SUMMARY: This letter from Lord Henry Howard to the Queen was written after 27 December 1580, the date on which Howard and Arundel gave themselves up to the authorities after their flight to the house of the Spanish ambassador, Mendoza, on the night of 25 December 1580. The terminus ad quem is 10 January 1581, since on that date Thomas Norton sent interrogatories to Sir Francis Walsingham which had already been administered to Howard (see SP 12/147/4, ff. 5-6). As Howard says in this letter, the interrogatories were administered to him by the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Bromley ('whereas it should seem by one special point whereof I was examined by my Lord Chancellor that he hath glanced at me someways for the Queen of Scots'). However Howard was in error in concluding that the interrogatory in question had been prepared by Oxford. Thomas Norton's letter to Walsingham of 30 December 1580 makes it clear that the initiative for the preparation of interrogatories concerning the book Le Innocence de la Tresillustre Royne etc. had come from Norton, not from Oxford (see BL MS Add. 15891, ff. 79-79v). This and other evidence suggest that both Howard and Arundel were mistaken in crediting all the allegations against them to Oxford. In fact, Howard and Arundel had other enemies, the principal among them being Leicester, as both men appear to have belatedly realized. Three of Howard's remarks ('your Majesty commandeth me'; 'I vouch not these saving by commandment'; and 'by your Majesty's commandment') suggest that he had been granted permission to write directly to the Queen in order to make allegations against Oxford. That the Queen thus played a direct role in soliciting allegations against Oxford which weakened his credibility as a witness against Howard and Arundel has not always been appreciated. Nor has it always been appreciated that Howard's allegations in his letter to the Queen are remarkably similar in some respects to allegations made against Oxford by Charles Arundel in SP 12/151/46, ff. 103-4, a fact which suggests collusion between Howard and Arundel, perhaps with the connivance of Leicester behind the scenes. Moreover it has not always been appreciated that there are no allegations of sodomy in Howard's letter to the Oueen, despite Howard's emphasis on them in another list of allegations against Oxford in his hand (see SP 12/151/57, ff. 118-19). The latter is supplemented by notes in the hand of Francis Southwell, who refused to support Howard's allegations of sodomy against Oxford. It is perhaps because of Southwell's stand that such allegations make no appearance in Howard's letter to the Queen. Howard's desire to injure Oxford as deeply as possible is evident throughout his letter, despite his protestation that 'this course of casting open other men's deformities' repugns against his nature. It is perhaps most strikingly evident in his betraval of Oxford's confidence with respect to their conversation in Lent 1580 about Oxford's alleged plan to leave England for Spain (a conversation which took place between Ash Wednesday, which fell on 16 February 1580, and the death of 'mine old Lord of Arundel' on 24 February 1580). Howard's account implies that Oxford had been anxious to put this plan into action because he feared Anne Vavasour was pregnant at the time. Anne turned out not to be pregnant in February 1580, although she did become pregnant in late June 1580, and gave birth to Oxford's illegitimate son on 21 March 1581. Howard makes the claim that, in preparation for his flight from England, Oxford had amassed 'a bank of fifteen thousand pound'. The sum is an enormous one, but considering the number of properties Oxford had sold by 1580, it is perhaps not an impossible figure. Howard also says that it was in consequence of this conversation with

