

*Some Notes on Hatfield.**

BY WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

Neither the time which I have had to prepare this paper, nor that allotted for its delivery, will allow of an exhaustive account of Hatfield and its palace, but the Calendars to the State Papers at the Public Record Office, and more particularly the work of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, in making available the wealth of historical material hitherto almost hidden among the Cecil MSS. will, I hope, enable me to bring forward some fresh facts in the history of this most interesting parish.

I think I may safely say that all western Hertfordshire was forest waste up to a period not very long before the Norman Conquest. That Hatfield was so, is to a certain extent indicated by the enormous area of the parish, now the largest in the county, covering 12,884 acres, or, before Totteridge was separated from it, 13,951 acres, showing how sparsely inhabited it must have been at the time when it was formed. The Domesday Survey of 1086 points to much of the land being forest, by recording that there was woodland sufficient for 2,000 swine, a larger number than for any other parish in the county. It may be interesting, therefore, to consider that the beautiful parks which we now see around us have, for the most part, never been under cultivation, and though probably much altered, may be said to be the remains of the primæval forest, which, as before remarked, covered all the western and southern parts of the county. We find, also, from the early bailiffs' accounts of the thirteenth century, that the land was used mostly for pasture, and considerable attention was paid to dairy farming.†

* Read at an Excursion to Hatfield House, 11th July, 1902.

† Mins. Accts. ¹¹³² ₃ - ¹¹³² ₁₃

Of the identification of Bishop's Hatfield with Heathfield where the Council of Bishops was held in 680, I am, for reasons I will not enter upon here, extremely doubtful. I think, therefore, I shall be justified in omitting any reference to the description of the synod which is given by the Venerable Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History*, referring those who wish for information on the subject to his work.* The earliest authentic associations which Bishop's Hatfield has, are with the Abbey of Ely. This monastery is said to have been founded by Etheldreda, daughter of Anna, King of the East Saxons, about the middle of the seventh century. It was, however, deserted at the time of the Danish Invasion, and restored by King Edgar the Peaceful at the instigation of St. Dunstan, St. Ethelwold, and St. Oswald about 970, at the time of that great wave of religious enthusiasm, a period of reformation as important almost to the English Church as that of the sixteenth century. At the refounding of the monastery, Edgar appears to have endowed it with Hadham, Hatfield, and Kelshall in Hertfordshire.† His grandson, Edward the Confessor, received a part of his education at Ely, and was a great benefactor to the monastery, confirming the grants of his grandfather, including that of Hatfield, and adding considerably thereto.‡ At the time of the Domesday Book, we find that the Abbot of Ely held this manor, and when in 1109, the Abbey Church was converted into the seat of the new Bishopric of Ely, this manor took the name of Bishop's Hatfield, being given as a part of the endowment of the new see. Like most manors which had been granted to the church at a date before the Norman Conquest, Hatfield was a liberty within which, as it was termed, the King's writ did not run, that is to say, the sheriff of the county could not execute the writs of the King's Court or levy distrains except through the officer called the bailiff of the liberty.§ The Bishops of Ely had many other liberties in the manor, such as gallows or the right to hang their own felons, pillory, tumbrel, infangentheof, outfangentheof, free warren, waif, the amendment of the assize of bread and ale, and many other franchises,

* Bede's *Eccles. Hist.* Bk. IV. † *Cartæ Antiquæ*, B. No. 12.

‡ *Ibid.* § *Land Revenue*, Misc. Bks. 216.

the most remunerative of which perhaps was the right to hold a market and fair. The earliest evidence of this last right is a licence to the Bishop in 1234 to hold a fair for four days, viz., on the vigil and feast of St. John the Baptist and the two days following, and a weekly market on Thursdays.* We next find that in 1318 the Bishop had a grant of a fair for four days, viz., on the vigil and feast of St. Etheldreda the virgin, and two days following, that is to say, a day later than the time mentioned in the licence previously referred to, and the day of the market was changed to Tuesday.† Edward IV. confirmed this grant, but curtailed the duration of the fair, by one day, and altered the day of the market to Wednesday.‡ The market and fair remained thus until 9th of May, 1550, when the Earl of Warwick, then Lord of the Manor, obtained a charter granting him licence to hold a market on Thursdays, and fairs on the feasts of St. Luke the Evangelist and St. George the Martyr.§ Besides the benefit of having a market the people of Hatfield claimed to be free from toll throughout England.

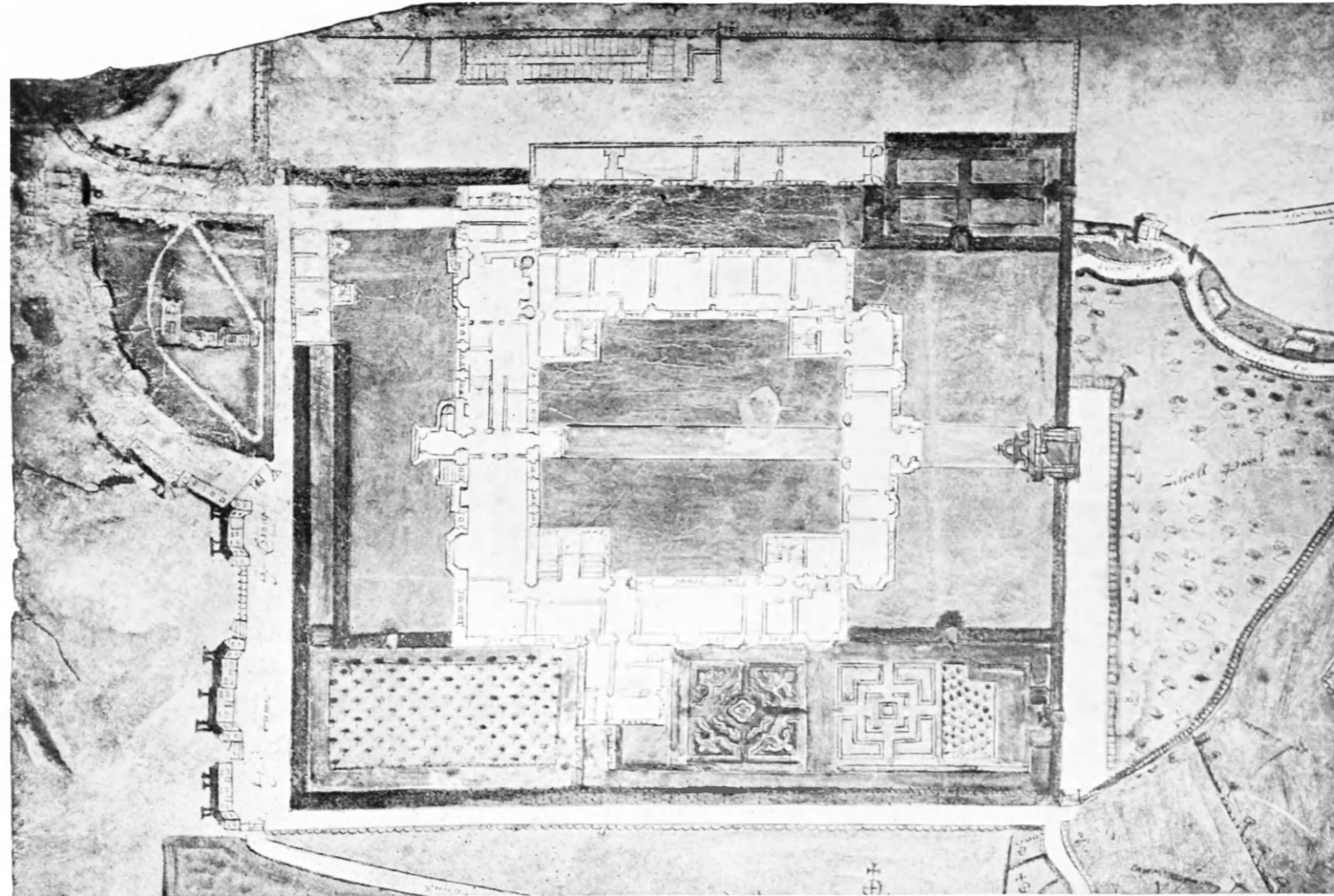
At an early date the Bishops of Ely, and possibly the Abbots of Ely before them, had at Hatfield not merely a grange, but a house of sufficient size to accommodate royalty and their retinues, as we find that it was a frequent stopping place of the English sovereigns as early as the thirteenth century.

