

**Aristocratic Women at the  
Late Elizabethan Court:  
Politics, Patronage and Power**

**Joanne Lee Hocking**

**School of Humanities, Department of History**

**University of Adelaide**

**November 2015**

# Table of Contents

Abstract		i
Thesis declaration		iii
Acknowledgments		iv
List of Abbreviations		v
Chapter 1	Introduction	1
Chapter 2	The Political Context, 1580-1603	28
Chapter 3	The Politics of Female Agency: Anne Dudley, Countess of Warwick	54
Chapter 4	The Politics of Family and Faction: Anne, Lady Bacon and Elizabeth, Lady Russell	132
Chapter 5	The Politics of Favour: the Essex Women	195
Chapter 6	Conclusion	265
Appendices		
	Appendix A – the Russell family	273
	Appendix B – the Dudley family	274
	Appendix C – the Cooke family	275
	Appendix D – the Devereux family	276
	Appendix E – Countess of Warwick’s Patronage Network	277
	Appendix F –Countess of Warwick’s will	292
Bibliography		305

## **Abstract**

This thesis examines the power of aristocratic women in politics and patronage in the final years of the Elizabethan court (1580 to 1603). Substantial archival sources are analysed to evaluate the concepts of female political agency discussed in scholarly literature, including women's roles in politics, within families, in networks and as part of the court patronage system. A case study methodology is used to examine the lives and careers of specific aristocratic women in three spheres of court politics – the politics of female agency, the politics of family and faction, and the politics of favour. The first case study looks at Elizabeth's long-serving lady-in-waiting, Anne Dudley, Countess of Warwick, and demonstrates that female political agents harnessed multiple sources of agency to exercise power at court on behalf of dense patronage networks. It introduces the original concept of a female 'companion favourite' who used a close personal relationship with the queen to become one of the most successful courtiers of the period and to rival the power of aristocratic men in a number of ways. Case studies on the Cooke sisters, Anne, Lady Bacon and Elizabeth, Lady Russell, examine their loyalties and obligations to male kin on either side of a political divide in the 1590s. For the first time, the activities of these aristocratic women are incorporated into the study of factionalism at the Elizabethan court and argue that a convergence of family and state politics enhanced women's political significance. The final series of case studies discusses the effect of kinship with an Elizabethan male favourite on women's political agency and analyses the interdependent flow of power between Robert Devereux, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Essex and four of his closest female kin. The thesis uniquely examines the

ability of aristocratic women out of royal favour to exercise power and pursue feminine strategies for patronage. These case studies show that aristocratic women made their own decisions within the scope of kin obligations and highlight an overlap between family and independent political agency. The thesis concludes that the realities of a personal monarchy under a queen regnant meant that aristocratic women's roles in politics and patronage were integral to the effective functioning of the court and state, but that their sex determined how they exercised power. Whilst all aristocratic women at the late Elizabethan court were politically significant, those who mastered the exercise of power and wielded it appropriately took their political agency to a higher level.

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being made available for loan and photocopying, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968.

.....

Joanne Hocking

6/11/2015

## Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the assistance of many people over the last 8.5 years.

First and foremost, thanks must go to my supervisors –Dr Helen Payne who worked tirelessly on my behalf and introduced me to the world of aristocratic women, Dr Katie Barclay whose expertise has been invaluable and Mr Frank McGregor whose sage advice has greatly enriched this thesis. I will always be grateful for the wisdom, knowledge and experience they collectively shared with me. This thesis would not exist without their support.

I would like to formally thank Viscount De’Lisle at Penshurst Place for his kind permission to access the De’Lisle Manuscripts at the Kent History and Library Centre in 2009 and 2011, and to reproduce selected material in this thesis.

Thanks must go to the Department of History at the University of Adelaide for postgraduate grants that enabled me to travel to the United Kingdom for research, as well as the purchase of a digital camera for photographing records. As Postgraduate Coordinators during the period of my candidacy, Dr Claire Walker, Dr Tom Buchanan and Dr Vesna Drapac provided crucial support and advice.

I owe a debt of gratitude to Margaret Hosking at the Barr Smith Library who provided assistance and purchased vital resources. I would also like to thank the staff at the British Library, Lambeth Palace Library, the National Archives, the Kent History and Library Centre, the Institute for Historical Research and the Warwickshire County Record office for their customer service and dedication to research.

I am also grateful for the generosity of spirit and assistance of Dr Simon Healy of the History of Parliament Trust and Dr Sara Wolfson of Canterbury Christ Church University, UK, over a number of years.

Finally, I would also like to thank my partner, Ian, and my family and friends for their support during the tumultuous years of my PhD.

## List of Abbreviations

### Manuscript Collections

Add.	Additional Manuscripts
Cecil MS	Hatfield House, Cecil Papers (available via microfilm M485 and Cecil Papers Database at BL)
C	Chancery
E	Exchequer
Harl.	Harleian Manuscripts
Lans.	Lansdowne Manuscripts
Loseley	More Molyneux Family of Loseley Park: Historical Correspondence Volumes (online transcripts)
PROB 11	Prerogative Court of Canterbury wills
REQ	Court of Requests
SO	Signet Office
SP	State Papers
STAC	Star Chamber

### Research Libraries and Archive Collections

BL	British Library, London
IHR	Institute for Historical Research, London
KHLC	Kent History and Library Centre, Maidstone, Kent
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library, London
SHC	Surrey History Centre (online transcripts)
TNA	The National Archives, London
WCRO	Warwickshire County Record Office, Warwick

### Printed Sources

<i>CP</i>	Cokayne, George E. <i>The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct or Dormant</i> , 13 vols. Revised, enlarged edition. Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1982.
<i>CPR</i>	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>
<i>CSPD</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers Domestic</i>
<i>CSPS</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers Simancas</i>
<i>Hasler</i>	Hasler, P. W., ed. <i>The House of Commons 1558-1603</i> , 3 vols. London: published for the History of Parliament Trust by HMSO, 1981.
<i>HMC</i>	Historical Manuscripts Commission
<i>HMCD</i>	<i>Report on the Manuscripts of Lord De L'Isle &amp; Dudley ...</i>

- HMCP*      *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Portland, Preserved at Welbeck Abbey*, Vol. 2. London: HMSO, 1893.
- HMCR*      *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, G.C.B., Preserved at Belvoir Castle*, Vol. 1. London: HMSO, 1888.
- HMCS*      *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. The Marquis of Salisbury ...*
- ODNB*      *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Online edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004-2015.
- Progresses*      Goldring, Elizabeth, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke and Jayne Elisabeth Archer, eds. John Nichols's *'The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I': a New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*. 5 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Sidney Papers*      Collins, Arthur, ed. *Letters and Memorials of State, in the Reigns of Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth, King James, King Charles the First, Part of the Reign of King Charles the Second, and Oliver's Usurpation*. 2 vols. London: T. Osborne, 1746.



# Chapter 1

## Introduction

Around 1597, a soldier implored Anne Dudley, Countess of Warwick, to approach Elizabeth I on his behalf for a commission as Colonel:

p[ar]done me if I Importune you so farre as to moue hir Majesty in my behalfe for that from hir thes great aduansements comes and wthoute the meanes of suche honorable parsonages as yor self our owne desertes will carry nothing<sup>1</sup>

His letter provides an illuminating glimpse of a man crediting an aristocratic woman with significant patronage power at the late Elizabethan court. This underscores the central premise of this thesis that, in a personal monarchy where merit was not the sole criterion for political, financial or dynastic success, aristocratic women exercised political power and patronage for themselves and their networks.

This thesis examines the nature and exercise of power by aristocratic women in politics and patronage during the final years of the Elizabethan court from 1580 to 1603. For the purposes of this thesis, the term ‘power’ is defined as taking consequential action or wielding authority over others in politics and patronage.<sup>2</sup> These two distinct concepts were the building blocks of power at court. The following chapters use the term ‘politics’ to include all behaviour that helped to shape the governance, functioning or composition of the late Elizabethan court. This encompasses activities associated with ‘high politics’ such as international diplomacy or domestic policy, but also informal

---

<sup>1</sup> Cecil MS 130/133, Sir Jar. Harvye to Lady Warwick [June 1597?].

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion on defining power, see Katie Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy and Scotland, 1650-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 5-9.

but consequential interactions or discourse between people. Under this interpretation of politics, both men and women behaved in politically significant ways when they informed, advocated or influenced the queen or any person in their court networks who could facilitate change in the court landscape. In contrast, the concept of ‘patronage’ refers to the carefully constructed framework of hierarchical relationships or power dynamics of obligation and assistance between individuals which was intended to effect change. The favours bestowed or exchanged as part of patronage might not be politically consequential in themselves but could increase a courtier’s power by strengthening their networks or reputation. The most successful courtiers possessed significant agency, which is defined as the capacity to use available means for specific ends. Power and agency at court were mutually sustaining, deeply connected concepts. The more powerful a courtier, the more likely they could access the most effective sources of agency to facilitate more politically significant change and, in doing so, increase their own power.

The concepts of power, politics and agency as defined in this thesis apply to both sexes, creating the opportunity to explore the role of aristocratic women in the spheres of politics and patronage. While extensive scholarship exists on roles played by men at the late Elizabethan court, the lives and careers of aristocratic women from this period have been comparatively neglected.<sup>3</sup> This thesis argues that, despite early modern England’s gender-

---

<sup>3</sup> For men, see J. E. Neale, “Elizabethan Political Scene,” in *Essays in Elizabethan History*, ed. J. E. Neale (London: Cape, 1958); W.T. MacCaffrey, “Place and Patronage in Elizabethan Politics,” in *Elizabethan Government and Society: Essays Presented to Sir John Neale*, ed. S. T. Bindoff, J. Hurstfield and C.H. Williams (London: Athlone Press, 1961); Simon Adams, “The Patronage of the Crown in Elizabethan Politics: the 1590s in Perspective,” in *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics*, ed. Simon Adams (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002); Adams, “Favourites and Factions at the Elizabethan Court,” in *Leicester and the Court*; Paul Hammer, “Patronage at Court, Faction and the Earl of Essex,” in *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*,

based legal and social constraints, aristocratic women exercised considerable power that complemented or sometimes surpassed that of men.<sup>4</sup> The women examined in this thesis cannot be considered sources of agency in themselves – they were political agents with connections to sources of agency. In this thesis, ‘female agency’ refers to the strategies women employed to achieve a desired outcome, as opposed to ‘male agency’ which refers to the strategies employed by men. This does not mean that female agency and male agency employed two different sets of strategies, but that women and men shared a common set of strategies in addition to certain gender-specific ones. Thus female agency was not inferior to male agency; the two concepts were complementary. Depending on the situation, female agency might be preferred over male agency and vice versa. This thesis explores female agency at Elizabeth’s court, demonstrating how aristocratic women exercised power in both similar and different ways to men.

According to John Guy, the 1590s were a unique “second reign” that contrasted with earlier years.<sup>5</sup> He describes the court’s “claustrophobic” atmosphere under a queen gradually losing her control over the court.<sup>6</sup> More recent works by Janet Dickinson and Neil Younger have challenged this perspective, arguing that Elizabeth and the Privy Council efficiently controlled court and country, in a political environment that demonstrated

---

ed. John Guy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: the Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1999); Linda Levy Peck, “Peers, Patronage and the Politics of History,” in *Reign of Elizabeth I*.

<sup>4</sup> For a summary of patriarchal restrictions, see Barbara J. Harris, *English Aristocratic Women 1450-1550* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 6, 8, 15, 17-42.

<sup>5</sup> John Guy, “The 1590s: the Second Reign of Elizabeth I?” in *Reign of Elizabeth I*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 4. See also Hammer, “The Last Decade,” *History Today* 53, no. 5 (2003).

significant continuities with the earlier part of the reign.<sup>7</sup> This thesis asserts that the queen retained a magisterial presence and control of her court even in her later years and it analyses the actions of selected aristocratic women to illuminate the unique political events and circumstances specific to the final 23 years of the reign.

In 1580, Elizabeth turned 47 and contemporaries realised that she would probably neither marry nor bear an heir, thus creating a dilemma over the succession. Historians argue that the queen's age contributed to a sense that an era was ending, leading a generation of younger courtiers to anticipate a bright future without a parsimonious Crown or ageing bureaucracy.<sup>8</sup> Elizabeth turned her affections towards four male favourites – her most longstanding favourite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, as well as Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Walter Raleigh and Robert Devereux, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Essex – who became influential through her favour, as well as through gaining high office.<sup>9</sup> William Cecil, Lord Burghley and his son, Sir Robert Cecil, were arguably the two most powerful bureaucrats at court, holding the posts of Lord Treasurer, Master of the Court of Wards and Principal

---

<sup>7</sup> Janet Dickinson, *Court Politics and the Earl of Essex, 1589-1601*, Political and Popular Culture in the Early Modern Period, no. 6 (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), 3-4, 65-78, 115-126; Dickinson and Neil Younger, "Just How Nasty were the 1590s?" *History Today* 64, no. 7 (2014).

<sup>8</sup> Hammer, "Sex and the Virgin Queen: Aristocratic Concupiscence and the Court of Elizabeth I," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 31, no. 1 (2000), 91-93; Hammer, "Last Decade," 53, 56-57; Ian Archer, "The 1590s: Apotheosis or Nemesis of the Elizabethan Regime?" in *Fins de Siecle: How Centuries End 1400-2000*, ed. Asa Briggs and Daniel Snowman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 66; Levy Peck, "Peers, Patronage," 91-94.

<sup>9</sup> Much analysis has focused on Leicester and Essex (Adams, *Leicester and the Court*; Hammer, "Absolute and Sovereign Mistress of her Grace?: Queen Elizabeth I and her Favourites, 1581-1592," in *The World of the Favourite*, ed. J.H. Elliott and L.W.B. Brockliss (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Hammer, *Polarisation*; Dickinson, *Court Politics*; Alexandra Gajda, *The Earl of Essex and Late Elizabethan Political Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)).

Secretary between them throughout the 1590s.<sup>10</sup> Tensions between the Cecils and Essex led to deep political divisions that culminated in the earl's rebellion and execution in 1601.<sup>11</sup> Long-serving ladies-in-waiting became increasingly important at the late Elizabethan court. Unlike other reigns where they served queen consorts in a separate Household, Elizabeth's women had direct access to a queen regnant in a single royal Household which gave them a unique opportunity to influence royal patronage.<sup>12</sup> This is the first study to examine the impact of these events and circumstances on the political and patronage power of aristocratic women.

Men and women operated within the structures of power at the centralised, early modern English court, where the pursuit of public office went hand in hand with personal patronage.<sup>13</sup> The recognition of Court Studies as its own field of scholarship in 1995 sparked renewed interest in the early modern court as the centre of English diplomacy, policy, patronage and

---

<sup>10</sup> Stephen Alford, *Burghley: William Cecil at the Court of Elizabeth I* (London: Yale University Press, 2008); D.M. Loades, *The Cecils: Privilege and Power Behind the Throne* (Kew: National Archives, 2007); Pauline Croft, "Can a Bureaucrat be a Favourite? Robert Cecil and the Strategies of Power," in *World of the Favourite*; Croft, ed. *Patronage, Culture and Power: the Early Cecils* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2002). Burghley was also Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and Steward of towns, boroughs and parks (Hammer, "Last Decade," 56).

<sup>11</sup> Adams, "Faction, Clientage and Party: English Politics 1550-1603," in *Leicester and the Court*, 20-22; Adams, "Favourites"; Hammer, "Absolute"; Natalie Mears, "Regnum Cecilianum? A Cecilian Perspective of the Court," in *Reign of Elizabeth I*; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 341-388; Dickinson, *Court Politics*; 65-115.

<sup>12</sup> For multiple households, see Helen Margaret Payne, "Aristocratic Women and the Jacobean Court, 1603-1625" (unpub. PhD. diss.: University of London, 2001); Sara Joy Wolfson, "Aristocratic Women of the Household and Court of Queen Henrietta Maria, 1625-1659" (unpub. PhD. diss.: University of Durham, 2010); Kettering, "Strategies of Power: Favorites and Women Household Clients at Louis XIII's Court," *French Historical Studies* 33, no. 2 (Spring 2010); Kettering, "The Household Service of Early Modern French Noblewomen," *French Historical Studies* 20, no. 1 (1997).

<sup>13</sup> Retha M. Warnicke, "Family and Kinship Relations at the Henrician Court," in *Tudor Political Culture*, ed. Dale Hoak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 39-40; Sara Chapman, "Patronage as Family Economy: the Role of Women in the Patron-Client Network of the Phelypeaux de Pontchartrain Family, 1670-1715," *French Historical Studies* 24, no. 1 (2001), 12.

culture.<sup>14</sup> Natalie Mears defines the court as “the collection of people who surrounded the monarch at any one time” at the royal palaces, whilst Guy’s definition includes other properties the queen visited.<sup>15</sup> He estimates that the Elizabethan court consisted of approximately 1,700 people comprising 80-100 elite courtiers, 500-600 lower-ranked courtiers, and the remainder being individuals in service posts.<sup>16</sup>

The Elizabethan elite attended court for numerous reasons. First, men held high offices like Lord Treasurer or Principal Secretary, Master of the Court of Requests or seats on the Privy Council. Secondly, men and women held posts in the royal Household such as Lord Chamberlain or lady-in-waiting. Thirdly, male favourites attended court to maintain a personal relationship with the queen, in addition to their official roles in government where applicable. Fourthly, men and women participated in court patronage to exchange favours, fulfil obligations and provide support to achieve political, economic and social success. Individuals played roles as patrons dispensing assistance, suitors seeking help, go-betweens delivering messages, and intermediaries advocating for suitors with third parties.<sup>17</sup> Fifthly,

---

<sup>14</sup> Croft, “Why Court History Matters,” *History Today* 46, no. 1 (1996), 10-12; John Adamson, “The Kingdoms of England and Great Britain: the Tudor and Stuart Courts 1509-1714,” in *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture Under the Ancien Regime 1500-1750*, ed. John Adamson (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1999); 95-96. For the early modern English court, see *Ibid.*, Adamson, “Introduction: the Making of the Ancien-Regime Court 1500-1700,” in *Princely Courts of Europe*; Mears, “Courts, Courtiers and Culture in Tudor England,” *Historical Journal* 43 no. 3 (2003); Adams, “The Court as an Economic Institution: the Court of Elizabeth I of England (1558-1603),” in *Leicester and the Court*; Adams, “Eliza Enthroned? The Court and its Politics,” in *Leicester and the Court*; Harris, “The View from My Lady’s Chamber: New Perspectives on the Early Tudor Monarchy,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 60, no. 3 (1997).

<sup>15</sup> Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 8-9; Guy, “1590s,” 2.

<sup>16</sup> Guy, “1590s,” 1-2; Adams (“Court,” 116) estimates 600-700 household and Privy Chamber staff but does not include courtiers. Mears (*Queenship*, 9) provides statistics for earlier years.

<sup>17</sup> Levy Peck, *Court*, 47-73; Nadine Akkerman and Birgit Houben, “Introduction,” in *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies-in-Waiting Across Early Modern Europe*, ed. Nadine

aristocratic men and women attended on ceremonial occasions such as the New Year's gift exchange or to enhance the magnificence of the court. Finally, courtiers attended to maintain their connections to other courtiers. These categories were not mutually exclusive; aristocratic women could be ladies-in-waiting, go-betweens, intermediaries, suitors and social courtiers simultaneously. Moreover, suitors importuned multiple individuals at court to increase their chances of success, giving aristocratic women more opportunity to play roles in politics and patronage alongside male courtiers.<sup>18</sup>

### **Aristocratic women**

Barbara Harris's definition of aristocratic women as the "wives and daughters of noblemen and knights ... from the top of the social and political hierarchy, [who] belonged to the ruling class" is employed throughout this thesis to encompass women of high birth as well as the wives and daughters of men created knights.<sup>19</sup> The thesis uses case studies underpinned by substantial archival research to explore the agency of specific women who fit this definition: Anne Dudley (née Russell), Countess of Warwick; Anne, Lady Bacon (née Cooke); Elizabeth Hoby Russell (née Cooke), Lady Russell; Lettice Devereux Dudley Blount (née Knollys), Countess of Leicester; Frances Sidney Devereux (née Walsingham), Countess of Essex; Dorothy

---

Akkerman and Birgit Houben (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 4. This study excludes the term 'broker' which Kettering defines as a woman who received payment for connecting unknown suitors with powerful third parties ("Brokerage at the Court of Louis XIV," *Historical Journal* 36, no. 1 (1986), 76, 79-80). 'Intermediary' is a more appropriate term to use since the surviving sources do not always reveal whether women received fees or knew their suitors.

<sup>18</sup> Daybell, *Women Letter-writers in Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), Levy Peck, "Benefits, Brokers and Beneficiaries: the Culture of Exchange in Seventeenth-Century England," in *Court, Country and Culture: Essays on Early Modern British History in Honor of Perez Zagorin*, ed. Bonnelyn Young Kuntze and Dwight D. Brautigam (New York: University of Rochester Press, 1992), 116; Levy Peck, *Court*, 57.

<sup>19</sup> Harris, "View," 220. See also Harris, *English*, 7.

Perrot Percy (née Devereux), Countess of Northumberland, and Penelope, Lady Rich (née Devereux). This study also uses Harris's definition of careers as "a person's course or progress through life, especially a vocation that is publicly conspicuous and significant."<sup>20</sup> This definition enables the lives of the women in the case studies to be viewed as careers in regard to public roles not only as ladies-in-waiting, but also publicly significant family roles as aristocratic wives, mothers, widows and sisters. Born over a 40 year period, these women were at different phases in their lives across the time period of this thesis. In 1580, their ages ranged from 13 to 52. The greatest body of surviving evidence documents their activities in the 1590s, although supporting evidence exists from earlier or later in the reign. High birth and dense aristocratic networks positioned these women advantageously so their experiences are not representative of all women, but the case studies demonstrate that women in their circumstances could play vital roles in court politics and patronage.

## Historiography

Historians have established that the early modern period was "an epoch of women's political influence" in England.<sup>21</sup> In her seminal work on

---

<sup>20</sup> Harris, *English*, 6.

<sup>21</sup> Daybell, "Introduction," in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700*, ed. James Daybell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 3; Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 256, 263; Harris, "View," 215; Alison Thorne, "Women's Petitionary Letters and Early Seventeenth-century Treason Trials," *Women's Writing* 13, no 1 (2006), 23; Warnicke, "Family"; Caroline Bowden, "Women as Intermediaries: an Example of the Uses of Literacy in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," *History of Education* 22, no. 3 (1993); Elaine Chalus, "Elite Women, Social Politics, and the Political World of Late Eighteenth-Century England," *Historical Journal* 43, no. 3 (2000). See also the chapters in Daybell, ed., *Women and Politics in Early Modern England*; Wolfson, "Aristocratic Women"; Payne, "Aristocratic Women and the Jacobean Court"; Levy Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England* (Boston: Unwyn Hyman, 1990), 68-74; Kristin Bundesen, "'No Other Faction But My Own': Dynastic Politics and Elizabeth I's Carey Cousins" (unpub. PhD. diss.: University of Nottingham, 2008).



aristocratic Yorkist and early Tudor women, Harris extends the definition of politics to include the pursuit of royal favour, patronage and dynastic power, thus incorporating women's activities at court.<sup>22</sup> This thesis employs this definition of politics which takes aristocratic women's actions from a private context into the public sphere, and reconceptualises family as a "key political unit" that provided socially acceptable justifications to engage in court politics as part of politically significant careers within a family.<sup>23</sup>

Not all historians agree that aristocratic women's activities were politically significant. In 1987, Pam Wright argued that Elizabeth's ladies-in-waiting were politically neutral, banned from exercising "independent initiative" and operated from a Bedchamber "cocoon" that insulated the queen from court politics.<sup>24</sup> She further argues that transferring the administrative functions of the Privy Chamber to male household staff diluted the Bedchamber's political agency.<sup>25</sup> Christopher Haigh, Simon Adams and John Adamson, similarly dismiss the political power of Elizabeth's ladies-in-waiting.<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup> Harris, "Women and Politics in Early Tudor England," *Historical Journal* 33, no. 2 (1990), 271-281; Harris, "View," 220, 222, 247; Harris, "Property, Power, and Personal Relations: Elite Mothers and Sons in Yorkist and Early Tudor England," *Signs* 15, no. 3 (1990), 629. Lois G. Schwoerer also broadens politics but does not focus on the aristocracy ("Women and the Glorious Revolution," *Albion* 18, no. 2 (1986), 196).

<sup>23</sup> Harris, "View," 222; Harris, "Property," 608; Harris, "Women," 268, 281; Harris, *English*, 5-6, 15, 242. Jacqueline Eales similarly describes the family unit as "a microcosm of the state itself" (*Women in Early Modern England, 1500-1700*, Introductions to History (London: UCL Press, 1998), 4).

<sup>24</sup> Pam Wright, "A Change in Direction: the Ramifications of a Female Household, 1558-1603," in *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. David Starkey (London: Longman, 1987), 150-153, 159-165, 168, 172. Conversely, Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford argue that gendered spaces fostered strong, significant feminine culture (*Women in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 205).

<sup>25</sup> Wright, "Change in Direction," 150.

<sup>26</sup> Christopher Haigh, *Elizabeth I* (London: Longman, 1988), 97; Adams, "Eliza," 73-74; Adamson, "Kingdoms," 109.

Other scholars have since employed Harris's arguments to challenge this perspective, restoring aristocratic Elizabethan women to political prominence. Historians have investigated aristocratic women's political agency from the perspective of their family connections. Kristin Bundesen's PhD thesis maps the Carey-Knollys kinship group throughout the reign, arguing that their influential positions were due to their kinship with the queen.<sup>27</sup> Elizabeth Brown compares the poorly-connected ladies-in-waiting in Shakespeare's *'Antony and Cleopatra'* with Elizabeth's ladies-in-waiting, concluding that the latter derived political significance from kinship networks.<sup>28</sup> Historians also argue that early modern aristocratic women used kinship connections to powerful male relatives as a source of agency.<sup>29</sup> For example, Gemma Allen's volume on the learned Cooke sisters concludes that they derived great personal benefit and prominence through their kinship to Burghley and Cecil.<sup>30</sup>

Some scholars credit aristocratic women with political agency because, like their male counterparts, they were involved in matters of state. Mears reappraises Wright's work, arguing that the roles of three ladies-in-waiting, Mary, Lady Sidney, Kat Ashley and Dorothy Broadbelte as go-betweens in Elizabeth's marriage negotiations, were politically

---

<sup>27</sup> Bundesen, "No Other Faction," 127-147.

<sup>28</sup> Elizabeth A. Brown, "Companion Me with My Mistress": Cleopatra, Elizabeth I, and Their Waiting Women," in *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens: Women's Alliances in Early Modern England*, eds. Susan Frye and Karen Robertson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

<sup>29</sup> Payne, "Aristocratic Women, Power, Patronage and Family Networks," 160, 170-171; Schwoerer, "Women and the Glorious Revolution," 208-209; Croft, "Mildred, Lady Burghley: the Matriarch," in *Patronage, Culture and Power*, 286-292.

<sup>30</sup> Gemma Allen, *The Cooke Sisters: Education, Piety and Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 11, 144-166.

consequential.<sup>31</sup> She also argues that international diplomats cultivated ladies-in-waiting as valuable Privy Chamber contacts.<sup>32</sup> Mears asserts that Elizabeth's women were involved in and privy to informal political discussions that shaped policy.<sup>33</sup> Helen Graham-Matheson similarly concludes that Elisabeth Parr, Marchioness of Northampton's support for the queen's marriage to Archduke Charles of Austria, a Habsburg prince, constituted significant political agency, as did her place in a group opposing the match with Prince Erik of Sweden.<sup>34</sup> She argues that contemporaries viewed ladies-in-waiting as Elizabeth's "counseillersesses" and that the queen "fully supported the use of female agents in the conduct of foreign affairs and politics in its purest form".<sup>35</sup>

Ladies-in-waiting could also exercise political agency because their proximity to the queen carried an inherent promise of influence over the monarch, thereby affecting the governance of the realm. This was also true of men such as Essex whose actions greatly affected Elizabeth's behaviour.<sup>36</sup> In a biography of the long-serving lady-in-waiting, Blanche Parry, Ruth Richardson devotes a chapter to her role as an intermediary for others in matters of court patronage.<sup>37</sup> Parry's power was not rooted in powerful

---

<sup>31</sup> Mears, "Politics in the Elizabethan Privy Chamber: Lady Mary Sidney and Kat Ashley," in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, 69-74.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 72-73.

<sup>33</sup> Mears, *Queenship*, 33-72.

<sup>34</sup> Helen Graham-Matheson, "Petticoats and Politics: Elisabeth Parr and Female Agency at the Early Elizabethan Court," in *Politics of Female Households*, 37-50.

<sup>35</sup> Helen Graham-Matheson, "Petticoats and Politics," 33-34, 47: source TNA SP 70/38/219, Thomas Chaloner to Marchioness of Northampton, 20 June 1562.

<sup>36</sup> Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 36-42.

<sup>37</sup> Ruth Elizabeth Richardson, *Mistress Blanche: Queen Elizabeth's Confidante* (Logaston Press, 2007), 83-108. Blanche Parry served Elizabeth from approximately 1546 until her death in 1590 (*Ibid.*, 44-108); Charlotte Isabelle Merton, "The Women who Served Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth: Ladies, Gentlewomen and Maids of the Privy Chamber, 1553-1603" (unpub. Ph.D. diss.: University of Cambridge, 1992, 265).

aristocratic kin, the pursuit of high office or involvement in diplomacy, but derived from perceptions of her ability to influence the queen.<sup>38</sup> Paul Hammer also shows how matters of personal importance could take on wider, political significance when Elizabeth became involved. In his article on the 1590s court, he demonstrates that male and female courtiers wielded a form of political power in their romantic indiscretions since Elizabeth saw them as a challenge to the “princely authority” of a queen ruling her court.<sup>39</sup>

Charlotte Merton’s 1992 PhD thesis combines these approaches in a chapter on the political power of ladies-in-waiting at the Marian and Elizabethan courts, arguing that they used their positions to act on behalf of their networks in matters of public consequence.<sup>40</sup> Allen’s study on the effect of humanist education on the political agency of the Cooke sisters also demonstrates that women were involved in politics as members of patronage networks and as kin to elite men.<sup>41</sup>

Although the historiography strongly demonstrates that aristocratic women were part of the Elizabethan political landscape, there is scope to extend arguments about women’s agency into the later period of the reign which has hitherto been neglected in this context. Unlike Allen’s or Merton’s broader works which span multiple reigns, this study dedicates itself solely to a small window of time within one reign to examine aristocratic women’s activities in more detail. In documenting the lives and careers of specific aristocratic women in case studies, it departs from Harris’s methodology which presents a broad, “collective biography” of aristocratic women “as a

---

<sup>38</sup> Richardson does not make this observation herself.

<sup>39</sup> Hammer, “Sex,” 82, 91, 96.

<sup>40</sup> Merton, “Women who Served,” 154-202.

<sup>41</sup> Allen, *Cooke*, 8, 124-136, 141-201.

class”.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, the research addresses significant gaps in the scholarship by highlighting women’s roles and activities within the unique set of political circumstances at the late Elizabethan court. Finally, it demonstrates that women derived political power from family connections, involvement in matters of state, proximity to the queen and resources they controlled in their own right.

Membership within aristocratic families brought obligations, expectations, challenges, motivations and advantages for both sexes. Retha Warnicke argues in her study of kinship at the Henrician court that “family relationships ... were at the heart of political competition.”<sup>43</sup> Both sexes were tied to kin financially, legally and emotionally and contributed towards a shared “family economy” whereby they sought to establish dynastic, social, political and financial success.<sup>44</sup> The balance of power shifted with fecundity and mortality, as well as changing relationships, feuds, rivalries and alliances within complex family units.<sup>45</sup> Since both sexes devoted their energies at

---

<sup>42</sup> Harris, *English*, 15.

<sup>43</sup> Warnicke, “Family,” 33.

<sup>44</sup> Chapman, “Patronage as Family Economy,” 14-15; Karin J. MacHardy, “Cultural Capital, Family Strategies and Noble Identity in Early Modern Habsburg Austria 1579-1620,” *Past and Present* no. 163 (May 1999), 41; Daybell, “Introduction: Rethinking Women and Politics in Early Modern England,” in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, 2; Kettering, “Patronage and Kinship,” *French Historical Studies* 16, no. 2 (1989), 409, 411, 421-422; Linda Pollock, “Rethinking Patriarchy and the Family in Seventeenth-Century England,” *Journal of Family History* 23, no. 3 (1998); Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent, “Corresponding Affections: Emotional Exchange Among Siblings in the Nassau Family,” *Journal of Family History* 34, no. 2 (2009); Rosemary O’Day, “Matchmaking and Moneymaking in a Patronage Society: the First Duke and Duchess of Chandos, c. 1712-35,” *Economic History Review* 66, no. 1 (2013); Pollock, “Honor, Gender, and Reconciliation in Elite Culture, 1570–1700,” *Journal of British Studies* 46, no. 1 (2007), 15, 17, 28; Harris, *English*, 7.

<sup>45</sup> Alison Wall, “Deference and Defiance in Women’s Letters of the Thynne Family,” in Daybell, ed., *Early Modern Women’s Letter Writing, 1450-1700* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 89; Pollock, “Rethinking” 4, 6, 9, 15, 20-21; Broomhall and Van Gent, “Corresponding Affections,” 146, 154, 156.

court towards furthering family, aristocratic women can be considered as politically important as men in this regard.

This thesis expands scholarly knowledge of aristocratic female family roles. First, it augments the current literature on aristocratic siblings whose shared upbringing constituted an obligation to assist each other, especially for Lady Warwick, Lady Northumberland and Lady Rich.<sup>46</sup> Research on sisters has examined the important connections they brought through marriage, their desire to remain on good terms with their eldest brother and their place in family communication networks, but there is scope to further explore their roles in their family's political universe.<sup>47</sup> Secondly, this thesis contributes to research on aristocratic wives, further demonstrating that early modern aristocratic marriage was a partnership between spouses pursuing dynastic success.<sup>48</sup> It also adds to the body of evidence demonstrating wives managing estates, acting for absent husbands and promoting marital kin.<sup>49</sup> Thirdly, aristocratic motherhood is central to this thesis, as it was to the concept of early modern femininity. As Patricia Crawford states, "a woman's social

---

<sup>46</sup> Tania Claire Jeffries, "Women, Marriage and Survival in Early Modern England: the Hastings, Earls and Countesses of Huntingdon, 1620-1690" (unpub. Ph.D. diss.: University of Adelaide, 2005), 185-227; Broomhall and Van Gent, "Corresponding Affections"; Crawford, *Blood*, 209, 223, 225, 226; Pollock, "Rethinking," 5; Harris, "Sisterhood, Friendship and the Power of English Aristocratic Women, 1450-1550," *Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, 32-33; Harris, *English*, 181, 185.

<sup>47</sup> Broomhall and Van Gent, "Corresponding Affections"; Pollock, "Rethinking"; Crawford, *Blood*, 223, 225, 226; Harris, *English*, 96, 175, 181-188, 191.

<sup>48</sup> Chapman, "Patronage as Family Economy," 12, 14-15, 20, 24-27; O'Day, "Matchmaking," 279-281, 294; Harris, "View," 222; Harris, "Property," 610; Harris, "Women," 270, 272; Ruth Grant, "Politicking Jacobean Women: Lady Ferniehirst, the Countess of Arran and the Countess of Huntly, c. 1580-1603," in *Women in Scotland c.1100-c.1750*, ed. Elizabeth Ewan and Maureen M. Meikle (East Linton: Tuckewell Press, 1999), 98; Harris, *English*, 61-87. 94% of the women in Harris's study were married at least once (*Ibid.*, 18, 88).

<sup>49</sup> Margaret P. Hannay, Noel J. Kinnamon and Michael G. Brennan, eds., *Domestic Politics and Family Absence: the Correspondence (1588-1621) of Robert Sidney, First Earl of Leicester, and Barbara Gamage Sidney, Countess of Leicester* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, 303-313; Harris, "Property," 611; Harris, *English*, 65-67; Grant, "Politicking," 96-97.

existence [was] influenced by her maternal potential, irrespective of whether or not she actually [gave] birth.”<sup>50</sup> Aristocratic mothers gained new value to their families and society when they bore children, particularly sons, who gave them power over a dynastic bloodline.<sup>51</sup> An example of this was when mothers arranged their children’s marriages.<sup>52</sup> As scholars observe, mothers assisted their adult children throughout their lives and skillfully balanced a sense of duty to their heir with obligations to daughters and younger sons.<sup>53</sup>

Finally, the case studies further illuminate the important role of female extended kin. As Harris argues, aristocratic women “accumulated” families throughout their lives and retained their interest in the dynastic success of multiple families.<sup>54</sup> For example, aunts furthered a younger generation by arranging marriages, helping them financially or promoting them at court.<sup>55</sup> Aristocratic women also employed networks horizontally and

---

<sup>50</sup> Crawford, *Blood*, 79. Approximately 91% of early Tudor aristocratic women bore at least one child (Harris, *English*, 99).

<sup>51</sup> Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 179-182; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, 162; Harris, “Property,” 610; Broomhall and Van Gent, “Corresponding Affections,” 156-157; Harris, *English*, 99-126.

<sup>52</sup> O’Day, “Tudor,” 131-133; Eales, *Women*, 64; Vivienne Larminie, “Fighting for Family in a Patronage Society: the Epistolary Armoury of Anne Newdigate (1574-1618),” in *Early Modern Women’s Letter Writing*, 103-106; Harris, “Power, Profit, and Passion: Mary Tudor, Charles Brandon, and the Arranged Marriage in Early Tudor England,” *Feminist Studies* 15, no. 1 (1989); Harris, “Women,” 260-262; Harris, ““Sisterhood,” 27-32; Amy Louise Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1995), 93, 96. For marriage as a strategy, see Payne, “The Cecil Women at Court,” in *Patronage, Culture and Power*, 265, 277; Robert J. Kalas, “Marriage, Clientage, Office Holding, and the Advancement of the Early Modern French Nobility: the Noailles Family of Limousin,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27, no. 2 (1996), 371-377; Kettering, “Patronage and Kinship,” 420, 428.

<sup>53</sup> Elizabeth Foyster, “Parenting was for Life, not Just for Childhood: the Role of Parents in the Married Lives of their Children in Early Modern England,” *History* 86, no. 283 (2001); Harris, “Property,” 623-629; Lynne Magnusson, “Widowhood and Linguistic Capital: the Rhetoric and Reception of Anne Bacon’s Epistolary Advice,” *English Literary Renaissance* 31, no. 1 (2001); Pollock, “Honor,” 23.

<sup>54</sup> Harris, *English*, 16, 128, 242.

<sup>55</sup> O’Day, “Matchmaking,” 275-288, 291-295; Margaret M. Byard, “The Trade of Courtiership: the Countess of Bedford and the Bedford Memorials: a Family History from 1585 to 1607,” *History Today* 29, no. 1 (1979), 20, 22, 24, 27; Harris, *English*, 172, 175, 188-204.

vertically to incorporate even more distant kin who sought assistance or cultivated family connections for personal benefit, rather than the maintenance of close relationships.<sup>56</sup>

This thesis also bolsters work on early modern aristocratic widows whose position depended on their husband's estate.<sup>57</sup> Less financially secure widows might remarry to provide for their children, whilst a wealthier widow might remain unmarried to prevent a second husband controlling her assets or her children's inheritances.<sup>58</sup> Recent scholarship emphasises the powers of widowhood made possible by release from coverture – the legal principle that subordinated wives to husbands – including the ability to sue, manage property and finances, act as an executrix, make a will and hold wardships.<sup>59</sup> Given adequate freedom and financial security, widows could exercise additional influence and “maximum female autonomy” without a male

---

<sup>56</sup> Harris, “Sisterhood,” 39; Harris, *English*, 197-200, 204; Claire Walker, “‘Doe not suppose me a well mortified Nun dead to the world’: Letter-Writing in Early Modern English Convents,” in *Early Modern Women’s Letter Writing, 1450-1700*, 159-160, 168-170; Karen Robertson, “Tracing Women’s Connections from a Letter by Elizabeth Raleigh,” in *Maids and Mistresses*, 157-160; Katharine W. Swett, “The Account between Us”: Honor, Reciprocity and Companionship in Male Friendship in the Later Seventeenth Century,” *Albion* 31, no. 1 (Spring 1999), 6-10; Ulla Koskinen, “Friends and Brothers: Rhetoric of Friendship as a Medium of Power in Late-16<sup>th</sup>-century Sweden and Finland,” *Scandinavian Journal of History* 30, no. 3 (2005), 241-243.

<sup>57</sup> Most aristocratic wives outlived their husbands (Harris, “Defining Themselves: English Aristocratic Women, 1450-1550,” *Journal of British Studies* 49 (October 2010), 739-741; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, 174-177; Erickson, *Women and Property*, 150, 154). For an overview of aristocratic widows, see Harris, *English*, 127-174.

<sup>58</sup> Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, 176-177; Eales, *Women*, 62; Crawford, *Blood*, 88, 98-99; Erickson, *Women and Property*, 132, 151, 166, 196, 200-202; Harris, *English*, 70, 117, 120.

<sup>59</sup> Harris, “Defining,” 740; Harris, “Property,” 614-615; Harris, *English*, 17-20, 61, 117, 128-134, 152-159; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, 175; Larminie, “Fighting,” 105; O’Day, “Tudor,” 131; Eales, *Women*, 20, Erickson, *Women and Property*, 25, 33, 80, 156, 161, 204, 212-217, 221; Elizabeth Woolcott, “Maternity’s Wards: Investigations of Sixteenth Century Patterns of Maternal Guardianship” (unpub. M.A., diss., Utah State University, 2003), 80.



authority figure.<sup>60</sup> Childless widows could devote even more of their newfound powers to assist their families.<sup>61</sup>

Kinship did not always prompt continued assistance. Sharon Kettering argues that a kinship connection could justify initial assistance, but continued assistance through an ongoing patronage relationship occurred only if the individual was worthy.<sup>62</sup> Although Kettering's work relates to the early modern French court, her observations resonate with the competitive late Elizabethan court where aristocratic men and women could not afford to risk their reputations by assisting all kin all the time.

Relationships with close and extended kin enabled the women in the case studies to strengthen their political agency. The case studies also explore the power dynamic in families lacking fathers, highlighting the importance of women's relationships with other male kin such as brothers, sons, brothers-in-law and nephews. Furthermore, roles in a family provided them with wealth and resources to exercise power in their own right as wives and widows.

Although family was the centre of their world, aristocratic women engaged broadly with Elizabethan society. Aristocratic women were the heads of their own dense networks consisting of family, friends, court connections, religious contacts and suitors amongst others.<sup>63</sup> In her

---

<sup>60</sup> Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, 175, 180; Harris, "Defining," 740; Harris, "Women," 280-281; Harris, *English*, 127, 160-161; Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 179-180; Erickson, *Women and Property*, 24, 116; Eales, *Women*, 1; Allen, *Cooke*, 3, 10, 97, 112-113, 116, 168-169, 172, 176, 192, 235; Alan Stewart, "The Voices of Anne Cooke, Lady Anne and Lady Bacon," in *'This Double Voice': Gendered Writing in Early Modern England*, ed. Danielle Clarke and Elizabeth Clarke (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 88-89, 97.

<sup>61</sup> Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 239; Harris, "Sisterhood," 33-36, 38.

<sup>62</sup> Kettering, "Patronage and Kinship," 409, 411, 429-434.

<sup>63</sup> Judith Hurwich, "Lineage and Kin in the Sixteenth-Century Aristocracy: Some Comparative Evidence on England and Germany," in *The First Modern Society: Essays in*

reconstruction of the Cooke sisters' networks, Allen provides a valuable glimpse into the breadth of women's connections beyond the court and demonstrates that others relied heavily on their skills as courtiers.<sup>64</sup> Moreover, as Harris states, "aristocratic women were just as active as aristocratic men in cultivating and exploiting these networks".<sup>65</sup> This thesis argues that Elizabethan aristocratic women used wide-ranging familial and non-familial networks to achieve their goals but also that these networks called on women for assistance. This is most evident in Chapter 3 which reconstructs Lady Warwick's extensive patronage network.

Various motivations compelled aristocratic women to engage in court patronage. They pursued suits as an outward expression of love and duty to their families, but also to serve their wider networks and their own interests.<sup>66</sup> Aristocratic women acted out of obligation for people in their households or estates, out of altruism or shared spiritual beliefs.<sup>67</sup> By helping others, these women fashioned reputations for themselves at court and in the wider community, strengthening their power and influence. However, aristocratic women were not always selfless; they also used their skills for themselves.

---

*English History in Honour of Lawrence Stone*, ed. A.L. Beier, David Cannadine and James M. Rosenheim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Kettering, "Patronage and Kinship"; Payne, "Aristocratic Women, Power, Patronage and Family Networks at the Jacobean Court, 1603-1625," in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, 164, 173; David Cressy, "Kinship and Kin Interaction in Early Modern England," *Past and Present* 113 (November 1986); Robertson, "Tracing Women's Connections," 158-160; Warnicke, "Family," 35-36; Harris, *English*, 269-270.

<sup>64</sup> Allen, *Cooke*, 124-201.

<sup>65</sup> Harris, *English*, 244.

<sup>66</sup> Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 236-240; Chapman, "Patronage as Family Economy," 27-34; Thorne, "Women's Petitionary Letters,"; Kettering, "Household Service," 70-71, 84; Kettering, "The Patronage Power of Early Modern French Noblewomen," *Historical Journal* 32, no. 4 (1989); Payne, "Aristocratic Women, Power, Patronage and Family Networks," 166-173; Grant, "Politicking," 96-97; Allen, *Cooke*, 167-201; Magnusson, "A Rhetoric of Requests: Genre and Linguistic Scripts in Elizabethan Women's Suitors' Letters," in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England*.

<sup>67</sup> Bowden, "Women as Intermediaries," 219; Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 237.

Aristocratic women pursued patronage in a broad range of matters for others. Lynne Magnusson argues that aristocratic women were effective advocates in redressing certain aristocratic “deprivations” such as lost royal favour, finances, lands or titles.<sup>68</sup> Other scholars argue that aristocratic women were approached for military patronage, indicating that women could exercise power in traditionally masculine realms.<sup>69</sup> Religious patronage was a prominent public arena for female power and influence, given that spiritual matters encroached on families, households and communities.<sup>70</sup> Aristocratic women assisted religious leaders, pursued changes in religious policy, contributed financially or provided clerics with household posts or benefices.<sup>71</sup> This was particularly evident in women belonging to a subset of more radical Protestants calling themselves ‘the godly’ who sought to reform the Church of England by strengthening the power of congregations and preachers.<sup>72</sup> This thesis provides examples of aristocratic women’s

---

<sup>68</sup> Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 157. See also Bowden, “Women as Intermediaries,” 221; Allen, *Cooke*, 142-144.

<sup>69</sup> Chapman, “Patronage as Family Economy,” 33-34; Bundesen, “No Other Faction,” 136-137, 153.

<sup>70</sup> Eales, “Patriarchy, Puritanism and Politics: the Letters of Lady Brilliana Harley (1598-1643),” in *Early Modern Women’s Letter-Writing, 1450-1700*, 144-145, 154; Eales, *Women*, 86, 111; Diane Willen, “Godly Women in Early Modern England: Puritanism and Gender,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 43, no. 4 (1992), 564, 577.

<sup>71</sup> Richard L. Greaves, “Foundation Builders: the Role of Women in Early English Nonconformity,” in *Triumph Over Silence: Women in Protestant History*, ed. Richard L. Greaves (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1985), 78-81, Charmarie Jenkins Blaisdell, “Calvin’s Letters to Women: the Courting of Ladies in High Places,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 13, no. 3 (1989); Willen, “Godly Women,” 569-570, 577; Allen, *Cooke*, 167-201; Eales, “Patriarchy,” 150-151; Eales, *Women*, 111; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, 230, 388-391, 405; O’Day, “Tudor,” 136; Kettering, “Patronage Power,” 830-831; Margo Todd, “Humanists, Puritans and the Spiritualized Household,” *Church History* 49, no. 1 (1980).

<sup>72</sup> Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and Religion 1558-1603*, Lancaster Pamphlets (London: Routledge, 1994), 103; Diana Newton, *Papists, Protestants, and Puritans, 1559-1714* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 8; Guy, “The Elizabethan Establishment and the Ecclesiastical Polity,” in *Reign of Elizabeth I*, 128. Since contemporaries used the term ‘Puritan’ as an insult, this thesis refers to this subset of individuals as ‘the godly’ instead (Patrick Collinson, “Ecclesiastical Vitriol: Religious Satire in the 1590s and the Invention of Puritanism,” in *Reign of Elizabeth I*, 155; Willen, “Godly Women,” 562; Francis J. Bremer

involvement in a variety of suits, ranging from redressing wrongs and pursuing dynastic success through to matters of wider political significance.

Although they shared similarities with the ways men operated at court, aristocratic women used their femininity to exercise power in ways unique to their sex. The early modern French court has provided a rich source of material in this regard. Kettering astutely observes that aristocratic Frenchwomen wielded substantial power “hidden behind institutional powerlessness”, given that they could not hold high office.<sup>73</sup> This perception of feminine weakness belied the reality that aristocratic women could be powerful agents in politics and patronage in a personal monarchy where influence and relationships could be as effective as formal governance in winning suits. In this regard, femininity was a smokescreen that concealed women’s true power. Similarly at the Elizabethan court, aristocratic women concealed power behind a “vener of family and sociability” that enabled them to use their personal relationships as courtiers or posts in the royal Household to full advantage.<sup>74</sup> Ladies-in-waiting possessed a strong advantage over men since only they had ready access to the queen in the female space of the Bedchamber. Women who best seized this opportunity to cultivate a relationship with Elizabeth could enjoy significant personal benefits.

---

and Tom Webster, eds., *Puritans and Puritanism in Europe and America: a Comprehensive Encyclopedia*, vol. 2 (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 2006, 428).

<sup>73</sup> Kettering, “Patronage Power,” 817, 819, 826, 841.

<sup>74</sup> Allen, *Cooke*, 158-159; Graham-Matheson, “Petticoats and Politics,” 35. Families were particularly keen to place a kinswoman about the queen (Elizabeth Brown, “Companion,” 135-136; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, 372; Harris, “Sisterhood,” 26-27; Bundesen, “No Other Faction,” 38; Kettering, “Strategies”; Kettering, “Household Service”; Merton, “Women who Served,” 30, 38-39, 54-55).

This thesis contributes to current scholarship reconstructing women's place in the court patronage system. The case studies highlight the pathways women travelled as go-betweens and intermediaries, and demonstrate the power they exercised in their own right in spheres outside the family, such as religious or literary patronage, or the queen's Bedchamber. Furthermore, the thesis supports Graham-Matheson's claim that "personal interactions ... comprised female agency", demonstrating the effect of relationships on their exercise of power.<sup>75</sup> In doing so, the women in the case studies employed strategies common to both sexes as well as those specific to their sex.

The scholarship on aristocratic women and their roles in the Elizabethan political landscape is sufficient to build on but is not comprehensive. Thus this thesis compares its findings with existing research where possible but also makes an original contribution to the study of Tudor politics and women's history.

## **Methodology**

This thesis explores the effect of social and gendered power dynamics on women's authority within the late Elizabethan court, analysing substantial archival sources to evaluate the concepts of female political agency discussed in scholarly literature. It does this via a case study approach, examining specific aristocratic women in three spheres of court politics. The case studies cover the final 23 years of the reign but draw on supporting evidence from earlier or later periods in the women's lives. Although some scholars include maiden and married names to clearly identify their female subjects, this thesis

---

<sup>75</sup> Graham-Matheson, "Petticoats and Politics," 36.

refers to women by their marital surnames since this is how they identified themselves.<sup>76</sup> Letters by, to or about aristocratic Elizabethan women comprise the majority of correspondence analysed, presenting a variety of perspectives on the matters that concerned them, the topics appropriate for them as women and their reputations as political agents.

Court patronage and politics were conducted via oral and epistolary communication, but only the latter survives today.<sup>77</sup> Court documents, accounts, wills and contemporary texts have been consulted, but letters are the primary source of evidence used because they best illuminate emotion, opinion and power.<sup>78</sup> Some correspondence, deemed “secret letters” by James Daybell, contains sensitive matters never intended for wider reading and provides greater revelations of character or intentions.<sup>79</sup> These letters can be problematic because ciphers were used, potentially confusing the identities of women.

The content and structure of letters need careful interpretation since they are shaped by contemporary epistolary conventions and letters may survive in isolation from other correspondence, presenting a limited perspective on a larger conversation.<sup>80</sup> The language of patronage or political

---

<sup>76</sup> Merton does this throughout her work. See also Robertson, “Tracing Women’s Connections,” 156.

<sup>77</sup> Mears, *Queenship*, 33-72. Oral arguments supported written petitions (Daybell, “Introduction,” in *Early Modern Women’s Letter Writing*, 5; Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 109, 110, 140-141.

<sup>78</sup> Wall, “Deference,” 78-90; Frank Whigham, “The Rhetoric of Elizabethan Suitors’ Letters,” *PMLA* 96, no. 5 (1981), 873-874; Thorne, “Women’s Petitionary Letters,” 3; Broomhall and Van Gent, “Corresponding Affections,” 146, 153, 158; Gary Schneider, “Affecting Correspondences: Body, Behaviour, and the Textualization of Emotion in Early Modern English Letters,” *Prose Studies* 23, no. 3 (2000), 45; Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 175-176, 182, 184, 185, 247-248; Magnusson, “Rhetoric,” 57, 62; 64; Susan Whyman, *The Pen and the People* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 131-132.

<sup>79</sup> These letters were prone to destruction (Daybell, *Material*, 148-149). Allen (*Cooke*, 105-116) describes ways women used their education to conceal their words.

<sup>80</sup> Daybell, *Material*, 85-108, 227; Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 230; O’Day, “Tudor,” 128.

friendship makes it difficult to differentiate between altruism, obligation or a desire for power, whilst there is also a danger of misinterpreting Elizabethan values, emotions and relationships in a modern context.<sup>81</sup>

Frank Whigham states that “those who study stylistic manipulations do not read historical documents and those who read historical materials do not study style”.<sup>82</sup> The methodology employed in this thesis bridges this gap. Aristocratic Elizabethan women used linguistic strategies common to both sexes in letters of recommendation, introduction, intercession, supplication, counsel and petition.<sup>83</sup> However, they also employed uniquely feminine strategies including a “rhetoric of helplessness” that exaggerated their hardships as mothers or widows, or distancing themselves from the ‘masculine’ world of politics.<sup>84</sup> When they employed these strategies, aristocratic women exploited perceptions of “feminine weakness” to prompt action in their favour and thus increase their own power.<sup>85</sup> The case studies highlight women’s letters as evidence of power dynamics between

---

<sup>81</sup> Koskinen, “Friends and Brothers,” 238; Kettering, “Patronage and Kinship,” 418, 428, 430. For early modern emotions, see Swett, “Account”; David Wootton, “Francis Bacon: Your Flexible Friend,” in *World of the Favourite*; Lisa Jardine, “Companionate Marriage Versus Male Friendship: Anxiety for the Lineal Family in Jacobean Drama,” in *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England: Essays Presented to David Underdown*, ed. Susan D. Amussen and Mark A. Kishlansky (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); Pollock, “Honor”; Pollock, “Anger and the Negotiation of Relationships in Early Modern England,” *Historical Journal* 47, no. 3 (2004); Pollock, “The Practice of Kindness in Early Modern Elite Society,” *Past and Present*, no. 211 (May 2011).

<sup>82</sup> Whigham, “Rhetoric,” 864. For an overview of epistolary scholarship on aristocratic women, see Daybell, “Recent Studies in Sixteenth-century Letters,” *English Literary Renaissance* 35, no. 2 (2005). See also Daybell, “Female Literacy and the Social Conventions of Women’s Letter-Writing in England, 1540-1603,” in *Early Modern Women’s Letter Writing, 1450-1700*, 59-76; Whyman, *Pen*, 141-142, 146-147.

<sup>83</sup> Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 229-264; Thorne, “Women’s Petitionary Letters”; Allen, *Cooke*, 96-123; Magnusson, “Rhetoric,” 54-55, 57-58, 59; Whigham, “Rhetoric,” 866, 873-874.

