
**FACTUAL ERRORS
AND ERRORS OF HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION
IN ALAN NELSON'S
*MONSTROUS ADVERSARY***

Each paragraph below begins with a quotation from *Monstrous Adversary* containing a factual error or an error in historical interpretation, followed by a correction.

For material which further corrects the errors listed below, see the detailed biography of Oxford on this website at:

<http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/oxfordsbio.html>

The compilation of the list is a work in progress, and has been undertaken to clarify erroneous information concerning Oxford.

p. 1

‘Oxford neglected to serve others for the simple reason that his first aim in life was to serve himself.’ Inference stated as fact.

‘I have no help but of myne owne, and mine is made to serue me, and myself not mine. That is to say: I have no resource but my own properties; they are meant to serve me, I am not meant to serve them.’ Non sequitur. It does not follow that if one declines to serve one’s own inherited lands(!), one would not serve people. Oxford’s words have been erroneously interpreted. They should read: *I have no help but of mine own, and mine is made, to serve me and myself, not mine*, i.e. I have only my own inherited lands to support me, and they are no longer mine because I am being forced to sell them.

‘Feudal rank was theoretically based on the very opposite principle: that noblemen held property first by royal grant and then by inheritance precisely in exchange for service’. A fallacy. In the Elizabethan period property was held from the Crown by knight service (a holdover from the feudal period) not in order to ‘serve others’, but to provide the King with an army in times of war (essentially an anachronism is Queen Elizabeth’s day). Moreover no nobleman ‘served’ in any office voluntarily; all offices were filled by the Queen’s appointment.

p. 2

‘Contemporary praise came mostly from would-be proteges such as Gabriel Harvey’. Harvey was currying favour with Leicester in 1578; his speech mocked Oxford.

p. 9

‘Earls Colne, where a priory established by Godfrey de Vere, son of the 1st Earl, was appropriated by the 15th, under Henry VIII’. The 15th Earl did not ‘appropriate’ [=take to oneself] the manor. The manor was granted by Henry VIII to the 15th Earl on 22 July 1536. Moreover Godfrey did not found the priory; his parents, Aubrey de Vere I (died. c.1112) and his wife, Beatrice, founded Colne Priory after Godfrey’s death. See the source cited by Nelson, *VCH Essex*, Vol. II, pp. 103-5. Nor was Godfrey the son of the 1st Earl; he was the son of Aubrey de Vere I (died c.1112), whose grandson was the 1st Earl.

‘Wivenhoe, brought to the earldom by Joan, daughter of John Walton, who married the 12th Earl in 1425’. Joan Walton did not marry in 1425; she died in 1425. Moreover she was not the wife of the 12th Earl; she was the 12th Earl’s mother-in-law, i.e. the mother of Elizabeth Howard, wife of the 12th Earl. See pedigree in Ross, p. 24.

‘Sir John Golding’. Margery Golding’s father was never knighted (as Nelson himself notes on p. 444).

p. 10

‘Alice [Camoys] was the daughter of Elizabeth Mortimer.’ Alice Camoys was the daughter of Thomas Camoys, 1st Baron Camoys, by his first wife, Elizabeth Louches, not his second wife, Elizabeth Mortimer; see Richardson, Douglas, *Magna Carta Ancestry*, 2nd ed., 2011, Vol. I, pp. 398-9.

p. 11

‘Despite a notorious check at Castle Hedingham in 1498, when [the 13th Earl] is said to have been heavily fined for too openly keeping a private army’. No date is mentioned in either Bacon’s or Buck’s account, and 1498 predates by six years Henry VII’s 1504 statute requiring the licencing of retainers. Ross (pp. 141-2) considers the story apocryphal.

‘Lacking an heir [the 13th Earl] was succeeded by John Vere, son of his brother George and of Anne, daughter of Thomas Howard, 2nd Duke of Norfolk’. In fact, Anne Howard was the 14th Earl’s wife, not his mother. The 14th Earl’s mother was Margaret Stafford.

