QUEEN ELIZABETH I AND THE ORDER OF THE GARTER

By Roy C. Strong

> Under the glorious spreading wings of Fame,
> I saw a virgin queen, attired in white,
> Leading with her a sort of goodly knights,
> With garters and with collars of Saint George:
> "Elizabeth" on a compartiment
> Of gold in bysse was writ, and hung askew
> Upon her head, under an imperial crown.
> She was the sovereign of the knights she led:
>
> George Peele,[1] *The Honour of the Garter* (1593).

One of the most important facets of chivalry as it manifested itself at the Burgundian court was the foundation in 1430 of the Order of the Golden Fleece by Duke Philippe le Bon.[2] Through this institution it was hoped to bind the higher aristocracy of the many states over which he ruled into a common brotherhood of chivalry, united in its allegiance to the house of Burgundy. Under Charles V the Golden Fleece performed an even more important task for it bound a multi-national aristocracy in loyalty to the Emperor. For the French Kings the Order of St. Michael played a similar part, followed, in the second half of the 16th century, by Henry III's creation of the Order of the Holy Spirit which aimed not only to manifest the Counter Reformation themes of penitence and charity but to link many of the French nobility to the monarchy and thus avert the disasters consequent upon a renewal of civil war.[3] In this way, orders — a manifestation of chivalry in its most religious aspect — formed an integral part of the mystique surrounding 16th-century monarchy. Nor was England an exception, for Elizabeth I was sovereign of the most noble Order of the Garter.

The following paper sets out to examine this neglected aspect of the Elizabethan age and as such it is intended as a pioneer contribution towards the serious study of orders and their implications in Tudor and Stuart England. For the Elizabethan period alone there exists a plethora of material untouched and for the most part unknown to, or unused by, the standard authorities on the Garter, George Beltz and Sir Nicolas Harris Nicolas. While several generations of scholarship have revolutionized the study of 16th- and 17th-century history in almost every other field, the application of these discoveries to the history of orders has not occurred. Marooned as it were in a backwater of early Victorian antiquarianism it is little wonder that most modern historians dismiss such things as already antiquated survivals of an age of chivalry which had long since vanished beyond recall. And yet in the age of the Tudors and the Stuarts orders were held in high esteem and the evidence we shall present

1 A. H. Bullen (ed.), *The Works of George Peele* (London, 1888), I, 333.
2 O. Cartellieri, *The Court of Burgundy* (London, 1929), 56–59; J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (London, 1924), 74–81.
3 A. Favyn, *The Theater of Honour and Knighthood* (London, 1623), 388–42; F. A. Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1947), 156–67.

will testify that, at least in the case of the Garter, far from sinking into a gracious decline it underwent a remarkable revival. To understand this phenomenon however, it is necessary to begin with a brief survey of the Order's history prior to the accession of Queen Elizabeth I.

Order of the Garter: Revival and Reformation (1485–1558)

Elias Ashmole, the herald and antiquarian, in his book *The Institution, Laws and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (1672), states that it was founded by King Edward III 'to adorn Martial Virtue, with Honors, Rewards, and splendor: to increase Virtue and Valour in the hearts of his Nobility'.[1] It was the earliest of the royal chivalrous orders and its members, twenty-five in number excluding the sovereign, were bound to observe the oath and statutes and live in faith, peace and amity one with the other. The aim of the Garter would appear to have been primarily military, an effort by the King to pledge important nobles and knights to his policy of territorial expansion in France. The Order had for its patrons the most Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin and St. George of Cappadocia and its ceremonies were conducted at the Royal Chapel at Windsor where the Knights sat, like canons, in the choir stalls, each with his achievement hung above him.

The early history of the Order has yet to be written, but, apart from a short-lived revival under Henry V,[2] it was not until the end of the 15th century that conscious efforts were made to enhance it, efforts prompted no doubt by the glorification of the magnificent *Toison d'Or* by the Burgundian Dukes. A resuscitation began under Edward IV[3] with the rebuilding of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and the resumption of Garter ceremonial on a splendid scale; this Yorkist restoration of the Order's former glory was sustained by Henry VII who brought the Chapel to its completion and made the Garter Feasts an important facet of the Tudor revival of the monarchy.[4] The description of the 1488 Feast is a paean in honour of the resurgence of royal power and prestige:

> O knyghtly Order, clothed in Robes with Garter:
> The Queenes Grace thy Moder, in the same.
> The Nobles of thy Realme, riche in Array, after;
> Lords, Knyghts, and Ladies, unto thy great fame.
> Now shall all Ambassators knowe thy noble Name
> By thy Fest Royall. Now joyous may thou bee,
> To see thy King so flowring in Dignitie.
> Here this Day Seint George, the Patron of this Place,
> Honowred with the Garter, Chief of Chevalrye.[5]

[1] E. Ashmole, *The Institution, Laws and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (London, 1672), 182; besides Ashmole the following are also useful: P. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques, Religieux et Militaires* (Paris, 1719), VIII, 298–307; J. Anstis, *The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (London, 1724); Favyn, *Theater of Honour and Knighthood*, 67–77; Sir N. Harris Nicolas, *History of the Orders of Knighthood of the British Empire* (London, 1841); G. F. Beltz, *Memorials of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (London, 1841).

[2] Beltz, *Order of the Garter*, lv–lxi; Nicolas, *Orders of Knighthood*, I, 55–56.

[3] Beltz, *Order of the Garter*, lxvi–lxxiv; Nicolas, *Orders of Knighthood*, I, 89–99.

[4] Beltz, *Order of the Garter*, lxxvi–lxxx; Nicolas, *Orders of Knighthood*, I, 102–20.

[5] J. Leland, *Collectanea* (London, 1770), IV, 242.

The records for the reign of Henry VII are extremely defective but, for the first time, there appears the great collar of the Order[1] to rival that of the *Toison d'Or* and, secondly — also in competition with the great Burgundian Order — it was bestowed upon foreign princes and dignitaries with greater frequency.[2] This imitation of the Golden Fleece was brought to completion under Henry VIII, who revised and clarified the statutes and introduced the Lesser George which, like the lesser collar of the Fleece, had always to be worn by member Knights.[3]

The Henrician Reformation had left the Order untouched but with the accession of Edward VI there began successive efforts at Garter reform.[4] In April 1548 an ordinance of the Privy Council was issued stating that 'all such things, as be not conformable and agreeing to his Majesty's *Injunctions*, *Orders*, or *Reformations*, now of late prescribed, should be also in that most Noble *Order* and the *Ceremonies* thereof left undone, and reformed'.[5] Preliminary expurgations included the requiem for departed Knights, accustomed to be sung on the morning after the Feast, which was replaced by an ordinary Mass, and the old Latin processional, in place of which the English Litany was substituted. Reverences to the altar ceased and the Knights had to communicate at the solemn Mass on the Feast Day itself. Thereafter the Garter followed in the train of the Edwardian Reformation. In 1550, the year after the First Edwardian Prayer Book, a set of reformed statutes for the Order was issued to Knights of the Garter who were to deliberate upon them at a subsequent chapter.[6] The following January, St. George's Day was one of a list of holy days abolished by Act of Parliament, an event which resulted, three months later, in the appointment of a commission of six Knights to revise the statutes. Several drafts survive, often extremely anti-papal in sentiment and embodying quite ruthless revisions in the Order and its ceremonies. The new statutes which were issued in March 1553 were actually less violent in character.[7] They explain how the Order of the Garter, which had been designed to bind valiant and martial men of rank in unity and concord, had been corrupted by 'that ould Serpent Sathan' who had filled the statutes with 'many obscure, superstitious, and repugnant opinions'. Henceforward the Order was to be that of the Garter and all connection with St. George was to cease. The Feast was transferred to Whitsun and the Garter George became an armed Knight on horseback encompassed by a Garter bearing the usual motto, *Honi soit qui mal y pense.*

1 Nicolas, *Orders of Knighthood*, I, 118; II, 348–51.

2 Notably (i) the Duke of Urbino (1506) whose election occasioned the visit of Castiglione to England, P. Vergil, *Anglicae Historiae* (Basiliae, 1570), 615. (ii) Philip the Handsome, who was installed at Windsor in 1506, R. R. Tighe, and J. Davis, *Annals of Windsor* (London, 1858), I, 434–44.

3 Beltz, *Order of the Garter*, lxxx–xciii; Nicolas, *Orders of Knighthood*, I, 121–69. Letters and Papers contain a great deal of material for a history of the Garter under Henry VIII.

4 *See* E. M. Thompson, 'The Revision of the Statutes of the Order of the Garter by King Edward the Sixth', *Archaeologia*, LIV (1894), 173–98. This article is not an exhaustive discussion of this problem. Royal MS.18 A.I–IV, Rawlinson MS. C.387. fol. 22 ff. and Ashmole MS.1119. xiii, all contain draft statutes, which need consideration. *See also* for Edward VI: Beltz, *Order of the Garter*, xciii–xcix; Nicolas, *Order of Knighthood*, I, 170–82; Anstis, *Register*, 438–41.

5 Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, 473.

6 Thompson, *op. cit.*, suggests these must be the ones in Add. MS.6288.

7 A great many copies of these exist. I quote from Stowe MS.595, fol.54–69.

The King's subsequent illness and death meant that these statutes were never really put into effect.