<sup>84</sup> Thorne, “Women’s Petitionary Letters,” 28-37; Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 246-258.

<sup>85</sup> Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 255-256; Thorne, “Women’s Petitionary Letters,” 23, 37; Larminie, “Fighting,” 106. See also Eales, “Patriarchy,” 153; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, 400.

aristocratic women and their families, men in power and lower-ranked suitors seeking assistance.

The source material is scattered widely throughout state and family papers in the British Library, The National Archives, Kent History and Library Centre, Lambeth Palace Library and the Warwickshire County Record Office. The sources encompass original manuscripts such as letters, wills and texts, as well as online transcriptions of these materials.<sup>86</sup> Published collections of letters have also been consulted including calendars of family and state papers, although some summaries contain omissions or are very brief.<sup>87</sup> Much of the source material dates from many of the women's widowhoods in the 1590s, potentially indicating an increased involvement in their activities as well as their enhanced legal powers.<sup>88</sup> The number of extant letters written by the women range from relatively scarce in the case of Lady Northumberland to over 100 surviving letters in Lady Bacon's hand.<sup>89</sup>

As with any historical work, the opinions and motivations of the original writer affect the sources. Dickinson comprehensively argues that much of the evidence supporting factionalism at the 1590s court was written by Essex's frustrated supporters who blamed Sir Robert Cecil and his allies for their political failures, perpetuating claims of factionalism.<sup>90</sup> A case in point are the Bacon Papers in the Lambeth Palace Library that comprise a major source for Chapters 4 and 5. Dickinson's research has paved the way

---

<sup>86</sup> For more on manuscripts and digitised sources, see Daybell, *Material*, 228-229.

<sup>87</sup> For example, Allen, ed., *The Letters of Lady Anne Bacon*, Camden Society, 5<sup>th</sup> series, 44 (London: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Patricia Phillippy, "Introduction," in *The Writings of an English Sappho: Elizabeth Cooke Hoby Russell*, ed. Patricia Phillippy (Toronto: Iter Inc. Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2011).

<sup>88</sup> With the exception of Lady Rich, all the women in the case studies were widowed at least once during the time period of the thesis.

<sup>89</sup> Allen, *Cooke*, 5.

<sup>90</sup> Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 68-71, 74-75, 77. See also Mears, "Regnum," 47.



for the women in the case studies to be reappraised with this perspective in mind. Combining awareness of this potentially flawed evidence with a broad spectrum of scholarship and alternative archival material provides a more balanced reading of the sources.

## **Thesis outline**

The thesis is structured around case studies exploring the power aristocratic women exercised in politics and patronage at the late Elizabethan court.

Chapter 2 provides historical background and connects the unique political environment of the late Elizabethan court to the women and their activities.

Chapters 3 to 5 consist of case studies illustrating the contributions specific women made to three political spheres during this period. The Conclusion summarises the argument that aristocratic women were integral political agents who shared power with aristocratic men at the late Elizabethan court.

This is the first study to examine the career of the Countess of Warwick, one of England's most powerful women during Elizabeth's reign. Chapter 3, 'The Politics of Female Agency' analyses the countess's sources of agency – her post as a lady-in-waiting, connections with court contacts and power she controlled in her own right – that established her power at court. The chapter introduces the concept of the countess as a female 'companion favourite' whom Elizabeth elevated above other women, encouraging comparisons with male favourites who also held the queen's affections. Lady Warwick's extensive patronage network of close family, wider kin and unrelated suitors is reconstructed for the first time, enabling a detailed examination of the groups who relied on her and the extent to which her reputation as a source of patronage spread through Elizabethan society. The

countess's limitations as a political agent at court are compared to the limitations of men, highlighting that both sexes needed to exercise sound judgment and wield power appropriately. The countess's childlessness and status as a widow gave her greater freedom and resources to promote her kin, demonstrating that extended female family roles such as aunts and sisters were essential to dynastic success. This chapter concludes that aristocratic women complemented, and in some cases rivalled, aristocratic men in power and influence at Elizabeth's court.

Chapter 4, 'The Politics of Family and Faction', focuses on two widowed sisters, Lady Bacon and Lady Russell, and their divided loyalties to kin on both sides of political divisions at court in the 1590s. It examines their political agency, arguing against their place as followers of a Cecil faction by virtue of their kinship to Burghley and Sir Robert Cecil. The chapter examines the lives and careers of Lady Bacon and Lady Russell in two separate case studies, highlighting their politically significant family roles as aunts, sisters-in-law and mothers within their kinship group. Since Lady Bacon was adversely affected by the rift between her sons and the Cecils, she cast herself in opposition to her powerful Cecil kin and built a favourable relationship with their patron, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Essex. By contrast, Lady Russell's children were less affected so she enjoyed closer relationships with the Cecils and negotiated the dispute more objectively. The indomitable Lady Russell took advantage of the political divisions to exercise power as a neutral mediator between kin who were also men of high office or prominent courtiers. This chapter argues that a convergence of family and state politics enhanced the significance of aristocratic women's careers within the family.

Chapter 5, 'The Politics of Favour', discusses the effect of close kinship to an Elizabethan favourite on aristocratic women's political agency, analysing a group of Essex's female kin; his mother, the Countess of Leicester; his wife, the Countess of Essex; and his sisters, the Countess of Northumberland and Lady Rich. Power flowed both ways between the earl and the women who benefited from his lofty position, but also affected his political career. The Essex women acted in accordance with their family roles as aristocratic mothers, wives and sisters but also demonstrated significant personal initiative within these personas, thereby illustrating an overlap between family and independent political agency. Of the four women, Lady Rich best seized the opportunity presented by her brother's exalted position to create a career for herself as his political ally. This series of case studies argues that independent actions within the scope of family were deeply consequential to aristocratic women, their families and the Elizabethan polity.

Chapter 6 summarises the research and restates the argument that aristocratic women played essential and valued roles in politics and patronage at the late Elizabethan court. It synthesises the case studies to draw conclusions about the place and power of the specific women under study and aristocratic women in general. Ultimately, the thesis builds on a significant body of scholarship to demonstrate that Elizabethan aristocratic women were expected to act for close family, motivated to assist wider networks and driven by ambition to exercise power for themselves by using sources of agency they accumulated and developed throughout their lives and careers.

## Chapter 2

### The Political Context, 1580-1603

In a letter to his sister, Lady Rich, Robert Devereux, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Essex painted a negative picture of the English court in the 1590s:

the Court of as many humors as the rayne bow hath collores,  
the tyme wherein wee liue, more vnconstant then womens  
thoughtes, more miserable then old age itself and breedeth  
both people and occasions like <sup>to</sup> itself that is violent, desperate  
and fantasticall.<sup>91</sup>

Essex was not alone in his distaste for court life, joining other courtiers who longed for a new regime and monarch.<sup>92</sup> This was but one unique element of the late Elizabethan court that John Guy dubs “the second reign”.<sup>93</sup> Paul Hammer argues that a variety of different circumstances combined to create “the makings of a political perfect storm” in the final years of Elizabeth’s court.<sup>94</sup> During this period, the Elizabethan polity confronted challenges at home and abroad that created a unique political climate.

This chapter outlines the specific aspects of Elizabethan politics that affected how the women in the case studies exercised political power. It does not aim to present a critique or analyse archival sources, but provides the necessary context to the lives and careers of the women. This approach avoids repetition in the thesis, whilst discussing the key circumstances and events that enabled them to play significant roles in politics and patronage.

---

<sup>91</sup> Arthur Freeman, ed., *Essex to Stella: Two Letters from the Earl of Essex to Penelope Rich* (Boston: Godine, 1971), Letter II – Essex to Lady Rich [undated, unpaginated]. He suggests a date between 1596 and 1599.

<sup>92</sup> Hammer, “Last Decade,” 53, 57; Adams, “Eliza,” 29; Hammer, “Sex,” 93.

<sup>93</sup> Guy, “1590s”.

<sup>94</sup> Hammer, “Shakespeare’s Richard II, the Play of 7 February 1601, and the Essex Rising,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 59, no. 1 (2008), 4.

The chapter provides a summary of English politics between 1580 and 1603 before discussing the effect of three specific spheres of politics on the women in the case studies. These were, first, the politics of female agency that enabled ladies-in-waiting to wield power through their personal relationship with the queen. Secondly, the politics of family and faction whereby women related to men on both sides of a political divide negotiated their loyalties in politically consequential ways. Thirdly, the politics of favour that enabled women to become influential through close kinship to a royal favourite. Aristocratic women used these facets of the political environment as opportunities to play significant roles in politics and patronage.

## **Historical background**

### **1580-1589**

In 1580, the succession to the English throne was uncertain: Elizabeth was 47, unmarried, had no Tudor kin and refused to name a successor.<sup>95</sup> Her fertility, once her strength in marriage negotiations, now acted against her as she approached the point where she could not physically bear an heir.<sup>96</sup> This diminished her appeal to foreign princes who needed sons to perpetuate their dynasties. The end of negotiations with Francis, Duke of Anjou in 1581, marked the conclusion of Elizabeth's diplomatic courtships and closed an avenue for women as participants in the queen's marital intrigues.<sup>97</sup>

---

<sup>95</sup> Joel Hurstfield, "The Succession Struggle in Late Elizabethan England," in *Elizabethan Government and Society*, 391.

<sup>96</sup> Anne McLaren, "The Quest for a King: Gender, Marriage, and Succession in Elizabethan England," *Journal of British Studies* 41, no. 3 (July 2002), 268.

<sup>97</sup> Anjou's Catholicism and pedigree brought the potential for deep divisions. For negotiations with Anjou, see Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: the Courtships of Elizabeth I* (London: Routledge, 1996), 154-194. For women's roles in Elizabeth's marriage negotiations

As a legitimate Protestant king with a claim to the throne through his mother, Mary Stuart, James VI of Scotland was the most likely successor under primogeniture but his accession was not guaranteed. As a foreigner, he could not inherit English lands, whilst he faced possible competition from his English cousin, Arbella Stuart, and even the Spanish Infanta Isabella who claimed descent from Edward III.<sup>98</sup> By 1589, Essex began a secret correspondence with James VI to establish himself as the leading figure at court in readiness for the next reign, but the correspondence petered out after Burghley discovered their letters.<sup>99</sup> The pair formed an enduring friendship and Essex later resumed communications.<sup>100</sup> The initial correspondence provided an avenue for Essex's sister, Lady Rich, to become involved in covert politics whilst other women in the case studies benefited from Essex's friendship with James in the next reign.

Domestic religion also caused concern as England toughened its stance against nonconformity. The reformist beliefs of the godly, which emphasised the power of preachers, ran counter to the policy of the conservative Archbishop of Canterbury, John Whitgift. He instituted strict reforms on ecclesiastical dress and preaching and created a Court of High Commission to deprive nonconformist preachers of their livings if they refused to submit.<sup>101</sup> Powerful men such as Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester;

---

earlier in the reign, see Wright, "Change in Direction," 167-168; Mears, "Politics," 72-73; Graham-Matheson, "Petticoats and Politics," 37-47.

<sup>98</sup> Hurstfield, "Succession," 373-374, 377-378.

<sup>99</sup> Hammer, *Polarisation*, 91-92; 167, 169-170.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 168.

<sup>101</sup> Guy, "Elizabethan," 129; William Joseph Sheils, "Whitgift, John (1530/31?-1604), Archbishop of Canterbury," in *ODNB*, accessed January 18, 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29311>; Patrick McGrath, *Papists and Puritans Under Elizabeth I* (London: Blandford Press, 1967), 213, 214, 216, 220; Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1967), 245; Bremer and Webster, eds., *Puritans and Puritanism*, vol. 2, 364, 473.

Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick; Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon; William Cecil, Lord Burghley; Sir Francis Walsingham and Sir Francis Knollys, as well as some of the women in the case studies, moved in godly circles and assisted preachers with hospitality, chaplaincies and benefices.<sup>102</sup> However, their support did not change Whitgift's policies and the godly became a subculture dislocated from the religious majority.<sup>103</sup> Godly clerics preached in godly households and communities which enabled women, such as Lady Bacon and Lady Russell, to act as religious patrons.<sup>104</sup>

Rumours of subversive Catholic conspiracies were rife, increasing with the arrests and executions of recusants and priests.<sup>105</sup> Mary Stuart, former queen of Scotland and France, presented a major threat as a Catholic figurehead imprisoned in England from 1568.<sup>106</sup> English politicians feared that her claim to the throne as the great-granddaughter of Henry VII and granddaughter of Margaret Tudor, Henry VIII's eldest sister, would encourage Catholics from home or abroad to free her and overthrow the Elizabethan regime.<sup>107</sup> Mary Stuart engaged in plots against the English

---

<sup>102</sup> Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan*, 278, 282, 386-387; Adams, "A Godly Peer? Leicester and the Puritans," in *Leicester and the Court*, 227-232; Claire Cross, *The Puritan Earl: the Life of Henry Hastings, Third Earl of Huntingdon 1536-1595* (London: Macmillan, 1966), 129-142, 157-158, 226-269; Paul Seaver, "Puritan Preachers and Their Patrons," in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke*, ed. Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 139-141; Alford, *Burghley*, 224; A.F. Scott Pearson, *Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism 1535-1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925), 326, 345-346, 412, 467-470.

<sup>103</sup> Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan*, 278, 282; Sheils, "Whitgift, John"; McGrath, *Papists*, 221; Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune: the Troubled Life of Francis Bacon* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998), 96.

<sup>104</sup> Collinson, "The Elizabethan Church and the New Religion," in *Reign of Elizabeth I*, 174; Haigh, "The Church of England, Catholics and the People," in *Reign of Elizabeth I*, 209-210, 214; Newton, *Papists*, 8; Crawford, *Women and Religion in England, 1500-1720* (London: Routledge, 1993), 86; Todd, *Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 96, 102, 111; Greaves, "Foundation Builders," 77-78; Bremer and Webster, eds., *Puritans and Puritanism*, vol. 2., 392-394, 502.

<sup>105</sup> Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars: War, Government and Society in Tudor England, 1544-1604* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 139-140, 248-249, 255.

<sup>106</sup> Alford, *Burghley*, 151-165.

<sup>107</sup> McLaren, "Quest," 276; Hurstfield, "Succession," 391, Alford, *Burghley*, 104-105.

queen until Walsingham uncovered one final plot to murder Elizabeth, culminating in her execution in 1587.<sup>108</sup>

Finally, the 1580s marked the beginning of England's involvements in international conflicts. The Crown allied with the French in a costly, bloody and protracted war, supporting the Protestant Northern Provinces of the Netherlands who fought for independence from Spain.<sup>109</sup> The number of troops commissioned was higher than any previous English force with approximately 18,000 Englishmen and 1,000 Irishmen sent to the Netherlands between 1585 and 1587.<sup>110</sup> England sought to curtail the powerful Spanish who might otherwise turn their attentions to England. Their worst fears were realised when Philip II of Spain sent an Armada in 1588 as the first phase of the Enterprise of England, a plan to invade the realm.<sup>111</sup> Fortunately, fierce winds and the skills of the Lord Admiral (Charles Howard, Lord Effingham) scuttled the Spanish fleet and thwarted Philip's ambitions.<sup>112</sup>

The politics of the 1580s tested the Protestant regime at home and abroad, but also provided opportunities for aristocratic women to engage in religious, military or court patronage. Although the Crown defeated the worst threats to its security, Elizabeth and the regime faced more challenges in the following decade.

---

<sup>108</sup> In the Ridolfi Plot, Mary Stuart would marry the Duke of Norfolk, then seize the throne. In the Throckmorton Plot, her French kin, the Dukes of Guise, would free her before seizing the throne (Alford, *Burghley*, 354-355). For her plots, execution and the political aftermath, see *Ibid.*, 167-201, 257-297.

<sup>109</sup> Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars*, 105, 111-130, 169-174, 220-222.

<sup>110</sup> Adams, "A Puritan Crusade? The Composition of the Earl of Leicester's Expedition to the Netherlands, 1585-86," in *Leicester and the Court*, 180.

<sup>111</sup> Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars*, 137-153.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 148-152.



## 1590-1603

Given the conflicts and hostilities of the 1580s, the Crown implemented a proactive military offence against Catholic aggression and committed resources to “‘deep war’ ... as new threats ... mounted up on all sides.”<sup>113</sup> The English supported the Protestant Henry IV of France in Brittany and Normandy to monarchy reverting to Catholicism.<sup>114</sup> Henry retained power but, much to the fury of the English, ultimately converted to Catholicism to appease his countrymen.<sup>115</sup> In the Netherlands, the tide began to turn in favour of the English and Dutch forces under the command of Count Maurice of Nassau, whilst Elizabeth negotiated more favourable terms with the Dutch before withdrawing her forces in 1595.<sup>116</sup> In both conflicts, English forces “helped tip the scales” in favour of their allies.<sup>117</sup> Elizabeth also commissioned military expeditions against the Spanish. In 1596, Essex and Lord Admiral Charles Howard, Lord Effingham, commanded naval forces that captured the major port of Cadiz in 1596, whilst Essex led an unsuccessful campaign in 1597 to scuttle the Spanish fleet in Ferrol, an expedition which became known as the Azores or Islands campaign.<sup>118</sup>

The Crown faced another threat closer to home. In Ireland, an English Lord Deputy enforced rule in an area around Dublin known as the Pale,

---

<sup>113</sup> Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars*, 175; Dickinson and Younger, “Just How Nasty,” 12.

<sup>114</sup> Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars*, 175, 177-182.

<sup>115</sup> The conflict in Rouen brought Essex to prominence as a commander (*Ibid.* 178-181).

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 172-175. The Dutch agreed to pay debts to English soldiers and £30,000 of their £800,000 war debt annually to the English Crown (*Ibid.*, 205).

<sup>117</sup> Dickinson and Younger, “Just How Nasty,” 12.

<sup>118</sup> Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars*, 195-197; Hammer, “Last Decade,” 58). When disease and weather conditions forced him to abandon plans to scuttle the fleet, he unsuccessfully attempted to capture Spanish galleons. For the campaign to the Azores, see Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars*, 199-204, Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 85-88.

whilst Irish earls with links to the English court controlled a number of provinces except for Ulster and Leinster which were controlled by rebels. Hugh O'Neill, the Earl of Tyrone, started a devastating rebellion in Ulster that would become known as the Nine Years War.<sup>119</sup> Tyrone's force was roughly the size of the English army in the Netherlands, prompting Elizabeth to deploy the reign's biggest force of 16,000 soldiers and 1,300 cavalry under Essex as Lord Deputy in March 1599.<sup>120</sup> Essex's campaign was a "poisoned chalice" that kept him from court and he disobeyed royal orders by parleying a truce before fleeing to England.<sup>121</sup> The next Lord Deputy, Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, led forces to victory in 1600 and secured Tyrone's surrender shortly after Elizabeth's death.<sup>122</sup> The English court felt repercussions of the wars as courtiers vied for military posts and offices or helped others seeking military patronage.

Much of the political climate in the later years of the court revolved around Essex, particularly during his disgrace. After he fled Ireland in September 1599, the earl was arrested, banned from court and detained until the following August.<sup>123</sup> He lost his health, career, allies, most of his offices and Elizabeth's favour.<sup>124</sup> By October 1600, he faced financial ruin without the renewal of his lease of sweet wines which provided him with valuable

---

<sup>119</sup> Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars*, 184.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 185, 211-212.

<sup>121</sup> Hammer, "Last Decade," 59; Dickinson and Younger, "Just How Nasty," 16; Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars*, 214-215.

<sup>122</sup> Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars*, 222-228, 233-234, Robert Kee, *Ireland: a History* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1980), 37; Christopher Maginn, "Blount, Charles, Eighth Baron Mountjoy and Earl of Devonshire (1563–1606), Soldier and Administrator," in *ODNB*, accessed April 30, 2010, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2683>.

<sup>123</sup> *HMCD* 2: 397, Whyte to Sidney, 30 September 1599; TNA SP 12/275/51, Sir William Knollys to Sir Edward Norris, 23 August 1600. See Chapter 5.

<sup>124</sup> Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 43, 57-60.

customs duties.<sup>125</sup> He planned a coup at Whitehall to win Elizabeth's favour and remove his enemies, but the Privy Council discovered the plan and issued a summons for Essex to appear at court.<sup>126</sup> Essex disobeyed their order, fearing he would be arrested or murdered.<sup>127</sup> The next day, on 8 February 1601, a panicked Essex hastily marched on London with a small group of followers before retreating to Essex House where the Crown besieged the property and apprehended the group.<sup>128</sup> Essex and some of his men were executed for treason a few weeks later.<sup>129</sup> Such was the earl's prominence at court that all the women in the case studies encountered him during their careers, either benefiting from his assistance, seeking his patronage or helping him.

Mortality altered the balance of power at court. After Burghley's death in 1598, the Privy Council comprised only ten men – less than half the number at the start of the reign – which gave the remaining members a greater voice.<sup>130</sup> The deaths of Leicester (1588), Walsingham (1590), Warwick (1590), Sir Christopher Hatton (1591), Sir Francis Knollys (1593) and Huntingdon (1595) created vacancies for Sir Robert Cecil and Essex to join the Privy Council in 1591 and 1593.<sup>131</sup> Their deaths also removed vocal

---

<sup>125</sup> For this lease, see Hammer, "Devereux, Robert, Second Earl of Essex (1565-1601), Soldier and Politician," in *ODNB*, accessed October 31, 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7565>; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 77. See also TNA SP 12/275/89, Chamberlain to Carleton, 10 October 1600.

<sup>126</sup> Hammer, "Shakespeare's," 11-14.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, Mervyn James, "At a Crossroads of the Political Culture: the Essex Revolt, 1601," in *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 433.

<sup>128</sup> For the Essex revolt, see Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 43-64; Hammer, "Shakespeare's," 15-18; James, "At a Crossroads".

<sup>129</sup> *HMCS* 11: 83-84, 25 February 1601.

<sup>130</sup> Guy, "1590s," 4. From November 1590 to October 1597, Essex was the only Privy Councillor above a baron (Hammer, "Patronage," 73).

<sup>131</sup> Guy, "1590s," 2; Croft, "Cecil, Robert, First Earl of Salisbury (1563-1612), Politician and Courtier," in *ODNB*, accessed January 18, 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4980>; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 118.

opponents of Whitgift's reforms, leaving a vacuum for aristocratic women to fill as religious patrons of the godly.<sup>132</sup> After Essex's death in 1601, Elizabeth's remaining "inner ring" comprised Cecil; Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst and the Earl of Nottingham (the former Lord Effingham).<sup>133</sup>

A tense atmosphere pervaded the court, caused in part by the financial stress of war.<sup>134</sup> Elizabeth was reluctant to fill vacancies in high office, reward men who served in military conflicts or create new peers.<sup>135</sup> This dearth of promotion frustrated courtiers who felt entitled to acknowledgment or recompense of their efforts. Fierce competition for available offices increased pressures at court where a younger generation was disillusioned by a "gerontocracy" of older men who stymied their careers by remaining in power.<sup>136</sup> The nature of royal patronage also began to change. Rather than grant traditional leases of land or pensions at the Crown's expense, the parsimonious Elizabeth opted to give courtiers monopolies or export concessions instead since the Commonwealth bore their cost.<sup>137</sup>

The queen was the one constant at court. Despite her age and a challenging political climate, Elizabeth maintained control over her councillors and courtiers.<sup>138</sup> Hammer argues that the queen was "too shrewd" to not have known of ministers and courtiers corresponding with James VI behind her back, but overlooked this transgression since they were loyal to

---

<sup>132</sup> Guy, "1590s," 2; Guy, "Elizabethan Establishment," 129. Collinson claims that Leicester's death was "the beginning of the decline of the puritan movement" (*Elizabethan Puritan*, 385).

<sup>133</sup> Adams, "Eliza," 30.

<sup>134</sup> Hammer estimates England spent £4,555,000 on military conflicts ("Shakespeare's," 26).

<sup>135</sup> Guy, "1590s," 5. Elizabeth created only two peers in the last decade - Charles Howard, Baron Effingham became the Earl of Nottingham in 1597 and Lord Thomas Howard became Baron Howard of Walden in 1601 (Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars*, 222-223).

<sup>136</sup> Hammer, "Last Decade," 53, 57; Adams, "Eliza," 29; Hammer, "Sex," 93.

<sup>137</sup> Guy, "1590s," 5.

<sup>138</sup> Dickinson and Younger, "Just How Nasty," 16.

her.<sup>139</sup> Although she was in her 60s, Elizabeth was an indomitable presence who commanded respect and resented challenges to her authority.<sup>140</sup>

The final decade of Elizabeth's reign was a period of great intensity and pressure, compounded by the possibility that the ageing queen might die at any moment. Change could not come quickly enough for courtiers who felt they had exhausted their options for political success at Elizabeth's court. By 1603, the prevailing mood at court was a sense that an era was ending with many courtiers looking to a brighter future.<sup>141</sup> However, one group was in no hurry for Elizabeth to die – the queen's ladies-in-waiting who exercised power in her Household.

### **The politics of female agency**

A post as a lady-in-waiting was an avenue to power outside aristocratic families and one of only a few official careers available to aristocratic women.<sup>142</sup> Under Elizabeth as a queen regnant, only women served the monarch in the most intimate and private space, the Bedchamber. Ladies-in-waiting therefore possessed great potential to influence the queen and win offices, favour or financial reward for themselves or their networks.

Aristocratic women served Elizabeth in various capacities. Adolescent Maids-of-Honour attended the queen, whilst using the court to attract and subsequently marry wealthy, high-ranking men, which in turn, led to a high

---

<sup>139</sup> Hammer, "Last Decade," 53. Sir Robert Cecil masterminded a secret correspondence with James VI from May 1601 until the queen's death in April 1603 (John Bruce, ed., *Correspondence of King James VI of Scotland with Sir Robert Cecil and others in England, During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Westminster: Camden Society, 1861), 1-38).

<sup>140</sup> Hammer, "Sex," 82, 91, 96.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 92-93.

<sup>142</sup> Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, 231-242, 371; Harris, *English*, 210-240; Kettering, "Household Service," 56, 67, 85.

turnover of posts.<sup>143</sup> Older women could be formal ladies-in-waiting who received wages, performed official duties in looking after the queen and her possessions, received livery and bouge of court (accommodation, stabling, fuel and lighting, and consumables) and could not leave court without permission.<sup>144</sup> The most senior women to serve in this capacity at the late Elizabethan court were: Catherine Howard, Lady Effingham (later Countess of Nottingham); Mary, Lady Scudamore; Elizabeth, Lady Leighton; Philadelphia, Lady Scrope; Dorothy, Lady Stafford; Elizabeth, Lady Carey, and Frances Brooke, Lady Cobham.<sup>145</sup> The most highly favoured aristocratic women in the Bedchamber served under different conditions. In the 1590s, the Countess of Warwick; Catherine Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon and Helena Snakenborg, Marchioness of Northampton, attended Elizabeth informally without specific duties or wages.<sup>146</sup> They freely left court to pursue their own business, whilst enjoying intimate access to the queen as her favoured companions when in attendance.<sup>147</sup> Scholars have neglected to examine these women in detail, perhaps because their unpaid positions did not generate as much documentary evidence as their paid counterparts.

---

<sup>143</sup> Merton, "Women who Served," 14-15, 41-43, 84; Hammer, "Sex," 81, 83-84, 89-91, 94-95; Harris, *English*, 40, 226; Frances Harris, "The Honourable Sisterhood: Queen Anne's Maids of Honour," *British Library Journal* 19 (1993), 183-185, 188. Frances Harris ("Honourable," 181) and Kettering ("Strategies," 183) similarly argue that marriages led to a high turnover in Maids at the Augustan and French courts.

<sup>144</sup> These benefits compensated for low wages and an expensive court lifestyle (Kettering, "Household Service," 75; Merton, "Women who Served," 11-21; Frances Harris, "Honourable," 183, 188).

<sup>145</sup> See Merton's appendices for their years of service ("Women who Served").

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 15, 45, 83, 156; Wright, "Change in Direction," 151; Bundesen, "No Other Faction," 131; Millicent V. Hay, *The Life of Robert Sidney: Earl of Leicester (1563-1626)* (Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1984), 154-155, 188; Cross, *Puritan Earl*, 270-273.

<sup>147</sup> Merton, "Women who Served," 156; Janet Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd: the Inventories of the Wardrobe of Robes Prepared in July 1600* (Leeds: Maney, 1988), 99-100.

The high number of aristocratic women around the queen fostered a unique feminine culture in her personal quarters. Charlotte Merton estimates that 148 women served Elizabeth throughout the reign, with 39 serving between 1580 and 1603.<sup>148</sup> Pam Wright estimates that a maximum of 22 ladies-in-waiting, in addition to female companions like Lady Warwick, served the queen at any given time.<sup>149</sup> Kristin Bundesen incorporates all aristocratic women at court into her estimate of 60 women present as ladies-in-waiting or courtiers at any time.<sup>150</sup> According to the surviving New Year's gift rolls, five or six Maids-of-Honour and one Mother of the Maids served the queen on average throughout the reign.<sup>151</sup>

Elizabeth's women performed various duties. The Maids-of-Honour entertained the queen, carried her train and enhanced the court's visual splendour by their presence.<sup>152</sup> Ladies-in-waiting undertook greater responsibilities. As Groom of the Stool, Lady Nottingham tended to the queen's lavatorial needs and took charge of Elizabeth's jewellery, clothing and book collections, as did Mary Radcliffe and Blanche Parry.<sup>153</sup> These women, along with Lady Scudamore, also took custody of the queen's New Year's gifts which included valuable plate, clothing, jewellery and

---

<sup>148</sup> Merton, "Women who Served," 258-269.

<sup>149</sup> Wright also estimates that 28 women held paid posts during the reign ("Change in Direction," 150-151, 158).

<sup>150</sup> Bundesen, "No Other Faction," 131.

<sup>151</sup> Jane A. Lawson, ed. *The Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges 1559-1603* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 69, 87, 100, 130, 148, 167, 180, 221, 242-243, 263, 285, 319, 344, 362, 382, 401-402, 420, 439, 459, 478-479, 497, 517. There were only 4 Maids in 1594 and no Mother of the Maids from 1597-1600 (420, 439, 459, 478-479, 497).

<sup>152</sup> Merton, "Women who Served," 67; Kettering, "Strategies," 183; Harris, *English*, 221; Elizabeth Brown, "Companion," 132. They performed similar functions at the Augustan court (Frances Harris, "Honourable," 190).

<sup>153</sup> Merton, "Women who Served," 72, 78, 81, 84, 96; Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe*, 103-104. Wright ("Change in Direction," 149-150) argues that the women shared this office but Merton ("Women who Served," 65) argues that Lady Nottingham held it in 1598.

furniture.<sup>154</sup> Ladies-in-waiting also arranged Elizabeth's appearance, nursed her, organised and controlled her clothing, represented her at ceremonies such as christenings or funerals, cared for a menagerie of small animals, accompanied her on hunts or on progress and participated in entertainments and court ceremonies.<sup>155</sup> Their tasks were politically important as they ensured the smooth running of the royal Household, calmed the queen's moods, protected her from harm and magnified her regal presence as an elite entourage.

Importantly, their constant and unrivalled access to Elizabeth presented an opportunity for influence "parallel" to that of senior male courtiers and ministers.<sup>156</sup> Ladies-in-waiting played crucial roles as intermediaries for courtiers seeking royal patronage, whilst their intimate knowledge of the queen's current proclivities and preferences enabled them to provide advice, report on favour and control communication in and out of the Bedchamber.<sup>157</sup> Robert Beale, a former Principal Secretary, recognised their influence and urged courtiers to consult them prior to speaking with the queen.<sup>158</sup> Natalie Mears asserts that women providing this advice determined

---

<sup>154</sup> Merton, "Women who Served," 99-100; Lawson, "Introduction," in *Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges*, 12; Lawson, ed., *Elizabethan New Year's*, 35-520.

<sup>155</sup> Merton, "Women who Served," 63-121; Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe*, 99, 103-104, 202-203; Richardson, *Mistress Blanche*, 57-82.

<sup>156</sup> Mears, *Queenship*, 54.

<sup>157</sup> Merton, "Women who Served," 154-202; Mears, "Politics," 73-78; Penry Williams, *The Tudor Regime* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 26; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, 372; Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe*, 94, 97-98; Richardson, *Mistress Blanche*, 83-108; Lawson, "Introduction," 22, 24. See also Kettering "Strategies," 199; Kettering, "Household Service," 68.

<sup>158</sup> Robert Beale, "A Treatise of the Office of a Councillor and Principall Secretarie to her Ma[jes]tie," in *Mr Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. 1, ed. Conyers Read (Connecticut: Archon Books, 1967), 437. See Mears, "Politics," 73-74, 77; Mears, *Queenship*, 54.



the ideal time for political discussions between the queen and her closest advisers.<sup>159</sup>

The Elizabethan Bedchamber was relatively stable in its composition, compared to other courts where ladies-in-waiting were recruited and dismissed according to their political allegiances.<sup>160</sup> This may have been partly due to Elizabeth's preference for appointing many of her female kin on her mother's side.<sup>161</sup> Some ladies-in-waiting served for extensive periods of time – Lady Stafford, Lady Cobham, Lady Carey and Lady Nottingham each served the queen for an average of 40 years – which led to a low turnover of senior women in the Bedchamber.<sup>162</sup> Their long service highlights their value to the queen since she could have dismissed them at any point.

Elizabeth developed emotional investments in some women as she did with some men, rewarding them with lands and financial assistance, as well as jewellery and apparel.<sup>163</sup> Her distress over the death of her kinswoman, the Countess of Nottingham, in February 1603, illustrates the strong relationship that could form between the queen and a lady-in-waiting. Elizabeth's grief was so intense that it possibly hastened her own demise a month later.<sup>164</sup> This

---

<sup>159</sup> Mears, "Politics," 77.

<sup>160</sup> Kettering, "Strategies," 198-199; Kettering, "Household Appointments and Dismissals at the Court of Louis XIII," *French History* 21, no. 3 (2007), 273-274, 282-283, 288; Merton, "Women who Served," 51.

<sup>161</sup> Wright, "Change in Direction," 158; Bundesen, "No Other Faction," 61-87, 97-102, 137-139; Merton, "Women who Served," 32. Elizabeth was related to the Carey and Knollys families through her mother, Anne Boleyn.

<sup>162</sup> Wright, "Change in Direction," 157-158; Elizabeth Brown, "Companion," 132; Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe*, 103.

<sup>163</sup> Merton, "Women who Served," 58-59, 70; Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe*, 98-104; 188-191. See Richardson, *Mistress Blanche*, 109-124 for Parry's wardships and grants as an example of how a lady-in-waiting could benefit from royal favour.

<sup>164</sup> Robert Kenny, *Elizabeth's Admiral: the Political Career of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1970), 256-257; Adams, "Howard [née Carey], Katherine, Countess of Nottingham (1545x50–1603), Courtier," in *ODNB*, accessed February 4, 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/67994>; James McDermott, "Howard, Charles, Second Baron Howard of Effingham and First Earl of Nottingham (1536–1624), Naval Commander," in *ODNB*, accessed February 4, 2013,

intense reaction mirrored her response to news of the death of her favourite, the Earl of Leicester, in 1588 when she reportedly locked herself in the Bedchamber for days.<sup>165</sup> Women and men who harnessed Elizabeth's affections controlled a very powerful weapon.

Chapter 3 illuminates the life and career of the Countess of Warwick, one of Elizabeth's most powerful ladies-in-waiting. Lady Warwick attended in an unpaid capacity that did not require a formal post; Elizabeth simply desired her company. The countess's long tenure and amiable personality led to an affectionate, platonic relationship with the monarch. The case study examines Lady Warwick from the original perspective of a 'companion favourite', whose favour and place at Elizabeth's side was more stable, strong, and influential than that of other ladies-in-waiting. It demonstrates that aristocratic women's emotional connections with the queen and court could increase their political agency to the extent that they could sometimes rival the power of the most important men at the late Elizabethan court.

### **The politics of family and faction**

The Elizabethan court was a natural environment for rivalry between courtiers. Although Burghley and Leicester disagreed over a number of issues, they shared a common desire to work against threats to the realm for the good of queen and country.<sup>166</sup> Another rivalry arose in the late 1580s between Leicester and Essex, and Sir Walter Raleigh who, despite his

---

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13885>; Bruce, ed., *Correspondence of King James VI*, 72, Part V, Letter V, March 17, 1603.

<sup>165</sup> *CSPS* 4: 431, Advices from England, September 1599; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 77.

<sup>166</sup> Adams, "Faction," 17-19, 22; Hammer, "Absolute," 42; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 2; Adams, "Court," 123; Adams, "Eliza," 30.

influence with the queen, never wielded much power in aristocratic networks.<sup>167</sup>

Historians have attempted to separate factionalism from political rivalries or slanders at the late Elizabethan court.<sup>168</sup> Simon Adams narrowly defines faction as “a personal following employed in direct opposition to another personal following”.<sup>169</sup> Paul Hammer also adopts a narrow definition of factionalism but deliberately avoids the term ‘following’, arguing that followings were part of traditional court patronage whereas a faction was not. According to Hammer, factions consisted of “a body of men who felt themselves personally bound to one particular great man and who also saw themselves as necessarily opposed to other men who had a similar bond to a different leader.”<sup>170</sup> He further emphasises that factions sought political dominance over opposing factions. Janet Dickinson takes a slightly different perspective, describing factions as “interest groups” of individuals working against each other for their own ends, stressing the potential for differing perspectives on policy.<sup>171</sup>

The court in the 1590s has been depicted as a factional battleground with a strong Cecilian group led by Sir Robert Cecil opposing a weaker Essex circle.<sup>172</sup> Adams argues that factionalism occurred in the 1590s but not during the earlier years of the reign which were characterised by more harmonious relationships between Privy Councillors and men of high office willing to

---

<sup>167</sup> Hammer, “Absolute,” 44-48.

<sup>168</sup> According to Adams, (“Faction,” 13), ‘faction’ and ‘factious’ were “the most over-used words in the Elizabethan political vocabulary”.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>170</sup> Hammer, *Polarisation*, 357.

<sup>171</sup> Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 66.

<sup>172</sup> Neale, “Elizabethan Political Scene,” 72,-73, 80, 83; Will Saunders, “Faction in the Reign of Elizabeth I,” *History Review*, (March 2004), 33; Adams, “Faction,” 20-22; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 341-388; Hammer, “Absolute,” 49-50.

work together.<sup>173</sup> Others agree with Adams that relative amity existed between Essex and the Cecils before the 1590s but argue that harmony lasted throughout most of the 1590s and extend the date for the onset of factionalism beyond Burghley's death in 1598.<sup>174</sup> Recent research challenges the existence of court factionalism in the 1590s. Dickinson argues that the Essex circle manufactured the notion of a powerful, opposing court faction to rationalise their own political failures and suggests that the evidence of frustrated Essexians has presented an enduring but skewed perspective of court politics.<sup>175</sup> Alexandra Gajda takes a similar stance, arguing that a Cecil faction was "imagined" by Essex and his followers.<sup>176</sup> Mears also questions the traditional perception of the Cecils as leaders of a political hegemony, arguing that Burghley and Sir Robert Cecil did not control the queen or other courtiers.<sup>177</sup> Pauline Croft goes so far as to argue that Cecil's position was not assured until he won James VI's favour in 1601 through his secret correspondence.<sup>178</sup>

Strong personal enmity existed between Essex and Cecil throughout the 1590s. As a military leader, tourney champion, charming courtier and adherent of a chivalric honour code, the earl epitomised aristocratic virtue.<sup>179</sup> By contrast, Cecil was a minister who lacked an illustrious pedigree, disliked expensive wars and worked long hours as a skilled bureaucrat.<sup>180</sup> Tensions

---

<sup>173</sup> Adams, "Faction," 17-21; Adams, "Patronage," 71, 84; Adams, "Eliza," 33-35.

<sup>174</sup> Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 80, 88-97; Dickinson and Younger, "Just How Nasty," 15; Mears, "Regnum," 48-50, 56-57, 63.

<sup>175</sup> Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 68-71, 74-75, 77. See also Mears, "Regnum," 47.

<sup>176</sup> Gajda, *Earl of Essex*, 142.

<sup>177</sup> Mears, "Regnum," 49-50, 52, 56, 60, 63.

<sup>178</sup> Croft, "Can a Bureaucrat?" 84-86.

<sup>179</sup> For Essex and chivalry, see James, "At a Crossroads," 416-466, Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 5-24; Mears, "Regnum," 50.

<sup>180</sup> Mears, "Regnum," 50; Croft, "Can a Bureaucrat?"; Croft, "Cecil, Robert".

arose when Cecil thwarted Essex's aim to become the ageing Burghley's "political successor", rising through the bureaucracy with the support of his father but also through his own political acumen.<sup>181</sup> In 1595, Burghley tried to secure the post of Principal Secretary for his son in competition with Essex, eventually succeeding in July 1596.<sup>182</sup> The frustrated earl was further blocked in his efforts to campaign on the Continent since the Cecils advocated for intervention in Ireland instead.<sup>183</sup> Competition over office became campaigns for power with Essex and Cecil supporting rival candidates for the posts of Attorney-General and Warden of the Cinque Ports.<sup>184</sup> From 1596, courtiers observed open hostilities at court between Cecil and Essex and some individuals suggest that courtiers were forced to choose sides.<sup>185</sup>

Hammer describes Essex's circle of allies as "true Essexian partisans, ferociously loyal to ... the earl, and correspondingly hostile to the Cecils."<sup>186</sup> The most vocal members were Anthony and Sir Francis Bacon; Sir Anthony Standen, a former spy of Burghley's; the wily, Catholic Henry Howard; and Antonio Perez, an exiled Spaniard.<sup>187</sup> The earl's inner circle also consisted of

---

<sup>181</sup> Hammer, "Last Decade," 56-58; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 137-139, 314-317, 341, 352-354; Croft, "Cecil, Robert".

<sup>182</sup> Hammer, *Polarisation*, 352-353; Mary Partridge, "Lord Burghley and *Il Cortegiano*: Civil and Martial Models of Courtliness in Elizabethan England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 19, (2009), 111.

<sup>183</sup> Hammer, "Patronage," 85; Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars*, 182-183.

<sup>184</sup> Hammer, *Polarisation*, 294-295; Adams, "Faction," 21.

<sup>185</sup> *HMCD* 2: 227, Thomas Lake to Sir Robert Sidney, 12 September 1599; 390, Whyte to Sidney, 29 September 1599; *HMCS* 8: 269, Lord Grey to Cobham, 21 July 1598.

<sup>186</sup> Hammer, *Polarisation*, 291.

<sup>187</sup> Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 99-104; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 287-291, 346; Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, 121-264; Andrew Gordon, "A Fortune of Paper Walls": the Letters of Francis Bacon and the Earl of Essex," *English Literary Renaissance* 37 (1994); Hammer, "An Elizabethan Spy Who Came in From the Cold: the Return of Anthony Standen to England in 1593," *Historical Research* 65, no. 158 (1992); Croft, "Can a Bureaucrat?" 82; D.C. Anderson, *Lord Henry Howard (1540-1614): an Elizabethan Life* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2009), 23-191; Levy Peck, *Northampton: Patronage and Policy at the Court of James I* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1982), 6-22; Alford, *Burghley*, 251-252; Gajda,

Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy; Henry Wriothesley, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Southampton; Sir Robert Sidney; Sir Christopher Blount; Edward Russell, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Bedford; Sir Charles Danvers and Fulke Greville.<sup>188</sup> His opinionated secretaries and attendants, Sir Gelly Meyrick, Edward Reynoldes, Henry Cuffe and Henry Wotton were also heavily involved in the earl's business.<sup>189</sup> Essex's grandfather, Sir Francis Knollys and his uncle, Sir William Knollys, provided valuable assistance on the Privy Council and at court.<sup>190</sup> The Essex circle believed that Cecil and his group curtailed their careers by turning the queen and court against them, but were divided about the best strategy to improve Essex's situation.<sup>191</sup> The more moderate Sir Francis Bacon, Howard and Greville implored Essex to trust the queen and seek her mercy.<sup>192</sup> Conversely, more radical followers like Southampton and Cuffe argued that Essex should oust Cecil to regain power.<sup>193</sup>

The members of an opposing, distinct Cecil faction or group are harder to isolate. In the 1590s, the Cecils cultivated a number of key allies such as Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst; Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham; Sir John Stanhope; Sir Thomas Heneage and Henry Brooke,

---

*Earl of Essex*, 10; Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 101; John Martin Robinson, *The Dukes of Norfolk: a Quincentennial History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 66-67; Gustav Ungerer, *Spaniard in Elizabethan England: the Correspondence of Antonio Perez's Exile*, vol. 1 (London: Tamesis Books, 1974).

<sup>188</sup> Hammer, *Polarisation*, 282; Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 101.

<sup>189</sup> Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 99-101; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 278-279, 300; Hammer, "Uses of Scholarship: the Secretariat of Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex, c. 1585-1601," *English Historical Review* 109, no. 430 (1994).

<sup>190</sup> Bundesen, "No Other Faction," 141, 226-227; Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 101.

<sup>191</sup> Hammer, "Patronage at Court," 71-72; Croft, "Can a Bureaucrat?" 82; James, "At a Crossroads," 433-434; Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 102-104.

<sup>192</sup> Hammer, "Shakespeare's," 10; Gajda, *Earl of Essex*, 35, 60, 253; Levy Peck, *Northampton*, 16-17.

<sup>193</sup> Hammer, "Shakespeare's," 10; Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 99-100; James, "At a Crossroads," 446-447.

Lord Cobham.<sup>194</sup> However, their working relationships reflected a desire to expedite the business of the realm rather than a steadfast alliance, unlike the more staunch members of the Essex circle who were strongly devoted to the earl.<sup>195</sup> This was true of the Cecils' court contacts in general since many aristocratic men and women were reluctant to support Essex as his relationship with Elizabeth deteriorated.<sup>196</sup> Mears argues that opposition to Essex became so widespread that, if there was a Cecil faction, it was "in fact, the Court itself."<sup>197</sup> If there was no cohesive Cecil faction opposing an Essex circle, then arguments supporting factionalism become more difficult to sustain.

Chapter 4 examines whether aristocratic women could be considered part of a Cecil faction by virtue of their kinship connections. It provides two case studies of widowed sisters Anne, Lady Bacon and Elizabeth, Lady Russell who were related to Burghley and Cecil on one side of the political divide, and the Bacon brothers on the other. The sisters benefited from the Cecils' power and expected them to assist their children. Despite a shared connection to their brother-in-law and nephew, the sisters reacted differently to their conflicted kin loyalties. Lady Bacon became disillusioned when the Cecils promoted a rival candidate for the Attorney-Generalship over her son, Francis, and did not assist her other son, Anthony, with preferment. Conversely, Lady Russell used the political divisions to wield power as a mediator between kin, taking advantage of the overlapping nature of family

---

<sup>194</sup> Mears, "Regnum," 49; 58-59; Mark Nicholls, "Brooke, Henry, Eleventh Baron Cobham (1564–1619), Conspirator," in *ODNB*, accessed February 7, 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3543>.

<sup>195</sup> With the exception of Cobham who was tied to Cecil as his brother-in-law (*CP* 11: 403).

<sup>196</sup> Many of Essex's family feared supporting him (Bundesen, "No Other Faction," 288-289).

<sup>197</sup> Mears, "Regnum," 58.

and state politics. Neither sister cast themselves in opposition to Essex. Instead of factional followers, the sisters were formidable women who made independent decisions within an aristocratic framework of kinship obligations. Thus the case studies support recent scholarship questioning the existence of factionalism throughout most of the 1590s and argue that aristocratic women made their own choices within politically significant family units, but not factions.

### **The politics of favour**

In early modern Europe, royal favourites were created at the monarch's whim.<sup>198</sup> Seventeenth-century favourites, such as George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham in England; Armand-Jean, Cardinal Du Plessis De Richelieu in France, and Gaspar de Guzman, Count-Duke of Olivares in Spain, controlled vast economic resources, distributed royal patronage and were clearly the individuals closest to the monarch.<sup>199</sup> Elizabeth's male favourites, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Walter Raleigh and Robert Devereux, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Essex, operated under vastly different circumstances. There was no single dominant favourite controlling royal patronage or access to the monarch at the late Elizabethan court. Elizabeth spread the balance of power amongst multiple favourites and ministers who worked together to achieve common goals or against each other if their

---

<sup>198</sup> Levy Peck, "Benefits," 117.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*; Levy Peck, "Monopolizing Favour: Structures of Power in the Early Seventeenth-Century English Court," in *World of the Favourite*; Roger Lockyer, *Buckingham: the Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham 1592 – 1628* (Longman: London, 1981); J.H. Elliott, "Introduction," in *World of the Favourite*, 1-4; J.H. Elliott, "Staying in Power: the Count-Duke of Olivares," in *World of the Favourite*; Kettering, "Household Service"; Kettering, "Strategies".



interests conflicted.<sup>200</sup> Elizabethan male favourites were drawn from the opposite sex to an unmarried, ageing monarch and employed the tactics of courtly love to win the queen's romantic affections.<sup>201</sup> Although they enjoyed the benefits of favour, they also endured Elizabeth's wrath if they betrayed her by marrying aristocratic women for dynastic purposes.<sup>202</sup>

Leicester enjoyed lavish rewards as a result of his intense emotional bond with Elizabeth.<sup>203</sup> Upon her accession, she appointed him Master of the Horse and gifted him Kew House in Surrey.<sup>204</sup> She created him Baron of Denbigh and Earl of Leicester in 1564, granted him generous estates, installed him as a Privy Councillor, appointed him Lord Steward and financed much of his opulent lifestyle.<sup>205</sup> After his wife's death in 1560, Leicester paid suit to the queen as a prospective husband but she ultimately rejected the match primarily because he was a subject, not a royal prince.<sup>206</sup> Elizabeth was furious when he secretly married her kinswoman Lettice Devereux, Countess of Essex, in September 1578, but later forgave him and he returned to her affections in a more platonic way.<sup>207</sup> She rewarded him with command of the English forces in the Netherlands from 1584 to 1587

---

<sup>200</sup> Hammer, "Absolute," 40-41; Warnicke, "Family," 41; Levy Peck, "Benefits," 116; Adams, "Favourites," 47-52. By contrast, French favourites staffed royal Households with allies (Kettering, "Household Appointments," 273-274, 282, 287-288).

<sup>201</sup> Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 25-42; Hammer, "Absolute," 40, 42.

<sup>202</sup> Hammer, *Polarisation*, 58; Hammer, "Absolute," 42.

<sup>203</sup> For their relationship, see Adams, "Queen Elizabeth's Eyes at Court: the Earl of Leicester," in *Leicester and the Court*.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, 134; Adams, "Dudley, Robert, Earl of Leicester (1532/3-1588), Courtier and Magnate," in *ODNB*, accessed January 23, 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8160>.

<sup>205</sup> Adams, "Patronage," 74; Adams, "At Home and Away: the Earl of Leicester," *History Today* 46 (May 1996), 28; Adams, "Dudley, Robert".

<sup>206</sup> For the courtship, see Doran, *Monarchy*, 40-72.

<sup>207</sup> *CP* 7: 551; Longleat Dudley MS 3/61, Deposition of Humphrey Tyndall, 18 February 1581. See Chapter 5 for the consequences of this marriage.

where he contracted the malaria that probably killed him on 4 September 1588.<sup>208</sup>

Unlike Leicester, the next royal favourite came from a more modest gentry background.<sup>209</sup> Sir Christopher Hatton, who was seven years the queen's junior, was firmly entrenched at Elizabeth's side by the 1570s.<sup>210</sup> Although his relationship with Elizabeth was not as close as the bond she shared with Leicester, Hatton was the only favourite who never married and thus never betrayed Elizabeth's affections.<sup>211</sup> He was rewarded handsomely for his loyalty. Elizabeth gave him important offices in the royal Household and the bureaucracy including Vice Chamberlain, Captain of the Guard, Privy Councillor and eventually Lord Chancellor.<sup>212</sup> Her high regard for Hatton is evident in the value of the New Year's gifts she gave him which were more valuable than the gifts of many senior peers.<sup>213</sup> Hatton died on 20 November 1591, leaving his estate to his nephew.<sup>214</sup>

Sir Walter Raleigh was 19 years younger than the queen and, like Hatton, descended from a less prominent family.<sup>215</sup> He came to Elizabeth's attentions whilst conveying messages from the Lord Deputy of Ireland in the early 1580s.<sup>216</sup> She made him Captain of the Guard in 1591, bestowed a

---

<sup>208</sup> Adams, "Dudley, Robert".

<sup>209</sup> Wallace T. MacCaffrey, "Hatton, Sir Christopher (c.1540–1591), Courtier and Politician," in *ODNB*, accessed January 18, 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12605>.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>211</sup> Hammer, "Absolute," 39.

<sup>212</sup> Adams, "Eliza," 29, 35-36; Hammer, "Last Decade," 56.

<sup>213</sup> Lawson, "Introduction," 21; Diarmid MacCulloch, "'Beware of High Degree': the Howards under Elizabeth I," in *Rivals in Power: Lives and Letters of the Great Tudor Dynasties*, ed. David Starkey (London: Macmillan, 1990), 190; MacCaffrey, "Hatton".

<sup>214</sup> MacCaffrey, "Hatton".

<sup>215</sup> Hammer, "Absolute," 43; Adams, "Eliza," 35-36; Mark Nicholls and Penry Williams, "Raleigh, Sir Walter (1554–1618): Courtier, Explorer and Author," in *ODNB*, accessed January 23, 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23039>. He had court connections - his aunt, Kat Ashley, was Elizabeth's governess and lady-in-waiting early in the reign (*Ibid.*).

<sup>216</sup> Nicholls and Williams, "Raleigh, Sir Walter".

number of lucrative grants on him and let him lease the vast Dorset estate of Sherborne in 1592.<sup>217</sup> This was the pinnacle of his success. The unpopular Raleigh failed to secure high office or a seat on the Privy Council and his fortunes plummeted when Elizabeth discovered his secret marriage to her Maid-of-Honour, Elizabeth Throckmorton, who also bore his child.<sup>218</sup> She sent them both to the Tower and banned Raleigh from court for five years.<sup>219</sup> Although he was reinstated as Captain of the Guard, Raleigh never recovered his place in Elizabeth's affections.<sup>220</sup>

Robert Devereux, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Essex was 32 years younger than the queen and the son of the Countess of Leicester. His stepfather, Leicester, supported his rise to court to offset Raleigh's growing influence and he first caught the queen's eye in October 1586.<sup>221</sup> The charming young earl was a welcome diversion for the queen who played cards with him until the early morning.<sup>222</sup> After Hatton's death in 1591, he was the only favourite of real political consequence.<sup>223</sup> Essex became Master of the Horse, a Privy Councillor, Master of the Ordnance and Earl Marshall, winning more royal grants than any other favourite.<sup>224</sup> He was an avid military campaigner, commanding forces in Calais, Cadiz and the Azores.<sup>225</sup> The earl angered Elizabeth by secretly marrying Sir Philip Sidney's widow, Frances Sidney, in

---

<sup>217</sup> Nicholls and Williams, "Raleigh, Sir Walter", Hammer, "Absolute," 43-44. In 1599, Raleigh purchased Sherborne (Haigh, *Elizabeth I*, 42).

<sup>218</sup> Nicholls and Williams, "Raleigh, Sir Walter".

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*; Hammer, "Absolute," 43, 47.

<sup>221</sup> Raleigh was a former client of Leicester's (Hammer, "Absolute," 43-44; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 37).

<sup>222</sup> Hammer, "Absolute," 44; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 59; Hammer, "Devereux, Robert".

<sup>223</sup> Hammer, *Polarisation*, 391; Hammer, "Absolute," 47-48.

<sup>224</sup> Hammer, "Devereux, Robert".

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.* He incurred significant military expenses in doing so (Hammer, "Absolute," 48).