‘The 14th Earl, similarly childless, was succeeded by another cousin and yet another John, a great-grandson of the 11th Earl through his father John de Vere (his mother was Alice Kilrington alias Colbroke) and his grandfather Sir Robert de Vere. (The identity of the 15th Earl’s mother – Edward’s great-grandmother -- has yet to be established.)’ The identity of the 15th Earl’s mother has been established, and in fact Alan Nelson mentions her name – Alice Kilrington alias Colbroke. Also, the 14th Earl’s successor was his second cousin.

p. 12

'A charming vignette' . . . 'this love for children'. Relying on Percy Allen (p. 16), Nelson fails to realize that 'Gregory Crumwell' was the son of Henry VIII's chief minister. Political considerations, not love of children, motivated the 15th Earl to take the young 'Crumwell' hunting.

'to a town called Yeldam, to the persons thereof to hunt the fox'. The original letter reads 'to the parson's thereof', i.e. the parson of Yeldham'.

'cooperation with Christopher Swallow, vicar of Messing, Essex, in founding a grammar school at Earls Colne about 1520'. Christopher Swallow was not the founder of the school, but the re-founder. See Merson, p. 9.

'the 15th Earl won a place in the popular mind as 'the good earl'. No source is cited. Inference stated as fact.

p. 13

'Gervase Markham, in *Honour in his Perfection* . . . celebrated an exploit of the 16th Earl during a pause in the Boulogne campaign.' Markham's account says this exploit took place near Paris while the Earl was engaged 'upon serious negotiations for the King, his master', not during a military campaign at Boulogne.

'much to the chagrin of his French hosts'. In Markham's account the French are not 'chagrined'; they praise his exploit.

'George Cavendish attributed the same action [=the killing of a boar] to Henry Radcliffe, 2nd Earl of Sussex (1506?-57), in 1542'. Cavendish's account of the boar hunt relates, not to 1542, but to 1527, when Henry Radcliffe accompanied Cardinal Wolsey to France.

'reveals the 16th Earl's passion for gambling'. Only one wager is mentioned. Inference stated as fact. Moreover in the account it is John Lucas, not the 16th Earl, who is referred to as 'a great gamester'.

'Lucas, having won the girl at dice, married her to his youngest son, John, from his second marriage'. They were not married before Lucas's death; see his will, TNA PROB 11/38/199.

p. 14

'and Faith, who died in swaddling clothes'. No authority is cited for the claim that the 16th Earl and Dorothy Neville had a daughter named Faith.

'Earl John took a commoner as his next wife'. Margery Golding was not a commoner. In his will and burial record her father is termed 'esquire' (as Nelson himself notes on p 444).

p. 15

'Richard Enowes reported that the Duke of Norfolk (Thomas Howard) had ordered the Earl to attempt a reconciliation'. The Duke of Norfolk did not, nor could he, 'order' the Earl to do anything. What Enowes actually said was that 'the Duke of Norfolk caused this examinant [=Enowes] to move the same Lady Dorothy to come to the Earl again'.

p. 16

'it was further enforced (but eventually reversed) by subsequent acts of Parliament'. The indenture extorted from the 16th Earl by the Protector Somerset was never enforced by subsequent Acts of Parliament.

p. 17

'On 27 June Sir Thomas Darcy composed a letter from Castle Hedingham, apparently addressed to William Cecil'. The addressee was likely the Protector Somerset's brother-in-law, Sir Michael Stanhope.

p. 20

'the lusty Countess Margery'. Inference stated as fact. There is no evidence that Margery Golding was 'lusty'.

p. 22

'Early in 1553 Countess Margery found herself in a skirmish over legal instruments'. The Countess of Oxford mentioned in Northumberland's letter of 1553 was not Margery Golding. She was Anne Howard, Dowager Countess of Oxford, widow of John de Vere, 14th Earl of Oxford.

In the index (p. 519), the writer of the letter is erroneously identified as 'Percy, Henry, 1st Earl/Duke of Northumberland'. The Percys were never Dukes of Northumberland, and the individual in question was not Henry Percy, 1st Earl; he was Thomas Percy (1528-1572), 7th Earl. See the *ODNB* and *History of Parliament* entries for him.

p. 37

'His tutor was Lawrence Nowell, Dean of Lichfield, brother of Alexander Nowell the scholarly Dean of St Paul's'. Oxford's tutor was not Lawrence Nowell (c.1516-1576), Dean of Lichfield, brother of Alexander Nowell. Oxford's tutor was the antiquary Laurence Nowell (1530-c.1570). See the *ODNB* entry.

