

SUMMARY: The documents below are indictments stating that on 27 March 1579 Gregory Clover of Colchester and Thomas Wixsted of Dedham uttered scandalous words concerning Oxford, Ambrose Dudley (c.1530-1590), Earl of Warwick, and his brother, Robert Dudley (1532/3-1588), Earl of Leicester. According to the National Archives online catalogue, judgment was handed down on 6 August 1579, condemning Clover and Wixsted each to have one of his ears nailed to the pillory in Colchester upon a market day.

Although the cause of the disagreement between Clover and Wixsted is not mentioned in the indictments, Wixsted was a saltpetre man, and according to Emmison:

The saltpetreman's taunt doubtless refers to the claim by the de Veres, Earls of Oxford, of Hedingham Castle, for exemption of their manors from searches for saltpetre, essential to the making of gunpowder. Wixsted was evidently in the service of the Earl of Warwick, Master of the Ordnance, which explains the insulting comparison of the two earls.

See Emmison, Frederick George, *Elizabeth Life: Disorder; Mainly from Essex Sessions and Assize Records*, (Chelmsford: Essex County Council, 1970), pp. 47-8.

Emmison's conjecture as to one of the causes of the dispute may be correct. However Clover and Wixsted's insults were not confined to Oxford and Warwick. Clover also maligned Leicester, stating that he and Warwick came of traitors' blood, and should have been beheaded for killing King Edward VI. It thus seems likely that the argument between Clover and Wixsted reflected contention between Oxford and Leicester themselves at this time. See, for example, Charles Arundel's statement that Oxford was 'commanded to keep his chamber about the libelling between him and my Lord of Leicester', and a list of 'Articles whereof Oxford would have accused Leicester', TNA SP 12/151/44, ff. 98-9, and TNA SP 12/151/50, f. 110. Wixsted's statement that Oxford was 'confederate with the Duke of Norfolk' also appears to reflect public knowledge of Oxford's attempts to save his first cousin, Thomas Howard (1537-1572), 4th Duke of Norfolk, from the headsman's axe (see TNA SP 15/21/23, ff. 42-3).

For further mention of the indictments of Clover and Wixsted, see Cressy, David, *Dangerous Talk: Scandalous, Seditious and Treasonous Speech in Pre-Modern England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 69, and Mears, Natalie, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 196, both available online.

Copies of the indictments are also in the Essex Record Office, T/A 418/32/19 and T/A 418/32/20.

LM: Essex

The jurors present for the Lady Queen that Gregory Clover, [] of the town of Colchester in the country aforesaid, yeoman, not having God before his eyes, but deceived by diabolical instigation, and with malice aforethought devising and intending to bring the right honourable Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, and Robert, Earl of Leicester, being of the Privy Council of the said Lady Queen, not only in hatred and contempt of the said Lady Queen and in great danger of their lives, but also to cause, produce and procure ill will and strife between them, the forenamed Earls of Warwick and Leicester, and the right honourable Edward, Earl of Oxford, Great Chamberlain of England, and to deprive the foresaid Earls of Warwick and Leicester of their goods, name, reputation and estimation among all the subjects of the Lady Queen, on the 27th day of March in the 21st year of the reign of the said Lady Queen Elizabeth at Dedham in the county aforesaid, uttered and published divers pernicious, seditious and scandalous words following concerning [] the same forenamed Earls of Warwick and Leicester in the presence and hearing of divers faithful subjects of the Lady Queen these English words following, viz., that *my Lord of Warwick & my Lord of Leicester are traitors [], & come of a traitor's blood, and that if they had right, they had lost their heads so well as others for making away of King Edward*, to the great danger of the said Earls of Warwick and Leicester, and to the bad and pernicious example of all others delinquent in the same case, and against the peace of the said Lady Queen, and contrary to the form of statute in such case [] enacted and provided.

ponit se super patriam [=He puts himself on the country. =He pleads not guilty.]

Culpabilis [=Guilty]

Iudicium To be set on the pillory at Colchester upon some market day in the open marketplace in the market time, and to have one of his ears nailed to the pillory.

LM: Essex

The jurors for the Lady Queen present that Thomas Wixsted of Dedham in the county aforesaid, saltpetre man, not having God before his eyes, but deceived by diabolical instigation, and with malice aforethought devising and intending to bring the right honourable Edward, Earl of Oxford, Great Chamberlain of England, not only in hatred and contempt of the said Lady Queen and in great danger of his life, but also to cause, produce [+and] procure ill will and strife between the said Edward, Earl of Oxford, and the right honourable Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, and to deprive him, the forenamed Earl of Oxford, of name, reputation and estimation among all faithful subjects of the said Lady Queen, on the twenty-seventh day of the month of March in the twenty-first year of the reign of the Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God of England, France and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith etc. at Dedham aforesaid maliciously uttered and published divers pernicious, seditious, opprobrious and scandalous words following in the presence and hearing of certain of the Lady Queen's faithful subjects, namely he, the foresaid Thomas Wixsted [], *would go to the Lord of Oxford's towns in spite of the Lord of Oxford, and*

that my Lord of Oxford was not worthy to wipe the Lord of Warwick's shoes, and that the said Earl of Oxford was confederate with the Duke of Norfolk, and was as well worthy to lose his head as he, meaning the said Duke, to the great danger of the same Earl of Oxford, and to the bad and pernicious example of all other subjects of the same kingdom of England delinquent in like case, and to the disturbance of the concord and good agreement of the said right honourable [+Lords], and against the peace of the said Lady Queen, and contrary to the form of statute therefore enacted and provided.

ponit se super patriam [=He puts himself on the country. =He pleads not guilty.]