On 27th September 1553, just six months after the acceptance of the Edwardian Garter settlement, Mary held the first chapter of her reign in which the new statutes were declared to be 'in no sort convenient to be used, and so impertinent and tending to novelty' that they should immediately be abolished and all reference to the attempted innovations should be defaced from the official records of the Order.[1] Thus under Mary there was a deliberate and immediate return to the old Garter ceremonial as a manifestation of the Catholic reaction. Philip of Spain,[2] on his marriage to Mary, became joint sovereign of the Order and it is his presence that is recorded in the splendid ceremonies which marked St. George's Day at court, as seen, for example, by the diarist Henry Machyn, when solemn processions and Masses were once more part of the festivities.[3]

The Elizabethan Garter Settlement[4]

St. George's Day 1559 occurred three days after the passing of the Act of Uniformity and so the proceedings were scrutinized for any significant deviations from Catholic ceremonial. Actually the new ritual did not begin in the Chapel Royal until 12th May and so the Garter solemnities followed their accustomed pattern. The only modifications were those which had been in general use in the Chapel Royal since the previous December: the use of the English Litany for the procession, the epistle and gospel in the vernacular and the omission of the elevation in the Mass. The procession was the occasion for some confusion for it was forced to proceed without processional crosses, in spite of a last minute effort to secure some from Westminster, and on the following day the Queen made herself conspicuous by her absence from the requiem Mass. The four newly-elected Knights (the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquess of Northampton, the Earl of Rutland and Lord Robert Dudley), moreover, were dispensed from taking the oath on their installation at Windsor, because the Order had not yet been reformed in accordance with the religious settlement.[5]

Elizabethan Garter reform or rather lack of reform was determined largely by two factors. In the first place the members of the Order were most of them survivors of the Marian regime, either openly Catholic or sympathisers, in addition to which there was the overwhelmingly conservative nature of the Queen. She had always favoured a return to 1549 rather than to 1552 and here perhaps more than anywhere can be traced her personal solution to the religious dilemma of 1558.

1 Nicolas, *Orders of Knighthood*, I, 182–86; see also *C.S.P., Venetian, 1534–54*, 431. See also on the Garter under Mary, Beltz, *Order of the Garter*, c–ci.

2 He was invested with the Order immediately on arrival in England, R. Fabyan, *New Chronicles* (London, 1811), 715; R. Holinshed, *Chronicles* (London, 1808), IV, 57, 62; *C.S.P., Venetian, 1534–54*, 524–25.

3 J. G. Nichols (ed.), *Diary of Henry Machyn* (Camden Society, 1847), 60, 85, 132–33, 134–5.

4 Generally see Beltz, *Order of the Garter*, cii–civ; Nicolas, *Orders of Knighthood*, I, 186–209. A list of official accounts and descriptions is given in the appendix at the end of this paper.

5 Appendix *s.v.* 1559; *Diary of Henry Machyn*, 195–96; *C.S.P., Venetian, 1558–80*, 73–74, 81; V. von Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth and Some Foreigners* (London, 1928), 52–53. Machyn is a useful supplementary source for the opening years of the reign: *Diary of Henry Machyn*, 232, 250, 257, 258, 280–281, 305–306.

The Family of Henry VII adoring St. George

(Artist unknown — *Windsor Castle*)

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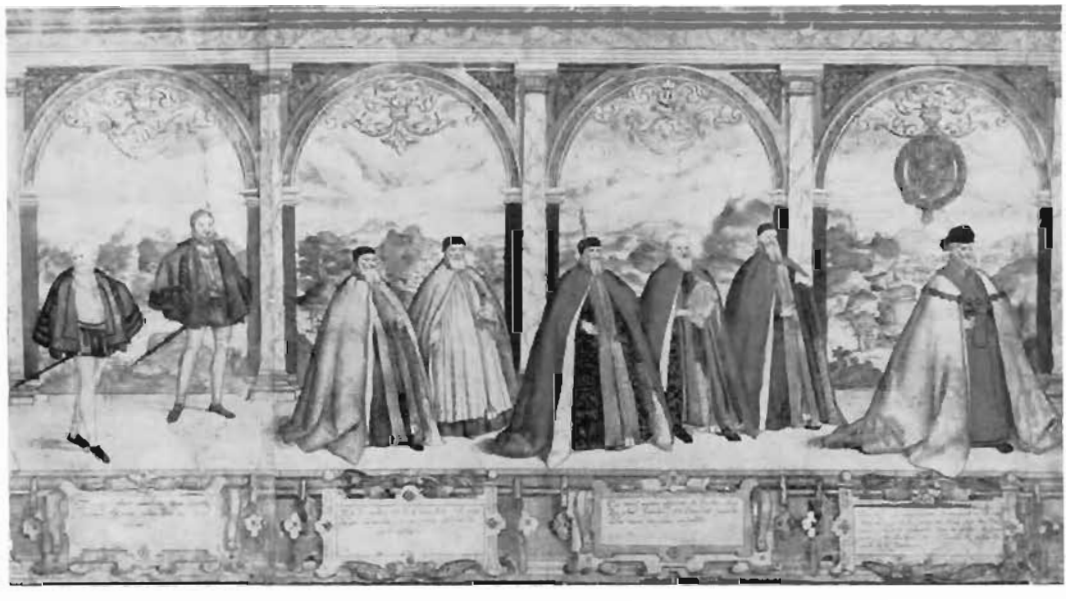
A. The Queen preceeded by a nobleman bearing the Sword of State



B. (*Right to left*) The Emperor Maximilian II; Sir Gilbert Dethick (Garter King of Arms), the Dean of Windsor (Registrar), the Usher of the Black Rod; the Bishop of Winchester (Garter Prelate), Sir Thomas Smith (Chancellor); two Gentlemen Ushers

THE GARTER PROCESSION OF 1576

(Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder; *British Museum*)

A. Knights of the Garter (*Right to left*): Earls of Sussex and Lincoln; Duke of Montmorency, Earl of Arundel; Dukes of Schleswig-Holstein and Savoy; Kings of France and Spain

B. The Verger of the Chapel of St. George at Windsor followed by two Poor Knights

THE GARTER PROCESSION OF 1576
(Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder; *British Museum*)

A. Queen Elizabeth I

(Artist unknown; *Windsor Castle*)
Reproduced by gracious permission of H. M. The Queen

B. Sir Henry Lee in his Garter Robes

(Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger; *Armourers & Braiziers Company*)

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The reform followed the precedent set by Edward VI. It began in June 1559 when the Feast was held at Windsor in which the Earl of Pembroke acted as Lieutenant for the Queen assisted by Lord Hastings and Viscount Montague. On this occasion the Prayer Book was used for the first time and both the High Mass on the Feast Day and the Requiem on the day after were replaced by the vernacular communion service.[1] This ritual was followed both on St. George's Day and at the Feast at Windsor in 1560, but that year, again in accordance with the pattern of the Edwardian reform, a commission was issued to the Marquess of Northampton, the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, and Lord Howard of Effingham, for a revision of the Garter statutes.[2] The official book of the Order, the *Liber Ceruleus*, preserves no record that this commission accomplished anything, nor are any draft statutes extant or proposals for a return to the Edwardian settlement. This activity resulted in only one unofficial alteration made to the Henrician statutes; a substitution in which such words as 'mass' were replaced by 'divine service'. In practice this Elizabethan modification amounted to a cessation of the celebration of a communion service on the day after the Feast and the use of the curtailed version, ending with the Prayer for the Church Militant, customary when there were no communicants, on the Feast Day itself. In all other respects the Catholic statutes and along with them St. George, so detested by the reformers, survived into a Protestant England. It was a settlement fraught with an ambiguity which led to renewed attempts at reformation in the 17th century both by James I and Charles I who, Ashmole writes, 'designed and endeavoured the most compleat and absolute Reformation of any of his Predecessors', but both of his commissions, like Elizabeth's, failed actually to achieve anything.[3]

Elizabethan Garter Ceremonial

There is little variation in Elizabethan Garter ritual so that a detailed examination of one account will suffice to indicate the rhythm of the Order's ceremonies throughout the reign. The choice of the description of the 1576[4] observances, besides being an excellent one, is furthered by the publication in the same year of Marcus Gheeraerts' engraving of a Garter procession. From 1567 onwards the Feasts were held at Whitehall or Greenwich, and that of 1576 was held at Whitehall. This abandonment of the Grand Feast at Windsor, lamented by Ashmole as a major disaster,[5] made way for the development of the annual St. George's Day ceremonies at court into the great public spectacles they had become by the nineties.

The Feast[6] in 1576 was prorogued, because 22nd April happened to fall on Easter Day, so that the Eve of the Feast fell on 23rd April. On that day, between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, 'as hath been accustomed',

1 Appendix, *s.v.* 1559.
2 *Ibid.*, *s.v.* 1560.
3 Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, 195–98.
4 Appendix, *s.v.* 1576.
5 Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, 474–75.
6 Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, 467 ff. has a long section on the Grand Feast but it is not exactly the same in its procedure as the Elizabethan solemnities.

the Knights of the Garter, attired in their full robes, assembled in the Presence Chamber. On the appearance of the Queen they proceeded to her Chapel Closet where a chapter of the Order was held and where she appointed her Lieutenant for the Feast, the Earl of Bedford, whose task was to preside over the ceremonies she did not attend in person. This concluded, the Knights descended through the Great Chamber and Hall to the Chapel, which was arranged like the Chapel at Windsor, each Knight having his stall with his scutcheon above it. After the gentlemen and choristers of the Chapel Royal had sung evensong, they rejoined the Queen in her Closet, from which they made their way to the Privy Chamber where supper was served.

