SUMMARY: The document below is a list in Charles Arundel's hand of dozens of allegations against Oxford organized under nine headings.

As Arundel admits in the opening paragraph, his objective was to blacken Oxford's name in order to weaken the force of Oxford's testimony against himself, Lord Henry Howard and Francis Southwell:

The strength of this monster's evidence against my Lord Henry, Mr Southwell and myself weakened and taken down by the sufficient proof of the man's insufficiency to bear witness against any man of reputation, for these respects no less warranted by laws of honour and of arms than by the civil laws and the laws of our own country.

It is significant that Arundel appeals to the 'laws of honour an arms', as well as the 'civil laws' and the 'laws of our own country'. It seems clear that Arundel had no proof of his criminal allegations involving murder and sodomy, and that he was therefore acutely aware that there was nothing of which he could accuse Oxford which would bring about a criminal conviction. Moreover although Arundel named various courtiers whom he said would be witnesses to the truth of his allegations, none apparently came forward to support him.

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 Archivo General de Simancas Leg. 835, ff. 121-4 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 Archivo General de 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.

Because his stated motive was to discredit Oxford so that Oxford's evidence against himself would not be believed, Arundel's allegations are unreliable. However they do provide considerable information about Oxford's associates, interests, actions and opinions, and there are certainly some grains of truth in them to be winnowed from the

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chaff, in particular that Oxford was drinking excessively at this stage of his life, that he was highly critical of the Queen and Leicester, and that he constantly baited his friends and associates, both by lengthy verbal jests concerning his exploits and through setting one against another.

In one of the charges below, Arundel attributes the breach of friendship between Oxford and Lord Henry Howard to a 'friendly warning' given to Oxford 'of his drunkenness', an incident which occurred when the Queen removed from Nonsuch to Oatlands. This statement is perhaps consistent with Arundel's statement in another document that the cause of the breach in friendship was that Lord Henry Howard had ceased to accompany Oxford at court, a very public insult (see TNA SP 12/151/44, ff. 98-9).

In another of the allegations below, Arundel reiterates his statement made in TNA SP 12/151/44, ff. 98-9 that on the night of 25 December 1580, Oxford had met with him in secret and tried to bribe him to accuse Lord Henry Howard and Francis Southwell ('And myself can declare what he proffered me to accuse my Lord Harry and Southwell').

Persons mentioned in Arundel's allegations in the order in which they appear or are alluded to in the allegations include:

-Lord Henry Howard (1540-1614), later Earl of Northampton
-Francis Southwell (d.1581)
-Frederick Windsor (1559-1585), 4th Lord Windsor
-William Russell (c.1553-1613), 1st Baron Russell of Thornhaugh
-Sir Walter Raleigh (1554–1618)
-Thomas Bedingfield (c.1540-1613), translator
- Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, 3rd Duke of Alba [=Alva] (1507-1582)
-Charles Howard (1536-1624), 2nd Baron Howard of Effingham
-Henry Burgh (d.1578), son of William (c.1522-1584), 2nd Lord Burgh
-Robinson (unidentified)
-Philip II (1527-1598), King of Spain
-Don John of Austria (1547-1578)
-Cardinal Giovanni Morone (1509-1580)
-Pope Gregory XIII (1502-1585), born Ugo Boncompagni
-Countess of Mirandola
-Marguerite de Valois (1553-1615), Queen of Navarre
-Johannes Sturm (1507-1589), German scholar
-Charles Tyrrell (d.1570), Oxford's stepfather
-Sir George Howard (c.1519-1580), courtier
-Robert Parsons (c.1535–1572), musician and composer
-Richard Stevens
-William Malym [Malim] (1533–1594), headmaster of Eton and St Paul's
-Robert Dudley (1532/3-1588), Earl of Leicester
-Rowland Yorke [York] (d. 1588), soldier and traitor
-Sir Francis Walsingham (c.1532-1590)
-Davie the fencer