Culpabilis [=Guilty]

Iudicium To be set on the pillory at Colchester upon some market day in the open marketplace in the market time, and to have one of his ears nailed to the pillory.

m. 19

LM: Essex

1 Iuratores presentant pro domina Regina quod Gregorius Clover [] de villa Colcestrie in Comitatu predicto yoman deum pro oculis suis non habens set

2 instigatione diabolica seductus ac ex malicia sua precogitatus machinans et in tendens prenobiles viros Ambrosium Comitem Warrvici et

3 Robertum Comitem leicestrie de privato consilio dicte domine Regine existentes non solum in odium et contemptum dicte domine Regine ac in

4 magnum discrimen vite sue inducere set etiam ad faciendum excitandum et procurandum invidiam et contencionem et inter ipsos

5 prefatos comites Warrvici et leicestrie et prenobilem virum Edwardum Comitem Oxonie magnum camerarium Anglie Ac predictos(?)

6 Comites Warrvici et leicestrie de bonis nomine fama et existimacione suis deprivare apud omnes domine Regine subditos

7 xxvijo die martij anno regni dicte domine Elizabethe Regine xxjo Apud Dedham in Comitatu predicto diuersa perniosa seditiosa et scandalosa verba

8 sequentia de [] ipsis prefatis Comitibus Warrvici et leicestrie in presentia ac Auditu diuersorum domine Regine fidelium subditorum

9 hys Anglicis verbis sequentia dixit et propalauit vz that my lord of Warrwick & my lord of leycestre are traytors []

10 & com of a traytors blodd And that yf they had right they had loste ther heddes so well

11 as others for making awaye of Kinge Edwarde in magnum discrimen ipsorum Comitum Warrvici et leicestrie

12 et in malum et pernitosum exemplum omnium aliorum in huiusmodi casu delinquentorum Ac contra pacem dicte domine Regine

13 ac contra formam statuti in huiusmodi casu [] editi et prouisi

ponit se super patriam [=He puts himself on the country. =He pleads not guilty.]

Culpabilis [=Guilty]

Iudicium To be set on the pillory at Colchester upon some market day in the open marketplace in the market time, and to have one of his ears nailed to the pillory.

m. 20

LM: Essex

1 Iuratores pro domina Regina presentant quod Thomas Wixsted de dedham in comitatu predicto saltpeterman deum

2 pro oculis suis non habens sed instigacione diabolica seducta ac ex malitia sua precogitata Machinans et

3 intendens prenobilem virum Edwardum Comitem Oxonie Magnum Camerarium Anglie non

4 solum in odium et contemptum dicte domine Regine Ac in magnum discrimen vite sue

5 inducere sed etiam ad faciendum excitandum procurandum invidiam et contencionem inter ipsun [sic]

6 Edwardum Comitem oxonie et prenobilem virum Ambrosium Comitem Warvici Ac ipsum

7 prefatum Comitem Oxonie de nomine fama et estimacione apud omnes fideles dicte domine

8 Regine subditos depriuare vicesimo septimo die Martij Anno regni domine Elizabethhe dei

9 gracia Anglie ffrauncie et hibernie Regine fidei defensoris &c vicesimo primo apud

10 Dedham predictam diuersa pernitiōsa seditiosa obpropriosa et scandalosa verba sequentia in

11 presentia ac auditu quorundam domine Regine fidelium subditorum malitiose dixit et

12 propalauit scilicet He predictum Thomam Wixsted numendo/immendo(?) would goe to the lord of

13 oxfordes townes in spyte of the lorde of oxforde And that my lorde of Oxford

14 was not worthey to wbye the lorde of Warwickes shoes And that the said Earle

15 of Oxford was confederate with the Duke of Norffoulk And was as well worthey to

16 loose his hedde as he meaninge the said Duke in magnum discrimen ipsius

17 Comitū Oxonie et in malum et perniciosum exemplum omnium aliorum Subditorum

18 huius regni Anglie in consimili casu delinquentorum Ac in disturbacionem concordie

19 et boni agreementi dictorum prenobilium virorum Ac contra pacem dicte domine Regine

20 et contra formam Statuti inde editi et prouisi

ponit se super patriam [=He puts himself on the country. =He pleads not guilty.]

Culpabilis [=Guilty]

Iudicium To be set on the pillory at Colchester upon some market day in the open marketplace in the market time, and to have one of his ears nailed to the pillory.