1590 but he won back her affections.<sup>226</sup> His arrogance and forthright personality made for a tempestuous relationship with Elizabeth that deteriorated over the second half of the decade.<sup>227</sup> Essex lost her favour and his grip on power, which culminated in an armed rebellion and his execution for treason on 25 February 1601.<sup>228</sup>

The favourites derived power from numerous sources. First, they wielded power through high office, although none secured the politically indispensable roles of Lord Treasurer or Principal Secretary.<sup>229</sup> In this way, they were the opposites of Burghley and Cecil whose power stemmed from their offices but flourished because they also built favourable personal relationships with the queen over many years.<sup>230</sup> Secondly, Leicester and Essex were leaders of networks of family, friends and followers who helped sustain their power at court.<sup>231</sup> Thus, as Hammer states, researching these networks is “vital to any understanding of the nature of royal favourites”.<sup>232</sup>

Chapter 5 does this by presenting case studies of the Earl of Essex’s four close female kin and their roles in his life and career - his mother, the Countess of Leicester; wife, the Countess of Essex; and sisters, the Countess of Northumberland and Lady Rich. All the women benefited from the earl’s

---

<sup>226</sup> Hammer, *Polarisation*, 54, 86, 89-90; *CP* 5: 142.

<sup>227</sup> For their relationship, see Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 32-40; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 316-340.

<sup>228</sup> *HMCS* 11: 83-84, 25 February 1601; *CP* 5: 142.

<sup>229</sup> Hammer, “Absolute,” 41. Hatton’s post as Lord Chancellor was probably the most significant.

<sup>230</sup> Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 26; Croft, “Can a Bureaucrat,” 82-83; Hammer, “Absolute,” 41. Partridge distinguishes between Burghley as a “civil” courtier and Leicester as a “chivalric” courtier (“Lord Burghley,” 102, 115). Kettering (“Strategies,” 178) similarly observes that a French minister-favourite combined favour and influence as an adviser but not “chief minister”.

<sup>231</sup> Essex’s following is discussed above and in Hammer, *Polarisation*, 269-315. For Leicester’s, see Adams, “Godly”; Adams, “The Dudley Clientele, 1553-63,” in *Leicester and the Court*; Adams, “The Dudley Clientele and the House of Commons, 1559-86,” in *Leicester and the Court*, Adams, “Puritan”.

<sup>232</sup> Hammer, “Absolute,” 39.

power, but the wives of Elizabeth's favourites did not fare so well. Elizabeth viewed Lady Leicester and Lady Essex as rivals, forcing them to exercise power outside the court. In their roles as mothers, wives or sisters, the Essex women were valuable members of the earl's network as they maintained his power at court and in the counties. Lady Rich was a particularly active member of the Essex circle who avidly promoted her brother's career, as well as her own. The chapter illustrates that close kinship to an Elizabethan favourite was not a guaranteed pathway to success, but could be used as a source of agency to enhance the political power of aristocratic women.

The broader political milieu at the late Elizabethan court was a backdrop to the lives and careers of the aristocratic women in the case studies. It provided a specific set of circumstances, events and conditions that enabled them to become political agents and exercise power in different ways to their female counterparts earlier in the reign. The spheres of female agency in the Bedchamber, family and faction, and royal favour were integral components of politics at the late Elizabethan court that aristocratic men and women negotiated in their quests for political success. This thesis demonstrates that aristocratic women took advantage of the opportunities presented by the political landscape to play for high stakes at local and national levels with varying degrees of success. The women in the case studies used court politics to promote their own interests as well as those of family and broader networks as discussed in the next chapter.

## Chapter 3

### The Politics of Female Agency: Anne Dudley, Countess of Warwick

This Countess of Warwick came to serve Queen Elizabeth when she was very young; so as she served that illustrious Queen, when she was maid, wife and widdow, even almost from the beginning of her reign till the said Queen's death; and she was more beloved and in greater favour with the said Queen than any other lady or woman in the kingdom, and was no less generally esteemed and honored through the whole court and all the said Queen's dominions; which indeed she deserved, for she was a great freind to virtue and a helper to many petitioners and others that were in distress, that came to court for relief of their wrongs.<sup>233</sup>

Lady Anne Clifford wrote this posthumous testament to her aunt, Anne Dudley, Countess of Warwick who assisted her with patronage at court during her youth.<sup>234</sup> Although affection undoubtedly influenced this glowing tribute to a deceased kinswoman, contemporary evidence demonstrates that Lady Warwick was a powerful political agent who deserved such praise. The countess drew power from a number of sources including her close relationship with the queen and an extensive patronage network of individuals from various spheres of her life and Elizabethan society (see Appendix E). As possibly the most powerful aristocratic woman of the 1590s, Lady Warwick is the ideal subject for a case study of female agency in politics and patronage at the late Elizabethan court. Her unique relationship

---

<sup>233</sup> J.P. Gilson, "[Introduction]," in *Lives of Lady Anne Clifford: Countess of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery (1590-1676) and of her Parents* (London: Hazell, Watson and Viney, 1916), 24-25. See also George C. Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford: Countess of Dorset, Pembroke & Montgomery, 1590-1676: Her Life, Letters and Work*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (Wakefield, Yorkshire: S.R. Publishers, 1967), 37.

<sup>234</sup> Later in her life, Lady Anne Clifford (who became Countess of Dorset and Pembroke) wrote a memoir reflecting on her youth, as well as a diary of her life from 1616-1619. See D.J.H. Clifford, ed., *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford* (Sutton: Gloucestershire, 2003).

with the queen distinguished her from other women and placed her in an influential position comparable to the male favourites. The countess also shared a rapport with men of high office and other courtiers that enhanced her own prominence as a central figure at court.

Family was a power-base that gave aristocratic women greater authority in politics and patronage.<sup>235</sup> Barbara Harris observes that women “accumulated” multiple families throughout their lives, retaining connections to birth, marital and extended families, whilst adding new kin through births and marriages.<sup>236</sup> Lady Warwick’s childlessness presents an opportunity to reinterpret this traditionally undesirable state for aristocratic women. Whilst her failure to bear children blocked an avenue to power as a mother with control over a dynastic bloodline, the countess’s freedom from the constraints of motherhood simultaneously enhanced her ability to exercise power as a wife, sister and aunt.<sup>237</sup> These roles enhanced her power at court, increasing her motivation and legitimacy in political issues and patronage matters.

A career as a lady-in-waiting complemented women’s careers within the family by improving their ability to advocate for kin, but also enabled them to forge new connections based on their skills, character and aptitudes.<sup>238</sup> As intermediaries and go-betweens, ladies-in-waiting played vital roles in suits for material assistance such as offices, lands, titles or finances, as well as “intangible resources” such as favour, honour or reputation.<sup>239</sup> The most successful ladies-in-waiting enjoyed a special bond

---

<sup>235</sup> Harris, *English*.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, 16, 128, 242.

<sup>237</sup> *CP 12/2*: 402-403.

<sup>238</sup> Harris, *English*, 6, 210, 241.

<sup>239</sup> Levy Peck, *Court*, 57.

with the queen who fostered emotional investments in particular women as she did with particular men.<sup>240</sup> Thus Natalie Mears asserts that some of Elizabeth's ladies-in-waiting were "parallel" to Elizabeth's closest male advisors in their agency with the queen.<sup>241</sup> Lady Warwick benefited from royal favour in this way, drawing power from a close relationship with Elizabeth over 43 years.

Although Harris argues that posts as ladies-in-waiting provided aristocratic women with "the only opportunity to fashion identities and roles outside their natal or marital families," this was not always true.<sup>242</sup> Women such as Lady Warwick also used their skills and resources as political agents in spheres such as religious and literary patronage. With her reputation extending beyond the court and into the wider community, the countess played a broader, more consequential role in Elizabethan political culture. Successful aristocratic women played vital roles in court patronage by acting on behalf of their own unique networks.<sup>243</sup> Much of this chapter discusses Lady Warwick's role at the centre of an extensive patronage network of diverse groups of individuals with various connections to the countess. Using her agency for others provided a vital way for Lady Warwick to exercise power and foster connections. Her assistance to a great number of people also challenges James Daybell's assertion that widows pursued patronage more for themselves than others.<sup>244</sup>

---

<sup>240</sup> Elizabeth Brown, "Domesticity," 144-145.

<sup>241</sup> Mears, *Queenship*, 54.

<sup>242</sup> Harris, *English*, 210.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, 175-209; Allen, *Cooke*, 124-136, 141-201; Cressy, "Kinship," 67-68.

<sup>244</sup> Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 239. For a contrast, see Chapter 5 for Lady Essex.



This chapter is structured around Lady Warwick's life and career. First, it describes the sources of agency that promoted and perpetuated her power at court, namely her relationship with the queen as a female companion favourite, links to court contacts and power she wielded in her own right. Secondly, it reconstructs the dense patronage network of people who solicited or received her favour or assistance. Thirdly, it demonstrates the countess exercising power for the groups in her patronage network. Finally, it addresses the limitations of Lady Warwick's power vis-à-vis the power of aristocratic men.

The late Elizabethan court was the ideal environment for the countess to exercise power. Growing religious conservatism created an opportunity for godly women like Lady Warwick to support radical Protestant clerics. Conflict in the Netherlands and Ireland created opportunities for male and female courtiers to safeguard the interests of absent commanders and assist with military patronage. At court, competition increased the value of intermediaries who negotiated the complicated landscape of rivalries and favour.<sup>245</sup> Rivalry between royal favourite, Robert Devereux, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Essex and Principal Secretary, Sir Robert Cecil, added tension to suits such as the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports. Long-serving ladies-in-waiting like the countess provided a stabilising counterbalance to the loss of men, such as Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and Elizabeth relied on them as "a crucial part of her exercise of power".<sup>246</sup>

---

<sup>245</sup> Hammer, "Sex," 92-93," Adams, "Eliza," 29.

<sup>246</sup> Elizabeth Brown, "Companion," 133.

Lady Warwick was born Anne Russell in 1548 or 1549, the eldest child of Francis Russell, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Bedford and his wife, Margaret Gostwick (née St John).<sup>247</sup> Much of her childhood is unknown due to the destruction of the Russell family papers but she was probably educated at home as a Protestant.<sup>248</sup> The deaths of her brothers, Edward (1571), John (1584) and Francis (1585) left three surviving siblings, Elizabeth, Countess of Bath; Margaret, Countess of Cumberland and William, Lord Russell.<sup>249</sup> Anne married Ambrose Dudley, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Warwick in 1565.<sup>250</sup> His death in 1590 left her a childless widow with freedom and resources, but also obligations and debts.<sup>251</sup> She died at her estate, North Hall, in Hertfordshire on 9 February 1604, less than a year after Elizabeth's death.<sup>252</sup>

Aside from Simon Adams's *ODNB* entry which describes her as "one of the pivotal women" at court, Lady Warwick has not received detailed scholarly attention.<sup>253</sup> Charlotte Merton, Tracy Borman and Anna Whitelock mention her status, post at court and patronage activities but their broad studies do not adequately analyse her political contribution.<sup>254</sup> Biographical

---

<sup>247</sup> *CP* 12/2: 402-403; Adams, "Dudley, [née Russell], Anne, Countess of Warwick (1548/9-1604), Courtier," in *ODNB*, accessed March 15, 2012,

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24737>. For the Russell family, see Appendix A.

<sup>248</sup> Adams, "Dudley, [née Russell]"; Merton, "Women who Served," 208. Bedford was a staunch supporter of the godly (Rosemond Tuve, "Spenserus," in *Essays by Rosemond Tuve: Spenser, Herbert, Milton*, ed. Thomas P. Roche, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 141; MacCaffrey, "Russell, Francis, Second Earl of Bedford (1526/7-1585), Magnate," in *ODNB*, accessed April 23, 2014,

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24306>; M. St Clare Byrne and Gladys Scott Thompson, "My Lord's Books": the Library of Francis, Second Earl of Bedford in 1584," *Review of English Studies* 7, no. 28 (October 1931)).

<sup>249</sup> *CP* 1:17-18, 75-78, 568; 11: 240.

<sup>250</sup> She was his third wife. His other wives, Anne (née Whorwood) and Elizabeth (née Tailboys) died in 1552 and approximately 1563 respectively (*CP* 12/2: 402-403). For the Dudley family, see Appendix B.

<sup>251</sup> Adams, "Dudley, [née Russell]".

<sup>252</sup> *CP* 12/2: 403.

<sup>253</sup> Adams, "Dudley, [née Russell]".

<sup>254</sup> Merton, "Women who Served," 43, 54, 62, 78, 115, 128, 132, 156, 165, 168, 172, 180, 182-186, 194-197, 208-209, 220; Tracy Borman, *Elizabeth's Women: the Hidden Story of the Virgin Queen* (London: Jonathon Cape, 2009), 349-356, 386-387, 391; Anna Whitelock,

works on the Russell and Dudley families highlight her significance to kin, whilst her role as a religious and literary patron elicits brief mentions in works from these scholarly fields.<sup>255</sup> Despite the survival of numerous letters written by the countess, Daybell is the only scholar to examine her correspondence from an epistolary perspective and uses them to show that aristocratic women composed letters in a personal style for family and a formal style for business.<sup>256</sup> This case study combines original archival research with existing scholarship to illuminate the Countess of Warwick as a “Lady powerfull in the Court” for first time.<sup>257</sup>

## Sources of agency

---

*Elizabeth's Bedfellows: An Intimate History of the Queen's Court* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 102-103, 272, 287, 313, 317, 332, 345.

<sup>255</sup> Byard, “Trade of Courtiership,” 20, 22, 24, 27; Richard T. Spence, *The Privateering Earl* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1995), 22, 116, 136, 149, 172; J.H. Wiffen, *Historical Memoirs of the House of Russell from the Time of the Norman Conquest*, vol. 1 (London: Longman, 1883), 502-504; Clifford, ed., *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, 21-26, 28, 259, 266; Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1991), 11-13, Hay, *Life of Robert Sidney*, 18-19, 51, 114, 138, 154, 156, 161, 189; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 66, 85, 91, 130, 281, 284, 288, 289, 290, 296, 302, 385; Tuve, “Spenserus,” 140-148, 153, 156-157; Richard Greaves, “The Role of Women in Early English Nonconformity,” *Church History* 52 no. 3 (1983), 303-305; Jon A. Quitslund, “Spencer and the Patronesses of the Fowre Hymns: “Ornaments of True Love and Beauty,”” in *Silent But For the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators and Writers of Religious Works*, ed. Margaret Patterson Hannay (Ohio: Kent University Press, 1985), 185, 189, 191-193.

<sup>256</sup> Daybell, “Female,” 64. I have located 32 letters written by Lady Warwick (Cecil MS 26/32, 20 April 1594; 40/5, 3 April 1596; 49/87, 30 March 1597; 2329, 4 November 1589; 2329a, 15 July 1589; BL Harl. MS 6996/198, 20 August 1594; BL Lans. MS 158/12, 30 June 1597; BL Add. MS 12506/41; 8 July 1592; 12506/80, 26 July 1599; 12506/205; 22 January 1596; 27401/20, 1590; TNA C115/101/7557, 5 May 1591; TNA REQ 2/157/475, 6 October 1594; TNA SP 12/182/51, 29 September 1585; 12/199/17, 6 March 1587; 12/234/26, 28 November 1590; 12/285/26, 3 October 1602; LPL MS 3205/54, 28 March 1599; 3205/77, 6 November n.d.; Tanner MS 241/3R, 17 November 1578; *Sidney Papers* 2: 11, 21 January 1596; *HMC Report* 7: 635, 28 May 1581; *HMCP* 2: 19, 16 April 1594, *HMCR* 1:12: 333, 25 September 1596, 1:12:356, 19 August 1599; *HMCS* 9: 21-22, 12 January 1599; 12: 97, 4 April 1602; Merton, “Women who Served,” 185; source BLO Ballard MS 43/138/277, 23 November 1579, John Montgomery Traherne, ed., *Stradling Correspondence* (London: Longman, 1840), 23, 28 April 1594; J. Payne Collier, ed., *Egerton Papers* (London: Camden Society, 1840), 124; 23 June 1588; *SRO Loseley* 6729/2/75, 4 August 1600).

<sup>257</sup> Henry Wotton, *Parallel Between Robert Late Earl of Essex, and George Late Duke of Buckingham* (London: 1641), accessed January 6, 2014, [http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99872004](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99872004), 13.

In her PhD thesis on aristocratic women at the Marian and Elizabethan courts, Merton states that the “only route to power was personal contact with the sovereign.”<sup>258</sup> Whilst this was a major avenue for feminine power under a female sovereign, it was not the only strategy available to aristocratic women. Merton underestimates the value of women’s relationships and their legal and economic potential. This section examines the countess’s sources of agency – her place as Elizabeth’s companion favourite, her influence with court contacts and the resources she controlled in her own right.

### **Sources of agency: the companion favourite**

Helen Graham-Matheson asserts that ladies-in-waiting were capable of “harnessing significant political power within themselves through their intimate relationships with the queen”.<sup>259</sup> Elizabeth invested emotionally in her most favoured courtiers, with Leicester and Essex the most prominent examples, but she also did so with her ladies-in-waiting. Femininity enabled women to relate to Elizabeth and attend her exclusively in the female space of the Bedchamber. Like the male favourites, certain Elizabethan women could aspire to higher levels of intimacy and influence with the queen than other members of their sex and thus can be considered female favourites.

Despite their agency, scholars have not studied Elizabethan court women from this perspective. J.H. Elliott and L.W.B. Brockliss’s edited volume on early modern favourites excludes women by focusing on holders of high office, but Elliott suggests that the concept of women favourites is

---

<sup>258</sup> Merton, “Women who Served,” 242.

<sup>259</sup> Graham-Matheson, “Petticoats and Politics,” 35.

“deserving of more attention than it has so far been accorded.”<sup>260</sup>

Furthermore, in his chapter on Elizabethan favourites, Paul Hammer acknowledges that women were part of Elizabeth’s plan for distributing favour amongst numerous courtiers and only excludes them because of a lack of available research.<sup>261</sup>

Historians refer to Elizabeth’s women as “favourites” casually, trivialising their power and careful, deliberate cultivation of favour.<sup>262</sup> In contrast, the term is used more strictly for men by explicitly referring to Leicester, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Walter Raleigh or Essex who are credited with a more active role in maintaining their place in Elizabeth’s affections. To ensure consistency and validity of the term as a political description, Elizabethan favourites must meet certain criteria, regardless of gender.

Hammer provides the most complete definition of an Elizabethan favourite as men “recognized by their fellow courtiers as having a special bond with the queen and consequently able to influence her in a variety of patronage and/or policy matters”.<sup>263</sup> Furthermore, Janet Dickinson argues that the male favourites “won their position partly or primarily because of their personal attractiveness to the monarch.”<sup>264</sup> According to these scholars, an

---

<sup>260</sup> Elliott, “Introduction,” 8.

<sup>261</sup> Hammer, “Absolute,” 39.

<sup>262</sup> For Lady Warwick casually referred to as a “favourite”, see Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe*, 103; Adams, “Dudley, [née Russell]”; Merton, “Women who Served,” 209, 242; Hay, *Life of Robert Sidney*, 18; John H. Astington, “Sir John Astley and Court Culture,” *Shakespeare Studies* (2002), 109; Francis Bickley, ed., *An English Letter Book* (London: Guy Chapman, 1925), 8; Violet A. Wilson, *Society Women of Shakespeare's Time* (London: Bodley Head, [1924]), 57; Wiffen, *Historical Memoirs*, 430; Borman, *Elizabeth's Women*, 439; John E. Hankins, “The Harpalus of Spenser's 'Colin Clout',” *Modern Language Notes* 44 no. 3 (1929), 166; Tuve, “Spenserus,” 145; A.L. Rowse, *Court and Country: Studies in Tudor Social History* (Brighton, Harvester, 1987), 229, 256.

<sup>263</sup> Hammer, “Absolute,” 41.

<sup>264</sup> Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 37.

Elizabethan favourite was characterised by a special, influential, beneficial and recognised relationship with the queen based on their personal characteristics. If the role of royal favourite derived from a personal relationship with the queen, it cannot be considered solely the province of men.

Although Harris states that highly favoured men and women at the Henrician court both built “intense friendships” with the king, the concept of female favourites exists primarily in scholarship on Queen Anne’s court.<sup>265</sup> R.O Bucholz argues that “if anyone could legitimately claim the status of absolute court favourite under Anne, it was Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough”.<sup>266</sup> He describes the duchess and her successor, Abigail Masham, as female favourites because their personal relationship with Anne enabled them to control access to her, win rewards and wield significant power.<sup>267</sup>

At the Elizabethan court, the queen’s platonic affections were more stable than her romantic affections. Leicester, Raleigh and Essex all fell from favour when they betrayed Elizabeth romantically by pursuing dynastic marriages.<sup>268</sup> Raleigh fell the furthest, never recovering his place in the

---

<sup>265</sup> Harris, *English*, 224.

<sup>266</sup> R. O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 158-159.

<sup>267</sup> Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, 372-373, 377; Bucholz, *Augustan*, 50, 64, 68-80, 92, 95, 111, 137-138, 154-165, 169-170; Frances Harris, *A Passion for Government: the Life of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 41-42, 87-92, 132, 137-139, 191-193; James Falkner, “Churchill, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough (1660–1744), Politician and Courtier,” in *ODNB*, accessed July 21, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5405>.

<sup>268</sup> *CP* 5: 142, 7: 551-553; Adams, “Dudley [née Knollys; other married name Devereux], Lettice, Countess of Essex and Countess of Leicester (1543–1634), Noblewoman,” in *ODNB*, accessed August 10, 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8159>; Nicholls and Williams, “Raleigh, Sir Walter”; Hammer, “Devereux, Robert”.

queen's affections.<sup>269</sup> By contrast, Leicester returned to favour after his son's death when Elizabeth came to regard him with a "stronger, if less romantic, affection" than before his marriage.<sup>270</sup> Thus a shift in her perception of Leicester from a potential lover to a more platonic favourite restored him to stable favour. Although Essex returned to favour after his marriage, he fell irreversibly when Elizabeth tired of him as a person, not as a romantic interest.<sup>271</sup> The example of Hatton, who alone placed Elizabeth above marriage and retained favour, illustrates that romantic favour was stable only if a male favourite sacrificed their own dynasty for the queen.<sup>272</sup>

Elizabeth built platonic bonds with her ladies-in-waiting who either served formally with low wages or informally with no wages, as discussed in Chapter 2.<sup>273</sup> The former women in relatively constant attendance comprised the majority of Elizabeth's ladies-in-waiting. By contrast, unwaged women without official posts either attended in an extraordinary capacity for ceremonial occasions, or on a more frequent basis.<sup>274</sup> The latter were typically highly ranked, lacked formal posts or duties, attended Elizabeth out of their own desire and came and went regularly at court.<sup>275</sup> They transcended the formal requirements of Household service but enjoyed similar or even better access to Elizabeth than their formally employed counterparts. This

---

<sup>269</sup> Nicholls and Williams, "Raleigh, Sir Walter."

<sup>270</sup> Hammer, "Absolute," 42. He married Lady Essex in 1578 and his son died in 1584 (*CP* 7: 551-553).

<sup>271</sup> *CP* 5: 142; Dickinson charts Essex's deteriorating relationship with Elizabeth (*Court Politics*, 36-42).

<sup>272</sup> Hammer, "Absolute," 39.

<sup>273</sup> Wright, "Change in Direction," 161-162, 165; Merton, "Women who Served," 11-21, 154-202; Bowden, "Women as Intermediaries," 218-222; Borman, *Elizabeth's Women*, 197; Richardson, *Mistress Blanche*, 91-108.

<sup>274</sup> Wright, "Change in Direction," 150-151.

<sup>275</sup> Adams, "Eliza," 28; Merton, "Women who Served," 156; Borman, *Elizabeth's Women*, 188-189.

category of ladies-in-waiting is best termed ‘companions’ and most likely to contain women who fit the criteria for female favourites.

Historians acknowledge this distinct subset of ladies-in-waiting but are yet to study them in detail. Simon Adams and Tracy Borman identify this “further group of women” by frequent attendance, high status, a close relationship with Elizabeth and lack of remuneration.<sup>276</sup> Merton refers to them as a highly-ranked subgroup of ladies-in-waiting, emphasising their friendship with Elizabeth over service to the Household and observing a distinction in their circumstances and power:

Those women who did have large amounts of land and a great many interests of their own to pursue, such as ... Anne Russell Countess of Warwick, always came to Court as attendants rather than Privy Chamber staff, and though they played a part in the political life of the country, it was in their own right and not specifically because of their service to the queen. ... it is very noticeable that those aristocratic women who were seen as most powerful spent much of their time at Court and were particular friends of the queen .... they, like the female staff, achieved their own and their clients’ ends by influence with the queen.<sup>277</sup>

These women enjoyed Elizabeth’s greatest favour and can be conceptualised as ‘companion favourites’, a term reflecting their physical presence around Elizabeth but also their privileged place in her affections.

Various highly-ranked women throughout the reign fit the criteria for companion favourites. Mary, Lady Sidney (née Dudley) was listed on the 1559 coronation roll as an unwaged lady-in-waiting, acted as Elizabeth’s go-between in marriage negotiations and famously nursed her through smallpox

---

<sup>276</sup> Borman, *Elizabeth’s Women*, 188-189; Adams, “Eliza,” 28.

<sup>277</sup> Merton, “Women who Served,” 156.



in 1562.<sup>278</sup> Elisabeth Parr, Marchioness of Northampton, was similarly close to Elizabeth, serving as an unwaged lady-in-waiting in 1559 until her death in 1565.<sup>279</sup> The Spanish ambassador described her as “a great favourite of the Queen” and she participated in Elizabeth’s diplomatic marriage negotiations with Archduke Charles of Austria and Prince Erik of Sweden.<sup>280</sup> Helena Gorges (née Snakenburg), Marchioness of Northampton, was another potential example of a companion favourite.<sup>281</sup> The queen’s “beloved Helena”, was Maid-of-Honour to the visiting Swedish Princess Cecilia in 1564 until Elizabeth found a place for her at court and arranged for her to marry William Parr, Marquess of Northampton (widower of Elisabeth Parr), in 1571.<sup>282</sup> Elizabeth Fiennes de Clinton, Countess of Lincoln, was also a close, influential intimate who enjoyed Elizabeth’s private attentions and company for over 30 years until her death in 1589.<sup>283</sup> Catherine Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon, Leicester’s other sister, also bears consideration as a companion favourite for her high status, royal favour, freedom of movement, lack of formal post and activities at court in the 1590s.<sup>284</sup>

---

<sup>278</sup> Adams, “Eliza,” 28; TNA LC 2/4/3/104; Mears, “Politics,” 69-72, 77; Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney*, 3-7; Graham-Matheson, “Petticoats and Politics,” 37-39; Adams, “Sidney, Mary”.

<sup>279</sup> Adams, “Eliza,” 28. For her life and career, see Graham-Matheson, “Petticoats and Politics,” 31-50.

<sup>280</sup> Graham-Matheson, “Petticoats and Politics,” 39-47; Allen, *Cooke*, 136.

<sup>281</sup> Wright, “Change in Direction,” 151; Adams, “Eliza,” 28.

<sup>282</sup> Lawson, “Introduction,” 21; Paul Harrington, “Gorges [née Snakenborg], Helena, Lady Gorges [other married name Helena Parr, Marchioness of Northampton] (1548–1635), Courtier,” in *ODNB*, accessed July 9, 2012, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69751>.

<sup>283</sup> She was raised and served in Mary and Elizabeth’s preaccession households before becoming an unwaged lady-in-waiting (Susan Brigden, “Clinton, Elizabeth Fiennes de, Countess of Lincoln [other married name Elizabeth Fiennes Browne, Lady Browne; called Fair Geraldine] (1528?–1589), Noblewoman,” in *ODNB*, accessed July 19, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9549>; Borman, *Elizabeth’s Women*, 348; TNA LC 2/4/3/104.)

<sup>284</sup> Cross, “Hastings, Katherine.” For her relationship with Elizabeth, see KHLC De L’isle MS U1475/C12/120; Whyte to Sidney, 14 January 1598; U1475/C12/124, same to same, 25 January 1598; U1475/C12/259, same to same, 12 July 1600; U1475/C12/262, same to same, 26 July 1600; *Sidney Papers* 1: 379, same to same, 16 December 1595; 380, same to same,

Lady Warwick was the epitome of a companion favourite. Just as Leicester and Hatton owed their place as favourites to decades of “intimate service”, Lady Warwick owed hers to the relationship she built with Elizabeth over 43 years as a lady-in-waiting.<sup>285</sup> Her husband, the Earl of Warwick, described her long period of service:

she hath spentt ye cheffe partt off her yeares both painfully,  
faythfully and servycably, yea after sotche sortt as wth owt any  
dysonor to her maiestie any kinde off wage nor ytt any  
blemysh to her powre sellff.<sup>286</sup>

Similarly, writer Thomas Brannet lauded Lady Warwick’s connection to the queen in a joint book dedication to her and Lady Effingham, describing the countess as “happie in father, more happie in husband, but most happie in your Soueraignes grace”.<sup>287</sup>

Lady Warwick’s royal favour began in her youth. Adams suggests she may have entered Elizabeth’s pre-accession household where her grandfather, John St John, possibly served as Chamberlain.<sup>288</sup> In 1559, she was a Maid-of-Honour at 10 years old – a young age to receive this post since Maids were typically adolescent.<sup>289</sup> In 1564, Leicester described the Earl of Bedford as having “bequethed” his daughter to Elizabeth which might also explain her

---

19 December 1595; 382, same to same, 20 December 1595; *HMCD* 2: 256, same to same, 25 March 1597; 317, same to same, 1 February 1598.

<sup>285</sup> Hammer, “Absolute,” 43; TNA SP 12/181/77, Warwick to Walsingham, 31 August 1585.

<sup>286</sup> TNA SP 12/181/77, Warwick to Walsingham, 31 August 1585.

<sup>287</sup> Thomas Brannet, “Dedicatorie Epistle,” in *The Historie of France in Fowre First Bookes*, La Poelinere, Lancelot-Voisinhomas, ed. Sir Edward Hoby, (London: printed by John Winder, 1595), accessed January 4, 2014,

[http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99856443](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99856443), A3.

<sup>288</sup> Adams, “Dudley, [née Russell]”; S. T. Bindoff, ed., *The House of Commons, 1509-1558*, vol. 3 (London: History of Parliament Trust, 1982), 257, 257.

<sup>289</sup> Merton, “Women who Served,” 10, 40; Harris, *English*, 31; Adams, “Dudley, [née Russell]”; *Progresses* 5: 339. Her youth was unusual but not unique - Elizabeth Knollys and Katherine Carey were 9 and 12 when they became Maids that year (Bundesen, “No Other Faction,” 98; TNA LC 2/4/3/104).

presence about the queen whilst so young.<sup>290</sup> Anne was largely bereft of her parents – Bedford’s offices kept him from court during the early years of the reign, whilst her mother died from smallpox in 1562 – and she may have viewed Elizabeth, 16 years her senior, as a maternal figure.<sup>291</sup> Elizabeth, in turn, might have viewed her as a kind of younger sister.

One of the advantages for Maids was the potential to attract wealthy men of high rank.<sup>292</sup> Ambrose Dudley, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Warwick, a popular courtier who was also Leicester’s brother, sought to marry the 16 or 17 year-old Anne to secure a Dudley heir.<sup>293</sup> Leicester led the negotiations and described the queen’s favour for the match in 1564:

w[il]t[h]owt speach or mocion her Mat hath often tymes  
wysshed hit to be brought to pass and shewed great lyking  
therof ... by reason of hir often speaches and wyshes to me  
therin ... I must assure yr L. she doth no seme to be more gladd  
of any thing than to deale in this matter<sup>294</sup>

Royal assistance in arranging a marriage was another benefit of Household service for a Maid.<sup>295</sup> Elizabeth enthusiastically represented Anne’s interests and showed great favour in gifting her charge with her own extravagant garments.<sup>296</sup> She ordered a French style gown in “purple Cloth of Tishue garded with purple velvet lyned with purple Tafata the slevis Lyned

---

<sup>290</sup> E.S. “An Unpublished Letter of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 1564,” *Notes and Queries* s6III, 67 (1881), 284.

<sup>291</sup> Willen, “Russell, John, First Earl of Bedford (c.1485–1555), Courtier and Magnate,” in *ODNB*, accessed April 23, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24319>; MacCaffrey, “Russell, Francis”; *CP* 2: 76.

<sup>292</sup> Harris, *English*, 40; Merton, “Women who Served,” 41–42; Hammer, “Sex,” 81.

<sup>293</sup> Elizabeth created him Baron Lisle and Earl of Warwick in 1561, and gave him valuable New Year’s gifts (Adams, “Dudley, Ambrose, Earl of Warwick (c.1530–1590), Magnate,” in *ODNB*, accessed March 7, 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8143>; Lawson, ed., *Elizabethan New Year’s*, 48, 64, 111, 126, 144, 162, 195, 217, 237, 258, 280, 307, 340, 359, 378, 398). Warwick was 18 or 19 years older than Anne (*CP* 12/2: 400, 403; Adams, “Dudley, Ambrose”).

<sup>294</sup> This is an extract of a letter from Leicester to Bedford (E.S., “Unpublished Letter,” 284).

<sup>295</sup> Harris, *English*, 226.

<sup>296</sup> Gifts of the queen’s clothing were valuable marks of favour (Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth’s Wardrobe*, 99).

with fries” and a kirtle of “purple velvet ... enbradered with gold and Lyned with purple taffata” to be altered for Anne’s wedding dress.<sup>297</sup> Elizabeth also ordered six expensive yellow gowns of satin and lace for the other Maids to wear on the day.<sup>298</sup> On 11 November 1565, the ceremony took place in Elizabeth’s Privy Closet, a strong indication of favour since only two other marriages in the reign were held there, and the court adjourned for two days of festivities.<sup>299</sup>

According to Harris, “aristocratic women’s first marriages played a crucial part in determining the character and quality of their entire adult lives.”<sup>300</sup> The significance of Anne’s marriage to Warwick cannot be overstated. She became a peeress with status, resources, and power, gaining new kin and a network of individuals associated with her marital family. Although it did not produce an heir, the union allied two strong dynastic houses.<sup>301</sup> Crucially, it connected her with Leicester in a way that did not rouse Elizabeth’s jealousy.<sup>302</sup> The queen favoured the couple throughout their marriage with visits to Warwick Castle and their estate, North Hall in Hertfordshire, in 1566, 1572, 1573, 1577 and 1587.<sup>303</sup>

Although Lady Warwick could have retired from service after her marriage, she frequently returned to court where the queen gave her rooms

---

<sup>297</sup> Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe*, 103: source TNA LC5/33/16.

<sup>298</sup> *Ibid.*, 99-100: source TNA LC5/33/167.

<sup>299</sup> Wiffen, *Historical Memoirs*, 422-430; *CP* 12/2: 403; *Progresses* 1: 443-444. Helena, Marchioness of Northampton and Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke also married in the Privy Closet (Merton, “Women who Served,” 128).

<sup>300</sup> Harris, *English*, 43.

<sup>301</sup> Adams, “Dudley, [née Russell]”; E.S., “Unpublished Letter,” 283-284. By 1558, only 4 of 13 Dudley siblings lived and only Lady Sidney produced legitimate issue surviving to adulthood (Adams, “Queen,” 133; Adams, “Sidney, Mary”; *CP* 6: 656-657; 7: 549-553; 12/2: 400-403). See Appendix B.

<sup>302</sup> For a contrast, see Chapter 5 for Lady Leicester.

<sup>303</sup> *Progresses* 2: 26-41; Mary Hill Cole, *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 224.

but not a formal post or wages.<sup>304</sup> For the next 38 years, she devoted herself to Elizabeth as her companion in the royal Bedchamber, the court at large, in the City, in her coach and on progress.<sup>305</sup> She spent time alone with her, as observed by a Scottish ambassador who saw Elizabeth dancing with only Lady Warwick in attendance.<sup>306</sup> The queen honoured the countess's newborn niece, Elizabeth Russell, by becoming her godmother and sent Lady Warwick to deputise for her when she could not attend the christening.<sup>307</sup> In this way, she was an "extension" of the queen in Elizabeth's absence.<sup>308</sup> Finally, unlike other women in the Bedchamber, the countess never compromised her service to the queen by leaving court to bear children. Even though her childlessness was presumably not intentional, it probably reinforced her loyalty and sense of duty in Elizabeth's eyes.

Critically, Lady Warwick's presence close to the queen extended the influence of the Bedchamber beyond its physical confines. If she attended the queen alone in her coach, it became a "female space" where women's relationships and culture presided.<sup>309</sup> Such close contact presented invaluable potential for influence over the monarch, but also strengthened the bond

---

<sup>304</sup> *Sidney Papers* 2: 183, Whyte to Sidney, 2 April 1600; KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/67, same to same, 4 March 1597; *HMCS* 8: 417-418, October 1598; *HMCD* 3: 457, same to same, 19 April 1600; Clifford, ed., *Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, 21.

<sup>305</sup> Merton, "Women who Served," 78, 83; Adams, "Dudley, [née Russell]"; KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/219; Whyte to Sidney, 3 March 1600; U1475/C12/262, same to same, 26 July 1600; *Progresses* 2: 29, 37, 66, 77, 187, 350, 405; 4: 190, 824; *HMCS* 13: 228, 27 May 1583; Walter Devereux Bourchier, ed., *Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex: in the Reigns of Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I, 1540-1646*, vol. 2 (London: John Murray, 1853), 92.

<sup>306</sup> Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest*, vol. 3, (London: George Bell, 1892), 523: source 'Unpublished reports of Lord Semple of Beltreis'.

<sup>307</sup> Wiffen, *Historical Memoirs*, 502-504.

<sup>308</sup> Graham-Matheson argues that ladies-in-waiting did this earlier in the reign ("Petticoats and Politics," 34-35, 48).

<sup>309</sup> Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, 204-205.

between the queen and countess which, turn, increased her power as a companion favourite.

In 1585, Lady Warwick was forced to put her family first. In July that year, her father and brother, Francis, died on the same day.<sup>310</sup> In September, her husband lost the use of his legs as a result of a longstanding wound.<sup>311</sup> These burdens weighed heavily on Lady Warwick who was “as one whom sorrow has wholly possessed, the very image of grief”.<sup>312</sup> Elizabeth did not forget her during this difficult time, sending Sir John Stanhope to “comfort them [Lady Warwick and her sister, Lady Cumberland] from her”.<sup>313</sup> She visited the earl and countess personally at Bedford House in London on 27 January 1590, which suggests that Warwick’s health took a turn for the worse.<sup>314</sup> The earl died of gangrene following a leg amputation less than a week later.<sup>315</sup> In his will, Warwick acknowledged and promoted the connection between the queen and the countess. He left Elizabeth his best jewel and implored her to “contynewe her good faouere towardes me saied wife whome I leaue to contynewe her moste faithfull and deuoted servante”.<sup>316</sup>

In remarrying, Lady Warwick might have risked losing control of her resources to a new husband and possibly her freedom to attend Elizabeth if

---

<sup>310</sup> Gangrene killed Bedford, whilst Francis died after a skirmish on the Scottish border (*CP* 2: 76-77).

<sup>311</sup> *HMCR* 1:8:178, Stanhope to Rutland, 12 September 1585. In 1563, Warwick suffered a leg wound in battle at Le Havre (E.S., “Unpublished Letter,” 283-284; *CP* 12/2: 403, Wiffen, *Historical Memoirs*, 431).

<sup>312</sup> *HMCR* 1:8:178, Stanhope to Rutland, 12 September 1585.

<sup>313</sup> Lady Cumberland was staying with Lady Warwick at North Hall at this time (*Ibid*).

<sup>314</sup> Hill Cole, *Portable Queen*, 224.

<sup>315</sup> E.S., “Unpublished Letter,” 283-284; *CP* 12/2: 403. Given that her father also died from gangrene, Lady Warwick would have further dreaded her husband’s painful ordeal (*CP* 2: 76).

<sup>316</sup> TNA PROB 11/75.

she was forced to live away from court.<sup>317</sup> At this turning point in her life in her early 40s, she decided to attend the queen on a “more or less permanent” basis.<sup>318</sup> Similarly to Hatton, Lady Warwick chose Elizabeth over another dynastic marriage that could have brought motherhood, additional wealth or influential connections. This sacrifice probably enhanced her favour in the Bedchamber.

The surviving New Year’s gift rolls for the reign demonstrate the extent of the queen’s emotional investment in the countess.<sup>319</sup> Lady Warwick’s gifts to Elizabeth mostly consisted of personal items reflecting the queen’s tastes such as jewel-encrusted caps, golden girdles, ornate jewellery and an expensive chair.<sup>320</sup> Although peers were obligated to offer gifts to the queen, only favoured individuals received gifts in return at the annual exchange ceremony.<sup>321</sup> Lady Warwick received a gift in all 24 extant rolls from 1567 onwards, suggesting a period of unbroken favour roughly coinciding with her high status as a countess.<sup>322</sup> In 1567, she received her most valuable gift – a pair of gilt flagons weighing 100 ounces.<sup>323</sup> In total, Lady Warwick received 1,070 ounces of plate, averaging 53.5 ounces per year – more than any other woman in the reign including the higher ranking

---

<sup>317</sup> Harris, *English*, 162.

<sup>318</sup> Merton, “Women who Served,” 209. Erickson (*Women and Property*, 196) argues that wealthy widows were less likely to remarry to retain control of their assets.

<sup>319</sup> Lawson’s study contains transcripts of 24 extant rolls and a reconstruction of the 1582 roll – 20 rolls are currently missing (Lawson, “Introduction,” 1, 34).

<sup>320</sup> For her gifts to the queen, see Lawson, ed., *Elizabethan New Year’s*, 118, 136, 12, 171, 185, 227, 247, 268, 293, 329, 348, 369, 387, 407, 425, 445, 464, 484, 502.

<sup>321</sup> Lawson, “Introduction,” 8. For a contrast with the Essex women, see Chapter 5.

<sup>322</sup> For her gifts from the queen, see Lawson, ed., *Elizabethan New Year’s*, 127, 144, 162, 177, 217, 238, 258, 281, 308, 341, 359, 378, 398, 417, 436, 456, 476, 494, 513. Other ladies-in-waiting received similar long runs of gifts such as Blanche Parry (1559-1589), Mary Radcliffe (1562-1603), Lady Stafford (1564-1603 – missing from the 1575 roll) (*Ibid.*, 695, 702, 719).

<sup>323</sup> *Ibid.*, 127.

Duchess of Somerset and Marchionesses of Northampton and Winchester.<sup>324</sup> The period under study coincides with Lady Warwick's most valuable gifts - she received the most ounces for any woman in 1581, 1582, 1588, 1589, 1594, 1597, 1598, 1599 and 1600.<sup>325</sup> The New Year's gift ceremony enabled Elizabeth to reward her most favoured courtiers regardless of their sex and Lady Warwick received more plate than the vast majority of men and women. From 1597, only Essex and Nottingham received more plate than Lady Warwick, possibly as a reward for their endeavours in high office and on campaign in Cadiz.<sup>326</sup> The other members of the court surely noted Lady Warwick's privileged position in so many public ceremonies.

The countess received other benefits from Elizabeth including personal intervention in suits and lands to lease or alienate in Gloucester, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Denbighshire, Devonshire, and Oxfordshire on her own or with her husband.<sup>327</sup> However, the queen's financial assistance was offset by Warwick's debts of over £7000.<sup>328</sup> Lady Warwick achieved a reduction in debts pertaining to his post as Master of the Ordnance but

---

<sup>324</sup> By comparison, the Marchioness of Northampton received an average 42-44 ounces (Lawson, "Introduction," 21).

<sup>325</sup> Lawson, ed., *Elizabethan New Year's*, 378, 398, 417, 436, 456, 476, 494. In 1568, 1571, 1575, 1576, 1577, 1578, 1584, and 1585, she received less than the Countess of Lincoln, Lady Cobham or her stepmother, Lady Bedford (*Ibid.*, 144, 146, 162, 164, 177, 179, 217, 219, 238, 240, 340, 342). In 1603, Lady Hertford only received one more ounce than Lady Warwick (*Ibid.*, 53). The rolls for 1590-1593, 1596 and 1601 are missing.

<sup>326</sup> In 1597, Essex received 141 ounces and Howard 108 ounces. In 1598, Essex received 104 ounces and Howard (as the newly created Earl of Nottingham) 107 ounces. Nottingham also received 106 ounces in 1599 and 1600 (Lawson, ed., *Elizabethan New Year's*, 435, 455, 475, 493). Lady Warwick received 54, 55, 55 and 53 ounces in 1597, 1598, 1599 and 1600 (*Ibid.*, 436, 456, 476, 494).

<sup>327</sup> TNA STAC 5/C42/5, Lady Warwick vs Blounte, Hill, Thornton, Hill, Mannox and Nott; *State Papers Domestic Supplementary*, Part 10: Wales, Scotland and Ireland, vol. 222 (London: List & Index Society, 1986); SP 46/3/20/1, Queen and Council in the Marches to [various], 11 March 1600. For land and leases, see TNA SO 3/1/108v, 6 July 1587, 3/1/181V, February 1588; TNA C 66/1459/105/ml, 1595; CPR 31: vol. 300, (C 66/1322-1336/877), p. 138, 2 Mar 1589; CPR 32: vol. 282 (C 66/1395-1404/916), p. 102, 2 March 1593; CPR 35, vol. 282 (C 66/1337-1361/1610), p. 102, 2 March 1593, CPR 36, vol. 309 (C 66/1405-1424/1108), p. 174, 6 June 1594.

<sup>328</sup> Adams, "Dudley, [née Russell]"; TNA PROB 11/75.



struggled with those relating to his estate and petitioned the queen for assistance in 1602.<sup>329</sup> The result of her plea is unknown but, two years later, she conveyed £2700 of Warwick's debts in her will which suggests a degree of success.<sup>330</sup>

Only Elizabeth's death in April 1603 broke the bond between Lady Warwick and the queen. Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford observe that "deathbed scenes [for women] were dominated by women" who waited for death, laid the body out, watched over it and tended to it as members of the same sex.<sup>331</sup> Lady Warwick spent long hours at Richmond with Elizabeth during her final days, tended her on her deathbed, watched over the body and was an official mourner at her funeral in April 1603.<sup>332</sup> Lady Warwick's own health had been fading since at least July 1599 but Elizabeth's death precipitated a further decline.<sup>333</sup> By August, the countess was "ill and melancholy" and by October, had "taken so deep an impression of melancholy that it will be a very hard matter to pluck it out".<sup>334</sup> In January the following year, Lady Cumberland described her sister's "wearye sickness" with symptoms such as a "great heaviness of her spiritts", disturbed sleeping patterns, fits, heart palpitations and reduced appetite.<sup>335</sup> Aside from Elizabeth, Lady Warwick probably mourned a loss of purpose since the new queen,

---

<sup>329</sup> TNA SO 3/1/f479V, July 1594; SP 12/286/51, [Countess of Warwick's debts], 1602.

<sup>330</sup> Adams, "Dudley, [née Russell]"; TNA PROB 11/103.

<sup>331</sup> Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, 195.

<sup>332</sup> Clifford, ed., *Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, 21, 22, 26; Merton, "Women who Served," 172; Adams, "Dudley, [née Russell]"; Paul Johnson, *Elizabeth I: a Study in Power and Intellect* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974), 438; Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe*, 100; Borman, *Elizabeth's Women*, 386-387, 391; Katherine Acheson, ed., *The Memoir of 1603 and The Diary of 1616-1619* (Ontario: Broadview Editions, 2007), 45.

<sup>333</sup> TNA SP 12/271/106, Cordale to Galdelli or Tusinga, 21 July 1599.

<sup>334</sup> Clifford, ed., *Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, 28; *SRO Loseley* 6729/10/123, Hammond to More, 26 October 1603, accessed April 25, 2014, [http://www.exploringsurreypast.org.uk/collections/getrecord/SHCOL\\_6729\\_10\\_1\\_1\\_121](http://www.exploringsurreypast.org.uk/collections/getrecord/SHCOL_6729_10_1_1_121).

<sup>335</sup> LPL MS 708/135, Lady Cumberland to Lady Shrewsbury, 8 January 1604.

Anna of Denmark, “shewed no favour to the elderly Ladies” by selecting new ladies-in-waiting.<sup>336</sup> The Countess of Warwick died at North Hall on 9 February 1604 at the age of 55 or 56.<sup>337</sup>

Lady Warwick fits the criteria for an Elizabethan companion favourite. Over 43 years, she built a bond with Elizabeth based on platonic affection, enjoyed unrestricted royal access and reaped the material benefits of favour in her marriage, grants, financial assistance and gifts. Moreover, the New Year’s gift rolls demonstrate that her royal favour was higher than any other Elizabethan woman and the vast majority of men. The Countess of Warwick’s privileged position as Elizabeth’s companion favourite was a major source of her power.

### **Sources of agency: court contacts**

At court, Lady Warwick formed relationships with courtiers and officers of state, the law and the royal Household who progressed her suits and provided her with information. She flexed her political muscle in court patronage, exploiting these relationships for her own ends or those of her network.

Despite her favour with Elizabeth, Lady Warwick asked men of high office to speak to the queen for her which demonstrates that even Elizabeth’s intimates needed intermediaries to pursue their business.<sup>338</sup> She also approached men with requests specific to their office such as Sir Julius Caesar as Master of the Court of Requests, Sir Robert Cecil as Principal Secretary, Burghley as Lord

---

<sup>336</sup> Clifford, ed., *Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, 25; Acheson, ed., *Memoir*, 50.

<sup>337</sup> CP 12/2: 403; Adams, “Dudley, [née Russell]”.

<sup>338</sup> Namely Buckhurst and Nottingham (*Sidney Papers* 1: 368, Whyte to Sidney, 29 November 1595; 2: 121, same to same, 12 September 1599).

Treasurer, Sir Thomas Egerton as Solicitor-General, Sir John Puckering as Lord Keeper and William Fleetwood as Recorder of the Court of Wards.

Suitors freely employed multiple intermediaries at the Elizabethan court. This allowed Lady Warwick to form relationships with ministers and courtiers through shared involvements in suits with men such as Burghley; Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Thomas Egerton; Principal Secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham; Vice-Chamberlain of the Household, Sir Thomas Heneage; Lord Admiral, Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham; Lord Chamberlain, Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon and the Earl of Essex.<sup>339</sup> At times, she was the only woman approached which underscores her reputation as one of the most powerful courtiers regardless of gender. The countess also needed the goodwill of other ladies-in-waiting, such as Lady Leighton, Lady Scudamore, Blanche Parry and Lady Stafford, who were approached for the same suits.<sup>340</sup>

Lady Warwick relied on court contacts for her personal business. In 1585, she successfully defended the Russell estate from her sister-in-law, Elizabeth, Lady Russell who claimed that some of the patrimony's dynastic lands belonged to her daughters.<sup>341</sup> Lady Russell fumed that "by her [Lady

---

<sup>339</sup> See her suits for Caesar (L.M. Hill, *Bench and Bureaucracy: the Public Career of Sir Julius Caesar, 1580-1636* (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1988; 61-69); Sir Thomas Bodley (BL Cotton MS Galba D IX, 176/334b; Bodley to Lady Warwick, 20 December 1592), Sir Henry Savile (Hammer, *Polarisation*, 302; H.C. Maxwell Lyte, *A History of Eton College, 1440-1875* (London, 1875), 188-191), Sir George More (*SRO Loseley* 6729/9/93, Egerton to More, 20 July 1600, accessed January 20, 2014, [http://www.exploringsurreypast.org.uk/collections/getrecord/SHCOL\\_6729\\_9\\_1\\_1\\_92](http://www.exploringsurreypast.org.uk/collections/getrecord/SHCOL_6729_9_1_1_92); *SRO Loseley* 6729/9/94, same to same, 6 August 1600, accessed January 20, 2014, [http://www.exploringsurreypast.org.uk/collections/getrecord/SHCOL\\_6729\\_9\\_1\\_1\\_93](http://www.exploringsurreypast.org.uk/collections/getrecord/SHCOL_6729_9_1_1_93)); Sir Robert Sidney (discussed below); Florence McCarthy (Cecil MS 36/2, McCarthy to Sir Robert Cecil, 10 November 1595) and Tobie Matthew (Whigham, "Rhetoric," 869-876).

<sup>340</sup> See suits for Lady Shrewsbury (*Sidney Papers* 2: 61-62, Whyte to Sidney, 1 October 1595), Lady Kent (Cecil MS 52/54, Lady Kent to Sir Robert Cecil, 24 June 1597; 53/7, same to same, 5 July 1597) and John Dee (Charlotte Fell-Smith, *John Dee (1527-1608)* (London, Constable and Company, 1909), 26, 114, 116, 124, 127, 130).

<sup>341</sup> This suit and her guardianship of Bedford is discussed in detail below.

Warwick's] greatness the iudges have wrested the Law to her likeing."<sup>342</sup> Her words should not be dismissed. As discussed below, Lady Warwick probably had a rapport with specific judges that stood her in good stead with suits.

Her responsibilities as her late husband's executrix came with burdens such as funeral arrangements and costs, distributing legacies, paying debts and handling lawsuits including a claim pursued by the Countess of Leicester for lands in Warwick's will she asserted were part of her own jointure.<sup>343</sup> Lady Warwick turned to Burghley for assistance. In November 1590, she wrote to him as one "more ouerburdened w[i]th troubles and busyness then well she can vndergoe", imploring him to stop Lady Leicester's suit.<sup>344</sup> A deal was probably struck since Lady Warwick's will refers to lands she used at Blount's and Lady Leicester's discretion.<sup>345</sup> Warwick's will also included lands in Gloucestershire that Henry, 7th Baron Berkeley, sued for as part of a longstanding suit.<sup>346</sup> Burghley asked Sir Henry Winston, a local Justice of the Peace, to help her tenants if Berkeley moved against them and offered a "good turn" from the countess as a reward.<sup>347</sup>

After Burghley's death in 1598, she pleaded with his son, Sir Robert Cecil, to deliver a petition to the queen for financial assistance.<sup>348</sup> She

---

<sup>342</sup> *CPR* 28: vol. 294 (C 66/1271-1285), item 232, 23 September 1586; TNA SP 12/245/23, Lady Russell to Burghley, May 1593.

<sup>343</sup> Harris, *English*, 152-160; Merton, "Women who Served," 132-133; TNA SP 12/234/26, Lady Warwick to Burghley, 28 November 1590.

<sup>344</sup> TNA SP 12/234/26, Lady Warwick to Burghley, 28 November 1590.

<sup>345</sup> TNA PROB/11/103.

<sup>346</sup> The dispute originated between Warwick's ancestor, Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick and the Berkeley family in 1375 (Adams, "Dudley, [née Russell]"; J.R. Lander, "The Yorkist Council, Justice and Public Order: the Case of Straunge versus Kynaston," *Albion* 12, no. 1 (Spring 1980), 16-20. For Berkeley's suits against her, see *HMCs* 13: 478, Burghley to Lady Warwick, 12 February 1593; 521, Lord Berkeley's suit, [1594?]; *Sidney Papers* 2: 64, Whyte to Sidney, 8 October 1597.

<sup>347</sup> *HMC Report* 5: 343, Burghley to Winston, 1 May 1590.

<sup>348</sup> *HMCs* 9: 21-22, Lady Warwick to Sir Robert Cecil, 21 January 1599. For land disputes, see TNA STAC 5/C42/5, Lady Warwick vs Blounte, Hill, Thornton, Hill, Mannox and Nott; REQ 2 77/91, Wyncle and Thomas vs Lady Warwick, [1594]; C 2/Eliz/18/35, Langford vs

approached Cecil in humble language which was a strategy common to both sexes:

your help is sought for and found; now let it be obtained for one that hath lived long in Court with desert sufficient, being compared with others, in nature having not much of the fox's craft or subtlety and as little of the lion's help .... All I write is true, for suits and troubles by law have emptied my purse and pulled down my estate.<sup>349</sup>

The countess may have exaggerated her financial predicament to play on Cecil's sympathies. The outcome of this plea is unknown. Presumably Cecil passed the petition onto the queen but Lady Warwick's debts were not further reduced until three years later.<sup>350</sup>

Lady Warwick frequently encountered important men and women at court, cultivated relationships with them and relied on them for her own business. This increased her trust that they would help when she petitioned them on behalf of her network. Lady Warwick's relationships with others were politically consequential and a vital source of her power at court.

### **Sources of agency: power in her own right**

Lady Warwick's enhanced legal status as a widow allowed her to "wield maximum female autonomy" by controlling considerable resources, holding wardships, waging lawsuits, acting as an executrix and writing a will.<sup>351</sup>

---

Lady Warwick, 3 October 1591; C 4/106/35, Earl and Countess of Warwick vs John ap All ap John ap Thomas, E 134-33&34ELIZ/Mich17, Lady Warwick vs Thomas ap David, 1591; E 134/39&40Eliz/Mich21, Lady Warwick vs Phillips and Gorway; E 134/44Eliz/Hil14, Lady Warwick and others vs Peter Haydon; C2/Eliz/W17-37, Lady Warwick vs Wortley and Davenport, February 1594.

