) to give v^C I [£500] yearelie more then Anton offreth.³⁶⁶ It is likelie that this increase will cawse hir ma[jes]tie to alter her minde: therefore I have thowght good to lett yowe understand the same, that hir ma[jes]ties pleasure thearein maie be knowen. ffrom the Strand the xiith of Maie 1597.

[To the left of Burghley's signature, added after signing]
I send yow herewith also a letter which this daie I received from Sir Robert Sidney.³⁶⁷

[To the right foot of the text]
Your Lovinge father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:
To my Lovinge Sonne
Sir Robart Cecill, knight,
hir ma[jes]ties principall secretarie.

ENDORSED in the hand of Cecil's clerk:
13 May 1597
My lo[r]d Treasurer to my M[aste]r.

³⁶⁶George Anton's tender was for clothing, victuals, and armour at an amount some £500 a year less than other bidders, *CSPD 1595-1597*, 440-441. Having backers and estimates which met the standards of the Wardrobe, his letters had been drawn up by Burghley, *HMCS*, vii, 196, 311, 531. Becher and Quarles had strong City connections. Quarles was a senior Household administrator of Greencloth, at a time when tensions grew over provision for the 1597 naval expedition. Sherley had been sequestered from his office of treasurer at war and had been replaced by George Meredith, paymaster. The substance of Burghley's point here was the provision of apparel for the Low Countries, *HMCS*, vii, 200. He had already drawn up the warrants for Anton's offer when Carmarthen and William Becher submitted a competing bid on behalf of Edward Quarles, James's brother, who had bonds for the performance of his proposed contract. Burghley's comment to Cecil, 'I will do as the potter doth, in breaking of a pot already made and in forming of a new', complaining of ravaging gout and the hope to see the Queen and 'some spiritual sight of the Holy Ghost this Pentecost', *HMCS*, vii, 200.

³⁶⁷The commanders in the Low Countries had been left without a proper supply structure and paymaster.

[The filing clerk could be Percival by reason of one interesting correction: 'My' is scratched over 'the' before 'Lord Tresorer', which tells that the hand belonged to someone who was regarded as a servant of both Cecils.]

Letter No. 114

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 25 May 1597

½ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I parceave that hir Ma[jes]ty lyketh augmentations of proffitt by accepting of Quarles offers he thought hatched by Beachor. I will expedit the matter whan the partyes shall come to me.³⁶⁸

I pray yow to deliver this pacquet to my L[ord] of Essex, the labor wherof hath wearied my hand and my head but unmete for any matter of weight.³⁶⁹

If I can amend, which as yet I fynd no hope of, I will be ther before your next working souper but rather as a roge, than a laboror.

25 Maii 1597

Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED

To my lovinge sonne Sir Robart Cecill, knight hir Ma[jes]ties principall Secretarie

ENDORSED probably in Richard Percival's hand:

15 May 1597

Lo[rd] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

³⁶⁸For reference to Mr. Becher's brother-in-law, James Quarles, see *CSPD 1595-1597*, 398. For Becher's business partner, George Leicester and Quarles's bankruptcy, see *ibid.* 518. Their patent and disputes were related to payments with the treasurer at war, Sir Thomas Sherley. For his disputes, *ibid.* 394, 408, 516; for Quarles's transactions with Sherley, *ibid.* 326, 393-395, 397, 402, 408-413, 493, 494, 495, 503-505, 508, 509, 512-518, 524, 526, 537.

³⁶⁹See Letters Nos 120-122.

Letter No. 115**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 4 July 1597**

1 p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I have red Sir An[thony] Mildmays letter which I do return with a weak hand as yow may se consideryng the charges past which I shall accompt last on hir M[jes]ties part, and if hir ayde be not contynued, the fr[ench] K[ing] may be reyned and pycardy possessed at hir dooer by an unplacable ennemy beside manny other increass of his strength and therfor the remedy being but a monny matter, and pecuniam in Loco negligere est Lucrum.³⁷⁰ I wish hir Ma[jes]ty wold without delay whilest the fr[ench] k[ing s] Irons ar hoth supply hir numbers for 2 or 3 monethes.³⁷¹ and so for lack of a strong hand I end. Wishyng yow God's Grace to serve hir Ma[jes]ty, and my blessing to your Comfort. all your offspying ar here mery

from Theob[alds] 4 July 1597.

³⁷⁰pecuniam in loco negligere[, maximum interdum] est lucrum, Ter.*Ad*.II.2, translated as 'All is not Won that is pvt in the purse', by William Robertson, https://archive.org/stream/dictionaryoflatiobookof/dictionaryoflatiobookof_djvu.txt. Sir Anthony Mildmay (c.1549–1617) had been sent as a junior to Gilbert Talbot, 7th earl of Shrewsbury, 1553–1616, from 27 Aug. 1596–22 Oct. 1596, thereafter remaining as resident ambassador until 15 Aug. 1597. For a complete reference to all correspondence, instructions and letter of credence, see Bell, *Handlist*, 100. The exhaustion of the French crown's resources was described by Sancy to Antonio Perez as 'this hungrie State', Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England*, II, 120. As for English assistance there was scant hope, especially with the Cadiz expedition in preparedness. Robert Naunton relayed Sancy's expectation of any assistance at that miserable time to the earl of Essex: 'And as I wrote the other day vnto yo[u]r Lo. that he had bene tempering with Conestable, so he entered with him likewise touching the same pointe of seeking to her Ma. for assistance. He answered him that *ex cordis visceribus*, as he affirmes to me, that he was vtterlie oute of hope of any good comming from thence & that he diswaded the k. in Councill from ether demanding or expecting any seasonable resolucion from Englande & that it was now more likelie then before that yow would worke & playe all vppon the aduantage ouer theis their instant calamities, yea & would happelie stand vppon the exaction of more vnreasonable conditions now at the pinch then would satisfie the common Enemye; & therefore in his iudgement he determined it least we should conceiue that he had quite cast his ffinancier coate [*lupus vilis mutat non ingenium*], that the onelie sure moyne the k[ing] kould aduance & raise to himselfe would be to leuie another subserie out of hand by some new deuise of impost.' Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England*, II, 121–122.

³⁷¹Money had been sent for the relief of Amiens: £1,242 for French merchants out of the sale of Sir Thomas Sherley's confiscated goods, *CSPD 1595–1597*, 447, 453.

Your old lovyng father;

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in two clerk's hands:

For hir Ma[jes]ties affayres.

[In Henry Maynard's hand]

To my verie loveinge sonne, Sir Robert Cecyll knight,
hir ma[jes]ties principall secretarie, at Court.

hast

post hast

hast

[Signed by Burghley]

W. Burghley

ENDORSED by Cecil's filing clerk, possibly Percival:

4 July 1597

Lo[rd] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r from Theobalds

Letter No. 116

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 5 July 1597

½ p. Dictated to a clerk, possibly John Clapham, who was in attendance on Burghley in his last years.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I doe send yow a letter herewith written to my L[ord] of Essex,³⁷² to whom I did not wryte since his departure, nor untill now, that god hath shewed him favour from heaven with the new moone to send him a prosperous wind. I could not write comfortably neither for myself nor for him. And now I doe write unto him with my weak hand onely to Congratulate with him for this favour of god, I doe exhort him, as a Christian soldier to acknowledge the same beyond all mans power and witt. I have also written unto him that I am sure yow will frequently advertise him of thinges convenient, and so supply my want, remembering a true saying of Tully in these words: Omnibus peregrinantibus gratum sit, minimarum quoque rerum quae domi

³⁷²The naval expedition under Essex was then underway.

gerantur, fieri certiores.³⁷³ I pray yowby the next safe messenger send this my letter to his Lo[rdship] letting him know that I am here Licensed for a while to be at my howse, where I assure yow, I continue in such paine of my foote, as I am not able to stirre abroad but in my Coach. from my howse at Theobaldes the vth of July 1597.

[Signed]

Your loving father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED In same clerk's hand, perhaps Clapham:

To my verie Lovinge Sonne, Sir Robert Cecyll knight
hir ma[jes]ties principall Secretary
At Court

ENDORSED by Cecil's filing clerk, Richard Percival, whose hand completes the entries after September 1596 in Cecil's Scottish Letter Book, TNA SP 52/52:

5 July 1597

L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 117

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 8 July 1597

2 pp. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I have with your letter wrytten yesterday received the letters to yow o[n] from my Lo[rd] of Essex wrytten on monday^{Wednesday} 6 sence which tyme I have gladly observed every daye a most favourable wynd to send hym forward, so as God hath lyk a gratiouse father after a fewe dayes frowning to mak his power known, hath changed

³⁷³The phrase 'omnibus peregrinantibus gratum sit, minimarum quoque rerum, quae domi gerantur, fieri certiores' is a fragment from Book VIII, letter no. 1, *M. Tulli Ciceronis Epistolarum ad familiares liber octavus*, *M. Caelii Epistolae ad M. Tulliam Ciceronam*, F 8:1. Here Marcus Caelius Rufus (82–48 BCE) informs Cicero, his former teacher, now on his way to be governor of Cilicia, of news in Rome. Burghley takes this role, using Caelius' voice to satisfy the earl's curiosity of news at home through Cecil, without proclaiming himself the only interpreter of events. Caelius' letter concludes with a recitation of papers, writs and official business enclosed in a packet.

his countenance into blessing, whereby may be sayd to the army, viriliter agile, et confortetur ~~vestrum~~ cor vestrum omnes sperantes in Domino.³⁷⁴

Your other letter from Sir Anthony Mildmay with the copy of the fr[ench] k[ing]'s letter to hym, can scantly have any good sence whereon to found any present connsell. for I see no lykhood for the fr[ench] kyng to seke peace at this part whan by all advertisement the cardynall as yet hath no monny to wage his men to come to the releff of Amyens,³⁷⁵ nor his new levyes as yet come owt of Italy which advises being trew, I se no cause in necessite ether to offer or to harken to peace. But yet it may be that the pope and his legat³⁷⁶ and the Cardihar [Cardinal] may tempt hym therto and the K[ing s] discontented state may move hym to forgett his honor. On the other side it may be inspected, that this chantyng of peace, is a song only to allure the Q[ueen s] Ma[jes]ty to yeld hym still aide of more men or monny or both, wherein I can yeld no other opinion, than that hir Ma[jes]ty should yeld no more than good reason may warrant with conversation of hir own estate and so haveng

[p. 2] warrant of a good conscience in that she hath or shall in hir benefittes strayne hir own State, to become unable to preserve hir self, havyng no hope nor apparence to be ayded by any other, as she hath ayded many and though it may be feared, that by the fr[ench] kynges peace hir ennemy the Spanyard may become more to be feared, yet in God's goodnes whose cause hir Ma[jes]tty defendeth, she may saye with David saye: Exaltabo te domine quoniam suscepisti me, nec

³⁷⁴Translation, Psalm 31:24, Geneva Bible 1560: 'All ye that trust in the Lord, be strong and he shal establish your heart.' Burghley's letter to the earl of Essex reflects a general peace at court and with the Queen. But this particular reference to hope for Essex recalls that the earl had put his faith in Cecil, having charged him with control of his affairs. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 52/80; *HMCS*, vii, 278. Essex's servants, his secretary, Edward Reynolds, and Henry Lindley, petitioned Cecil for renewal of their master's sweet wine monopoly, noting the earl's huge private debts to merchants which Cecil took to the Queen, Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 58/212; *HMCS*, vii, 283. Burghley here expands on the text of his letter, urging him to attribute his success to God and by implication to the Queen, thereby avoiding any charge of vainglory.