It is difficult to distinguish Bishop's Hatfield from King's Hatfield and Hatfield Chase when, as we find in mediæval documents, the prefix or affix is often omitted, and this difficulty has led to much confusion and many erroneous statements. It would appear that King John visited Bishop's Hatfield|| on 26th May, 1211, in a royal progress from Bristol to London. In 1252, William de Valence, brother of King Henry III., while out hunting, trespassed into the park here, and because the Bishop's servants would not give him anything to drink stronger than beer, it is recorded that he used very bad language and caused a great disturbance. He broke open the door of the buttery, drank and upset a great quantity

* Close Roll, 10 Hen. III., m. 17. † Charter Roll, 12 Edw. II., No. 58.

‡ Ibid., 5, 6, 7 Edw. IV., No. 12. § Patent Roll, 4 Edw. VI., p. 8, m. 8,

|| *Patent Roll, John (Rec. Com.)*



Sixteenth-Century Plan of the Old Palace at Hatfield.
From the Original in possession of the Marquis of Salisbury.

of the Bishop's choicest wines and distributed them amongst his grooms.*

We find that Edward I. was here from the 16th to 19th February, 1303.† Edward II. and Edward III. also seem to have visited the palace on several occasions. It has been stated that William, the second son of Edward III., was born at Bishop's Hatfield, but this is an error, the place recorded being Hatfield in Yorkshire.‡

In 1292, the Bishop of Ely was allowed to divert a pathway leading from the churchyard to a field called Osmundescroft, in order to enlarge the courtyard, which indicates that the house then being added to was on the site of the present stables or old palace,§ and it was for the chapel in this house that the Bishop of Ely was commissioned by the Bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese Hatfield lay, in November, 1342, to consecrate an altar.|| The Bishops of Ely frequently resided at their palace of Hatfield, and it is said that Bishop John Barnet died there on 7th of June, 1397. Bishop Philip Morgan also died there on 25th of October, 1434, as did his successor, the Cardinal of Luxemburg.¶ The palace was rebuilt by Bishop John de Morton, who occupied the see of Ely from 1479 till 1486, when he became Archbishop of Canterbury. He was a man of great taste, as may be seen not only from what remains of his work here in the old palace, but elsewhere, for he rebuilt Wisbech Castle and did a considerable amount of work at Canterbury, Lambeth, Maidstone, and other places. The old palace of Hatfield was built entirely of brick, and from a plan which exists among the Hatfield manuscripts (here reproduced) it appears to have been of considerable size.

We now come to that period of the history of the palace which forms so intimate a part of the history of the Tudor family that it almost becomes a history of

* Matth. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Series), V. 343.

† Patent Roll, 31 Edw. I., m. 35.

‡ In 1336 Edward was in Scotland and spent Christmas at Hatfield, with the Queen, who there gave birth to their son, William (*Gesta Edwardi Tercii*, II., 128). As we find by the *Testes* on the Patent and Close Rolls that the King was at Doncaster on the 24th of December, it is clear the Hatfield referred to is Hatfield in Yorkshire. Mr. Thomas Frost, however, in *Bygone Hertfordshire*, and others, boldly claim that Bishop's Hatfield was referred to.

§ Ing. Post Mortem, 20 Edw. I. No. 69.

|| Lincoln Epis. Register, Bek. f. 7.

¶ *Vitruvius Britannicus*, by P. F. Robinson, p. 3.

England. The palace and manor it would seem were leased by the Bishop of Ely, on 7th August, 1514, to Richard Symond, who afterwards assigned his interest to Hanibal Zenzan.* This Zenzan was Master of the Horse to Henry VIII., and we may with every probability presume he was merely a nominee of the Crown, for Henry VIII. as we shall see, treated the palace more as his own than even he, autocrat as he was, could well have done, had he been dependent upon the good will of the bishop or his tenant.

Here was born on 17th July, 1517, the Lady Frances Brandon, eldest daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk and Mary, Queen of France, and mother of the amiable and unfortunate Lady Jane Grey. An account is still extant of the grand ceremony of the christening, which took place in Hatfield Church on this occasion. The roads were strewn with rushes, the church porch hung with embroidery, the chancel with silk arras, and the church itself with tapestry depicting the story of Holofernes and Hercules. The Queen and Princess Mary were represented, and the Abbot of St. Albans acted as godfather.

The first evidence I have found of the presence of Henry VIII. at Hatfield is in November, 1522, when he remained there for some days,† and from this date Hatfield appears to have been maintained practically as a royal palace. We find that Henry was again at Hatfield in November, 1524, and in August, 1525.‡ In November, 1525, beds and other furniture were brought for the accommodation of Henry Courtney, Earl of Devon, who had just been created Marquis of Exeter. Possibly we may infer from this that the young Marquis was going to make a lengthy stay; in any case, it would appear that when Henry removed from Hertford to Hatfield, on account of the prevalence of the sweating sickness, in June, 1528, we find that "my lord Marquis," that is the Marquis of Exeter, and his wife, and Mr. Cheyne, the Queen's Almoner, had fallen sick apparently at Hatfield, and that the Master of the Horse, who it will be remembered was Hanibal Zenzan, the lessee of

* Mins. Accts. 32, 33 Hen. VIII., No. 71, m. 3.