Oxford that he immediately ceased to keep Oxford company at court ('Upon this speech I presently withdrew myself from his ordinary train'). This self-serving statement does not accord with other evidence. In SP 12/151/46, ff. 103-4, Arundel says that 'The course of [Oxford's] malice began with friendly warning of his drunkenness at the Queen's remove from Nonsuch to Oatlands', an incident to which Howard also alludes in less positive terms ('that he should say I smiled at my Lord of Oxford's drunkenness'). The court was at Nonsuch on 12 July 1580, moved to Oatlands shortly afterwards, and remained there until mid-September. It thus seems clear that the breach between Oxford and Howard did not take place in Lent 1580, as Howard self-servingly claims in his letter to the Queen, but in mid-July. Even then, the two men were still on speaking terms, since Howard recounts another conversation between them which must have taken place in mid-September 1580: 'After two months overblown at Oatlands, I bade him welcome out of Spain. He said the like occasion might renew the like adventure'. Howard's point is that once Oxford realized that Anne Vavasour was not pregnant in Lent, he abandoned his plan to leave England. However the conversation is also evidence that there had not vet been a complete falling-out between Oxford and Howard by mid-September, when the court left Oatlands. The outright breach seems to have occurred, on Howard's evidence, on Friday, 16 December 1580: 'Thus hath he prettily begun his solemn vow to be revenged of all the Howards in England one after another, though he could not pay them all at once, for it was the most villainous and treacherous race under heaven, and my Lord Howard of all other the most arrant villain that lived, witness Charles Arundel on Friday night was a fortnight in the presence chamber'. Charles Arundel's evidence for the date of the outright breach accords with Howard's: 'Ten days before this brabble was begun, he sent him a message that either by means direct or indirect, by right or wrong, he would make him repent his leaving of his company' (see SP 12/151/44, ff. 98-9).. If Arundel meant that the 'brabble' began with their flight to the house of the Spanish ambassador on the night of 25 December 1580, then his evidence, like Howard's, pinpoints Friday 16 December 1580 as the day on which Oxford threatened to make Howard 'repent leaving his company'. Moreover, if the foregoing chronology is correct, Howard's words 'on Friday night was a fortnight' date his letter to the Queen to within a few days after Friday 30 December 1580. It is also worth noticing that all the evidence suggests that the open breach was originally only between Oxford and Howard, and that Oxford and Arundel were still on friendly terms on the night of 25 December 1580. It was only after their secret meeting that evening that Arundel had to choose between Oxford and Howard, and decided to flee to the house of the Spanish ambassador with Howard.

The credibility of the extensive allegations made by Lord Henry Howard and Charles Arundel against Oxford must be carefully weighed. On the evidence of the Spanish ambassador in England, Don Bernardino de Mendoza, Howard acted as a spy for Spain from the night of 25 December 1580 on (see Mendoza's letter of 25 December 1581 and other documents on this website). Moreover Mendoza himself suggested that one of the reasons for both Henry Howard and Charles Arundel's flight from court on the night of 25 December 1580 was fear of arrest because of 'their having been very intimate with the French ambassador' (see Simancas, Leg. 835, f. 6). After he fled England in December 1583, Charles Arundel acted as a spy for both Spain and France (see Paris Archives K.1564.218 and other documents on this website), and was declared guilty of high

treason in England (see Paris Archives K.1563.122). Lord Henry Howard was named in a letter of Mendoza's as one of the principals involved in the Babington (see Paris Archives K.1564.150). When all these facts are considered, it is evident that both Howard and Arundel might have had much to hide when they fled the court on the night of 25 December 1580 for fear of arrest, and that the flood of allegations they unleashed against Oxford, whom they wrongly considered had reported their doings to the Queen, was designed to discredit him as a witness by bringing his character into such disrepute that anything he might say against them would be viewed with suspicion. In the end, the strategy was successful, and both Howard and Arundel were eventually released.

Although this course of casting open other men's deformities, most gracious and most redoubted Sovereign, repugn so much against my nature as I rather would endure the smart of trouble than be noted for any instrument of other men's calamity, yet since things are not at such liberty that men may choose their path, since my true friendship hath been quited with untrue reports, since grounds of nature warrant guiltless minds in piercing those unshamefast foreheads with the point of truth which will not blush to see the falsehood of their own attempt, and since your Majesty commandeth me to publish truth without regard of persons or of circumstance, I vow to speak without all spite and poison of the spleen, and so sincerely to discharge my part as neither malice overrule my wit, nor practice overweigh my knowledge. Wherefore, to be short, the points wherewith I mean to charge my Lord are want of awe to God, of duty toward you, of honour to the world, of gratitude to those that best deserved.

Touching the first, I tremble to remember how blasphemously, not in merry moods alone and cups of jollity (although that be not good, as Cotta said in Cicero, *vel ioco contra deos disputare*), but in earnest and with choler he hath stretched out his horrible and most blasphemous voice against the sacred and most glorious Trinity, affirming that the wise philosophers deride our ignorance in that great mystery, with more to that effect which shall be justified. 2 That the Blessed Virgin (*horresco referens*), made a fault, and that Joseph was a wittol, than which words what can be more abominable considering the dainty fruit that sprang of that unspotted root, or how can any truth or wholesome liquor be contained in so filthy and unsound a vessel? To the first of Matthew, when I vouched it against this beastly paradox, wherein she is affirmed to conceive by the Holy Ghost, he said the Jews of Italy would tell another tale and put both Matthew, Mark and John to silence. 3 Sundry times, and that in divers companies, not for disputation's sake but with advisement, he hath sworn that more plain reasons and examples may be vouched out of scripture for the defence of bawdry than out of all the books of Aretinus. The Turk himself speaks better both of Christ, of the Virgin, and the canon of the scriptures.