³⁷⁵For the general tenor of the negotiations, see Letter No. 116. The relief of Amiens came near the bitter end of the French civil wars of religion – Henry IV's great want of money meant that he was weak in his possible peace-making with Spain – and the Archduke Albert was running out of money to continue the siege. Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, 106, 216, 220.

³⁷⁶Clement VIII's legate Cardinal Alessandro de' Medici (1535–1605, later Pope Leo XI, 1605) had been at the court of Henry IV since the summer of 1596, but his work was frustrated by the secret Triple Alliance with the English and the States General. Even more complicated was the effect of the Spanish assault on Amiens, because Medici was to broker relations between France, Spain and the papacy.

delectasti inimicos meos sup[er] me.³⁷⁷ but yowe may saye, my concepts ar spirituall and therby aught all human actions to be governed. Thus to shew my self bold, to arm, in an obscure, subiect, I will end with a very weary hand, untill I shall understand the event of Mr. Mildmaye's forces,³⁷⁸ from my howss at Theobalds the rooms wherof I have not sene, more than my bedchamber, my dyning place and my chappell, so lame I am on on legg as Sir Edw[ard] Hoby³⁷⁹ I think can shew yow, by whom I retorned my most humble thanks to hir Ma[jes]ty motefyeng to hir that when I spent at the Cowrt the substance of my poore wytt, I fynd no meanes here to restor it, [word obscured by margin] forced dayly to fede of an asses milk and so subiect to be dull, as my ass

from Theobalds, 8 July 1597.

Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Holograph:

To my son Sir Robert Cecill, knight
pricipall secretary to hir Ma[jes]ty

ENDORSED by Richard Percival:

8 July 1597

Lo[rd] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r
from Theobalds

Letter No. 118

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 9 July 1597

1 p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

³⁷⁷Psalm 30:1, Geneva Bible, 1560: 'I will magnifie thee O Lord, for thou hast exalted me and hast not made my foes to reioice over me.'

³⁷⁸Mildmay had been given provisions in negotiations by the Queen and council which had passed the signet on 1 July 1597 to disburse some of the monies realized from the sale of Sherley's goods which had been confiscated to meet his very large debt to the Crown. The funds were then disbursed to French merchants. *CSPD 1595-1597*, 557.

³⁷⁹Sir Edward Hoby (1560-1617), *ODNB*, was Burghley's nephew by Elizabeth Hoby (née Cooke). Among the many offices he held was constable of Queenborough Castle.

Text

Your letter wrytten yesternight the 8, I have this 9th, after my dinner received yours containing sondry thynges, as first hir Mal[jes]ties opinion how to mete with the fr[ench] k[ing]'s enchantyng, but untill our ambass[ador] shall advertise his negotiation with the k[ing] the resolution may be suspended.³⁸⁰ Secondly you advertise the return of Mr. fulk Grevill with letters from the Erle and his assistant Connsellor as appeareth by the Copy yow sent methough without date of daye or place.³⁸¹ But by the Erles letter to my self I se it dated the 6 of this month, but from no place.³⁸² and as to ther letter, I see no speciallite of ther request for any quantitie of vittells, although by your leter to me it should seme to be for 1 monthes vitell. but for what nombre, whyther for the army of land men or for them and the men of the navy, I fynd not but I do Imagyn for all – which is worthy consideration, how spedely to provyde it, and in what Contries. Whereof conference wold be had by my L[ord] admyralls with Quarles and dorrel if he be not gon.³⁸³ you and borowgh also wold be spoken with all, but I thynk the Erle and Sir Walter Raleigh will explane ther requests in some particularetyes, but herin I troble my self to much fyndyng the uncertentyes of ther requests. Whan I shall have the prive seals for pycardy I shall know what to direct.³⁸⁴

³⁸⁰Fulke Greville, 1st Baron Brooke of Beauchamps Court (1554–1628), *ODNB*, poet and friend of Cecil and Essex. Greville was on account as one of the paymasters for the 1597 Azores expedition for £9,000, TNA E 405/441/fol. 32v. Greville was a messenger for Essex's and the council of war's letters to Lord Admirall Howard and Cecil of 7 and 10 July 1597, *CSPD 1595–1597*, 451, 457. Essex wrote to Cecil for more victualling which was granted: 'If the Queen will dispense with [my] absence, get my cousin Fulk Greville the conducting of it, but if she will not let him, then I think Sir Robert Crosse is very fit.' See Letters Nos 119–122.

³⁸¹James Quarles and Marmaduke Darrell held accounts for navy victuals. TNA E 351/2393–2398, Jan. 1595–31 Dec. 1599. They were on account for both expeditions, 1596 and 1597. TNA E 405/440/fol. 19v, 441/fol. 32v. On 10 July, Quarles and Cecil's clerk made two separate reckonings for the cost of a further 28 days victualling for 10,000 and 9,000 men, reaching identical figures of £8,681 pounds for 10,000 troops, and £8,000 for 9,000 men, with more calculations on 11 July 1597, *CSPD 1595–1597*, 457. The warrant dated 12 July under privy seal was £8,765 10s, *CSPD 1595–1597*, 458. Essex's letter to Cecil of that date included a personal note thanking Cecil for his affectionate messages, TNA SP 12/264/nos. 8, 9; *CSPD 1595–1597*, 450–451. Burghley's letter may have arrived with this packet.

³⁸²The Queen granted another month's victuals, *CSPD 1595–1597*, 451–452; Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, 162.

³⁸³Evidence of the Raleigh, Essex, Cecil triumvirate as well as Sir John Borough included with others. Essex and Raleigh had, during the previous winter, fallen out of favour and were extremely jealous of each other, see TNA SP 12/264/no. 21; *CSPD 1595–1597*, 457. Raleigh had now been restored to the Queen's affections.

³⁸⁴The warrant for the privy seal payment for £1,772, 13s. was dated 9 July 1597, with defalcations for persons absent, dead or deficient; Captain Henry Poore as he succeeded

I assure yow, I am greatly afflicted with my payne in my foote, not able to sit upon horss back nor to stand up right, but forced to go abroad only in a litle coche.

9 Julii, 1597,

Your loving father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED Holograph:

To my lovinge sonn Sir Robert Cecill, knight
principall secr[etary] to hir Ma[jes]ty

ENDORSED in Robert Percival's hand:

Lord Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r, from Theobalds
[Letter 119 appears to have been removed from the volume, but enough remains to show the date: 9 July 1597.]

Letter No. 120

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 10 July 1597

1 p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I thank yow for your letter, wherey I perceave how kyndly and frendly my L[ord] Admyrall emparked my manner of service to hir Ma[jes]ties lyking for the which his accustomed favourable opinion of me beyond my wordynes [worthyness], I must remayn a dettor to his lordship for not hable otherwise to acquit my dett but with thankfullnes, and a firm disposition, to do the lyk for hym which I may with better warranty, perform for his Lordsh[ip's] Just desert, that may be for my self.³⁸⁵

It is my comfort that hir Ma[jes]ty maketh such a comparison of my symplicite with hir pryncely wordynes [worthyness], to which in very truth, I thinke nether forayn prynce nor brytish subiect can approche.

Sir Arthur Savage as second colonel in Picardy, *CSPD* 1595–1597, 453–454. Accounts signed by the Secretary, Cecil, TNA SP 12/265/no. 102; *CSPD* 1595–1597, 562.

³⁸⁵Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, 161.

I have redd the l[ette]re from the Erle and his assistance and do hope he and they do gyve thanks for ther particular hard accidentes.³⁸⁶

If I cold styrr, truly I wold not mislyk that hir Ma[jes]ty might see my howss, for considering how small tyme I have to live, I wold not spare for the [ye] cost.³⁸⁷

I pray yow require Mr. Darcy and Mr. Southwell to procure hir Ma[jes]ty, at some sundry tymes to sign the bills of the warrants.³⁸⁸

10 July 1597

Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED

To my verie Lovinge

Sonn Sir Robert

Cecill knight principall

Secretary to hir Ma[jes]tie [Clapham]

ENDORSED [Percival]

10 July 1597

Lord Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r from Theobald

Letter No. 121

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 12 July 1597

1 p. Dictated to Henry Maynard.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

³⁸⁶See Letter No. 121.

³⁸⁷The Queen was to go on progress to Theobalds in Aug. 1597. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 54/fol. 101r; *HMCS*, vii, 370. Henry Maynard wrote to Michael Hicke on 12 Aug. 1597, 'One manner of alteration havinge of late over our fleete yet departed for anie thinge wee knowe/ wee greatlie fear that from haveringe the Queen will Theobaldes, but as yet it is not set downe. I woulde be glad to be gonn hence, but this progresse much troubleth me, for that wee knowe not what corse the Q[ueen] will take', BL Lansdowne MS, 85/no. 24, fol. 47r. Maynard was writing from the court, and he noted that Burghley had arrived somewhat revived the day before, 11 Aug., 'into his booke chamber' for more work.

³⁸⁸Edward Darcy and Mr. Southwell, grooms of the privy chamber with William Killigrew and Sir John Stanhope. See Letter No. 94. Probably [Sir] Francis Southwell (1563–1599), who was at court and married to Elizabeth (d.1646), daughter of the lord admiral, now the earl of Nottingham, and the Queen's cousin Catherine Carey (1547–1603).