<sup>349</sup> *HMCS* 9: 21-22, Lady Warwick to Sir Robert Cecil, 21 January 1599; Magnusson, "Rhetoric," 56-59; Whigham, "Rhetoric," 866, 873-874; Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 229, 246-248; 258-260.

<sup>350</sup> TNA SP 12/286/51, [note of the Countess of Warwick's debts], 1602.

<sup>351</sup> Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, 175, Harris, "Defining," 740; Harris, "Property," 614-615; Harris, *English*, 17-20, 61, 117, 128-134, 152-159; Larminie, "Fighting," 105; O'Day, "Tudor," 131; Eales, *Women*, 20, Erickson, *Women and Property*, 25, 33, 80, 156, 161, 204, 212-217, 221; Woolcott, "Maternity's Wards," 80.

These abilities enabled her to act as a patron in her own right without needing to beseech a third party in certain situations. Most of these powers derived from family and her status as a widow.

Lady Warwick exercised power through the wardship of her nephew, Edward, Earl of Bedford. The Earl and Countess of Warwick were initially his joint guardians but, after Warwick's death in February 1590, she controlled the Russell estate alone until Bedford reached his majority in 1593.<sup>352</sup> The wardship gave her the right to administer substantial estates including properties, parks, lands and rectories in Devonshire, Cornwall, Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Exeter, Lincolnshire and London.<sup>353</sup> As guardian of a young ward, Lady Warwick's control over these familial resources mirrored the power of an aristocratic mother controlling resources for the next generation.<sup>354</sup>

The countess also controlled substantial assets willed to her by her husband. In addition to valuable personal goods, Warwick bequeathed their estate, North Hall, and the living of the parish of Northaw, Hertfordshire "to her [Lady Warwick] and her Heirs for ever".<sup>355</sup> Significantly, this enabled her to own these assets and pass them to whomever she chose in her will, regardless of whether she remarried or bore children. Lady Warwick also received Warwick's lordship of the town of Ruthin, in Denbighshire, Wales,

---

<sup>352</sup> CPR 28: vol. 294 (C 66/1271-1285), item 232, 23 September 1586.

<sup>353</sup> *Ibid.*.

<sup>354</sup> For the powers of aristocratic mothers, see Harris, *English*, 99, 111-119, 167-172; Harris, "Property," 610; Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 179-182; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, 162; Broomhall and Van Gent, "Corresponding Affections," 156-157.

<sup>355</sup> TNA PROB 11/75. The most common bequest to an executrix was "moveable goods" (Erickson, *Women and Property*, 162).

that enabled her to lease lands, bestow certain offices or benefices and become involved in the town's administration.<sup>356</sup>

Like many early modern widows, Lady Warwick relied on a jointure – a carefully negotiated element of a marriage settlement that provided women with lands to use during their widowhoods.<sup>357</sup> In December 1566, her jointure was assured via a Private Act of Parliament designed to circumvent legal restrictions, possibly relating to lands she could inherit or control.<sup>358</sup> Other sources indicate that her jointure contained a forest in Oxfordshire and provisions to hold lands in Yorkshire rent free.<sup>359</sup> The countess assumed control of her jointure lands upon Warwick's death, improving her financial position and influence in the counties.

As a widow, she could distribute her wealth and resources in a will.<sup>360</sup> She did so out of legal obligations as well as a desire to reward the people she valued the most. In distributing her legacies widely, the countess assisted a number of aristocratic families including the Russells, Sidneys, Cliffords, Bouchiers and Somersets. In bestowing her own resources as she saw fit, she demonstrated a degree of independent agency.

---

<sup>356</sup> The lordship, previously granted by Elizabeth to Warwick in 1564, was for her lifetime (Adams, "Dudley, Ambrose"; *CPR* 36: vol. 309 (C66/1405-1424), p. 93-94, 29 October 1594; Adams, "The Gentry of North Wales and the Earl of Leicester's Expedition to the Netherlands, 1585-86," in *Leicester and the Court*, 235). For her leases in Ruthin, see *CPR* 35: vol. 282 (C 66/1395-1404), p. 68, 27 July 1593; *CPR* 36: vol. 309, (C 66/1405-1424), p. 93-94, 29 October 1594; TNA E 134-33&34ELIZ/Mich 17, 1591).

<sup>357</sup> Widows earned income from jointure lands; they did not own them (Harris, *English*, 23, 130; Erickson, *Women and Property*, 25-26).

<sup>358</sup> Harris, *English*, 17; Legislation.gov.uk, *Chronological Tables of Private and Personal Acts*, TNA, accessed 25 April, 2014, <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/changes/chron-tables/private/1>.

<sup>359</sup> *CSPD 1581-1590*:414, May 1587?; *CPR* 33: vol. 308 (C 66/1362-1378), p. 128, 12 March, 1591.

<sup>360</sup> For a transcript of Lady Warwick's will (TNA PROB 11/103), see Appendix F.

Lady Warwick's sources of agency led others to perceive her as an influential figure at court. She became a beacon for suitors seeking patronage and received at least 20 literary dedications.<sup>361</sup> The extensive patronage network she built over a lifetime further increased her power at the late Elizabethan court.

### **Lady Warwick's patronage network**

Aristocratic men's patronage networks such as the "Dudley clientele" or Essex's "following", have received scholarly attention.<sup>362</sup> Adams and Hammer conclude that Leicester's and Essex's networks centred on them as political leaders of groups of men sharing a common "sense of interest".<sup>363</sup> Lady Warwick's network was different. As a woman who could not hold high office, the countess could not lead a politically cohesive group requiring patronage in Parliament or the Privy Council. Nonetheless, she was at the centre of a dense network comprised of people from various spheres of her career. This collection of individuals and groups was not a political following, but a patronage network.

The surviving sources show 176 individuals or groups from a number of categories seeking or receiving the Countess of Warwick's assistance in suits or favour (see Appendix E). Significantly, 148 of this number enjoyed or pursued Lady Warwick's favour after her husband's death in February 1590, suggesting that widowhood represented the height of her power.

---

<sup>361</sup> Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney*, 12-13; A.W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland*, rev. W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson and K.F. Pantzer, vol. 3 (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976-91), 57.

<sup>362</sup> Adams, "Dudley Clientele, 1553-63"; Adams, "Dudley Clientele and the House of Commons"; Adams, "Godly?" Adams, "Puritan".

<sup>363</sup> Hammer, *Polarisation*, 269.



Regardless of whether they approached the countess once or on multiple occasions individuals were only counted once to obtain an accurate figure. Many individuals were of high-status, particularly those related to the countess or associated with the court, but Lady Warwick also came into contact with lower-ranked individuals by virtue of her role as an employer, landowner and courtier. The members of the patronage network requested assistance in a wide variety of matters such as the pursuit of offices and financial assistance, concerns about reputation or honour, curiosity about royal favour and information shared in the inner sanctum of the Bedchamber or circulated at court. Other individuals, predominantly from her families, received help in dynastic issues such as wardships, estate management or through the transmission of wealth through her will. Lady Warwick's influence extended through a variety of arenas including military, religious and literary patronage, as well as the pursuit of success at court and in the counties.

The network is grouped into six distinct categories determined by their relationship to the countess. First, individuals associated with her families comprise three categories - her birth family including close and extended kin, marital kin including close and extended kin related to her husband, and wider networks of non-related individuals associated with either her birth or marital families. Second, people outside her family networks comprise three further categories – court connections she cultivated as a lady-

in-waiting, religious connections she made at court or through her own godly connections, and the wider Elizabethan community typically outside court.<sup>364</sup>

Some of the richest and most emotive evidence is associated with her families. The 29 members of her birth family, the Russells, consists of siblings, nieces, nephews and their children, as well as cousins and their spouses related to Lady Warwick's mother, Margaret (née St John); her father, and her stepmother, Bridget, dowager Countess of Rutland.<sup>365</sup> Nine individuals were from her marital family including Warwick's siblings, nephews, nieces and their spouses or children, as well as Essex as Leicester's stepson, whilst this category also includes individuals more distantly related to the Dudleys. The largest single category within the countess's patronage network consists of non-related men and women associated with her birth and marital families – six people from a Russell connection and 56 people from a Dudley connection. Overall, 100 individuals were connected to the countess through her place in a family and comprise the majority of the patronage network.<sup>366</sup> Their dominance adds weight to Harris's assertions that women "accumulated" families and maintained kin connections as they progressed through their lives.<sup>367</sup>

The remaining categories contain men and women not related to the Countess of Warwick. Her court connections number 29 courtiers and office-holders whom she would have routinely encountered as a lady-in-waiting.

---

<sup>364</sup> With the exception of 3 anonymous individuals (TNA SP 15/30/10, Browne to Barham, 17 February 1587; KHL De L'isle MS U1475/C12/188, Whyte to Sidney, 29 November 1599; *HMCS* 14: 232-233, Cecil to [the Master of Gray], 25 October 1602).

<sup>365</sup> Bedford married her in 1566. She was the widow of Sir Richard Morrison and Henry Manners, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Rutland (*CP* 2: 76; 11: 255-256).

<sup>366</sup> The 3 anonymous letters have been removed from this count.

<sup>367</sup> Harris, *English*, 16, 128.

The next category of religious connections consists of 12 people who were elite clergy, religious writers or godly clerics. Finally, 22 typically low-ranked people from the wider Elizabethan community outside court approached or received Lady Warwick's assistance. These three categories number a total of 63 individuals who were part of the patronage network by virtue of the countess's skills as a courtier or her religious beliefs. These demonstrate that sufficient scope existed for women to use their skills and attributes in realms beyond the family.

Lady Warwick's relationships with the members of her patronage network varied depending on how well she knew them through kinship or other forms of personal connection. For example, some sources demonstrate a close relationship with kin, whilst others provide only vague evidence of a connection to the countess, particularly those written by lower-ranked people outside the court Lady Warwick may never have met. Although Leicester and Essex presumably attracted requests of the latter kind, Adams and Hammer do not dwell on them because their arguments about male power do not rely on such sources. Conversely, this evidence supports the broader argument about female agency as it indicates that women's power extended beyond aristocratic circles and into the wider Elizabethan community. Since word limits prevent discussion of every suit associated with Lady Warwick, only the evidence that best illustrates her political agency is discussed.

## **Exercising power and patronage**

### **Birth family**

Lady Warwick demonstrated great personal investment in the Russells, echoing Harris's observation that childless aristocratic women devoted significant resources towards their birth families.<sup>368</sup> In their study of the children of the Prince of Orange, Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent found that major family events affected power relations within kinship networks.<sup>369</sup> Death shifted the balance of power in Lady Warwick's favour since she was the eldest sister of a family with no surviving parents. Her childlessness was a boon for the Russells who benefited from assistance that might have otherwise been directed towards a Dudley heir if Lady Warwick had borne a child. The countess was a "mother in affection" to her siblings and their children, and their advocate as a sister and aunt.<sup>370</sup> Significantly, the countess chose to be interred with her Russell kin at Chenies, Buckinghamshire.<sup>371</sup> This was unusual since widows typically chose interment with a husband and underscores her close identification as a member of the Russell family.<sup>372</sup>

Aristocratic siblings relied on each other for assistance where possible.<sup>373</sup> Specifically, aristocratic brothers benefited from kinship to well-connected sisters, sharing a relationship of mutual assistance over time.<sup>374</sup> More evidence exists for Lady Warwick helping her younger brother, William, Lord Russell, than for him helping her. In assisting him with his military posts, the countess became involved in a sphere of patronage not

---

<sup>368</sup> Harris, *English*, 11, 175.

<sup>369</sup> Broomhall and Van Gent, "Corresponding Affections," 145.

<sup>370</sup> Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford*, 37.

<sup>371</sup> TNA PROB 11/103.

<sup>372</sup> Harris found that 66% of widows chose interment with a husband (*English*, 75).

<sup>373</sup> Jeffries, "Women, Marriage and Survival," 185-227; Broomhall and Van Gent, "Corresponding Affections"; Crawford, *Blood*, 209, 223, 225, 226; Pollock, "Rethinking," 5; Harris, "Sisterhood," 32-33; Harris, *English*, 181, 185.

<sup>374</sup> Harris, *English*, 181.

normally associated with female agency. As Governor of Flushing in the Netherlands, Russell endured considerable financial burdens and pressures and he asked Burghley to work with Lady Warwick to secure a leave of absence.<sup>375</sup> Russell later served as Lord Deputy of Ireland from May 1594 to May 1597, creating an opportunity for Lady Warwick to become involved in Irish affairs.<sup>376</sup> On one occasion, she conveyed a letter from Elizabeth via Cecil to Lord Russell that ordered him to give Sir Edward York, an overlooked military commander, the next infantry command in Northern Ireland.<sup>377</sup> It was unusual for a personal courier to deliver royal commands but Lady Warwick was writing to Russell at this time and the queen might have thought the timing convenient.<sup>378</sup> The countess was also a channel of communication between Lord Russell and the court, forwarding reports and asking Burghley for a new military commission for him.<sup>379</sup> Despite Russell's efforts, Elizabeth grew increasingly dissatisfied with his leadership in Ireland and dismissed him from the post.<sup>380</sup> When Lady Warwick learned the news, she retreated to her chamber at court, possibly upset that Elizabeth treated her brother in this way.<sup>381</sup>

---

<sup>375</sup> *Hasler* 3:311; TNA SP 84/23/138, Russell to Burghley, 15 May 1588; 84/23/280, same to same, 20 May 1588.

<sup>376</sup> J.J.N. McGurk, "Russell, William, First Baron Russell of Thornhaugh (c.1553–1613), Lord Deputy of Ireland," in *ODNB*, accessed April 25, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24342>.

<sup>377</sup> Merton, "Women who Served," 183; TNA SO 3/1/511, February 1595.

<sup>378</sup> Merton, "Women who Served," 183.

<sup>379</sup> *HMCS* 6: 230, Russell to the queen, 30 June 1596. Lady Warwick also acted as a go-between for Russell with Cecil and Essex (*Ibid.*, *HMCS* 12: 97, Lady Warwick to Sir Robert Cecil, 4 April 1602; *HMCS* 9: 298, Henry Cuffe to Edward Reynoldes, 14 August [1599]).

<sup>380</sup> McGurk, "Russell, William".

<sup>381</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/67, Whyte to Sidney, 4 March 1597; Cecil MS 49/87, Lady Warwick to Sir Robert Cecil, 30 March 1597. The queen barred him from court when he returned in June (Cecil MS 52/58, Russell to Sir Robert Cecil, 25 June 1597).

Very little evidence of interaction between the countess and her younger sister, Elizabeth, Countess of Bath exists, suggesting they were not close. However, Lady Warwick defended her when her honour was at stake. Linda Pollock has argued that the aristocracy used anger to address unacceptable behaviour and Lady Warwick did this in confronting her brother-in-law, the Earl of Bath, about his poor behaviour towards her sister.<sup>382</sup> In 1594, the countess used her relationship with the queen against Bath, threatening to tell Elizabeth about his poor treatment of his wife:

And seinge you are become soe voyd of judgment and discretion to offer such abuses still unto to her ... yow shall well knowe that she hath frends who will not suffer her anie longer to be thus abused without cause, and therefore if that which I heare be true, I purpose to acuainte her majestie therewith, and doe not doubte but it shall be redressed<sup>383</sup>

Essex prevented Lady Warwick carrying out her threat and confirmed that Bath was lucky to escape the queen's wrath:

For as her [Lady Bath's] friends are far greater than yours, so her cause will make her more frends when, without cause, you make her suffer ... [Postscript] – If I had not by chance hurd of this, my Lady of Warwick had informed the Queen of yt, which course I have stayed ... knowing how much yt will offend the Queen and turne to your disadvantage yf it come to her eare.<sup>384</sup>

This incident underscores the potential of ladies-in-waiting to use their relationship with Elizabeth as a weapon against courtiers.

---

<sup>382</sup> Pollock, "Honor," 17; Pollock, "Anger," 588. See also Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 186.

<sup>383</sup> *HMCP* 2: 19, Lady Warwick to Bath, 16 April 1594. Bath's agent, Thomas Hinson, wielded great influence over Bath, and "made bad blood" between the earl and his wife (Ian Cooper, "Bourchier, William, Third Earl of Bath (1557–1623), Nobleman and Administrator," in *ODNB*, accessed March 28, 2015, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/105618>).

<sup>384</sup> *HMCP* 2: 19-20, Essex to Bath, 17 April 1594.

Lady Warwick's relationship with her youngest sister Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, was much closer. Although sisters typically depended on each other, Lady Cumberland perhaps relied more on Lady Warwick as her eldest sister given their lack of parents and her personal situation.<sup>385</sup> In the 1590s, Lady Cumberland lived apart from her husband George Clifford, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Cumberland, whose financial difficulties compromised the family estate.<sup>386</sup> Lady Warwick protected her youngest sibling, pursuing an allowance for her and sitting on a panel that scrutinised Cumberland's interests with creditors.<sup>387</sup> The countess shielded her sister from the news of their brother, Francis's, death during Lady Cumberland's pregnancy, fearing the ramifications of such a shock to her health.<sup>388</sup> Lady Warwick also provided her home, North Hall, as a safe place for her to give birth.<sup>389</sup> As hostess, Lady Warwick may have spent a significant amount of money furnishing the room for the birth and providing a celebration feast for the women attending the female custom of lying-in.<sup>390</sup>

Like other aristocratic women, the countess's advocacy and assistance extended to her nieces and nephews.<sup>391</sup> Lady Warwick keenly assisted Lady Cumberland's daughter, Lady Anne Clifford, her namesake and goddaughter

---

<sup>385</sup> Harris, *English*, 187.

<sup>386</sup> CP 3: 568; Peter Holmes, "Clifford, George, Third Earl of Cumberland (1558–1605), Courtier and Privateer," in *ODNB*, accessed April 27, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5645>.

<sup>387</sup> Lady Warwick also sought to recoup £400 he owed her (Spence, *Privateering*, 116, 136, Williamson, *George, Third Earl of Cumberland (1558-1605): his Life and His Voyages; a Study from Original Documents* (Cambridge: University Press, 1920), 296-297).

<sup>388</sup> *HMC* 1: 8: 178, Stanhope to Rutland, 12 September 1585. The baby, Francis, died in 1589 (CP 3: 569).

<sup>389</sup> *HMC* 1: 8: 178, Stanhope to Rutland, 12 September 1585.

<sup>390</sup> Lyings-in were opportunities for conspicuous consumption and companionship with the new mother's closest female kin in attendance for weeks (Harris, *English*, 76, 102-107).

<sup>391</sup> O'Day, "Matchmaking," 275-288, 291-295; Byard, "Trade of Courtiership," 20, 22, 24, 27; Harris, *English*, 172, 175, 188-204.

who stayed with her frequently.<sup>392</sup> Written later during her life, Lady Anne's memoir reflects on her time as a youth in the last months of Elizabeth's reign when her aunt mentored and cultivated favour for her.<sup>393</sup> She would also have pursued a post as a Maid-of-Honour for her if Elizabeth had lived.<sup>394</sup> Lady Warwick's influence on her niece endured beyond her death. Anne later honoured her in a painting she commissioned of her family and left an amethyst ring the countess gave to her to her great-grandson, describing it as her "best ring".<sup>395</sup>

Lady Warwick demonstrated the significant role an aristocratic aunt could play in a dynastic family when she protected the Russell dynasty at its most vulnerable point. In July 1585, the Earl of Bedford and his heir, Francis, died within hours of each other, leaving Lady Warwick's 13 year-old nephew, Edward, an earl and a ward of the Crown.<sup>396</sup> There was a danger that any courtier could purchase the wardship and thereby control and profit from the extensive Russell lands. The Countess of Warwick pursued the wardship to keep the lands in her family, marshalling assistance for her claim wherever she could.<sup>397</sup> In August the same year, the Earl of Warwick argued to Sir Francis Walsingham that his wife's long service to Elizabeth merited the wardship but also invoked reasons of family duty as valid cause to award it

---

<sup>392</sup> The Earl of Warwick died the day before her christening (Williamson, *Lady Anne*, 56, 57; Spence, *Lady Anne*, 3).

<sup>393</sup> Clifford, ed., *Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, 21-28; Gilson, "[Introduction]," 36; Spence, *Lady Anne*, 14; Acheson, ed., *Memoir*, 43.

<sup>394</sup> Clifford, ed., *Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, 21.

<sup>395</sup> Williamson, *Lady Anne*, 468; Spence, *Lady Anne*, 15, 183. The "Great Picture" contains portraits of the countesses of Warwick, Bath and Cumberland (Williamson, *Lady Anne*, 334-345).

<sup>396</sup> MacCaffrey, "Russell, Francis"; *CP* 2: 75-78; 12/2: 403.

<sup>397</sup> Originally, Leicester and Warwick obtained the queen's consent to share the wardship, but Lady Warwick replaced Leicester (Adams, ed., *Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 1558-1561, 1584-1586* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 286).



since “there is none haue a great care then my wyff for ye bringing off him vpp as likewise for the lokeinge to his beinge”.<sup>398</sup> In September, her responsibilities towards her ailing husband and pregnant sister occupied her attention, so she enlisted Walsingham’s help.<sup>399</sup> The countess also secured the support of Lord Keeper, John Puckering in December.<sup>400</sup> Lady Warwick requested Bedford’s grandfather, Sir John Forster, to ask the queen to act in the boy’s best interests which presumably meant to support her claim.<sup>401</sup> Elizabeth finally granted the wardship jointly to the Earl and Countess of Warwick in September 1586.<sup>402</sup>

Lady Warwick safeguarded Bedford’s interests during her guardianship by repairing properties and grounds, managing rents, acquiring new leases and building Bedford House on the Strand.<sup>403</sup> She also protected the Russell estate from threats posed by plaintiffs such as Dorothy, Lady Stafford whose tenants attempted to illegally modify an adjoining lease.<sup>404</sup> The biggest threat to Bedford’s inheritance was a lengthy lawsuit the countess waged against her sister-in-law, Elizabeth, Lady Russell who asserted that her daughters, Elizabeth and Anne, were entitled to portions of the Russell estate.<sup>405</sup> She angrily condemned Lady Warwick’s “malice” in convincing her

---

<sup>398</sup> TNA SP 12/181/77, Warwick to Walsingham, 31 August 1585.

<sup>399</sup> *HMCR* 1: 8: 178, Stanhope to Rutland, 12 September 1585; 180, same to same, 21 September 1585; TNA SP 12/182/51, Lady Warwick to Walsingham, 29 September 1585.

<sup>400</sup> BL Add. MS 40629/37, Morrison to Lady Warwick, 15 December 1585.

<sup>401</sup> TNA SP 12/185/28, Forster to Walsingham, December 1585; 12/185/28i, Forster to the queen, 19 December 1585. Francis Russell married Forster’s daughter Juliana (*Hasler* 3: 308; Maureen M. Meikle, “Forster, Sir John (c.1515–1602), Administrator and Soldier,” in *ODNB*, accessed March 28, 2015, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9910>).

<sup>402</sup> *CPR* 28: vol. 294 (C 66/1271-1285), item 232, 23 September 1586.

<sup>403</sup> TNA SP 12/199/17, 6 March 1587; *HMCS* 9: 359-361, Lady Russell to Sir Robert Cecil, September 1599; Byard, “Trade of Courtiership,” 20.

<sup>404</sup> TNA SP 12/197/26, Articles to be examined, 16 January 1587; 12/197/41, Examinations taken by Cholmeley and Necton, 27 January 1587; 12/199/17, [Request of Lady Warwick to Burghley and others], 6 March 1587.

<sup>405</sup> Phillippy, “Introduction,” 20; Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 98, 101, 116, 289-290; John Popham, *Reports and Cases Collected by the Learned Sir John Popham*,

father, the Earl of Bedford, to redirect lands from his elder son's daughters and towards the offspring of his younger sons in his will.<sup>406</sup> Lady Warwick won the suit but Lady Russell never forgave her for this perceived transgression against the countess's own nieces.<sup>407</sup> In acting against Elizabeth and Anne Russell to improve her nephew's position, Lady Warwick demonstrated that her first loyalty was to protect the Russell dynasty.

The countess continued to assist Bedford after he reached adulthood. Firstly, she performed a crucial task in negotiating his marriage to Lucy Harington, daughter of John Harington, later 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Harington, who brought the Russells a substantial dowry.<sup>408</sup> Bedford inherited the Russell fortune on his majority in 1593 but his poor estate management threatened Lady Warwick's years of careful custodianship. The family loaned him £20,000 and Lady Warwick and her cousin, Oliver St John of Bletsoe, later loaned another £20,000.<sup>409</sup> In 1598, she forced Bedford to sign a document stating that he would curb his spending but this proved futile, much to the

---

*Knight, Late Lord Chief-Justice of England* (London: Thomas Roycroft for Henry Twyford and John Place, 1656), 3-4, accessed January 6, 2015, [http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:12060808](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:12060808); BL Lans. MS 10/38, Lady Russell to Burghley, 25 July 1584 [dated by Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 98]; TNA SP 12/245/23, same to same, May 1593; REQ 2/34/126, Lady Russell vs Countess of Bedford, *HMCS* 9: 359-361, Lady Russell to Sir Robert Cecil, September 1599; 11: 562, same to same, [1601]. See Chapter 4.

<sup>406</sup> BL Lans. MS 10/38, Lady Russell to Burghley, 25 July 1584 [dated by Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 98].

<sup>407</sup> Lady Russell was still angry at Lady Warwick 8 years after the verdict (*HMCS* 11: 562, same to same, [1601]).

<sup>408</sup> Lady Warwick initially pursued Burghley's granddaughter, Elizabeth de Vere, and Catherine Brydges, daughter of 3<sup>rd</sup> Baron Chandos, who later married Francis Russell (TNA SP 12/238/69, Manners to Burghley, 6 March 1591; Byard, "Trade of Courtiership," 21-22, 27; *CP* 2: 78). She also assisted with Lucy's jointure (*HMCS* 11: 533, Bedford to Sir Robert Cecil, 29 December 1601).

<sup>409</sup> Byard, "Trade of Courtiership," 22; H.R. Trevor-Roper, "The Elizabethan Aristocracy: an Anatomy Anatomized," *Economic History Review* 3, no. 3 (1951), 285.

countess's ire.<sup>410</sup> His later association with the Earl of Essex in 1601 earned him a £20,000 fine which further imperiled the fortunes of the dynasty.<sup>411</sup>

Lady Warwick's network consisted of more distantly related birth kin whose place may have been magnified in her life since she was a childless widow with many kin from her generation already dead. Her actions for them also support a wider argument that the aristocracy valued and utilised connections with extended kin in the pursuit of resources and favour.<sup>412</sup> Early modern extended kin are difficult to place in familial context due to the vagueness of contemporary terms such as cousin or "kyesman", as Lady Warwick referred to a Mawryce Dennis whom she assisted with a military company.<sup>413</sup> On other occasions, the countess identified distant relations whom she considered important such as when she referred to her second cousin, Sir Edward Stradling, as "cosen".<sup>414</sup> Lady Warwick employed a specific epistolary strategy for assisting some distant kin. In 1594, she wrote to Sir Robert Cecil for William Fleetwood, a burgess of Southampton and MP who shared distant kinship with the Russells.<sup>415</sup> The countess worded the

---

<sup>410</sup> Byard, "Trade of Courtiership," 22-26.

<sup>411</sup> *Ibid.*, 25; BL Add. MS 4160/158-158V, Bedford's disclaimer, 14 February 1601.

<sup>412</sup> Harris, "Sisterhood," 39; Kettering, "Patronage and Kinship"; Payne, "Aristocratic Women, Power, Patronage and Family Networks," 164, 173; Cressy, "Kinship"; Robertson, "Tracing Women's Connections," 158-160; Chapman, "Patronage as Family Economy," 21; Warnicke, "Family," 35-36.

<sup>413</sup> Bruce, ed., *Correspondence of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leycester: During his Government of the Low Countries, in the Years 1585 and 1586* (London: Camden Society, 1844), no. 27, 183. Dennys may have served the Dudleys in the Le Havre garrison in 1562-1563 and been related through Lady Warwick's aunt, Ann St John, who married Richard Denys, an MP (Adams, "Dudley Clientele, 1553-63," 156; *Hasler* 2: 31). For kinship terms, see Cressy, "Kinship," 65-66; Harris, *English*, 204; Robertson, "Tracing Women's Connections," 157.

<sup>414</sup> Traherne, ed., *Stradling Correspondence*, 23. Stradling's maternal grandmother, Margaret Gamage (née St John) was sister of Lady Warwick's maternal grandfather, John St John (R. A. Griffiths, "Stradling, Sir Edward (c.1529-1609), Antiquary," in *ODNB*, accessed April 27, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26624>).

<sup>415</sup> Cecil MS 26/32, Lady Warwick to Sir Robert Cecil, 20 April 1594; A. J. Shirren, "The Fleetwoods of Ealing and Cranford," *Notes and Queries* 198 (January 1953), 8, 10. Lady Warwick's maternal aunt married Henry Grey, Lord Grey of Ruthin, father of Reynold, Henry and Charles Grey, 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> Earls of Kent (*CP* 7: 170-173). The connection probably lies in his half-brother George Fleetwood's marriage to the 13<sup>th</sup> Lord Grey of Wilton's

letter in terms of Cecil doing her - not Fleetwood - a favour by imploring him “the rather for my sake”, and using her personal credit with Cecil as leverage.<sup>416</sup>

A tenuous kinship connection was a potential lifeline in a desperate situation. In 1593, Henry Barrow, a Separatist, wrote to an aristocratic kinswoman, desperately hoping for a reprieve from his pending execution for writing and publishing seditious literature.<sup>417</sup> In 1603, Separatists arranged for the publication of the letter which was addressed to an unidentified but still living countess.<sup>418</sup> The contemporary editor of Barrow’s writings suggests that Lady Warwick was the woman in question, based on Barrow’s previous literary dedications to her husband and father, as well as the countess’s advocacy of other clerics, intimacy with the queen and the fact that she was alive in 1603.<sup>419</sup> Barrow’s kinship link to the countess was very distant and the letter plays more to the recipient’s religious inclinations, suggesting that distant kinship might prompt contact but other reasons might prompt action.<sup>420</sup>

Lady Warwick also assisted higher-ranked members of the aristocracy with whom she shared distant kinship. In 1597, she helped Susan, Countess of Kent, obtain the wardship of her son, Peregrine.<sup>421</sup> Lady Warwick and

---

granddaughter (*Hasler* 2: 131, 138; *CP* 6: 183-186). Also, her sister-in-law, Jane Sybilla Russell (widow of Edward Russell) married Lord Grey’s son, Arthur (*CP* 2: 76).

<sup>416</sup> Cecil MS 26/32, Lady Warwick to Sir Robert Cecil, 20 April 1594.

<sup>417</sup> Collinson, “Barrow, Henry (c.1550–1593), Religious Separatist,” in *ODNB*, accessed April 27, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1540>; Leland H. Carlson, ed., *The Writings of John Greenwood and Henry Barrow 1591-1593*, vol. 6, *Elizabethan Non-conformist Texts* (London: Routledge, 2003), xiii, xiv, 179-185.

<sup>418</sup> Carlson, ed., *Writings of John Greenwood*, 239.

<sup>419</sup> *Ibid.*, 239-241.

<sup>420</sup> His cousin Agnes was the daughter-in-law of Anne Lady Bacon, sister of Lady Warwick’s sister-in-law, Lady Russell (*Ibid.*, 240).

<sup>421</sup> Lady Kent was the widow of Lady Warwick’s maternal cousin, Reynold Grey, 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Kent. Peregrine was a son by her second husband, Sir John Wingfield (*CP* 7: 170-173).

Lady Stafford acted as go-betweens informing Lady Kent of Cecil's efforts, and the countess made at least two other independent approaches to Elizabeth.<sup>422</sup> Lady Kent reported the countess's success to Cecil, praising her ability to win suit with the queen.<sup>423</sup> Lady Warwick's success in this suit demonstrates the power of female agency in certain situations since Cecil, Principal Secretary and son of the Master of the Court of Wards, failed to win this suit himself.<sup>424</sup>

Aristocratic women used their wills to reward people important to them and "record their vision of the family".<sup>425</sup> Although many valued their siblings, nieces and nephews during their lifetimes, they excluded them from their wills to provision their own children.<sup>426</sup> In contrast, childless women were more able to enrich their most favoured kin, particularly those from their birth families.<sup>427</sup> Lady Warwick directed most of her wealth towards her Russell kin with the notable exclusions of Lady Russell, the Earl of Bath and the Earl of Cumberland.<sup>428</sup> This was probably because they acted against her family as discussed above.

Since Warwick's will granted his widow the ability to convey certain lands at her discretion, Lady Warwick named her brother, the newly created Baron Russell of Thornhaugh, as her executor and recipient of a lease of a parsonage in Hitchen, Hertfordshire, and her manor, rectory and lands of

---

<sup>422</sup> Cecil MS 53/7, Lady Kent to Sir Robert Cecil, 5 July 1597.

<sup>423</sup> *Ibid.*; Cecil MS 52/54, same to same, 24 June 1597.

<sup>424</sup> Daybell and Magnusson argue that women were effective advocates in wardship suits (Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 157; Magnusson, "Rhetoric," 56). For Lady Warwick's other wardship suits, see *HMCS* 12: 484, 24 November 1602; Parry to Lady Warwick; 14 addenda: 149, Bishop of St. Davids, to [Sir Robert Cecil], [1600].

<sup>425</sup> Harris, *English*, 167; Cressy, "Kinship," 53.

<sup>426</sup> Harris, *English*, 185, 188.

<sup>427</sup> *Ibid.*, 128; 185, 201.

<sup>428</sup> Elizabeth, Lady Russell is not to be confused with William, Lord Russell's wife, Elizabeth (née Long), Baroness Russell of Thornhaugh.

North Hall.<sup>429</sup> This was particularly significant since it represents a transfer of resources from a marital family to a birth family which typically could not occur if lands were entailed to a male line of descent.<sup>430</sup> Her nephew, Lord Russell of Thornhaugh's son, Francis, would receive £50 annually from the North Hall estate, the manor when his father died, a house in Broad Street and her coach.<sup>431</sup> In contrast, her other nephew, the Earl of Bedford, received few legacies, possibly because he already possessed the Russell estates.<sup>432</sup> In favouring Francis over Bedford, Lady Warwick acted similarly to an aristocratic mother assisting younger children over a more financially secure dynastic heir.<sup>433</sup>

Childless women demonstrated great generosity towards their sisters and nieces in their wills.<sup>434</sup> Lady Warwick valued her female Russell kin, bestowing valuable personal goods and financial bequests upon her sisters and their daughters, as well as her niece, Anne, Lady Herbert, who was one of the nieces who lost her claim to the Russell estate.<sup>435</sup> Her inclusion in the will might have been Lady Warwick's way of making amends for her actions against her as discussed above.<sup>436</sup> These women were also in line to inherit North Hall if the male heirs died prematurely.<sup>437</sup>

---

<sup>429</sup> TNA PROB 11/75; 11/103. James I created him Baron Russell of Thornhaugh in 1604 (CP 11: 240).

<sup>430</sup> Harris, *English*, 20.

<sup>431</sup> He also received plate and moveable goods (TNA PROB 11/103).

<sup>432</sup> Bedford was the last close relative in line to inherit North Hall and only received a silver cup (*Ibid.*).

<sup>433</sup> Harris, "Property," 623-627; Harris, *English*, 134. Ironically, Francis became 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Bedford in 1627 (CP 2: 78; 11: 240).

<sup>434</sup> Harris, *English*, 172, 190-191, 201.

<sup>435</sup> They received jewellery, plate, furniture, furnishings and household items (TNA PROB 11/103).

<sup>436</sup> She also ordered her executors to sell woods in Westmoreland to pay for Lady Herbert's infant daughter's future marriage (TNA PROB 11/103).

<sup>437</sup> *Ibid.*

Childless testators were also more likely to reward distant relatives.<sup>438</sup>

Lady Warwick rewarded her maternal cousins, Oliver, Lord St John of Bletsoe and Henry Grey, 6th Earl of Kent with financial legacies, whilst they and Kent's brother, Charles Grey, were included at the end of the line of inheritance for North Hall.<sup>439</sup> Since they were unlikely to inherit the property, their inclusion in the will served to highlight her personal regard for them and demonstrates the prominent role extended kin could play in the life of a childless woman with freedom to cultivate distant connections.

The Countess of Warwick was, in effect, the childless matriarch who saved the Bedford earldom in the late Elizabethan period. Her value to the kinship group demonstrates that aristocratic siblings and aunts played crucial roles in the dynastic success of their birth families. Lady Warwick's assistance was invaluable to the lives and careers of her siblings and their children. She provided material and emotional support, defended their honour, assisted with patronage and promoted their positions. Her brother and sisters' lives and careers provided her with the opportunity to exercise power in court on their behalf in a variety of political spheres. Lady Warwick's role as an aristocratic aunt shared some similarities with the responsibilities of an aristocratic mother – both balanced the interests of a dynastic heir against other the competing needs of other close kin and provided practical and emotional assistance to a younger generation throughout their lives. The freedom she enjoyed as a childless widow enabled her to play a pivotal role in the success of her birth family.

---

<sup>438</sup> Cressy, "Kinship," 60, 63.

<sup>439</sup> TNA PROB 11/103; CP 2: 74; 7: 170-173; 11: 333-335.

## Marital kin

Lady Warwick's 25 year marriage to Ambrose Dudley, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Warwick, broadened her network with marital kin and enabled her to control aristocratic resources. Since she married into a waning dynasty lacking heirs, her place in the family was even more prominent.<sup>440</sup> Although historians have shown that husbands and wives performed complementary duties for the collective benefit of their family unit, there is little evidence of the Earl and Countess of Warwick working towards shared goals.<sup>441</sup> This may be attributed to a lack of sources pertaining to Lady Warwick's life prior to her husband's death in 1590. The couple were evidently close since the countess was "so full of teares that she could not speak" when he died in February that year.<sup>442</sup>

Whilst he lived, she enjoyed a warm relationship with her brother-in-law, the Earl of Leicester, who socialised with the couple and shared their support of the godly faith.<sup>443</sup> Leicester described Lady Warwick in his will as "my noble & worthy sister ... whose hands I have ever found great love & kindnes", leaving her 100 marks because he "did both honor & esteme hir asmoch as any brother did his syster".<sup>444</sup> In 1586, she assisted him when he was commander of the English forces in the Netherlands and requested over

---

<sup>440</sup> Warwick's siblings Mary, Lady Sidney died in 1586 and Leicester died in 1588 (*CP* 7: 551-552, Adams, "Sidney, Mary, Lady Sidney (1530x35-1586), Courtier," in *ODNB*, accessed July 8, 2012, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69749>). Warwick's sister, Catherine Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon, lived until 1620 (Cross, "Hastings, Katherine, Countess of Huntingdon (c.1538-1620), Noblewoman," in *ODNB*, accessed March 9 2015, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69739>). Warwick died in February 1590 (*CP* 12/2: 403).

<sup>441</sup> Harris, *English*, 7, 8, 61-87; Harris, "View," 222; Grant, "Politicking," 95; Chapman, "Patronage as Family Economy," 30-33. The Bedford wardship was an exception.

<sup>442</sup> Adams, "Dudley, [née Russell]": source KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/L2/4, item 3, m. 80.

<sup>443</sup> Adams, "At Home," 22; *CSPS 1580-1586*: 324-325, Bernardino de Mendoza to the King, 1 April 1582; Merton, "Women who Served," 208-210.

<sup>444</sup> Adams quotes this wording from an earlier version of Leicester's will ("Dudley, Robert").



200 “good friends and servants” to provide cavalry.<sup>445</sup> Lady Warwick sent a company “of her procurement”, possibly raised from Ruthin in Denbighshire, Wales, where Warwick held the lordship.<sup>446</sup> Significantly, Lady Warwick was involved in this case of military patronage, even though her husband was a seasoned campaigner.

The countess retained connections to her marital kin after Warwick’s death. The best documented example is her extensive assistance on behalf of Warwick’s nephew and closest male kinsman, Sir Robert Sidney. Given the nature of early modern kinship, Lady Warwick probably considered Sidney her nephew too. Moreover, she was also distantly related to Sidney’s wife, Barbara (née Gamage) through her second cousin, Sir Edward Stradling, which probably increased her motivation to assist Sidney.<sup>447</sup> In 1589, Elizabeth appointed Sidney Governor of Flushing, a strategically important town in the Netherlands.<sup>448</sup> In his absence, he employed a number of courtiers to look to his interests, including a number of aristocratic women.<sup>449</sup>

---

<sup>445</sup> Adams, “Gentry, 235-247; Adams, “Puritan,” 176-186.

<sup>446</sup> Bruce, ed., *Correspondence of Robert Dudley*, 183, Sir Thomas Sherley to Leicester, 21 March 1586. Welsh tenants owed military service to their lords (Adams “Gentry,” 240). For Leicester’s support in the Netherlands, see Adams, “Puritan”.

<sup>447</sup> CP 7: 554. Barbara was Stradling’s kinswoman and ward - he risked much in arranging her marriage to Sidney without Elizabeth’s consent (Hay, *Life of Robert Sidney*, 42; 171; Hannay, eds., *Domestic*, 1-3, 8-9; Madeleine Gray, “Sidney, Barbara, Countess of Leicester (c.1559–1621), Noblewoman,” in *ODNB*, accessed July 22, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/67993>; Traherne, ed., *Stradling Correspondence*, 23, 28 September 1584; Griffiths, “Stradling, Sir Edward”.

<sup>448</sup> Robert Shephard, “Sidney, Robert, First Earl of Leicester (1563–1626), Courtier and Poet,” in *ODNB*, accessed April 10, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25524>; Hay, *Life of Robert Sidney*, 39, 72-143.

<sup>449</sup> For Lady Rich, see KHLC De L’isle MS U1475/C12/74, Whyte to Sidney, 19 March 1597. For Lady Scrope, see *Sidney Papers* 1: 384, same to same, 22 November 1595. For Lady Scudamore, see KHLC De L’isle MS U1475/C12/75, same to same, 22 March 1597; U1475/C12/201, same to same, 11 January 1600. For Lady Essex, see U1475/C12/66; same to same, 2 March 1596; U1475/C12/79, same to same, 3 April 1597; U1475/C12/127, same to same, 1 February 1598. For Lady Huntingdon, see U1475/C12/120, same to same, 14 June 1598; U1475/C12/122, same to same, 19 June 1598; U1475/C12/180, same to same, 4 November 1599; U1475/C12/193, same to same, 6 December 1599; U1475/C12/202, same to same, 12 January 1600; U1475/C12/208, same to same, 24 January 1600; U1475/C12/211, same to same, 9 February 1600; U1475/C12/214, same to same, 21 February 1600;

However, none did so with such frequency as Lady Warwick.<sup>450</sup> According to Sidney's agent at court, Roland Whyte, who described most of her actions for his master, she did "labor ... as [if Sidney] were her own brother".<sup>451</sup>

The countess delivered Sidney's letters and reported on the queen's reactions to them or on the politics of the Netherlands.<sup>452</sup> Lady Warwick helped the absent Sidney assess the sincerity of his allies by reporting on Essex's, Nottingham's and Cecil's actions for him.<sup>453</sup> Lady Warwick could "feele her Majesties Disposicion", informing Whyte when the queen held

---

U1475/C12/254, same to same, 23 June 1600; U1475/C12/257, same to same, 5 July 1600; *Sidney Papers* 1: 373-374, same to same, 7 December 1595; 383-384, same to same, 22 December 1595; 2: 43, Sidney to Lady Sidney, 20 April 1597; 143, Whyte to Sidney, 23 November 1599; 178, same to same, 11 March 1600; 192, same to same, 3 May 1600; 196, same to same, 24 May 1600; *HMCD* 2: 261, same to same, 4 April 1597; 457, same to same, 19 April 1600.

<sup>450</sup> Elizabeth Brown ("Companion," 133) and Borman (*Elizabeth's Women*, 354-355) make much of Lady Huntingdon's assistance of Sidney but downplay her refusals to assist him or speak to Whyte (KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/72, Whyte to Sidney, 16 March 1597; U1475/C12/74, same to same, 19 March 1597; U1475/C12/193, same to same, 16 December 1599; U1475/C12/249, same to same, 2 June 1600; U1475/C12/253, same to same, 14 June 1600, U1475/C12/259, same to same, 12 July 1600; *Sidney Papers* 1: 382, same to same, 20 December 1595; 385, same to same, St John's night, 386, same to same, 3 January 1596; 2: 194, same to same, 12 May 1600; *HMCD* 2: 465, same to same, 31 May 1600).

<sup>451</sup> *Sidney Papers* 1: 364, Whyte to Sidney, 23 November 1595; 2: 11, Lady Warwick to Sidney, 21 January 1597. For evidence of correspondence, see Hannay, eds., *Domestic*, 73; KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/124, Whyte to Sidney, 25 January 1598; U1475/C12/163, same to same, 24 September 1599; U1475/C12/167, same to same, 3 October 1599; U1475/C12/188, same to same, 29 November 1599; U1475/C12/195, same to same, 13 December 1599; U1475/C12/197, same to same, 16 December 1599; *Sidney Papers* 1: 364, same to same, 23 November 1595; 2: 177, same to same, 9 March 1600; 194, same to same, 12 May 1600.

<sup>452</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/124, same to same, 25 January 1598; U1475/C12/133, same to same, 15 February 1598; U1475/C12/134, same to same, 16 February 1598, U1475/C12/135, same to same 18 February 1598; *Sidney Papers* 2: 11, Lady Warwick to Sidney, 21 January 1597; 118, Whyte to Sidney, 18 August 1599; 121, same to same, 12 September 1599; 180, same to same, 16 March 1600; 192, same to same, 3 May 1600; *HMCD* 2: 451, same to same, 22 March 1600.

<sup>453</sup> For Essex, see *Sidney Papers* 1: 361, same to same, 15 November 1595; 364, same to same, 23 November 1595; *HMCD* 2: 220, same to same, 26 September 1596; KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/72, same to same, 16 March 1597; U1475/C12/127, same to same, 1 February 1598. For Nottingham, see U1475/C12/215, 24 February 1600; *Sidney Papers* 2: 168, same to same, 21 February 1600. For Cecil, see U1475/C12/65; same to same, 1 March 1597; *HMCD* 2: 280, same to same, 17 May 1597; *Sidney Papers* 2: 216, same to same, 26 September 1600. For Sidney's relationships with these men, see Hay (*Life of Robert Sidney*, 163-167) and Dickinson (*Court Politics*, 104-107).

Sidney in high favour.<sup>454</sup> Likewise, she communicated when Elizabeth was upset with Sidney such as when she thought he tarried at Land's End to avoid returning to Flushing.<sup>455</sup> When Lady Warwick learned instead that he was delayed by the presence of Spanish ships, she promised to notify Elizabeth and advised Sidney to write a letter of explanation that she would deliver to the queen.<sup>456</sup> Despite this swift action, Lady Warwick reported the queen's continued "cold" demeanour towards him four months later.<sup>457</sup> On another occasion, she used prior knowledge from her brother's Governorship of Flushing to counter Elizabeth's allegations of Sidney profiteering from office:

My Lady Warwicke tells me that the Q[ueen] sayeth that your intertainment in flushing is soe good as you may put all your own reuene in your pursse .... But she answered that by hur brothers being their she knew that nothing cold be saued by the dearness of all things in those partes and humbly besought her Majtie to haue you in remembrance who vsed as good and as gracious speeches of you as she cold doe of any body<sup>458</sup>

Lady Warwick suggested strategies for Sidney to improve his favour.

Whilst accompanying Elizabeth in her coach, she noticed her admiring some horses owned by Sidney's friend and commander of the English forces in the Netherlands, Prince Maurice of Nassau.<sup>459</sup> The countess cannily suggested that he gift the queen the same type of horses and take credit for the idea.<sup>460</sup>

Lady Warwick also advised Sidney on the composition of his letters to

---

<sup>454</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/127, Whyte to Sidney, 1 February 1598; *Sidney Papers* 2: 122, same to same, 12 September 1599.

<sup>455</sup> *Sidney Papers* 2: 114, same to same, 11 August 1599.

<sup>456</sup> *Ibid.*; *Sidney Papers* 2: 117-118, same to same, 18 August 1599.

<sup>457</sup> The letter gives the cipher 'cc' for the woman who reported this to Whyte. Collins names Lady Huntingdon but *HMCD* 2 identifies Lady Warwick (KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/199, *HMCD* 2: 425, same to same, 28 December 1599). Since Lady Warwick was the more frequent advocate, it is most likely her.

<sup>458</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/96, same to same, 19 May 1597. Governors also met the Crown's shortfall in provisions and equipment (*Hasler* 3: 311; Hay, *Life of Robert Sidney*, 81-85, 115, 198).

<sup>459</sup> Hay, *Life of Robert Sidney*, 28, 94, 172; Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars*, 171.

<sup>460</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/262, same to same, 26 July 1600.

Elizabeth, suggesting that he incorporate “privat Buisnes ... with forren Advertisements” such as news on the Spanish Infanta, to put the queen in the most favourable frame of mind towards him.<sup>461</sup>

Her advocacy extended to military affairs. In 1597, she tried to persuade Elizabeth to provide Sidney with resources to reform disbanded companies.<sup>462</sup> Unfortunately, Lady Warwick encountered Elizabeth’s prevarication at this point. Despite assurances, the queen did not act and Sidney commented that “My Lady of Warwicks promises from the Queen must needs be welcome: but while the grass grows, the horse starves.”<sup>463</sup> In 1596, two captains in Flushing were to be sent to France and Elizabeth wanted to fill the posts with her own candidates, undermining Sidney’s authority to choose his officers.<sup>464</sup> Lady Warwick confirmed Elizabeth’s intentions, but shared her personal opinion that the queen would change her mind and allow the captains to hold two companies each.<sup>465</sup> Sidney ultimately won but Lady Warwick’s ability to detect the weakness of Elizabeth’s resolve in this matter demonstrates her intimacy with the queen.<sup>466</sup>

From 1595 to 1600, Lady Warwick was one of many who implored the queen to grant Sidney leave to return to England.<sup>467</sup> She provided updates on Elizabeth’s inclinations, estimated when leave would be granted, shared reasons for refusal and reassured Elizabeth that Sidney would return to

---

<sup>461</sup> *Sidney Papers* 2: 121, Whyte to Sidney, 12 September 1599.

<sup>462</sup> Hay, *Life of Robert Sidney*, 112.

<sup>463</sup> Sidney eventually won the suit with Essex and Cecil (*HMCD* 2: 258, Sidney to Lady Sidney, 27 March 1597).

<sup>464</sup> Hay, *Life of Robert Sidney*, 113-115.

<sup>465</sup> Whyte also went to Essex and Cecil (*HMCD* 2: 220, Whyte to Sidney, 26 September 1596).

<sup>466</sup> Hay, *Life of Robert Sidney*, 115.

<sup>467</sup> He averaged 5.66 years in Flushing and 7.81 years away from Flushing with 7 periods of leave totalling 93 months. Essex, Nottingham, Cecil, Sir John Stanhope and Buckhurst also helped Sidney win leave (*Ibid.*, 137-139).

Flushing afterwards.<sup>468</sup> She also suggested other intermediaries to continue her work if she was leaving court or if she thought they were better placed to further his suit.<sup>469</sup> Lady Warwick also applied her judgment to hold on to Sidney's letters when the queen was sick or preoccupied.<sup>470</sup> The countess used any tool at her disposal to win Sidney's suit. In 1595, she exploited the death of Sidney's uncle, Henry Hastings, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Huntingdon, by arguing that the distraught Lady Huntingdon needed her nephew's support in England.<sup>471</sup> In 1599, the countess seized the opportunity presented by Sidney's poor health to prompt Elizabeth to action:

My Lady Warwicke comands me to wryte to your Lordship; that findinge her Majestie well disposed, she made her know what Paines were fallen to some Part of your armes, by the Rawnes, and extreme Bitternes of the last Winter Ayre in Flushing; that you shuld be forced either to desire her gracious Leauē to return, and to goe to the Bath here ... Her Honor [Lady Warwick] ...wold now ... yf you wold haue her goe on with this Course, which she thinckes the best to bring you over, then must you wryte such a Lettre vnto her, of your Paines and Greeffes, that she may shew the Queen.<sup>472</sup>

During his Governorship, Sidney sought other offices. His most public effort was a bitter contest with Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham for the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports in 1597.<sup>473</sup> Cobham and Sidney's rivalry in their home county of Kent, and Essex's animosity towards Cobham further

---

<sup>468</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/96, Whyte to Sidney, 19 May 1597; U1475/C12/206, same to same, 19 January 1600; U1475/C12/219, same to same, 3 March 1600; U1475/C12/254, same to same, 23 June 1600; U1475/C12/260, same to same, 19 July 1600; *Sidney Papers* 1: 375, same to same, 8 December 1595; 2: 180, same to same, 16 March 1600; 192; same to same, 3 May 1600; 215, same to same, 26 September 1600; 218, same to same, 9 October 1600; *HMCD* 2: 179, same to same, 29 October 1595; 293, same to same, 4 October 1597; 488, same to same, 18 October 1600.

<sup>469</sup> *Sidney Papers* 1: 361, same to same, 16 November 1595; 368, same to same, 29 November 1595; 2: 121, same to same, 12 September 1599.

<sup>470</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/135, same to same; 18 February 1598; *HMCD* 2: 477–478, same to same, 16 August 1600.

<sup>471</sup> *Sidney Papers* 1: 380, same to same, 19 December 1595.

<sup>472</sup> *Sidney Papers* 2: 177, same to same, 9 March 1599.

<sup>473</sup> Hay, *Life of Robert Sidney*, 153–160.

inflamed the situation.<sup>474</sup> Since Cobham was older, titled, and present at court where he could personally petition for the post his father held for 39 years, Sidney's victory was unlikely.<sup>475</sup> Lady Warwick did not assist Sidney in this suit, instead urging him to write to the queen and to Essex for help.<sup>476</sup> Whyte reported that she was "fearfull to haue yt as much as knowen she speakes to any for you [Sidney], in this sute" and she declined to deliver a letter to the queen expressing his desire for the post.<sup>477</sup> Sir John Stanhope, Lady Huntingdon and two other courtiers also deftly sidestepped delivering the letter, suggesting that Sidney's suit was widely viewed as a lost cause.<sup>478</sup>

Lady Warwick avoided assisting Sidney in other suits. When he sought to become Lord President of Wales in 1599, the countess promised to sound out the queen's disposition but recommended Nottingham pursue the suit instead.<sup>479</sup> Sidney also sought either the barony of Lisle or the earldom of Leicester with no evidence of assistance from the countess.<sup>480</sup> Whyte reported that Lady Warwick would remember Sidney to the queen if the chance arose and he reminded her of Sidney's ambitions for the Vice-Chamberlainship but again, there is no indication that she assisted him.<sup>481</sup> Given Sidney's distance

---

<sup>474</sup> Wall, "Patterns of Politics in England, 1558-1603," *Historical Journal* 31, no. 4 (1988), 949-950; Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 74, 77, 79, 101; Gajda, *Earl of Essex*, 145; Hay, *Life of Robert Sidney*, 153, 157.

<sup>475</sup> Julian Lock, "Brooke, William, Tenth Baron Cobham (1527-1597), Nobleman and Diplomat," in *ODNB*, accessed February 7, 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/61735>; Hay, *Life of Robert Sidney*, 153, 155-156; Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 74-75, 104; Gajda, *Earl of Essex*, 145.

<sup>476</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/72, Whyte to Sidney, 16 March 1597.

<sup>477</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/65, same to same, 1 March 1596; U1475/C12/72, same to same, 16 March 1596; U1475/C12/74, same to same, 19 March 1597.

<sup>478</sup> Lady Rich ultimately took the letter but Lady Scudamore delivered it, denying knowledge of the contents (KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/74, same to same, 19 March 1597; U1475/C12/75, same to same, 22 March 1597; Hay, *Life of Robert Sidney*, 155).

<sup>479</sup> Nottingham refused because he thought Elizabeth would only accept a peer (*Sidney Papers* 2: 122, same to same, 12 September 1599; Hay, *Life of Robert Sidney*, 161-162).