† *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*, Vol. III.

‡ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV.

the manor, complained of his head, "nevertheless, the King is merry and takes no conceit."*

The most pathetic incident in the history of the palace now claims our attention. It will be remembered that Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury held his court at Dunstable, for the trial of the validity of the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catherine of Aragon, and on 23rd of May, 1533, he pronounced judgment that the marriage was invalid. On the 7th of September following, Anne Boleyn gave birth to a daughter, afterwards Queen Elizabeth, which event further aggravated the unhappiness of the Queen Dowager, as Catherine was called, and her daughter. Up to this time the Princess Mary had been residing at Hatfield, with a household suitable to her position as a royal princess, under the care of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, grand-daughter of Richard, Earl of Warwick, the King-maker, and mother of the celebrated Cardinal Pole, which lady it will be remembered afterwards suffered the penalty of her devotion to the Queen and Princess Mary and her nearness to the crown, on Tower Hill. Mary's condition at Hatfield was soon to be changed. Three months after the birth of Elizabeth, on 2nd of December, an order was sent down by the council that the household of Princess Mary or Princess Dowager, as they called her, should be diminished, and that the Princess Elizabeth, then of course but a baby, should be conveyed to Hatfield.† By a letter from the Spanish Ambassador to Charles V., dated 16th December, 1533, we learn that Elizabeth had then been sent to Hatfield, and although there was a shorter and better road, yet we are told for the greater solemnity, and to "insinuate to the people that she is a true Princess," Elizabeth was taken through London. A little while after this, there came what must have been the most pathetic of all the scenes enacted at this celebrated house. Not content with sending down the child of her whom Mary considered her father's unlawful wife, Henry determined to humiliate his daughter still further by directing the Duke of Norfolk to go to Hatfield and tell the Princess Mary that she was to go into the household and to serve her infant half-sister. We can only imagine what gall and bitterness

* *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*, Vol. III. † *Ibid.*, Vol. VI., No. 1,486.

this must have been to her who was a daughter of the imperious house of Tudor and a child of the proud house of Aragon. Mary, we are told, sent a remonstrance to the council, saying, that although the proposal was dishonourable she would not disobey the King.* A few days later, we find that the remains of Princess Mary's household had been dissolved, and that the princess was established at Hatfield merely as a lady-in-waiting on the infant Elizabeth.† Mary's cup of bitterness was not yet full, for in March, 1534, she was altogether disinherited from the crown in favour of Elizabeth. The Spanish Ambassador, again writing to Charles V., on 30th of March, 1534, stated that last Thursday the Princess Mary, who refused to accompany Elizabeth on her removal apparently from Hatfield to Hunsdon, was put by force by certain gentlemen into a litter with Anne Boleyn's aunt, and was thus compelled to make court to Elizabeth. Mary made a public protest of the compulsion used, and claimed that her act should not prejudice her right and title. The Ambassador further adds he should not have advised the princess to have gone to that extreme, for fear of irritating her father, and consequently suffering worse treatment, and some bad turn at the desire of Anne, who was continually plotting the worst she could against the Princess.‡ Mary bore her misfortunes with fortitude and resignation, but as concerns the history of Hatfield, she passes from our view to spend two melancholy years at Hunsdon in this county, as a lady-in-waiting on her little half-sister.

Towards the close of the year 1538, the King entered upon negotiations with the Bishop of Ely for the exchange of the manor and palace of Hatfield, and, on 24th November, an agreement for the sale and exchange was entered upon§, which was followed, on 19th December, by a grant from the King to Thomas, Bishop of Ely, of the dissolved monastery of Ickleton with the manor of Swaffham Bulbeck and other lands in Cambridge, Essex, and Norfolk, in exchange for the manor of Hatfield.|| On 12th of January, 1539, the Bishop

* *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*, Vol. VI., No. 1,528. † *Ibid.*, Vol. VII., No. 38.

‡ *Ibid.*, No. 393.

§ Close Roll, 30 Hen. VIII., p. 1, No. 61.

|| Patent Roll, 30 Hen. VIII., p. 3, m. 30.

granted, and the prior and convent confirmed, the manor of Hatfield to the King.*

There are numerous surveys of the manor at this date, from which we learn that the site was called Milkewell *alias* Hatfieldbury, and was then in lease to Hanibal Zenzan.† In another survey taken in February, 1538, we have some interesting details. The palace is described as "a very goodly and a stately manor place erected and builded upon the side of a hill within the towne of Bysshoppes Hatfield, commonly called the Bysshoppes manor, constructed alle of brykke havinge in the same very stately lodgyngss with romes and offices to the same very necessary and expedient, albeit in some places it ys oute of reparaciones. Which said manor place lyeth adjoynynge the Parish Church of Hatfield aforesaid on the este." Then follow particulars of the parks and woods which contained a great number of oaks and beeches and a quantity of deer, which are described. The lord of the Manor, it is said, had a free fishery from the water mills of Hatfield to Stanbourne Bridge, and from thence to Stoke Bridge. The bounds of the manor are set out with great precision. The court leet was held at Whitsuntide, and the court baron every three weeks. There was a church house belonging to the town which served for "bridale festes" and was let at other times of the year for its maintenance and repair. It is also said there were two almshouses next the palace gate, and within the brick wall were houses of alms, which at that time had been altered "for her grace's use" probably meaning by her grace the young Princess Elizabeth. It is also said there was formerly a common brew-house, which was rebuilt and converted into bedehouses by Bishop Alcock, except a small portion, called the gatehouse, which was made into a fish-house.‡

In 1541 we have it on record that the King projected two visits to Hatfield, but whether they were carried out is uncertain.§ Shortly after the crown had acquired the manor, the King seems to have assigned it to the use of his two younger children, Princess Elizabeth and

* *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*, Vol. XIV., No. 52.

† *Mins. Accts.*, 32, 33 Hen. VIII., No. 71, m. 3.

‡ *Land Revenue Misc. Bks.* 216.

§ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*, Vol. XVI., No. 677.