Concerning want of duty to your Majesty, which I detested most in him, and so did all that kept him company, I am to witness and avow an utter condemnation of those princely virtues and good gifts which the worst disposed cannot but admire and wonder at. And lest I may be thought to speak of spleen, I crave that Charles Arundel, Francis

Southwell, William Cornwallis may be charged on their oath to tell whether he could ever brook the praises of your wit or of your person. I will not speak in this respect so fully as I may, but I can prove by witnesses enow that when I scaped best I was reproved to my face of servile flattery, and so were divers other, as I can declare by setting down both times and places of this bitter dealing. How often hath he sworn to me, persuading him with all the reasons I could possibly devise to be directed by your Majesty's advice alone, and prosecute your favour, that he never was non plus but when he dealt with you, and the reason was because he was enforced still to speak against his heart and liking. This is but a taste. Your Majesty shall hear of better stuff if ever I be called face to face for proof of these particulars. Neither will I run forth with a single voice, as my Lord is fain to do, but vouch more honest than himself for warranties. I speak not of his strange digesting of your slight disgraces when they came upon his own default and made both me and others pensive for his sake, because I would not gladly wound him further than the tearing of this painted mask and vizard of hypocrisy. It was a fault, I grant, to cover this, but still methought it was but froth and wantonness of youth which either time would alter or correction would amend, the scourge whereof although I held to be the fittest instrument of calling home this wandering and wasteful child, yet could I never yield to be the mean or author of his trouble. At the last, I found this malice was engraffed in his nature, whereupon I laboured with all my friends to keep aloof from him that had no playfellows but kings and queens to sport withal. But as I promised before, wherein I may forbear his person I had rather be too silent than too liberal.

And whereas it should seem by one special point whereof I was examined by my Lord Chancellor that he hath glanced at me someways for the Queen of Scots, I protest before Almighty God that, saving for a bookbinder that brought me commendations more than six years ago, I never heard of her but by common bruit. But indeed it is the practice of a fencer to direct his blows to that part chiefly which, having once been hurt before, is weaker and less able to bear out a venue. The course which I have run hath been to look upon your Majesty with a single eye, and to deserve the mending and repairing of my fortune by the comfort of your favour. But if I were so childish as to build upon the figure of such future hopes, it lies not in the talent of so mean a man as I to win her liking, or to bind her favour by a merit of more weight than the loss of my brother's head for dealing in her causes. If that were not enough to make her wish me well if I had any foolish look that way, unless I put myself in peril to no purpose I am resolute not to buy repentance at so dear a bargain. Thus much wit my Lord of Oxford might afford me to the world, though malice will not suffer him to grant me such regard of duty to my sovereign.

But by the way he putteth me in mind of a very strange discourse which his Lordship had with me in Lent, the scope whereof I would be glad your Highness understood, because for my part I conceive it not.

Walking on the terrace at Howard House, I began to deal with him about the trimming up of Fisher's Folly, and no great portion of his Lordship's wisdom, considering the price he told me that he was in hand with it, but some other should enjoy the pleasure. I demanded why, but he would not answer in a good while, till at the last he said he would