Text

I have with your letters received suche memoriale as yow sent mee concerning a newe monethes victualinge of the navie and Armie whiche I doe retorne unto yowe with a draughte for a Privie seale accordinge to your request.³⁸⁹ And so wishe yowe to make expedicion thereof to the intent the provicions may be begonne to be made whearein I doe note a vearie great charge to arise for the transportacions, whereof I mervaile the Erle did not remember to have left from shipping alreadie prepared that he might have spared to have eased part of that burden:³⁹⁰ And as I remember yow reported from Mr. Greville's mowthe that there was such a meaninge in him.³⁹¹ I have seen this daie a proclamacion printed for reformation of Apparells without anie title to the same, which I doe see is agreeable in most partes to the former that hath been hearetofore published: the proclamacion itself would have been dated as well, as the last clawse of the Articles.³⁹² I dowbt much, that the length of all this commandments and provicions will be hardlie executed abroad, untill there be somm

³⁸⁹The Queen granted this as in Letter No. 118, a symptom of her temporary enthusiasm for the voyage, *HMCS*, vii, 460. Warrants were issued 'to pay Jas. Quarels and Marmaduke Darrell £7,402 10s., for a month's victuals more, to supply any lack that may grow by contrary winds; also to Roger Langford, navy paymaster, £1,363 for charges of transporting the same to the army and navy, wherever it shall be', *CSPD 1595-1597*, 458. Burghley ordered 700 quarters (8¾ tons) of wheat to the surveyor, to be converted to biscuit for the victualling. Longford received a very large payment, approximately £29,000, for the troops out of the Exchequer. TNA E 405/441/fol. 32v.

³⁹⁰Essex needed extra ships to take the victualling to the fleet then left at Plymouth noted in his letter to Cecil of 12 July 1597, written 'last Sunday', TNA SP 12/264/no. 12; *CSPD 1595-1597*, 458. William Stallenge's account of 16 July saw the extra shipping costing dearly, TNA SP 12/264/no. 28; *CSPD 1595-1597*, 459. A note made in the same week concluded 'For the transporting of such victuals it will be requisite to have 12 ships of 200 tons and 35 men each, furnished and victualled for 70 days' at a cost of £2,465, 10s. TNA SP 12/264/no. 24; *CSPD 1595-1597*, 459.

³⁹¹Greville arrived at court with Essex, for Howard's and the council of war's deliberations on 6 or 7 July. Essex wrote to Cecil, 'We have told [Dorell] our opinions that it should consist of beer, bread, butter, cheese, fish but not beef . . . ; he must bring it to us at the Islands, except we send other directions.' TNA SP 12/264/no. 21; *CSPD 1595-1597*, 457.

³⁹²Burghley here doubted that the terms of the first version would be executed. Larkin and Hughes print the 6 July 1597 version in *TRP*, iii, as no. 786, 'Enforcing Statutes and Proclamations of Apparell'. The original draft was done by Cecil, with the original date of the schedule for printing 29 June 1597, Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 141/fol. 84r-v. The first version was too wide-ranging to be enforceable. Cecil received several petitions on this matter from other privy councillors. The lord keeper, Egerton, and Lords North and Buckhurst brought this complexity to Cecil's attention on 11 July 1597 suggesting that the imperfections needed to be 'better digested' with Burghley's comments here added to the need for a re-drafting. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 53/fol. 29r; *HMCS*, vii, 298.

The second proclamation draft was issued on 23 July 1597 with dispensations from the articles granted to various ranks and offices in the social hierarchy: judges, Exchequer servants, principal councillors, heads of towns, lawyers, graduates of the universities, students

good Example in the Cort and in the Citie: the one to be by the l[ord] Chamberlaine, and the whetstores and Grenecloathe:³⁹³ the other by the Maior and Aldermen of London in their severall wardes, for which purpose if sum of the Aldermen weare sent for to the and had spetiale charge to proceade to the Execucion theareof, by inquisicion within everie warde it might serve for an Example to the Counties.³⁹⁴ I doe include heerein a letter to my ladie Scroope, which I prairie yowe to cause to be delivered to hir:³⁹⁵ ffrom my house at Theobaldes this xiith of Julie 1597.

[Burghley]
Your Lovinge father,

W. Burghley

[Postscript in Maynard's hand]
I prairie yowe send mee word what daie the Q[ueen] meneth to goe abroade from thence, bicause I would be loath to comm thither when she is absent.³⁹⁶

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:
To my Lovinge sonne Sir Robert

of the Inns of Court with further exemption for all nobles' servants, the Queen's servants and messengers, *TRP*, iii, 179–180, no. 787. Privy councillors then met but William Waad, clerk of the Privy Council, did not tell them Cecil would be absent, thus a record of their discussion on the new text survives in the form of a minute to Cecil, dated 13 July 1597, Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 53/fol. 53r; *HMCS*, vii, 306. Cecil may have left his corrections, for Egerton praised him for the two letters sent, assuring Cecil *noli altum sapere*, nothing is above wisdom. The second proclamation took effect on 24 Aug. 1597, removing the difficult clauses of the first version.

³⁹³Court finance was administered by the lord chamberlain, William Knollys, 1st earl of Banbury (c.1545–1632), *ODNB*. No accounts remain for the 1590s for the board of Greencloth, a Household department and committee of the lower household under the Lord Steward which fell to Knollys (no lord steward was named after Leicester's death in 1588 for the duration of the reign). The board was attended by the treasurer (Stanhope), comptroller (Knollys), and various other officers including navy victualler James Quarles. Accountants of the lower household such as Quarles held other lucrative (potentially) Crown accounts for supply of victuals. *Guide to the Contents of the Public Record Office*, Vol. II (London, 1963), 211–214.

³⁹⁴The aldermen and commonalty of the City would have received the Proclamation in the Queen's name, despatched by the Privy Council. This was an instance where Council clearly deliberated over several drafts between them, issuing the final product in the Queen's name.

³⁹⁵Philadelphia Carey, Lady Scrope, daughter of 1st Baron Hunsdon, and a cousin of the Queen.

³⁹⁶See Letter No. 120.

Cecill knight hir Ma[jes]ties
 principall secretarye At the Cort

ENDORSED in Robert Percival's hand:

12 July 1597

Lo[r]d Thresorer to my M[aste]r from Theobalds

Letter No. 122

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 13 July 1597

1 p. Dictated to a clerk [neither Maynard nor Hicckes], with a holograph sentence added at the end of the letter above the signature.

Addressed [by Burghley], endorsed, signed.

Text

I have recyved with yow yesterdaies letter the Certificat from one Danet, of the number of his shippes that caryed the Captens and the soldiars to the number of 5000.³⁹⁷ The charge wherof must next be verie great, ffor the number of shippes are about [In Burghley's hand] xxxiii. To which nomber in charge are to be added, so many as Caryed the victualls whereof he makes me Cartificat: Besides the number of all the shippes of warre Both englishe & strangers whereof I there include them in a certificat sent unto the Quene. And for encrease of these numbers it semethe there are no smale number of voluntary shippes. The knowledge of all which were worth the havinge therby to understand the whole number of shipping at this tyme, whereof I doubt how any knowledg can come unto from Plymouth considering I think the Navie is nearer Spayne the [*sic*] of England.³⁹⁸ I have also receyved the letter from S[ir] R[obert] Sidney dyirected to me, with which thear should be an Irishe woman come into England of whom many things might be understood Concerning the numbers of the Quene's subiectes both Irishe, and englishe that serve Stanley,

³⁹⁷Marmaduke Darrell needed victuals for the month's provisions as in Letter No. 118 on 10 July 1597: 'List of 33 fly-boats taken up and victualled for the transportation of 5,000 soldiers belonging to captains named, sent with the earl of Essex, with no. of men in each boat.' This is not the certificate, but this enclosure would have arrived in London on 13 July 1597. TNA SP 12/264/no. 19 enclosure 1; *CSPD 1595-1597*, 456.

³⁹⁸Burghley could not make a reckoning for the expenditure of the entire shipping with the fleet nearer Spain than England (see Letter No. 118). Darrell noted, 'There are many voluntary barks ready to follow the fleet, but the number of them or of their men, or for what time they are victualled is not known. I have written to like effect to the Lord Admiral.' *CSPD 1595-1597*, 456.

or otherwise be in the service of the Ennemye.³⁹⁹ And where her Ma[jes]tie liketh to have yow to procure them to engage them selves in some exploits,⁴⁰⁰ I pray yow in writing thease to Sir R[obert] Sidney to declare unto him: my absence from the Court, so as I could not make answer to his letter my self, which if I had bene present I would have donne.

[Burghley] I mynd to be at West[minster], on thursday at night or frydaye, and to come to the Court on Satyrday, wherof yow shall not speak there to any.

xiii Jul[y] 1597

Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED Holograph:
To my Sonn
Sir Robert Cecill

ENDORSED by a clerk, probably Richard Percival:

13 July 1597
Lo[r]d Thresorer to my M[aste]r from Theobalds

Letter No. 123

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 21 August 1597

½ p. Dictated to Henry Maynard.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

³⁹⁹Sir William Stanley's 'Irish' regiment. The informer is unidentified but the Irish-Low Countries' intelligence link continued. This might refer to the possible second visit of the 'pirate queen' Grainne O'Malley, see Rapple, *Martial Power*, 253–254, 282; Letters Nos 15, 16, 34. On 24 June 1597 Burgh and Wallop informed Cecil that their agent Burnham had news of Sir William Stanley and Sir Hugh Welsh, noting all Irish shipping remained in Spain. Burgh and Wallop concluded that the informer was a man 'of many words and little secrecy and in his estate very poor', *CSPi 1596–1597*, 324.

⁴⁰⁰This is Burghley's first indication in these letters that his son had taken control of official intelligence matters. See his annual account for secret service, TNA E 405/440/fol. 19v, 441/fol. 32v.

Text

I doe send hearewith unto yow a letter from my L[ord] Eures to mee together with a Testimoniale of the B[ishop] of durham, in the behalf of this bearer Mr. John Smaythwaite,⁴⁰¹ to be preferred to a benefice in Northumberland in hir ma[jes]ties disposicion. And although I doe not use to recommend anie of myself to anie benefices: yet consideringe the testimonie given of him aswell by my L[ord] Eures, and the B[ishop] wehare he maie doe God and hir ma[jes]tie good service: I doe therefore prairie yow to move hir ma[jes]tie on the said Smaithwaites behalf, that hir ma[jes]tie be pleased to bestowe the said benefice on him. Soe farre yow well. ffrom my howse at Theobaldes this xxith of August 1597.

[Burghley]
Your Loving father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my lovinge sonne Sir Rob[er]t Cecill knight. Hir ma[jes]ties principall secretarie. At the Cort at Haveringe⁴⁰²

ENDORSED [Possibly Richard Percival]

21 August 1597

Lo[rd] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r in favour of Mr. Smaithwaite

Letter No. 124**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 24 August 1597**

1 p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

⁴⁰¹Ralph, 2nd Lord Eure, 1558–1617, *HPT*, ii, 92–93, warden of the Western Marches. He wrote to Burghley on 17 Aug. 1597 proposing the successful suit for one Smaithwaite, supported by Tobie Matthew, bishop of Durham, to replace the late Mr Mason, rector of Woodholme in Northumberland, his presentation dated 22 Sept. 1597, *HMCS*, vii, 354; *CSPD 1595–1597*, 502. Matthew's support of Smaithwaite is found in a letter to Cecil of 17 Aug. 1597, *HMCS*, vii, 354.