Prince Edward, and it was about this time that Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, preached to the princess, and that the prince received his early instruction in French from Richard Cox, afterwards Bishop of Ely.*

It is difficult to ascertain what amount of time Elizabeth and Edward spent at Hatfield. It would seem clear, however, that a considerable portion of their childhood was passed happily under its roof. Whether Edward was there at the time of his father's death is a matter of some doubt. Holinshed asserts that he was, but Mr. P. Fraser Tytler, in his "*England under Edward VI.*" † brings evidence to show he was at Hertford when his uncle, Edward Seymour, went to acquaint him with the news and to bring him to London. The Princess Elizabeth was, at the time of the death of her father, taken apparently from Hatfield and placed under the charge of the Queen, Katherine Parr, who, it will be remembered, married Thomas Seymour, Lord Sudely, brother of the Protector Somerset. Elizabeth resided at Seymour's house for a time, but on account, as it was hinted, that her host paid her more attention than was discreet, it was agreed that it would be better to remove her from his custody. Shortly afterwards she again took up her residence at Hatfield, and here it was that upon the death of his wife, Queen Katherine Parr, on 5th of September, 1548, the ambitious Seymour paid his addresses to Elizabeth, who, it will be remembered, was then only in her fifteenth year. There is little doubt that, child as Elizabeth was, she showed that coyness in favouring his addresses which she used to such effect later with others. Seymour took as his confidants, Mrs. Ashley, Elizabeth's governess, and Parry, her cofferer, and a clandestine correspondence was carried on until Seymour's brother, the Protector Somerset, getting word of what was happening, and seeing the evident endeavours of his brother to supplant his authority, brought the matter, with other delinquences of Seymour, before the council, who ordered him to be committed to the Tower.

Parry, the cofferer, and Mrs. Ashley, the governess, were examined and made certain confessions. Sir Robert Tyrwhitt and his wife were sent down to

* See Account of Hatfield House, in *Quarterly Review*, 1876. † P. 16.

Hatfield to take charge of Elizabeth, and to ascertain if any contract of marriage had been made. From the reports of the progress of his mission which Tyrwhitt periodically sent to the Protector, during his residence at Hatfield, preserved among the State Papers and Hatfield MSS., we see evidence, even at this early age, of that curious combination of caution and impetuosity, together with that inconstancy, which were so characteristic of Elizabeth's later years. It is quite clear that the Protector's object was to extort a confession from Elizabeth in order to implicate and bring about the fall of his brother, but Elizabeth was not compliant, and on 25th of January, 1549, Tyrwhitt wrote that "he cannot frame her to all points as he would wish." Elizabeth protested against the scandals circulated respecting her, and wrote to the Protector to this effect. Again the Protector wrote to Tyrwhitt to urge him to obtain a confession, but though, as Tyrwhitt said, he used all means and policy, he could get nothing more. From the correspondence between Tyrwhitt and the Protector, it would seem that Elizabeth was daily interviewed, and urged to make a confession, and on 7th of February, Tyrwhitt sent up in all haste an alleged confession, but which he had to allow was not so full as he could wish.

We can picture to ourselves the scene which must have taken place under these circumstances, in the old palace. We can imagine the imperious girl of fifteen, vehemently repudiating the suggestions of Sir Robert Tyrwhitt and his wife, till at last worn out by their persistence, and by being carefully kept from any that would do otherwise than bend her to her keeper's wishes, she was compelled to make a less than half-hearted confession, and when told by Lady Tyrwhitt that she (Lady Tyrwhitt) had received a rebuke from the council, for not seeing her charge properly governed in the place of Mrs. Ashley, Elizabeth replied with spirit that she had not so demeaned herself that the court need put any more mistresses upon her, and then burst into a girlish passion of tears, and as we are told by Sir Robert Tyrwhitt, wept all night. Tyrwhitt adds his opinion somewhat cautiously, that he thinks it would be more meet for Elizabeth to have two governors than one.

Seymour, as it will be remembered, was executed on Tower Hill, on 20th of March, 1549. That he had an intention to marry the princess, and that Elizabeth did not reject his addresses, there can be little doubt, but of any evidence of a contract there appears to be little or none, and considering Elizabeth's age, we cannot blame her for showing a girlish favour to a man who had married her stepmother, and in whose house she had lived almost in the capacity of a daughter. It was at this time, and while at Hatfield, that Elizabeth commenced that friendship and correspondence with William Cecil, which continued throughout Cecil's life, and many messages were passed by her cofferer, Parry, to Master Secretary Cecil.

The Manor of Hatfield was granted to John, Earl of Warwick, father-in-law of the Lady Jane Grey, by letters patent dated 15th July, 1550.* It is evident that Elizabeth was concerned at the prospect of having to leave a place to which she had become so much attached, and we learn from Thomas Parry, her cofferer, before referred to, that in the autumn of 1549, when as we may presume the negotiations for the grant were in progress, she would not remove from Hatfield to Ashridge, as was intended.† She afterwards petitioned the King that an exchange might be made with the Earl of Warwick for Hatfield, and on 22nd June, 1550, an order in council was made that this should be done.‡ In consequence of which order, on 7th September, 1550, letters patent were passed granting the manor to the princess.

This little transaction is of great interest in showing Elizabeth's strong attachment to Hatfield Palace, with which, almost from the day of her birth to the date of her ascending the throne, she was associated. Elizabeth resided principally at Hatfield, but made occasional visits to Ashridge during the remainder of the reign of her brother, Edward VI. Their correspondence during this period is yet extant and preserved at the British Museum. Elizabeth was at Hatfield when Edward VI. died, and at the time that the abortive attempt to place the Lady Jane Grey on the throne, was made.

* Patent Roll, 4 Edw. VI., p. 7.

† *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1547-80, p. 23.

‡ *Acts of Privy Council*, 1550-2, p. 52.

Immediately after the accession of Mary, Elizabeth set out for Somerset House, in London, and the next day rode out to meet the Queen at Wanstead. Elizabeth's life at her sister's court, the subsequent plots against her, her retirement to Ashridge, and later, her committal to the Tower, and afterwards to Woodstock, and the regaining of royal favour, are all matters of general history which do not immediately affect the particular history of Hatfield. At length in the autumn of 1555, Elizabeth was permitted again to take up her residence at her beloved Hatfield, under the easy restraint imposed upon her by Sir Thomas Pope. Here Elizabeth surrounded herself with all her old dependents, Mrs. Ashley, Sir Thomas Parry, Roger Ascham (her tutor), and others. At this date Elizabeth devoted much of her time to study, and took a keen interest in her guardian's scheme for founding Trinity College, Oxford. In a letter from Sir Thomas Pope, dated from Hatfield, in 1556, he says, "The Princess Elizabeth, her grace, whom I serve here, often asketh me about the course I have devised for my scholars, and that part of mine estatutes respecting studie, I have shown to her, which she likes well. She is not only gracious but most learned as ye might well know."* Lighter occupations were at times indulged in, and we learn from a MS. in the Cotton Library at the British Museum,† quoted by Robinson in *Vitruvius Britannicus*,‡ that "In Shrovetide, 1556, Sir Thomas Pope made for the Lady Elizabeth at his owne costes a great and rich maskinge in the Great Hall at Hatfield where the pageaunts were marvellously furnished. There were thar twelve ministrels antickly disguised with forty-six or more gentlemen and ladies, many of them knights or nobles and ladies of honour, apperelled in crimson satin embrothered uppon with wrethes of gold and garnished with bordures of hanging perle, and the devise of a castell of clothe of golde sett with pomegranates about the battlements with shields of knights hanging therefrom and six knights with rich harness turneyed. At night the cuppboard in the hall was of twelve stages nanlie furnished with garnish of gold and silver vessal and a banket of seventie dishes a voidee of spices and

* Warton's "*Life of Sir Thomas Pope*," p. 91.