Modern spelling transcript copyright ©2002 Nina Green All Rights Reserved http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/ deal plainly with me. There is a cause, said he, not telling what it was, that drives me to depart from hence. You are my cousin-german, and most like of all men to be doubted and suspected for my going hence, considering your good devotion toward me, and therefore were you better to depart for company than afterward to come in trouble, for worse than you live here can you live nowhere. Whither will you go, my Lord, said I. To Spain, quoth he, where I have promise to be well entertained. I told him that in my conceit this was the very worst course he could take, considering the jealousies between our states, if ever he meant to return again, but if either debt or any suchlike cause should drive him hence, his best way were to bide in France, that if the marriage should after take effect, Monsieur might be witness of his good demeanour and be a mean for his recovery. But my Lord, said I, what cause should make you lose this opportunity of benefiting both yourself and others, since you seem the likest man to wax great in Monsieur's favour if he come, or else perhaps the Queen will give vou leave to travel, which is the surest way, because you may return at pleasure, and liberty is always acceptable. God's blood, said he, press me not about the cause, for it stands not now upon quid est dialectica, nor I will not tarry. And as for Monsieur, neither shall he come, because the Queen is only bent to dally, or if he should come, all were one, for though these Frenchmen have an outward flourish, yet is there not a more variable head in Christendom than Monsieur's. I have enquired of his humour at the spring-head, and before he made these roving journeys, wherefore I will not lose mine opportunity for any man, for time lost is not recovered. This is short and long, if you will go with me, no man shall be more welcome; if not, keep my counsel like a kinsman and a gentleman, and God be with you. My Lord, said I, my case is not to flit I know not whither from a place where I am settled. Beside, her Majesty remains my gracious Lady, and hath promised to do me good. Again, I might by this mean bring the man whom in this world I love most dearly into suspect, my Lord of Surrey, which were a slender token of that dear goodwill which I have always borne him, but before I would forsake him for all the world I would leese my life. Moreover, I see not but that my house is likely every day to mend, and mine old Lord of Arundel not likely to continue. It may be also that I may do your Lordship greater good with recommending of your suits and causes to your friends than I could do pleasure there. I will not speak of your intent to any man, but good Lord, take great heed you ruin not your house with ill demeanour to the Queen, which is already crazed with your own great waste and vain expenses, and let your resolution always be to return to England. Good Lord, are you so simple (said he) to think that the Queen favours either my Lord of Surrey or you? I know her opinion of you both, and the more he seeks to please her with his entertainments, and to love and follow her in everything, the more she scorns him, and the world doth laugh at him. I would you had heard her speeches of him to me after the marriage of his sister, that you might see the wisdom of your nephew in honouring and loving one so much that longs for nothing but to lift at him, and when I am gone you shall see whether they will hoist you both or no. For there is not in the world a person more ingrateful than the Queen. It seems not so, my Lord, said I, by those follow her. Assure yourself, said he, it shall be so with him, and all the noblemen of England, and as for you, notwithstanding all your labour to content her and your waiting here in court without profiting yourself any way, she turneth all your wit to conceit of practice and would be glad of the smallest opportunity to trip you. My Lord, said I, though mine enemies be great, yet have I always found her Majesty most gracious,

wherefore, God willing, I have cast mine anchor in this place, and will rather prove my fortune further on than leese my seven years' service. Besides, it is not possible to draw me from my Lord of Surrey, whom I do profess to love and serve before all other as the person which deserveth best and whom I hope to see the fairest flower of our garland. Here he would have terrified me with unkindness of my Lord, but I told him howsoever some had gone about to wrest the goodness of his nature, I had found a sweeter disposition to myself, and the world should taste the like in all his dealings. In conclusion, I demanded when he would away. He said within one month at the furthest, and that he had a bank of fifteen thousand pound which he had so bestowed as it should be safer much than if he carried it about him. I asked how he would do when this stock was spent. He said before that time he would find a better trade than the bearing of a white waster. I besought him once again to regard his honour and his duty, and then I doubted not but we should meet again more cheerfully. Then we departed. Upon this speech I presently withdrew myself from his ordinary train, and withal advised my Lord Thomas not to be too much with him for causes which I might not utter. After two months overblown at Oatlands, I bade him welcome out of Spain. He said the like occasion might renew the like adventure. This was the full discourse of all, as near as I can tell it word for word. I never durst impart so much to my Lord of Arundel, because I knew his faith and zeal to be so firmly grounded on the favour of the Queen as, though he would not hastily believe my Lord of Oxford's words, yet poising between hope and doubt would very near have killed him. If I may be bold to speak my judgment without partiality, there never lived on this earth a more devout and zealous servant to the Queen, nor a more upright and honest gentleman to all the world, whose steps if my Lord of Oxford would as well have traced as he pined at his favour, it had been better with him than it is. But difference in qualities makes difference in fortune, and I fear this one is not a more assured pillar of his house than that other is a plague to all that friend or further him. I never looked for better proof since I heard him answer my Lord of Arundel so scornfully upon his hearth at Howard House, persuading him both kindly and discreetly to behold the Queen and follow her advice, for this, said my Lord, experience hath taught me to be the surest course, and by God's grace I mean to hold it. More things there are to this effect which I shall have better opportunity to sting upon his Lordship's further accusation.