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-William Weekes
-William Sankey
-John Wotton
-Sir Henry Brouncker (1550-1607)
-Gerald Fitzgerald (1559–1580), called Lord Garrett
-Mr Thomas Drury
-William Somerset (1526/7–1589), 3rd Earl of Worcester
-Thomas Brinknell (d.1567)
-Walter Devereux (1539-1576), 1st Earl of Essex (1539–1576)
-Henry Hastings (1536?-1595), 3rd Earl of Huntingdon
-Lettice Knollys (1543–1634), Countess of Essex and Countess of Leicester
-Sir Christopher Hatton (c.1540–1591), Vice-Chamberlain of the Household in 1577
-John Cheke (c.1550–1580), soldier
-Sir Henry Knyvet (1537?–1598)
-Anne Vavasour (fl. 1580–1621)
-Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586)
-Jarre (unidentified)
-Wingfield (unidentified)
-Sir Arthur Gorges (d. 1625)
-Denny (unidentified)
-Caesare, servant to Earl of Leicester
-Sir William Cornwallis (c.1551-1611)
-George Baker (1540–1612), surgeon
-Ralph Hopton, Oxford's page, a younger son of Owen Hopton (c.1519–1595), Lieutenant of the Tower. He was still in Oxford's service at his death in 1580.
-Henry Mackwilliam the younger, slain in a duel on 8 June 1599, dying without issue. He was the only son of Henry Mackwilliam, gentleman pensioner at the court of Queen Elizabeth, by Mary Hill (d.1616), daughter and co-heiress of Richard Hill, esquire, and widow of the scholar Sir John Cheke, tutor to Edward VI and brother-in-law of Lord Burghley, whose first wife was Mary Cheke (c.1520–1544). Henry Mackwilliam the elder jousted against Oxford in a tournament at Westminster on 1-3 May 1571 (see Segar on this website). For the nuncupative will of Henry Mackwilliam the elder, dated 25 December 1586, see TNA PROB 11/70/244. For a letter from Sir Charles Danvers to Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton, mentioning the death of Henry Mackwilliam in a duel in 1599, see CP 71/104.
-Oratio Cuoco, Oxford's page, for whom see the record of his appearance, at the age of 17, before the Venetian Inquisition on 27 August 1577 on his return to Venice, Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Savi all'Eresia, Santo Uffizio. b. 41 on this website.
-Henry Lok (d. in or after 1608), Oxford's servant
-Lord Henry Seymour
-Sir Thomas Hoby (1530–1566), courtier and translator
-Thomas Howard (1538-1572), 4th Duke of Norfolk
-Sir Richard Shelley (c.1513–1587), diplomat and prior of the hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England
-William Cecil (1520/1-1598), Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer
-Anne (nee Cecil) de Vere (1556-1588), Countess of Oxford

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-Bernardino de Mendoza (c. 1540 – August 3, 1604), Spanish military commander and ambassador to England
-Curtis (unidentified)
-Philip Howard (1557–1595), 13th Earl of Arundel
-Dr. Nicholas Sander [Sanders] (c.1530–1581), religious controversialist
-James Eustace, 3rd Viscount Baltinglass (1530–1585), nobleman and rebel
-Lord Deputy of Ireland (unidentified)

The strength of this monster's evidence against my Lord Henry, Mr Southwell and myself weakened and taken down by the sufficient proof of the man's insufficiency to bear witness against any man of reputation, for these respects no less warranted by laws of honour and of arms than by the civil laws and the laws of our own country.

Atheism 1
Ordinary use to lie for the whetstone in the worst degree 2
Mercenary faith 3
Butcherly bloodiness 4
Dangerous practice 5
Notable dishonesty of life, scant to be named 6
Drunkenness 7
Particular grudge to us all three 8
Undutiful dealing to the Queen 9

Touching the first, the said Lord Harry and myself have justified by word and writing his protesting at Richmond in the presence of a number, as my Lord Windsor, Mr Russell and Raleigh:

[ ] His protesting that the glorious Trinity was an old wives' tale, and void of reason;

2 That he could make a better and more orderly scripture in six days' warning;

3 That Christ was a simple man;

4 That Joseph was both a cuckold and a wittol;

5 That nothing was so defensible by the scripture as bawdry, often affirmed in the presence of all and singular those persons above-named;

6 That he could never believe in such a God as dealt well with those that deserved evil, and evil with those that deserved well;

7 That he could prove by scripture that after this life we should be as if we had never been, and that the rest was devised but to make us afraid, like babes and children, of our shadows.

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This, with much more, hath been, is and shall be justified.

Ordinary use to lie

Let these examples plead.

That the cobblers' wives of Milan are more richly dressed every working-day than the Queen on Christmas-day.