The next morning, St. George's Day, the Knights reassembled in the Presence Chamber and proceeded to matins, after which they returned to await the entry of the Queen. Elizabeth appeared arrayed in her Garter robes and wearing a diadem of pearl upon her head, the sword of state borne before her by the Earl of Hertford, and her mantle supported by the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Russell, and her train carried by the Countess of Derby assisted by the Earl of Oxford. In this manner the Queen and her Knights descended into the Chapel into their stalls and, after a song had been sung by the choristers of the Chapel, the solemn procession was formed. At the head of it was the Serjeant of the Vestry, rod in hand, followed by choristers and then chaplains, vested in copes: it was the task of the clergy and choir to chant the Litany during the procession. Behind them came the heralds and then the Knights and finally the Queen. As the procession left the Hall and went out into the courtyard, Gentlemen Pensioners joined it, flanking the Queen at either side, and a sunshade of green taffeta was provided to shelter her from the sun. On returning to the Chapel the prelate of the Order, the Bishop of Winchester, arrayed in a cope, went up to the altar and 'pronounced' the rest of the service assisted by a deacon and subdeacon, also arrayed in copes, who 'pronounced' the Epistle and Gospel. The creed was sung by the chaplains after which came the solemn offering when the Queen and each Knight in turn descended and placed an offering in a basin held by the Bishop still vested in his cope. After the service the Knights returned *via* the Hall to the Presence Chamber where a ceremonial banquet was held, at which the heralds proclaimed the Queen's style. In the evening the Knights resorted to evensong and on the following morning to matins. With this the festivities came to an end.

The elder Marcus Gheeraerts' engraving of a Garter procession gives a splendid impression of this festival (Pls. XXXVIII–IX).[1] The roll was produced under the supervision of Thomas Dawes, Rougecroix Herald, and in the dedication to the Queen he explains that it represents 'the maner of that solemone and triumphant proceeding, used by the Knightes of the most honourable order of the garter, upon their festivall day when as they assemble and meete together at Windsor, in dewe order, with all officers thereto belonging, or any other person which hath place in that Solemonitie'. The engraving was etched in 1576 but a contemporary hand has changed the date to 1578. In 1578, however,

[1] On this see A. M. Hind, *Engraving in England in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Cambridge, 1951), I, 104–21.

the Queen was indisposed and did not take part in the ceremonies. In addition it is supposed to depict a procession at Windsor which since 1567 (excepting 1572) was not utilized for the St. George's Day ceremonies. Nor is it an exact rendering of the 'triumphant proceeding' for there is the conspicuous absence of the Chapel choristers and the officiating clergy who headed the procession. This one is led by the Verger of the Chapel of St. George at Windsor who is followed by thirteen aged and grave men wearing mantles and with skull caps upon their heads (Pl. XXXIXB). These were the Poor Knights of Windsor, the conditions for whose establishment had been laid down in Henry VIII's will. Ignored by Edward VI, it was Mary and Elizabeth who carried to completion their father's wishes in inaugurating the Poor Knights, who were finally settled at Windsor in July 1559.[1] These Knights, who were to be men grown old in the wars, were to spend their time in prayer for the Queen and her Knights of the Garter, 'comynge tuyse a daye to the churche to seruice tyme for that end and purpose'.[2] Behind them come pursuivants and heralds wearing their customary embroidered tabards and then the Knights (Pl. XXXIXA): first the English Knights in order of seniority, opening with Lord Howard of Effingham, installed in 1576, and closing with Henry Fitzalan, 14th Earl of Arundel, installed as long ago as 1544. Behind them walk six stranger Knights, the Dukes of Montmorency, of Schleswig-Holstein, and of Savoy, the Kings of France and Spain and the Emperor Maximilian II. The robes of all the Knights are identical saving for those of Knights-Sovereign who were allowed trains. After the Knights follow the five principal officers of the Order (Pl. XXXVIIIB): the Registrar, a post under Elizabeth generally held by the Deans of Windsor, who acted as a kind of keeper of the records, the Usher of the Black Rod and Garter King of Arms, who were concerned principally with the conduct of ceremonial at the festivals; the dignitaries come to a close with Sir Thomas Smith as Chancellor, carrying in a bag the Order's signet and Great Seal, and Robert Horne, Bishop of Winchester, as Garter Prelate. Preceded by two gentlemen ushers and a nobleman bearing the sword, Elizabeth walks clasping a large ostrich feather fan, her mantle trailing behind her (Pl. XXXVIIIA).

Each St. George's Day merely brought a repetition of these solemnities. Sometimes the inclemency of the weather caused the festivities to be curtailed as, for example, in 1579 when a great fall of snow resulted in the absence of the Queen and the restriction of the procession to the Hall.[3] As the reign progressed, however, the ceremonies became more of a public spectacle and the procession, which was the part seen by onlookers, was deliberately developed. The 1584 narrative contains the earliest reference to a full scale canopy borne over the Queen by six gentlemen during the outdoor procession.[4] By 1592 the crush of people was so great that the ceremonies were held up awaiting the arrival

[1] On the Poor Knights see E. H. Fellowes, *The Military Knights of Windsor, 1352–1944*, Historical Monographs relating to St. George's Chapel Windsor (1944). Also useful are Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, 158–74; Nicolas, *Orders of Knighthood*, II, 471–83.

[2] From Stowe's description of Windsor; see Tighe and Davis, *Annals of Windsor*, II, 42.

[3] Appendix, *s.v.* 1579.

[4] *Ibid.*, *s.v.* 1584.

of Knights who had failed to penetrate the throng[1] and Philip Gawdy records a similar 'great presse of people' at the 1594 festivities.[2] The account of the 1595 solemnities by an envoy of the Duke of Wurtemburg gives some idea of the immense popularity of the Garter festival by the end of the reign. The Chapel Royal was packed with visitors and the magnificent procession made its way not once but three times around the courtyard so that all might see the Queen, who spoke graciously to everyone, even to the common people who fell upon their knees in homage.[3]

Apart from the Feast at court the only other Garter ceremony was occasioned by the election and installation of a new Knight.[4] Elizabeth showed considerable reluctance throughout the reign to confer the Garter and only those of the highest rank and position were admitted to the Order. Although the Garter Knights voted for new members, the actual decision rested with the Queen who gave it the morning after the Feast when the Knights assembled in the Presence Chamber prior to attending matins. In 1592, for instance, she declared the election of the Earls of Shrewsbury and Cumberland. Shrewsbury was fetched from his lodging at Greenwich and brought at once into the presence of the Queen who placed the George of the Order around his neck with her own hands. The Earl of Cumberland was at Plymouth but the Queen would not allow the Garter to be conveyed to him, for she wished to confer it upon him herself.[5] The following year, 1593, was occasioned by another of these touching scenes when Elizabeth invested old Sir Francis Knowles, 'famed for his sons',[6] not only with the collar of the Order but also with the Garter, an act which moved the bystanders to tears.[7]

The installation ceremonies, like those on St. George's Day, worked to a formula. The installation of Lord Howard of Effingham in 1575 is a typical example.[8] For this occasion Lord Hunsdon and Sir Henry Sidney had been appointed the Queen's Lieutenants and they, together with the new Knight, arrived at Windsor Castle on the evening of Saturday, 7th May. On Sunday morning Hunsdon and Sidney resorted to the Chapel vestry while Lord Howard waited outside, arrayed in the Garter kirtle and hood, ready to be summoned by his companion Knights. On entering the vestry he was conducted in procession by the Knights, Poor Knights, heralds and verger to his stall in the Chapel. Here the procession halted and Lord Howard took the Garter oath with his hand upon the Prayer Book, after which Hunsdon and Sidney invested him with the remaining insignia of the Order. There then followed matins and the curtailed communion service in which the achievement of the deceased French King, Charles IX, was offered up by the Garter Knights and in which there was the customary offering of money. The service over they returned to the vestry and then to the Dean's house for dinner.

1 Appendix, *s.v.*1592.
2 I. H. Jeayes (ed.), *The Letters of Philip Gawdy*, Roxburghe Club (1906), 81–82.
3 Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth and Some Foreigners*, 375–79.
4 Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, 262–67 has a long section on installation ceremonies.
5 Appendix, *s.v.*1592.
6 *The works of George Peele*, II, 335.
7 Appendix, *s.v.*1593.
8 Harleian MS. 60674, fol. 61–62.

In the last decade of the reign the ride of the new Knights to Windsor for their installation developed into a spectacular cavalcade.[1] This development does not figure in the accounts of ceremonies before 1592 when the Earls of Cumberland and Ormond agreed to meet at Charing Cross, from whence they rode to Windsor. Just outside the Castle their trains were marshalled into processional order so that a triumphal entry could be made.[2] Five years later, in 1597, the newly elected Knights agreed to take only fifty men apiece 'but now I heare', reported Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney, 'that my Lord Chamberlain will have 300, and Sir Henry Leigh 200'.[3] The ride of Lee and his companions was as splendid as the entry into the tilt-yard of knights at the joust. Sir Henry Lee's men were dressed in blue, Lord Mountjoy's in blue and purple, Lord Hunsdon's in orange taffeta and plumes and Lord Howard's in blue faced with 'sad sea couler greene' together with feathers and chains of gold.[4] The 1599 cavalcade resulted in similar rivalry but Lord Cobham's train was 'most bravest' with gentlemen attired 'in purple velvet breeches, and white Satin doubletts and chaines of gold. And his Yeomen in purple Cloth breeches, and white fustian doublets, all in blewe Coates, and faced with white taffata, and fethers of white and blew'.[5]

For Garter Knights who rebelled against the sovereign of the Order there awaited the dread process of degradation.[6] The Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland for their part in the Northern rebellion, the Duke of Norfolk for complicity in the Ridolfi Plot and the Earl of Essex for his reckless uprising were each ceremonially ejected from the Order. The process fell into two distinct parts, the first of which consisted in the snatching of the insignia of the Garter from the unfortunate Knight. In February 1601, for instance, the Usher of the Black Rod proceeded to the Tower and removed the George and Garter from the Earl of Essex.[7] In like manner Sir John Fastolfe is degraded in Shakespeare's *Henry VI* for cowardice at the siege of Rouen. Talbot snatches the Garter from his leg and beseeches the young King whether

> . . . such cowards ought to wear
> This ornament of knighthood . . .[8]

and continues to explain the high ideals of chivalry which Fastolfe had so foully betrayed:

> When first this order was ordain'd, my lords,
> Knights of the garter were of noble birth;
> Valiant and virtuous, full of haughty courage,
> Such as were grown to credit by the wars;
> Not fearing death, nor shrinking from distress,
> But always resolute in most extremes.