Now touching his default in honour, if I were as sharply bent to blaze my Lord's unshamefast follies as his Lordship is addicted to the wrongful charging of his friends, I could paint him for a man of more rapace and spotted life than becomes me to declare before your Majesty, but wherein I may spare him without danger to myself, I will not be spiteful. Neither will I stand upon the falseness of his word, his slight regard of oaths, his strange excess some ways which daily rocks him fast asleep in the cradle of contempt and ignorance. I would to God that every page, and corner of the court, were not acquainted with these follies, so that I were rather bound to bring a screen that to withdraw the veil that covers them. Only, by the way, it stands me much upon not to let slip his horrible untruths which he hath uttered so many times and with such confidence that he takes and swears them for approved verities. Of this sort is that constant and continual affirmative of his that the meanest shoemaker's wife in Milan (be it spoken with reverence and pardon) is more gallant and more delicately suited every common working-day than the

Oueen our mistress is at Whitsuntide; that he hath abused and polluted almost all the noblewomen of account in England; that he took a principal town in Flanders by the Duke of Alva's direction, and had taken another but for the coming of Mr Bedingfield; that his judgment was demanded touching the fortification of Antwerp, and the curtain altered; that he should have had the government of Milan; that Don John sent him fifteen thousand men to surprise the state of Genoa during the civil war; that he might have had I know not how many thousand pounds a year at Naples; that the Countess of Mirandola came fifty mile to lie with him as the queen of Amazons did to lie with Alexander; that a greater lady far by some degrees than she made court to him in France; that St. Mark's church at Venice was only paved with diamonds and rubies; that a merchant in Genoa hath a mantel of a chimney that cost more than all the treasure in the Tower doth amount unto; that he read the rhetoric lecture at Strasbourg; that he and Malim, the schoolmaster of Paul's, preached either of them a sermon at Brigstock in Northamptonshire; that he had oftentimes copulation with a female spirit in Sir George Howard's house at Greenwich; that Charles Tyrrell appeared to him with a whip after he was dead, and his mother in a sheet, foretelling things to come; that he saw Christ crucified between the priest's hands at sacring; that he could conjure, and had often conference with Satan, which I do most easily believe, the man is so much guided and directed by the spirit of his counsel. These matters, with a number more, are so confidently sworn as thereby men may deem what trust is to be given either to his word or to his judgment. I could bring in a thousand maims of honour touching divers other friends, but as I vouch not these saving by commandment, so mean I to reserve the rest for more necessity.

Concerning his ingratitude, to let yourself escape, who notwithstand [ing] have the chiefest interest in this complaint, your Majesty may boldly take and ground this principle, that since he was but seventeen years of age the man had never constant and approved friend whom either he rewarded not with the sting of spite or the sword of slaughter. I will not deal with the bloodshed of his youth because it is long past, although most terrible. Whoever dealt more friendly with him than my Lord of Worcester, and yet now since his last coming over, without offence or any guarrel in the world he rushed into the said Lord's house in Warwick Lane, and all his cutters with him, having their swords drawn, and there had murdered my Lord and all his people if the doors had not been speedily shut up against, and my Lord constrained, as if he had been in a fort in time of war, to parley out of his own windows. This outrage could not be forgotten when he falls to Mr Secretary Walsingham, his constant and approved friend, advertising my Lord of Leicester of a certain practice which himself, forsooth, had found out against him by Rowland Yorke wherein Mr Secretary, my Lord of Huntingdon and Essex were consorted, but when upon the denial of Rowland Yorke my Lord of Oxford was put to bed for want of proof, he would have wrested me by flattery or any mean to justify the knowledge of such practices from Rowland Yorke, of whom I never heard any such word nor syllable. During all that time wherein both I and divers honest gentlemen did choose to friend and follow him, no [+day?] passed clear wherein he set one of them upon another by devising tales, till at the last we found a remedy by giving warning before our lives should pay the price of his desire to mischief. Thus was Charles Arundel set on me, Southwell upon Arundel, Rowland Yorke upon us all. Thus I and Francis Southwell were brought into Saint George's fields to skirmish for our lives, and when the matters