Same error re identification of Northumberland as on p. 22.

p. 41

'Though Golding puts the ages of Edward and Mary at fourteen'. Golding does not state that Oxford and his sister Mary were both aged 14 in 1563. He says (in Latin) that they were both under the age of 14.

'Charles Tyrrell, sixth son of Sir Thomas Tyrrell of Heron'. Charles Tyrrell was not the sixth son of Sir Thomas Tyrrell of Heron and Constance Blount. See *Complete Peerage* correction.

'Charles' prior marriage to Agnes Chitwode alias Odell had been annulled by the Court of Delegates on 6 April 1560.' Charles Tyrrell was never married to Agnes Chetwode. About 1556 Charles Tyrrell brought suit to have the marriage of Agnes Wodhull and Richard Chetwode annulled. In 1559 the Court of Audience rescinded the annulment. See Richardson, Douglas, *Plantagenet Ancestry*, 2nd ed., 2011, Vol. I, p. 524.

'Although Margery and Charles are first identified as husband and wife in a will signed on 13 May 1566 by Charles' brother Richard of Assheton, Essex'. Charles Tyrrell and Richard Tyrrell were not brothers. See the will of Richard Tyrrell of Ashdon, TNA PROB 11/48/637.

'The couple . . . lived principally in Kingston-upon-Thames'. There is no evidence that Margery Golding and Charles Tyrrell lived principally at Kingston upon Thames.

p. 47

The chapter title 'First Blood' is misleading. There was no 'second blood'.

The statement 'Oxford's deliberate act' is completely contradicted by the verdict of the coroner's inquest.

The statement 'Brincknell was dead before midnight' is contradicted by the coroner's inquest which says he died instantly.

p. 48

The juror 'Randolphi Holynshedd' cannot be identified with the chronicler, Raphael Holinshed.

'Ralph (or Raphael) Holinshed was Cecil's protégé'. The chronicler Raphael Holinshed was not Sir William Cecil's protégé in 1567.

'On 8 August 1563 he had married Agnes Harris'. Inference stated as fact. No evidence links the Thomas Brincknell who died at Cecil House with the Thomas Brinknell who married Agnes Harris on 8 August 1563 or with their alleged children.

'Oxford . . . practised the art of defence with an unguarded foil' . . . His success in subsequent tournaments suggests that Oxford was a good swordsman'. Fencing with foils was not featured in tournaments in the Elizabethan period.

'Rowland York, one of Oxford's men'. Rowland Yorke (d.1588) was not 'one of Oxford's men'. See the *ODNB* entry.

The statement 'killed another by the 'unmanly' thrust of a rapier beneath the girdle' is completely contradicted by the verdict of the coroner's inquest.

p. 49

'In the Brincknell incident Oxford learned a lesson which largely determined the rest of his life'. Inference unsupported by evidence.

'Across the Channel, exiled Catholics monitored the young hothead. In a list of 'Names and Faith of English Nobles dated 18 December 1567'. There is no evidence the list was compiled by 'exiled Catholics', and in fact this seems highly unlikely. Moreover the list is undated; it is the previous document which is dated 18 December 1567. 'The young hothead' is an inference unsupported by evidence.

'Countess Margery died on 2 December 1568, and was buried at Earls Colne, alongside her first husband'. Nelson himself notes (p. 30) that the 16th Earl was buried in the parish church at Castle Hedingham.

'Presumably Oxford and Lady Mary attended their mother's funeral'. Male noblemen did not attend the funerals of female relatives.

p. 50

'an affectionate gesture by a fond and somewhat distant uncle'. Oxford and William Howard, 1st Baron Howard of Effingham, were not nephew and uncle.

Same error re Northumberland as on p. 22.

p. 51

'We have reason to suspect indeed that by this his nineteenth year Oxford had found companions in drink, riot, and sexual licence'. Inference unsupported by evidence.