1 Generally see Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, 338–42.
2 On the cavalcade and installation see: Ashmole MS.1109, fol. 45–45^{v}, 93–95; Stowe MS.595, fol.55; Additional MS.10110, fol.191^{v}–192^{v}; Cotton MS. Julius. F. XI, fol.275^{v}.
3 A. Collins, *Letters and Memorials of State* (London, 1746), II, 51. Lee's election had been forced by Essex (*Ibid.*, 45).
4 Ashmole MS.1108, fol.74^{v}–75; Ashmole MS.1112, fol.16^{v}; Stowe MS.595, fol.45^{v}.
5 Ashmole MS.1112, fol.17–17^{v}; Stowe MS.595, fol.46–46^{v}.
6 See Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, 620–23.
7 *Acts of the Privy Council, 1600–1601*, xxxi, 180.
8 *Henry VI*, part I, act IV, sc. I, 28–29.

> He then that is not furnish'd in this sort
> Doth but usurp the sacred name of knight,
> Profaning this most honourable order;
> And should — if I were worthy to be judge —
> Be quite degraded, like a hedge-born swain
> That doth presume to boast of gentle blood.[1]

Those who had thus dishonoured 'the sacred name of knight' did not only suffer this humiliation, but, in addition, had their achievements thrown out of the Chapel at Windsor. Several narratives survive of the ejection of the Earl of Northumberland. On 27th November 1569 the Heralds assembled in the Chapel and a ladder was placed against the Earl's stall which Chester Herald ascended. A proclamation was then read by Rougecroix who explained that Northumberland had been guilty of high treason against the sovereign of the Order and as such deserved no longer to rank amongst 'virtuous and approved' Knights. Immediately that this was uttered Chester Herald 'did hurle downe with vyolence' the Earl's banner, crest, helm and sword, which were spurned out of the Chapel into the Castle moat.[2]

Liturgy and Music in the Chapel Royal

The glorification of the Queen within the ceremonial of the Garter centred upon a liturgical as well as a chivalrous axis. The Anglican Church followed the Roman in harnessing to itself the forces of chivalry; but the religious chivalry of the Elizabethan Garter solemnities was — at least in the externals — a manifestation of Anglicanism at its most Catholic. The Order's festivities were framed by the pomp and splendour of the Anglican liturgy as it was performed in the Royal Chapels and its most important ceremony was a communion service incorporating within it an anomalous survival of the old Catholic procession. This service was conducted by the prelate of the Order, the Bishop of Winchester, assisted by a deacon and subdeacon arrayed in golden copes, a procedure in accordance with the *Advertisements* of 1564 which laid down that this ceremonial should be observed in cathedral and collegiate churches.[3] The communion table stood altar-wise, at the eastern end, sumptuously adorned with hangings, plate, lighted tapers and, up until at least 1570, by a cross.[4] Soon after that date the cross gave way — not without a long struggle between the Queen and her bishops and advisers — to a tapestry of the crucifixion.[5] It was with such ceremonial as this that Elizabeth courted Catholics such as Mauvissière,[6] the French ambassador, and the Duke of

[1] *Henry VI*, part I, act IV, sc. I, 33–44.

[2] College of Arms MS. M.6, fol.83^{v}–86; Harleian MS.304, fol. 84^{v}; J. Nichols, *The Progresses of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1823), I, 263; Ashmole MS.1109, fol.135–36; Ashmole MS.1110, fol.75. See also for the degradation of Norfolk (1572) Ashmole MS.1109, fol.10.

[3] V. Staley, *Hierurgia Anglicana* (London, 1902), I, 168. The three volumes of *Hierurgia Anglicana* point a great number of sources for Chapel Royal ceremonial but are spoiled by an often uncritical approach to sources and are strongly partisan in flavour.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, 65–69. Staley does not collect all the sources.

[5] *C.S.P., Spanish, 1558–67*, 190 preserves the fact that a tapestry of the crucifixion was used when the cross was removed.

[6] He went to evensong on the Feast day in 1579: '. . . and Movesier went downe privately to the chapell where was [a] place prepared with stooles and carpett nere the Altar', Add. MS.10110, fol.137, see Appendix, *s.a.*1579

Bracciano into her Chapel[1] and it was also with such ceremonial that she evoked the hostile criticism of the Puritan party who viewed the Royal Chapels as patterns of all superstition.[2] Moreover it is of some interest that many of the so-called innovations of Laud, including the 'fair crucifix in a piece of hangings'[3] can be traced as familiar features of ritual in the Chapel Royal under Elizabeth. In all this was the channel through which liturgical spectacle reached the 17th century to flower again in the Caroline Anglican revival.

But the Garter festivities were not only adorned with liturgical pageantry but with the 'organs and curious singing' so detested by the Puritan Cartwright.[4] It was only the Queen's personal intervention which had ensured the continued use of music in church services and the Chapel Royal became the home of Elizabethan music, both religious and secular. Tallis and Byrd, and in the next generation Orlando Gibbons composed for the Anglican ritual as it was performed in the Chapel Royal.[5] The Garter festivities were occasions for lavish display by the royal musicians and choristers. On St. George's Day 1597 matins was accompanied 'with solemne musike and voyces, Doc. Boolle then playing' (Dr. Bull was, of course, John Bull, celebrated organist and composer) and the main service was marked by 'princely musike of voyces, organes, Cornettes, and Sackebuttes'.[6] Sir Roger Wilbraham, present at the following year's Feast, records that evensong on the 22nd April was accompanied by 'greate melodie, organs, voices, shakbuts and other instruments'.[7] Under royal auspices music flourished at the home of the Order, St. George's Chapel, Windsor, where other prominent musicians such as Richard Farrant, John Munday and Nathaniel Giles, provided the solemn music for the Garter ceremonies.[8] The Duke of Wurtemburg, on his visit in 1592, listened enraptured to the exquisite music of the organ, together with cornets, flutes, fifes and other instruments.[9] An Italian eyewitness of the installation of Monsieur de Chattes on behalf of the French King Henry IV (1600) particularly alludes to the '*Armonia di musica excellente*' of the choristers.[10]

The Observance of St. George's Day by absent Knights

The Statutes of the Order of the Garter as revised by Henry VIII made provision for the observance of the annual Feast by Knights absent from court; the absent Knight was bound to erect the arms of his companions in a nearby chapel or church in the same manner that it was done in the Royal Chapel at court, in imitation of the choir stalls at Windsor. He was further to wear the

1 H. Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (London, 1877), I, 5. It was also rumoured that the cross reappeared on the altar.
2 *The Works of John Whitgift*, Parker Society (1852), III, 392–4.
3 Staley, *Hierurgia Anglicana*, I, 91.
4 *The Works of John Whitgift*, Parker Society (1852), III, 392–4.
5 See M. C. Boyd, *Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism* (Philadelphia, 1940), esp. 1–12, 37–91; W. L. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society, from Elizabeth to Charles I* (Princeton, 1953), 161–76.
6 John Hawarde, *Les Reportes del Cases in Camera Stellata* (ed. W. F. Baildon, London, 1894), 74–75.
7 *Journal of Sir Roger Wilbraham*, Camden Miscellany, X (1902), 16.
8 E. H. Fellowes, *Organists and Masters of St. George's Chapel Windsor*, Historical Monographs relating to St. George's Chapel (1939), 24–44; see also the same author's 'The Music of St. George's Chapel'. *The Society of the Friends of St. George's, Annual Report* (1951), 14–21, esp. 16–17.
9 W. P. Rye, *England as seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James I* (London, 1865), 15–16.
10 Ashmole MS.1110, fol. 60.

robes of the Order and to attend services and ceremonies corresponding to those staged at court.[1] Under Elizabeth these occasions became opportunities for display on a lavish scale; opportunities for a manifestation of the ritual of royalist chivalry in the remoter parts of the realm or even abroad.

Sir Henry Sidney as Lord Deputy of Ireland and subsequently Lord President of the Council of Wales observed St. George's Day in several places including Dublin, Drogheda, Shrewsbury and Ludlow.[2] The observances in Shrewsbury in 1581 were especially solemn, Sir Henry 'in hys knightly robes most valiant' proceeding to St. Chad's church attended by gentlemen, knights and town officials in procession. The chronicler records that 'he dyd as much honour as thoughe the Queens Majestie had been present'. That evening there was feasting and Sir Henry kept open house.[3] Ashmole records that when he visited Shrewsbury almost a century later there was still preserved there an altar cloth powdered with Garters which had been wrought for that occasion.[4]

Interesting details survive of the 'greate tryumphe' arranged by the Mayor of Liverpool in 1577 when the Earl of Derby observed St. George's Day there *en route* for the Isle of Man. On the eve of the Feast, Lord Derby went to evensong attended by yeomen and gentlemen, after which soldiers discharged ordnance in the churchyard and there were similar salutes from ships in the river nearby. On St. George's Day they came again to church 'very gorgiouslye' both in the morning and evening and the Earl's departure on each occasion was the signal for 'greate triumphe' which included a firework display. The morrow after the Feast brought the festivities to an end with entertainments including morris dancing. The native chronicler records that the town had never before witnessed such triumphs.[5]

The Earl of Leicester kept St. George's Day in Utrecht in 1586. The ceremonies were designed, the Herald Segar writes, 'to the honor of our nation, in view of so many thousand strangers'. The route to the cathedral was decorated with the arms of the burgesses, adorned with material made like white and red roses. The procession was magnificent and Leicester himself was attended by an escort consisting of the principal citizens of the town besides fifty of his own men. Sumptuous cloths of estate were erected for the absent Queen, both at the church and feast, 'as if in person she had been there'. The banquet was accompanied by fanfares of trumpets and the proclamation of the Queen's style, after which the Dutch fell to drinking the health of Her Majesty, Leicester and the United Provinces. The company reassembled in the evening for another great banquet, after which there was fighting at the barriers in which the gallant young Earl of Essex 'gave all men great hope of his prowesse in armes'. The day concluded with a feast of sugared confections for the gentlemen and ladies.[6]

1 Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, 613–21.
2 H.M.C., *Penshurst*, I, 413, 416, 429; Ashmole MS.1112, fol. 66–66v. Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, 617–18.
3 H. Owen and J. B. Blakeway, *A History of Shrewsbury* (London, 1825), I, 371; Nichols, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, II, 304–305.
4 Ashmole MS.1112, fol. 65–66.
5 J. A. Twemlow, *Liverpool Town Books* (Liverpool, 1935), II, 242–46.
6 Holinshed, *Chronicles*, IV, 658–59; also Nichols, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, II, 455–57; Ashmole MS.1110, fol.14; J. Stowe, *Annales* (London, 1631), 717–18.