1 That but for the coming of Bedingfield, and the Duke of Alva's persuasion rather to omit the service than forsake his country, he had surprised Bommel. Witness my Lord Howard of Effingham, L{ord} H{enry}, F{rancis} S{outhwell}, W{alter} R{aleigh} and myself.

2 That if my Lord Howard had not in the Queen's name called him away by letter, he had been governor of Milan. H{enry} H{oward}, W{alter} R{aleigh}, F{rancis} S{outhwell}, H{enry} B{urgh}, Robinson.

3 That he was in the way to Genoa with 3,000 horses, a 10,000 footmen, to take it for the King of Spain by Don John's direction when the Cardinal Morone took up the matter.

4 That he was proffered ten thousand pounds a year by the Pope, and more by King Philip at Naples.

5 That the Countess of Mirandola came fifty miles to lie with him for loves.

6 That the Queen of Navarre sent a messenger to desire him to speak with him in her chamber.

That St. Mark's church is paved at Venice with diamonds and rubies.

8 That a merchant in Genoa hath a mantel of a chimney of more price than all the treasure of the Tower.

9 That he read the rhetoric lecture publicly in Sturm's presence at Strasbourg.

10 That C{harles} Tyrrell appeared to him with a whip, which had made a better show in the hand of a carman than of hobgoblin, and this was in Uncle Howard's at Greenwich.

11 That in the same place he had copulation with a female sprite(?).

12 That he had often seen the devil by conjuring with Parsons of the Chapel that died, and by his direction painted out a book of prophecies; the conjuring was in the little house in the tiltyard at Greenwich.

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13 That he saw the real body of Christ visibly between the hands of Stevens at Mass.

14 That he preached at Brigstock in Northamptonshire in the presence of Mr Malim, schoolmaster of Paul's.

15 That he hath had the company of sundry great personages within the realm whom I forbear to name for reverence.

16 Beside household lies, which are infinite.

Perjury

For proof hereof we need seek no further than his ordinary manner to forswear himself fifteen times in an hour (whereof, because the pages and the boys in the street can bear witness, I will say no more), besides a thousand others in confirmation of all these particulars which have been repeated.

Mercenary faith

He willed me to say to one in England that whatsoever he would have him affirm as said to him by my Lord of Leicester, he would affirm it to his face at G{reenwich}. He proffered my Lord Harry and myself five hundred pounds to affirm upon our own knowledge the words uttered by Rowland Yorke of Mr Secretary Walsingham, with much more, but these examples are most notable.

Butcherly bloodiness

No day without practice to draw blood among his own friends, which we finding, gave warning one to another, but the knave, seeing no ways to sever us, commended us of want of courage, and we him of want of honesty.

1 His setting Robinson upon Harry Burgh.

2 He wrought the death of Davie the fencer by Linert(?), and often vaunted of his deed.

3 He laid all the town to kill Rowland Yorke.

4 Caused Weekes to murder Sankey because he would not kill Rowland Yorke.

5 He set Wotton upon Brouncker.

6 Myself upon Southwell.

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7 My Lord Howard upon me.

8 My Lord Garrett upon my Lord Windsor.

9 My Lord Garrett upon my Lord Howard.

10 He proffered all his cutters to Mr Thomas Drury so that he would dispatch my Lord Howard, his dearest friend.

11 Brake into my Lord of Worcester's house with an intent to murder him and all his men, as he oftentimes protested afterward.

12 No day free without setting one man upon another.

13 I speak not of his tasting blood in his infancy almost, which prefigured a Domitian.

Dangerous practice

A device fathered upon Rowland Yorke, that Mr Walsingham should pack with my Lords of Essex and Huntingdon, first to begin with my Lord of Leicester about his wife, making all the strength he could under colour of pretending request of justice, and when that should either be denied or abridged, to attempt the reformation of the government. The practice with my Lord Harry and myself to avow the knowledge of the said practice from Rowland Yorke his mouth, which we refused.

His practice with a sort of cutters to set upon Mr Vice-chamberlain and John Cheke as he went with him late one night to his lodging, meaning to have scaped away that night by the water-gate, and having placed a bark ready at the Thames' mouth to convey him away if he had not been removed from the matter by my Lord H{arry}, F{rancis} S{outhwell}, C{harles} A{rundel}.

3 His strange practice at two times to have slain the Earl of Leicester, once upon his way to Wanstead, another time at the garden stairs.