⁴⁰²There is record of a Privy Council meeting there, *APC 1597*, 353, on 21 Aug.

Text

I do send hereinclosed 4 letters, 3 of myn own hand wherof 2 to my lady of Derby, that this marked she may have openly, the other on particularly to hir own hand.⁴⁰³ The 3 letter is to the Erle of Comberland only for complement and thanks.⁴⁰⁴ the 4 is to Sir Edward phytton of thanks both to hym and my lady his wiff.⁴⁰⁵ These I had made redy befor your messenger cam. I thank yow for your honest report of my paynes, which in truth by the weaknes of my hand, ar more Grevass to me than the lyk war in fomer tymes.

Sir Edm[und] Cave dyning with me this day reported the accident of yesterdayes skyrmish in the Foyle.⁴⁰⁶ I looked to have had the last

⁴⁰³One of Burghley's letters to his grand-daughter was to remain private, the other she could receive publicly. A court scandal had erupted according to Thomas Audley's later account to Edward Smith in Paris, *HMCS*, vii, 396. Essex was then in disgrace with the Queen, as 'he lay with my Lady of Derby before he went, as his enemies witness'. His retinue had followed him to sea, and the creditors, especially silk merchants, despaired of being paid. On 11 July 1597, Lord Thomas Howard reported to Cecil that the countess was very ill, and asked for her uncle. The author of this news appears to have been an agent Cecil placed within the Derby household, one Edward Mylar, Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 54/fol. 14r; *HMCS*, vii, 339. By 11 Aug the earl had calmed himself and was on his way to the equanimity he showed to Cecil on 22 Aug. in a joint letter with his countess, *HMCS*, vii, 344, 362; Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 54/fol. 21r, 77r.

⁴⁰⁴Burghley wrote to George Clifford, earl of Cumberland and his wife, as Cumberland was intimate with the legal arrangements for the countess of Derby, standing as Derby's feoffee at Burghley's request. Edward Mylar's report to Cecil of 11 Aug. 1597 outlines Cumberland's role in the presentation of the papers conveying the lands to the countess, Cumberland having 'shewed himself a kind friend to my Lady and a good uncle to the Earl', Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 54/fol. 21r; *HMCS*, vii, 344.

⁴⁰⁵Sir Edward Fytton (1548–1606), *ODNB* – sometimes 'Fitton' or 'Phytton' – and his wife Alice (née Holcroft, d.1626) wrote to Cecil in late July 1597 advising him of the legal necessity of assurances for the conveyance of the countess's jointure to Burghley's grand-daughter Elizabeth Vere. The matter was to be kept secret, as Fytton had a private conference with Burghley and Cecil. Fytton also provided a very detailed account of the earl and countess's return to Lancashire from court, noting the number of men who greeted them in Cheshire and in Lancashire. Lady Derby entertained at Sir Thomas Gerrard's, who assumed the administration of the Isle of Man, formerly a Derby possession now returned to the Crown. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 54/fol. 110r; *HMCS*, vii, 327–328. Fytton continued to provide Cecil with details of the Derby marriage during the next months. In Oct. he reported the countess's gratitude to Cecil, her decision to follow the prescribed jointure agreement, and to her imminent arrival at the Fyttons. Cecil used Edward Mylar to send information from within the intimacy of Knowsley, while Fytton was managing the legal details. *HMCS*, vii, 339–340, 344; Coward, *The Stanleys*, 50 and n. 41. Mylar and Fitton may have been the same person. See also Joanna Rickman, *Love, Lust and Licence in Early Modern England: Illicit Sex and the Nobility* (Aldershot, 2008) 64–65.

⁴⁰⁶Sir Edmund Cave may have been a draper of London, a Cecil cousin and relation of the Cave family of Leicester who produced several high sheriffs of the county.

letters from Irland from whence I look not for such success, as was pretended.⁴⁹⁷

The warrant for apparell for Irland wold be sent.⁴⁹⁸ I thinke it shall not be nedefull to send any letters into Wales, Wher I thinke the derth groweth not by engrossers.⁴⁹⁹

To morrow I shall have all my kynred within v or vi myles Compass with all ther messes pr. [present?].

24 August 1597.

Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED Holograph:

To my wellbeloved sonn Sir Robart Cecill knight,
princ[ipal] Secretary

ENDORSED in the hand of a Cecil clerk [Munck]

24 Aug 1597

Lo[rd] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 125

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 25 August 1597

½ p. Dictated by Burghley to a clerk [possibly Hickes].

Dorse: Addressed, endorsed.

⁴⁹⁷See Letter No. 125.

⁴⁹⁸Warrant for apparell into Ireland dated 28 Aug. 1597: payment of £12,219 3s. 4d. to merchants of London who bargained 'to furnish the footmen in Ireland, both winter and summer liveries, for their winter apparell; also on 1 Apr., or on any other time agreed on £3,147 18s. 4d. for their summer apparell and to continue the same during pleasure, the same to be charge in the accounts of the treasure at war in Ireland, so as to be defalcated from the wages of the bands' *CSPD 1595-1597*, 494. The clause 'or at any other time agreed on' prevents the dating of Letter No. 132 – wherein the summer apparell payment is discussed by Burghley and his son – with absolute certainty as 1 Apr. 1598, particularly in view of the circumstances of other Irish expenditures made at that time.

⁴⁹⁹Burghley notes weather and other natural disasters can drive up prices as effectively as anyone engaged in the 'engrossing' or inflation of food prices—or other commodities—which was of concern for war supply. For the notes taken for Cecil on legislation against engrossers in Parliament 1597, see Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 56/85; TNA SP 12/265/no. 29; *HMCS*, vii, 498.

Text

I have recyved from yow the l[ord] deputies letter dyrected to your self with the other writinge therewith sent.⁴¹⁰ And likewise Sir Arthur Savages letter. All which I do returne unto yow, allowing greatlie the deputies resolut manner of writing, and especially his impacions answer to the Rebell Tyron.⁴¹¹ The some yow send me the warrant for Irland, and the other also for Barwick, it shall muche content me, ffor both theise hold the Quene's service in suspence untill by these warrants I may procede.⁴¹² And so I end. ffrom my howse at Theobaldes the xxvth of August 1597.

[Burghley]

Where I had at dynner of old and yong 14 descended of my body.
Your loving father

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in the hand of the clerk to whom the letter was dictated:

To my very lovinge sonne
Sir Robert Cecill knight
Principall Secretarye
to hir Ma[jes]tie

ENDORSED in the hand of Cecil's filing clerk:

25 Aug 1597
Lo[rd] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r from Theobalds

⁴¹⁰TNA SP 63/200/nos. 97, 98; *CSPI 1596–1597*, 382–387. The letter had to be forwarded to Cecil on progress.

⁴¹¹The lord deputy's account of his answer to Tyrone's propositions: clearly the packet went to Cecil first and not to Burghley, *CSPI 1596–1597*, 385. The earl of Tyrone had refused to respond to the demand that he fulfil certain pledges because the Queen's forces had broken the truce on 10 Aug. 1597. It had been hoped that the proposed truce would reduce expenditure: 'the future diminution of her Majesty's charge unto which you look already pleaseth the q[ueen] in contemplation', *HMCs*, vii, 361–362. After Thomas Baskerville's death, Sir Arthur Savage (1513–1597) was sent to the relief of Amiens in 1597. The raising of the siege after capture by Count Mansfeld was the final Spanish/Leaguer incursion before Henry IV's peace with Spain.

⁴¹²Warrants issued under privy seal for payment into Berwick and Ireland for the Queen's troops and supply at this juncture. See Letter No. 124; TNA E 403/2560/p. 119, 119b.

Letter No. 126**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil,
13 September 1597**

1 p. Dictated to a clerk [either Hickers or Clapham].
Addressed, endorsed.

Text

Since my last writing to yow I am more unable to write then I was, and therefore am forced to use a nother mans hand: And so I pray yow lett hir Ma[jes]tie understand, for my reasonable excuse. By your letter I understand that hir ma[jes]tie would have me, with my presence, to advise how to answeere this Danishe Ambassador;⁴³ for with purpose she would have me Come to London, wheare she hath appointed my L[ord] Keper, my L[ord] of Buckhurst, and Sir John ffarston to Joyne with me, and to consider what were fitt to be sayd to them in aunswere, and theareof hir ma[jes]tie being first advertisid and so hir ma[jes]tie to allow or disallowe as shall please hir, and thereuppon consequently to give [Burghley] them [Clerk] an answeere at my howse.⁴⁴ I have considered of their demandes propounded whearof the principal matter tending to a mediation of peace, requies many Circumstances of waight beyond my habilitye to resolve thearon.⁴⁵ The other matter being a demand of ffree Traffick & and navgations uppon the Sea, I thynk can not be more reasonably answeared, then was answeared to the Polishe Ambassador. Although I see by the danishe Ambassadors they tempar ther request with a modification.⁴⁶ Thus yow see how doubtfull I am in these 2 great matters. But yett hir

⁴³The Danish ambassador and the final negotiations in the Baltic and with the Hanse. They travelled thence to Edinburgh where they were received by King James VI and Queen Anne, daughter of Christian IV of Denmark (1588–1648) where they had no better satisfaction. The embassy was lodged either at Alderman Houghton's house or Mr. Customer Smith's, *APC 1597*, 363.

⁴⁴The Danish ambassadors were Arild Hvitfeldt (1546–1609) and Christian Barnekow (1556–1612), both experienced diplomats.

⁴⁵The formulation of negotiating points with the Danes were being drafted by Burghley, *HMCS*, vii, 390. In response to the mandate the English were concerned about the rights of shipping through the Sound. TNA SP 12/265/ nos. 71, 145.

⁴⁶The Polish ambassador was Paul Dzialynski (sometimes referred to as 'Pauli de Jaline') accompanied by the English agent in Danzig, Georg Lisman. Documents had been assembled as early as July in anticipation of his embassy, *HMCS*, vii, 320. At issue were the removal of Merchant Adventurers and the stoppage of English goods through Stade, Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, 199. The embassy was a famous disaster. TNA SP 75 2/fols. 193–240. Sir John Stanhope reported to Cecil on 27 July 1597: 'Her Majesty sent for me about 10 o'clock in great haste commanding me presently to write to you, that as she lived my lord your father's speech which he had drawn in answer of th'ambassador's of Powlacke

ma[jes]tie Joyninge me with other great counsellorrs, It may be by their advise I may have some clearer understanding; Though my body be this very daye at the period of iii^{xx} xvii [77] yeares, and therfor farre unable to travayle either with my bodye, or with lively spirittes, yete I fynd my self so bound with the superabundant kyndnes of hir ma[jes]tie in dispensing with my dishabilities, as god permitt me I wilbe at Westminster to morrowe in the afternoone readye to attend the LLs [Lords] 13 7^b [September] sol in libra.⁴¹⁷

Your old lovyng father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in the hand of the clerk to whom the letter was dictated:

To my varie Loving Sonne Sir Robert Cecill, knighte, Principall Secretary to hir ma[jes]tie

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

13 Sept 1597

Lo[rd] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 127

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 2 October 1597

1²/₃ pp. Dictated to Henry Maynard.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

above anything she had ever heard in that nature, and she said I would have left admiring that little she had spoken to have wondered at the great learning expressed in his Lordship's speech, with the elegancy of words and deepness of judgement, so, rather to serve for a remembrancer than otherwise, she thought fitt to commend to his lordship's memory the manner of the beginning of his speech to be in this form: Cum potentissima serenissima et excellentissima Regina nostra, or in such like, but with the fulness of that style which both due and requisite in such beginnings. A second thing is that, because he is now called to answer than to negotiate at first, her Majesty thinketh it more proper for an answerer to stand awhile at first, than to have a seat offered him; though, when he hath satisfied the first proposition, she would have him offered a seat, and all other compliments of courtesy, but yet not to be sat as one of yourselves jointly, but with a distance and a regard of the person he represents.⁷ Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 53/fol. 71r; *HMCS*, vii, 320.