<sup>480</sup> Hay, *Life of Robert Sidney*, 157-159.

<sup>481</sup> *Ibid.*, 152, 160, *Sidney Papers* 2: 65-67; same to same, 13 October 1597; 188, same to same, 29 April 1600.

from court and importance of his post, he was unlikely to win offices or titles. Thus, as with the Cinque Ports suit, Lady Warwick's reluctance to assist Sidney demonstrates her desire to avoid wasting her efforts and risking her reputation on unwinnable suits.

Given these failures, Sidney's suit to purchase the royal park of Oteford was critical.<sup>482</sup> Lady Warwick presented Sidney's offer to Elizabeth and helped coordinate a gift for her.<sup>483</sup> Whyte reported he was "very glad her Ma hath bene moved in yt, which this 6 years no man wold doe for you till now my La Warwick hath donne yt."<sup>484</sup> Elizabeth did not grant Sidney's suit outright but agreed to prefer him over others if she chose to sell Oteford.<sup>485</sup> When Whyte discovered that Cobham intended to pursue the property despite claims to the contrary, Lady Warwick quizzed him about his intentions and reported on his behaviour around the queen.<sup>486</sup> Cobham's efforts bore no fruit as Elizabeth ultimately sold Oteford to Sidney.<sup>487</sup>

Lady Warwick's marriage also brought her into the orbit of Leicester's stepson, the Earl of Essex, whom she probably regarded as another form of nephew given their kin connection. Her assistance extended back to 1587 when she probably placated a furious Elizabeth after the queen

---

<sup>482</sup> Sidney had stewardship of the park but sought ownership (Hay, *Life of Robert Sidney*, 57, 188).

<sup>483</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/205; Whyte to Sidney, 16 January 1600; U1475/C12/211, 9 February 1600; U1475/C12/214, same to same, 21 February 1600; U1475/C12/215, same to same, 25 February 1600; U1475/218, same to same, 1 March 1600.

<sup>484</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/212, same to same, 14 February 1600.

<sup>485</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/214, same to same, 21 February 1600.

<sup>486</sup> Hay, *Life of Robert Sidney*, 188; *Sidney Papers* 2: 141, same to same, 15 November 1599; 142-143, same to same, 23 November 1599; 183-185, same to same, 2 April 1600; 190, same to same, 30 April 1600; 193, same to same, 12 May 1600; 196, same to same, 24 May 1600; KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/214/208, same to same, 24 January 1600; U1475/C12/253, 14 June 1600; The queen stayed with Cobham whilst attending Anne Russell's wedding (KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/254, same to same, 23 June 1600).

<sup>487</sup> Hay, *Life of Robert Sidney*, 189.

and Essex fought at North Hall.<sup>488</sup> Essex entrusted the countess with the knowledge that he conducted a secret correspondence with James VI of Scotland in 1589, since the earl's intermediary passed on commendations from Lady Warwick and Lady Cumberland to the Scottish monarch.<sup>489</sup> Except for a letter advising him on his actions in Ireland, there is little evidence Lady Warwick assisted Essex in many matters during the 1590s.<sup>490</sup> This refutes Borman's claim that Lady Warwick "backed the wrong horse" in Essex.<sup>491</sup> Like other courtiers, the countess did not dare raise the topic of Essex with the queen and might even have turned a pleading Lady Essex away at Elizabeth's behest.<sup>492</sup> Privately, however, she either pitied Essex or felt obligated to assist him because she devised a secret plan to restore him to favour in 1600. After his release from confinement, she advised Essex to stay near the court at Greenwich until she could arrange an advantageous time for him to humble himself before Elizabeth.<sup>493</sup> Although Essex's secretary, Sir Henry Wotton, described the plan as "the best advise that, I think, was ever given from eyther Sex," Essex's followers persuaded him to decline her offer.<sup>494</sup>

As opposed to legacies for birth kin reflecting practical and emotional affection, Lady Warwick performed most of her final actions for marital kin

---

<sup>488</sup> BLO Tanner MS 76/29R, Essex to Dier, 31 July 1587; Hammer, "Absolute," 46.

<sup>489</sup> *HMCS* 3: 438, Fowler to Burghley, 20 October 1589; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 91.

<sup>490</sup> *HMCS* 9: 298, Cuffe to Reynoldes, 14 August 1599.

<sup>491</sup> She also mistakes Lady Warwick's petition for financial assistance as a petition to assist Essex (Borman, *Elizabeth's Women*, 354).

<sup>492</sup> Collins and *HMCD* 2 identify "c.c.", the woman who turned away Lady Essex, as Lady Huntingdon (KHL C De L'isle MS U1475/C12/188, Whyte to Sidney, 29 November 1599; *HMCD* 2: 418; *Sidney Papers* 2: 144). However, Lady Warwick is also identified with the same cipher ("c.c.") so the letter may refer to her (*HMCD* 2: 643).

<sup>493</sup> Wotton, *Parallel*, 13.

<sup>494</sup> *Ibid.* For more on Wotton as a moderate member of Essex's secretariat, see Hammer, "Uses of Scholarship," 28, 32, 35, 36, 37, 41, 42.



out of legal obligation. She conveyed Dudley lands to Warwick's closest male heir, Sidney, because she was legally bound to pass on lands under a male entail.<sup>495</sup> As Harris states, aristocratic families depended on the "competence, energy, and dedication" of widows to carefully manage their jointure lands during their lifetime.<sup>496</sup> The transfer to Sidney marked the culmination of Lady Warwick's shrewd estate management for 14 years and enabled her to pass dynastic lands to the next generation. Although she probably considered Sidney her nephew and worked hard on his behalf, she did not leave him any personal bequests. Like Bedford, Sidney inherited significant lands and did not require further assistance. The only marital kin to receive additional bequests were her sister-in-law, the Countess of Huntingdon who received Dudley family paintings and £100 per annum, and Sir Philip Sidney's daughter, the Countess of Rutland, who would receive Lady Huntingdon's annuity after her death.<sup>497</sup>

The Countess of Warwick exercised power for her marital kin out of obligation and warm personal regard but did not display the same level of emotional investment she showed towards her birth family. Nevertheless, her action on behalf of the Dudley family demonstrates that aristocratic women could be assets to their marital kin even after their husbands died.

### **Wider family networks**

Linda Levy Peck states that some patronage networks functioned on "obligation inherited over a series of generations".<sup>498</sup> Lady Warwick inherited

---

<sup>495</sup> TNA PROB 11/103; Adams, "Dudley, [née Russell]". See also Harris, *English*, 21.

<sup>496</sup> Harris, *English*, 152.

<sup>497</sup> TNA PROB 11/103.

<sup>498</sup> Levy Peck, *Court*, 57.

connections to people associated with her families as a result of political allegiance, patronage connection or the management of dynastic estates with most deriving from the Dudleys.<sup>499</sup> Adams identifies a longstanding “Dudley clientele” that supported John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and then his sons, Leicester and Warwick.<sup>500</sup> This large group comprised followers from the Dudley power-bases in the Midlands, the Welsh border and in Gloucester, Norfolk, East Riding of Yorkshire and Essex, as well as men who served the Dudleys in military expeditions.<sup>501</sup> Merton argues that “the power of that family [the Dudleys] did not die with her husband, but continued with her throughout the 1590s.”<sup>502</sup> Lady Warwick was a link to the deceased Leicester and Warwick and some Dudley clientele turned to her to fill their patronage void.

Two men passed through her Dudley kin before entering her patronage network. John Wynn of Gwydir, a Welsh MP and landowner, sided with Leicester in local rivalries and received his request for cavalry in the Netherlands.<sup>503</sup> After Leicester’s death, he transferred his allegiance to Warwick.<sup>504</sup> The year after Warwick’s death, Wynn looked to Lady Warwick to back his candidate for a sheriff’s post.<sup>505</sup> Sir Arthur Atye, was Leicester’s

---

<sup>499</sup> 53 people were connected to the Dudleys, whilst 6 people were connected to the Russells.

<sup>500</sup> Adams, “Dudley Clientele, 1553-63,” 151-156; Adams, “Dudley Clientele and the House of Commons,” 197-201; Adams, “Puritan,” 188-189.

<sup>501</sup> Adams, “Dudley Clientele,” 151, 155-164; Adams, “Dudley Clientele and the House of Commons,” 200-201; Adams, “Gentry,” 235; Adams, “Puritan”; Adams, “Office-holders”; Adams, “The Composition of 1564 and the Earl of Leicester’s Tenurial Reformation in the Lordship of Denbigh,” in *Leicester and the Court*.

<sup>502</sup> Merton, “Women who Served,” 183.

<sup>503</sup> *Hasler* 3: 671; J. Gwynfor Jones, “Wynn, Sir John, First Baronet (1553–1627), Landowner and Antiquary,” in *ODNB*, accessed March 11, 2013,

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30153>, Adams, “Puritan,” 176-177, 184, 186, 188.

<sup>504</sup> *Hasler* 3: 671; Gwynfor Jones, “Wynn, Sir John”.

<sup>505</sup> However, the countess was ill and Buckhurst won the post for Wynn’s rival (Neale, “Elizabethan Political Scene,” 78: source NLW Wynn of Gwydir papers, Panton group, 9051 E, no 129).

secretary who accompanied him to the Netherlands and was elected to Parliament through the earl's actions.<sup>506</sup> During the 1590s, he moved in a similar circle to the countess, associating with the Earl of Essex.<sup>507</sup> Lady Warwick probably became connected to him around this time, identifying him as her "loving friend" and leaving him £30 annually in her will.<sup>508</sup>

Members of the More family from Surrey were allied to Leicester, then linked to Lady Warwick. In 1579, Leicester knighted their patriarch, Sir William More on the latter's estate, Loseley, whilst his son, Sir George More, an MP and landowner, entered Leicester's service in 1579.<sup>509</sup> In 1600, Lady Warwick importuned the queen on behalf of Sir George in his pursuit of the Chamberlainship of Receipt in the Exchequer previously held by his father.<sup>510</sup> Sir George's sister, Elizabeth, married Leicester's protégé, John Wolley, the queen's Latin secretary, and became a lady-in-waiting in the 1590s when she encountered Lady Warwick.<sup>511</sup> When Lady Wolley left court to care for her father, the countess passed on the queen's wishes for his recovery, desire for

---

<sup>506</sup> Adams, "Dudley Clientele and the House of Commons," 200, 203, 212, 215.

<sup>507</sup> Hammer, "Uses of Scholarship," 44; *Hasler* 1: 363-364. Atye commenced but did not complete a translation of Antonio Perez's Spanish text, 'The Relaciones' (Chris Laoutaris, "'Toucht with bolt of Treason': the Earl of Essex and Lady Penelope Rich," in *Essex: the Cultural Impact of an Elizabethan Courtier*, ed. Annaliese Connolly and Lisa Hopkins (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 218.

<sup>508</sup> TNA PROB 11/103; Adams, "Dudley Clientele and the House of Commons," 200.

<sup>509</sup> Elizabeth McCutcheon, "Playing the Waiting Game: the Life and Letters of Elizabeth Wolley," *Quidditas* 20 (1999), 39; *Hasler* 3: 80, 88; Knafla, "More, Sir George (1553–1632), Landowner and Administrator," in *ODNB*, accessed May 5, 2012, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19177>.

<sup>510</sup> *Hasler* 3: 80; *SRO Loseley* 6729/2/75, Lady Warwick to Sir George More, 4 August 1600, accessed January 20, 2014,

[http://www.exploringsurreypast.org.uk/collections/getrecord/SHCOL\\_6729\\_2\\_1\\_1\\_75](http://www.exploringsurreypast.org.uk/collections/getrecord/SHCOL_6729_2_1_1_75);

*SRO Loseley* 6729/9/93, Egerton to More, 20 July 1600, accessed January 20, 2014,

[http://www.exploringsurreypast.org.uk/collections/getrecord/SHCOL\\_6729\\_9\\_1\\_1\\_93](http://www.exploringsurreypast.org.uk/collections/getrecord/SHCOL_6729_9_1_1_93);

*SRO Loseley* 6729/9/94, same to same, 9 August 1600, accessed January 20, 2014,

[http://www.exploringsurreypast.org.uk/collections/getrecord/SHCOL\\_6729\\_9\\_1\\_1\\_94](http://www.exploringsurreypast.org.uk/collections/getrecord/SHCOL_6729_9_1_1_94). The queen granted him the office in 1601 (*Hasler* 3: 80).

<sup>511</sup> *Hasler* 3: 88; 644-645; McCutcheon, "Playing the Waiting Game," 39. Wolley was also connected to Bedford (*Ibid.*, 52; Glyn Parry, "Wolley, Sir John (d. 1596), Administrator and Member of Parliament," in *ODNB*, accessed May 9 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29844>).

news of his progress and consent for Lady Wolley's absence.<sup>512</sup> Lady Warwick also wrote to Sir George's mother, agreeing to be godmother to Sir George's child.<sup>513</sup>

The countess also received literary dedications from writers associated with the Dudleys and Russells. She was lauded as the nexus between Bedford and Leicester whilst these men lived.<sup>514</sup> During the lifetimes of Leicester and Warwick, she received dedications from godly writers Edward Hake and George Gifford who were associated with the Dudleys.<sup>515</sup> Gifford dedicated his 1589 work to the countess "for so honorable fauours as I haue receyued fro[m] the right Honourable my Lord the Earle of Warwike, and from your Honour".<sup>516</sup> After Leicester's and Warwick's deaths, she continued to receive dedications from authors linked to them. For example, Lewis Lewkenor, who received patronage from Warwick and Leicester, dedicated translations of two Italian works to the countess, alluding to

---

<sup>512</sup> *HMC Report 7*: 653, Edwardes to Lady Wolley. 1594.

<sup>513</sup> Leicester was the baby's godfather (*HMC Report 7*: 635, Lady Warwick to Lady More, 28 May 1581).

<sup>514</sup> Brannet, "Dedicatorie Epistle", A3; Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney*, 13, 79; John Knewstubb, *The Lectures of John Knewstubb, Vpon the Twentieth Chapter of Exodus ...* ([London]: imprinted by Lucas Harrison, 1578), accessed January 5, 2014, [http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99843805](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99843805).

<sup>515</sup> *Progresses 3*: 260; Edward Hake, [Dedicatory Epistle] in *An Oration Conteyning an Expostulation as Well With the Queene's Faithfull Subiects ...* (London: [by T. Orwin] for Edward Aggas, [1587], accessed April 18, 2015, [http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99839363](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99839363). Hake worked as Leicester's under-steward at Windsor (Knafla, "Hake, Edward (fl. 1564–1604), Lawyer and Satirist," in *ODNB*, accessed March 7, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11881>; *Hasler 2*: 236-237). Gifford's connection to the Dudleys stretched back to Sir Philip Sidney's deathbed at Zutphen (Gajda, *Earl of Essex*, 77; George Gifford, [Dedicatory epistle] in *Eight Sermons, Vpon the First Foure Chapters, and Part of the Fift, of Ecclesiastes Preached at Mauldon* (London: printed by John Windet for Toby Cooke, at the Tygers head in Paules Church-yard, 1589), accessed January 4, 2014, [http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99849259](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99849259)). Gifford also dedicated a book to Warwick in 1581 (Brett Usher, "Gifford, George (1547/8–1600), Church of England Clergyman and Author," in *ODNB*, accessed March 7, 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10658>).

<sup>516</sup> Gifford, [Dedicatory Epistle], A2.

favours she performed for him and his circle.<sup>517</sup> Finally, Edmund Spenser became part of Leicester's circle in the late 1570s and shared Bedford's and Leicester's religious causes in the 1580s.<sup>518</sup> In 1596, he dedicated his '*Fowre Hymns*' to Lady Warwick and Lady Cumberland and another work to Lady Warwick alone.<sup>519</sup> These literary dedications demonstrate that others perceived the countess as an important and powerful member of the Dudley family, regardless of whether the key men in the family were alive or not.

As an aristocratic widow managing the Russell and Dudley estates, Lady Warwick managed tenants, household servants and men of business. The existing evidence provides a valuable glimpse of the countess interacting with and assisting a network of servants within her broader patronage network. Acting on behalf of these men and women demonstrated Lady Warwick's economic power, local influence and skills in estate management.<sup>520</sup> Her letters for these men and women were formulaic, curt, sometimes written by an amanuensis and emphasised her social superiority.<sup>521</sup> In some letters for tenants and servants, she again urged the suit to be granted as a favour to her, not to a lower-ranked suitor. For

---

<sup>517</sup> Lewis Lewkenor, [Dedicatory epistle] in *The Commonwealthe and Gouernment of Venice* ..., trans. Lewis Lewkenor (London: Imprinted by John Windet for Edmund Mattes, ... Fleetstreet, 1599), accessed April 28, 2014,

[http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99844276](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99844276); Lewkenor, [Dedicatory epistle] in *The Resolued Gentleman*, trans. Lewis Lewkenor (London: Richard Watkins, 1594), accessed April 28, 2014, [http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99843873](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99843873).

<sup>518</sup> Quitslund, "Spencer," 85; Andrew Hadfield, "Spenser, Edmund (1552?-1599), Poet and Administrator in Ireland," in *ODNB*, accessed March 7, 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26145>.

<sup>519</sup> Edmund Spenser, [Dedicatory epistle] in *Fowre Hymns* (London: Printed [by Richard Field] for William Ponsonby, 1596), accessed January 6, 2014, [http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99846652](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99846652); Quitslund, "Spencer," 85-91; Tuve, "Spenser," 140-153.

<sup>520</sup> Kettering, "Patronage Power," 818.

<sup>521</sup> Daybell, "Female," 64; Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 184.

instance, in suits in the courts of Admiralty and Requests for a William Dillon and a Mr Hampshire, she hoped Sir Julius Caesar would “effect somuch the rather at my request” and “rather for my sooke”.<sup>522</sup> Thus, she interposed herself into the patronage exchange of credit and debt, willing to be beholden to the letter’s recipient although the benefit to her was less evident.

In 1587, she protected Bedford’s lands with the assistance of a Jasper Cholmley, who was probably the same “Chomlie” she helped with procuring letters patent for an office.<sup>523</sup> The countess was also the natural person to assist Humphrey Mitchell, a former servant of Leicester and Bedford.<sup>524</sup> She instructed him how to proceed with a lease, procured it for him and then approached Burghley to rate the price.<sup>525</sup> Lady Warwick’s former servants still considered her a viable intermediary, as shown in the case of a former cook she recommended to the household of the courtier, Sir John Scudamore in 1591.<sup>526</sup> Towards the end of her life, Lady Warwick relied on the medical expertise of physician, Dr Hammond.<sup>527</sup> This relationship was surely smoothed by the countess helping to procure him a parsonage in Oxfordshire.<sup>528</sup>

---

<sup>522</sup> BL Add. MS 12506/41, Lady Warwick to Caesar, 8 July 1592; 12506/205, same to same, 22 January 1596.

<sup>523</sup> *HMCS* 7: 377-378, Lady Denny to Sir Robert Cecil, 4 September 1597; TNA SP 12/197/41, Examinations taken by Cholmeley and Necton, 27 January 1587, 12/199/17, Countess of Warwick to [Burghley] and others, 6 March 1587; *Hasler* 1: 604.

<sup>524</sup> Mitchell served Bedford by 1561 and was burgess and clerk of the works at Windsor where his patron, Leicester, controlled the constabulary of the castle and stewardship of the borough (*Hasler* 3: 47; Adams, “Dudley Clientele and the House of Commons,” 207).

<sup>525</sup> Cecil MS 2329, Lady Warwick to Burghley, 4 November 1589; 2329a, Lady Warwick to Michell, 15 July 1589.

<sup>526</sup> TNA C 115/101/7557, Lady Warwick to Scudamore, 5 May 1591.

<sup>527</sup> SRO 6729/10/123, Hammond to More, 26 October 1603, accessed April 25, 2014, [http://www.exploringsurreypast.org.uk/collections/getrecord/SHCOL\\_6729\\_10\\_1\\_1\\_121](http://www.exploringsurreypast.org.uk/collections/getrecord/SHCOL_6729_10_1_1_121).

<sup>528</sup> *HMCS* 11: 576, [1601].

As a widow, Lady Warwick bequeathed legacies to 26 people who relied on her for their livelihoods. Her generosity suggests that she felt responsible for members of her household whom she cared about over many years of service. The countess's steward Arnold Oldsworth, and one Richard Danford acted as her executors; her physician, Dr Wilkinson and "servant" Roger Meredith received income from lands; whilst eight people serving her in the parsonage of Hitchen in Hertfordshire received the parsonage's income.<sup>529</sup> Danford and other male servants received geldings, financial bequests and erasure of debts.<sup>530</sup> Two servants' wives received two of her best gowns and kirtles whilst five other women received £100 or the remainder of her valuable clothing and linen.<sup>531</sup> The countess also granted three years of wages to servants without specific bequests.<sup>532</sup> This money would help them survive until they found further employment.

Lady Warwick's assistance of people broadly associated with the Dudley and Russell families demonstrates that feminine family roles brought connections and obligations to the networks surrounding dynastic family units. Their presence in the networks of widows was more prominent since women without husbands maintained these wider family connections alone. Thus female agency in relation to family roles was more complex, multi-dimensional, significant and wide-reaching than even Harris argues.

### **Court connections**

---

<sup>529</sup> Acheson, ed., *Memoir*, 182; TNA PROB 11/103.

<sup>530</sup> TNA PROB 11/103.

<sup>531</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>532</sup> *Ibid.* Warwick only provided 1 year of wages to his servants (TNA PROB 11/75).

Courtiers could not expedite their business without the assistance of particular individuals at the late Elizabethan court. Whereas Lady Warwick's relationship with court contacts for her own benefit is discussed above, this section takes the opposite perspective in examining the countess as an important connection for men and women associated with the court.

The extant records do not reveal the exact nature of her relationships with other aristocratic individuals at court. Whilst most of the highly ranked courtiers she assisted were family, she did help others outside the Russell and Dudley kinship groups. For example, she was on good terms with the Talbot family (Earls of Shrewsbury), providing them with information and assistance such as helping Mary, Countess of Shrewsbury, to speak with the queen when her husband, Gilbert, 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Shrewsbury was banned from court.<sup>533</sup> Lady Warwick was closer to members of the county elite. Early modern friendships are difficult to pinpoint since they cannot be traced as easily as kin relationships, but Lady Warwick's will suggests that she considered Moyle Finch and Sir Henry Cock her "loving frendes".<sup>534</sup> She appointed them overseers of her will, trusted them to pay the balance of Warwick's debts and bequeathed them gifts.<sup>535</sup> Lady Warwick must have shared a bond with Finch to regard him so highly but limited evidence of their relationship survives. He assisted her with legal matters in 1595 and she

---

<sup>533</sup> LPL MS 3199/937, Kidman to Lady Shrewsbury, 22 October 1598; 3205/77, Lady Warwick to [George], Earl of Shrewsbury, 6 November n.d.; TNA SP 46/49/51, Mychell to Talbot, 20 October 1590; *Sidney Papers* 2: 61, Whyte to Sidney, 1 October 1595; Michael Hicks, "Talbot, Gilbert, Seventh Earl of Shrewsbury (1552–1616), Landowner," in *ODNB*, accessed March 9, 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26930>.

<sup>534</sup> TNA PROB 11/103.

<sup>535</sup> Finch received her best silver gilt basin and ewer, whilst Cock received two silver gilt pots (*Ibid.*).



sheltered at his home from the plague in 1603.<sup>536</sup> There is more evidence concerning her relationship with Cock. Bonds could arise between members of the aristocracy with neighbouring lands and this may have been the case with Cock since his estate, Broxbourne, was near North Hall in Hertfordshire.<sup>537</sup> In a letter to Cecil, Lady Warwick described Cock as “my neighbour and good friend” and thanked Cecil for Cock’s preferment, possibly to his post as Cofferer of the Household.<sup>538</sup> The Earl and Countess of Warwick also alienated North Hall to Cock’s heirs in 1586 which was surely a carefully considered decision.<sup>539</sup>

Lady Warwick also assisted officers of the court who held posts in the bureaucracy, courts of law or the royal Household. In some cases, the suits were small such as the request from William Lambarde, Keeper of the Tower Records, for the countess to present his catalogue of the Crown’s manuscripts to Elizabeth.<sup>540</sup> Others held wider significance. In 1589, Sir Julius Caesar, a judge of the Admiralty Court, was waiting to commence an appointment as an extraordinary Master of Requests announced by Elizabeth over a year before.<sup>541</sup> A “great Ladie mine honorable friend”, whom Caesar’s biographer assumes to be Lady Warwick, informed Caesar that the queen rescinded the

---

<sup>536</sup> *Sidney Papers* 1: 368, Whyte to Sidney, 29 November 1595; Clifford, ed., *Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, 28.

<sup>537</sup> Harris, *English*, 200-201. Cock was also Deputy Lieutenant of Hertfordshire (Allen, *Cooke*, 142, 167; *Hasler* 1: 622).

<sup>538</sup> Cecil MS 49/87, Lady Warwick to Sir Robert Cecil, 30 March 1597. Cock was also a supporter of the godly in Hertfordshire which must have further endeared him to Lady Warwick (Allen, *Cooke*, 142; Allen, ed., *Letters of Lady Anne Bacon*, 23).

<sup>539</sup> *CPR* 28: vol. 294 (C 66/1271-1285), Pardon of alienation for Sir Henry Cocke and John Goodman, 4 May 1586.

<sup>540</sup> *Hasler* 2: 429, 431; J. D. Alsop, “Lambarde, William (1536–1601), Antiquary and Lawyer,” in *ODNB*, accessed July 5, 2012, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15921>.

<sup>541</sup> Hill, *Bench and Bureaucracy*, 64; BL Lans. MS 157/19; Caesar to Lady Warwick, 16 December 1589.

appointment after an enemy quietly poisoned her against him.<sup>542</sup> Caesar employed the countess to counteract the slanders, urging her to deliver his letters to Elizabeth and convince her of his worth.<sup>543</sup> Caesar ultimately received the post and Lady Warwick reaped the benefits of an ally in the Court of Requests, later soliciting him for suitors.<sup>544</sup>

Lady Warwick also used her will to reward people associated with the court, indicating favourable relationships between them during her lifetime. She granted legacies to six men who controlled the major courts of law during the latter period of the reign. Between them, Sir Thomas Fleming, Sir Thomas Egerton (Lord Ellesmere by 1604), Sir John Popham, Sir Edmund Anderson, Sir William Peryam and Sir Edward Fenner held the offices of Solicitor-General, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, Justice of the Common Pleas, Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, Justice of the Queen's Bench and Chief Baron of the Exchequer from 1592 until Lady Warwick's death in 1604.<sup>545</sup> As this period coincides with her increased activity at court, she possibly received their assistance in suits for which there is no surviving

---

<sup>542</sup> BL Lans. MS 157/13, Caesar to Essex, 29 April 1588; 157/19; Caesar to Lady Warwick, 16 December 1589; Hill, *Bench and Bureaucracy*, 68.

<sup>543</sup> He also asked Walsingham, Essex and Burghley for help (Hill, *Bench and Bureaucracy*, 61-69).

<sup>544</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

<sup>545</sup> Fleming was Solicitor-General 1595-1604 (*Hasler* 2: 139). Egerton, Lord Ellesmere, was Solicitor-General 1581-1592, Attorney-General 1592-1594, Master of the Rolls 1594-1603, Lord Keeper 1596-1603 and Lord Chancellor 1603-1617 (*Hasler* 1: 80-81). Popham was Solicitor-General 1579-1581, Attorney-General 1581-1589 and Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench 1592-1607 (*Hasler* 3: 234; David Ibbetson, "Popham, Sir John (c.1531-1607), Judge and Speaker of the House of Commons," in *ODNB*, accessed April 28, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22543>). Anderson was Chief Justice of Common Pleas 1582-1605 (Ibbetson, "Anderson, Sir Edmund (1530?-1605), Judge," in *ODNB*, accessed April 28, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/469>). Peryam was Justice of Common Pleas in 1581 and Chief Baron of the Exchequer 1593-1604 (J. A. Hamilton, "Peryam, Sir William (1534-1604), Judge," rev. David Ibbetson, in *ODNB*, accessed April 28, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22006>, *Hasler* 3: 209). Fenner was Justice of the Queen's Bench 1590-1608 (Ibbetson, "Fenner, Sir Edward (d. 1612), Judge," in *ODNB*, accessed April 28, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9288>, *Hasler* 2: 112).

evidence.<sup>546</sup> In addition, Anderson and Peryam were almost certainly rewarded for their roles as legal counsel for the young Earl of Bedford during his inheritance suit.<sup>547</sup> Popham may also have been involved since he collected and published reports on the case.<sup>548</sup>

For all her time in the Bedchamber, little indication remains of the relationships the countess built with other ladies-in-waiting. Their close proximity possibly meant that their communication was primarily verbal, leaving little surviving evidence. Lady Warwick's will provides the only evidence that she shared a close bond with other women with whom she would have worked daily. Since many of Elizabeth's longest-serving women were dead by 1604, the countess's will only indicates her favour for women from a limited group of survivors.<sup>549</sup> The countess rewarded her former Bedchamber colleagues, Dorothy, Lady Stafford and Mary Radcliffe, with 10 pounds of plate apiece.<sup>550</sup> She would have spent many years in their company since they served the queen for 40 and 36 years respectively.<sup>551</sup> Lady Stafford's presence is interesting given a lawsuit between them regarding

---

<sup>546</sup> Ellesmere received 20 pounds of plate, Anderson, Peryam and Fenner received 10 pounds of plate and Fleming received a gift of £6 13s and 4p (TNA PROB 11/103). Ellesmere's title and numerous offices in which Lady Warwick could have encountered him may account for his greater legacy.

<sup>547</sup> *HMCS* 4: 460, Lady Russell to Burghley, 1593; Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 109.

<sup>548</sup> Popham, *Reports and Cases*, 3-4.

<sup>549</sup> For example, Blanche Parry died in 1590, Lady Cobham died in 1592 and Lady Nottingham died in 1603 (Peter R. Roberts, "Parry, Blanche (1507/8–1590), Courtier," in *ODNB*, accessed July 22, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/65989>; Lock, "Brooke, William"; *CP* 9: 786).

<sup>550</sup> TNA PROB 11/103.

<sup>551</sup> Merton, "Women who Served," 42, 266; Adams, "Radcliffe, Mary (c.1550–1617/18), Courtier," in *ODNB*, accessed February 10, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/92795>; Adams, "Stafford, Dorothy, [née Stafford] Lady Stafford (1526–1604), Courtier," in *ODNB*, accessed July 19, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69753>.

Bedford's lands in 1587.<sup>552</sup> This suggests that Lady Warwick put aside ill-will to work with female colleagues in the Bedchamber. Although no evidence links Lady Warwick to Mary Radcliffe, the pair may have shared common ground in being long-serving, unmarried, childless ladies-in-waiting.<sup>553</sup> Lady Warwick's exclusion of other living women such as Lady Leighton, Lady Scrope, Lady Scudamore and the Marchioness of Northampton suggests a closer bond with Lady Stafford and Mary Radcliffe.

Lady Warwick was part of an intricate system at court in which courtiers formed relationships as part of the daily business of seeking and dispensing patronage, or serving the Household. Courtiers and bureaucrats chose the countess over others because of the exemplary skills she honed over many years of service and experience. Thus merit played a large role in selecting her as a political agent at court. Lady Warwick's exercise of power for court connections further demonstrates that aristocratic women engaged with individuals outside the family.

### **Religious connections**

Lady Warwick assisted people associated with religious politics in different ways. She helped ecclesiastical leaders who, despite their power in their dioceses, needed support in the temporal world. For example, Lady Warwick assisted Tobie Matthew, Dean of Christ Church in Oxford, with his pursuit of the Deanery of Durham in 1582.<sup>554</sup> Matthew thanked her for furthering his

---

<sup>552</sup> TNA SP 12/197/26, Articles to be examined ... , 16 January 1587; 12/197/41, Examinations taken by Cholmeley and Necton, 27 January 1587; 12/199/17, [Request of Lady Warwick to Burghley and others], 6 March 1587.

<sup>553</sup> Mary Radcliffe served from 1567 until Elizabeth's death in 1603 (Merton, "Women who Served," 42, 266; Adams, "Radcliffe, Mary"). She spent 25 years as a Maid until she progressed to a more senior post, although she did not marry (Lawson, "Introduction," 11).

<sup>554</sup> BL Add. MS 15891/105, Matthew to Lady Warwick, 23 July 1582.

suit and implored her to deliver letters and “favorable speeches” to his ally, Hatton.<sup>555</sup> The ecclesiastical elite were vulnerable to attacks on their reputations as Thomas Bilson, the Bishop of Worcester discovered. Bilson, who was previously Warden of Winchester College, had friends in Lady Warwick, Lord Buckhurst and Archbishop Whitgift who informed him of slanders circulating about “how rich I found, how poor I leave the college which I forego”.<sup>556</sup> In this case, both male and female courtiers shared this information which suggests that transmitting gossip in this way was not a gendered activity, but more akin to a “form of political discourse”, as suggested by Graham-Matheson.<sup>557</sup>

Women enjoyed relatively high “moral stature” within the godly community which praised them for their learning and intellectual abilities.<sup>558</sup> Johanna Harris and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann argue that “women played a lively part in the production and reception of ... the public sphere of early modern intellectual culture” and enjoyed “active intellectual engagement” within godly circles.<sup>559</sup> Diane Willen argues that the godly teachings did not judge women on the sins of their sex which enabled them to transcend conventional gender-based religious restrictions.<sup>560</sup> Gender could play an advantageous role in empowering women and their place within the godly community. Susan Hardman Moore has argued that the godly considered that

---

<sup>555</sup> BL Add. MS 15891/105, Matthew to Lady Warwick, 23 July 1582; Whigham, “Rhetoric,” 869-876.

<sup>556</sup> *HMCS* 6: 217, Bishop of Worcester to Sir Robert Cecil, 18 June 1596; William Richardson, “Bilson, Thomas (1546/7–1616), Bishop of Winchester,” in *ODNB*, accessed April 28, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2401>.

<sup>557</sup> Graham-Matheson, “Petticoats and Politics,” 33-34.

<sup>558</sup> Willen, “Godly Women,” 576, 579.

<sup>559</sup> Johanna Harris and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, “Introduction,” in *The Intellectual Culture of Puritan Women, 1558-1680*, eds., Johanna Harris and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 2, 8.

<sup>560</sup> Willen, “Godly Women,” 567.

women enjoyed greater “spiritual intimacy” with God because their gender enabled them to express love and affection towards the Lord as a wife would towards her husband.<sup>561</sup> Godly women became role models as “ladies elect” who, as pillars of their community, used their status to further reformed religion.<sup>562</sup> Women played a variety of visible and valued roles in godly society including running spiritual households, writing or translating religious works, dispensing religious advice or counsel, and becoming religious patrons such as the Cooke sisters in the following chapter.<sup>563</sup> These notions may also help to explain why godly writers and clerics approached zealous aristocratic women such as Lady Warwick instead of godly men.<sup>564</sup>

Godly writers dedicated literary works to the countess.<sup>565</sup> Anne Prowse was an internationally recognised layperson who devoted herself to the godly cause by studying and teaching scripture, as well as writing and translating Calvinist works.<sup>566</sup> In 1590, she dedicated a translated work to Lady Warwick “because your Honor hath been of long time, not onlie a professour, but also a louer of the trueth.”<sup>567</sup> She also urged Lady Warwick to

---

<sup>561</sup> Susan Hardman Moore, “Sexing the Soul: Gender and the Rhetoric of Puritan Piety,” in *Gender and Christian Religion: Papers Read at the 1996 Summer Meeting and the 1997 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. R.W. Swanson, Studies in Church History 34 (Woodbridge: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1998), 184-185.

<sup>562</sup> *Ibid.* 567; Allen, *Cooke*, 167-193.

<sup>563</sup> Todd, *Christian Humanism*, 96, 102, 111; Greaves, “Foundation Builders,” 77-78; Bremer and Webster, eds., *Puritans and Puritanism*, vol. 2, 392-394, 502; Willen, “Godly Women,” 564, 578. For women and godly intellectual culture, see Harris and Scott-Baumann, *Intellectual Culture of Puritan Women*.

<sup>564</sup> Bowden, “Women as Intermediaries,” 219.

<sup>565</sup> Her nephew’s wife, Lucy, Countess of Bedford, also received dedications from godly writers in later years (Marion O’Connor, “Godly Patronage: Lucy Harington Russell, Countess of Bedford,” in *The Intellectual Culture of Puritan Women*, 72).

<sup>566</sup> Prowse was born Anne Vaughan, becoming Anne Lock and Anne Prowse after marriages. She also knew the learned Cooke sisters. For an account of her life, see Susan M. Felch, “The Exemplary Anne Vaughan Lock,” in *Intellectual Culture of Puritan Women*, 15-27.

<sup>567</sup> Anne Prowse, [Dedicatory Epistle] in *Of the Markes of the Children of God, and of their Comforts in Afflictions*, John Taffin, trans. Anne Prowse (London: printed by Thomas Orwin, 1590), accessed January 6, 2014, [http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99853294](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99853294), A3. She also lived in Exeter where Lady Warwick was influential (Collinson, “Locke [née Vaughan; other married names

use her prominent place at court to the advantage of the godly.<sup>568</sup> Likewise, Peter Moffett dedicated his work to her and Lady Cumberland as paragons of godly virtue.<sup>569</sup> Richard Allison, who previously pursued patronage from the countess, dedicated his music and song book to her because of her “loue of piety and care of Religion”.<sup>570</sup> In Bartholomew Chappell’s case, a literary dedication may have evolved into material assistance. In 1595, he dedicated a work to Lady Warwick for her “wonted zeale to godliness”.<sup>571</sup> A man of the same name appeared before the Royal College of Physicians in London for illegally practising medicine five times that year and once the next year.<sup>572</sup> The College agreed to overlook his penalties if he never practised again, submitting to pressures exerted by the Countess of Warwick who supported Chappell.<sup>573</sup> These dedications suggest that she may have inherited some of

---

Dering, Prowse], Anne (c.1530–1590x1607), Translator and Religious Activist,” in *ODNB*, accessed March 7, 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69054>). See also Hannay, “Strengthening the walles of .. Ierusalem”: Anne Vaughan Lok’s Dedication to the Countess of Warwick,” *ANQ*, 5, no. 2-3, 71-75.

<sup>568</sup> Felch, “The Exemplary Anne Vaughan Lock,” 24.

<sup>569</sup> Peter Moffett, [Dedicatory epistle] in *The Excellencie of the Mysterie of Christ Iesus Declared in an Exposition ...* (London: printed by Thomas Orwin, for Raphe Iackson, and William Young, 1590), accessed April 29, 2014,

[http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99849478](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99849478), A3.

<sup>570</sup> Richard Allison, [Dedicatory epistle] in *The Psalmes of Dauid in Meter ...* (London: Richard Allison, 1599), accessed April 27, 2014,

[http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99842747](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99842747). The godly disapproved of music for pleasure but considered musical psalms an expression of devotion (Merton, “Women who Served,” 209; W.H. Grattan Flood, “New Light on Late Tudor Composers: XXXVII. Richard Allison,” *Musical Times* 69, no. 1027 (1928), 795).

<sup>571</sup> Bartholomew Chappell, [Dedicatory epistle] in *The Garden of Prudence ...* (printed at London: by Richard Iohnes ... 1595), accessed April 29, 2014,

[http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99840683](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99840683).

<sup>572</sup> Margaret Pelling and Frances White, “Chappell, Bartholomew,” in *Physicians and Irregular Medical Practitioners in London 1550-1640* (London: University of London, 2013), accessed January 10, 2014, [http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=17307&strquery=bartholomew\\_chappell](http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=17307&strquery=bartholomew_chappell).

<sup>573</sup> He also received support from Burghley, Lord Chandos and Lord Hungerford (*Ibid.*).

Leicester's and Huntingdon's legacy as a godly reformer at court or at least a public figure in their community.

Like the Cooke sisters in the following chapter, Lady Warwick was a patron of godly clerics suffering under late Elizabethan religious policy.<sup>574</sup> She displayed significant personal investment in the case of John Udall, a preacher from Kingston upon Thames who was called before the Court of High Commission at Lambeth for "having undermined" church reform.<sup>575</sup> Lady Warwick intervened on his behalf with the Bishop of Winchester and informed him that Udall would submit to the reforms.<sup>576</sup> Udall addressed the Commissioners "not from his own wish, but because of the suit of the Countess" who also wrote to the Archbishop and again to the Bishop.<sup>577</sup> The suit against him was dropped out of respect for his "great and many frendes".<sup>578</sup> Despite this close call, Udall continued to criticise the church and was deprived of his living in 1588, then arrested for his supposed role in writing the notorious Marprelate tracts in 1590.<sup>579</sup> Lady Warwick's involvement on behalf of such a radical cleric may suggest that her own beliefs towards reforming the church were quite strong, even though she did not attempt to further the movement at court.

Lady Warwick's administration of Bedford's lands in Exeter might have added weight in her preferment of radical preacher, Edmund Snape.<sup>580</sup>

---

<sup>574</sup> Allen, *Cooke*, 169-187; Allen, "Introduction," in *Letters of Lady Anne Bacon*, 23-27.

<sup>575</sup> Bremer and Webster, eds., *Puritans and Puritanism*, vol. 1, 253.

<sup>576</sup> Albert Peel, ed., *The Secunde Parte of a Register: Being a Calendar of Manuscripts Under that Title Intended for Publication by the Puritans about 1593* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915), 40.

<sup>577</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>578</sup> *Ibid.*, 46-47.

<sup>579</sup> Bremer and Webster, eds., *Puritans and Puritanism*, vol. 1, 253. Written under the pseudonym of Martin Marprelate, the collection of seditious tracts criticised the church, attacked bishops and promoted Presbyterianism (*Ibid.*, vol. 2, 456-457, 460-461).

<sup>580</sup> *CPR* 28: vol. 294 (C 66/1271-1285), item 232, 23 September 1586.



Snape, a personal friend of the Presbyterian leader, Thomas Cartwright, was imprisoned for two years, stripped of his ecclesiastical offices, banned from future offices and forbidden to preach for 10 years.<sup>581</sup> The day his ban lifted, the city fathers of Exeter appointed him city preacher at the request of the Countess of Warwick and Marchioness of Winchester.<sup>582</sup> It is surprising that, given her prominence at court and her belief in the godly cause, there is not more evidence of deprived or imprisoned clerics petitioning Lady Warwick for assistance. It is probable that she was approached by more individuals but that the evidence has not survived.

Despite her public support of the godly, there is no evidence that Elizabeth objected to the countess disobeying the Church of England's stance on nonconformity. This suggests that Elizabeth expected her ladies-in-waiting to treat godly clerics like any other suitors seeking assistance. Lady Warwick's religious patronage provides further evidence that aristocratic women could exercise independent political agency outside conventional family roles.

### **The wider Elizabethan community**

Lady Warwick's reputation as a powerful aristocratic woman extended beyond the court, and into the wider community. A variety of individuals pursued her favour or assistance in wardships, offices, lawsuits, leases and pardons, as well as favour.<sup>583</sup> These people were from various backgrounds

---

<sup>581</sup> Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan*, 415, 442; Bremer and Webster, eds., *Puritans and Puritanism*, vol. 1, 236-237; Collinson, "Snape, Edmund (c.1565–1608), Church of England Clergyman and Evangelical Preacher," in *ODNB*, accessed April 26, 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25973>.

<sup>582</sup> Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan*, 442; Greaves, "The Role of Women," 303.

<sup>583</sup> TNA SP 12/242/63, Pays to Burghley, 24 June 1592; 12/285/26, Lady Warwick to Caesar and Wilbraham, 3 October 1602; 46/38/334, Fanshawe to Burghley, 1 June 1593; *HMCS* 12:

and vocations such as JPs, MPs, merchants, academics, guildsmen and soldiers. Sometimes no discernible connection between them and Lady Warwick survives, creating difficulties in establishing context.<sup>584</sup>

Suitors from this category lacked the opportunity and status to plead their case personally with the queen or office-holders. For example, men in lower Household posts such as John Parry, probable Clerk of the Spicery and Christopher Pays who sought the Sergeantship of the Poultry, approached Lady Warwick for help.<sup>585</sup> The countess also assisted lower-ranked soldiers who also lacked access to the queen and sought preferment outside the military chain of command. In approximately 1597, a soldier named Jarvis Harvey approached Lady Warwick to procure a colonelcy for him via the queen, given that his previous colonel received his post from Elizabeth.<sup>586</sup> He recognised that his own merits were not enough to secure advancement and needed an “honorable parsonage” like the countess to persuade Elizabeth to grant the post.<sup>587</sup> Lady Warwick also secured a place in Portsmouth for

---

484, Parry to Lady Warwick, 24 November 1602; BL Lans. MS 158/12, Lady Warwick to Caesar, 3 June 1597 and possibly BL Add MS 12506/80, same to same, 26 July 1599; *HMCs* 5: 101, Stileman to Sir Robert Cecil, 2 February 1595; 9: 188, Corbett to Sir Robert Cecil, 14 July 1603; 14: 149, Bishop of St. Davids to Sir Robert Cecil [1600]; Cecil MS 36/47, Danyell to Sir Robert Cecil, 2 December 1595; Collier ed., *Egerton Papers*, 124; David M. Dean, "Parliament, Privy Council, and Local Politics in Elizabethan England: the Yarmouth-Lowestoft Fishing Dispute," *Albion* 22, no. 1 (1990): 58; *Sidney Papers* 2: 209, Whyte to Sidney, 8 August 1600; BL Harl. MS 6996/198, Lady Warwick to Puckering, 20 August 1594.

<sup>584</sup> For example, see BL Add. MS 12506/80, Lady Warwick to Caesar, 26 July 1599.

<sup>585</sup> Allegra Woodworth, "Purveyance for the Royal Household in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 35, no. 1 (December 1945), 60; *HMCs* 12: 484, Parry to Lady Warwick, 24 November 1602; TNA SP 12/242/63, Pays to Burghley, 24 June 1592.

<sup>586</sup> Cecil MS 130/133, Jarv. Harvye to Lady Warwick [June 1597?].

<sup>587</sup> *Ibid.* Lady Warwick agreed to move Elizabeth for a "Mr Haruy" who could be the same man but since this is unconfirmed, they have been treated as different people (WCRO MS MI229, Lady Rich to Essex, n.d).

another soldier.<sup>588</sup> A variety of other suitors also solicited her to assist them with fellowships, leases and debts.<sup>589</sup>

Allen argues that some writers dedicated their works to aristocratic women because of their “political status”, not because of any personal association with the author.<sup>590</sup> Secular literary dedications provided another opportunity for the wider Elizabethan community to acknowledge Lady Warwick as a powerful aristocratic woman and flatter her in the hopes she would assist them. For example, Robert Greene jointly dedicated his work to Lady Warwick and Lady Cumberland, praising the “fame of your Ladishops vertuous resolutions”.<sup>591</sup> Henry Lok cast his net wide for patronage, dedicating sonnets to the Privy Council, courtiers and ladies-in-waiting including Lady Warwick who later offered to “mak use of hir hig[h]ness gratius inclination,” possibly encouraging him to pursue a pension.<sup>592</sup>

---

<sup>588</sup> *SRO LM/COR/3/526*, Ham Charleton, to Sir William More, 3 February 1594; [http://www.exploringsurreypast.org.uk/collections/getrecord/SHCOL\\_LM\\_COR\\_PARTI\\_3\\_1\\_1\\_522](http://www.exploringsurreypast.org.uk/collections/getrecord/SHCOL_LM_COR_PARTI_3_1_1_522).

<sup>589</sup> *Ibid.*, *State Papers Supplementary*, Part I: General Papers to 1603, vol. 9 (London: List & Index Society, 1966), SP 46/125/236, P. van Heile to Lady Warwick, August 1596; Merton, “Women who Served,” 194: source TNA SO3/1/612V; TNA SP 12/260/21, Queen to the Mercer’s Company, 24 September 1596).

<sup>590</sup> Allen, *Cooke*, 211.

<sup>591</sup> Robert Greene, [Dedicatory epistle] in *Penelopes Web: Wherein a Christall Myrror of Faeminine Perfection Represents to the Viewe of Euery One Those Vertues and Graces, Which More Curiously Beautifies the Mynd of Women ...* (London: [by Thomas Orwin? For T[homas C[adman] and E[dward] A[ggas], [1587]), accessed July 19 2014, [http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99899100](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99899100); A3; LH Newcomb, “Greene, Robert (bap. 1558, d. 1592), Writer and Playwright,” in *ODNB*, accessed April 26, 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11418>.

<sup>592</sup> Henry Lok, *Ecclesiastes, Otherwise called The Preacher Containing Salomons Sermons or Comemntaries...* (London : Printed by Richard Field, dwelling in the Blacke-friers neare Ludgate, 1597), accessed 29 April 2014, [http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99840321](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99840321); James Doelman, "Seeking "The Fruit of Favour": the Dedicatory Sonnets of Henry Lok's Ecclesiastes," *English Literary History* 60, no. 1 (1993), 12; TNA SP 12/262/13, Lok to Sir Robert Cecil (in Thomas Robinson to John Lacy), 16 January 1597; Michael G. Brennan, “Lok, Henry (d. in or after 1608), Poet,” in *ODNB*, accessed March 11, 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16949>.

Like her assistance of court and religious connections, Lady Warwick's role as intermediary for the wider community shows that aristocratic women interacted with non-relatives in matters of court patronage. Although these suitors and writers were lower-ranked and pursued suits of minor significance, their selection of Lady Warwick as an intermediary demonstrates that her reputation extended beyond her expected sphere of influence. She appeared as an approachable ally to people in need, regardless of their rank. Although these individuals were lower-ranked than her family members or aristocratic connections, they formed part of the countess's power-base beyond the court. The breadth of the countess's reputation in the wider community adds a unique dimension to aristocratic women as public figures.

### **Limitations of power**

As Allen discovered in her study of the Cooke sisters, determining the success rate of a specific intermediary at the Elizabethan court is a difficult task.<sup>593</sup> The presence of multiple intermediaries and the exact role of each one, given that all details of a suit might not have survived, present complicating factors. Additionally, securing favour or providing information might have been the purpose of assistance and thus not necessarily recorded in a letter or legal document. However, Lady Warwick was successful in important suits regarding Bedford's wardship and in reducing her own debts, and won leases, pardons, benefices and offices for her patronage network.<sup>594</sup>

---

<sup>593</sup> Allen, *Cooke*, 148, 176.

<sup>594</sup> These included suits for Caesar, Lady Kent, Sidney, Roger Deerham, Sir George More, Sir Henry Savile, John Dive and Tobie Mathew (see Appendix E.).

Adams argues that suitors “with something to lose did not back losers.”<sup>595</sup>

The sheer number of people who solicited the countess hints at a public perception of her success in promoting suits.

Despite wide-ranging networks and varying levels of obligation, there was scope for aristocratic women to assess whether they possessed sufficient agency to pursue suits without risking their reputations. Lady Warwick was a selective intermediary, recognising when a suit exceeded her power or was simply unwinnable.<sup>596</sup> When Lady Warwick refused to assist Sidney in his pursuit of the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports, she demonstrated astute political judgment – not weakness as an intermediary. Furthermore, other courtiers declined to pursue the suit which indicates a broader level of reluctance across the court.

The experienced countess nevertheless overstepped the mark with Elizabeth on one occasion. In December 1595, she was “co[m]manded by hir highnes not to meddle w[i]th Irish causes” after trying to forward a petition for a suitor who sought compensation for service in Ireland.<sup>597</sup> By this point, Lady Warwick had acted as a go-between for her brother, as Lord Deputy of Ireland for approximately two years without incident.<sup>598</sup> Even though this particular matter did not involve Russell, Lady Warwick’s advocacy of matters associated with him or Ireland may simply have worn thin with Elizabeth who grew increasingly frustrated with Russell’s leadership. There

---

<sup>595</sup> Adams, “Court,” 123.

<sup>596</sup> She probably refused to deliver an angry Earl of Pembroke’s letter for similar reasons (TNA SP 15/30/10, Browne to Barham, 17 February 1587; *HMCD* 2: 200, Whyte to Sidney, 14 December 1595).

<sup>597</sup> Cecil MS 36/47, Danyell to Sir Robert Cecil, 2 December 1595.

<sup>598</sup> Merton, “Women who Served,” 182-183; LPL MS 612/2V, [Russell’s journal], 22 July 1594; 612/28, [Russell’s journal], 3 August 1595; *HMCS* 5: 53-54, Smith to [Lady Warwick], December 1594; 444, McCarthy to Sir Robert Cecil, 10 November 1595; TNA SO 3/1/511, February 1595.

is no evidence that the queen objected to Lady Warwick's involvement in Irish affairs based on her gender. Whatever the reason behind Elizabeth's command, the matter blew over and the countess returned to the same sorts of activities. She continued to correspond with her brother, acted as his go-between with Elizabeth and recommended Irish captaincies without further incident.<sup>599</sup> Moreover, she was still involved in Irish matters even after Russell's dismissal.<sup>600</sup> Perhaps, like the male favourites, Lady Warwick suffered a blast of Elizabeth's anger but quickly returned to favour after the queen calmed down.<sup>601</sup>

In 1600, soldier and sea captain, Sir Robert Cross, reported Cecil's advice to him that "the Quene would gieue them [ladies-in-waiting] good wordes it [sic] they should neuer effect suttee" and added that he "found that to be ... wyse frendly & True Counsell".<sup>602</sup> Perhaps Cecil and Cross picked the wrong women since there is no record that the Countess of Warwick moved the queen for them. Furthermore, the men conveniently ignored a series of factors that limited the power of all intermediaries at court, regardless of gender.

The nature of the queen was the biggest obstacle facing aristocratic men and women seeking patronage for themselves or others. Elizabeth constantly procrastinated, prevaricated and changed her mind to manipulate and manoeuvre her court, and could be resistant to persuasion depending on

---

<sup>599</sup> *HMCS* 6: 230, Russell to the queen, 30 June 1596; 559, Troops for Ireland, 1596; LPL MS 612/10, [Russell's journal], 8 April 1597; 612/111, [Russell's journal], 1 May 1597; Cecil MS 49/87, Lady Warwick to Sir Robert Cecil, 30 March 1597.

<sup>600</sup> *HMCS* 9: 290, Talkame to Downhall, 11 August 1599; *HMCS* 9: 298, Cuffe to Reynoldes, 14 August 1599; LPL MS 615/340, Mountjoy to Carew, 5 September 1601.

<sup>601</sup> Hammer, "Absolute," 47; Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 56-57.

<sup>602</sup> Cecil MS 78/96, Cross to Sir Robert Cecil, 26 April 1600; *Hasler* 1: 686-687.

her mood.<sup>603</sup> In this way, she exercised control and dominance over her court despite her age. Competition was always a factor for intermediaries. For instance, Lady Warwick could not place a Mr Claye in the vicarage of Tavistock because Sir Thomas Bromley, the Lord Chancellor, had already fixed the Great Seal to papers supporting another man.<sup>604</sup> An intermediary's morality could also be a limiting factor. For example, Lady Warwick retreated from supporting a William Oldsworth in a wardship after deciding that a rival candidate was more suitable.<sup>605</sup>

Finally, like other courtiers of both sexes, Lady Warwick's agency was potentially limited by enemies at court, such as Lady Russell whose grievances are discussed above. Lady Russell's sister Anne, Lady Bacon, may have been similarly angered by the countess's machinations against the Russell girls who were also her nieces. Lady Bacon insinuated that Lady Warwick wielded power for her own ends, telling her son that "you would not notice [Lady Warwick] performing court duties for the queen" and urged him to be "ware & circumspect & not be too open in wysing to p[ro]long speche w[i]th the cowntess of Warwyck."<sup>606</sup> Significantly, Lady Russell and Lady Bacon were aunts to Sir Robert Cecil who might also have been upset by Lady Warwick's treatment of his cousins, Elizabeth and Anne Russell. It is also likely that the outspoken Lady Russell and Lady Bacon spoke against Lady Warwick to their nephew. Furthermore, the countess's servant spread unfounded rumours about Cecil's niece, Elizabeth, Lady Hatton, and exposed

---

<sup>603</sup> Guy, "1590s," 4; Bundesen, "No Other Faction," 47.

<sup>604</sup> TNA SP 12/202/39, June 1587.