† Cott. MSS. Vit. F. 5.

‡ P. 6.

suttleties with thirty spise plates. And the next day the play, *Holophermes*, but the Queen percuse misliked the folleries as by her letters to Sir Thomas Pope, knight, did appear and so theis disguising were ceased."

Elizabeth made frequent visits to the court, residing when in London at Somerset House, and in April, 1557, Queen Mary returned these visits by a journey to Hatfield to see her sister. Extensive preparations were made on this occasion, the great chamber was arranged for the Queen, and adorned with a sumptuous suit of tapestry containing the subject of the Siege of Antioch. We are told that on the morning following the arrival of the Queen, after mass, Elizabeth entertained her with a great exhibition of bear-baiting, with which their highnesses, it is said, were right well content. The evening was more soberly spent with acting and reciting by the choir boys of St. Paul's. Both sisters were musical, and Elizabeth played on the virginals accompanied by a chorister, who is said to have had a divine voice.

Besides study, Elizabeth amused herself in hunting, by occasional visits to London, and by audiences to emissaries from continental princes, asking her hand in marriage. It was at Hatfield she finally refused Philibert, Duke of Savoy, whose suit was so earnestly pressed by her brother-in-law, Philip of Spain, and also the proposal of the great Gustavus Vasa, King of Sweden, that she should marry his eldest son, Prince Eric. She told each of her suitors that she fully intended to remain single. After one of the several plots with which Mary was from time to time threatened, and concerned in which was almost invariably to be found a member of Elizabeth's household, Elizabeth had serious thoughts of escaping to France, but fortunately she was dissuaded from such a project, whereby she would have risked her succession to the throne had she succeeded, and more fatal consequences would have followed if she failed. Nominally free to do as she wished at Hatfield, Elizabeth knew that she was surrounded by spies, and therefore her conduct needed all the caution she could muster, and although Sir Thomas Pope was evidently much attached to his charge, he was responsible to the crown for her safe keeping and for the prevention of plots.

It would occupy a volume to relate the history of Elizabeth's residence at Hatfield, and we must pass on to the final illness of Mary, which occurred in November, 1558. When it was clearly seen by those about the court that the Queen could not live long, they did not fail to acquaint Elizabeth and tried to ingratiate themselves with her. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who was employed secretly by Elizabeth to bring her word should her sister succumb, is said to have ridden off in hot haste to Hatfield, to tell Elizabeth of her sister's death, before that event had actually occurred. Elizabeth was too cautious to take any steps to secure her recognition as heir, until she was fully assured of her sister's death and sent Throckmorton back for a token. While he was returning the Queen died, and a number of the council, including Sir William Cecil, hastened down to Hatfield, when, according to tradition, they found Elizabeth sitting under a tree in the park, and when they acquainted her with her accession to the crown, Sir Robert Naunton relates that she fell on her knees in amazement, exclaiming, "*O Domine factum est illud et est mirabile in oculis nostris.*" "It is the Lord's doing, it is marvellous in our eyes." The story is a picturesque one, but we must consider that the middle of November is scarcely a time for a young lady to be sitting in a park, and that Elizabeth must have been fully prepared for the news of her sister's death and the visit of the council. Mary died on Thursday, 17th of November, 1558; three days later Elizabeth's first council was held at Hatfield, at which Sir William Cecil was appointed Chief Secretary of State and Privy Councillor. Councils were also held at Hatfield on Sunday, 21st, and on the 22nd November, and then the Queen took leave of Hatfield, which up to that date had been the witness of her hopes and fears, her troubles and happiness practically all her life, never to return for more than a few days relaxation from the trials and responsibilities of her new life. In this way we find she was at Hatfield in August, 1561, August, 1571, and June, 1575; at the last two of these occasions, privy councils were held; she was also there in June, 1576, and probably at other times.

Elizabeth maintained Hatfield as a royal palace throughout her reign, and at her death in 1603, James I.

granted it on 19th of September to Anne of Denmark, his Queen, as parcel of her jointure.*

James I., taking a fancy to Theobalds, the house of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, offered to exchange it for Hatfield; and upon the assent of the Earl, the exchange was effected, whereupon the lordship and manor of Hatfield were granted to the Earl of Salisbury on the 27th of May, 1607.† On 15th April previously, Lord Salisbury wrote from Theobalds to Sir Thomas Lake, "Being very desirous to see the house of Theobalds and Parcks (now drawing neere the dilivery into a hand which I pray God may keep it in his posterity untill there be neyther tree nor stone standing), I must confess unto you that I have borrowed one dayes retraict from London, whether now I am returning this morning, having looked upon Hattfield allso, where it pleased my Lord Chamberlain, my Lord of Worcester, and my Lord of Southampton to be contended to take the payne to view upon what part of ground I should place my habitation where I doubt not ere it be long to have the honour to see my great master. This I write because you may know that your letters of yesterday will find me in my pilgrimage at my little lodge with a fayre sight of read deere before myne eies."‡

So soon as Robert, Earl of Salisbury, had entered upon possession of Hatfield, he appears to have set about pulling down half the old palace, and erecting the present house. So far as we are aware, he had no architect. The general design of the house was probably that of the Earl himself, the plans were the work apparently of his servant, Thomas Wilson, afterwards knighted and made keeper of the State Papers, who was assisted by William Basill, surveyor of the King's works, but the great part of the responsibility seems to have been with Robert Lemming, evidently a very capable designer, who acted in the capacity of clerk of the works. To him we are indebted probably for most of the details, particularly of the interior. There are a number of reports, estimates, and letters, regarding the progress of the building of Hatfield

* Patent Roll, 1, James I., p. 20.

† Ibid., 8, James I., p. 19.

‡ State Papers, Dom., James I., Vol. XXVII., No. 7.