⁴¹⁷*Sol in libra*: Burghley's natal chart. Burghley consulted astrologers and was a patron of several including the eminent polymath John Dee. Various treatises addressed the question of shipping and international law with regard to the Merchants Adventurers' diplomatic difficulties, William Howard Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst, 1997), 198–200.

Text

I have perused, not without offence of mine Eies, all the letters and writings which youe sent mee, which I doe retorne unto youe, and therewith also a letter from Sir Ferdinando Gorges with a Shedule containing the quantitie of Armor and Municions left with him by the Erle of Essex, whereof he noteth a great decaie, but in whose default I knowe not,⁴¹⁸ although it is a generall disorder of all the Capteins.

He maketh also mention of a charge for provicion of victuell for the shippes, whearin Sir John Gilbert shewed: but he sendeth noe perticuler declaration thereof, nor anie generall estimacion: but yet presseth paiment very urgently whereunto for want of awnswere: It maie be he hath written to my L[ord] admirall or to youe thereof whereunto I doe referre him for more certain awnswere.⁴¹⁹

By the l[ord] deputies letters in Ireland, I see noe towaardlines of anie good ende there, but a perpetuall charge heare to the Realm in levieng still more men without accompt what is becomm of the fomer numbers.⁴²⁰ And thowghe yt seameth there decaie is growen by deaths, yet I knowe not howe the Capteines are excusable for their Armors and weapons which properlie do not die of anie disease, but ought to remaine to the furnishinge of the supplies. And I mervaile my L[ord] deputie requireth so great numbers of men, without showinge howe the Quene is discharged of hir paie, for so manie as he desireth to supplie, whereof he maketh noe mention, nether yet what is becomm of there Armor and weapon: But this my obiections will not I thinke suffice his demandes: but I lament yt, to see the great wastes of people of the Inglishe, and of Armor and municion, and of the Contries charges in Levieng to be soe great as it is.⁴²¹ nonetheless

⁴¹⁸Sir Ferdinando Gorges' memorandum concerning munitions is dated 27 Sept. 1597 noting Essex's armaments which had been left were 'unserviceable' but not irreparable. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 175/112; *HMCS*, vii, 403.

⁴¹⁹There was confusion about where responsibility for the victuals rested. Gorges thought Sir John Gilbert was to put the charge on Essex's Azores account but the expedition was seriously delayed and Gilbert was deeply in arrears. Cecil asked James Quarles, victualler of the navy to begin a new account onto which Gilbert's charge could be added and administered by Cecil's ally at Plymouth, William Stallenge. *HMCS*, vii, 398, 400.

⁴²⁰Burgh requested 1,500 new troops for his service dated 10 Sept., making this exchange of letters extraordinarily rapid with Cecil's reply on the 17th. Burgh complained all the troops which had been sent with him into his new charge as lord deputy of Ireland were gone, having been 'transported, vanished, or died', before he went into the field. *CSPI 1596-1597*, 394-395, 398.

⁴²¹Burgh looked for supply for the campaign to Loch Foyle, the garrison positioned within striking distance of the Ulster territories dominated by the rebels. Burgh was in a quandary over the disappearing funds, having not enough to feed, clothe, and arm his men. The muster master Maurice Kyffin remonstrated over abuses in the muster rolls and administration generally with the muster master general, Sir Ralph Lane. Lane had profited from his

it is very convenient that hir ma[jes]tie be acquainted with the request & due consideracion had by hir ma[jes]tie, with advise of hir connsell.⁴²²

In Sir Arthur Savage's letters, I see noe disposicion in him for the companies to be discharged:⁴²³ but doth rather assent to have the ffrenche kinge to send hitherto hir ma[jes]tie for their continuacion.⁴²⁴

[p. 2] I have perused my L[ord] Scroope's Instruccions,⁴²⁵ which are vearie well conceived, so as theie had been committed to a man of reputacion, fitt to have executed them, the partie being not sufficient for Creditt and reputacion in the Contrie, as I feare dishonour will followe to the theare, and spetiallie nowe when the k[ing] himself shall comm to Dumfries the frontier, when he shall finde noe warden in the Contrie, nor anie man of worthe deputed theareto: but as I feare the k[ing] will take it for a storme to have noe better man to awnswere him. but howe theis cann be remedied I knowe not, except upponn my

labours but wrote to Cecil unhappy at his unhappy work in an administration tolerated by Burgh. *CSPI 1596–1597*, 391. See above, p. 71.

⁴²²Cecil's angry letter to Burgh was meant as a private letter and not a dispatch in which he reprimanded Burgh for writing only private letters to him with no general deliberations of the council there. *CSPI 1596–1597*, 398.

⁴²³Sir Arthur Savage was sent into France under Sir Thomas Baskerville (d.1597), as was noted in the latter's commission as colonel general of 2,000 foot sent into Picardy at Henry IV's request under direction from the Privy Council. Savage was to be Baskerville's lieutenant. TNA SP 12/260/no. 54; *CSPD 1595–1597*, 292.

⁴²⁴The extent of Henry IV's peace initiatives with Spain took on new depth following his papal absolution on 6 Oct. 1597. Robert Naunton had been employed by Essex to accompany the Spanish traitor Antonio Perez into France. Naunton reported to Essex on 8 Dec. 1597 – when the peace initiatives by the French and Spanish were well in train – after the second Cadiz expedition, that the earl's efforts to secure for Henry a stronger hand with Spanish had failed. This was because of the designs of the Cecils and their adherents: the French now preferred to use for their 'Protestant' alliance Robert le Maçon *dît de la Fontaine*, the minister of the French church in London and agent of Henry IV. Essex was now removed from any special French favour: 'This mixture of mungrell divinitie, poll[icie] seemes to be ingendred of the late congresses and alliances betwene the daughters of M[achiauel] & the sonnes of God, I meane La Fontaine, their grand politice [politician] and prophet. It is a stiring age likely to follow when our prophetes & the sonnes of Prophetes become Masters of policie to quite Moses for Machiauel and turne their zeales into practises of state. We heare that the new L. Warden of the 5 [Cinque] Ports is one of the greatest archangels that inspire him with the most of those reuelations.' This was Henry, Lord Cobham, Cecil's brother-in-law. Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England*, II, 140.

⁴²⁵Letters of Instruction to Lord Scrope for his conduct in attempting to impose order on the reiver families of 2 Oct. 1597, *Cal. Border Papers*, ii, 399–400. Burghley saw difficulties in having Henry Leigh left as Scrope's deputy because he had no title or rank. Nor did another deputy, Richard Lowther, Scrope's lieutenant, who was deputy constable of Carlisle Castle at the taking of 'Kinmount Willie'.

Lord Chamberlain's letters, the L[ord] Scroope will either retorne, or make a better choice of a deputie.⁴²⁶

I have perused the matters of Wryght and Alabaster, whoe both would be streightlie examined of many things necessarie to be understood, for theire combinations and Companions.⁴²⁷ And so beinge wearie with perusing thes writings, I leave them to be further considered by hir Ma[jes]tie and hir Connsell theare, as the causes doe require. ffrom my howse in the Strand this second of October.

[On the lower left beside the signature]

Your letters beinge written yesternight came not to mee untill after xii of the clock this daie.

[Burghley]

Your Lovinge ffather,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my lovinge sonne Sir Robert Cecil knight:
hir Ma[jes]ties principall Secretarye
At the Cort

ENDORSED by Cecil's filing clerk, probably Percival:

2 October 1597

Lo[rd] Thr[easurer] to my M[aste]r

⁴²⁶Scrope had received the writ for Parliament and was on his way to London having criticized Leigh to the Queen after a private berating. Richard Lowther was commissioned to take the Scottish pledges. He, too, quarrelled terribly with Scrope and was replaced by Leigh. *Cal. Border Papers*, ii, 442, 464, 475, 485, 500. Hunsdon died in London while warden of the East March (22 or 23 July 1596) and his son Sir Robert Carey, then his deputy, was continued by Elizabeth as locum tenens, without the full authority of warden, his elder brother John holding the government of Berwick on the like footing. These arrangements gave great dissatisfaction to both brothers, who made many complaints to the Lord Treasurer and Sir Robert Cecil.

⁴²⁷See Alexandra Gajda, *The Earl of Essex and Late Elizabethan Political Culture* (Oxford, 2012), 109–110, 120–122, 127–140. On the use of the Jesuit and his associates in Privy Council business, see Paul E.J. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585–1597* (Cambridge, 1999), 269–315; Thomas Wright (c.1561–1623), and William Alabaster (1568–1640), *ODNB*.

Letter No. 128**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 1 October 1597 [?]**

[There is no date in the letter or on the dorse, but the contents of the letter suggest the year].

½ p. Dictated to Henry Maynard (or Hickes, or Clapham).

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

Immediatley after your departure hence I revyved a letter from my L[ord] Scrope⁴²⁸ with a nother enclosed therein to my La[dy] his wife,⁴²⁹ which I pray yow see delivered. And I do send unto yow myne answar to his L[ordshi]p, in a letter unsealed, which when yow have reade and knowe no cause to the contrarye yow may seale and send away by Poste.⁴³⁰

[Burghley]
p^o [Primo] Oct[ober] horr 4^o [4 o'clock]

Your lov[ing] father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my verie Lovinge Sonne Sir Robert Cecill knighte Principall Secretarye to hir Ma[jes]tie

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

1 Oct[ober] 1597
L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

⁴²⁸Scrope wrote to both Cecils stating his return to London as per his writ for the forthcoming Parliament, 22 Sept. 1597, *Cal. Border Papers*, ii, 399.

⁴²⁹Philadelphia Carey.