<sup>605</sup> The other candidate had family support to hold the wardship (*HMCS* 14: 149, Bishop of St Davids to Sir Robert Cecil, [1600]).

<sup>606</sup> Stewart, "Voices," 89; Allen, *Cooke*, 100, 102; Allen, ed., *Letters of Lady Anne Bacon*, 140; LPL MS 651/328, Lady Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 5 August 1595.

his other niece, Elizabeth, Countess of Derby, as an adultress to her husband.<sup>607</sup> Thus there was potential for Cecil to dislike the countess and may explain Lady Anne Clifford's statement in her memoir that "Sir R. Cecil and the House of the Howards ... did not much love my aunt Warwick."<sup>608</sup> However, although Cecil could have undermined her with the queen, there is no evidence that he did so or that the Howards worked against her.<sup>609</sup>

Aristocratic men and women shared a set of common limitations as intermediaries at court but also possessed different strengths and weaknesses determined by gender and character. Although gender restricted Lady Warwick's exercise of power in that she could not hold high office or sit on the Privy Council, it nevertheless empowered her by placing her in close proximity to the queen. Suitors might have preferred her assistance in matters requiring the queen's signature, but not debate in the Privy Council. Conversely, suitors might have approached men in their official capacities, but not for information on Elizabeth's mood. Suitors decided which political agent to solicit based on the skills and attributes most likely to win their suit.

## Conclusion

In 1610, Jacobean courtier Rowland Vaughan reminisced that:

in Queen Elizabeth's days my Lady of Warwick, Mistress Blanche [Parry] and my Lady Scudamore in little lay matters would steal opportunity to serve their friends' turns ... because none of these (near and dear ladies) durst intermeddle so far in matters of commonwealth.<sup>610</sup>

---

<sup>607</sup> TNA SP 12/270/102, Affidavit of Mary Berham, 30 April 1599; *HMCS* 7: 339, Mylar to Sir Robert Cecil, 9 August 1597; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 385.

<sup>608</sup> Clifford ed., *Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, 22; Acheson, ed., *Memoir*, 45.

<sup>609</sup> Presumably she meant Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, Henry Howard and Thomas, Lord Howard de Walden.

<sup>610</sup> Rowland Vaughan, *Rowland Vaughan: his Booke*, comp. Ellen Beatrice Wood (John Hodges: London, 1897), repub. and prefaced Ellen Beatrice Wood, accessed March 15, 2015, [http://www.archive.org/details/rowlandvaughanhi00vaugrich\\_57](http://www.archive.org/details/rowlandvaughanhi00vaugrich_57); Haigh, *Elizabeth I*, 97.



This statement superficially suggests that aristocratic women only dealt in matters of little to no political import, but deeper examination presents an alternative perspective.<sup>611</sup> A handwritten note on the same page in Vaughan's book describes the three women as "a Trinity of Ladies able to work miracles".<sup>612</sup> Vaughan's "miracles" become politically significant when viewed through the prism of Harris's scholarship which considers the pursuit of royal favour, patronage and dynastic power to be political acts.<sup>613</sup>

The Countess of Warwick's agency at court was politically significant. First, she pursued matters of national importance in military and foreign affairs, county governance, and religious politics. Lady Warwick helped determine who wielded power through offices and resources, and offered Essex a lifeline that could have altered the balance of power at court. She influenced key political figures and helped to shape the Elizabethan political landscape.

Secondly, her role as companion favourite provided crucial stability for Elizabeth over 43 years. Lady Warwick's longevity in the Bedchamber calmed the mercurial queen and kept the court running smoothly. She knew Elizabeth's opinions, understood her preferences, predicted her actions, persuaded her to grant favours and acted as the queen's lynchpin in her Bedchamber. Lady Warwick's daily life and business was so closely bound with Elizabeth's that it made her a public political figure in her own right. Moreover, others recognised the potential underlying their relationship.

---

<sup>611</sup> Vaughan romanticised the past to contrast with his own failed career which declined after the death of his aunt, Blanche Parry, left him with no Bedchamber advocate (Richardson, *Mistress Blanche*, 58).

<sup>612</sup> Vaughan, *Rowland Vaughan*, 57; Richardson, *Mistress Blanche*, 58.

<sup>613</sup> Harris, "Women," 271-281; Harris, "View," 220, 222, 247; Harris, "Property," 629.

Finally, she pursued dynastic power and furthered family as “the key political unit” of society.<sup>614</sup> The countess controlled the financial and political fortunes of the Russell and Dudley dynasties through shrewd stewardship of family estates, strengthening their economic capital and advocating for them at court. Her careful management of Dudley lands and debts enabled Sidney to inherit Warwick’s legacy intact, and she furthered the interests of other relatives. She also proved a firm friend to people associated with the Russell and Dudley families, demonstrating that familial obligations extended to the networks surrounding families as well as the families themselves.

Lady Warwick’s actions demonstrate that a sister, aunt, wife or kinswoman could be vital to the dynastic success of aristocratic families. Although her childlessness ended the Dudley dynasty, it gave her freedom to promote family, particularly her birth kin. Like widowhood, childlessness was not desirable for aristocratic women but presented opportunities to wield power and distribute resources independently. Lady Warwick performed most of her recorded activities as a widow, demonstrating that this period was the height of her career when she wielded “maximum female autonomy”.<sup>615</sup>

This case study also demonstrates that women’s networks were broad structures of power underpinning their motivations and power at court. Women acted on behalf of close and extended kin, as well as individuals surrounding family groups but also expended emotional and material resources on individuals with no family connection. Lady Warwick’s reputation as a powerful political agent and intermediary extended beyond the

---

<sup>614</sup> Harris, “View,” 222.

<sup>615</sup> Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, 180.

court and into the wider community. Moreover, when women wielded power outside the family or the royal Household without rebuke, they proved that independent female agency was an established and expected part of the exercise of power in late Elizabethan England.

The Countess of Warwick excelled in every element of her career, suggesting that she exercised power out of personal desire as well as obligation. Lady Warwick's career soared to heights beyond the reach of most aristocratic men and women for two reasons. First, her character enabled her to acquire and maintain power through personal relationships. She became Elizabeth's companion favourite because the queen enjoyed her company. Lady Warwick was also altruistic, possibly prompting Wotton's description of her as a "virtuous user of her power".<sup>616</sup> Secondly, Lady Warwick exercised power appropriately for a peeress. Like successful men at court, she knew her place and kept within her limits. Moreover, Lady Warwick was conscious of her role as a subject, never questioning the monarch's prerogative. Her case study demonstrates that female agency complemented male agency at court. Lady Warwick derived power from multiple sources, unlike the Cooke sisters, the subjects of the next chapter who relied heavily on two male relatives at court.

---

<sup>616</sup> Wotton, *Parallel*, 13. She received two gifts from suitors (*State Papers Supplementary*, Part I: General Papers to 1603, vol. 9 (London: List & Index Society, 1966), SP 46/125/236, P. van Heile to Lady Warwick, August 1596; Merton, "Women who Served," 185: source BLO Ballard MS 43/138/277, 23 November 1579). A group of fishmongers tried unsuccessfully to present her with gifts, whilst a claim she received a fee for assistance was vigorously denied (Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, 338; *HMCS* 4: 558, Sherley to Sir Robert Cecil, 8 July 1594).

## Chapter 4

### **The Politics of Family and Faction: Anne, Lady Bacon and Elizabeth, Lady Russell**

The Cooke sisters Anne, Lady Bacon and Elizabeth, Lady Russell were close kin to two of the most powerful men at the late Elizabethan court – their brother-in-law, Lord Burghley and their nephew, Sir Robert Cecil. Their kinship obligations and allegiances to the Cecils were tested when Lady Bacon's sons, Anthony and Francis, felt betrayed by the Cecils' failure to promote them at court in the 1590s. The Bacon brothers turned to Robert Devereux, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Essex, for patronage and friendship, deepening tensions between the groups since Essex considered the younger Cecil his political opponent. Thus the sisters were caught in the middle with close kin in both the Cecil and Essex political camps.<sup>617</sup> This chapter examines the extent to which membership within a family obligated aristocratic women like Lady Bacon and Lady Russell to support a political faction at the late Elizabethan court.

Pam Wright argues that a lack of support for a specific Essexian or Cecilian faction in the Bedchamber in the 1590s demonstrated aristocratic women's impotence in politics.<sup>618</sup> This contrasts strongly with studies of aristocratic men and faction which question the nature of court factionalism itself, not the political agency of men who did not follow a faction.<sup>619</sup> This

---

<sup>617</sup> For the Cooke family, see Appendix C.

<sup>618</sup> Wright, "Change in Direction," 159-161.

<sup>619</sup> Adams, "Favourites"; Adams, "Faction," 14, 17-19; Adams, "Eliza," 30, 33, 34-35, 37; Adams, "Court," 123; Hammer, "Absolute," 42; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 2; Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 64-114; Mears, "Regnum," 50-63.

chapter applies the latter perspective to aristocratic women, restoring a balance to the way men and women are analysed as political agents within groups at court. It also argues that neutrality was not a sign of political weakness, but a deliberate stance by the Cooke sisters to maintain harmonious kin relationships.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Simon Adams, Paul Hammer and Janet Dickinson argue for a narrow interpretation of court factionalism to distinguish it from simple political rivalry.<sup>620</sup> Their definitions assert that factions were two politically cohesive groups in direct opposition to each other at the Elizabethan court.<sup>621</sup> Dickinson, Natalie Mears and Alexandra Gajda question the presence of factionalism at court until after the death of Burghley in 1598, citing cross-court collaboration, prevalence of skewed surviving evidence and a flawed perception of Cecilian political hegemony as reasons why factionalism was not prevalent through the entire decade.<sup>622</sup> Whilst the Cecils cultivated a number of key allies - namely Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst (Lord Treasurer); Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham (Lord Admiral); Sir John Stanhope (Vice-Chamberlain of the Household) and Sir Thomas Heneage (Vice-Chamberlain of the Household) – they did not expect their loyalty as factional followers.<sup>623</sup> This makes a cohesive Cecil faction difficult to discern.

Given the struggle to identify members of a Cecil faction based on political allegiance, there is scope to examine whether it consisted of kin

---

<sup>620</sup> Adams, "Faction," 13, 14; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 356-357; Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 66.

<sup>621</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>622</sup> Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 68-71, 74-75, 77; Gajda, *Earl of Essex*, 142; Mears, "Regnum," 47. See also Hammer, *Polarisation*, 357.

<sup>623</sup> Mears, "Regnum," 49-50, 54, 56, 58, 63.

expected to be loyal to the Cecils and, correspondingly, opposed to Essex and his circle. G.R. Elton espoused the dual perspective of kin and factional loyalty when he described kinship as the “most powerful faction-cement of the age”.<sup>624</sup> However, as this chapter will demonstrate in two separate case studies, the relationship between kinship and factional membership does not support this theory and instead adds further weight to scholarly arguments questioning the presence of clear-cut factionalism in the 1590s.

Aristocratic women shared mutually beneficial relationships with the members of their birth families, providing each other with practical assistance, patronage and emotional connections.<sup>625</sup> Barbara Harris even argues that women’s birth families were “the most important members of their extended networks”.<sup>626</sup> Where possible, siblings were obligated to assist one another.<sup>627</sup> The sisters were related to men on both sides of the political divide through a common Cooke family connection that encompassed their spouses and children, connecting a younger generation through matrilineal kinship.

Although they were bound to their birth kin, Lady Bacon and Lady Russell experienced conflicting loyalties as a result of their careers within the family.<sup>628</sup> Scholars have convincingly demonstrated that aunts played vital roles in the dynastic success of their birth families, providing material and

---

<sup>624</sup> G. R. Elton, “Presidential Address: Tudor Government: the Points of Contact: III: the Court,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, 26 (1976), 227.

<sup>625</sup> Harris, *English*, 11, 175.

<sup>626</sup> *Ibid.*, 175.

<sup>627</sup> Jeffries, “Women, Marriage and Survival,” 185-227; Broomhall and Van Gent, “Corresponding Affections”; Crawford, *Blood*, 209, 223, 225, 226; Pollock, “Rethinking,” 5; Harris, “Sisterhood,” 32-33; Harris, *English*, 181, 185.

<sup>628</sup> For women’s lives as careers, see Harris, *English*, 5-6.

affective support to their siblings' children.<sup>629</sup> Lady Bacon and Lady Russell were similarly obligated to assist each other's children as well as those of their deceased sister, Mildred. In 1545, Mildred married Sir William Cecil (later Lord Burghley), who was a vital court connection for the sisters until his death in August 1598.<sup>630</sup> Burghley was bound to her sisters in a similar fashion to a brother and thus subject to Lady Bacon's and Lady Russell's expectations that they could rely on him.<sup>631</sup> The case study of Lady Russell also explores the concept of kin reconciliation as a duty of an aunt and kinswoman. Despite these obligations, the responsibilities of an aristocratic mother to her children took precedence.<sup>632</sup> Lady Bacon and Lady Russell strove tirelessly to promote their children, putting their needs first. As widows, they singlehandedly took on a raft of responsibilities for their children including managing their estates, arranging their education, negotiating their marriages and protecting their inheritances.

Relationships with birth kin were balanced against obligations and commitments to the other members of their dense kinship networks. In contrast to men who focused their primary attention on their own dynastic line, women divided their resources and affections between their "accumulated" families.<sup>633</sup> The breadth of aristocratic women's networks across the political spectrum could divide loyalties and test kinship obligations. For instance, Lady Russell was kin to the Cecils, but also to the

---

<sup>629</sup> Harris, *English*, 172, 175, 188-204; O'Day, "Matchmaking," 275-288, 291-295; Byard, "Trade of Courtiership," 20, 22, 24, 27.

<sup>630</sup> Mildred was Cecil's second wife. His first wife, Mary Cheke, died in 1544 (*CP* 2: 429). This study excludes Mildred because she died in 1589 before the political divisions reached their peak.

<sup>631</sup> Harris, *English*, 185, 188.

<sup>632</sup> *Ibid.*, 167-172, 201.

<sup>633</sup> *Ibid.*, 16, 128, 242.

families strongly connected to the Essex circle such as the Russells, Dudleys and Sidneys.<sup>634</sup> Moreover, the broad concept of kinship also bound the sisters to Essex in another way. The earl was raised in their sister, Mildred's, household and became fictive kin to the Cecils as well as the Cooke sisters who may have considered him a form of nephew.<sup>635</sup>

Although it was not factional, aristocratic family and kinship support was certainly political as it dealt with the pursuit of royal favour, patronage and dynastic power as well as the pursuit of high office.<sup>636</sup> Assisting kin in matters such as these invoked a series of inherent but unqualified obligations to individuals within the kinship network. Linda Pollock argues that the term 'kindness' was initially associated with kinship and affection but evolved into a "moral obligation that was particularly owed to family members".<sup>637</sup>

Courtiers were compelled to assist kin at court to a certain extent, depending on their interpretation of the boundaries of kinship obligations, but there was a point where the obligation to fulfil a request from kin became more voluntary. Even the most powerful patrons could not realistically pursue or satisfy the multitude of requests they received for patronage.<sup>638</sup> Thus disappointment or conflict could arise when assistance fell short of expectations and, in certain situations, severe consequences could arise for court politics.<sup>639</sup>

Sharon Kettering explores a similar phenomenon at the early modern French court. In her work on patronage and kinship, she argues that kin could

---

<sup>634</sup> See Appendices A, B and C.

<sup>635</sup> Croft, "Mildred," 285; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 22-24. For the bonds created during fosterage, see Llinos Beverley Smith, "Fosterage, Adoption and God-Parenthood: Ritual and Fictive Kinship in Medieval Wales," *Welsh History Review* 16, no. 1 (1992), 1-11, 16-35.

<sup>636</sup> Harris, "Women," 271-281; Harris, "View," 220, 222, 247; Harris, "Property," 629.

<sup>637</sup> Pollock, "Practice of Kindness," 140.

<sup>638</sup> *Ibid.*, 138.

<sup>639</sup> *Ibid.*, 144-146.



be members of a patron's clientele, but not always.<sup>640</sup> For example, a powerful man could initially assist kin out of obligation but regular assistance constituted a progression to a different patron-client relationship that only developed if kin proved their value.<sup>641</sup> Otherwise, there was no obligation to always fulfil patronage requests from kin who were not worth the patron's efforts.<sup>642</sup> Extrapolating Kettering's arguments to the late Elizabethan court, the Cecils might have assisted kin initially but not felt obligated to constantly promote them in all matters.

The sisters are ideal subjects for case studies on the impact of political tensions on kin relationships and allegiances at the late Elizabethan court. They uniquely claimed kinship with men on both sides of the Essexian and Cecilian political divide, challenging loyalties and expectations.<sup>643</sup> This chapter sheds light on the power of matrilineal kinship connections since the kinship group was related through the Cooke sisters as mothers or aunts. In contrast to the Countess of Warwick, the subject of the previous chapter, these case studies examine aristocratic women residing outside the court who did not share a close bond with the queen.<sup>644</sup> Since few enjoyed the privileged access of the ladies in the Bedchamber, the sisters represent a greater number of aristocratic women who visited court for patronage or social reasons.

The court in the 1590s provided opportunities for Lady Bacon and Lady Russell to step on to the political stage. First, Archbishop Whitgift's

---

<sup>640</sup> Kettering, "Patronage and Kinship," 410, 419, 432.

<sup>641</sup> *Ibid.*, 409, 429.

<sup>642</sup> *Ibid.*, 429, 433.

<sup>643</sup> See Appendix C.

<sup>644</sup> There is no evidence to support Phillippy's suggestion that Elizabeth Cooke was friends with Princess Elizabeth ("Introduction," 7). For Lady Russell's New Year's and christening gifts from the queen, see Lawson, ed., *Elizabethan New Year's*, 132, 203, 198, 324. There are no extant New Year's gift records for Lady Bacon.

religious reforms, coupled with the deaths of key supporters such as Leicester and Walsingham, irreparably damaged the nonconformist godly movement.<sup>645</sup> Aristocratic women, such as the sisters, advocated for godly clerics with their networks, incorporated them in their households and protected them in their parishes.<sup>646</sup> Secondly, the political ascendancy of their relatives provided opportunities for power and influence. Until his death in August 1598, their brother-in-law, Burghley, wielded power in key offices including Lord Treasurer, Master of the Court of Wards, Acting Secretary of State and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.<sup>647</sup> His son, Sir Robert Cecil, became more powerful when he gained a seat on the Privy Council in 1591 and the post of Principal Secretary in 1596.<sup>648</sup> Thirdly, the political divisions between particularly the younger Cecil and Essex provided the circumstances for women to derive power from conflict.<sup>649</sup> During this time, the suits for the vacant posts of Attorney-General and Solicitor-General were catalysts for additional competition between Cecil and Essex who supported rival candidates. Essex and his circle grew increasingly frustrated at Cecil's power at court, control of key posts and influence over the queen. Their attitudes and actions affected Lady Bacon in particular since her son, Francis, competed for appointment to these posts in this hostile environment.

This chapter focuses predominantly on the 1590s when Lady Bacon and Lady Russell were widows and their children sought political careers.

The Bacon Papers provide an extensive correspondence between Lady

---

<sup>645</sup> Sheils, "Whitgift, John"; McGrath, *Papists*, 213, 214, 216, 220; Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan*, 245, 385; Guy, "Elizabethan Establishment," 129, 137; Guy, "1590s," 2.

<sup>646</sup> Greaves, "Foundation Builders," 76-82; Willen, "Godly Women," 564, 569, 576.

<sup>647</sup> Hammer, "Last Decade," 56.

<sup>648</sup> Croft, "Cecil, Robert".

<sup>649</sup> Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 79.

Bacon, who was in her mid-60s, and her son, Anthony, after he returned to England in 1592.<sup>650</sup> Similarly, all but six of Lady Russell's surviving letters were written from her mid-40s onwards so her second widowhood is best represented in the extant evidence.<sup>651</sup> Although scholars argue that some contemporaries criticised the sisters as widows who did not echo the male voice of a husband, this chapter argues that widowhood brought the sisters increased freedom and authority in court and family politics.<sup>652</sup>

This chapter presents individual case studies of Lady Bacon and Lady Russell to argue that aristocratic women did not follow, nor were expected to follow, court factions by virtue of their kinship. It separately examines the sisters in their approaches, attitudes and allegiances towards the Cecils and their political 'opponents', the Essex circle. The first case study analyses Lady Bacon's career, focusing on her relationship with Burghley, her approach to divided loyalties as a mother, aunt and sister-in-law, and her interactions with the Essex circle. The second case study explores Lady Russell's close relationship with Burghley and Cecil, her role as a mediator within a kinship group as an aunt and sister-in-law, and her desire to restore harmony at court.

Numerous scholars have studied the lives of Lady Bacon and Lady Russell separately and together. Both women are the subjects of short

---

<sup>650</sup> The Bacon Papers end abruptly in 1598. Anthony may have destroyed letters when he left Essex House in March 1600 or Essex may have burned them during the siege in 1601 (Allen, "Introduction," 44; Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 179; Hammer, "Uses of Scholarship," 30, 47; Gajda, *Earl of Essex*, 39).

<sup>651</sup> Phillippy, "Introduction," 26.

<sup>652</sup> Allen, *Cooke*, 10, 204, 217-225; Stewart, "Voices," 88-89. For the powers of widows, see Harris, "Defining," 740; Harris, "Property," 614-615; Harris, *English*, 17-20, 61, 117, 128-134, 152-159; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, 175; Larminie, "Fighting," 105; O'Day, "Tudor," 131; Eales, *Women*, 20, Erickson, *Women and Property*, 25, 33, 80, 156, 161, 204, 212-217, 221; Woolcott, "Maternity's Wards," 80.

biographical articles in the *ODNB*, whilst Chris Laoutaris provides a general, semi-biographical account of Lady Russell and her quest to move Shakespeare's theatre from near her Blackfriars home but the work lacks scholarly detail.<sup>653</sup> Works on their powerful male kin situate the sisters within family networks as mothers, wives, sisters-in-law and aunts.<sup>654</sup> In her chapter on the rhetoric and reception of Lady Bacon's letters to her son, Anthony, Lynne Magnusson highlights her expression of maternal authority in her correspondence.<sup>655</sup> Felicity Heal analyses Lady Russell's suit for Donnington Castle and her son, Thomas's, suit against trespassing neighbours to explore aristocratic family honour and reputation.<sup>656</sup>

Some studies focus on the sisters' unique education as two of the five learned Cooke sisters, such as Mary Ellen Lamb's chapter on society's attitudes towards the sisters and Louise Schleiner's discussion of their progression from translating works to expressing their own opinions in texts.<sup>657</sup> Magnusson argues that Lady Bacon used her humanist education to advance the godly cause.<sup>658</sup> Gemma Allen's volume is the most substantial

---

<sup>653</sup> Magnusson, "Bacon [Cooke], Anne, Lady Bacon (c.1528–1610), Gentlewoman and Scholar," in *ODNB*, accessed November 6, 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/987>; Pamela Priestland, "Russell, Elizabeth, Lady Russell [other married name Elizabeth Hoby, Lady Hoby] (1528–1609), Linguist and Courtier," in *ODNB*, accessed October 31, 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13411>; Laoutaris, *Shakespeare and the Countess: the Battle that Gave Birth to the Globe* (London: Fig Tree, 2014).

<sup>654</sup> Alford, *Burghley*, 55, 67, 69-70, 79, 145, 219, 224, 229; Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, 13-15, 26, 31, 150, 148-149, 173-177; Dorothy M. Meads, ed., *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599-1605* (London: Routledge, 1930), 12-32; Robert Tittler, *Nicholas Bacon: the Making of a Tudor Statesman* (Ohio University Press: Ohio, 1976), 49-54, 57, 156, 169.

<sup>655</sup> Magnusson, "Widowhood," 3-33.

<sup>656</sup> Felicity Heal, "Reputation and Honour in Court and Country: Lady Elizabeth Russell and Sir Thomas Hoby," *Royal Historical Society Transactions*, 6 no. 6 (1996), 162-169, 177-178.

<sup>657</sup> Mary Ellen Lamb, "The Cooke Sisters: Attitudes Towards Learned Women in the Renaissance," in *Silent but for the Word*; Louise Schleiner, *Tudor and Stuart Women Writers* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 30-51.

<sup>658</sup> Magnusson, "Imagining a National Church: Election and Education in the Works of Anne Cooke Bacon," *Literature Compass* 9, no. 3 (2012); Magnusson, "Bacon [Cooke]".

work on the effects of the Cooke sisters' humanist education, arguing that their skills enhanced their authority and legitimacy in political matters.<sup>659</sup>

The survival of many of the sisters' texts and correspondence has prompted compilations and analysis of their epistolary endeavours. For example, Allen provides transcriptions of more than 200 letters written or received by Lady Bacon.<sup>660</sup> Patricia Phillippy similarly compiles Lady Russell's extant correspondence, verse, tomb inscriptions, entertainments and her will, building on the transcriptions in Elizabeth Farber's 1977 PhD thesis.<sup>661</sup> Peter Davidson and Jane Stevenson also outline her role as deviser of entertainments performed during the royal visit to Bisham in 1592, arguing that Lady Russell used the occasion to promote her daughters for Maid-of-Honour posts.<sup>662</sup>

The sisters' prominent support of the godly has also received attention from religious scholars. William Urwick's nineteenth-century book on nonconformist religion in Hertfordshire provides the first glimpse of Lady Bacon's extensive activities on behalf of godly clerics, whilst A.P. Pearson outlines the sisters' advocacy for the Presbyterian leader, Thomas Cartwright.<sup>663</sup> Stewart reconciles Lady Bacon's public image as a learned scholar and translator as a young woman and wife, with her reputation as a

---

<sup>659</sup> Allen, *Cooke*, 7-8; 96-123.

<sup>660</sup> Allen, ed., *Letters of Lady Anne Bacon*, 51-288.

<sup>661</sup> Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 42-447; Elizabeth Farber, "Letters of Lady Elizabeth Russell (1540-1609)" (unpub. Ph.D. diss.: University of Cambridge, 1977).

<sup>662</sup> Peter Davidson and Jane Stevenson, "Elizabeth I's Reception at Bisham (1592): Elite Women as Writers and Devisers," in *The Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

<sup>663</sup> William Urwick, *Nonconformity in Herts.: Being Lectures Upon the Nonconforming Worthies of St. Albans, and Memorials of Puritanism and Nonconformity in All the Parishes of the County of Hertford* (London: Hazell, Watson, and Viney Limited, 1884), 86-87, 92-94, 106-115, 118-119, 291-294, 383, 385, 426; Pearson, *Thomas Cartwright*, 326, 345-346, 467-470.

belligerent old widow.<sup>664</sup> Allen also examines Lady Bacon's 1564 translation of the '*Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*' as evidence of her ability to articulate and engage with the godly cause and religious politics and, most recently, provides a comprehensive reconstruction of the Cooke sisters' religious networks in her book.<sup>665</sup>

Only Allen specifically addresses the political significance of the sisters in their own right. In a chapter on the political networks of all five sisters, she assesses their valuable roles as wives of important men and intermediaries who led politically consequential lives.<sup>666</sup> This chapter builds on Allen's work, breaking new ground in providing a detailed analysis of the impact of political tensions at court on the family roles and loyalties of the only two Cooke sisters alive in the 1590s. In doing so, it credits them with significant political agency during this relatively short window of time at the late Elizabethan court.

## **Lady Bacon**

Lady Bacon's place as second wife and mother of sons outside a main line of dynastic descent determined her political trajectory and career. Anthony and Francis Bacon's political and financial success were closely intertwined with their mother's place and position. She relied heavily on her Cecil kin, particularly the powerful Burghley, to assist her and her sons throughout their

---

<sup>664</sup> Stewart, "Voices".

<sup>665</sup> Allen, "'a briefe and plaine declaration': Lady Anne Bacon's 1564 Translation of the *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*," in *Women and Writing, c. 1340-1650: the Domestication of Print Culture*, ed. Anne Lawrence-Mathers and Phillipa Hardman (York: York Medieval Press, 2010); Allen, *Cooke*, 167-201.

<sup>666</sup> Allen, *Cooke*, 124-166.

lives until their failure to help her sons constituted a personal betrayal in her eyes.

Anne was born in 1528 or 1529 to Sir Anthony Cooke and his wife, Anne (née Fitzwilliam).<sup>667</sup> She is best known as the second of the five learned Cooke sisters who received an outstanding humanist education through their father, a prominent courtier at the late Henrician court.<sup>668</sup> The girls were taught classical literature and rhetoric, as well as Italian, Greek and Latin.<sup>669</sup> Cooke raised his daughters to become passionate, lifelong supporters of the godly cause.<sup>670</sup> This decision shaped the lives of the Cooke sisters who became admired “ladies elect”, using their skills and resources to promote religious reform and protect the godly.<sup>671</sup> Allen considers Lady Bacon the more zealous of the sisters, assisting clerics but not the episcopacy with religious patronage.<sup>672</sup>

Along with her sisters, Anne founded a “formidable family network of Elizabethan courtiers and local administrators”.<sup>673</sup> In 1553, she married Sir Nicholas Bacon, attorney of the Court of Wards and Liveries and rising star at the court of Edward VI, and became stepmother to Bacon’s six children from his first marriage to Jane Ferneley.<sup>674</sup> Bacon’s manor, Redgrave, was

---

<sup>667</sup> Allen, *Cooke*, 1; Magnusson, “Bacon [Cooke]”.

<sup>668</sup> Margaret married the goldsmith, Ralph Rowlett, and died in 1558, whilst Katherine, who married the diplomat Henry Killigrew in 1565, did not play a great role in court politics (Allen, *Cooke*, 3-4).

<sup>669</sup> For their education, see *Ibid.*, 1, 18-55. Allen disputes the popular notion that Cooke tutored Edward VI (*Ibid.*, 1).

<sup>670</sup> Cooke fled to the Continent when Mary Tudor reintroduced Catholicism (*Ibid.*, 2).

<sup>671</sup> Willen, “Godly Women,” 567; Allen, *Cooke*, 167-193.

<sup>672</sup> Allen, *Cooke*, 167-168, 192.

<sup>673</sup> Eales, *Women*, 52.

<sup>674</sup> Tittler, *Nicholas Bacon*, 41-52. Jane Ferneley died in 1552 (A. Hassell Smith and Gillian M. Baker (eds.), *Papers of Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey*, vol. 1 (Norwich: Norfolk Historical Society, 1979), xvi). Lady Bacon’s stepchildren were Elizabeth (born 1541); Anne (born 1545); Nicholas (born 1543); Nathaniel (born 1546); Edward (born 1548) and Elizabeth (born 1551) (*Ibid.*).

located in Suffolk but his frequent attendance at court led him to purchase lands in Hertfordshire where he built another estate, Gorhambury, from 1560.<sup>675</sup> Whereas Redgrave remained the ancestral home of Bacon's first set of children, Lady Bacon raised his next set of children at Gorhambury. Her sons, Anthony (born 1558) and Francis (born 1561) were Bacon's fourth and fifth sons and thus not the main dynastic heirs.<sup>676</sup> Bacon became a vital part of the Elizabethan polity, rising to become a Privy Councillor and Lord Keeper, but died in 1579.<sup>677</sup> Lady Bacon remained a widow and lived predominantly at Gorhambury as head of the household in Anthony's absence.

Bacon's death robbed his youngest sons of a valuable patron. Instead of a court career, Anthony chose to travel abroad as a diplomatic agent for Sir Francis Walsingham and Burghley for 12 years.<sup>678</sup> He returned in 1592, expecting preferment as reward for serving his uncle but did not receive it. He became an intimate of the Earl of Essex who created a place for him as coordinator of his intelligence network.<sup>679</sup> Anthony was plagued by illness throughout his adult life which prevented him attending court and consequently did not advance politically.<sup>680</sup> His younger brother, the capable

---

<sup>675</sup> Tittler, *Nicholas Bacon*, 66-67. Elizabeth visited the Bacons at Gorhambury in 1572, 1573 and 1577 (*Ibid.*, 146-157; Hill Cole, *Portable Queen*, 69, 76, 152, 185, 186, 190).

<sup>676</sup> She also bore him two daughters who died young (Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, 28).

<sup>677</sup> Tittler, *Nicholas Bacon*, 84-198; Allen, "Introduction," 9.

<sup>678</sup> Alan Stewart, "Bacon, Anthony (1558-1601), Spy," in *ODNB*, accessed October 31, 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/988>; Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, 74-77, 87-95, 100-115.

<sup>679</sup> Stewart, "Bacon, Anthony"; Hammer, "Uses of Scholarship," 30, 35-36; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 163-164; Gajda, *Earl of Essex*, 10-11, 23, 39; 124-125.

<sup>680</sup> Stewart, "Bacon, Anthony". For his health, see LPL MS 649/337, Anthony Bacon to Lady Bacon, 19 October 1593; Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, 36-37, 89, 136, 140, 240.



and ambitious Sir Francis Bacon, trained as a lawyer at the Inns of Court.<sup>681</sup> As a keen courtier, he was more successful than the relatively housebound Anthony. He received some minor offices, built networks at court and became an MP but, like many men of talent in the 1590s, lacked opportunities to build a successful political career.<sup>682</sup> Like Anthony, he turned to Essex for friendship and patronage in the early 1590s when assistance from the Cecils did not eventuate.<sup>683</sup>

Anthony's and Francis's failure to succeed financially and politically deeply affected Lady Bacon. In his will, Bacon had urged his widow to "see to the well brynginge upp of my twoo sonnes ... that are nowe lefte poore orphans without a father".<sup>684</sup> She undertook the responsibility to protect her sons whose financial situation was dire for young men of their status since Francis did not inherit any estates and Anthony could not inherit until he turned 24.<sup>685</sup> When he did, his elder half-brother, Nicholas, had to consent to any sales of land.<sup>686</sup> Moreover, although Essex employed Anthony as his intelligence coordinator, he received favour and gifts as recompense, not a salary.<sup>687</sup> Neither brother married during Elizabeth's reign, so did not benefit

---

<sup>681</sup> Markku Peltonen, "Bacon, Francis Viscount St Alban (1561–1626), Lord Chancellor, Politician and Philosopher," in *ODNB*, accessed October 31, 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/990>.

<sup>682</sup> Hammer, "Last Decade," 53, 57; Adams, "Eliza," 29; Hammer, "Sex," 93.

<sup>683</sup> Hammer, *Polarisation*, 291, 294, 296-297, Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, 42, 122, 132, 146-151.

<sup>684</sup> TNA PROB 11/61.

<sup>685</sup> Gorhambury passed to Anthony and Francis was his heir (Magnusson, "Widowhood," 16; Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, 71-72, 77-78; Allen, "Introduction," 11).

<sup>686</sup> Allen, "Introduction," 29; Magnusson, "Widowhood," 17.

<sup>687</sup> Hammer, "Uses of Scholarship," 35. Francis received the manor of Twickenham as a gift from Essex (Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, 178-179).

from marriage arrangements or financial assistance from wealthy marital kin.<sup>688</sup>

Given their straitened circumstances, Lady Bacon provided practical assistance for her sons throughout their lives, lending further credence to arguments that the responsibilities of aristocratic motherhood extended into children's adult lives.<sup>689</sup> She sold jewels, borrowed money, paid some of their bills, delivered them comestibles and furnishings, and rearranged her landed resources to finance their extravagant lifestyles.<sup>690</sup> Lady Bacon provided money when Anthony could not meet costs abroad and threatened to appropriate his revenues out of frustration, since she managed Gorhambury in his absence.<sup>691</sup> In 1593, she wrote that she had been "too ready for yow both till nothing is left" and could not bequest even £300 of legacies in her will.<sup>692</sup> Her concerns about their expensive lifestyles were borne out when Francis was arrested for bankruptcy in 1598.<sup>693</sup> Lady Bacon effectively controlled the family purse strings – a difficult task for an ageing widow primarily restricted to Hertfordshire – and she relied on kin for help.

---

<sup>688</sup> Financial dependence on their mother may have reduced their appeal as potential husbands. Francis later married Alice Barnham, an alderman's daughter, in 1606 (Peltonen, "Bacon, Francis").

<sup>689</sup> Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 179-182; Foyster, "Parenting"; Harris, "Property," 616-629; Magnusson, "Widowhood".

<sup>690</sup> Allen, "Introduction," 29-31; Magnusson, "Widowhood," 12-13, 16, 19-20. For examples, see LPL MS 649/103, Anthony Bacon to Lady Bacon, 16 April 1593; 650/331, Lady Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 7 September 1594; 653/337 same to same, [before August 1598].

<sup>691</sup> LPL MS 647/170, Hugh Mantell to Anthony Bacon, 23 December 1583; 647/219, Nicholas Faunt to Anthony Bacon, 31 December 1586, 647/246, Francis Allen to Anthony Bacon, 17 August 1589; Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, 90. Lady Bacon's interests were interwoven with Anthony's since she lived as a life tenant at Gorhambury which he would receive on her death (TNA PROB 11/61; Magnusson, "Widowhood," 15-17; Harris, *English*, 23).

<sup>692</sup> LPL MS 653/318, Lady Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 17 April 1593; 653/203, same to same, [c. 23 September 1593].

<sup>693</sup> Magnusson, "Widowhood," 19.

Historians have observed that early modern aristocratic women operated through powerful male relatives at court.<sup>694</sup> As a mother of sons with limited resources, Lady Bacon relied heavily on Burghley as her most valuable contact at court and they shared a longstanding, mutually beneficial relationship. Although Burghley wielded great power during Elizabeth's reign, the situation had been the reverse at the Marian court where Lady Bacon saved her brother-in-law's career. In 1553, the then Sir William Cecil signed a document supporting Lady Jane Grey as Edward VI's heir rather than Mary Tudor.<sup>695</sup> This placed him in a dangerous position when the Catholic queen ascended the throne and his political future, if not his freedom, was at stake. Lady Bacon came to Cecil's rescue, riding to join the new queen at Kenninghall in Norfolk on her way to London and ingratiating herself with Mary through service in the Bedchamber.<sup>696</sup> Lady Bacon used her proximity to the monarch and place as a lady-in-waiting to become Cecil's "chief aid in beseeching pardon", consolidating the position of the Bacons and Cecils at the new court.<sup>697</sup> Through her efforts on his behalf, Lady Bacon probably considered Burghley in her debt.

At the Elizabethan court, her husband Sir Nicholas Bacon worked closely with his friend, Cecil, and the pair were part of a close-knit family circle.<sup>698</sup> Bacon named Burghley overseer of his will, presumably to ensure

---

<sup>694</sup> Warnicke, "Family"; Broomhall and Van Gent, "Corresponding Affections," 42; Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 234; Payne, "Aristocratic Women, Power, Patronage and Family Networks," 170-171; Croft, "Mildred," 291-292; Schwoerer, "Women and the Glorious Revolution," 208; Allen, *Cooke*, 10-11, 124-166.

<sup>695</sup> Alford, *Burghley*, 50-64; Tittler, *Nicholas Bacon*, 52-53.

<sup>696</sup> Allen, *Cooke*, 2; Merton, "Women who Served," 159, 255.

<sup>697</sup> Diarmid MacCulloch ed. and trans., "The *Vita Mariae Angliae Reginae* of Robert Wingfield of Brantham," in *Camden Miscellany*, 28, 4<sup>th</sup> series, (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1984), 270; Allen, "Introduction," 8; Allen, *Cooke*, 125.

<sup>698</sup> Tittler, *Nicholas Bacon*, 95-96, 100, 110, 128, 136-137, 146, 195; Alford, *Burghley*, 76, 79, 224.

that Lady Bacon and her sons would be protected after his death.<sup>699</sup> If he suspected his second family was vulnerable, he was correct. When Bacon died in 1579, Lady Bacon's stepchildren sought more of the Bacon estate after they discovered that their father's debts eroded their share.<sup>700</sup> As with other aristocratic second wives organising a deceased husband's affairs, this was a difficult and pivotal moment for Lady Bacon as an "outsider" within a dynastic patrimony who did not want to strengthen the heir at the expense of her jointure or her sons' comparatively small inheritances.<sup>701</sup> A major responsibility of a widowed mother was to protect her children's inheritances but, in doing so, Lady Bacon alienated her stepchildren.<sup>702</sup> Burghley was her staunch defender, urging her eldest stepson, Nicholas, to respect "the ladie that hath ... yelded so much unto you ... as suerly no naturall mother could have yeilded more".<sup>703</sup> He persuaded Nicholas to accept his inheritance and the dispute never escalated into a costly lawsuit. However, the two branches of the family remained estranged and Lady Bacon lost potential support and the patronage of her marital kin. It is also possible that the dispute made her reluctant to remarry and potentially become a stepmother again.<sup>704</sup>

This was also the crucial point when Lady Bacon first identified Burghley as the champion of her children's fortunes. In his own words,

---

<sup>699</sup> TNA PROB 11/61. Harris (*English*, 184) describes a similar phenomenon where husbands included their wives' brothers as executors.

<sup>700</sup> Magnusson, "Widowhood," 15-17; Hassell Smith and Baker, eds., *Papers of Nathaniel Bacon*, vol. 2, 25-29; 77-82, 93-95; 100-107; 119-120; LPL MS 647/44, Nathaniel Bacon to Burghley, 15 June 1579; Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, 67-69. For debts and expenses, see Hassell Smith and Baker, eds., *Papers of Nathaniel Bacon*, vol. 2, 31-71; Allen, "Introduction," 11.

<sup>701</sup> Harris, *English*, 52, 114, 117, 120, 123-124, 128, 135, 152, 242.

<sup>702</sup> *Ibid.*, 113.

<sup>703</sup> Burghley to Sir Nicholas Bacon, 2 July 1579, transcribed in Hassell Smith and Baker, eds., *Papers of Nathaniel Bacon*, vol. 2, 93-94.

<sup>704</sup> A second husband may also have taken control of her assets (Harris, *English*, 118, 162).

Burghley described his duty of care towards his nephews: “ye care of hy[m] [Anthony] and his brother being ... com[m]itted to me, and by his mother referred ... to my consideratio[n]”.<sup>705</sup> From that point on, it is likely that Lady Bacon considered that Burghley had an obligation to look to Anthony’s and Francis’s preferment, given his role as their uncle and his first-hand knowledge of their financial situation.

Lady Bacon looked for Burghley’s assistance in another matter dear to her heart: religious patronage.<sup>706</sup> In December 1584, godly clerics organised a short conference to rebut Whitgift’s reforms but it failed to cover all the issues, evolving into a petition heard in the House of Commons that Lady Bacon attended, thanks to Burghley.<sup>707</sup> After Whitgift dismissed the petition, Lady Bacon then implored Burghley to establish a new arena for the cause by trying to gain the preachers a private audience with Elizabeth.<sup>708</sup> Magnusson assigns great intellectual import to this letter, citing it as evidence of Lady Bacon’s detailed understanding of the political climate and the godly cause.<sup>709</sup> Lady Bacon was also an intermediary to him for individual clerics. In 1589, John Aylmer, Bishop of London, removed popular local preacher William Dike from his post at St Michael’s, the parish near Gorhambury where Lady Bacon held the advowsons.<sup>710</sup> Lady Bacon moved Burghley to

---

<sup>705</sup> TNA SP 78/3/67, Burghley to [La Motte-Fenelon?], December 1579.

<sup>706</sup> For an extensive discussion of the Cooke sisters’ religious patronage, see Allen, *Cooke*, 167-202.

<sup>707</sup> BL Lans. MS 43/48, Lady Bacon to Burghley, 26 February 1585; Allen, *Cooke*, 173; Allen, “Introduction,” 24-25; Stewart, “Voices,” 97.

<sup>708</sup> BL Lans. MS 43/48, Lady Bacon to Burghley, 26 February 1585; Magnusson, “Imagining,” 248-249.

<sup>709</sup> Magnusson, “Imagining,” 247.

<sup>710</sup> Collinson, “Dyke, Daniel (d. 1614), Church of England Clergyman,” in *ODNB*, accessed 31 October, 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8356>. For Dike’s popularity, see John Strype, *Historical Collections of the Life and Acts of the Right Reverend Father in God, John Aylmer*. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1821), 202. For the advowsons, see *CPR* 6: p335, item 1795.

assist Dike and he wrote to the Bishop of Lincoln who reinstated Dike as an assistant curate.<sup>711</sup>

Although she shared a significant history of friendship and patronage with Burghley, Lady Bacon probably did not enjoy such a close relationship with his son, Sir Robert Cecil. As Burghley aged, his son's star ascended and he took on greater responsibility as Principal Secretary. Despite their kinship connection and his power, there is little evidence that Lady Bacon sought his assistance.<sup>712</sup>

Although Magnusson suggests that the relationship between the Bacons and the Cecils "cooled" because Lady Bacon was more radical in her religious outlook, it is more likely that her concerns over her sons' lack of preferment caused her greater anguish.<sup>713</sup> Given her extensive history with Burghley, Lady Bacon expected the Cecils to assist her sons' political careers out of obligation to them and to her as kin. Her expectations were not far-fetched. Early modern families considered brothers-in-law on par with their siblings, making Burghley subject to the obligation that siblings assisted each other's families where possible.<sup>714</sup> Additionally, the Bacon brothers fit Kettering's profile of men most requiring preferment at the French court: "fatherless or younger sons ... perhaps from a cadet branch of the family ... [from] small single-headed families who ... lacked the resources for advancement".<sup>715</sup> Kettering also argues that kin were likely to set these young

---

<sup>711</sup> Collinson, "Dyke, Daniel"; Allen, *Cooke*, 179. He then preached at Hemel Hempstead, another of Lady Bacon's parishes from 1594-1604 (*Ibid.*, 183; Urwick, *Nonconformity*, 115-116, Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan*, 440).

<sup>712</sup> See LPL MS 651/105; Lady Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 3 April 1595; 660/129, Lady Bacon to Sir Robert Cecil, 13 December 1596; *HMCS* 4: 560-561, same to same, 9 July 1594.

<sup>713</sup> Magnusson, "Imagining," 249.

<sup>714</sup> Harris, *English*, 188.

<sup>715</sup> Kettering, "Patronage and Kinship," 249.

kinsmen on the way to political success.<sup>716</sup> Burghley did this to an extent by helping with Anthony's intelligence work abroad and, along with his wife, Lady Burghley, possibly helping Francis obtain a legal post in the 1580s.<sup>717</sup>

The situation changed in the 1590s when the brothers were older.<sup>718</sup> Despite Burghley's pledge to look to the welfare of his nephews, the Cecils did not help Anthony or Francis win political success at court. Anthony was particularly angry with his uncle, resenting the lack of reward for 12 years of service abroad, arguing that "I might iustlie expecte [assistance] at his Lo[rds] Hands who had inn'd my ten yeares [harveste?] into his owne barnes w[i]thout anie halfpennie chardge."<sup>719</sup> From the Cecils, Anthony saw only "contrarie efforts" and "nothings but faire wordes ... yet euen in those no offer, or ... assurance of reall kindenes".<sup>720</sup> Anthony's use of the word 'kindness' is significant. According to Pollock, contemporaries associated the term with patronage and she argues that "kindness compelled action as opposed to being a mere sentiment".<sup>721</sup> As such, Anthony used the term to suggest that Burghley's lack of action undermined his claims of affection towards his nephews. In contrast, Anthony praised Essex's actions on the brothers's behalf: "on the other side vnd[r]stood ye Earle of Essex his rare vertues and perfections and the interest he has worthelie in my Soueraines fauour, together wthe his ... noble kindenes to my germaine brother".<sup>722</sup> The

---

<sup>716</sup> Kettering, "Patronage and Kinship," 409, 414, 429.

<sup>717</sup> BL Lans. MS 31/14, Francis Bacon to Lady Burghley; 16 September 1580; Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, 80, 99-100, 116, 170, Allen, *Cooke*, 145-146.

<sup>718</sup> For other claims of Burghley's failure to advance promising men, see Hammer, "Uses of Scholarship," 46.

<sup>719</sup> LPL MS 659/25-25V, Anthony Bacon to Essex, 11 September 1596. For Anthony's travels, see Hammer, *Polarisation*, 163; Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, 94-95, 100-115, Allen, "Introduction," 12.

<sup>720</sup> LPL MS 659/23V-25, same to same, 11 September 1596.

<sup>721</sup> Pollock, "Practice of Kindness," 124, 137, 142-144.

<sup>722</sup> LPL MS 659/25V, Anthony Bacon to Essex, 11 September 1596.

battlelines were drawn with Lady Bacon's children on one side and her most powerful male relatives on the other.

Francis's pursuit of the Attorney-Generalship in 1593 was a catalyst inflaming tensions between the groups. When the incumbent, Sir Thomas Egerton, became Master of the Rolls, the stage was set for a fierce fight between Francis and Sir Edward Coke, the Solicitor General, for the prominent and lucrative post.<sup>723</sup> Sir Robert Cecil's elder half-brother, Sir Thomas Cecil, advanced Francis's cause in a letter to Burghley, arguing that he was "nerely alleyed to yor howse and whose gifts & qualities of mynd I know yor Lo will not thynk vnfitt for the place he seeketh".<sup>724</sup> Burghley did not promise to assist Francis but informed him that he was one of a number of candidates who would receive due consideration.<sup>725</sup> Francis probably did not anticipate the Cecils would advocate for his rival, Coke. Essex's and Anthony's friend, Sir Anthony Standen, reported that Burghley openly supported Coke whom the younger Cecil had previously helped become Solicitor-General.<sup>726</sup> Essex campaigned for his friend, Francis, and engaged in a heated verbal altercation with Cecil, condemning the latter's preferment of Coke "before so near a kinsman".<sup>727</sup> Cecil questioned Essex's desire to

---

<sup>723</sup> Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, 159. Coke was not related to the Cookes.

<sup>724</sup> BL Lans. MS 89/209, Sir Thomas Cecil to Burghley, [c. 1593]. Thomas was Burghley's eldest son by his first wife, Mary Cheke (*CP* 2: 430).

<sup>725</sup> LPL MS 649/299, Burghley to Francis Bacon, 27 September 1593.

<sup>726</sup> LPL MS 649/49, Anthony Bacon to Lady Bacon, 5 February 1594; Allen D. Boyer, *Sir Edward Coke and the Elizabethan Age* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 216; Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 71. Ironically, Francis Bacon later lost to Coke in a suit to marry Cecil's niece, Lady Hatton (Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, 190, 253; Wootton, "Francis Bacon," 197).

<sup>727</sup> LPL MS 650/80V, Standen to Anthony Bacon, 3 February 1594; 649/49, Anthony Bacon to Lady Bacon, 5 February 1594.



“spende yor strength in so vnykely or ympossible a matter” and Essex reacted with great hostility.<sup>728</sup>

The brothers’ reports of the situation must have frustrated and disappointed Lady Bacon after she spent so many years building a relationship with her late sister’s family.<sup>729</sup> For the aristocracy, fighting a perceived injustice was a central tenet of honour and they lost face if they failed to do so.<sup>730</sup> As a consequence, aristocratic women fought for family honour and rights, employing anger to seek redress where necessary.<sup>731</sup> Lady Bacon confronted the Cecils out of these motivations but also acted in accordance with the expectations of an aristocratic mother protecting and assisting her adult children.<sup>732</sup>

Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent argue that letters could provide a safe way to express anger or disappointment.<sup>733</sup> Lady Bacon first used correspondence to confront the Cecils, writing to Burghley to question his failure to promote Francis for the Attorney-Generalship. Her letter has not survived but Burghley’s response denies any ill-will towards his nephews and argues that he was “of lesse power to do my frends good then the world thinketh, yet they shall not want the intention to doe them good”.<sup>734</sup> This statement alludes to factors beyond Burghley’s control such as the actions of

---

<sup>728</sup> LPL MS 650/81R, Standen to Anthony Bacon, 3 February 1594. For more on Essex’s assistance, see Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, 147-148, 151, 155; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 146, 296-297, 346; Allen, “Introduction,” 15.

<sup>729</sup> LPL MS 650/80V, Standen to Anthony Bacon, 3 February 1593; 649/49, Anthony Bacon to Lady Bacon, 5 February 1593; 649/223, same to same, 28 July 1593.

<sup>730</sup> Pollock, “Anger,” 582.

<sup>731</sup> *Ibid.*, 576, 588.

<sup>732</sup> Harris, “Property,” 616-629; Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 179-182; Foyster, “Parenting”; Magnusson, “Widowhood”.

<sup>733</sup> Broomhall and Van Gent, “Corresponding Affections,” 147. See also Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 185.

<sup>734</sup> LPL MS 649/276, Burghley to Lady Bacon, 29 August 1593.

the queen and supports Mears's argument that the Cecils did not monopolise power at court.<sup>735</sup> His letter did not settle Lady Bacon's growing unease. In March 1594, she advised Anthony to exercise caution around Burghley and contacted Burghley again, only to be reprimanded by Francis who perhaps felt she was compromising his room to manoeuvre at court.<sup>736</sup>

Coke ultimately won the post of Attorney-General in April 1594.<sup>737</sup> Francis's failure had less to do with a Cecil faction blocking his preferment than Coke's superior candidacy as the more experienced, high-ranking Solicitor-General.<sup>738</sup> Also, at the time of his suit, Francis was out of royal favour for the manner in which he opposed three subsidies granted to the Parliament.<sup>739</sup> As with the Countess of Warwick in Chapter 3, the Cecils probably did not promote their kinsman because he was unlikely to win the suit. Their lack of support echoes Kettering's observation that aristocratic men were not obligated to provide continued patronage for kin beyond their youth.<sup>740</sup> In this case, political pragmatism outweighed kinship obligations.

Coke's former office of Solicitor-General was now vacant and Francis pursued it with the support of Essex, Burghley and Cecil.<sup>741</sup> Although her kinsmen professed to help her son, Lady Bacon was still dissatisfied with their efforts and visited her nephew to advocate for Francis. She relayed the meeting to Anthony using "reported speech" – similar to eyewitness

---

<sup>735</sup> Mears, "Regnum".

<sup>736</sup> LPL MS 650/128, Lady Bacon to Anthony Bacon, [late] March 1594; 650/255, same to same, 20 August 1594; Allen, ed., *Letters of Lady Anne Bacon*, 176.

<sup>737</sup> Boyer, *Sir Edward Coke*, 255.

<sup>738</sup> Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 70-72; Mears, "Regnum," 51.

<sup>739</sup> Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 71; Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, 141-147; Allen, ed., *Letters of Lady Anne Bacon*, 122; LPL MS 649/57, Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Francis Bacon, 7 May 1593; 649/105, Anthony Bacon to Lady Bacon, 16 April 1593; 649/299V, Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Francis Bacon, 27 September 1593.

<sup>740</sup> Kettering, "Patronage and Kinship," 412, 413, 429, 433.

<sup>741</sup> Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, 159, 164, 168.

testimony - to add reliability, integrity, and dramatic emphasis.<sup>742</sup> The plain language Lady Bacon directed at Cecil, according to her letter, demonstrates that aristocratic women were not necessarily deferential towards powerful male relatives when defending their children. Her frustration at Francis's inability to progress at court is as plain as her pride in him:

the other [son i.e. Francis] me thinks is but strangely used by man's dealing ... I think he is the very first yowng gentleman of some acompt made such so long a common speech of – this time placed and then owt of dowl – and yet nothing don... The worlde marvels in respects of his frends<sup>743</sup>

Lady Bacon went on to openly question Burghley's intentions towards Francis, stating that "some think yf my Lorde had ben earnest, it had ben don."<sup>744</sup> Individuals accused of poor conduct against a kinsman did not always acknowledge fault when confronted and Cecil did this, defending his father and blaming the queen for Francis's political stagnation.<sup>745</sup> Lady Bacon then claimed Cecil chose not to wield great power for his cousins in his capacity as Principal Secretary in all but name, which he denied.<sup>746</sup> Cecil evidently remained calm in the face of his aunt's accusations with Lady Bacon describing an amicable parting: "Truly his speech was all kindly owtward and [he] dyd desire to have me think so of him".<sup>747</sup> Although Allen suggests that Lady Bacon was "satisfied" with the outcome, Lady Bacon's final statement sounds more as if she felt that her sons' problems with the Cecils were not resolved but was content that her nephew showed her due

---

<sup>742</sup> LPL MS 650/33, Lady Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 23 January 1595; Allen, "Introduction," 19-20; Schneider, "Affecting Correspondences," 32.

<sup>743</sup> LPL MS 650/33, same to same, 23 January 1595; Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 184-186.

<sup>744</sup> LPL MS 650/33, same to same, 23 January 1595.