came to ripping up, they were nothing but tales invented by my Lord's treachery. Thus Robinson was animated to brave and challenge Harry Borough at Hampton Court upon suspect of uttering some words in the maids' chamber. Thus Weekes was commanded to kill Sankey, my Lord's man, and so he did after he was turned away because he would not give the stab to Yorke when he met him in Holborn. Weekes confessed with what violence he had been set on by my Lord after he had wounded him to the death without either cause or courage, and Sankey told it on his death both to the minister, his wife, and divers others. Thus laid he such straight wait for Rowland Yorke that George Whitney had like to be slain for him one night at the Horsehead in Cheap. Thus should Mr Vicechamberlain have been set one night going to his chamber at Westminster if I had not threatened to discover it unless he would desist, only because six year before he said that my Lord of Leicester and he kept him at Dover from being sworn of the Privy Council, and that he sought again to cross his credit. Thus did he set Jack Wotton upon Brouncker, and could never brook him after because he killed him not. Thus did he proffer all his cutters to Tom Drury to hew my Lord Howard in pieces when he got more enemies for friending him than the tother had friends in England. Thus was he sundry times in practice for the murdering of my Lord of Leicester, but demonstratives of peril and inevitable danger to his own person drave him ever from the mischief. Thus but for me, as I will prove by witness, Mr Philip Sidney, proffering his person to the combat like a gallant gentleman, had notwithstanding been most beastly murdered by twelve calivers in his bed at Greenwich, and a barge with 12 calivers more should have carried them away to Gravesend, where a little higher a bark of Baker, brother to his surgeon, should have waited for them. Thus hath he at this present a practice in Ireland for the murdering of Denny and Raleigh. Thus, for a recompense of Raleigh's service, his life should have been latched between both the walls before his going over, and suits of apparel given to those that should have killed him, for seeking my Lord of Leicester's favour. Thus at her Majesty's last being at Richmond should Gerard and Wingfield have slain Arthur Gorge as he crossed over the green to get to his lodgings. Thus was Gifford set upon me with a colour that I disgraced him to your Majesty at Oatlands, and I upon Gifford upon assurance that he should say I smiled at my Lord of Oxford's drunkenness. Thus Hoby was encouraged first to set my Lord of Arundel and me together, and when that would not be, to challenge me himself, and now again attempted since your Majesty coming hither to renew the quarrel upon speeches fathered on Steward, my Lord of Arundel's man, which he disavowed, and my Lord let fall the matter. Thus should Charles Arundel have delivered a message that since I friended the boy, his nephew (for so it pleased him to call a noble and an honest gentleman), he would be revenged of me by right or wrong, by hook or crook, directly or indirectly, and to Francis Southwell he threatened to blow up my Lord Windsor and all his company, both men and women. Thus laboured he Charles Arundel on Christmas even for a thousand pound to warrant and confirm but that which he would say, and when he could not make him an accuser, he would have wrought him for a fugitive. And thus his Lordship hath made up that gracious principle of his bolted out at Mr Philips' board unawares, that this was chick and he detested all his kin which made chicken. Thus hath he prettily begun his solemn vow to be revenged of all the Howards in England one after another, though he could not pay them all at once, for it was the most villainous and treacherous race under heaven, and my Lord Howard of all other the most arrant villain that lived, witness Charles Arundel on Friday night was a fortnight in the presence chamber, and thus hath he made good his promise to Mr Pakington that since he could not have his will, yet no man should forbid him with blind Samson to pull down the post and crush the Philistines.

Thus have I run over this unpleasant subject by your Majesty's commandment. My desire was rather to have suffered a double smart than to burden any man. You see how dangerous a man is clothed in the purple of your court, and peising his light humours, God I take to witness I have been oftentimes afraid to see him shroud himself so near unto your person. My request and humble suit unto your Highness is that, as I never was acquainted with any practice that concerned either your most princely person or your state, so that your Majesty will rather send me present death or banishment than hold me long exiled from your presence. It is the dew whereon I feed, and the life wherein I labour. I have made a fault against your laws in hearing Mass, but as it is almost six years ago since that time, if either I have been with priest or heard a Mass let my life be taken for the forfeit. God preserve your Majesty forever, and make us as worthy to enjoy the virtues of so rare a queen as your Majesty is to rule a far more large and mighty regiment.

Your Majesty's most humble, most affectionate and loyal subject, and servant till the death,

Henry Howard.

Addressed: To the Queen's most excellent Majesty