⁴³⁰Burghley to Cecil, makes clear his wish to have all in readiness for the king of Scots' proposed viewing of pledges, matters (in Scrope's absence) entrusted to Sir William Bowes. Burghley concludes with his pre-occupation with the City's request, *Cal. Border Papers*, ii, 423–424; see n. 431.

Letter No. 129**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Thomas Egerton [Lord Keeper of the Great Seal], 15 October 1597**

½ p. Dictated to a clerk [Clapham].
Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

My good L[ord]. When your servant came to me with the 2 writings exhibited for provision of Corne for the Cittie,⁴³¹ I was beginninge to write my Conceit thereof, agreable to my message sent yow yesternight by my servant Maynard.⁴³² and though now by your servant I understood yow allowed of my opinion and wished to drawe some forme of letters for execucion thereof: I have thought good in writinge at some length to send yow my opinion; but doe forbear to endite any letters thereupon Untyll the rest of the connsell shall determine hereupon. Considering this later opinion is contrary to the resolution of them all & of my self also before time. But now by newe necessitie I doe alter my former resolution; And so submit this my opinion sent to your L[ord] to the Censure of the rest of the connsell.⁴³³ ffrom my howse in Westm[inste]r the xvth of October 1597.

[Burghley]
Your l[ord's] most assuredly,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in the hand of the clerk above:

To the Right honorable my verie
good L[ord] Sir Thomas Egerton knight,
L[ord] Keeper of the great seale of England

ENDORSED by a Cecil clerk:

My lo[rd] Thre[asure]r Lo[rd] Keeper

⁴³¹The Privy Council issued a letter of 16 Oct. 1597 requiring warrants be directed to all deputy lieutenants of the counties and commissioners of musters for the relief of wheat for London, indicating a better harvest, and the parliament there straining resources within the City markets. *APC 1597-1598*, 41-44.

⁴³²Not extant.

⁴³³Burghley may be referring here to letters received from Ireland, or reckoned the final tally of the ruined stores from the Irish shipment of Sept. 1597. For example, James Quarles to Burghley, *CSPI 1596-1597*, 401-402.

Letter No. 130**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 12 October 1597**

½ p. Dictated to Henry Maynard.
Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

Untill this afternoone I could not reade the Mandat for that it could not be soone translated, beinge at very great length, and verie terrible and sharplie written forbidding our marchantes all manner of trade, in anie the partes of the Empire, either with Cloathe wooll, or other Commodities and to be executed by the ende of this moneth which in mine opinion requireth verie good consideracion and thearefore yowe shall doe well to acquaint hir ma[jes]tie thearewith, that she maie be pleased to committ the conservation theareof to som such as best are acquainted and understand ther causes:⁴³⁴ and that the sooner for that when nowe in december next the diet is to be held in Germanie, where it were very fitt that somm weare sent fom hir ma[jes]tie.⁴³⁵ Soe farre yowe well. ffrom the Strand this xiith of October 1597.

[Burghley]

I am worss sence my physick being now Μονοπους & Μονοχειζ, but not Monoculus.⁴³⁶

⁴³⁴A proclamation 'Ordering Deportation of Hanse Merchants' of 9 Jan. 1598 answered the Imperial proclamation of 22 July 1597 forbidding cloth trade. The Imperial proclamation removing English merchants from the Hanse and Empire came on 12 Oct. 1597. *TRP*, iii, 186–188; *CSPD 1595–1597*, 515.

⁴³⁵There was some hope of reconciliation with the Hanse and with the Imperial Diet. Sir Henry Wotton was charged with an embassy. He was accompanied by John Wroth who had been junior to the earl of Lincoln on his embassy to the Landgrave of Hesse. In Dec. 1597 Wotton asked Cecil to clarify the course of what was to be a wide-ranging embassy for he did not want to be put in the position of competing with his junior, *CSPD 1595–1597*, 449, 553. Wroth was to visit Rudolf II in Prague; the dukes of Saxony (Upper: Elector Frederick William; Lower: Christian II), Pomerania (John Frederick), Brunswick (Henry Julius; and Brunswick-Luneburg, Henry), and others in the Eastern Empire. Wotton was to see the Catholic electors, the Elector Palatine; the Landgrave of Hesse (strictly speaking, Hesse-Cassel) and other western princes. Christopher Parkins wrote a clause for Cecil to insert into letters of credence for princes close to the Merchant Adventurers at Stade-Holstein, Bremen, Hamburg, Luneburg and Brunswick – noting Count Schaumberg's arrest of four English merchants, a matter to be negotiated with them. *Ibid.* 548. In the event, Wotton did not serve.

⁴³⁶One-footed or one-handed but not Monoculos—one-eyed or a Cyclops.

Your Lovinge father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my lovinge Sonne
 Sir Robart Cecill knight
 hir ma[jes]ties principal
 Secretarie
 At the Cort

ENDORSED in the hand of a clerk:

12th October 1597
 Lo[rd] Thresorer to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 131

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 7 June 1598

½ p. Dictated to Henry Maynard.

Cover letter to No. 132, and the dorse follows that letter.

Text

I send to yow hearewith three writings. The one being the Copie of the Polish Ambassador's oration to hir ma[jes]tie,⁴³⁷ with an awnswere

⁴³⁷Draft of the Polish ambassador, Paul Dzialynski's, oration (see Letter No. 126) to the Queen was itself an embarrassment given the Queen's allegedly extemporaneous and scathing reply to his statement that she was inhibiting the Polish trade against ancient Hanse privileges bestowed between the English and the kings of Poland at Danzig (Gdansk). In effect, he accused her in the language of the Imperial *mandat* so appearing to serve double interests. See Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, 199–200; BL Lansdowne MS 85/no. 19, 94/no. 50. The reply circulated under the title 'Responsio reprehensoria Reginae Eliz. ad orationem Pauli de Jaline, Sigismundi Ill(ustrissim)i Poloniae Regis Legati, extemp. locuta'. On this occasion, Burghley may have been recalling points in the answer, as he composed the instructions for the embassy of Lord Zouche and Dr Christopher Parkins to King Christian IV of Denmark and others – in the event, the bulk of the diplomatic burden with the German princes was taken up by Wroth and Stephen Lesieur. After their foray, Sir George Carew went into Denmark, Sweden, Hanse cities and Poland on an embassy to Sigismund III, principally, and to assess the complicated manoeuvres of Baltic shipping and the political conditions in Poland. See Bell, *Handlist*, 139, 154, 155, 214.

Zouche's (later Wroth's and Lesieur's) embassy was handled by Parkins and Beale, assisted by Dr Julius Caesar a prominent civilian of the Court of Requests, judge of the Admiralty,

da[ted] theareunto.⁴³⁸ and the third beinge a Copie of the awnswere made to Lisman; with all which it weare good that Mr. Carewe were made acquainted and that he had Copies thearof,⁴³⁹ with when theie shall be written owt, I prairie yowe to retorne unto mee my Copies againe. ffrom my howse in the Strand this viith of June 1598.

[Burghley]

Your loving father,

W. Burghley

[Added beside the signature in Henry Maynard's hand]

I have made awnswere to my L[ord] Northe and Mr. Comptroller, which I do send by this bearer.⁴⁴⁰

HMCS, vii, 320, 404, 405. The strongest English diplomatic connection appears to have been with George Lisman or Liseman of Danzig. His correspondence listing of the names – Parkins, Caesar and Beale – occasioned hurt feelings and quibbles over precedence among the doctors especially in view of Parkins's embassies in 1590–1591 and 1593. Bell, *Handlist*, 154.

⁴³⁸Another version of the Queen's answer was kept with Cecil's papers. A Latin copy with Italian translation found its way to either Cecil's or Essex's hands; the translation appends an additional paragraph, so propaganda may have been the intention of this version, *HMCS*, vii, 315–316. Relations with Poland cleared somewhat, as Polish merchants were dispensed from the terms of English proclamation against Hanse trade, which might have been a result of Lisman's correspondence and negotiation on behalf of Danzig, see n. 439.

⁴³⁹Lisman, of Danzig, was a fixture in English-Hanse and Polish diplomacy and trade particularly with the London Steelyard. In Oct. 1597 he solicited Burghley for peace with the merchants of Poland, against the disastrous Dzialynski embassy on behalf of the Polish king. BL Lansdowne MS, 84/no. 51; *HMCS*, vii, 319, 404, 405. According to Robert Beale's account of 27 July 1597, Lisman outraged the Queen without compromising the Polish ambassador's own message on behalf of the Danzigers. The ambassador was meant to have addressed the rights and privileges of the Hanse, and then to have moved to the prickly question of Spanish peace. He appears to have blundered: unlike Henry IV and other monarchs, Elizabeth had few unemployed soldiers liberated from service with the prospect of European peace, for the escalation of the Irish rebellion created further need of men and money to outfit the army. A Hanse trade embargo deprived the Crown of necessary revenue, hence the high temperature of the talks. For the recall of Carew's embassy in May–Dec. 1598 and negotiations with Lisman, which contributed to establishing better relations with Poland and the Hanses, see 'A relation of the state of Polonia and the United Provinces of the Crown, anno 1598', in G. Mews, *Deutschland und Osten* (Leipzig, 1936).

⁴⁴⁰Roger, Lord North and Sir Thomas Knollys: Burghley replied to North's and Knollys's letter to Burghley on 6 June 1598. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 204/74; *HMCS*, viii, 199; BL Lansdowne MS, 86/no. 77, fol. 193r; Letter No. 134.

Letter No. 132**Draft of a letter by William, Lord Burghley, outlining warrants to be written for payment under privy seal out of the Exchequer**

Dictated to Henry Maynard.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

And wheareas by our warrant of privie seale, bearing the date the 27 daie of August last,⁴⁴¹ wee directed yowe to make paiement of certaine sommes of monie aswell for the winter as the sommer Apparell for 4000 soldiers serving in our paie in our Realme of Ireland, according to such Rates as yowe our Thres[urer] of England and Chancellor of our Eschequer had contracted with certaine merchants for the same; [opposite in the left margin is added: 'And wheareunto wee have though fitt']

[Main text] Soe nowe havinge thought fitt to have x bandes more conteining 1000 persons ^[Maynard's hand] which as yet comminge unsatisfied to be Apparrelled in such sort as the former bandes weare: our will and pleasure is that yow make paiements from time to time ^{uppon the daies mentioned in our privie seale} to the sayd merchants and both for the sommer and winter Apparell of thes other 1000 ~~To the foresaid merchantes~~, of such sommes of monie as the ^{same} Apparellinge cometh unto, according to the former values that is to saie tfor their ^{winter} sommer Apparell the some of ^{£2443} 16s 8d ~~£627 9s 8d~~. And for their Sommer ^{winter} Apparell the somme of ^{£627 9s 8d} ~~£2443 16s 8d~~ – And so to continue ^{the same paiementes uppon the daie mentioned in our former warrant} untill wee shall signifie our pleasure to the contrary: the foresaid somes to be charged owt of the paie of the said bands that shall weare the same Apparell.