<sup>745</sup> Pollock, "Anger," 583; LPL MS 650/33, same to same, 23 January 1595.

<sup>746</sup> LPL MS 650/33, same to same, 23 January 1595.

<sup>747</sup> *Ibid.*

deference.<sup>748</sup> Her actions had little impact on Francis's latest suit. The queen granted the position of Solicitor-General to Sir Thomas Fleming instead, strongly indicating that Francis was still out of favour.<sup>749</sup>

Lady Bacon further acted against the Cecils in letters of counsel to her sons in which her epistolary voice as a mother overlapped with her voice as a courtier.<sup>750</sup> For Lady Bacon, familial advice was political advice. She invoked experience to establish her rhetorical authority: "I think For my long attending in Coorte & a Cheeff Cowsell[er]s wyffe Few *preclaræ Femine meae sortis* [distinguished women of my sort] are able or be Alyve to speak & judg of such p[re]ceedinge & worldely doings of men."<sup>751</sup> She thereby established her credibility as a political counsellor to her sons. In July 1596, she wrote to Anthony to be wary of his cousin who had just received the coveted office of Principal Secretary:

I promiss yow, sonne, in my conjectural opinion, yow had more need now to be circumspect and advised in your troblelous discoorsings and doings and dealings ... He [Cecil] now hath great avantage and strength to intercept, prevent and to toy where he hath ben or is in, sonne, be it emulation or suspicion, yow know what termes he standeth in towarde your self ... Yf all were scant sownde before betwixt .. [Essex] and him [Cecil], friends had need to walk more warely ... for all doing elce may hurt, though pretending goode. The father and sonne are ... joined in power and policy.<sup>752</sup>

Lady Bacon's letter strongly casts her in direct opposition to any Cecil faction. Instead of celebrating the increasing political power of her nephew to further the causes of his kin and allies, Lady Bacon feared that Cecil would use his increased powers against her son, perhaps to further his

---

<sup>748</sup> Allen, *Cooke*, 145.

<sup>749</sup> Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 71-72.

<sup>750</sup> See also Magnusson, "Widowhood," 10.

<sup>751</sup> LPL MS 651/156, Lady Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 12 May 1595, Allen, *Cooke*, 96-123.

<sup>752</sup> Croft, "Cecil, Robert"; LPL MS 658/28, same to same, 10 July 1596.

political allies at Anthony's expense. Moreover, she was also scared that Burghley's and Cecil's political unity meant the two men would combine as a team to thwart the Bacon brothers' advancement. In expressing these sentiments, she questioned Cecil's honesty, integrity and trustworthiness as kin. Lady Bacon did not embrace the enhanced power of her extended kin; she feared it. These were not the words of a woman seeking to benefit from or promote the interests of a Cecil faction.

Although her relationship with the Cecils was strained, it was not severed. Lady Bacon wrote to Cecil two months later to share personal news and seek his assistance in religious patronage, demonstrating the endurance of kinship bonds.<sup>753</sup> The role of Anthony and Francis in transmitting information to their mother must be considered. They, like the other members of the Essex circle, sought to discredit and blame the Cecils for their own political failures.<sup>754</sup> Even Anthony thought his mother's reactions excessive, scoffing at her claim that Cecil considered him his "mortall enemy" as part of a "deadlie feud".<sup>755</sup> Regardless of the reality, Lady Bacon clearly considered her sons' interests in opposition to the political success of her Cecil kin.

Any supporter of a Cecil faction would have avoided their political opponent, the Earl of Essex. However, as discussed above, the bonds of fictive kinship between the earl, the Cecils and the Cooke sisters added an additional element of a deeper personal connection that prevented her viewing him as an enemy. Instead, Lady Bacon turned to him to help godly

---

<sup>753</sup> LPL MS 660/129, Lady Bacon to Sir Robert Cecil, 13 December 1596.

<sup>754</sup> Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 65-78.

<sup>755</sup> LPL MS 659/26, Anthony Bacon to Essex, 11 September 1596.

clerics such as Stephen Egerton, a London minister, who sought a Cambridge fellowship.<sup>756</sup> Since she could have prevailed on Burghley in his capacity as Chancellor of Cambridge University for this suit, her reliance on Essex further indicates her distance from the Cecils at this point in 1597. Just as Burghley assisted her local preacher, William Dike, in 1589, Essex now did so for her in 1594 and 1595. The earl wrote to Richard Fletcher, Bishop of London and William Wickham, Bishop of Lincoln, to admit Dike to a vicarage in the Hertfordshire parish of Hemel Hempstead where Lady Bacon also held sway.<sup>757</sup> Essex requested that the bishops overlook Dike's lack of qualifications on the "instante requeste of my speciall good frend Mr Anthony Bacon" who was probably motivated to do so by his mother.<sup>758</sup> In 1597, Anthony wrote to Essex to obtain a fellowship for Dike's son at St John's College, Cambridge out of "the filiall respect a mother may challenge at a Sonnes hands".<sup>759</sup> Lady Bacon's presence permeates her son's correspondence in this suit. Anthony described Dike as "a learned zelous Minister of whome my mother makes spetiall accompt" and stated that "my Mother will take it as a very hono[r]able fauor" if Essex accepted Dike as his personal chaplain.<sup>760</sup> Dike's pursuit of the vicarage continued in 1597 with Lady Bacon moving the earl both directly and via Anthony as an

---

<sup>756</sup> LPL MS 655/138, Anthony Bacon to Essex, 22 February 1597; 655/183, Essex to St Thomas' College, 22 February 1597; Gajda, *Earl of Essex*, 117.

<sup>757</sup> LPL MS 650/21, Essex to Richard Fletcher, 22 January 1595; 650/287, Essex to William Wickham, 19 October 1594. The Dean and Chapter of St Paul's controlled these advowsons (Allen, *Cooke*, 183).

<sup>758</sup> LPL MS 650/21, Essex to Richard Fletcher, 22 January 1595; Stewart, 98. For women contacting their sons for suitors, see Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 182-183.

<sup>759</sup> LPL MS 655/138, Anthony Bacon to Essex, 27 February 1597. Essex did as requested (LPL MS 655/183, Essex to the Seniors of St Thomas College, 22 February 1597; 655/188, Essex to Dr Robson, 23 February 1597).

<sup>760</sup> LPL MS 655/138, Anthony Bacon to Essex, 27 February 1597.

intermediary.<sup>761</sup> It is also highly likely that she was behind Essex writing to Sir Julius Caesar, Master of the Court of Requests, on behalf of her personal chaplain Percival Wyburn.<sup>762</sup> Clearly, Lady Bacon's kinship to the Cecils did not prevent her relying on Essex in matters of religious patronage.

Lady Bacon was also favourably disposed towards Essex. Her sons kept her informed of the earl's tireless advocacy for them.<sup>763</sup> She expressed concern for the welfare and safety of the "noble valiant Religious Earle" – high praise from such a godly woman.<sup>764</sup> Lady Bacon was concerned about the earl's moral failings such as swearing, gambling and spending, but was most fearful about the effects of his philandering.<sup>765</sup> She sought to rehabilitate him through letters of counsel.<sup>766</sup> In doing so, she did not "berate" Essex as Daybell suggests, but rather ministered to a wayward member of a godly flock as astutely asserted by Magnusson.<sup>767</sup> Diane Willen argues that women such as Lady Bacon counseled others in this way because "godliness, not gender, qualified members of the elect to offer wisdom and guidance to one another".<sup>768</sup> Furthermore, Magnusson argues that Lady

---

<sup>761</sup> LPL MS 656/49, Lady Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 1 March 1597.

<sup>762</sup> LPL MS 661/28, Essex to Caesar, 8 February 1598.

<sup>763</sup> LPL MS 649/49, Anthony Bacon to Lady Bacon, 5 February 1594; 649/105, same to same, 16 September 1593; 649/190, same to same, 2 June 1593; 649/223, same to same, 18 July 1593.

<sup>764</sup> LPL MS 656/319, Lady Bacon to Francis Goad, 27 April 1596; 654/43, Lady Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 20 January 1597; 656/47, same to same, 18 March 1597; 651/156, same to same, 12 May 1595; 658/167, same to same, 12 August 1596. Anthony also shared news of Essex's welfare (LPL MS 659/9, same to same, 7 September 1596; 650/150, same to same, 15 March 1595).

<sup>765</sup> The godly considered profane swearing morally and spiritually dangerous (Bremer and Webster, eds., *Puritans and Puritanism*, vol. 2, 557). For Lady Bacon's comments on Essex's philandering, see LPL MS 651/108, Lady Bacon to Anthony, 1 April 1595; 658/167, same to same, 12 August 1596. See Allen, ed., *Letters of Lady Anne Bacon*, 208, 25.

<sup>766</sup> Cecil MS 128/68, Lady Bacon to Essex, 23 December [1595], transcribed in Allen, ed., *Letters of Lady Anne Bacon*, 236-238; LPL MS 651/329, Lady Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 5 August 1595.

<sup>767</sup> Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 179; Magnusson, "Widowhood," 28.

<sup>768</sup> Willen, "Godly Women," 578.

Bacon signed herself as ‘widow’ in Greek in her letters to Essex to indicate additional spiritual authority as a godly widow.<sup>769</sup> Given this and her high regard for the earl, Lady Bacon probably considered herself ideally qualified to save him from his dangerous moral decline.

In 1596, Lady Bacon took up the mantle to counsel Essex when she heard about his rumoured affair with her great-niece, Elizabeth Stanley (née De Vere), Countess of Derby.<sup>770</sup> Lady Bacon was deeply concerned for the earl’s spiritual welfare:

Good Lord, remember and consider the greate danger hereby, bothe of soule and bodie, greve not the holie spirit of God, but honor God that honored yow and reward him not with such evell for his greate kindness towards yow. Good my Lord, sinne not against your owne soule.<sup>771</sup>

Lady Bacon also quoted extracts from the New Testament epistles to use more forthright language to condemn his actions, whilst her own words remained more deferential.<sup>772</sup> This allowed her to convey a stronger message with scriptural authority in a similar way to quoting a classical maxim.

Aside from the threat to his soul, Lady Bacon also counselled him against continuing his adultery because she cared about his family.

Previously, the Countess of Essex learned of her husband’s adultery with tragic consequences. Her youngest son, Henry, was evidently born sickly and

---

<sup>769</sup> Magnusson, “Widowhood,” 28. Allen also attributes the signature to a widow’s godly authority but observes the phenomenon in 9 other letters featuring intercessory prayers (Allen, “Introduction,” 18-19; Allen, *Cooke*, 112-113).

<sup>770</sup> Allen, *Cooke*, 567; LPL MS 660/149, Lady Bacon to Essex, 1 December 1596, dated by Allen, ed., *Letters of Lady Anne Bacon*, 253; Hammer, “Sex,” 85-88. The affair continued until 1597 (*HMCS* 7: 339, Edward Mylar to Sir Robert Cecil, 9 August 1597; Hammer, “Sex,” 85-88). For another potential affair, see KHLC De L’isle MS U1475/C12/131, Whyte to Sidney, 12 February 1598; Hammer, “Sex,” 88-89.

<sup>771</sup> LPL MS 660/149, Lady Bacon to Essex, 1 December 1596, dated by Allen, ed., *Letters of Lady Anne Bacon*, 253.

<sup>772</sup> LPL MS 660/149, same to same, 1 December 1596; Allen, *Cooke*, 110-111.



died less than a year later.<sup>773</sup> There was a great risk to the health of Lady Essex and her latest unborn child if she discovered his most recent indiscretion. Lady Bacon urged Essex to “make not her [Lady Essex’s] hearte sorrowfull to the hinderance of her younge fruite within her. For it was thought she tooke before to harte and that her last did not so comfortablie prosper.”<sup>774</sup> Lady Bacon’s words were prophetic – Lady Essex’s child died stillborn later that year.<sup>775</sup> Essex responded to Lady Bacon’s concern for his welfare in good humour, protested his innocence and blamed malicious rumours.<sup>776</sup> She seemed satisfied, replying to the earl to convey her best wishes.<sup>777</sup> Lady Bacon demonstrated too much concern for the wellbeing of the earl and his family to be considered part of a Cecil faction opposing them.

Despite her goodwill for Essex and his favour towards her sons, Lady Bacon harboured strong reservations against Anthony becoming a public follower of such a polarising figure. His planned move into Essex House in 1595 caused her great anxiety and prompted further political counsel in two letters in August that year:

Envy, Emulation, continuall & unseasonable disqwiet ... many payns great vrging for sutes, yea Importune to troble thearle & yo[ur] self. P[er]adventure not so well lyked yo[ur] self there as in yo[ur] own howse. ... I Feare some encrease of suspition & disagreement wch may hurt yow p[ri]vetly, yf not publikly, or both by all lykelihoods.<sup>778</sup>

Yow have hether[to] ben Estemed as a worthy frend now shalbe Accownted his Follower .... Before his s[er]va[n]ts did Regard yow; now yow must respect & be in their Dang[er] to yo[ur] co[m]b[er] & charg & care to please. Everything yow

---

<sup>773</sup> Hammer, *Polarisation*, 284; Allen, ed., *Letters of Lady Anne Bacon*, 264.

<sup>774</sup> LPL MS 660/149, same to same, 1 December 1596.

<sup>775</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>776</sup> LPL MS 660/281, Essex to Lady Bacon, 1 December 1596.

<sup>777</sup> LPL MS 660/151, Lady Bacon to Essex, 4 December 1596.

<sup>778</sup> LPL MS 651/330, Lady Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 15 August 1595.

do shalbe spoken & noted abroad & yo[ur]self brought as it were into a kind of Bondag where now yet Free.<sup>779</sup>

Lady Bacon feared that allying himself with Essex so strongly would attract scrutiny from the earl's enemies and place Anthony too prominently in the public eye. She worried that perceptions of her son as Essex's exclusive follower would restrict his independence and political flexibility. Although other aristocratic women might have been thrilled at the potential power their son could wield as an intermediary for Essex at the centre of "great vrging for sutes", Lady Bacon was concerned about the effect of such pressures on her son's health. Finally, she summarised her fears by quoting the phrase 'too much familiarity breeds contempt' in Latin.<sup>780</sup> This is an example of "sententiae", a classical or biblical maxim employed by the Cooke sisters to strengthen their epistolary arguments, as discussed by Allen.<sup>781</sup> In using the phrase, Lady Bacon aligned her opinions with classical authority, in this case Pubilius Syrus, to add legitimacy and gravitas to her advice.<sup>782</sup> Lady Bacon invoked classical wisdom to make her case, whilst writing it in Latin for epistolary privacy.<sup>783</sup>

Lady Bacon's letter argues against strong, exclusive, publicly observed political allegiance in general, not against Essex specifically as the Cecils' political opponent. Indeed, she does not mention the Cecils at all. Lady Bacon dissuaded Anthony from becoming a factional follower so he could retain political autonomy rather than yoke himself to one man. As a

---

<sup>779</sup> LPL MS 651/326, Lady Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 20 August 1595; Allen, "Introduction," 16.

<sup>780</sup> Allen, ed., *Letters of Lady Anne Bacon*, 231. For more on "secret" letters, see Daybell, *Material*, 148-174.

<sup>781</sup> Allen, ed., *Letters of Lady Anne Bacon*, 6; Allen, *Cooke*, 105-112.

<sup>782</sup> Allen, *Cooke*, 108.

<sup>783</sup> Allen, "Introduction," 6; Allen, *Cooke*, 100-101.

seasoned courtier through four Tudor reigns, Lady Bacon provided political advice borne out of experience. She may have recalled the position Sir William Cecil found himself in when Mary Tudor considered him too closely associated with the treasonous Duke of Northumberland. Lady Bacon did not want her son to tread down the same dangerous path of exclusive political allegiance.

She did not need to worry about the more pragmatic Francis who shared his mother's fears about becoming a political follower. In his 1597 essay '*Of Faction*', he argued that important men should avoid factionalism: "Mean men in their rising must adhere [to factions]; but great men, that have strength in themselves, were better to maintain themselves indifferent and neutral."<sup>784</sup> David Wootton argues that some contemporaries such as Francis perceived danger in intertwining politics with close friendship.<sup>785</sup> Perhaps Francis learned these sentiments from his mother.

Lady Bacon's final years are not well documented. When James I succeeded to the throne, she was 75 years old and presumably continued to live at Gorhambury until her death in 1610.<sup>786</sup> She was buried in the parish church of St Michael's, Hertfordshire, where she had played such a significant role as a religious patron.<sup>787</sup> Her concerns for Anthony throughout the 1590s were well-founded. In 1601, he died "so far in debt, that I thincke his brother is litle the better by him", according to a contemporary.<sup>788</sup> Unlike

---

<sup>784</sup> Francis Bacon, "Of Faction" in Joseph Devey ed., *The Moral and Historical Works of Lord Bacon* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1877), 137.

<sup>785</sup> Wootton, 188, 193. See also Gajda, *Earl of Essex*, 24.

<sup>786</sup> Magnusson, "Bacon [Cooke]".

<sup>787</sup> TNA PROB 11/152.

<sup>788</sup> TNA SP 12/279/91, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 27 May 1601. Anthony mortgaged his estates "beyond usefulness" before his death (Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, 253).

Anthony, Francis recognized the threat and cut his ties with Essex in the latter years of the 1590s.<sup>789</sup> He ultimately lived up to his mother's expectations, achieving political success at the Jacobean court in the posts of Solicitor-General and Attorney-General he failed to win at the Elizabethan court; his father's old post of Lord Keeper, and finally Lord Chancellor.<sup>790</sup> James I created him Baron Verulam of Verulam and Viscount St Albans, but he fell from favour and retired from public life after his impeachment for taking bribes in 1621.<sup>791</sup> Despite his success, he died in debt like his brother, owing approximately £22,371 when he passed away in 1626.<sup>792</sup>

Lady Bacon's kinship connection to the Cecils did not make her a member of any Cecil faction. Family conflict arose from an incompatibility between what the Cecils and Lady Bacon considered possible courses of action at court. Lady Bacon cast herself and her sons in direct opposition to the political success of the Cecils and turned to Essex which she could not have done if she was his factional rival. Moreover, she did not support factionalism in general. As an aristocratic mother with her sons directly affected by the political divisions, Lady Bacon was too personally affected to be objective or harness the political divisions to enhance her own power, unlike her more neutrally positioned sister.

## **Lady Russell**

Elizabeth, Lady Russell, shared certain commonalities with Lady Bacon such as upbringing, kin connections to the Cecils, support of the godly and tireless

---

<sup>789</sup> For Francis's deteriorating relationship with Essex, see Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, 209-262.

<sup>790</sup> Peltonen, "Bacon, Francis".

<sup>791</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>792</sup> *Ibid.*

advocacy on behalf of her children. However, Lady Russell's position was different. Her sons were dynastic heirs, she was higher ranked as the widow of an earl's son and, most importantly, her relationship with the Cecils was closer because her children were not directly affected by the political divisions at court. Lady Russell was a more objective aunt and sister-in-law, and thus in a better position to mediate fairly between the sides. In doing so, she developed her career within a family but also as a political agent at court. However, like her sister, she was not a loyal factional follower of the Cecils.

Elizabeth, the fourth Cooke sister, was born in approximately 1540 and received the same humanist education as her sisters.<sup>793</sup> In 1558, she married Sir Thomas Hoby, who became English ambassador to France, and bore him four children although only her sons, Edward and Thomas, survived to adulthood.<sup>794</sup> Her role as an ambassador's wife was cut short when Hoby died in July 1566, less than a year after he commenced his post.<sup>795</sup> His pregnant widow returned to England where she gave birth to Thomas and controlled the Hoby estate until Edward reached his majority.<sup>796</sup> The queen sympathised with the widow, paying for her travel expenses, sending a letter of condolence and becoming Thomas's godmother.<sup>797</sup> Neither Edward nor Thomas were driven to pursue prominent places at Elizabeth's court. Sir

---

<sup>793</sup> Allen, *Cooke*, 1.

<sup>794</sup> Thomas Hoby, "The Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby, Kt of Bisham Abbey, Written by Himself 1547-1564," ed. E. Powell, *Camden Miscellany*, 4, 3<sup>rd</sup> series (London: Royal Historical Society, 1902), 127. For her activities as a diplomat's wife, see Allen, *Cooke*, 136-141. Their birthdates were as follows: Edward (1560), Elizabeth (1562), Anne (1564) and Thomas (1566) (Hoby, "Travels," 128; Phillippy, "Introduction," 17; Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 88-89). The girls died of the sweating sickness in 1571 (Allen, *Cooke*, 3; Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 88-89).

<sup>795</sup> Hoby died of the plague (Allen, *Cooke*, 140).

<sup>796</sup> Phillippy, "Introduction," 13, 17-18. Lady Russell sometimes referred to him as Thomas Posthumous since he was born after his father's death (*Ibid.*, 17).

<sup>797</sup> *Ibid.*, 17-18; Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 64-70, 127; TNA SP 70/85/78, Queen to Lady Hoby, September 1566.

Edward Hoby inherited substantial lands and married Margaret Carey, daughter of the queen's closest kinsman, Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, in 1582.<sup>798</sup> He was an MP, a JP, an occasional diplomat to Scotland and constable of Queenborough Castle on the Isle of Sheppey.<sup>799</sup> Thomas was an MP and a JP who reinforced the Church of England's presence in York after his marriage to the wealthy heiress, Margaret Devereux Sidney (née Dakins).<sup>800</sup>

In 1574, at the age of 34, Elizabeth married John, Lord Russell, son and heir to the Earl of Bedford, and bore him three children, Elizabeth, Anne and Francis who died the year after his birth.<sup>801</sup> The opportunity to become a countess was surely one of the benefits of the match, but tragedy struck before she could achieve her ambitions. Lord Russell died in 1584, predeceasing the Earl of Bedford who changed his will to direct the earldom's dynastic resources towards his next son, Francis, and his heirs.<sup>802</sup> This was disastrous for Lady Russell whose dynastic role became redundant since she could not become a countess and her daughters could not inherit the majority of the Russell estate. Lady Russell devoted herself to Elizabeth's

---

<sup>798</sup> Knafla, "Hoby, Sir Edward (1560–1617), Politician and Diplomat," in *ODNB*, accessed October 31, 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13410>.

<sup>799</sup> *Ibid.*; Croft, "Capital Life: Members of Parliament Outside the House," in *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell*, ed. Thomas Cogswell, Richard Cust and Peter Lake (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 69-70.

<sup>800</sup> Croft, "Capital Life", 68-73; Heal, "Reputation," 163, 169-175, Meads, ed., *Diary*, 32. His wife's estate was in a traditional Catholic region (Samuel Rawson Gardiner, "Preface," in *The Fortescue Papers: Consisting Chiefly of Letters Relating to State Affairs Collected by John Packer, Secretary to George Villiers Duke of Buckingham*, ed. Samuel Rawson Gardiner (London: Camden Society, 1871), ix). As an heiress's husband, Thomas could administer her estates (Harris, *English*, 18).

<sup>801</sup> *CP 2: 77*. Their birthdates were as follows: Elizabeth (1576) Anne (1578) and Francis (1579) (Phillippy, "Introduction," 18-19). Lady Hoby was 13 years older than Russell (*Ibid.*, 18).

<sup>802</sup> *CP 2: 77*; Allen, *Cooke*, 80; Phillippy, "Introduction," 19; Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 135-147.

and Anne's welfare, positioning the adolescent girls prominently at court in service to the queen to attract favourable matches and raising substantial marriage portions to replace their inheritances.<sup>803</sup> Anne's marriage to the Earl of Worcester's heir, Henry Somerset, Lord Herbert, in 1600 testified to her mother's success in this respect, particularly since the pool of available peers and their sons could be quite small at the English court.<sup>804</sup>

Lady Russell was more comfortable in social and political circles than her sister, dividing her time between court, her home at Blackfriars and the Hoby estate, Bisham, in Berkshire.<sup>805</sup> Thus she gained better physical access to the court and its inhabitants and wielded more power in aristocratic circles. By her own admission, she was a "courtier and Parliament woman" keen to play her own significant role in Elizabethan politics.<sup>806</sup>

Like her sister, Lady Russell shared a long personal history with Burghley.<sup>807</sup> Prior to her first marriage, she lived with him and her sister Mildred when their father, Sir Anthony Cooke, fled England as a Marian exile in 1554.<sup>808</sup> The young Elizabeth Cooke was 20 years younger than

---

<sup>803</sup> Elizabeth was a Gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber from 1597 to 1600, according to the extant New Years' Gift Rolls (Lawson, ed., *Elizabethan New Year's*, 432, 439, 452, 459, 472, 479, 490, 497). Anne was a Maid-of-Honour during the same years (*Ibid.*, 439, 459, 478, 497; Merton, "Women who Served," 266). For the importance of Maid posts to a girl's marriage prospects, see Harris, *English*, 40; Merton, "Women who Served," 40-42; Hammer, "Sex," 81.

<sup>804</sup> CP 12/2: 858; Harris, *English*, 7. Henry's elder brother, William, was originally to wed Elizabeth, but he died in 1598 and Anne was selected to marry Henry (HMCS 7: 267, Lady Russell to Sir Robert Cecil, 24 June 1597; Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 205; CP 12/2: 856-858). For the wedding, see KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/253, Whyte to Sidney, 14 June 1600; U1475/C12/254, same to same, 23 June 1600, Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 270-276; *Progresses* 4: 124-126.

<sup>805</sup> After Lord Russell's death, she lived primarily at Blackfriars to pursue her daughters' inheritance lawsuit (Phillippy, "Introduction," 13; Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 93).

<sup>806</sup> HMCS 11: 562, Lady Russell to Sir Robert Cecil, December 1601.

<sup>807</sup> Most of her surviving letters are written to the Cecils (Phillippy, "Introduction," 26).

<sup>808</sup> Alford, *Burghley*, 69, 145, 229; Allen, *Cooke*, 2. See also Bremer and Webster, eds., *Puritans and Puritanism*, vol. 2, 454-455.

Burghley who had a “fatherly care” of her during these years, arranging her marriage to his friend Philip Hoby’s brother, Sir Thomas, in 1558.<sup>809</sup> When the Hobys left for Paris in 1566, she wrote to her brother-in-law thanking him for his “manie benefitts and curtesies toward my husband and me”.<sup>810</sup> She returned to England six months later as a widow, relying on her brother-in-law to help administer Hoby’s will.<sup>811</sup> As Master of the Court of Wards, Burghley surely played a pivotal role in ensuring that Lady Russell purchased her sons’ wardships, preventing the Hoby estates falling into the hands of the highest bidding courtier.<sup>812</sup>

Burghley assisted her sons in their careers. He helped Edward win diplomatic posts and may have assisted him in a dispute on his lands, as prompted by Lady Russell.<sup>813</sup> She implored Burghley to take Thomas into his service after he ran away rather than attend the Inns of Court as his mother desired, and he stayed in the Cecil household for several years.<sup>814</sup> At Lady Russell’s behest, Burghley helped negotiate Thomas’s two attempts to marry Margaret Devereux (née Dakins), arguing that his nephew would “prove a good and corteous husbände, and a keeper and noe spender.”<sup>815</sup> The Hoby

---

<sup>809</sup> TNA SP 15/13/14, Lady Hoby to Sir William Cecil, 7 April 1566; Allen, *Cooke*, 2; Phillippy, “Introduction,” 16; Hoby, 127; Farber, “Letters,” 18-24. He may have also arranged her subsequent marriage to Lord Russell in 1574 (Phillippy, “Introduction,” 18).

<sup>810</sup> TNA SP 15/13/14, Lady Hoby to Sir William Cecil, 7 April 1566.

<sup>811</sup> Farber, “Letters,” 81-82; Phillippy, “Introduction,” 17; Allen, *Cooke*, 79. For the will, see TNA PROB 11/48.

<sup>812</sup> Woolcott, “Maternity’s Wards,” 83; BL Lans. MS 10/38, same to same, 25 July 1584 (dated by Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 103); Harris, *English*, 31. Lady Russell later refused to relinquish control of Edward’s wardship to her husband, Lord Russell (BL Lans. MS 10/38, same to same, 25 July 1584 (dated by Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 103); *Ibid.*, 101).

<sup>813</sup> Knafla, “Hoby, Sir Edward”; BL Lans. MS 33/85, Lady Russell to Burghley, 8 November 1581.

<sup>814</sup> BL Lans. MS 10/38, same to same, 25 July 1584 (dated by Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 103); *Ibid.*, 99.

<sup>815</sup> Burghley to Huntingdon, 21 September 1591; Huntingdon to Edward Stanhope, 12 September 1595, printed in Gardiner, “Preface,” vii, xii. He also wrote to the widow’s father (*Ibid.*, viii). Hoby pursued Margaret after her first husband, Walter Devereux, was killed in



brothers were never opposed to their uncle, benefiting from their kinship to this powerful man.

Lady Russell was highly valued as an intermediary who could bring suits to the attention of the powerful Burghley who was inundated with requests for patronage.<sup>816</sup> Lady Russell did this in matters of religious patronage, acting out of spiritual affinity with the suitor.<sup>817</sup> For example, she assisted the Presbyterian leader, Thomas Cartwright, in 1591. Cartwright was committed to the Fleet Prison for his refusal to submit to Whitgift's reforms and wrote to Lady Russell for her "honorable mediation" with Burghley to secure his release.<sup>818</sup> He trusted her at this crucial time to select the best strategy to approach her brother-in-law:

leaving all to yor honorable consideracon what to kepe to yor self and what to com[m]unicate to his Lo what to ask or what to leave unasked: that is to say what you think his L can convenientlie and w[i]th his good liking effect<sup>819</sup>

Cartwright attributed great influence to Lady Russell in assuming she knew Burghley so well that she should determine how to approach him.

---

Rouen in September 1591, but she married Thomas Sidney in 22 December that year. Sidney died in July 1595 and Hoby married the widow in August 1596 (*HMCs* 5: 302, Sir Thomas Hoby to Sir Robert Cecil, 3 August 1595; 6: 546; Lady Russell to Sir Robert Cecil, January 1596; LPL MS 659/342, Essex to Anthony Bacon, 13 October 1596; 655/20, Sir Thomas Hoby to Anthony Bacon, 3 February 1596; Gardiner, "Preface," vi-xx; Meads, *Diary*, 12-33).<sup>816</sup> TNA SP 12/91/19, Lady Sidney to Burghley, April 1573; 12/44/37, Lady Hoby to Sir William Cecil, 8 November 1567; *HMC Report* 3: 196, Sir Henry Savile to Lady Russell, 4 February 1595; *HMCs* 5:200, John Lee to Sir Robert Cecil, 8 May 1595; LPL MS 659/8, Anthony Bacon to Robert Bacon, 29 September 1596; 659/34, Robert Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 18 September 1596; 659/41, Robert Bacon to Lady Russell, 20 September 1596; 659/43, same to same, September 1596; BL Lans. MS 82/88, Sir John Harrington to Lady Russell, 14 August 1596.

<sup>817</sup> Bowden, "Women as Intermediaries," 219. For his assistance prior to 1580, see TNA SP 12/77/11, Lady Hoby to Sir William Cecil, 31 January 1571.

<sup>818</sup> BL Lans. MS 68/131-132, Thomas Cartwright to Lady Russell, 13 August 1591; Pearson, *Thomas Cartwright*, 345, 467-470; Collinson, "Cartwright, Thomas (1534/5-1603), Theologian and Religious Controversialist," in *ODNB*, accessed April 26, 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4820>.

<sup>819</sup> BL Lans. MS 68/131-132, Thomas Cartwright to Lady Russell, 13 August 1591.

Moreover, Lady Russell was a particularly active and knowledgeable litigant who used her connection to Burghley and his son, Sir Robert Cecil, to her advantage in personal suits.<sup>820</sup> Although these men were extremely busy dealing with the business of the realm, they found time to assist Lady Russell which demonstrates their high regard for her as a kinswoman. Although she engaged in a number of suits during the latter years of the Elizabethan period, one was particularly noteworthy.<sup>821</sup> In 1593, Berkshire MP, Robert Lovelace and his men fell foul of Lady Russell when they removed some trees from her property. She was so angry that:

She commanded the door to be broken open, and found two of Lovelace's men ... whom she brought home to her house and set them by the heels in her porter's lodge; saying she would teach them to come within her libertie and keep possession against her<sup>822</sup>

Lovelace then rescued his men by force.<sup>823</sup> Lady Russell was so incensed by the ensuing damage to her property and insult to her honour that she appealed to the Privy Council to punish him for causing a "riot".<sup>824</sup> However, there was wrongdoing on both sides, given her illegal imprisonment of Lovelace's men.<sup>825</sup> Sir Robert Cecil helped her obtain legal advice from Attorney-General Coke who recommended they settle the matter privately to prevent

---

<sup>820</sup> Harris (*English*, 138) argues that many aristocratic widows were adept in legal matters.

<sup>821</sup> For other suits, see SRO 6729/6/98, Lady Russell to Sir William More, [9 August 1580], transcribed and dated in Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 93-94; BL Lans. MS 33/85, Lady Russell to Burghley, 8 November 1581; CPR Elizabeth I Part XVIII, 32 (C 66/1354, item 956), TNA SP 46 37/114, Burghley to Lord Mayor of London, 7 February 1590; HMCS 11: 331, Lady Russell to Sir Robert Cecil, 10 August 1601; 11: 423-424, same to same, [12 October 1601], 11: 563-564, same to same, [1601]; 14: 192, same to same, 1601. Her suit for Donnington Castle is discussed below.

<sup>822</sup> HMCS 13: 515-516, Lady Russell to the Council, October 1594.

<sup>823</sup> *Ibid.*; Phillippy, "Introduction," 21.

<sup>824</sup> *Ibid.*; Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 119; TNA SP 12/245/135, [addressed to Burghley], October 1593; John Hawarde, *Les Reportes del Cases in Camera Stellata, 1593 to 1609: From the Original MS. of John Hawarde*, ed. William Paley Baildon (London: Alfred Morrison, 1894), 49.

<sup>825</sup> Hawarde, *Les Reportes*, 49; HMCS 5: 7, Coke to Sir Robert Cecil, 16 October 1594.

Lady Russell receiving any punishment since she had committed a crime in the eyes of the law.<sup>826</sup> However, she was determined to have her day in court and the case was heard in Star Chamber in June 1596.<sup>827</sup> Burghley defended her, arguing that “Lovelace is an ungrateful man, for he and his father are greatly indebted to the said Lady and Sir Edwarde Hobbye, the chief founders of him and his ancestors.”<sup>828</sup> Despite her wrongdoing, she escaped punishment but Lovelace was fined and imprisoned.<sup>829</sup> As Phillippy observes in this case, “her personal relationships with many of the Star Chamber counselors stood her in good stead.”<sup>830</sup> Lady Russell’s victory demonstrates the significant personal benefit she derived from kinship to her brother-in-law and nephew.

However, being related to the Cecils did not guarantee her success. They could not help her win the most important suit of her life which she fought on behalf of her daughters who were disinherited by their grandfather.<sup>831</sup> Lady Russell performed her responsibilities as an aristocratic mother, fiercely defending her daughters in the Courts of Wards, Common Pleas and the King’s Bench from 1585 to 1593.<sup>832</sup> She solicited Burghley to expedite the suit’s proceedings and make Cecil move the queen for her.<sup>833</sup>

---

<sup>826</sup> *HMCS* 5: 7, same to same, 16 October 1594.

<sup>827</sup> Hawarde, *Les Reportes*, 49. Star Chamber was a court in Westminster Palace that heard cases associated with public order or politics (Bremer and Webster, eds., *Puritans and Puritanism*, vol. 2, 555, 593).

<sup>828</sup> Hawarde, *Les Reportes*, 49.

<sup>829</sup> *Ibid*; Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 243: source EL MS 46, Lady Russell to Thomas Egerton, February/March 1600.

<sup>830</sup> Phillippy, “Introduction,” 21.

<sup>831</sup> *Ibid.*, 19. See Chapter 3.

<sup>832</sup> Harris, *English*, 113; Allen, *Cooke*, 3, 80; Phillippy, “Introduction,” 20. The suit’s ramifications were long-lasting (*HMCS* 11: 562, Lady Russell to Sir Robert Cecil, December 1601).

<sup>833</sup> *HMCS* 4: 460, Lady Russell to Burghley, [1593]; TNA SP 12/245/23, same to same, [May 1593].

Lady Russell also pleaded with Burghley to ensure the girls retained their coat of arms and place in the order of precedence, and urged Cecil to attend a hearing before presenting information on the case to the queen.<sup>834</sup> As Master of the Court of Wards, Burghley appointed Lady Russell guardian of her daughters but neither man could win the lawsuit for her.<sup>835</sup> Like Francis Bacon's suit for the Attorney-Generalship, Lady Russell's victory was unlikely from the outset. Although daughters were often preferred to inherit rather than distant male kin, this was not the case with the earldom's dynastic lands.<sup>836</sup> The powerful Countess of Warwick had also been controlling the estate through the Earl of Bedford's wardship, providing an even greater likelihood that she would win the suit for the young earl.<sup>837</sup> Moreover, Lady Russell's case relied on an outdated will pitting the daughters of a dead heir against the more secure position of a living male heir.

The loss of the lawsuit was a devastating blow to Lady Russell's career as an aristocratic mother. She lost her power and leverage within the Russell family as mother of dynastic heiresses, whilst the verdict severely compromised her ability to ensure Elizabeth's and Anne's financial security and prospects for marriage within their social class.<sup>838</sup> She was now forced to channel her energies into raising substantial marriage portions to replace their lost wealth.<sup>839</sup> She took the loss bitterly, asking Burghley how the Russells

---

<sup>834</sup> Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 106: source College of Arms MS Vincent 92/263, Lady Russell to Burghley, before 24 April 1590; *HMCS* 14: 152, Lady Russell to Sir Robert Cecil, May 1593; Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 111-112.

<sup>835</sup> Phillippy, "Introduction," 7.

<sup>836</sup> Erickson, *Women and Property*, 63; Harris, "Property," 608-609; Harris, *English*, 20-21.

<sup>837</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>838</sup> For the powers of aristocratic mothers, see Harris, *English*, 99, 111-119, 167-172; Harris, "Property," 610; Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 179-182; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, 162; Broomhall and Van Gent, "Corresponding Affections," 156-157; Harris, *English*, 43-44, 57, 108, 111-112.

<sup>839</sup> Harris, *English*, 100, 107.

expected her to provide for her daughters unless she made them “noones”.<sup>840</sup> Her facetious tone further demonstrates her close relationship with Burghley since few would have dared write to him in such a direct manner.

The suit disputes the notion of Cecilian hegemony since Burghley’s and Sir Robert Cecil’s power did not extend to controlling the judges nor the queen.<sup>841</sup> It parallels Lady Bacon’s experience in that both sisters implored the Cecils to protect their children in unwinnable suits decided by third parties. However, the sisters responded differently to their disappointments. Whilst Lady Bacon blamed the Cecils and thought they did not fulfil kinship obligations, Lady Russell blamed third parties.<sup>842</sup> The explanation may lie in the Cecils’ support of Coke over Francis Bacon, whereas they did not support the Countess of Warwick or the Earl of Bedford over the Russell girls.

In stark contrast to her sister, Lady Russell built a stronger and more politically consequential relationship with the Cecils after her daughters lost their claim to the inheritance. Lady Russell frequently attended court and could not afford to alienate the kin she relied on as a source of her own power. Thus she placed greater value on maintaining harmonious relationships with them at court. This is best illustrated by Lady Russell’s selection of guests for her daughter, Anne’s, wedding supper in 1600. Lady Russell invited kin of her “blood and alliance”, namely her daughter’s new marital family, the Somersets, as well as the Russell kin who disinherited Anne (the Countess of Warwick, the Earl and Countess of Bedford, the Earl and Countess of Cumberland), and her powerful relatives on her mother’s

---

<sup>840</sup> TNA SP 12/245/23, Lady Russell to Burghley, May 1593. She probably meant ‘nuns’ (Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 116).

<sup>841</sup> Phillippy, “Introduction,” 20.

<sup>842</sup> TNA SP 12/245/23, same to same, May 1593.

side (Sir Robert Cecil, the new Lord Burghley, Thomas Cecil, and Lord Cobham).<sup>843</sup> Although Lady Russell may have harboured grudges, the maintenance of kinship bonds were very important to her.

After Burghley's death in 1598, Lady Russell built a close relationship with her nephew Sir Robert Cecil as an aunt "near in blood".<sup>844</sup> She sought benefits from her kinship, stating to Cecil that "My being your aunt, my place had deserved more regard of justice" when she failed to win a suit.<sup>845</sup> As kin, she looked to his welfare and sought to protect him, claiming that "nature will not suffer me to like of any that shall go about to wrong you".<sup>846</sup> Lady Russell lived up to her word in 1599, warning Cecil about rumours circulating about him.<sup>847</sup> She cared about her nephew, composing consoling verses when his wife died and sending celebratory verses from Horace when he won the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster.<sup>848</sup>

Lady Russell's letters to Cecil are not typically deferential as might be expected of a woman writing to one of the most powerful men in the realm. Some demonstrate her acerbic wit and a tendency to write in a direct tone. For example, she exclaimed to Cecil that she would "rather marry some one that lacketh one of his five senses rather than carry so great an indignity presumed by so base a fellow [a litigant] for want of a husband

---

<sup>843</sup> *HMCS* 10: 175-176, Lady Russell to Sir Robert Cecil, [c. June 9, 1600]. Sir Robert Cecil was married to Cobham's sister, Elizabeth (*CP* 11: 403). Cobham was also Lady Russell's neighbour in Blackfriars and the queen stayed at his house for Anne Russell's wedding (Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 271; Hill Cole, *Portable Queen*, 31-32, 200).

<sup>844</sup> *HMCS* 9: 383, same to same, October 1599. For Lady Russell's letters to Cecil, see Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 111-115, 180-191, 202-206, 210-236, 239-242, 247-251, 254-256, 282-293, 296-300, 303-317.

<sup>845</sup> *HMCS* 11: 424, same to same, 12 October 1601.

<sup>846</sup> *HMCS* 8: 566, same to same, [March 1599] (dated by Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 227).

<sup>847</sup> *HMCS* 9: 383-384, same to same, October 1599.

<sup>848</sup> *HMCS* 7: 87, same to same, February 1597; 281, same to same, 24 June 1597; Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 202-204, 257, 259.

honourable”.<sup>849</sup> Magnusson observes a similar phenomenon in Lady Bacon’s letters to Anthony, citing it as evidence of the “prerogative of power” within the mother-son relationship.<sup>850</sup> Phillippy attributes Lady Russell’s informal tone to “intimacy”, suggesting she considered herself highly placed in her nephew’s affections to write so confidently to him.<sup>851</sup> Whilst this is true, Lady Russell wrote in a confronting, non-deferential manner to other important men with whom she shared no kinship. For example, she wrote to Francis Gawdy, judge of the Court of King’s Bench who heard a case against one of her servants, to claim she cared “as little for your fine and rigor as your self, who wallow in wealth.”<sup>852</sup> Her audacity to write this way suggests that proud women of strong character sometimes overrode epistolary conventions to defend their honour or make an important point. Even so, Lady Russell still employed feminine frailty tropes to prompt action from Cecil:

myself a desolate widow without husband or friend to defend me or to take care of me; my children all in her Majesty’s service; myself so beggared by law and interest for relief of my children ... For God’s sake, aid and protect me in this my desolation, and that by your commandment I may have for shot, pikes and halberts on the Queen’s price, good so many as I shall send for, fit to defend my house<sup>853</sup>

Her correspondence with Cecil demonstrates that courtiers did not always feel confident in relying on a powerful kinsman, so employed deliberate epistolary strategies as a further inducement to action.

---

<sup>849</sup> *HMCS* 7: 296, Lady Russell to Sir Robert Cecil, before 11 July 11 1597; Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 211.

<sup>850</sup> Magnusson, “Widowhood,” 19.

<sup>851</sup> Allen, *Cooke*, 98, 106; Phillippy, “Introduction,” 26.

<sup>852</sup> Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 120: source Folger MS X.c.87, Lady Russell to Francis Gawdy, after October 1593.

<sup>853</sup> *HMCS* 9: 339, Lady Russell to Sir Robert Cecil, August 1599.

Lady Russell ensured that the powerful Sir Robert Cecil was involved in her children's lives, strategically promoting relationships that would presumably endure beyond her death. Lady Russell asked him to pass messages to her daughters at court, assist in their marriage negotiations and to attend her son, Thomas's, wedding with the purpose of fostering bonds between them.<sup>854</sup> She invited him to the royal visit at Bisham, in 1592 where her daughters performed leading roles in an entertainment and also invited him to her daughter Anne's wedding in 1600 to "command as the master of my house".<sup>855</sup>

Suitors approached Lady Russell as an intermediary to Cecil.<sup>856</sup> In doing so, they credited her with great influence over the Principal Secretary. Whereas Lady Bacon refused to advocate for men at the highest levels of the Church, Lady Russell approached her nephew for men such as William Day, Dean of Windsor, who was overlooked for the post of Dean of Durham.<sup>857</sup> However, on the whole, Lady Russell was less inclined to approach her nephew with matters of religious patronage, possibly because she was conscious that he had to support the Church of England's stance against nonconformity given his important position within government.

---

<sup>854</sup> *HMCS* 6: 31, Lady Russell to Sir Robert Cecil, 27 January 1596; 309, same to same, 1 August 1596; 7: 267, same to same, 24 June 1597; 536, same to same, c. January 1598 (for date see Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 219); 10: 121-122, same to same, 21 April 1600.

<sup>855</sup> LPL MS 648/203, Thomas Hoby to Anthony Bacon, 29 July 1592; *Progresses* 3: 599; Hill Cole, *Portable Queen*, 221, 228; *HMCS* 10: 175-176, Lady Russell to Sir Robert Cecil, [2 June 1600], dated by Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 254. For the entertainment at Bisham, see *Progresses* 3: 601-609; Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 147-157; Davidson and Stevenson, "Elizabeth I's Reception".

<sup>856</sup> *HMCS* 6: 31, same to same, 27 January 1596; 215, same to same, 15 June 1596; 7: 536, same to same, c. January 1598 (for date see Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 219); 8: 32-33, same to same, June 1598; 257-258, same to same, 10 July 1598; TNA SP 12/241/108, Nicholas Mickey to Burghley, 10 July 1598.

<sup>857</sup> *HMCS* 5: 121-122, Lady Russell to Sir Robert Cecil, 24 February 1595; Allen, *Cooke*, 175-176, 192.



Although she shared a close relationship with the Cecils, she did not extend these sentiments to their political allies. In this regard, Lady Russell contrasts with Lady Rich in the next chapter who cultivated very strong links with the men surrounding her brother, the Earl of Essex. Instead, Lady Russell deliberately pitted herself against the men Burghley and Cecil relied on the most at court, engaging in property disputes against Cobham and Buckhurst in 1599.<sup>858</sup> Given that Cobham was also her neighbour and Sir Robert Cecil's brother-in-law, her actions against him provide further indication that she would not compromise her own interests even towards men who were ideally positioned to assist her.

In 1600, Lady Russell commenced perhaps her most notorious suit against the Earl of Nottingham who received a royal grant of Donnington Castle in Berkshire which effectively superseded an earlier lease to Lady Russell as "keeper of the Queen's Castle of Donnington".<sup>859</sup> Lady Russell begged Cecil to convince Nottingham to refuse the new grant or the queen to honour the original grant, arguing that the castle was eventually to pass to Elizabeth Russell who needed the income to enhance her marriage prospects or to maintain her lifestyle if she did not marry.<sup>860</sup> Lady Russell's pleas fell on deaf ears. Cecil did nothing to prevent Nottingham seizing the property early in the next reign.<sup>861</sup> Lady Russell's pursuit of the original grant cost her dearly – over £500 of gifts to the queen during an 18 week period – and she

---

<sup>858</sup> TNA SP 12/255/58, Lady Russell to Cobham, December 1599 (dated by Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 237); *HMCS* 9: 359, Lady Russell to Sir Robert Cecil, September 1599.

<sup>859</sup> *HMCS* 10: 51-52, same to same, 5 March 1600; Heal, "Reputation," 166; *CPR* Elizabeth I Part XVIII, 32 (C 66/1354, item 956); Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 247-248; Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 235.

<sup>860</sup> *HMCS* 10: 51-52, same to same, 5 March 1600.

<sup>861</sup> Heal, "Reputation," 166.

engaged in a bitter lawsuit that did little but mar her reputation.<sup>862</sup> During the proceedings in Star Chamber in 1606, Lady Russell exchanged aggressive words with Nottingham whom she charged with causing a “riot” during the seizure of Donnington and angrily grabbed the Earl of Northampton’s cloak when he committed the ultimate transgression against her in questioning her status as a “lady dowager”.<sup>863</sup> In pitting herself against the Cecils’ allies, Lady Russell demonstrated that she did not consider herself bound to any other members of a potential Cecil faction and thus did not attempt to promote it as a cohesive political entity. Her personal interests and sense of honour were more important to her than political loyalty.

Unlike her sister, Lady Bacon, who was too close to her sons to be objective, Lady Russell considered herself bound to assist both sets of nephews on either side of the political divide. Her favourable relationship with Sir Robert Cecil, however, did not preclude her from assisting Anthony who was in more need of promotion and preferment. When he first returned from his travels abroad, Lady Russell offered Anthony an opportunity to make an impression on the court when the queen visited the Hoby estate Bisham, in 1592.<sup>864</sup> Moreover, she conveyed important information from the court to Anthony who was forced to postpone a visit to court due to the onset of kidney stones whilst travelling in 1593.<sup>865</sup> Anthony reported to his mother:

It was no smalle comforte likwyse to me to vnderstand from  
my La Russell that her maty ... openly in the parcke before

---

<sup>862</sup> *HMCS* 10: 51-52, Lady Russell to Sir Robert Cecil, 5 March 1600.

<sup>863</sup> Northampton was formerly Henry Howard. For accounts of the lawsuit, see Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 417-428 and Heal, “Reputation,” 166-167. Although her late husband was only a baron, Lady Russell demanded the status of a countess (Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 112, 127, 215, 294, 422-423, 444; Heal, “Reputation,” 164-165, 167).

<sup>864</sup> She invited Francis too (LPL MS 648/203, Sir Thomas Hoby to Anthony Bacon, 29 July 1592).

<sup>865</sup> LPL MS 649/337, Anthony Bacon to Lady Bacon, 19 October 1593; Allen, *Cooke*, 146.

divers vouchsaffed of her self without any other occasion to  
make menc[i]on of me and to moane much my infirmity  
protesting ... that if I had but half as much healt he as honesty  
and other sufficiencie shee knowe not throughout her Realme  
where to finde a better servant and more to her lykinge.<sup>866</sup>

This information was extremely valuable for Anthony who could not otherwise ascertain his standing with the queen due to his frequent illnesses.

Lady Russell's involvement in the political divisions of the 1590s derived from a desire to reconcile her extended family that included "both my sisters soones".<sup>867</sup> This enabled her to play a vital role as a mediator between the disgruntled Anthony Bacon who questioned his powerful kin's intentions and Burghley who claimed to have the best interests of his nephews at heart. Allen describes Lady Russell's actions as those of an "intermediary" but use of this term blurs an important distinction between two different roles.<sup>868</sup> Intermediaries employed reason and argument to persuade an individual to act on behalf of a third party suitor.<sup>869</sup> By comparison, Lady Russell sought to reconcile two individuals contesting a particular issue. In doing so, she employed a different set of skills such as impartiality, negotiation, willingness to listen to both sides and acting as a channel of communication. Lady Russell mediated between kin with the goal of improving relationships; not for kin with the goal of winning a suit.<sup>870</sup> Thus Lady Russell is described here as a 'mediator' when she acted in this way.

---

<sup>866</sup> LPL MS 649/337, Anthony Bacon to Lady Bacon, 19 October 1593.

<sup>867</sup> LPL MS 659/104V, Lady Russell to Anthony Bacon, 8 September 1596.

<sup>868</sup> Allen, *Cooke*, 146-158.

<sup>869</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>870</sup> Pollock ("Honor," 18, 20) uses the term "arbitrator" to describe individuals charged with "keeping the peace ... smoothing over discord and reconciling warring parties". However, this term is problematic since it may suggest that aristocratic women decided a victor, rather than facilitating reconciliation as discussed here.

According to Pollock, maintaining harmonious family relations “was one of the most honorable accomplishments that a woman could display.”<sup>871</sup> Because of their femininity and biological links to parties in dispute, women within a family were seen as natural mediators with innate skills to mend domestic rifts.<sup>872</sup> Those who did so for men in high office provide further weight to scholarly arguments that aristocratic women’s family roles motivated and justified their involvement in politically consequential matters.<sup>873</sup> For Lady Russell, her role as an aunt and a sister-in-law enabled her to derive significant power from mediating between Anthony and Burghley since the latter was so deeply involved in Elizabethan politics. Her place as an aunt was perhaps the greater motivator in this case since her nephew, Anthony, was the more aggrieved party in most need of assistance, but she may also have looked after her sister, Mildred’s, family as a form of kin honour.

Tensions between the brothers and the Cecils peaked again in September 1596, two months after Cecil gained the post of Principal Secretary. Anthony was particularly hostile towards his cousin and uncle, perhaps encouraged by Lady Bacon who urged him to be wary of Cecil’s new power as discussed above. Lady Russell stepped into the dispute as mediator by summarising grievances, reporting observations and attempting to reconcile the two sides of the family. In performing this role, she demonstrated great value to both men. A series of letters written by Anthony

---

<sup>871</sup> Pollock “Honor,” 25.

<sup>872</sup> Crawford, *Blood*, 114; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, 91-92, 131, 403-414; Pollock, “Rethinking,” 20; Wall, “Deference,” 87.

<sup>873</sup> Harris, “View,” 222; Harris, “Property,” 608; Harris, “Women,” 268, 281; Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 255-256.

and Lady Russell describe the expectations and discontent on both sides.<sup>874</sup> Allen argues that Lady Russell mediated as prosecutor and defender of both Burghley and Anthony, using her education in rhetoric to follow a prescribed sequence of oratory stages.<sup>875</sup> Thus, crucially, Lady Russell maintained a level of neutrality which would have been impossible if she considered herself a devoted follower of a Cecil faction.

Lady Russell first met with Burghley to ascertain his grievances which she then relayed to Anthony in a conversation he reported to Essex in great detail.<sup>876</sup> Allen and Dickinson both advise caution in interpreting Anthony's letter since he might have exaggerated his account to impress Essex.<sup>877</sup> Bearing these reservations in mind, the letter still provides an excellent source of evidence for Lady Russell's role as a mediator between the Bacons and the Cecils.

According to Anthony, Lady Russell first set out Burghley's arguments against his nephew which included his association with Catholic friends, involvement in Essex's intelligence network and the hostility of the Bacon brothers towards him and his son.<sup>878</sup> Anthony defended himself and then presented his own grievances against his uncle such as the treatment of Burghley's former intelligence operative, Sir Anthony Standen, as well as his

---

<sup>874</sup> The sequence should be read in this order: LPL MS 659/23-26, Anthony Bacon to Essex, 11 September 1596; 659/104, Lady Russell to Anthony Bacon, 8 September 1596; 659/187, Anthony to Lady Russell, 9 September 1596; 659/142, Lady Russell to Anthony, 9 September 1596. Although LPL MS 659/23-26 is dated later than 659/104, it summarises the first conversation.

<sup>875</sup> Allen, *Cooke*, 149-150, 154-157.

<sup>876</sup> LPL MS 659/142, Essex to Anthony Bacon, 9 September 1596; 659/23-26, Anthony Bacon to Essex, 11 September 1596. See also Hammer, *Polarisation*, 375-376.

<sup>877</sup> Allen, *Cooke*, 149; Allen, "Introduction," 19-20.