4 His oath to kill Sir Harry Knyvet at the Privy Chamber door for speaking evil of him to his niece.

5 His savage and inhuman practice at Greenwich to make away Philip Sidney.

6 His setting Jarre(?) and Wingfield to kill Arthur Gorges as he should walk over the green at Richmond.

7 His practice with certain soldiers to kill Denny, Raleigh and Cheke in Ireland.

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8 His laying wait for Raleigh's life before his going into Ireland.

9 His provision of shot and powder, no man knows to what purpose.

10 His seeking for poison of Caesare, that was with my Lord of Leicester.

Dishonesty of life

Confessed buggery to William Cornwallis.

1 The cook, weeping to my Lord Harry and myself at Hampton Court, confessed how my Lord had almost spoiled him, and yet he durst not open his grief to Baker.

2 Ralph Hopton, being commanded by my Lord to stay Mackwilliam in his bedchamber till he came down, wept to my Lord Harry and me, fearing lest if my Lord should deal with him as he dealt with [*word crossed out in original, and word written above is illegible*] in Broad Street, the matter coming out, he might be called to account for an instrument, declaring further that his heart ached to consider what he knew and what the world understood at this time, saying that once when he was my Lord's page he was about to have stabbed him with his own dagger for proffering so great a villainy.

3 It was his own words.

4 Orazio, that came with him out of Italy, made it the quarrel of his departure, as Henry Lok can testify.

5 He would often tell my Lord Harry, myself and Southwell that he had abused a mare.

6 That the English men were dolts and nidiots, for there was better sport in passa pecora, which they knew not, than in all their occupying.

7 That when women were unsweet, fine young boys were in season, with so far worse than this as it irkeneth me to remember.

8 He hath a yearly celebration of the Neapolitan malady.

Drunkenness

All that ever kept him company have had such daily and nightly proof of this by disgorging at the board, and words not to be named, as we need not spend much time about the proof of it.

Particular grudge to us

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To omit the setting of us all together by the ears, and one upon another, & device to murder us by telling tales to his men.

2 Let my Lord Henry Seymour be examined what Hoby told in his presence, etc.

3 And myself can declare what he proffered me to accuse my Lord Harry and Southwell.

4 His messages to be revenged by all means, direct and indirect, are evident.

5 The course of his malice began with friendly warning of his drunkenness at the Queen's remove from Nonsuch to Oatlands. His affirmation to divers that the Howards were the most treacherous race under heaven.

6 And my Lord Howard the rankest villain that lived on this earth.

Undutiful dealing to the Queen

His continual railing against her Majesty, and fleeing the company of my Lord Harry, Southwell and myself, with ill(?) words of us all to his men for persuading him to apply himself to content and serve her Majesty.

2 That the Queen said he was a bastard, for which cause he would never love her, and leave her in the lurch one day. One mistress for love, another for the pound.

3 Dissuasion to my Lord Harry for setting forth a treatise called *Encomia Elizabethii*, and the reasons which he used, proffering me money to dissuade my Lord Harry from printing of it.

4 The Catholics good Ave Mary coxcombs that would not rebel against the Queen.

5 My Lord of Norfolk worthy to lose his head for not following his counsel at Lichfield to take arms.

6 Railing at Fra{ncis} South{well} for commending the Queen's singing one night at Hampton Court, protesting by the blood of God that she had the worst voice and did everything with the worst grace that ever any woman did, and that he was never non plus but when he came to speak well of her.

7 His detecting Shelley to the English fugitives at Rome for giving intelligence to my Lord Treasurer.

8 His often jesting at Stevens for refusing to give him the sacrament till he promised to receive his wife again.

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9 His practice with the Spanish ambassador for going into Spain, and committing his money to his keeping to be conveyed over.

10 His sending away Curtis(?), that was his instrument and mean to the Spanish ambassador for the preparing of things on the tother side.

11 His continual railing of my Lord of Arundel for putting his trust in the Queen.

12 He would have no chaplain but Dr Sanders, for he went to the quick, wishing many times that he were Pope.

13 No companion but the Viscount of Baltinglass, for he said that the Queen would challenge the primacy which Christ would never give unto his own mother.

14 Daily spreading of Irish intelligence.

15 He had the copy of the Viscount of Baltinglass' letter to the Deputy.

16 With greater villainies which we wish to forget because with duty we cannot remember them.

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