'we may infer that Oxford was chronically sickly, hypochondriacal, or both'. Unsupported inference. There was a mysterious 'sharp and perilous' illness reported in Hampshire (where Oxford was with the court on progress). See *ECDbD* (1569), p. 19.

p. 52

'Fenelon's report of 15 February 1570'. . . . 'Fenelon wrote again on 21 March'. Fenelon's two letters are misdated 1570. They should be dated 1569.

'or did Fenelon mean Scotland'. The claim that Fenelon meant Scotland is preposterous, and is entirely contradicted by the letters themselves.

p. 53

'Oxford then carried the warrant to Dansell (or perhaps Bishop)'. William Bishop was Oxford's man, not an official of the Court of Wards

p. 62

Same error in index, p. 519, re identification of Northumberland as on p. 22, except that this Earl was Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland

p. 68

Same error in index, p. 519, re identification Northumberland as on p. 22.

p. 69

'At the approach of his twenty-first birthday, Oxford was poised to escape the constraints of wardship. The Queen proposed a celebratory tournament'. There is no evidence the tournament had anything to do with Oxford's birthday.

The Earl of Oxford has joined Sir Charles Howard, Henry Law, and Mr. Hatton to make up the four defenders'. This is, of course, not Henry Law, but the Queen's Champion, Sir Henry Lee.

p. 70

'a financial syndicate approached Oxford with an offer of £12,000 per annum for financial control of his 'stately Erledome'.' No evidence exists for such an offer.

p. 71

'Anne was, by all accounts, a nubile beauty'. There are no such accounts.

'On 9 August 1569'. The date of the marriage settlement was 6 August 1569, not 9 August 1569.

p. 74

'September 27 and 28 found Oxford at Warwick and Kenilworth Castle with Robert and Ambrose Dudley'. The purpose was to celebrate the feast of St Michael on the 29th.

They were there from Wednesday, 26 September, until Tuesday, 2 October. See *Black Book of Warwick*, pp. 29-38, and *Handbook of Dates*, p. 133.

p. 84

'Havering-atte-Bower, Essex, a property sometimes attached to the Oxford earldom'. Havering-atte-Bower was never attached to the Oxford earldom. It belonged to the Crown.

p. 85

'therle of Oxford & his soldiers to the number of xx'. Inaccurate transcription. Not xx [=20]. The Black Book of Warwick reads cc, i.e. 200.

p. 108

'On 28 June Gilbert Talbot wrote to his mother, the Countess of Shrewsbury'. Bess of Hardwick was his stepmother, not his mother; his mother was Gertrude Manners (d.1567). Moreover the letter Gilbert Talbot wrote on that date does not mention Oxford; the passage Nelson 'quotes' from Talbot's letter is actually from Strype's *Annals*, p. 500. See:

<https://books.google.ca/books?id=tV04AQAAMAAJ&pg=PA500>

p. 108

'Lady York was Rowland's mother'. Nelson's emphasis on Rowland Yorke is misleading; Oxford's friend was not Rowland, but his brother, Edward Yorke.

'Thus approaching the Queen with some (unknown) suit, Oxford found himself rebuked 'for his unthriftiness'. The incident is an invention of Strype's many years after the fact.

'Burghley, however, came to his defence'. The incident is an invention of Strype's many years after the fact.

'Before two days were out, Oxford betrayed his father-in-law's confidence utterly'. The incident is an invention of Strype's many years after the fact.

p. 109

'Cruse', otherwise unknown, was perhaps a Spaniard'. He was likely the Englishman, Robert Cruse, who wrote to Lord Burghley on 3 May 1575. See *CSPD 1547-80*, pp. 496-7, and:

<http://www.anonymous-shakespeare.com/cms/index.301.0.1.html>

'More ominously, Mary Queen of Scots seems to have been informed.' Inference that it was 'ominous' that she had learned of Oxford's departure is entirely unsupported.

'she interpreted the incident as a sign of Oxford's Catholic leanings'. Unsupported inference. The letter indicates she thought his previous Catholic leanings were waning.

'Mary seems to have been persuaded that Oxford fled religious persecution'. Unsupported inference. The letter indicates she thought his earlier Catholic leanings were waning.

p. 110

at this Depeche [i.e., accusation]'. Depeach means 'dispatch', not 'accusation'. See the *OED*.

p. 111

'On 2 August Silvio de Porcia'. The letter of 2 August to the Cardinal of Como was written by Bartolomeo Portia not Silvio de Porcia.