House, preserved among the State Papers at the Public Record Office, and among Lord Salisbury's MSS., the former of which have, so far as I have been able to ascertain, not been printed, and I think they are of sufficient interest, having regard to the objects of this Society, to warrant the printing of abstracts of them as an appendix to this paper, that they may be useful to anyone working at the architectural history of the house. Suffice it to say, that the original designs were considerably curtailed during the progress of the work, much to the regret of those who were looking after it. One would imagine from the wording of one of Lord Salisbury's letters, that the bricks were made locally. The joiner's work, wainscotting, etc., was done by Jenever, probably a Dutchman living in London, who also designed the chimney-pieces. The turner's work was made by a man named Hoocker, of St. Martin's Lane, London. The gardens were objects of the particular care of Lord Salisbury, the walling and planting of them is frequently referred to in the reports of Robert Lemming. The Earl was assisted by many friends in this hobby. In 1609, Lady Tresham sent him fifty fruit trees, and in September of the same year, the Earl of Exeter, his brother, sent his own gardener, a Frenchman, to plant vines. Other Frenchmen had before been employed at the vineyard. Mountain Genings was the Earl's gardener, possibly, from his name, also a Frenchman, as we know that there were numerous French gardeners in England at this time. The imperious queen-mother of France, Mary de Medici, widow of the celebrated Henri Quatre, or Henry of Navarre, sent to Lord Salisbury, in 1611, over 500 fruit trees for his garden, and a French gardener and two assistants to plant them. Another scheme which Lord Salisbury had in connection with the house was an elaborate system of waterworks and fountains. These were designed by a Frenchman also, whose plans and rough drawings are preserved among the State Papers at the Public Record Office.

The remainder of the history of Hatfield and Hatfield House is a history of the illustrious house of Cecil, which time precludes us from entering upon here, and is a subject, I hope, may be taken up in another paper at

some future time. There is, however, one interesting scheme for the relief of the poor at Hatfield, to which I have found reference, and which I should like to mention.

The great flow of foreign immigration into England, on account of the religious persecutions abroad, brought with it the establishment of the weaving industry in various parts of the country. Towards the close of the sixteenth, and at the early part of the seventeenth century, it was a favourite project to start this industry for the relief of the poor. We have evidence of this at St. Albans, where a Dutchman was engaged to teach the poor to spin.* At Hatfield, Lord Salisbury, in 1608, immediately after he had come into possession of the manor, set about carrying out such a scheme and entered into an agreement, of which the following is an abstract, with one, Walter Morrall, probably a Fleming:—

Articles† of agreement made in December, 1608, between Robert Earl of Salisbury, Lord High Treasurer of England, on the one part, and Walter Morrall, of Enfield, on the other part, viz. :—Imprimis. The said Walter Morrall, grants to the said Robert, Earl of Salisbury, that he, the said Walter Morrall will, at his own cost, with all speed after the date hereof, for the term of ten years diligently teach within the parish of Hatfield, Herts, in the art of clothing, weaving, spinning, carding, or any other such like commendable trade, which the said Walter shall think good, fifty persons, to be chosen by the Earl within the said Parish of Hatfield, but of no other place; out of which fifty persons the said Walter is to take apprentices for seven years not under the number of twenty persons; provided always that if by death or otherwise there shall at any time be less than the full number, the rest shall be supplied by the direction of the said Earl, and the number of apprentices shall always be fully maintained. And also the said Walter Morrall shall find stuff and work enough to set all these fifty persons at work, so as to avoid idleness, and also for the education and teaching of them in skill and knowledge of the said trades for the better

* *Corporation Records*, by A. E. Gibbs.

† *State Papers. Domestic. James I., Vol. XXXVIII., No. 73.*

getting of their honest livings afterwards. And shall also pay to the said fifty persons (except such as he shall take apprentice) for their work, such rates as are usually given in Essex and elsewhere for the like work. And that the said Walter shall pay the said wages, after the rates aforesaid, to each of them at the end of each week during the term of ten years, without fraud.

In consideration whereof the said Earl of Salisbury promises the said Walter Morrall, that he, the said Earl, will pay and allow unto the said Walter one convenient house in the parish of Hatfield, rent free, during the said term of ten years fit for him to perform the said trades, at his own cost to keep in good repair, except such decays as shall be made by the said Walter, his servants or people. And also that the said Earl will yearly during the said term of ten years pay the said Walter Morrall £100, in respect of the undertaking of the said business, towards his expenses therein, and for the teaching of the said fifty persons. And the said Walter promises, that if through his negligence any of the said number of fifty persons shall be wanting "at any time in the year during the said term of ten years, by the space of — days, then the said Walter shall be abated out of the said sum of £100 by year for every such person so wanting by the time he or they shall want, for every day after the rate of £10 by year, anything in these presents contained to the contrary notwithstanding."

Shortly afterwards some further stipulations* were arranged for carrying on these works at "Cecil Hatfield," as Hatfield is termed. Amongst these are clauses that the persons employed should be well treated, should attend the parish church on Sundays, should not teach the trade to any other till they had practised it themselves for three years and be perfect therein, and that Morrall should always keep ten looms in his house.

The works were started, and in April, 1609, William Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, wrote to Lord Salisbury† praising him for his Christian-like provision for the poor at Hatfield. From a report of Robert Abbot to Thomas Wilson,‡ the persons taught seemed very well content

* State Papers Domestic, James I., Vol. XXXVIII, No. 71.

† Ibid., XLIV., No. 84. ‡ State Papers, Eliz., Chap. CXXIII., No. 10.

with their pay and prospects and there were many more applications for work than room could be provided for. The works continued for a year or two at all events, but I have been unable to trace what became of them.

In conclusion, I should like to express my thanks to Mr. R. T. Gunton, Lord Salisbury's Private Secretary, for references to works bearing on this subject, and to Mr. E. Stanley Kent for photographing the old plan of Hatfield House which Lord Salisbury has kindly permitted me to reproduce here.

APPENDIX.

STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC, James I., Vol. XLV., No. 69.

ABSTRACT.

25th May, 1609.

An abstract of all the charges that his Lordship is to be at more than he hath disbursed for the full finishing of his building at Hatfield, according to the plot or to the intended meaning begun, except joinery, plate, looks, painting, and gardening.

Masons, freestone, hardstone, chimney-pieces, etc.	£2,160
Bricklayer	£1,659
Carpenter	£1,177
Plumber	£1,200
Plasterer	£967
Glazier	£203
Smith	£170
Slater	£350
Carts and labour	£200
Ironmonger	£60

The whole sum £8,146

If front of the gallery be built with pilasters as it is begun, and leave out the columns, he may deduct £120.

If he (Lord Salisbury) omit the architrave, freize and cornice, which is to go twice about the inner court, and put in a plain crest which will not be graceful, he may deduct £75.

If he omit the lions of stone which are to be upon the gable ends for the garnishment of the house and make them with plain "unnials," he may deduct £15.

If he omit the paving of the "survaing" place before the kitchen with Purbeck and the wet larder, scullery, and kitchen court, he may deduct out of paving, £135.

If he leave out the taffrails which are for the garnishers over the windows and do them with plain perime, he may deduct £30.