Thirteen years later in 1599 the Earl of Essex himself was to celebrate St. George's Day away from court when he was leader of the ill-fated Irish expedition. At Dublin he honoured the Queen by staging a chivalrous display, a colourful impression of which survives in a popular ballad:

Of ioyfull triumphes I must speake,
Which our *english* friends did make,
For that renowned mayden's sake,
that weares the crowne of *England.*
In Ireland S[ain]ct *George's* day
Was honored bravelye euery waye,
By lords and knights in rich array,
as though they had been in *England.*
Therefore let all trew English men,
With every faythfull subiect then,
Vn to my pray-ers say Amen!
Now God and S[ain]ct George for England!
The Earle of *Essex*, by report,
That day did keepe a gallant Court,
Most loyallye in seemely sort,
in honour of famous *England,*
Attended on by many a Lord
Lyke subiects trewe, did there accorde,
With pining, famishing, fire and soord,
to scorge the foes of *England.*
Full many a bould renowned Knight,
Well trainde to armes and martiall fight,
Were seene that day, with great delight,
to honour S[ain]ct *George* of *England,*
With gentlemen of high degree,
Our choycest flowres of chyualrye,
As brave a sight as one might see
to honour S[ain]ct *George* of *England.*[1]

On that day knights and gentlemen together with the ordinary soldiers took part in a military parade to pay tribute to St. George, patron of the Garter and of fighting men, and to 'that mayden Queene'. The magnificent Essex of the ceremonial tilts becomes the splendid Garter Knight of St. George's Day and both aspects are in their way accurate reflections of Elizabethan chivalry and its conventions.

Foreign Investitures and the Religious Problem

The election of a 'stranger Knight' into the Order of the Garter involved the usual ceremonies of election, investiture and installation.[2] It was already an established tradition that the conclusion of peace or of an alliance was marked by an exchange of chivalrous Orders, but in the second half of the 16th century the problem was complicated by the religious issue, for both investiture and installation involved taking part in a religious ceremony. The reception of the Garter by a Catholic prince thus raised the whole subject of Catholics and Protestants taking part in a joint religious service.

1 A. Clarke (ed.), *The Shirburn Ballads, 1585–1616* (Oxford, 1917), 321–26; H.M.C., *Hatfield*, IX, 144.
2 Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, 387–455.

In spite of the reality of disunity, the idea of some vague unforeseen solution to the catastrophes which had befallen the Christian world attracted intellectual, even if not realistic speculation.[1] The first decade of Elizabeth's reign coincided with the generation that had produced the demands for reform and the restoration of religious unity at the Council of Trent. In France this liberal Catholic party, headed by Jean de Montluc, Bishop of Valence, Michel de l'Hôpital, Paule de Foix and Catherine de Medici and influenced to a considerable degree by the irenical Christian humanism of the Dutch Cassander, displayed great interest in the Anglican settlement.[2] The Book of Common Prayer was sent for and studied by the divines at Poissy and the demands of that party at Trent were described by the English ambassador as being 'not very discrepant from the Queen's formula in England'.[3] This group and its ideas are the framework into which we can fit, for instance, the investiture of Charles IX with the Garter in 1564, an act which marked the cessation of hostilities between England and France. The embassy was headed by Lord Hunsdon, who was instructed that although he could be present at the Mass, nevertheless he was to forbear giving any sign of approving any part of it. Constable Montmorency and the Bishop of Limoges were at pains to explain that Lyons cathedral was devoid of images, that all was sung or said by heart and that only one Mass was said there daily. Peace was sworn after Mass the next day and the young King received the Garter that afternoon, after which they proceeded to evensong.[4] In a similar manner Rambouillet invested Leicester and Norfolk with the Order of St. Michael in 1566, an event marked by splendid ceremonial in the Royal Chapel at Whitehall when the altar was adorned, not only with hangings embroidered with angels of gold, but with a cross, a pax, and two candlesticks. Rambouillet in addition attended the Anglican services connected with the installation of Charles IX at Windsor, acting as proxy for his royal master.[5]

A similar spirit animated the reception of the Garter by the Emperor Maximilian. Like the French, the imperialists had also presented a programme for reform at Trent, not altogether removed from the Anglican position.[6] Although the gorgeous embassy headed by the Earl of Sussex (1567) failed in its immediate purpose of cementing an alliance between the Queen and the Archduke Charles, the Emperor received the Garter and attended evensong — Sussex had been forbidden to go to Mass[7] — in which 'sensing, prayers to saintes and all other matters contrary to your (*i.e.* the Queen's) religion were omitted'.[8]

1 Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, 199–235.
2 H. O. Evennett, *The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Council of Trent* (Cambridge, 1930), 105, 242, 244–53.
3 *Ibid.*, 403–404.
4 Stowe, *Annales*, 657; Holinshed, *Chronicles*, IV, 224–5; Diplomatic documents: *C.S.P., Foreign, 1564–65*, 134, 142, 157. Account of ceremony: *ibid.*, 165–6. See also Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, Appendix LXV, CXLVI.
5 Stowe, *Annales*, 659; Holinshed, *Chronicles*, IV, 229–30; Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, 369–70; Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, Appendix, CXXVII, CXXIX, CXXXIV.
6 Paolo Sarpi, *The History of the Council of Trent* (London, 1676), gathers the material for the French and imperial programmes of reform.
7 *C.S.P., Foreign, 1566–68*, 277.
8 Accounts of the ceremony: Additional MS.37998 fol.11; Harleian MS.1355 fol. 21–21v; Additional MS.10110 fol.153–53v. Sussex's report to Elizabeth *C.S.P. Foreign, 1566–68*, 395.

Nor did these joint ceremonies collapse in the face of the rising violence and hatred. In 1572, when in France the policy of conciliation was at its height in the marriage of Henry of Navarre and Marguerite de Valois, the treaty of Blois with England was sealed by a series of magnificent installation ceremonies at Windsor in which Constable Montmorency was installed as a Knight of the Garter.[1] When Henry III received the Garter in February–March 1584–5 religious animosity was at its height and although the monarchy in France was on the verge of collapse it was still possible — admittedly with elaborate precautions — for Catholic and Protestant knights to walk in procession a short distance to the church of the Augustins in Paris and attend evensong. The splendid embassy led by Henry Stanley, fourth Earl of Derby, was the occasion for the last of the great series of fetes staged under the influence and direction of the Academies. Soon all was to be swept away and the reception of the Garter from the English Queen by Henry was to be the subject of derisive and ribald League propaganda.[2] But as the monarchy revived under Henry IV, so did many of the old policies. The investiture of Henry IV with the Garter at Rouen (1596) is a side-light on this return to the old formula. Although the Earl of Shrewsbury who brought the Garter was ordered not to attend Mass, nonetheless Catholic and Protestant knights once more walked in procession to evensong.[3] Four years later Monsieur de Chattes came to England and was installed at Windsor on behalf of Henry, an event which scandalized the English Catholics.[4] These Garter investitures shed light on a neglected aspect in religious trends in the post Tridentine period — the survival of the liberal tradition.

Over the investiture of Protestant princes there is less cause to linger. The Duke of Holstein received the Garter on the occasion of his visit to England in 1560 to negotiate for the Queen's hand[5] and John Casimir, Elector Palatine, was invested with it when he came to confer with Elizabeth early in 1577/78.[6] The investiture of Frederick II, King of Denmark, was performed by an embassy headed by Lord Willoughby d'Eresby which arrived in Denmark in August 1582. This mission involved many difficulties because the King regarded the Order as being somewhat popish and refused point blank to wear the robes or to receive the Garter in the name of a saint. At last, on 14th August, the King was induced to receive the Garter and the George only — the collar still survives — and the occasion evoked from his secretary a long

1 Stowe, *Annales*, 673; Holinshed, *Chronicles*, IV, 284; *Correspondence Diplomatique de Bertrand de Salignac de la Mothe Fenelon* (Paris & London, 1840), V, 19–20; Harleian MS.6064, fol. 40–42; *C.S.P. Domestic, 1547–80*, 446.

2 R. C. Strong, 'Festivals for the Garter Embassy at the Court of Henry III', *Journal of the Warburg & Courtauld Institutes*, XXII (1959), nos. 1–2, pp. 60–70.

3 Accounts of the ceremonies: Stowe, *Annales*, 777–82; Cotton MS. Caligula. E. IX. part 2. fol. 56–9; draft report *ibid.*, fol. 78–82; *C.S.P., Venetian, 1592–1603*, 231; T. Birch, *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1754), II, 155; Harleian MS.1355. fol. 24–24v; Add. MS. 6298. fol. 271–71v; P. Laffleur Kermaingant, *L'Ambassade de France en Angleterre sous Henry IV, Mission de Jean de Thumery Sieur de Boissise* (Paris, 1886), I, 61–3.