'Oxford would later boast that he had taken part in the battle of Bommel'. There was no battle of Bommel, merely a siege. See:

http://www.shakespeare-today.de/front_content.php?idart=220

'the battle of Bommel, known to historians as the battle of Mook'. Bommel is 30 miles from Mook. See:

http://www.shakespeare-today.de/front_content.php?idart=220

'Though Ward (p. 98) imagines that Oxford may have gone to have a look, he missed the battle by some three months'. There was no battle to 'miss'; Ward says Bommel was under siege from June to October 1574, and Oxford must have visited the Spanish lines outside Bommel in July. See:

<https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.176090/page/n115/mode/2up>

p. 116

'he secured from the Queen an agreement that he might travel abroad with licence'. Completely contradicted by the letter Nelson quotes immediately above it, which states explicitly that Oxford dared not ask the Queen for licence to travel.

'Burghley thus notes that Oxford lay in the village of p Royal, near Slough, on the 15th'. Farnham Royal is in Buckinghamshire. The Farnham where Oxford left the Queen's

summer progress was Farnham Castle in Surrey, the Bishop of Winchester's palace. See *ECDBD* (1574), p. 37-8.

p. 131

'money sent by Pasquino Spinola'. The letter was written by Pasquale Spinola.

p. 134

'In January, evidently of this year [1576], Eleanor Bridges wrote to the Earl of Rutland'. The marriage of Mary Shelton dates the letter to January 1574.

'Evidently Mary, known for her sharp tongue'. Unsupported conclusion. The comment is a general one.

p. 137

'In 1617 Sir Henry Wotton would recall'. Sir Henry Wotton (1568-1639) did not 'recall' events from Oxford's time in Venice. Wotton was only 7 years of age when Oxford was in Venice.

p. 138

'Oxford's personal courtesan . . . was Virginia Padoana'. Inference stated as fact.

p. 149

'On 27 May Dr William Aubrey, who had served as Anne's obstetrician'. Dr William Aubrey (1529-1595) was not Anne Cecil's obstetrician. He was a Doctor of the Civil Law. See the History of Parliament entry.

p. 168

'Mistress Audley of Colchester, born Kate Southwell, was in fact the sole legitimate issue of Sir Richard Southwell of Woodrising, Norfolk'. Sir Richard Southwell had a legitimate daughter, Elizabeth (nee Southwell) Heneage (d.1593), by his first wife, Thomasine Darcy, so Mistress Audley was not his sole legitimate issue, and in fact she appears to have been illegitimate. See his will, TNA PROB 11/47/231.

p. 169

'Oxford seems to have agreed that he and his associates would lead a revolt of the 'Catholic Party' on the condition that they would receive support from France.' Nelson cites Bossy, who has erroneously misreported Henri III's letter to Mauvissiere of 12 July 1577.

p. 173

'Her objections recall Edward Bacon's letter of 13 May 1574, reporting 'a most vile libell fownd in court'. Unsupported inference. There is no relationship between the libel reported by Bacon and the Duchess of Suffolk's letter just quoted by Nelson.

p. 188

'The expedition, in which Frobisher had been replaced by Edward Fenton, set out at the very end of May 1581, returning in May 1582'. The Fenton expedition sailed in May 1582 and returned in June 1583. See the *ODNB* entry for Fenton.

p. 206

'Edward, Lord Windsor, (son of Oxford's half-sister, Katherine)'. Oxford's half sister, Katherine, did not have a son, Edward, Lord Windsor.

p. 237

'On 4 February 1576, with Oxford still in Italy (Sir) Geoffrey Fenton dedicated his *Golden Epistles* (STC 10794) to Anne [Cecil]'. The year of publication is incorrect, and Oxford was not in Italy: the dedication is dated 4 February 1574 [=1575 New Style]. See the *ODNB* entry for Fenton.

p. 266

Anne Vavasour was 'a woman of courage and character'. Inference stated as fact.

p. 268

The 'Grete Devell' [referred to by Arundel] is Burghley. In fact, it is Leicester to whom Arundel refers as the 'great devil'.

p. 270

'[U]nwilling to seem guilty, Oxford refused to give garments to the yeoman porter.' Contradicted by the Privy Council's letter which states that the yeoman porter was not entitled to that fee because Oxford had not been committed for treason or for a criminal offence.

p. 281 and index, p. 505

'Roger Townshend, a wealthy lawyer'. Sir Roger Townshend was not a lawyer. See the *ODNB* entry.