[Burghley]

The Grauntynge of this warrant will proffit hir Ma[jes]ty, a third penny.

[Maynard]

⁴⁴¹A payment under Privy Seal for the winter apparel with further provisions enabling the warrant for the summer apparel to be drawn on 1 Apr. 1598 or at any time is found on the docquet, *CSPD 1595-1597*, 494.

If the other warrant for Ireland be not Already past then that maie be added theareto: but if it be signed and past than I praye yowe to procure a newe warrant.⁴⁴²

[Signed]
W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my lovinge sonne
Sir Robart Cecill knight
hir ma[jes]ties principall
Secretary
with speed

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

1598
France
L[ord] Thres[ure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 133

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 9 June 1598

½ p. Holograph.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I see yow contynue yowr care for me, for which I thank yow. I took wit your howss for that it was to neare the breathyng of westm[inste]r,

⁴⁴²These breviate for privy seals were based on numbers from Aug. 1597. Payments of 9 June 1598 used these estimates of winter apparel for ten bands of 1000 men, at £2,443 16s. 8d., and for summer apparel at £627 9s. 8d., *CSPD 1598-1601*, 60. There was a further 'Warrant to send £12,000 to Ireland to Sir Henry Wallop, treasurer at war there, for payment of the army for Feb. and Mar., at £6,000 a month; and as treasure comes in, the sum for the arrears of Apr. and May with the usual allowance for portage.' Letter No. 132 is probably dated 9 June 1598, given the imprest of 1,000 further troops noted in the warrant of that date using the previous year's privy seal form (*ibid.*). A fresh warrant was then issued on 13 June 1598 which ordered £8,000 for the soldiers, with further provision for a week's wages at £466 13s. 4d., clothes for 2,000 men adding another £4,000, transportation and victualling costs at £666 13s. 4d. In addition, victualling the troops, as they awaited embarkation at the seaside, while the winds in the Irish Sea were contrary, amounted to £466 4d. *CSPD 1598-1601*, 62.

nor wymbleton⁴⁴³ because of the discommodites in passyng the ryv[e]r but cam hyther to my familiar place, although forced to seke a restyng place, but without rest.

As yet I can recover my appetit, only I sipped yest[er]night with iiiii or v leaves of an artychock, but this morning I have eaten a small panodo.⁴⁴⁴

I send yow my L[ord] Willoughby's letters to be answered with advise of S[ir] R Care[y] for bestowyng of the pledges.⁴⁴⁵

And so I will prove all good meanes ether to amend, or to mak a good end. 9 June 1598.

Your best loving father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my lovinge sonne

Sir Robart Cecill

knight hir ma[jes]ties principall secretarye

At the Cort.

ENDORSED by a clerk, possibly Percival:

9 June 1598

Lo[rd] thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

⁴⁴³The cause of Burghley's intense anxiety here is not known although matters with Essex had become most disagreeable over Burgh's replacement of Russell as lord deputy. See above, p. 67.

⁴⁴⁴Unknown, but may refer to the Greek mythological figure Pandoreas, Πανδάρειος, who was said never to suffer from indigestion, a quality which may have been given to a contemporary food (<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0104%3Aentry%3Dpandareos-bio-1>, accessed 12 May 2016). It may also be a form of bread or pie as in 'paynpuffe', *Oxford English Dictionary*, under 'pain' or 'bread'.

⁴⁴⁵The Privy Council letter to Lord Willoughby d'Eresby on 11 June 1598 provided directions, *APC 1597-1598*, 510-511. He had certified to the Privy Council that he was in receipt of the pledges of Sir Robert Carey. Willoughby thought that Berwick was not fit for their keeping. The Council planned that each warden and the bishop of Durham was to convey the pledges to York, a procedure carried out in further Council letters of that date, *ibid.* 511-513. See also Letter No. 123.

Letter No. 134**William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 10 June 1598**

1 p. Dictated to Henry Maynard.
Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I perceive by your letter that hir ma[jes]tie misliketh the delaie of sending of the succors of menn into Ireland, & likewise of the delaie of the provicions of victuell for them:⁴⁴⁶ wheareunto as to the first, I have thought it preposterous connsell to send men into Ireland, before the victuell weare readie or at the least sum part theare.⁴⁴⁷

As to the second theare hath been noe delaie used by mee for that I have had noe warrant to deliver anie monie:⁴⁴⁸ And althrough I did remember summ dowbtes for the manner of the bargaine, yet if it would please my l[ord] northe to doe mee right, and that my last letter written to him and Mr. comptroller might be shewed to hir ma[jes]tie,

⁴⁴⁶Burghley here referred to matters enclosed in a warrant under privy seal dated 13 June 1598 concerning a large payment for Irish troops. The council letter authorizing payments and further charges was dated 14 June 1598. Letter No. 132; *CSPD 1598-1601*, 62; *APC 1597-1598*, 520.

⁴⁴⁷Warrants for victualling were passed before the levies were commissioned by the Privy Council. Their preparation and transport would take three months, see below. The matter was outlined in a 'Schedule of 2000 men levied in the several counties of Wales and the adjoining counties and sent under captains named to Bristol, Chester and Milford for embarkation to Ireland' intimated a considerable delay in the provisions for these troops, TNA SP 63/194/fol. 74b; *CSPD 1598-1601*, 62.

⁴⁴⁸See Burghley's letter to the comptroller of the Household, Sir William Knollys, of 7 June 1598 in which he outlined his criticism of John Jolles's (or Jells, Jholles) plan for the victualling of 4,000 men for 4 months in Ireland. Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 204/74; *HMCS*, viii, 199. The reply to Burghley's letter here mentioned is not extant. Burghley's criticism came in response to North's and Knollys' letter of 6 June 1598 concerning the contracts for victualling and transporting men to Ireland, BL Lansdowne MS 86/no. 77, fol. 193r. Mr. Wood (presumably another London merchant) had appeared before North and Knollys with the offer to victual the forces for under 4d. per day per soldier. They excluded his offer in their letter to Burghley noting that he would not offer transport for that price. 'And we have articulated with Mr. Jholls the beror hereof the which articles your good L[ord] here inclosed your good L[ord] shall perceve he will vittale the number of men for the time for iiis. iid. a day for a mane and having an additional on hundred markes more in money to the 4d. he will transport and discharge hir Ma[jest]y of all manor of charges', the sea voyage excepted. Perhaps Burghley's frustration with a lack of response from North and Knollys at this juncture was rectified by a new schedule of Jolles's contract dated 14 June 1598 presented to the Queen and Privy Council, with Jolles named together with John Wood and George Beverly of Chester on that occasion. *CSPI 1598-1599*, 176; TNA SP 63/202, pt. 2/no. 67; *APC 1597-1598*, 520. Various victuallers and suppliers held accounts in the Household, hence Knollys's need to be included in these reckonings since some of the money was to come out of accounts under his oversight.

I showld thinke my self well discharged: for by that letter I required to be awnsweread nowe my dowbtes weare to be accepted: and upponn awnsweread theareunto, I would assent to anie resolucion theare to be taken. But to this my letter, I never received awnsweread.⁴⁴⁹ And in cumming with Jollis before Mr. Chancellor he confessed, considering he must provide the shipping in London. he did not thinke the victuell could be in Ireland with anie suretie under three monethes space.⁴⁵⁰ And if now victuell could be shipped thither sooner, the sendinge of menn before it weare theare landed, weare rather to furnishe themm than to containe them. I praie yow deale with my l[ord] North from mee in frendlie manner to have the sight of my letter [page rip] and procure a warrant to be made from hir ma[jes]tie to make such points to Jolles the merchant, as hath been agreed upponn by the Articles: and to lett mee have with the warrant a Copie of the Articles,⁴⁵¹ and I shall be readie to cause the monie to be delivered: which is asmuche as I can doe in furtherence of this service.

I praie yowe as yowe find the Quene not satisfied with mee so to praie hir to heare this my letter.

I thinke hull a sure place for the pledges: but as I have had Sir William Bowes sine,⁴⁵² It was conditional that they showld not cumm

⁴⁴⁹Three months was a conservative estimate if Francis Ware's note on Jolles is an accurate indication, for 50 quarters (12½ cwt) of wheat under the June contract arrived in Ireland on 11 Sept. 1598 from the July 16 privy seal of £2,000 pounds out of the Exchequer to the merchants. The delay, then, was two to three months. *CSPD 1598–1601*, 94.

⁴⁵⁰The payment to Jolles and other merchants was carried out in stages, as required presumably to ensure checks on expenses. The warrant of 14 June under privy seal was made against their bonds exhibited in the Exchequer for £6,000 for due performance of the contract. A further entry of June 29 1598 records a Council letter to Burghley asking for a privy seal letter for £2,000 pounds on their £6,000 bond. A final £2,000 pounds was authorized by Council letter of 16 July 1598, earmarked for forces sent the year before for the invasion of Lough Foyle in Aug. 1597. Burghley's fear that adequate victualling would not precede the troops then sent was justified. *APC 1598–1599*, 520, 553, 591.

⁴⁵¹The articles referred to here were incorporated in the 14 June warrant. The previous articles mentioned were those prepared by North and Knollys after conference with Jolles and Wood, which they sent with their letter of 6 June 1598, BL, Lansdowne MS 86/no. 77, fol. 193r. Robert Cecil followed the substance of his father's instructions, see Letter No. 135, when Burghley's presence at Theobalds may have delayed matters slightly.

⁴⁵²Sir William Bowes was named a commissioner for the Middle March, commissioner for Borders affairs 1596–1597 and treasurer of Berwick-upon-Tweed from 20 Apr. 1598. He was joint ambassador to Scotland with his uncle Robert Bowes in Jan.–Feb. 1598 and again May–July 1599. Bowes was rigorously adhered to his instructions and was a formidable negotiator in Border matters for the Crown, 'unshakeably insistent upon the niceties of protocol', *HPT*, i, 467–469. The exchange of pledges here referred to was begun in 1597 after the lairds of Buccleuch and Cessford, two of the Scottish wardens, behaved in a manner which 'infringed [Bowes's] mistress's sovereignty', a matter which touched directly on the amity of the crowns. Bowes helped to negotiate the Treaty of Carlisle (1597). He followed others in finding the office of treasurer of Berwick – that 'costly postern' of the kingdom

further into England than to York. but if fowlt shall be fownd thearein, theie maie soone be returned, and kept either at York, or at the Castell at Sherifhutton.⁴⁵³ And so I did with as ill a stomack to write of thes matters, as I have to my meate, which is hitherto fitter for fasting than for feasting. And the weather so cold as I am fitter for the fire [than] for a garden. ffrom my howse at Theobaldes this xth of June 1598.