4 Collins, *Letters and Memorials of State*, II, 190; Kermaingant, *L'Ambassade de France*, I, 388–89; II, 136; account of installation, Stowe MS.595. fol. 47–47v. Various documents: Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, Appendix, CXXIII, CLI, CLVI. Attitude of the English Catholics, Foley, *Records of the English Province*, I, 5.

5 Account of installation, Ashmole MS.1134. fol. 18–18v.

6 Stowe, *Annales*, 685. H.M.C., *Report*, IV, 334; Ashmole MS.1108. fol.69.

letter to Sir Francis Walsingham praising the Order and its part in linking rulers in unity one with the other.[1]

As a footnote to these foreign investitures there remains the story of the Duke of Wurtemburg's passion for the Order. This began in 1592 when the Duke visited Windsor Castle which made a profound impression upon him:

> Sic FREDERICVS ad has, modo se conuertit ad illas
> Regnioras, *Windsorae* illum vnica aura remordet
> *Windsora* ante oculos, *Windsora* ante ora recurrit.[2]

In a subsequent audience with the Queen he claimed that she promised his election as a Garter Knight. Elizabeth later denied this but it was the foundation upon which the Duke built his hopes and resulted in five years of embassies, complimentary letters and gifts, until, at last, in 1597, the Queen admitted him to the Order. A delay in its delivery evoked a second flood of embassies and letters but it was not until after the Queen's death that the Duke's desire was to be fulfilled.[3] That the Duke was something of a figure of fun we can gather from the allusions to the visit of Germans to the Garter Inn, Windsor, in Shakespeare's *Merry Wives* when the Host laments that 'They have had my house a week at command; I have turned away my other guests'[4] and they subsequently make away with the post horses. The discrepancy between the Duke's passion for the Garter and the English mockery of him and his entourage was material ready to be moulded by a great comic genius.

The Antiquarian Approach

Andrè Favyn, the 17th-century expert on matters concerned with chivalry, wrote, in his *The Theater of Honour and Knighthood* (1619), that the Order of the Garter 'had *S. George* for the Gouernour, or Patron, Loue for the Subiect, and the Deuice French'.[5] He was referring to what was popularly regarded as the origin of that illustrious Order, the gallantry of Edward III in picking up a lady's garter and reproving the lascivious thoughts of bystanders with the famous words *Honi soit qui mal y pense* (Evil be to him who evil thinks). The gradual rise of that legend stems back to Polydore Vergil who first recorded it in his *Anglica Historia* as being current amongst the vulgar. In his version it is the Queen's garter which is picked up. Polydore himself thought that the origin of the Order was lost in obscurity but rightly alluded to its military setting in using the patron of soldiers as its protector.[6]

1 *C.S.P., Foreign, 1582*, 253. Useful material is collected in G. Bertie, *Five Generations of a Loyal House* (London, 1845), 67–73; see also Holinshed, *Chronicles*, IV, 495; *C.S.P., Foreign, 1582*, 130–31, 247. His Garter collar is the only surviving example from the Tudor period, see Lord Twining, *A History of the Crown Jewels of Europe* (London, 1960), 96.

2 J. Assum, *Penegyrici Tres Anglovirtembergici decantantes Heroicum Ordinem Regiae Angliae societatis Garteriorum D. Georgi* (Tubingen, 1604), fol.14.

3 On the 1592 visit see E. Cellius, *Eqves Auratus Anglo-VVirtembergicvs* (Tubingen, 1605), 69–102; trans. Rye, *England as seen by Foreigners*, 3–53. Narrative of the 1595 embassy: Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth and Some Foreigners*, 357–423; on further negotiations see Cellius, *op. cit.*, 103–22; H.M.C., *Hatfield*, XIV, 330. General accounts see Rye, *England seen by Foreigners*, lviii–lxxvi; Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth and Some Foreigners*, 347–55.

4 Act IV. sc.3, 9–10. The disassociation of these references from the visits of the Germans suggested by J. Crofts (*Shakespeare and the Post Horses*, Bristol, 1937) is hardly convincing.

5 Favyn, *Theater of Honour and Knighthood*, I, 67–77.

6 Polydore Vergil, *Anglicae Historiae*, 378–79.

Running directly counter to this humanist appraisal of the foundation of the Garter is the introduction to the official book of the Order, the *Liber Niger*, compiled at the beginning of Henry VIII's reign. The *Liber Niger* represents a deliberate effort to fabricate a suitable pedigree for the Order in the face of the absence of a more legitimate one. It recalls the valiant knights of Troy, of the Old Testament and of the Christian faith and alludes to the chivalrous English kings who had been images of the knightly virtues. Behind them looms the figure of Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table, and here, for the first time, appears the story of Richard I as the founder of an order of knights who wore garters of blue leather at the siege of Acre. The *Liber Niger* states that in founding the Garter Edward III was merely reviving this Order. The introduction further includes lengthy discussions on the symbolism of the insignia: the Garter as a symbol of friendship, sincerity and faithfulness; the great collar as a bond of peace and fidelity; the George as a reminder to the Knights of a valiant soldier of Christ and the robes of purple as emblems of majesty and bravery of mind.[1]

The garter legend was increasingly disseminated as the century wore on — notably by those less concerned with the grave and weighty ideals of the Order and its solemnities. Each successive occasion that it was recorded evoked yet further elaboration and the story grew ever more complex and conflicting. *The Armorie of Nobillitie* (1589) is one of several full-blown examples current in the reign of Elizabeth.

> The King on a tyme dauncing with one of the maydes of Honor, her garter (which was of blew silke) fell from her leg; he, seing the same, tooke it vp and tyed it about his leg, wherat the Queen and others seemed something jeliouse but he (perceiving the Queen perplexed) having no evill intent therin caused (in token of his Innocency) a Garter to be made of blew vellett imbrodered with this inscription, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*.[2]

Holinshed offers a variant; the Queen drops her garter on the way to her lodging and Edward orders it to be brought to him and vows to make all men reverence it.[3] Peele and Segar also utilize the legend, although the latter preserves Polydore's statement that it was only popular tradition.[4] The opening of the 17th century and the work of Selden, Speed, Camden and much later Ashmole,[5] marks the beginning of a more scientific approach to the mystery of the Garter and it origins. This was manifested by the gradual dismissal of the early Tudor fabrications in favour of a return to Froissart and other sources, although as the Order sprang from Edward III's Round Table jousts at Windsor the Arthurian connotation of the Order continued to linger.

Over the purpose of the Garter there was complete agreement. Grafton in his *Chronicle* refers to it as the means whereby Edward hoped that 'great

[1] Anstis, *Register*, I, 1–29. The Richard I legend appears in J. Rastell, *The Pastyme of People* (London, 1811), 216–17.

[2] Royal MS. 18. C. XVII. fol. 84; Sir William Segar, *Original Institutions of the Princely Orders of Collars* (Edinburgh, 1823), 4–5.

[3] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, I, 268–72. Holinshed also alludes to the popular story of the King picking up the lady's garter, II, 627.

[4] W. Segar, *Honor Military and Ciuill* (London, 1602), 65–8; *The Booke of Honor and Armes* (London, 1590), 14–18.

[5] J. Selden, *Titles of Honour* (London, 1672), 657–9; J. Speed, *The Historie of Great Britaine* (London, 1632), 686–7; W. Camden, *Britannia* (London, 1610), 286–93; Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, 178–87.

amitie, friendship and loue might growe among the nobles of this realme'[1] and Holinshed similarly praises Edward for making choice 'of the best, most excellent and renowmed persons in all vertues and honour'.[2] The herald and antiquarian Camden explains in his *Britannia* (1610) that the Garter was founded to adorn martial prowess with honours, 'the guerdon of vertue', and he, like other commentators, followed the *Liber Niger* in describing the Garter itself as a symbol of concord and unity associating the Knights in a communion of virtues.[3]

Peele's poem *The Honour of the Garter*, written to celebrate the election of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, into the Order in 1593, is an excellent guide to Elizabethan Garter mythology.[4] The poet has a vision — Petrarchan in inspiration — in which he sees the night sky over Windsor Castle filled with a mighty host of armed men together with Edward III, his leg incompassed by a glistening Garter. He tells of the origin of the Order; how Edward in midst of revels had picked up the Queen's garter and vowed to establish an Order with this as its emblem and St. George as its patron. There follows a Triumph of Fame, on whose chariot there lies open a book inscribed with the names of all the famous Knights of the Garter. These walked in procession attended by,

> . . . a number infinite,
> True knights of all the orders in the world,
> Christians and heathens, that accompanied
> This worthy king in his procession.[5]

Peele follows the *Liber Niger* in placing the chivalry of the Garter within a universal context, citing the valiant Trojan knights, those of the Old Testament, the Crusaders, King Arthur 'the glory of the western world', Jason and the Knights of the Golden Fleece, the Knights of the *Toison d'Or*, of St. Iago, of Rhodes and of the Holy Sepulchre. Then,

> A prince of famous memory I saw,
> Henry the Eight, that led a warlike band
> Of English earls, and lords, and lusty knights,
> That ware the garter sacred to Saint George.[6]

This Triumph of Fame reaches its climax with the vision of Elizabeth and the Knights of her reign and especially those elected in 1593. Each in turn is hailed by Edward III but, at the approach of dawn, this celestial vision suddenly fades and the poet awakens from his slumber.