'The four set off to Mrs Arundel's'. Sir Roger Townshend did not dine at Mistress Arundel's on 18 June 1582. He dined at the house of 'one Jones'. Mistress Arundel is named in an incident involving the Earl of Surrey in 1543.

p. 293, index p. 474

'On 14 July [1584] Mary Queen of Scots, imprisoned at Sheffield, wrote to Queen Elizabeth (as cited by Nicholas)'. The letter is undated; according to Labanoff, it was likely written in November 1584. The author's surname is 'Nicolas', not 'Nicholas'.

p. 309

Index states there is a reference to Lucy (nee Harington), Countess of Bedford, on this page, but none is to be found.

'maintained a remote residence in Plaistow, Essex'. Plaistow near Halstead was a farm worth 20s a year. It was not a residence of Oxford's.

p. 320

'the same team refurbished Oxford's new residence, Plaistow House (or Plaiston House) in the remote Essex village of the same name, about a mile and a half south of Halstead, not far from Earl's Colne. Altogether the joiners worked some eight years (1588 to 1596'. Plaistow near Halstead was a farm worth 20s a year. It was not a residence of Oxford's.

p. 325

'The lease on Castle Hedingham having been acquired by the deceased Henry Bellingham by indenture from Oxford, Bellingham's son is now in dispute with Bellingham's widow. Evidently young Bellingham had expelled his mother from the property.' There is no evidence that Henry Bellingham had a lease of Castle Hedingham itself, nor that he had died, nor that his son had expelled his widowed mother from the Castle. The expulsion appears to have been a side effect of the Queen's extent against Oxford's properties.

p. 336

'but more importantly an heiress'. Elizabeth Trentham was not an heiress. Her brother, Francis, was their father's heir.

p. 337, index pp. 515, 520

'About June [1592], Mary Harding sent marriage gossip to the Countess of Rutland'. Misidentification. In his index Nelson identifies the Countess of Rutland as Bridget

Hussey, who in 1592 was the Dowager Countess of Bedford. Mary Harding's correspondent was Elizabeth Charlton (d.1595), Countess of Rutland, the widow of John Manners (d.1588), 4th Earl of Rutland.

'The rejected suitor was Henry Percy, 3rd Earl of Northumberland'. He was the 9th Earl.

p. 345

'but then Carey's wife was one of the sisters who would now inherit'. Nelson has confused Alice Spencer's sisters with her daughters. Alice Spencer's sister, Elizabeth Spencer, wife of Sir George Carey, would not inherit anything from the estate of Ferdinando Stanley, 5th Earl of Derby.

'Rowland York, in the company of Sir William Stanley'. Rowland Yorke had died six years earlier in 1588; the person in question was his nephew, Captain Edmund Yorke (executed 1595). See the *ODNB*, and *CSPD* 1591-1594, p. 545 and index, p. 696.

'weighed in from Continental exile'. Edmund Yorke was a prisoner in the Tower at the time.

p. 350

Index states there is a reference to Lucy (nee Harington), Countess of Bedford, on this page, but none is to be found.

'[John Carey] was the second son of Henry 1st Lord Hunsdon.' John Carey was Lord Hunsdon's third son. See the *ODNB*.

p. 351

We may wonder whether Oxford did not have his own designs on his daughter's prospective £1000 per annum, an amount equal to his own pensions from the treasury.' Insinuation completely unsupported by evidence; see CP 44/101.

p. 358

'Perhaps it was his alliance with the Countess of Cumberland through his daughter's marriage to her son'. Misidentification. Margaret Clifford, the mother of William Stanley, 6th Earl of Derby, was never the 'Countess of Cumberland'. The Countess of Cumberland referenced on p. 358 was Lady Margaret Russell, wife of George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland.

p. 360

'perhaps [Oxford] had visited Plaistow, where joiners were completing their lengthy refurbishment'. Plaistow near Halstead was a farm worth 20s a year. It was not a residence of Oxford's.

p. 367

'The first lease mentioned by Fitton was made jointly to Oxford and Cecil: its terms are unknown.' The clear import of Sir Edward Fitton's letter is that the 6th Earl of Derby had not yet made the lease, although he had led Cecil to believe it had been executed.