If he omit covering the two "platforms" towers with lead and to fair rooms over the said towers and to set on a roof it at the height that in it which will be very deformed for the uniform of the building . . both within and without, he may deduct £325.

If he omit the twenty vanes which should have been for the lions, he may deduct £10.

The whole deduction £710 0s. 0d.

To the remains of £8,146 is £7,436.

If it please God by the last of July the carpenters will have reared the hall roof and all the roof between the two towers and the great chamber floors and "flatforms" and the eight tips upon the towers and all the carpentry work for the slates to cover the house. But if we alter the property of the building it will be ready to cover by Michaelmas next, because the roofs are yet to saw and to frame.

STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC, James I., Vol. XLV., No. 84.

ABSTRACT.

27th May, 1609.

Deductions that may be made out of the last estimate for work either to be left undone or done with less cost about Hatfield Building, by this conference with the workmen before Mr. Forsett, master surveyor, and myself, 27th May, 1609.

The cost that may be saved about the East Gardens in not making "wales" (? walls), "dores," "tarrasses," "rayles and ballisters," as was purposed, £500.

The omitting ten of the twelve tipped small buildings before the house at £60 a-piece, making only two at the gate, £600.

Omitting architrave, freize and cornice about the returns of the house double, making water table instead of it, £150.

In the garnishment of the front they say there cannot be omitted more than £120.

There may be saved in lead-work £300.

In unnecessary paving of Purbeck, £140.

In taffrails of stone over the windows, £30.

In the cost purposed to be bestowed on the outward gate which may be made of brick, not stone, £20.

In the plaisterers' work and omitting purposed fretts, £100.

In the carvers' work all was rated at £160, may be saved £80.

In the hall screen rated at £100, may be saved £50.

In the smiths' work, black and white, £100.

In the labourers and day carpenters, £50.

In deal boards, omitting spruce deals, £50.

So saved in all, £2,440.

STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC, James I., Vol. LIII., No. 17.

ABSTRACT.

18th January, 1610, from Hatfield.

Robert Lemminge to Thomas Wilson, at my Lord Treasurer's House, at Ivy Bridge.

Mr. Jenener, the joiner, hath been down to Hatfield, and we have had some conference about ceiling the rooms with wainscot, and he hath taken measures of certain chimney-pieces to be made, and saith he will draw some plots of the manner of them, and show my Lord and you Pond, the gardener, is not yet returned to Hatfield. It is frivolous for me to write unless I understand my Lord's mind, for the time of the year, unless it be presently set in hand withal, it will be too late to set the quicks. I pray you speak to Hoocker, the turner, in St. Martin's Lane, that he may come down for the turning of ballusters, for the carpenters are in hand with framing the walks in the west garden that it may be enclosed in.

STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC, James I., Vol. LIII., No. 65.

ABSTRACT.

1st April, 1610.

Lord Salisbury to William Bassill, Surveyor of his Majesty's Works, and Thomas Wilson, "my servant."

Whereas there was before Michaelmas last an estimate made of the then future charge of my building at Hatfield, wherewith yourselves were made acquainted, which estimate amounted to £8,500 as by a schedule of particulars then made appears, since then there hath been expended and paid for the same above £4,000, and yet it is to be doubted that the moiety of the said works is finished. I beg you to report on said building. To set down all things in writing, and cause Shaw and Lymming to set their hand thereunto, and further as Shaw and Lymming would have 2,500 thousand (*sic.*) bricks more made this year, I would have them set down the reason why they require so many. I am informed much fewer will suffice.

STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC, James I., Vol. LIII., No. 79.

ABSTRACT.

A brief of the survey of work at Hatfield. 4th April, 1610.

Estimate of 28th July, 1609, £8,500.

Work done and money expended, £5,424.

Work yet to be done as appears, £3,779.

Which amounteth to £607 (*sic.*) more than the estimate for which there is more than £1,100 in addition as appeareth :—

Joiner, £100.
 Painter, £30.
 For Harestone steps, £80.
 Coalhouses, £70.
 Garnishing the terraces, £55.
 Architrave, freize and cornice, £40.
 The front all of stone which should have been part of brick, £150.
 To gable ends in tracing, £30.
 The scullery Purbeck, £20.
 The plain lead and solder, £50.
 The garden houses, £50.
 Altering the chapel, £150.
 Plastering all the brick walls, £250.
 The new chapel windows, £50—£1,125.
 Whereby it appeareth that there will be saved of the estimate, £418.
 Signed by Basill, Wilson, Liming, Shaw.

STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC, James I., Vol. LVII., No. 82.

ABSTRACT.

A bill of charges [said in calendar to be by Mr. Wilson] about my lord's business from Hatfield since 22nd Sept., 1609, until 29th Sept., 1610.

Riding down with Mr. Jones.
 Spent at Hatfield with the surveyor.
 19th Dec. Rode down to Hatfield, and rode to Hertford that night and lay at my own house.
 Payment of labourers frequently referred to.
 10th March. Went down to pay certain bills and carried down Dolphin with me, hiring him a horse, etc.
 2nd April. Rode down to meet Mr. Jenings.
 4th May. Rode down with Mr. Bell.
 (22nd May?) Given to my lord of Exeter's gardener, the second time my lord caused me to carry him down to plant vines himself, that I might see the difference between the other Frenchmen's planting and his, who, coming to my lord at his coming home the 14th December, my lord willed me to give him for four days he had been there, 20s.

STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC, James I., Vol. LVIII., No. 9.

ABSTRACT.

8th November, 1610.

Robert Lyming to Thomas Wilson, from Hatfield.

The mason is in hand with the chapel window, and that would be very well made an end of before Christmas if he had more there. The stone-mason has above 30 men at work, there is a great deal of masonry which will take much time. Stone is delaying. Begg Wilson to see to the sending down stone from London. The front of gallery is brought up above the first storey to the height of the pedestal; half the range, and the other part is wrought ready to set. The mason is paving the great beer cellar with Purbeck, and hath lain some of it. The bricklayers have brought the vaults for the coal house before the kitchen, and are in hand with the foundations of the gates in the Court on the north side of the house, and having done that the bricklayers shall give over all the outward works, and they shall be covered from the weather. He has set the bricklayers to make drains to carry water from the foundations. He thanks God the main building standeth firm and sure in every place.

The carpenters are framing the tips for the porters' lodges. They have joisted and boarded the ground floor for the lodgings at the east end of the house, and plasterers are finishing them.

The plumber has laid on the lead upon the hall roof and towers, though it be long, but he hath not done all the soldering. The glazier shall set up the glass when the scaffolding can be taken down.