The Theological Approach: The Tudor Cult of St. George

William Caxton in his translation of the *Legenda Aurea* (1483) states that 'the blessed and holy martyr S. George is patron of England and the cry of men of war. In the worship of whom is founded the noble order of the garter, and also a noble college in the castle of Windsor'.[7] Caxton rightly discerned

1 *Grafton's Chronicle* (London, 1809), I, 358–9.
2 Holinshed, *Chronicles*, I, 268.
3 Camden, *Britannia*, 287; 'a golden band of vnitie', Speed, *Historie*, 686.
4 *The Works of George Peele*, I, 315–37.
5 *Ibid.*, 330.
6 *Ibid.*, 331.
7 William Caxton, *The Golden Legend* (The Temple Classics, London, 1900), III, 133.

three distinct and yet intertwining roles for St. George: as patron of England, of soldiers and of the Garter. Henry VII inherited[1] and himself promoted an especial veneration for St. George. One of the three banners which he bore at Bosworth was adorned with 'the ymage of S. George'[2] and there exists the remarkable votive painting of Henry VII, Elizabeth of York and their children kneeling before the saint who is in act of slaying the dragon hovering in the sky (Pl. XXXVII).[3] Another painting, a miniature, probably torn from a treaty, depicts Henry in his Garter robes attended by the Emperor, the King of the Romans and the Austrian archduke kneeling before an altar on which stands St. George treading the dragon underfoot.[4] On his death the king bequeathed a jewelled image of the saint to the Chapel at Windsor to adorn the high altar on feast days.[5] Similar visual material is extant for the adoration of the saint by Henry VIII,[6] a cult which was strengthened by Henry's role as a warrior prince. During this reign the cross of St. George, a red cross on a white or silver gound, was established as the battle flag of England,[7] a fact which may account to a considerable degree for the survival of St. George into the England of Elizabeth.

The accession of Edward VI at once brought the saint into difficulties and as early as 1547 St. George was the centre of contention, finding a strong defender in the conservative Gardiner.[8] 'If images be forbidden, why doothe the King weare S. Georg on his brest?'[9] Early revisions of the Garter envisaged the continued use of St. George but, in 1550, Edward himself turned upon the saint in an anecdote recounted with relish by Foxe:

> . . . at Greenwich, upon St. George's day, when he (*i.e.* Edward) was come from the sermon into the presence-chamber, there being his uncle the duke of Somerset, the duke of Northumberland, with other lords and knights of that order called the Order of the Garter, he said to them, 'My lords, I pray you, what saint is St. George, that we here so honour him?' At which question the other lords being all astonied, the lord treasurer that then was, perceiving this, gave answer, and said, 'If it please your Majesty, I did never read in any history of St. George, but only in "Legenda Aurea", where it is thus set down: That St. George out with his sword, and ran the dragon through with his spear'. The king, when he could not for a great while speak for laughing, at length said, 'I pray you, my lord, and what did he with his sword the while?' 'That I cannot tell your majesty,' said he. And so an end that question of good St. George.[10]

1 Some interesting 15th-century examples are cited by G. Scharf 'On a Votive Painting of St. George and the Dragon', *Archaeologia*, XLIX (1886), 2ff. See also the miniature in Royal MS. E.15.VI, fol. 431 of Henry VI and his Garter Knights adoring St. George.

2 *Hall's Chronicle* (London, 1809), 423.

3 Scharf, *op. cit.* note 1.

4 Add. MS. 25698. f.3; see H. Shaw, *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages* (London, 1843), II, (no pagination). Shaw suggests 1492.

5 Nicolas, *Orders of Knighthood*, I, 120. St. George also figured in Henry VII's entry into Hereford: Leland, *Collectanea*, IV, 197.

6 Scharf, *op. cit.*, cites examples. An image of St. George adorned the altar at the Field of Cloth of Gold, *C.S.P., Venetian*, III, 20.

7 Viscount Dillon, 'The Tudor Battle Flag of England', *Arch. J.*, LXV, 282–6. Dillon does not go into the allegorical ramifications of the flag which was supposed to have been presented to Arviragus, first Christian King of Britain, by St. Joseph of Arimathea — see for example G. Legh, *The Accedens of Armory* (London, 1568), fol. 47–48^{v}.

8 J. A. Muller (ed.), *The Letters of Stephen Gardiner* (Cambridge, 1933), 312–13.

9 *Ibid.*, 260–61.

10 S. R. Cattlev (ed.), *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe* (London, 1888), VI, 351–2.

One of the successive versions of the Garter statutes contains an attempt at allegorization which is a pointer towards the Elizabethan approach to the saint. It was suggested that the Order should have for its emblem a knight on horseback bearing a shield inscribed *Fides* and a sword with *Protectio* piercing a book, *Verbum Dei*.[1] The final statutes provided merely for an armed horseman and avoided commentary on its significance.

St. George remained untouched on the accession of Elizabeth and the 'cult' of this saint,[2] like other aspects of the Garter, remained something of an anomaly. It was never formally stated that the Garter badge did not represent the saint but for both Catholics and Protestants in the second half of the 16th century the actual image of St. George slaying the dragon became accepted as a sacred emblem or hieroglyph. Interpretations varied from an allegory showing how the civil magistrate through his virtues should deliver the Church from oppression[3] to a city or state begging the saint's intercession in its struggle against the devil.[4] English allegorizations are late but embody what must have generally been regarded as the meaning of the Garter George. They fall roughly into three distinct groups.[5] The first is the product of the ultra-Protestant approach. John Rainolds in his *De Romanae Ecclesiae Idolatria* (1596), dedicated to the Garter Knight Essex, after referring to the Calvinistic and Lutheran denunciations of St. George, states that the George was an emblem designed to incite the valiant Garter Knights to war down the dragon, the dreaded Antichrist of Rome.[6] A Jacobean poem on the Order reiterates this theme:

> The Garter is the favour of a King,
> Clasping the leg on which man's best part stands;
> A poesye in't, as in a nuptiall ring,
> Binding the heart to their liege Lord in bands;
> That whilst the leg hath strength, or arme the powre,
> To kill that serpent would their King devoure . . .
> God keepe our King and them from Rome's black pen,
> Let all that love the Garter say, Amen![7]

This is not altogether removed from another late interpretation by John Boys who took the Garter George to signifv that a valiant Christian knight should always be ready to fight against the Dragon, and other enemies of Church and State.[8] But it was also interpreted as an allegory of Christ vanquishing the devil and delivering the Church:[9]

> Saint George the Dragon, Jesus Sathan kill'd;
> Saint George the Princesse and the Lambe preserv'd:

1 J. G. Nichols, *The Literary Remains of King Edward VI*, Roxburghe Club (1857), II, 523.
2 See F. A. Yates, 'Elizabethan Chivalry: The Romance of the Accession Day Tilts', *Journal of the Warburg & Courtauld Institutes*, XXI (1958), 22–3 and *n.* 84.
3 Gerard A. Hyperius, *De Theologo, seu de ratione studii Theologici* (Basiliae, 1559), 531–2.
4 Caesare Baronio Sarano, *Martyrologium Romanum* (Venice, 1587), 177–80.
5 Useful guides are Selden's commentary to M. Drayton, *Poly-Olbion* (London, 1613), 68–9; Peter Heylyn, *The Historie of that most famous Saint and Soldier of Christ Iesus; St. George of Cappadocia* (London, 1633), 331–5; Selden, *Titles of Honour*, 677–8.
6 J. Rainolds, *De Romanae Ecclesiae Idolatria* (Oxford, 1596), 201–9.
7 J. Nichols, *Progresses of James I* (London, 1828), III, 155–6. Nicolas, *Orders of Knighthood*, Appendix, xliv-xlvi.
8 *The Workes of Iohn Boys* (London, 1622), 330. *Cf.* Interpretation given by the Prince of Orange in 1627 —Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, 418–9.
9 W. Perkins, *Warning against the Idolatrie of the last times* (Cambridge, 1601), 174.

Jesus the bitter combat hath fulfill'd,
And by the Divel's death his Church reserv'd;
That spotlesse Dame whose ravishment was sought
By tirant's rage that bloudy ruine brought.[1]

Thus runs one popular ballad, Richard Vennar's *A Prayer for the prosperous Successe of hir Majestie's Forces in Ireland* (*c.* 1600), which continues to move the allegory on to another level and describes the Garter Knight, Mountjoy, bearing his Saviour's badge, quelling the devilish Tyrone. The Christ *versus* the Devil theme moves on to another plane with equal facility in Gerard de Malynes' *Saint George for England* (1601), this time becoming Elizabeth who, as the disseminator of purity of doctrine, had rescued many from the chains of darkness.[2]

The general effect of these interpretations is somewhat kaleidoscopic but they are of importance in showing how the motif of the Knight slaying the dragon could ascend from the struggle of a Christian against the Antichrist of Rome to that of Christ versus the Devil. And although the truth of the dragon-killing story was dismissed it is of importance that St. George continued to hold his own as a saint, particularly because he could be justified by an appeal to the Greek church.[3] He was still the patron of England, the saint who was invoked by the soldier on the battlefield, whose flag was borne by forces both on sea and land.

Book I of the *Faerie Queene* contains a large woodcut of St. George and the dragon, and Spenser's handling of the George allegory works on all these levels intermingled with a great number of other complex incidents. The Red Cross Knight is, of course, specifically alluded to as St. George; as a person arrayed in 'the armour of a christian man', and looming behind it all is the Knight's identification with Christ overcoming the Devil and espousing the true Church, Una.

During the which there was an heauenly noise
Heard sound through all the Pallace pleasantly,
Like as it had bene many an Angels voice,
Singing before th'eternall maiesty,
In their trinall triplicites on hye . . .[4]

In this aspect the Garter George carries within it a mystic and eternal message.

These interpretations of the Garter George are of equal interest in relation to the Queen's portraits in which she sometimes holds up the Lesser George clearly with the notion that it is a sacred badge or hieroglyph (Pl. XLA).[5] Nor should these exegeses be forgotten in relation to the Garter portrait. The ascendancy of the chivalrous formula is reflected as accurately by Knights in their Garter robes as it is in the monotonously popular knight-in-armour formula. Sir Henry Lee in his Garter robes (Pl. XLB)[6] is typical of the favour accorded

1 Nichols, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, III, 541–3.
2 Gerard de Malynes, *Saint George for England, allegorically described* (London, 1601), dedication.
3 Heylyn, *Historie of St. George*, and Selden, *Titles of Honour*, 659–68.
4 *Faerie Queene*, I, Cant. XII, 39.
5 R. Strong, *The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford, 1963), 62, 64.
6 Lee was elected in 1597, see above, p. 253.

to the Garter portrait by the new aristocracy of the Elizabethan age. As a motif these portraits probably owed something to continental trends in iconography — Knights of the Golden Fleece, for example — but they can also be taken as evidence of the renewed vigour of the Order of the Garter in the reign of Elizabeth I.