'The second was part of the jointure meant to protect the lands that Elizabeth Vere brought to her marriage'. A jointure consisted of the lands a *husband* settled on his wife for life to provide her with income if he predeceased her. A jointure had nothing to do with protecting lands *independently inherited* by the wife.

'When Fitton assures Cecil that the 'very interest of the possession' of the lease is 'in your lordship instantly', he means that on Elizabeth's death the lease would revert to Cecil and not to Oxford'. If it were a lease for Elizabeth Vere's maintenance, it would terminate on her death, not 'revert to Cecil'.

'While Castle Hedingham would revert to Oxford or his heirs in the event of the deaths of all three daughters, the estate was otherwise beyond his reach.' The document in question (TNA SP 12/266/99, f. 137) contains no provision by which Castle Hedingham would 'revert to Oxford or his heirs' alone. The document states that if none of Oxford's three daughters by Anne Cecil had issue, Castle Hedingham would revert to the heirs of the body of the 16th Earl. Moreover Nelson has copied the summary in *CSPD, 1598-1601*, p. 38, rather than reproduced the actual provisions of the document.

p. 373

'acknowledging dissatisfaction with Burghley's will on the side of the 'Doctors' – probably the legal institution known as Doctors' Commons'. The reference is not to 'Doctors', plural, or Doctors Commons, but to Dr Gabriel Goodman, one of the two executors of Lord Burghley's will.

'If once my Lady Bedford were come to Towne'. Index wrongly identifies her as Lucy (nee Harington), Countess of Bedford. She was Bridget (nee Hussey), Dowager Countess of Bedford.

p. 375

'from Chenies in Buckinghamshire where she [Bridget] and Susan had been taken under the wing of Lucy (nee Harington), Countess of Bedford'. Misidentification. Oxford's daughters Bridget and Susan were placed in the care of Bridget (nee Hussey), Dowager Countess of Bedford.

p. 376

'On 21 April the Countess of Bedford wrote to Cecil from Chenies'. Index misidentifies her as Lucy (nee Harington), Countess of Bedford. She was Bridget (nee Hussey), Dowager Countess of Bedford.

'on 28 April [1599] Oxford was sued in Chancery by Judith Ruswell'. Judith Ruswell's bill of complaint is dated 21 May 1598. See Nelson's transcript at:

<https://ahnelson.berkeley.edu/RUSWEL/ruswelA.html#ruswell>

p. 379

'On 23 June [1599] the Countess of Bedford wrote to Henry Maynard from Chenies'. Index misidentifies her as Lucy (nee Harington), Countess of Bedford. She was Bridget (nee Hussey), Dowager Countess of Bedford.

'including a mention of Susan Vere, now eight'. Susan Vere was born 26 May 1587, and was twelve years old in June 1599.

'Francis Norris went abroad within a month or two of his marriage to Bridget'. Norris did not go abroad; he went to serve with the English fleet assembled to repel a threatened Spanish invasion.

p. 406

'Susan's want of a dowry thus made her the target of poetical wits'. Lord Burghley had left Susan Vere a dowry or £4000 in his will. Nelson has missed the very clever play on 'nothing' and 'told' [=counted, reckoned up] in the verses.

p. 425

'the joiner Edward Johnson, hoping for satisfaction of his debt for work on Fisher's Folly and Plaistow House'. Plaistow near Halstead was a farm worth 20s a year. It was not a residence of Oxford's.