Mountague Jenings was here on Tuesday and paid his workmen, and hath some work in the way coming to the house from the south, and some in the east garden, and some in the north walk. As to enclosing the east garden. He entreats him to tell Mr. Bowle that he will bring a just mould of the light of the chapel windows according to the proportion concluded of between them, at his next return to London.

STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC, James I., Vol. LXIII., No. 88 (I.)

ABSTRACT.

A note of his Lordship's business done at Hatfield, etc.

17th May, 1611.

The hall is fully joined with tables and forms fitting to it, the lower part of the screen is set up and finished by the carpenters and carvers, and the upper part of the screen is framed and carved and is now fitting up.

The great chamber on the east side will be fully finished by the painters and plasterers by Monday (note the painters will end to-night), and the scaffold taken down, so that if the joiner be ready, whom Mr. Surveyor hath appointed to do the wainscot work, all the lodgings on that level will be ready within this month.

The fretted ceiling in the gallery will be fully finished with the whitening of it on Tuesday, the gallery will then be ready for the joinery work which is framed at London.

The shutting windows for the great chamber on the west side are now in working, and the freize of the wainscot work and the jambs of the windows are framed at London by Janiveer, the joiner. There is a footpace to be laid and then that room will be fully finished.

The with-drawing chamber, the closet of the chapel, and the rooms adjoining on that level will be ready to be lodged in within this three weeks. The mason hath fully finished the open work upon the return building on the west side of the Court, and will by Tuesday next have set up the garnish on the east side into the Court. He hath finished the open work of stone upon the front to the north, he hath set up and finished the north gate, he hath paved the cross walk in the inner court, and the residue is working.

The chapel is now a-paving by the mason. Mason now working the garnishing for the walls, and the little houses coming into the Inner Court which he saith cannot be finished in less time than a month. It is not every man's work, for one mason amongst ten cannot do it by reason of the form of it, and to make it stand pleasing to the eye.

The bricklayers are in hand with pencilling the house and court walls as fast as the mason finished.

The decayed bridge at the river is made strong with brick and stone, and it is planked, piled, and wharfed to continue for ever, the gravel is taken away within the river in the park which hindereth the passage of the water, this being done the water will have his free course, that neither winter nor summer the passengers shall have cause to complain.

STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC, James I., Vol. LXV., No. 3.

1st. July, 1611.

Report on Hatfield.

ON THE EAST.

The great chamber hanged and ready; crest of timber for the footpace and the windows and wainscotted.

Dallam to be sent down to tune the pipes of the wind instrument, being removed.

The with drawing chamber matted, hanged and ready.

The king's bed-chamber to be matted and hanged, to-morrow being Tuesday.

The pallet chamber next to that, matted and hanged.

The two bed-chambers (of which that which was the anticke is one) and the lobbie next to them matted.

My lord's lodgings upon the parlor floore to be hanged and readie upon Teusday next.

THE GALLERIE.

The chimney peeces of plain wainscott sett uppe.

The south side wilbe wainscotted but not the frise, by Thursdaie.

Both the ends wainscotted but to be hanged.

The retorne to be hanged for the tyme and the prospect in the haule over the skreene to be mured uppe this daie.

The north side to be hanged.

THE HAULE.

The haule, the scaffold to be strooken by the painter this night.

ON THE NORTH.

The two chambers hanged readie only wanted two plaine chimney peeces which wilbe this week, yf not to be hanged.

The little pallett readie.

THE CHAPPELL.

The closett chimney peece and hanginges chaires and stooles sutable readie (wanteth good andirons).

The chappell, the frise and pulpitt to be don uppon Thursdaie.

ON THE WEST.

The dyninge chamber to be ended upon Saterdaie by the joyner.
 The with drawinge chambers matted and hanged.
 Three bed-chambers and three pallett chambers hanged matted and matted with
 bedes Teusdaie by noone.
 The corner lodginges to be hanged and readie Teusdaie morninge.
 The upper lodginges to be hanged and readie for the Lord Cranborne Tewsdaie
 night.

THE MASON.

The scaffold wilbe strooke from the south gate Tewsdaie.
 The east parte of the wall of the inner court finished and the type sett uppe.
 All the open worke of the weste parte of the wall wilbe ended this week and the
 type sett uppe.
 The lower parte of the Court next the wall where it is to be paved shalbe sanded
 close to the square of the turfing.
 The little side courts to be rid upon Satterdaie.

THE EAST GARDEN.

The Ryver in the east garden in the same place for the present to be ended
 within four daies.
 The bridges at the River wilbe sett uppe this weeke.

ABSTRACT.

The conduit head is so sufficiently bound up that there is water enough to serve
 two such pipes as are laid for fountain. As to water supply.

Carpenters are at work at gate for the north walk which will be fully finished
 and set up within ten or twelve days.

Plasterer will be out of the house in four or five days.

The water is let into the works at the river which runs very pleasantly, and the
 workmen are in hand with the turfing and perfecting of the walks on the Island.

The north and south walk in progress.

The east garden and the terrace walk is levelled and perfected, and the little
 river is indented and stones and shells laid at the bottom, and this day the water
 running in it. The hedges of either side the walks are removed, and the workmen are
 in hand with turfing of it and the levelling of the lower parts of the garden.

Sd. JOHN SHAWE,
 ROBT. LEMINGE,
 SAML. STILLINGFLEET.

The riding in the middle park is a great part of the way finished.
 500 pole of pale in new enclosure of Middle Park.

STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC, James I., Vol. LXVI., No. 42.

1st. October, 1611.

Mr. Limming to Mr. Wilson.

I am about drawing of an upright for the front from the gallery which I can
 do little to but in the evenings, by reason of giving orders to the workmen.

STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC, James I., Vol. LXVII., No. 62.

Mr. Wilson to Lord Salisbury, 25th November, 1611.

A Frenchman has taken the levels and measures all places from the conduit head
 to the east garden, and the like all the river. The purpose is to make a new
conserve d'eau, as he calls it, at the corner of the bowling place next the upper part
 of the east garden which shall contain all the water of the source as well the waste
 as the rest, so that all the cisterns that now are, will be of no use unless you will
 like to have the great open cistern in the garden to put fish into to be ready upon
 all occasions. The great store cistern in the riding court he would have taken down,
 and the material employed in that he meaneth to make.

The cistern he will make will cost £300 besides the material of the old one, and
 £100 more, the bringing home of all the water and turning the pipes, the pipes seem
 to serve the use of the offices in the house as now they do. He means to make in
 the east garden four fountains.

This evening came the French Queen's gardener that brought over the fruit
 trees for the King and your lordship; 2,000 and odd for the King and above 500 for
 your lordship, he desires me to send him a man to-morrow morning to take charge
 of disembarking them, they being even now arrived at the Tower Wharf. There
 are two other gardeners besides this man sent over by the French Queen to see the
 setting and bestowing of these trees.