Conclusion[1]

Under James I[2] St. George's Day continued to be a great public spectacle, although it was one increasingly marred by quarrels over precedence between rival ambassadors. Apart from this and the King's unfortunate habit of admitting his favourites as Knights, the Garter solemnities continued much as they had done under Elizabeth. Liturgical spectacle continued to flourish in the Royal Chapels as typified, for instance, by the installation of the Duke of York in 1611. A Venetian observer noted that the altar of the Chapel at Windsor was adorned by a cross and statues of saints and that the service was chanted by clergy arrayed in rich copes and purple cottas. The music of the organ and wind instruments accompanied by voices was reported to have been 'worthy the ears of a mighty monarch'.[3] The Jacobean era also marked the heyday of the calvalcade. That of 1606 was said to have surpassed even the coronation in its magnificence.[4] 'On Monday our new Knights of the Garter Lord Fenton and Lord Knollis ride to Windsor', reported Chamberlain on 20th May 1615, 'with great preparation to revie one upon another who shall make the best shew'.[5] When it came to the issue 'yt were hard to judge whether had the advantage'.[6] This absurd rivalry in ostentation came to an abrupt end in 1618 when James limited each new Knight to only fifty followers apiece.

The accession of Charles I[7] brought the Elizabethan phase in the Garter's history to a sudden end, for once again the annual Feasts were held at Windsor. Charles, moreover, proposed schemes to reform the Order, and the Chapel at Windsor became a bulwark of the Caroline Anglican movement. It was filled with splendid silver plate by Van Vienen especially commissioned for use in the Order's ceremonies; the choir was hung with crimson velvet, and gold and tapestries of St. George and of the Assumption of the Virgin adorned the high altar.[8] The prelate of the Garter, Peter Heylyn, wrote an elaborate defence of the patron of the Order, St. George.[9] Such High Churchmanship one might say was inherent in the ritual of the Elizabethan Royal Chapels from the very beginning but the Caroline Garter ceremonial had a flavour of secrecy which

1 The following is, of course, only a brief summary of Stuart Garter history.
2 Nicolas, *Orders of Knighthood*, I, 210–13.
3 *C.S.P., Venetian, 1610–13*, 153–4.
4 *Ibid., 1603–1607*, 606.
5 N. E. McClure (ed.), *The Letters of John Chamberlain* (Philadelphia, 1939), I, 597.
6 *Ibid.*, I, 599.
7 Nicolas, *Orders of Knighthood*, I, 224–39.
8 N. F. Bond, *The Inventories of St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle*, Historical Monographs relating to St. George's Chapel (1939), 240–46. C. Oman, 'The Plate of St. George's Chapel Windsor', *The Society of the Friends of St. George, Annual Report* (1954), 16–25; Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, 490–500.
9 Heylyn, *The Historie of St. George*. I intend to discuss the relationship of this material to Rubens' great *St. George and Dragon* (H.M. The Queen, Windsor Castle) painted for Charles I, and Van Dyck's sketch for a Garter Procession (Duke of Rutland) elsewhere.

contrasted sharply with the great public spectacle it had been under Elizabeth. No longer could Londoners throng the courtyards at Whitehall and Greenwich to see the monarch, his clergy and Knights pass in solemn procession. On 22nd October, 1642, a parliamentarian seized the keys to the treasury at Windsor and the gorgeous trappings of Caroline Garter ceremonial were laid open to pillage.

APPENDIX
OFFICIAL ACCOUNTS AND DESCRIPTIONS OF ELIZABETHAN GARTER FEASTS[1]
(1559–1602)

1559

St. George's Day: Whitehall
L.C. f.8–8v.
Ashmole MS.1134. f.6v–9.

Windsor Castle: Feast and Installation
L.C. f.9.
Ashmole MS.1134. f.9v–11.

1560

St. George's Day: Whitehall
L.C. f.9–9v.
Ashmole MS.1134. f.11v–14v.
College of Arms, Arundel MS. XLVII, 103.
Ashmole MS.1110. f.87–89.

Windsor Castle: Feast
L.C. f.9v–10.
Ashmole MS.1134. f.15–17.
College of Arms MS. Arundel XLVII, 103.

1561

St. George's Day: Whitehall
L.C. f.10v–11.
C.S.P., Domestic, 1547–80, 239.

Windsor Castle: Feast and Installation
L.C. f.11.
C.S.P., Domestic, 1547–80, 239.

1562

St. George's Day: Whitehall
L.C. f.11v–12.
C.S.P., Domestic, 1547–80, 239.

1563

St. George's Day: Whitehall
L.C. f.12–12v.
C.S.P., Domestic, 1547–80, 239.

Windsor Castle: Feast and Installation
L.C. f.12v.
C.S.P., Domestic, 1547–80, 239.

1564

St. George's Day: Windsor
L.C. f.12v–13v.
C.S.P., Domestic, 1547–80, 239.

1565

St. George's Day: Whitehall
L.C. f.13v.

Windsor Castle: Feast
L.C. f.13v–14.

1566

St. George's Day: Greenwich
L.C. f.14–14v.
Ashmole MS.1114. f.67–68.

Windsor Castle: Feast
L.C. f.15.

END OF THE FEASTS AT WINDSOR

1567

Whitehall
L.C. f.15–15v.
Ashmole MS.1114. f.68v–69v.

1568

L.C. f.15v–16.
Ashmole MS.1110. f.90–91.

1569

Whitehall
L.C. f.16–16v.

1570

Hampton Court
L.C. f.16v–17.

[1] The official records of the Garter Feasts are preserved in the *Liber Ceruleus*, of which a transcript is in Additional MS. 36768, and which is here referred to as L.C.

APPENDIX—*continued*

1571

Whitehall
L.C. f.17–18.

1572

Greenwich
L.C. f.18–18^{v}.

1573

Greenwich
L.C. f.18^{v}–19.

1574

Greenwich
L.C. f.19–19^{v}.

1575

Greenwich
L.C. f.20.

1576

Whitehall
L.C. f.20^{v}.
Ashmole MS.1109. f.89^{v}–91.
Add. MS.10110. f.121–23.

1577

Whitehall
L.C. f.20^{v}.
Ashmole M.S.1109. f.85^{v}–87.
Add. MS.10110. f. 108–109.

1578

Greenwich
L.C. f.21^{v}.
Add. MS.10110. f.110–11.

1579

Whitehall
L.C. f.21^{v}–22.
Ashmole MS.1109. f.87^{v}–89, 91^{v}–92^{v}.
Add. MS.10110. f.136–37.

1580

Whitehall
L.C. f.22^{v}–23.

1581

Whitehall
L.C. f.23–23^{v}.

1582

Greenwich
L.C. f.24.
Add. MS. 10110. f.112 (Account breaks off in the middle).

1583

Greenwich
L.C. f.24^{v}–25.
Ashmole MS.1108. f.60^{v} (Note only).

1584

Greenwich
L.C. f.25–26^{v}.
Ashmole MS. 1108. f.60–61^{v}.

1585

Greenwich
L.C. f.26^{v}–27^{v}.
Ashmole MS.1108. f.62–62^{v}.
Harleian MS.304. f.147–48^{v}; 155–56.

1586

Greenwich
L.C. f.27^{v}.
Harleian MS.304. f.149, 156^{v}–57.

1587

Greenwich
L.C. f.28.
Harleian MS.304. f.150–52; 157–57^{v}.

1588

Greenwich
L.C. f.28^{v}–29^{v}.
Harleian MS.304. f.154, 157^{v}–158^{v}.

1589

Whitehall
L.C. f.29^{v}–30.
Ashmole MS.1112. f.9.
Harleian MS.304. f.159–60.

1590

Greenwich
L.C. f.30^{v}–31.

1591

Greenwich
L.C. f.31.
Harleian MS.304. f.161–62.

1592

Greenwich
L.C. f.31^{v}–32.
Ashmole MS.1109. f.89.
Harleian MS.304. f.166^{v}.

1593

Whitehall
L.C. f.32–32^{v}.
Add. MS.6298. f.88.
Harleian MS.304. f.168.

APPENDIX—*continued*

1594

Greenwich
L.C. f.33–33^{v}.

1595

Whitehall
L.C. f.33^{v}–34.
Add. MS.6298. f.87.
Add. MS.10110. f.23.

1596

Greenwich
L.C. f.34–34^{v}.
Ashmole MS.1108. f.62^{v} (Note only).
Add. MS.6298. f.88^{v}.

1597

Whitehall
L.C. f.35–35^{v}.
Ashmole MS.1108. f.63 (Note only).
Add. MS. 6298. f.90–90^{v}.
Add. MS.10110. f.159 (Account breaks off in the middle).

1598

Whitehall.
L.C. f.35^{v}–36.
Ashmole MS.1108. f.63^{v} (Note only).
Add. MS.6298. f.92–92^{v}.

1599

Greenwich
L.C. f.36–36^{v}.
Ashmole MS.1108. f.63^{v} (Note only).
Add. MS. 6298. f.92^{v}–93.

1600

Greenwich
L.C. f.37–37^{v}.
Ashmole MS.1108. f.64.
Add. MS.6298. f.94–94^{v}.

1601

Whitehall
L.C. f.37^{v}–38.
Ashmole MS.1108. f.64 (Note only).

1602

Greenwich
L.C. f.38^{v}.
Ashmole MS.1108. f.64^{v}.