'Doubtless the insistence on the death penalty came from the hard-bitten Countess'. Insinuation unsupported by evidence. Moreover the record of the case merely says they were sentenced; it does not say they were hung, leaving open the possibility of intervention after sentencing. See :

<https://archive.org/details/middlesexcountyr02middiala/page/6/mode/2up>

'[Oxford] was buried on 6 July in the churchyard of St John-at-Hackney'. His widow's will mentions a tomb in the church, not the churchyard, and in Oxford's day the church was St Augustine's. See Wikipedia:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/St_Augustine%27s_Tower,_Hackney

p. 429

'In the public mind . . . Susan's 'lott' was 'Nothing'. Chamberlain's letter immediately after Lord Burghley's funeral mentions the generous bequests left to Oxford's daughters. The 'public mind' was thus well aware that Susan had a substantial dowry.

'The Portion of the Lady Susan' thus amounted to £7767'. The figure '£7767' is not supported by the figures Nelson quote on p. 429 or the figures in the original document. Nelson has also missed the fact that Susan's portion dropped by £2000 because when she married Philip Herbert he was neither an earl nor a baron (see Lord Burghley's will).

'John Chamberlain described the event to Dudley Carleton in a letter dated 7 January 1605'. The letter was written by Carleton to Chamberlain.

p. 431

'Oxford's half-cousin once removed, Golding'. Percival Golding was Oxford's first cousin of the half blood (i.e. not 'once removed').

p. 432

'It is necessary to understand that the letter concerns fish called white-herrings'. The letter does not concern white herrings. The letter concerns Anthony Witherings.

p. 433

'on 26 November [the Countess] acquired the ten acres of garden in Bishopsgate'. Nelson cites *CSPD Addenda 1580-1625*, p. 520, which is the lawsuit over the Great Garden property, not the Countess' acquisition of it; she never owned it. Moreover the property was Aldgate, not Bishopsgate, and consisted of 7 acres, not 10 acres.

'On 19 July 1611, when Henry was eighteen, the Privy Council directed a letter to Cecil as Lord Treasurer'. This matter would not have been dealt with by the Privy Council; it would have Cecil, as Master of the Court of Wards. Moreover the note was made by a Clerk of the Signet, and the letter would thus have been the King's letter.

'Henry must have petitioned the Council to be allowed to collect his £200 himself'. Incorrect for same reason as above.

'she feared that the hereditary canker of moral decay was at work on the 18th Earl'. The letter is clear that the Countess was concerned about the bad influence on her son of his second cousin, John Hunt, not about some imaginary 'hereditary canker of moral decay'.

'notably absent from the written communications of her dead husband'. No evidence is offered for this conclusion.

p. 438

'More recently he took a loan for another £600 from the Low Countries'. This was an annuity payable to the Countess, not a loan taken out by her son.

p. 439

'Lake compares the whole matter to the recent affair of 'Arches Coate' – a reference to James's Scottish fool, Archie Armstrong (*DNB*). Lake does not compare the two matters in substance. The comparison is to how busy Cecil is.

'Sir Christopher Hatton (nephew of the Elizabethan courtier)'. He was not the nephew of Sir Christopher Hatton (d.1591); he was the son of the latter's cousin, John Hatton of Longstanton.

p. 461

Reference for Sir Henry Wotton's letter should be p. 113, not p. 123.

p. 482

'Nichols, ii, p. 460'. Should be Nichols iii, p. 446.

p. 515, index

'Haworthe, Frances 95'. There is no such person as Frances Haworthe. The excerpt on p. 95 shows she was Frances Howard, sister of Douglas (nee Howard) Sheffield. They were daughters of William Howard (d.1573), 1st Baron Howard of Effingham.

p. 519, index

'Percy/Northumberland family'. These individuals should not be lumped together in an index entry. Their identities can be readily established.

p. 521, index

'Edward Seymour, styled Lord Somerset'. Edward Seymour (1548-1574) was not styled 'Lord Somerset'. He was erroneously called 'my Lord Edward Somerset' in a letter from Fenelon to Catherine de Medici. See *Correspondance*, Vol. VI, p. 177.

p. 522, index

‘Suavenberg, Helena, Marchioness of Northampton 74, 80, 104’. Her surname was Snakenborg. See the *ODNB* entry for her. Moreover there is no mention of her on p. 80.

p. 526, index

‘White, John (Bishop of London) 54’. He was Bishop of Lincoln, as Nelson himself notes on p. 54. See the *ODNB* entry.