[Burghley]
Your loving father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my Lovinge sonne
Sir Robert Cecill knight
hir ma[jes]ties principall
secretary
At the Cort

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

x^{mo} [Decimo] Junii
L[rord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 135

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 11 June 1598

1 p. Dictated to Henry Maynard with a holograph paragraph, postscript. Signed.
Dorse: Addressed, endorsed.

Text

I am in sum part certefied by your letter received this morninge, what corse the Quene will have taken for the victualinge, whearein I would be glad to understand what resolucion shall be taken with Jolles and

– onerous and fractious, besieged as he was by endless criticism and rivalry within the crumbling administration there, thus steering away from the Carey family politics following Hunsdon's death. Scrope's difficult relationship with his deputies Lowther and Leigh was mitigated by Bowes's consistent presence and ability throughout 1597 and 1598. *Cal. Border Papers*, ii, *passim*.

⁴⁵³Burghley suggested York or Sheriff Hutton, while the Council letter of 11 June 1598 stipulated York *APC 1597–1598*, 510–513.

Beverlie for proceding thearein.⁴⁵⁴ As for that which was objected that Beverleie was trusted with monie: he never had monie before hand, but was before hand himself, by sending victuell fromm Chester in Ireland, which commonlie was expedited within xx^{thly[ie?]} daies, by the shortnes of the passadge betwixt Chester and dublin; wheareas now Jolles provisions must goe from london. but as I shall have warrant to deliver the monie so I will doe: as farre forthe as Mr. Chancellor cann helpe mee to provide so much, wheareof I have written to him in vearie perticuler manner, which I wishe yowe would require to be seen.⁴⁵⁵

I like vearie well, that Beverleie would provide butter and cheese at Chester, so as it be at such price, as may serve the soldier after the rate of iiis iid in proporcion accordinge to Jolles offer; for I have calculated the severall prices of the quantitie of butter and cheese, as the same monie be provided as Jolles hath sett it downe. And so expectinge the resolucion that shall be made, and the warrant for the monie, I forebeare to trowble either my self or yowe anie more, beinge heare still oppressed with my former infirmities: and without hope of amendment ffrom my howse at Theobaldes this xith of June 1598.

[Burghley's postscript, as it is added beside his signature]

I pray yow present my humble thanks for hir Ma[jes]ties frequent messages, for thow I knoledge my dett gretar than I am hable to accompt, but yet I will gage my hart to be thankfull with prayer.

Your lovyng seke father,

W. Burghley

⁴⁵⁴*APC 1598–1599*, 14. George Beverly was named in the Council letter confirming the payments to Jolles and Wood for Irish victualling, *ibid.* 520. Beverly had encountered some difficulty with his accounts for Irish provisions being declared in Dublin rather than London in Mar. 1598, *CSPi 1598–1599*, 75. In Dec. of that year he asked Cecil to clarify matters after the Irish Council's appointment of Robert Newcommen as provisioner of grains and victuals, a matter he noted which reversed his appointment under the late Lord Burghley, *ibid.* 404. The reason for Beverly's displeasure is not clear, as Newcommen had formerly held the position as Victualler for Ireland.

⁴⁵⁵Burghley to the chancellor on this occasion. Burghley's explicit instructions to Cecil for warranting George Beverley in Feb. 1595 make plain that granting him sole control of victualling (at 6d. per diem entire) was intended to cut down on the enormous expenses incurred by the surveyors of the victuals and the purveyors alike in administrative and transportation costs which had run to 20 shillings per day. TNA SP 63/178/no. 34, fol. 69r–70v. Unless Burghley was mistaken, Beverley had been entrusted with a privy seal payment of £1,648, 12s., directed to him by Wallop's petition to Cecil in Feb. 1595 for payment of supply, TNA SP 63/178/no. 40, fol. 92r.

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my lovinge sonne
 Sir Robart Cecill knight
 hir ma[jes]ties principall secretarye
 At the Cort

ENDORSED in Simon Willis's hand:

xi^{mo} Junii 1598
 L[ord] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 136A

Number 136 consists of two parts: the first (136A) is a list of 19 names, probably compiled to assist in the nomination to the office of serjeant-at-law; the second (136B) is a cover letter to the list from Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil.

136A

[Clerk's hand]

Yelverton

Harrys

Glanvyle

Danyell

Kyngsmyll

Lewkenor

Warburton

Hele

Savyle

Sparling

Wylliams

Heron

Flemynge, Solicitor.⁴⁵⁶

Mr. Coventree

Mr. Gybbes

⁴⁵⁶Persons who had been or were currently serjeants-at-law. See *ODNB*: Sir Christopher Yelverton (1536/7–1612); John Glanville (1542–1600); William Kingsmill (c.1557–1618); Sir John Hele (1541/2–1608); Sir John Savile (1546–1607); Sir Thomas Fleming (1544–1613); Sir Thomas Coventry (1547–1606).

Mr. Shyrley
Mr. Tansable

Mr. Hesketh Alternat Warbu [rton]
Mr. Houghton

Letter No. 136B

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 21 June 1598

1 p. Dictated to a clerk [possibly Clapham or another of the secretaries in attendance on Burghley] with a holograph paragraph added.
Addressed, endorsed.

Text

I have perused the paper containyng the names of 13 serieants and 6 other practisers and counsellors of the Lawe out of which hir Ma[jes]ty is to make choice onely of two persons, the one to be a second Justice in the Comon place,⁴⁵⁷ & the other to be the third Baron in the Eschequer, both which must be also Justices of Assise in some Circuite. For choise whereof it is most Convenient, & agreable with order that they be chosen out of the seriauntes whereof there are 13, and amongst these both for Learninge and Anncientry I think Seriant Yelverton most eligible and yet I think it as necessary for him to contunie the Q[ueen's] Serieant,⁴⁵⁸ as to be a Justice, where there shall he doe the Q[ueen] more service, as hir Seriant, then to be a Second Justice in the Common place. Thus if hir Ma[jes]ty shall so please: she may be well served of a Justice, by Mr. Kingesmyll, who already is a Justice of Assise & well able to knowe the burden of service, being a man unmarried. As for choice of a Baron I think Seriant Heale able both for Learninge, wealth, & strength of body to continue, being also a personable man, which I wish to be regarded in choice of such officers of publicke calling. But if there be cause to mislike of this choise, I

⁴⁵⁷The offices: baron of the Exchequer and second justice of the Common Pleas.

⁴⁵⁸Serjeant John Glanville became the second justice of the Common Pleas. In the Exchequer, the place of second baron came vacant in May 1598, following the death of Matthew Ewens (c.1548–1598). *HPT*, ii, 94–95. Ewens had been named baron in 1594 as second to lord chief baron Sir William Periam. Ewens was named serjeant also in 1594, and had never been elevated to Queen's serjeant. Strong service as serjeant removed Yelverton from the running.

think Savyl or Williams may supply the place of a Baron, though they bee men of small living.

[Burghley]

I pray yow shew this paper to hir Ma[jes]ty, addyng that if hir Ma[jes]ty should not hir self, mak better choiss, of these 2 officers, than in leaning to my choiss, she may perchance miss the mark she shooteth at.

I can no[t] bost of amendment though hir Ma[jes]ties comfortable wishyngs, fede me with hope.

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my lovinge sonne Sir Robart Cecill knight hir ma[jes]ties principall secretary.

ENDORSED in the hand of a Cecil clerk, possibly Munck:

21 June 1598

Lo[rd] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 137

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 21 July 1598

½ p. Dictated to Henry Maynard.

Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

I have receive your letter, which doth nothinge satisfie mee for the sending of the Lincolnshire menn to Plimmouwthe to be theare embarqued, being the remotest part of the Realme from that Conntie: neither is it alike for them of Cornewall to come to Bristell, which maie be donne with ease by sea, wheare the other must marche over all the Land.⁴⁵⁹ And thearefore if my lls [Lords] shall not like to alter this corse, theie may then write their letters into Lincolnshire to send thes men to Plimmowthe, for I am unwillinge in my time, and by my

⁴⁵⁹Warrants for levies of troops to be moved in this arrangement directed to Burghley as lord lieutenant of Essex and Hertfordshire were dated 18 July 1598, issued under sign manual. *HMCS*, viii, 264; see above, p. 72.

direcions to committ such an Error.⁴⁶⁰ ffrom my howse in the Strand this xxith of Julie 1598.

Your Lovinge father,

[Signed]
W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:
To my lovinge sonne, Sir Robart Cecill, knight
hir ma[jes]ties principall secretarye

ENDORSED
21 July 1598
Lo[rd] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

Letter No. 138:

William, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 10 July 1598

¾ p. Holograph.⁴⁶¹
Addressed, endorsed, signed.

Text

Thoughe I knowe yow connt it your duty, in nature so contynually, to shew yow careful of my state of helth, Yet war also unnatural, if I showed not tak comfort therby, and to besek almyghty God to bless yow with supply of such blessinges, as I can not in this infirmyte yeld yow.

Only I pray yow diligently and effectually, let hir Ma[jes]ty understand how hir syngular kyndnes doth overcom my power to accept it. Who

⁴⁶⁰The arrival of the last levy in Ireland was noted by Fenton to Cecil on 24 July, when 1,600 of the 2,000 troops called for were at Dublin, the remaining 400 at Chester. *CSPi 1598–1599*, 211–212. Of these, 1,000 were dispatched north to ‘frustrate’ Tyrone’s incursions. Fenton advised that the Pale should be reduced, then the defence of Leinster organized, only then should Lough Foyle be attempted. As he wrote, Samuel Bagenal, the marshal, rode north for the execution of the Lough Foyle project. Meanwhile, Burghley’s alterations were put into practice. Complete changes were made to this earlier plan, many of them executed after Burghley’s death in Aug. 1598. The Privy Council instructions for changing the course of troop movements, and many other aspects of the Irish levies and supplies are dated 3 Aug. 1598. *APC 1598–1599*, 12–23, 26–38, 39–42, 43–46, 48–62, 70–1.

⁴⁶¹See above, p. 15.

though she will not be a mother, yet she sheweth herself by fedyng me with hir own princely hand, as a ^{carefull} Nurss and if I may be wayned to fede my self, I shall be more redy to serve hir on the erth. if not I hope to be in heaven, a servitor for hir and Gods church and so I thank yow for yowr partriches.

Serve God by serving of the Quene for all other service is in dede bondage to the Devil.

10 July 1598

Your languishyng father,

W. Burghley

Dorse

ADDRESSED in Henry Maynard's hand:

To my vearie Lovinge
Sonne Sir Robert Cecill
knight principall Secretary
to hir Ma[jes]tie

ENDORSED

1598 x^{mo} [Decimo] July

Lo[rd] Thre[asure]r to my M[aste]r

[In another hand]

My lords last letter that he wrote with his own hande