<sup>878</sup> Allen, *Cooke*, 149; Gajda, *Earl of Essex*, 124.

uncle being “so backward to aduance his Nephewes ... howsoever it please his Lop to protest ye contrarie”, despite Anthony’s years of service abroad.<sup>879</sup>

Burghley expected Lady Russell to summarise his grievances, but not to further his arguments. Thus she was free to listen carefully to Anthony’s perspective. When he produced a letter demonstrating the queen’s approval of his diplomatic service abroad, Lady Russell treated it as a new piece of evidence and read it carefully. Anthony reported that Lady Russell’s mood and attitude towards him improved throughout the conversation, although he may have exaggerated this to impress the success of the meeting upon Essex. Anthony later referred to her account of their conversation as “so autenticall a testimony” and hoped she would assist him in the future, asking her to “store [his arguments] in some little corner of your remembrance till your kinde loue and iudgem[en]t see fitt time ... to command their apparance”.<sup>880</sup>

As mediator for both sides, Lady Russell then relayed Anthony’s ripostes and grievances to Burghley in a face-to-face meeting as well as in a written summary.<sup>881</sup> Significantly, she explained Anthony’s charge of neglect stemming from a perceived lack of material assistance and preferment from the Cecils, and his mistrust of Sir Robert Cecil.<sup>882</sup> Lady Russell also performed a vital role in amending misinterpretations, correcting Burghley when he did not understand that Anthony used the term “real assurance” to mean practical assistance, not just goodwill:

---

<sup>879</sup> LPL MS 659/26, Anthony Bacon to Essex, 11 September 1596. Standen initially gathered intelligence for Burghley until the latter abandoned him in France. Bacon befriended him, secured his release from prison and Standen joined the Essex circle (Hammer, “Elizabethan Spy”; Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, 126-128, Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 72).

<sup>880</sup> LPL MS 659/211, Anthony Bacon to Lady Bacon, 8 October 1596; 659/187, Anthony Bacon to Lady Russell, 9 September 1596.

<sup>881</sup> LPL MS 659/104, Lady Russell to Anthony Bacon, 8 September 1596; Allen, *Cooke*, 154, 157. Presumably this summary was the testimony referred to by Anthony.

<sup>882</sup> LPL MS 659/104, same to same, 8 September 1596.

He knoweth not what you meane by reall assurance for yt yow would beleve no more woords. He tooke it that you ment yow would beleve no more his woords saying that he would not wryte nor bestow his woords but upon those that would beleve them. I awnsered that I thought not that to be yr meaning ... but rather some real assurance from her maiesty by some deede to yowr good.<sup>883</sup>

Again, she remained neutral in asserting Anthony's view without supporting it.

Lady Russell then recorded Burghley's subsequent responses in a carefully worded letter to Anthony.<sup>884</sup> Allen argues that Lady Russell's mask of neutrality slipped to favour Anthony in this letter because she advises him that Sir Robert Cecil, would ultimately receive what his "desart shall require".<sup>885</sup> However, this statement may indicate her concern for Anthony as his aunt more than a shift towards sharing his perspective. Given that Anthony was agitated and in poor health, Lady Russell's counsel to be wary but not expend too much energy worrying about the younger Cecil who would ultimately reap what he sowed, might have been a strategy to pacify him. According to Lady Russell, Burghley remained concerned over Anthony's companions but not the Earl of Essex as she wrote that his uncle "never did ... mislike in his hart to have yow embrace the Fre[n]dshipp and kyndness of the Erle, but is gladd ther of, neither did he ever think the Erle not his frend."<sup>886</sup> Thus she conveyed the important point that Burghley feared the moral influence of the Essex circle on Anthony, rather than his nephew's association with the earl as the Cecils' purported enemy. Furthermore, she

---

<sup>883</sup> LPL MS 659/25, Anthony Bacon to Essex, 11 September 1596; 659/104V, Lady Russell to Anthony Bacon, 8 September 1596.

<sup>884</sup> LPL MS 659/104V, same to same, 8 September 1596.

<sup>885</sup> *Ibid*; Allen, *Cooke*, 156.

<sup>886</sup> LPL MS 659/104V, same to same, 8 September 1596.

also observed and reported that Burghley's good favour remained regardless of the tensions between them. Her use of the word 'I' in her letter suggests independent opinion: "I fynd my Lord Thresurer vnfaynedly very Honorably and frendly disposed to yrself" and "I fownd him [Burghley] disposed very Honorably and kyndly toward yr self".<sup>887</sup> This strategy carried greater epistolary authority than if she had simply repeated Burghley's words.

Lady Russell repeated a request from Burghley that Anthony set his grievances in writing.<sup>888</sup> Her nephew refused, arguing that Burghley already knew his grievances because she had already conveyed them to him verbally and perhaps fearing a third party, like Sir Robert Cecil, might read it.<sup>889</sup> Burghley did not write down his grievances either so perhaps he shared the same concerns. Lady Russell's short and curt final letter to Anthony indicates her frustration at his refusal to fulfil his uncle's wishes in this regard.<sup>890</sup> Anthony remained sceptical of Burghley's attempts at reconciliation but later credited Lady Russell's mediation with some success, observing that "it hath dried vpp the torrent of my L Trerer's mightie indignatio[n] at ye least by show."<sup>891</sup> Two months later, Anthony even reported to his mother that Sir Robert Cecil was willing to forget their past problems and assist him whenever possible.<sup>892</sup>

Lady Russell mediated for family; not faction. According to the correspondence, she did not mention Essex as a source of political opposition

---

<sup>887</sup> LPL MS 659/104V, Lady Russell to Anthony Bacon, 8 September 1596; 659/106, same to same, 9 September 1596.

<sup>888</sup> LPL MS 659/26, Anthony Bacon to Essex, 11 September 1596.

<sup>889</sup> LPL MS 659/187, Anthony Bacon to Lady Russell, 9 September 1596; 659/106, Lady Russell to Anthony Bacon, 9 September 1596; Allen, *Cooke*, 154.

<sup>890</sup> LPL MS 659/106, same to same, 9 September 1596.

<sup>891</sup> LPL MS 659/211, Anthony Bacon to Lady Bacon, 8 October 1596.

<sup>892</sup> LPL MS 660/124, same to same, 31 December 1596; Allen, "Introduction," 15.



and moreover, did not seek to further any Cecilian agenda against the earl or his circle. She formed independent opinions and argued for and against both sides rather than supporting one over the other. Lady Russell's mediation between her male kin was highly consequential, re-establishing a working relationship between them and confirming her value to both groups. Her flexibility, quick thinking and confidence is indisputable and she emerges from the exchange as a mediator *par excellence*. As Allen observes: "the very informality of Elizabeth's status as an aunt and sister-in-law ... allowed her to explore the grievances of male family members, seeking the information on which reconciliation could be based."<sup>893</sup> Her role as a female mediator also enabled Lady Russell to exercise political power and engage in political discourse in a non-gendered space, in contrast to male locations of political discussions such as the Privy Council.

By comparison with her sister, there is less surviving evidence of Lady Russell benefiting from Essex's patronage. This may suggest that she did not need to turn to the earl for patronage since the Cecils met her needs in that regard. However, there were significant kinship links between Essex and Lady Russell that would have fostered an emotional connection between them. In the first instance, as discussed above, Burghley raised the young Essex in his household which created an enduring fictive kinship tie between the earl and Burghley, and also with the Cooke sisters who might have looked on Essex as a sort of nephew.<sup>894</sup> On his deathbed, Walter Devereux, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Essex, implored his close personal friend, Burghley, to provide his young

---

<sup>893</sup> Allen, *Cooke*, 157.

<sup>894</sup> Lady Burghley accompanied the young Essex to court a number of times (Hammer, *Polarisation*, 24).

heir Robert with “wisdom and gravity, and [to] lay up your counsels and advises in the treasury of his hart.”<sup>895</sup> From that point, Burghley’s and Essex’s relationship mirrored that of a father and a frustrated younger son. Hammer, argues that the earl showed Burghley “filial respect” and “retained a special bond with his former guardian” throughout his life.<sup>896</sup> Although Burghley invested most of his efforts in increasing his son, Sir Robert Cecil’s, power at Essex’s expense and the earl opposed some of Burghley’s opinions on policy, there was an element of respect, affection and reciprocity between them in contrast to the more strained relationship between the earl and the younger Cecil that mirrored that of feuding brothers.<sup>897</sup>

In the second instance, Lady Russell was connected to Essex through her son, Thomas, who married the earl’s widowed sister-in-law, Margaret Devereux Sidney (née Dakins). Lady Russell considered this connection to Essex so important that she wrote to him for his approval on both occasions when Thomas paid suit to the widow.<sup>898</sup> She also used this Devereux connection in the marriage negotiations by employing Essex’s sister, Dorothy, Lady Perrot (later Countess of Northumberland) as the “wisest, surest, and fittest to your [Thomas’s] good”.<sup>899</sup> Lady Perrot might have spoken

---

<sup>895</sup> Hammer, *Polarisation*, 23: source BL Harl. MS 6992/52. The 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Essex also sought to marry young Robert to Burghley’s daughter, Elizabeth (Hammer, *Polarisation*, 23).

<sup>896</sup> *Ibid.*, 87. There is no basis for Varlow’s suggestion that Burghley instigated the correspondence to “set-up” Essex. This claim also runs counter to Burghley’s respect for Essex as his former ward (Sally Varlow, *The Lady Penelope: The Lost Tale of Love and Politics at the Court of Elizabeth I* (London: Andre Deutsch, 2007), 115.

<sup>897</sup> Hammer, *Polarisation*, 87-88, 332; Mears, “Regnum,” 48, 50, 54, 56, 62; Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 84, 87.

<sup>898</sup> Essex was offended at Margaret’s hasty marriage to Thomas Sidney after her the death of her husband (Essex’s brother), Walter Devereux. Hoby tried to get Anthony Bacon to explain Margaret’s actions, arguing that he was reluctant to pursue the match whilst Essex was angry with her (LPL MS 655/20, Thomas Hoby to Anthony Bacon, 3 February 1596).

<sup>899</sup> Lady Russell to Thomas Hoby, November 1591. The letter is not extant but is printed in Gardiner, “Preface,” ix-xi and Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 107-108.

to Essex, Margaret or Margaret's guardians, the Earl and Countess of Huntingdon, who similarly raised Lady Perrot in their godly household.<sup>900</sup> Essex also gave gifts to her daughters, Elizabeth and Anne, which further cemented bonds between them, and there is evidence of the earl intending to visit Lady Russell at least once.<sup>901</sup> Given his ties to her family, it is highly likely that Lady Russell considered Essex part of her broader kinship network.

In 1596, shortly after her mediation between Anthony and Burghley, Lady Russell mediated between Essex and Burghley. Again, she conducted herself as a neutral party reconciling kin, not furthering a factional agenda for the Cecils. In September that year, Essex and the Cecils reached an impasse over the spoils of victory at Cadiz.<sup>902</sup> Burghley told the queen he thought Essex deserved greater rewards, but the earl resented Burghley's interference which only resulted in the queen's displeasure at the suggestion and worsened the earl's favour with Elizabeth.<sup>903</sup> At this time, Essex was particularly keen to re-establish himself in the queen's good graces since he was already in poor favour for scuttling, rather than looting, the Spanish fleet during the campaign.<sup>904</sup>

A sequence of letters documents Lady Russell's role in reconciling Burghley and Essex.<sup>905</sup> Both men were aware of her skills in this regard given

---

<sup>900</sup> Merton, "Women who Served," 40; Cross, *Puritan Earl*, 56. See Chapter 5 for her as Lady Northumberland. The following year, she called in the favour by relying on Lady Russell to approach Burghley for help with her jointure (*HMCS* 4: 213-214, Lady Perrot to Lady Russell [June 1592]).

<sup>901</sup> *HMCS* 6: 546; Lady Russell to Sir Robert Cecil, January 1596; LPL MS 659/342, Essex to Anthony Bacon, 13 October 1596.

<sup>902</sup> LPL MS 659/201, Burghley to Essex, 22 September 1596; Conyers Read, *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1960), 523.

<sup>903</sup> Read, *Lord Burghley*, 523.

<sup>904</sup> *Ibid.*, Hammer, *Polarisation*, 222, 332.

<sup>905</sup> This sequence ran from 22 September 1596 to 26 September 1596.

her recent activities and relied on her to perform similar duties on this occasion. First, she met with Essex to ascertain his arguments and then summarised them in a letter to Burghley.<sup>906</sup> Burghley responded, bemoaning he could not please both the queen and Essex, and Lady Russell delivered his letter to the earl.<sup>907</sup> Essex wrote a reply to the effect that his motivation was to serve the queen and Lady Russell sent it to Burghley.<sup>908</sup> Burghley's final letter to Essex claimed he had "full contentation" that Essex respected him and he would make amends for any offence caused.<sup>909</sup> The working relationship between Essex and Burghley was re-established thanks to Lady Russell's mediation. The earl complimented her on her conduct and skills, stating that she was "very kind to me and desirous to nego[tiate]".<sup>910</sup> Essex's and Burghley's reliance on Lady Russell to mediate effectively and discreetly is a testament to their regard for her skills but also demonstrate the power she exercised as a result of her position within this kinship group.

As tensions at court escalated throughout the final Elizabethan decade, Lady Russell was called in again to patch up the differences between Essex and the Cecils. In March 1597, she worked with Sir Walter Raleigh to reconcile Essex with Sir Robert Cecil after a fallout at court.<sup>911</sup> Although there is no detailed summary of the mediation and negotiations, Lady Russell met with Essex for two hours at her house at Blackfriars so was presumably looking to his welfare as she did on other occasions.<sup>912</sup> Eventually, the three

---

<sup>906</sup> LPL MS 659/201, Burghley to Essex, 22 September 1596.

<sup>907</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>908</sup> Burghley mentions Essex's letter "sent me by my Ladie Russell in answer of mine" (LPL MS 659/133, Burghley to Essex, 24 September 1596).

<sup>909</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>910</sup> LPL MS 659/140, Essex to Anthony Bacon, 26 September 1596.

<sup>911</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/67, Whyte to Sidney, 4 March 1597; Allen, *Cooke*, 147-148.

<sup>912</sup> *Ibid.*

men agreed to support each other for different offices so, again, her efforts met with a successful outcome.<sup>913</sup>

After the death of Burghley in August 1598 in a letter to her nephew, Lady Russell asserted that she acted in “no matters but my own and my children’s”.<sup>914</sup> This was largely true since most of her letters during the rest of the reign concern her own affairs.<sup>915</sup> However, she did offer to mediate once more between the political divisions. In 1599, hostility flared between Sir Robert Cecil and Nottingham on one side, and Essex and his uncle, Sir William Knollys on the other, possibly stemming from Essex’s most recent appointment as Lord Deputy of Ireland.<sup>916</sup> Cecil’s response does not survive and there is no indication that Lady Russell went on to mediate. It is possible that the men resolved their issues themselves.

The tragic death of her daughter, Elizabeth, only two weeks after Anne Russell’s triumphant wedding in 1600, marked the beginning of the end of Lady Russell’s court career.<sup>917</sup> She was personally devastated by the loss of the eldest daughter she strove to protect and promote.<sup>918</sup> Lady Russell lost her spirit for court politics, declaring that “my heart will not yet serve me to come to court ... with tears by remembrance of her that is gone.”<sup>919</sup> In a

---

<sup>913</sup> They would petition for Raleigh to return as Captain of the Guard, Cecil to receive the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster and Essex to become Master of the Ordnance (Mears, “Regnum,” 56).

<sup>914</sup> *HMCS* 8: 566, Lady Russell to Sir Robert Cecil, [March 1599] (dated by Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 227).

<sup>915</sup> For an exception, see *HMCS* 9: 77-78, same to same, 22 February 1599.

<sup>916</sup> *HMCS* 9: 54, same to same, January 1599; Allen, *Cooke*, 148. The relationship between Essex and Nottingham was strained after the latter’s elevation to the peerage in 1597 (Hammer, *Polarisation*, 268).

<sup>917</sup> TNA SP 12/275/21, Chamberlain to Carleton, 1 July 1600; Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 277-279.

<sup>918</sup> KHLC De L’isle MS U1475C12/257, Whyte to Sidney, 5 July 1600; Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 277-279.

<sup>919</sup> *HMCS* 10: 412, Lady Russell to Sir Robert Cecil, 8 December 1600.

sorrowful letter to Cecil, she further claimed that recent events ‘hath killed a courtier and Parliament woman of me’.<sup>920</sup> She spent many of her remaining years at Blackfriars, writing to her nephew for her own personal matters.<sup>921</sup> Retirement from court life enabled her to build on her interest in the godly cause. In 1605, she published her translation of a treatise on the Eucharist in response to contemporary attacks on the Protestant settlement established by her father, along with Sir Nicholas Bacon and Burghley.<sup>922</sup> Lady Russell died at Bisham, between 25 May and 1 June 1609 at the age of 69 and was buried in the parish church.<sup>923</sup> She would have been proud of her daughter Anne who achieved Lady Russell’s ambition to become a countess in 1628 when her husband became 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Worcester.<sup>924</sup> Thomas consolidated his presence in York, serving as a member of the Council in the North.<sup>925</sup> The more successful brother, Edward, furthered his career in parliament and at court as a Gentleman of James I’s Privy Chamber before his death in 1617.<sup>926</sup>

Lady Russell was more active in court politics than her sister. Her roles as aunt, sister-in-law and kinswoman allowed her to seize the opportunity presented by political tensions to enhance her power at court. Moreover, Lady Russell positioned herself in a space where, as a woman, she could freely engage in frank political discussions with powerful men at their request, demonstrating as Mears argues, that conversations of political

---

<sup>920</sup> *HMCS* 11: 562, Lady Russell to Sir Robert Cecil, December 1601.

<sup>921</sup> For transcriptions of these letters, see Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 282-317.

<sup>922</sup> *Ibid.*, 319.

<sup>923</sup> *CP* 2: 77; Phillippy, ed., *Writings of an English Sappho*, 434. For a transcription of her will, see *Ibid.*, 435-442.

<sup>924</sup> *CP* 12/2: 856-858. Anne’s 13 children were Lady Russell’s only legitimate grandchildren since the Hoby brothers did not father children with their wives (*Ibid.*; Knafla, “Hoby, Sir Edward”).

<sup>925</sup> *Hasler* 2: 323-324.

<sup>926</sup> *Ibid.*, 320-323.

consequence occurred outside formal structures of governance.<sup>927</sup> If Lady Russell had been a member of a Cecil faction, she would have supported Burghley's arguments in her mediation. Instead, she listened to both Anthony Bacon's and Essex's grievances and tried to help them. Lady Russell sought to reconcile kin, not to consolidate or promote the power of a Cecil faction.

## **Conclusion**

The case studies of Lady Bacon and Lady Russell demonstrate that family was a political, but not a factional, entity. The sisters did not consider themselves part of an exclusive Cecilian faction and neither did the Cecils since neither Burghley nor Sir Robert Cecil pressured them to remain loyal to a cohesive Cecil group. Both sisters were also formidable, strong-willed characters who acted independently – any man would have struggled to force them to follow a factional agenda. Instead of opposing Essex, both women respected the earl, cared about his welfare and enjoyed his assistance in religious or family patronage. The competing demands of the sisters' kinship connections prevented the exclusive loyalty and active opposition towards rivals required by members of Elizabethan factions, as narrowly defined by Adams, Hammer and Dickinson. These case studies add weight to scholarship which questions the existence of factionalism throughout most of the 1590s.

Instead of factional activities, the sisters engaged in highly consequential political acts with kin on both sides of the division at court. Lady Bacon worsened the tensions by confronting Burghley and Sir Robert

---

<sup>927</sup> Mears, *Queenship*, 33-72.

Cecil and working against them by fuelling her sons' frustrations and suspicions. Her actions widened the rift between the Bacons and the Cecils, binding her sons to Essex and his circle, even though this was not her intention since she did not support factionalism in general. Conversely, Lady Russell used the familial tensions to enhance her own power. As a mediator between Anthony Bacon and Burghley, and Essex and the Cecils, she wielded considerable authority and influence in reconciling arguably the most powerful men in England and demonstrated the power aristocratic women could derive from conflict when family and state politics overlapped. These men could have selected any courtier, yet they chose Lady Russell as a mutual kinswoman. This allowed her to harness her role within the Cooke kinship group to control and defuse tense political situations, combined with her own skills, education and character. Crucially, the case study of Lady Russell shows that men in high office openly invited and relied on aristocratic women to contribute to political discourse outside the Council chamber, highlighting an important way that women worked around formal structures of male governance to play important and successful roles in court politics.

At the late Elizabethan court, several events altered the power dynamic within the Cooke kinship group. The deaths of the sisters' husbands established reliance on the Cecils, their children's coming of age challenged kinship obligations and increased tensions, and Burghley's death removed their long-time advocate. Lady Bacon's power within the group declined as she withdrew their support from the Cecils, distancing herself from any concept of a Cooke "family economy".<sup>928</sup> Conversely, Lady Russell's value

---

<sup>928</sup> Chapman, "Patronage as Family Economy," 14-15.



to and power within the extended Cooke family unit increased as she built her relationship with the rising Sir Robert Cecil and reconciled kin as a mediator. In contrast to her sister, she looked beyond the disappointment of her daughters losing their inheritance suit because she blamed third parties, not the Cecils.

This chapter demonstrates that aristocratic women with divided loyalties to kin acted in accordance with their family roles. As mothers, the sisters demonstrated practical and emotional assistance to their children over the course of their adult lives. Lady Bacon's ties to her sons took precedence over her ties to her nephew or her brother-in-law. Her maternal role also clouded her judgment since she was more personally involved in the family dispute. In her eyes, the Cecils did not live up to their kinship obligations to assist her sons, although this may not have been the case since circumstances at court prevented Burghley assisting his nephews. As an aristocratic aunt in a more objective position than her sister, Lady Russell maintained favourable and neutral relationships with both sets of nephews and her brother-in-law. Her actions also illustrate that a duty of an aristocratic aunt was to promote a nephew's welfare by reconciling him with powerful kin who could potentially further his career. In this way, she helped Anthony Bacon reconnect with his Cecil relatives who might have promoted him in the future, given a more favourable political climate.

These case studies strongly argue against the sisters as members of a faction by virtue of their kinship connection to the Cecils. However, the tensions at court in the 1590s provided opportunities for the sisters to exercise power of wider consequence and enhanced the significance of their roles as

aristocratic women within families. As widows, they operated with increased authority in court politics whilst embroiled in family affairs. As formidable women, the sisters made independent decisions within an aristocratic framework of kinship obligations which included, but was not limited to, key male relatives. Relying primarily on one powerful close kinsman could prove detrimental as the following case studies demonstrate.

## Chapter 5

### The Politics of Favour: the Essex Women

Robert Devereux, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Essex, was the predominant royal favourite of the 1590s.<sup>929</sup> His relationship with the queen, posts as Earl Marshall and Master of the Ordnance, role as military commander, seat on the Privy Council, extensive landholdings, dense kinship networks and a close circle of allies gave him immense power. Although historians have proven that aristocratic women used kin as a source of political agency, none have addressed the implications of women's kinship connections to male royal favourites.<sup>930</sup> This chapter examines the effect of close kinship to a royal favourite on the political power of Essex's mother, wife and sisters: Lettice Devereux Dudley Blount (née Knollys), Countess of Leicester; Frances Sidney Devereux (née Walsingham), Countess of Essex; Dorothy Perrot Percy (née Devereux), Countess of Northumberland, and Penelope, Lady Rich (née Devereux), respectively.

Historians have focused on Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and Essex as courtiers, politicians and favourites but given less consideration to their places in families as sons, husbands or brothers.<sup>931</sup> Essex and his female kin shared an interdependent relationship. The Essex women enhanced their influence and benefited from kinship to the earl during his favour, whilst his

---

<sup>929</sup> For Essex and Elizabeth, see Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 32-42, 56-64; Hammer, "Absolute," 45-50; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 316-340.

<sup>930</sup> Warnicke, "Family," 42; Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 234; Payne, "Aristocratic Women, Power, Patronage and Family Networks," 170-171, Croft, "Mildred," 291-292; Schwoerer, "Women and the Glorious Revolution," 208; Allen, *Cooke*, 10-11, 124-166.

<sup>931</sup> Hammer, "Absolute"; Hammer, "Patronage at Court"; Hammer, *Polarisation*; Levy Peck, "Peers, Patronage and the Politics"; Adams, "Dudley Clientele, 1553-63"; Adams, "The Dudley Clientele and the House of Commons"; Adams, "Godly Peer?"; Adams, "Faction,"; Adams; "Puritan".

disgrace removed their link to a source of agency. However, power flowed in both directions. In an article on Elizabethan favourites, Paul Hammer alludes to kin augmenting a favourite's power:

most royal favourites were not merely successful individual politicians but men whose presence at court was magnified by family, friends and followers. Such networks are therefore vital to any understanding of the nature of royal favourites.<sup>932</sup>

Throughout their lives, the Essex women made independent decisions with significant ramifications for the earl's career.

As Barbara Harris has demonstrated and the earlier chapters have demonstrated, aristocratic women's roles within the family constituted politically significant careers.<sup>933</sup> In 1590, the Essex women were at different points in their careers as aristocratic mothers and wives. The matriarch, Lady Leicester, was 49, a mother of three adult children from her first marriage, an infant son from her second marriage and was on her third marriage. Her daughter-in-law, Lady Essex, was 23 and into her second marriage with a daughter from a previous marriage. Essex's sister, Dorothy (then Lady Perrot) was 26 with a daughter and still married to her first husband. Essex's other sister, Lady Rich, was 27 with four young children and also married to her first husband.<sup>934</sup> All except Lady Rich would be widowed in the latter years of Elizabeth's reign.

James Daybell correctly observes that the Essex women were "drawn into a world of high politics through performing conventional familial tasks"

---

<sup>932</sup> Hammer, "Absolute," 39.

<sup>933</sup> Harris, *English*.

<sup>934</sup> Adams, "Dudley [née Knollys]"; Hammer, "Devereux, Robert"; Wall, "Rich [née Devereux], Penelope, Lady Rich (1563-1607), Noblewoman," in *ODNB*, accessed August 10, 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23490>.

as the earl's kin.<sup>935</sup> He assumes that familial assistance was their primary aim, rendering the political significance of their actions a secondary consequence. Harris claims that aristocratic women had two career choices, namely a role (or series of roles) within a family or as a lady-in-waiting.<sup>936</sup> This chapter argues that some aristocratic women expanded on these roles to a much greater extent than others out of a personal interest in court politics. For these women, family was simultaneously a motivation for political action and a useful mask to conceal a personal political agenda when necessary.

Although aristocratic women in other reigns benefited from kinship to royal favourites, the situation was very different for the Essex women at the Elizabethan court.<sup>937</sup> Elizabeth jealously viewed the wives of her romantic favourites as rivals and regarded Lady Leicester and Lady Essex with hostility, whilst Essex's sisters were tainted with scandal arising from controversial marital and romantic choices, discussed below.<sup>938</sup> Their poor favour and reputations prevented them aspiring to positions as ladies-in-waiting in the 1590s and, consequently, Essex could not benefit from their assistance in the Privy Chamber.<sup>939</sup> In these ways, their life choices unintentionally hindered their kinsman's career.

---

<sup>935</sup> Daybell, "Women, Politics and Domesticity: the Scribal Publication of Lady Rich's Letter to Elizabeth I," in *Women and Writing, c. 1340-c.1650: the Domestication of Print Culture*, ed. Anne Lawrence-Mathers and Phillipa Hardman (York: York Medieval Press, 2010), 111.

<sup>936</sup> Harris, *English*, 210.

<sup>937</sup> For women close to favourites at the Jacobean and 16<sup>th</sup> century French courts, see Payne, "Aristocratic Women and the Jacobean Court," 94, 96, 100, 163, 178 195, 201, 202; Kettering, "Strategies," 186-188; Kettering, "Household Appointments," 279.

<sup>938</sup> Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 25-42.

<sup>939</sup> By comparison, favourites at the Jacobean and French courts filled royal Bedchambers with female kin (Payne, "Aristocratic Women, Power, Patronage and Family Networks," 169; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, 374; Kettering, "Strategies," 179-185, 199).

The Essex women are valuable subjects for case studies because their lives and careers illustrate the interdependence of kinship connections and demonstrate that royal favour and independent agency affected individuals as well as family networks. They are also worthy of study because, unlike women who enjoyed Elizabeth's favour, their deep personal disgrace excluded them from royal bounty. Thus these case studies explore the ways in which women on the fringes of the court wielded power, and highlight the dangers of relying heavily on a royal favourite as a source of agency. Additionally, examining this group of women enables analysis of power dynamics between a dynastic patriarch and three kinds of close female kin – a mother, wife and sisters.

The Essex women's careers revolved around the earl's spectacular rise and fall in the 1590s when Essex sought to increase his political power at court and in the bureaucracy as Burghley's "political successor".<sup>940</sup> His relationship with the queen as her unrivalled favourite was tempestuous but he always regained her favour after their arguments until their bond deteriorated from around 1596.<sup>941</sup> Throughout the decade, Essex and his circle developed a growing hostility towards Elizabeth's closest counsellors, particularly Sir Robert Cecil, which prompted Henry Wriothesley, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Southampton and Essex's secretary, Sir Henry Cuffe, to champion a radical element of the Essex group determined to oust Cecil.<sup>942</sup> In 1599, Essex was sent to Ireland as Lord Deputy to put down a rebellion led by the Earl of

---

<sup>940</sup> Hammer, "Last Decade," 57-58; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 137-139, 314-317, 341, 352-354.

<sup>941</sup> Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 35-42.

<sup>942</sup> Hammer, "Richard II," 10; James, "At a Crossroads," 447; Gajda, *Earl of Essex*, 253; Hammer, "Uses of Scholarship," 41-42. Cuffe gained Essex's ear as his personal secretary in Ireland and could visit him during his imprisonment (*Ibid.*, 41).

Tyrone, but instead negotiated a truce against royal orders and returned to England. In late September 1599, Elizabeth imprisoned him for ignoring her commands.<sup>943</sup> Essex suffered a physical and mental breakdown, but was freed without charge in August 1600.<sup>944</sup> He was a desperate, broken man lacking favour, power and income, leading him to stage an ill-fated rebellion with his radical followers that resulted in his execution for treason on 25 February 1601.<sup>945</sup>

Historians argue that major events in a family such as births altered familial power dynamics.<sup>946</sup> In the case of Essex and his female kin, the earl's disgrace was a watershed that reversed their power dynamic. Whereas the women once depended on the earl, he now relied on them to improve his position and restore Devereux honour. The women probably thought they stood a chance of helping Essex, given his previous ability to return from disgrace and a successful family precedent set by Lady Leicester's mother-in-law, Jane Dudley, Duchess of Northumberland.<sup>947</sup> In 1553, Leicester's father, the Duke of Northumberland, and his five sons were imprisoned in the Tower for their involvement in Lady Jane Grey's short reign.<sup>948</sup> After employing "feminine political networks", the duchess secured her sons' release through

---

<sup>943</sup> For his disgrace and rebellion, see Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 43-64.

<sup>944</sup> TNA SP 12/275/51, Sir William Knollys to Sir Edward Norris, 23 August 1600.

<sup>945</sup> *HMCS* 11: 83-84, 25 February 1601; *CP* 5: 142.

<sup>946</sup> Harris, "Property," 625, 629; Magnusson, "Widowhood," 14-15; Broomhall and Van Gent, "Corresponding Affections," 156; Foyster, "Parenting," 316-317.

<sup>947</sup> Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 56-57. For other women pleading for disgraced kin, see Harris, "Women," 272-274; Robertson, "Tracing Women's Connections" and Lady Bacon's actions for Sir William Cecil in Chapter 4.

<sup>948</sup> S. J. Gunn, "A Letter of the Duchess of Northumberland in 1553," *English Historical Review*, 114, no. 439 (November 1999), 1267-1270; David Loades, "Dudley, John, Duke of Northumberland (1504-1553), Royal Servant," in *ODNB*, accessed March 25, 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8156>.

courtiers and Mary I's husband, Philip II.<sup>949</sup> Lady Northumberland's example surely encouraged the Essex women in their efforts.

This chapter examines the Essex women separately to highlight their specific circumstances, characters and unique political activities. Each section addresses their background, relationship with Essex, agency during his period of favour and assistance during his disgrace. The first individual case study examines the Countess of Leicester as an aristocratic mother engaging in her responsibilities towards an adult son from afar, given her banishment from court. The second discusses the Countess of Essex who diligently performed her duties as an aristocratic wife and mother despite her husband's devastating disgrace and execution. The third analyses Essex's sister, the Countess of Northumberland, whose marital choices occupied much of her attention in the 1590s. The final case study concerns Essex's eldest sister, Lady Rich, who played the greatest role in his political career, whilst using him to establish her own.

Although Chris Laoutaris devotes brief attention to the Essex women's collective advocacy of the disgraced earl in a chapter on Lady Rich, this is the first analysis of the women as a group.<sup>950</sup> The majority of research has been conducted on the women separately. Lady Rich, Lady Leicester and Lady Essex are the subject of short articles and popular biographies lacking

---

<sup>949</sup> Loades, "Dudley, John"; Gunn, "A Letter," 1267-1271; Alan Kendall, *Robert Dudley: Earl of Leicester* (London: Cassell, 1980), 21-22; Adams, "Dudley, Robert"; Derek Wilson, *Sweet Robin: a Biography of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester 1533-1588* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1981), 61-62, 67-69. Northumberland died in prison and his son, Guildford Dudley who married Lady Jane Grey, was executed. The duchess died the same day the warrant was made out (Derek Wilson, *The Uncrowned Kings of England: the Black Legend of the Dudleys* (London: Constable, 2005), 238, 243-245.

<sup>950</sup> Laoutaris, "'Toucht with bolt of Treason,'" 217, 224.



scholarly detail.<sup>951</sup> They feature briefly in Tracy Borman's and Anna Whitelock's general works on Elizabethan women at court, as well as Charlotte Merton's PhD thesis on Marian and Elizabethan ladies-in-waiting.<sup>952</sup> Hammer, Janet Dickinson, Katharine Duncan-Jones, Derek Wilson, Alan Kendall and Kristin Bundesen discuss the women in relation to their kinship connections to Essex and Leicester, and their broader Carey-Knollys family.<sup>953</sup>

The Essex women's letters have attracted the attention of epistolary scholars. Daybell credits the women with considerable intellect and authority in his examination of a notorious letter Lady Rich wrote to the queen, Lady Leicester's correspondence with Essex and the women's petitionary strategies.<sup>954</sup> Alison Thorne devotes significant attention to Lady Rich's and Lady Essex's letters on Essex's behalf and concludes that they used feminine weakness to "enhance their moral authority".<sup>955</sup> Laoutaris argues that Lady Rich used her familiarity with contemporary texts and political theory to

---

<sup>951</sup> For Lady Leicester, see Adams, "Dudley [née Knollys]"; E. Vine Hall, "Lettice, Countess of Leicester," *Notes and Queries* 168, January 12 (1935): 27-28; Phyllis D. Hicks, "Lettice, Countess of Leicester: a Tercentenary," *Notes and Queries*, 167, December 22 (1934), 435-438. For Lady Rich, see Wall, "Rich [née Devereux]"; Freedman; Varlow, *Lady Penelope*; Maud Stepney Rawson, *Penelope Rich and her Circle* (London: Hutchison, 1911). For Lady Essex, see Anne McLeod, *The Brilliant Stage: the Story of Frances Walsingham* (London: Matador, 2014).

<sup>952</sup> Borman, *Elizabeth's Women*, 274, 303-312, 336-337, 361, 366, 371-373; Whitelock, *Elizabeth's Bedfellows*, 19, 106-107, 161, 168, 178, 212-213, 216-217, 222, 251, 254-257, 316-317, 321, 352; Merton, "Women who Served," 161-163, 263.

<sup>953</sup> Hammer, *Polarisation*, 27, 54; 91-93, 130, 249, 274-275, 280-281, 321, 344, 382; Hammer, "Sex," 83, 84, 86; Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 35, 99, 156, 173-174, 182, 330; Wilson, *Sweet Robin*, 225-229, 244, 247, 278, 302; Kendall, *Robert Dudley*, 163, 164, 169, 176-179, 182, 190, 198, 207, 224, 232; Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney*, 217, 248, 253-256, 270, 299-300; Bundesen, "No Other Faction," 98, 118, 138. Lady Essex also features in a circumstantial argument in this work which is not discussed (Roy Strong, "My Weeping Stage I Crowne": the Persian Lady Reconsidered," in *Tudor and Stuart Monarchy: Pageantry, Painting, Iconography*, ed. Roy Strong, vol. 2 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995), 303-324).

<sup>954</sup> Daybell, "Women, Politics and Domesticity"; Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 234, 239, 250-254.

<sup>955</sup> Thorne, "Women's Petitionary Letters," 27-28, 32-34, 37-38.

advise Elizabeth how to run her court.<sup>956</sup> Finally, Gustav Ungerer translates Spanish correspondence between Antonio Perez, a Spaniard who joined the Essex circle, and Lady Rich that illuminates her place as one of Essex's core allies.<sup>957</sup>

In the past, scholars focused primarily on Lady Rich's purported role as Stella in Sir Philip Sidney's sonnet, *Astrophil and Stella*, but an increasing body of research now addresses her political significance.<sup>958</sup> In her PhD thesis on Lady Rich, Michele Margetts divides her life into an early "conventional" period during her youth and a later "radical" period.<sup>959</sup> Margetts credits Lady Rich with significant political agency in Essex's secret correspondence particularly, but her study ends in 1592 which prevents her exploring Lady Rich's career later in the decade.<sup>960</sup> Laoutaris examines Lady Rich's political involvements at the late Elizabethan court, arguing that she employed considerable guile as a legitimate political actor who "did not merely live in Essex's shadow".<sup>961</sup> Helen Payne's PhD thesis on aristocratic women at the Jacobean court describes the improved fortunes of the Essex women in the next reign, arguing that they benefited from their connection to the earl whom James considered a friend.<sup>962</sup> This series of case studies

---

<sup>956</sup> Laoutaris, "'Toucht with bolt of Treason'," 217-223.

<sup>957</sup> Ungerer, *Spaniard*, 79-80, 199-201, 276.

<sup>958</sup> For Lady Rich as Stella, see Michele Margetts, "Stella Britannia: the Early Life (1563-1592) of Lady Penelope Devereux, Lady Rich (D. 1607)" (unpub. Ph.D. diss.: Yale University, 1992), 203-235; Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney*, 10-11, 33, 33, 108, 114-115, 198-201, 217-218, 242-243, 246-247; Duncan-Jones, "Sidney, Stella, and Lady Rich," in *Sir Philip Sidney: 1586 and the Creation of a Legend*, ed. Jan van Dorsten, Dominic Baker-Smith, and Arthur F. Kinney (Leiden: Brill, 1986); Hoyt H. Hudson, "Penelope Devereux as Sidney's Stella," *Huntingdon Library Bulletin*, no. 7 (1935); Dieter Fuchs, "Poor Penelope: Penelope Rich: Sir Philip Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* as a Prototype for the Rewriting of the Odysseus Myth in Ulysses," *James Joyce Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (2011).

<sup>959</sup> Margetts, "Stella Britannia," 3.

<sup>960</sup> *Ibid.*, 352-361.

<sup>961</sup> Laoutaris, "'Toucht with bolt of Treason'", 202.

<sup>962</sup> Payne, "Aristocratic Women and the Jacobean Court," 24-31, 38-39, 41-42.

restores all four Essex women to political prominence, demonstrating their use of a powerful kinsman for their own ends but also the wider significance of their independent agency on the earl and the Elizabethan polity.

## Countess of Leicester

The notoriety of Lettice, Countess of Leicester as Elizabeth's rival for Leicester's affections overshadows her relationship with another favourite - her son, the Earl of Essex.<sup>963</sup> Lady Leicester's close relationship with and actions on behalf of her son strengthen scholarly arguments that early modern aristocratic mothers retained a lifelong interest in their adult children and assisted them where possible.<sup>964</sup> Although she was mostly based on her estates in Staffordshire, the countess was a strong presence in her son's life.

The countess was born in 1543, daughter of Sir Francis Knollys and his wife Katherine (née Carey), who was the queen's cousin through her mother, Mary Boleyn.<sup>965</sup> She married Walter Devereux, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Essex in 1562 and bore him four children before his death in 1576, namely Penelope (1563), Dorothy (1564), Robert (1565) and Walter (1569).<sup>966</sup> Lettice's relationship with the queen presumably began when she first served as a Maid-of-Honour at the age of 15, and continued during her marriage when

---

<sup>963</sup> For a standard account of her relationship with Leicester, see Borman, *Elizabeth's Women*, 303-312.

<sup>964</sup> Harris, "Property," 616-629; Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 179-182; Foyster, "Parenting"; Magnusson, "Widowhood". The countess also raised Essex's illegitimate son by a Maid, Elizabeth Southwell (Hammer, "Sex," 84).

<sup>965</sup> Adams, "Dudley [née Knollys]". Varlow speculates that Katherine Carey was Henry VIII's daughter by Mary Boleyn ("Sir Francis Knollys's Latin Dictionary: New Evidence for Katherine Carey," *Historical Research* 80, no. 209 (2007), 321-322). For Lady Leicester's parents and children, see Appendix D.

<sup>966</sup> Adams, "Devereux, Robert". Her son, Walter, died in battle at Rouen in 1591 and her husband died of dysentery whilst Earl Marshall of Ireland (*CP* 5: 141; McGurk, "Devereux, Walter, First Earl of Essex (1539-1576), Courtier and Adventurer," in *ODNB*, accessed November 7, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7568>).

she was a Lady of the Privy Chamber.<sup>967</sup> At this point in her life, she enjoyed Elizabeth's favour and received numerous New Year's gifts and a christening gift for her daughter.<sup>968</sup>

Her subsequent secret marriage to the queen's favourite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester on 21 September 1578 ended her court career.<sup>969</sup> In a study of the Elizabethan New Year's gift rolls, Janet Lawson found that no courtier in disgrace participated in the exchange ceremony or received a gift from the queen.<sup>970</sup> Tellingly, Lady Leicester's name disappears from the rolls after her marriage to Leicester. Elizabeth eventually forgave the earl for the marriage but not his wife whom she regarded as a "she-wolf".<sup>971</sup> Elizabeth's deep anger probably stemmed from her own inability to marry Leicester, as well as the betrayal of Elizabeth's emotional investment in Lettice as a kinswoman and lady-in-waiting. The countess was effectively banned from court for life. Although Simon Adams describes the countess's exile as "in effect a strike", the resulting banishment and hostility from the queen was the same, regardless of whether Lady Leicester avoided the court out of choice or

---

<sup>967</sup> *HMCS* 1: 158, John Myddelton to Sir William Cecil, 29 December 1559; BL Lans. MS 3/88-89; Officers and Ladies of the Privy Chamber; *CSPS* 1: 472, Guzman de Silva to Philip II, 3 September 1565; Merton, "Women who Served," 263, Bundesen, "No Other Faction," 98, 138; *CP* 5: 140-141; *Progresses* 2: 298.

<sup>968</sup> She received gifts in 1567 and 1575-1579 (Lawson, ed., *Elizabethan New Year's*, 90, 127, 178, 196, 217, 238, 259). Elizabeth visited the Essex estate, Chartley, in August 1575 (*Progresses* 2: 335).

<sup>969</sup> *CP* 5: 141; 7: 551; Adams, "Dudley [née Knollys]"; Longleat Dudley MS 3/61, Deposition of Humphrey Tyndall, sworn 18 February 1581; Read, "A Letter from Robert, Earl of Leicester, to a Lady," *Huntington Library Bulletin* 9 (April 1936), 20-22. However, the marriage helped launch Essex's career since Leicester helped him rise at court (Hammer, *Polarisation*, 14-17, 32-38, 55-62, 70, 72, 76, 89-90, 401; Hammer, "Absolute," 44-46; Adams, "Faction," 37-38, 70, 72, 76, 89-90, 401). For her place in the Dudley family, see Appendix B.

<sup>970</sup> Lawson, "Introduction," 8.

<sup>971</sup> TNA SP 12/182/1, Leicester to Walsingham, 1 September 1585; 84/3/58, Walsingham to Davison, 5 September 1585; BL Cotton MS Galba C/IX/79; Thomas Dudley to Leicester, 11 February 1586; C/IX/128, Sir Thomas Shirley to Leicester, 14 March 1586; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 46; *Sidney Papers* 1: 49; Adams, "Queen," 146-147; *CSPS* 3: 477, Bernardino de Mendoza to Philip II, 11 June 1583. See also BLO Tanner MS 76/29R, Essex to Edward Dier, 31 July 1587.

on royal command.<sup>972</sup> Since she believed “a cuntre lyf is fyttest for dissgrasede parsons”, Lady Leicester lived mostly on her Drayton Bassett estate in Staffordshire.<sup>973</sup>

Although her marriage to Leicester came at a high cost, she enjoyed dynastic success as the mother of the longed-for Dudley heir, Robert, Lord Denbigh whom she bore in 1581.<sup>974</sup> Her joy was short-lived. Tragically, Denbigh died at the age of three and the countess was further bereaved when Leicester died in September 1588.<sup>975</sup> In contrast to the women discussed in earlier chapters who experienced enhanced freedom and agency as widows, Lady Leicester’s second widowhood was devastating. Leicester’s extensive debts and the cost of fighting lawsuits waged against his estate eroded her jointure and bequests.<sup>976</sup> Amy Erickson suggests that aristocratic women who remarried within a year indicated their “degree of urgency”, whilst Harris suggests that remarriage provided valuable assistance for women encumbered with a deceased husband’s estates.<sup>977</sup> Lady Leicester probably found herself in a similarly difficult situation. Only six or seven months after Leicester’s death, she married Sir Christopher Blount, Leicester’s Master of the Horse.<sup>978</sup> Blount was also at least 12 years younger than the countess who turned 46 in

---

<sup>972</sup> Adams, “Dudley [née Knollys]”.

<sup>973</sup> WCRO MS MI229, Lady Leicester to Essex, November 1597. [The ‘Essex letter book’ (WCRO MS MI229) is unfoliated and largely undated.]

<sup>974</sup> CP 7: 552-553; Adams, “Dudley [née Knollys]”.

<sup>975</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>976</sup> Leicester’s debts totalled £50,000 - much more than her jointures (£3000 annually) and plate and furniture (£6000) (Adams, “Dudley [née Knollys]”). See also Hammer, *Polarisation*, 130, 321; Margetts, “Stella Britannia,” 314-318; Bundesen, “No Other Faction,” 100; Adams, “At Home,” 28; *Sidney Papers* 1: 74; Cecil MS 17/54, Lady Leicester to Burghley, 20 November 1588; 17/97, same to same, 20 February 1590; 17/108 same to same, 16 March 1590; Longleat Dudley MS 4/38, same to same, 7 March 1590; 4/40; Essex to Lady Leicester, 27 March 1590. For widows settling a deceased husband’s estate, see Harris, *English*, 152-160.

<sup>977</sup> Erickson, *Women and Property*, 198; Harris, *English*, 70, 164, 243.

<sup>978</sup> CP 5: 141; 7: 552.

1589.<sup>979</sup> As Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford observe, marriages between older women and younger men caused controversy and Essex may have resented the age gap as well as his mother's "unhappy choice" of a much lower-ranked husband.<sup>980</sup> Nevertheless, he became friends with Blount who benefited from his favour and became part of his circle.<sup>981</sup> The marriage reinforced Lady Leicester's connection to Essex and she, in turn, strengthened Essex's connection to Blount.<sup>982</sup>

Sara Chapman finds that matrilineal kinship connections were vital to male peers at the early modern French court.<sup>983</sup> The English court was no different. The earl's matrilineal kinship network helped establish and maintain his power. Lady Leicester was part of the Carey-Knollys kinship group whose members held a variety of important posts at the court by virtue of their kinship to Elizabeth's mother, Anne Boleyn.<sup>984</sup> These included Lady Leicester's father, Sir Francis Knollys, and brother, Sir William Knollys who were both Privy Councillors; her uncle Henry Carey, 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Hunsdon, who was the queen's closest kinsman and Lord Chamberlain; her cousin George Carey, 2<sup>nd</sup> Baron Hunsdon, who also later served as Lord Chamberlain, and her sister, Elizabeth, Lady Leighton who was a lady-in-waiting.<sup>985</sup> Her

---

<sup>979</sup> Adams, "Dudley [née Knollys]"; Hammer, "Blount, Sir Christopher (1555/6–1601), Soldier and Conspirator," in *ODNB*, accessed August 11, 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2685>.

<sup>980</sup> BL Lans. MS 62/35, Essex to Burghley, 25 January 1590; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, 193; LPL MS 647/247, Francis Allen to Anthony Bacon, 17 August 1589; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 34; Merton, "Women who Served," 133.

<sup>981</sup> Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 83; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 280-281; Hammer, "Blount, Sir Christopher"; Hasler 1: 446; Gajda, *Earl of Essex*, 36; WCRO MS MI229 (8 letters from Blount to Essex); Hammer, *Polarisation*, 271-272.

<sup>982</sup> She mentioned Blount in 13 letters to Essex (WCRO MS MI229, Lady Leicester to Essex, July 1596; August 1596; September 1596; November 1596 (2) and 8 undated letters).

<sup>983</sup> Chapman, "Patronage as Family Economy," 20-22.

<sup>984</sup> Bundesen, "No Other Faction," 26, 62, 71, 76, 207-240. She identifies 103 well-positioned members of this group throughout the reign (*Ibid.*, 26).

<sup>985</sup> *Ibid.*, 141, 226-227; Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 101. The Lord Chamberlain controlled access to the Privy Chamber (Hammer, "Absolute," 141). For Lady Leighton assisting the

cousin, Philadelphia, Lady Scrope, was Essex's only staunch advocate in the Privy Chamber. During the earl's imprisonment, Sir Robert Sidney's agent at court, Roland Whyte, noted that "what is wrought for his [Essex's] Good is donne by those la[dies] that haue access to the q[ueen]".<sup>986</sup> He may have referred to Lady Scrope who was the only woman to "stand firme" to Essex and move the queen for him daily at one point, enduring harsh treatment from Elizabeth for speaking what "few wold ventur to say but her self".<sup>987</sup> These contacts on the Privy Council and in the royal Household were vital to the earl.

Lady Leicester's exile in Staffordshire presumably generated much correspondence with Essex, who was primarily based at court although only 22 letters between them survive.<sup>988</sup> The extant correspondence reveals an "epistolary intimacy" with the countess's love and pride radiating from the page.<sup>989</sup> Essex was the "chef comfort of hur lyfe" and she frequently referred to him as her "sweet Ro[bert]".<sup>990</sup> Lady Leicester was concerned about his absences from court, sought to know the cause of his distress when he was upset and expressed relief when he returned safely from campaigning

---

earl, see BLO Tanner MS 76/29R, Essex to Edward Dier, 31 July 1587; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 66; WCRO MS MI229, December 1597; *HMCS* 5: 291, Essex to Sir Robert Cecil, 27 July 1595. Sir Edward Zouche's statement that she was "so great a help" to Essex was perhaps based on emotional rather than practical support since there is no evidence that she moved the queen for the disgraced earl (BL Egerton MS 2812/12b, Zouche to Lady Leighton, 23 August 1600). See also Bundesen, "No Other Faction," 117, 133-135, 175; Wright, "Change in Direction," 171; TNA SO 3/2/290, June 1604.

<sup>986</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/180, Whyte to Sidney, 4 November 1599.

<sup>987</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/170, same to same, 11 October 1600. For more on Lady Scrope, see Bundesen, "No Other Faction," 185-186, 194; Merton, "Women who Served," 162, 171; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 283; *HMCS* 10: 330-331, Lady Scrope to Essex, [September 1600].

<sup>988</sup> For 3 letters from Essex to his mother, see Longleat Dudley MS 4/40, 27 March 1590; 4/41, 20 July 1590; *HMC Report* 5: 311, 12 April 1585. For 19 letters from the countess to her son, see WCRO MS MI229.

<sup>989</sup> Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 181.

<sup>990</sup> WCRO MS MI229, Lady Leicester to Essex, February 1595.

abroad.<sup>991</sup> Although poor weather prevented her visiting her son at least once, the countess journeyed to London in 1598 and marked the rare occasion with a celebration at Essex House until the early hours of the morning.<sup>992</sup>

Aristocratic mothers expressed their love by mixing emotional affection with practical assistance.<sup>993</sup> Like Lady Bacon, the Countess of Leicester assisted her son by incorporating political advice in her correspondence.<sup>994</sup> In this way, her letters support broader arguments that women's communications with kin reflected familial roles and thus "condoned" writing about politics.<sup>995</sup> Lady Leicester discussed Essex's role as favourite, reminding him that he was the queen's "best saruant and chefest hand to defend hur" and enthused "what a iuell your prynce and cuntre hath of you".<sup>996</sup> In one letter written possibly before the Cadiz campaign in 1596, she advised him that he was too valuable a politician to risk himself rashly in battle:

the trew nature in a great commander thoroughlye knowne was well showed and to better purpos in wyse polityke cariage and gournmente then it can possybye be in to much hazardus aduenturyng hys onne parsones, wherfore be wyse as ualyante [valiant] and thynk what a hye pryce your cuntre and frends houlds you at<sup>997</sup>

The countess also assured him he was "wyse and polytyke enufe to counter myne with your enemys" and could undermine their "cros workyng".<sup>998</sup> She bolstered his confidence and strength to deal with political

---

<sup>991</sup> WCRO MS MI229, Lady Leicester to Essex, July 1596; same to same, November 1597.

<sup>992</sup> *Ibid.*, same to same, November 1597; KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/133, Whyte to Sidney, 15 February 1598.

<sup>993</sup> Harris, *English*, 107-108, 125.

<sup>994</sup> Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 181.

<sup>995</sup> Thorne, "Women's Petitionary Letters," 24.

<sup>996</sup> WCRO MS MI229, same to same, n.d. (two letters).

<sup>997</sup> *Ibid.*, same to same, 1596?

<sup>998</sup> *Ibid.*, same to same, November 1597.



opponents but also reinforced Essex's belief that members of the court sought his downfall. Thus, despite her physical distance from Essex, Lady Leicester maintained her association with court politics and contributed to the social and political culture of the Essex circle.

As Alison Wall demonstrates in her study of factionalism in the counties, courtiers fought for domination of local politics.<sup>999</sup> Lady Leicester helped Essex consolidate his presence in Staffordshire which he considered "my own countrey" since the Devereux estate, Chartley, was located there.<sup>1000</sup> Aristocratic women contributed to familial control over county regions by transmitting local news and Lady Leicester performed this function for Essex.<sup>1001</sup> In November 1597, she reported the disappointing results of local elections for parliament which saw a local sheriff's son elected Knight of the Shire at the expense of Blount and Essex's ally, Sir Edward Littleton who both competed for the post.<sup>1002</sup> She observed the local gentry's desire for Essex to become Lord Lieutenant of Staffordshire and informed him of the community's fear of Spanish invasion.<sup>1003</sup> Lady Leicester also passed on the goodwill of his regional supporters, describing "how much you ar honored in thes parts" and how "much beloued ... in thys desolate corner".<sup>1004</sup> Lady Leicester's reports helped Essex fashion his public

---

<sup>999</sup> Wall, "'Points of Contact:' Court Favourites and County Faction in Elizabethan England," *Parergon* NS6 1988, 215-226.

<sup>1000</sup> Hammer, *Polarisation*, 270-272; BL Lans. MS 63/189R, Essex to Burghley, August 1590. See also Harris, *English*, 200.

<sup>1001</sup> Daybell, "'Suche Newes as on the Quenes Hye Wyes We Have Mett': the News and Intelligence Networks of Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury (c. 1527-1608)," in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, 114-131. Lady Bacon also did this for her son, Anthony (Allen, "Introduction," 16-17.).

<sup>1002</sup> WCRO MS MI229, Lady Leicester to Essex, n.d.

<sup>1003</sup> *Ibid.*, same to same, n.d. (two letters). The Lieutenantcy was vacant until Essex's son won it in 1612 (J.C. Sainty, "Lieutenant of Counties, 1585-1642," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, Special Supplement no. 8, May 1970, 32).

<sup>1004</sup> WCRO MS MI229, same to same, n.d.

image in his power-base of Staffordshire and gave him security that his allies supported him beyond the court. In doing so, she demonstrated that aristocratic women performed important roles in the counties for their close male kin who spent much of their time away from their regional power-bases.

Lady Leicester relied on her son's letters, particularly given his access to information at court and via his intelligence network and emphasised this distance from news when she stated that she did not "think of ... enemys tyll you remember us so far ar we from herynge forrayne news."<sup>1005</sup> When she did not receive his correspondence, she chastised Essex for being "sumwhat sparynge of your pene".<sup>1006</sup> Given that sons owed a degree of "filial obedience" to their mothers and that she performed an act of giving in sharing news, her expectations for reciprocity were not unreasonable.<sup>1007</sup>

Aristocratic mothers could exert considerable influence over their adult children, so suitors frequently perceived them as ideal intermediaries to their sons.<sup>1008</sup> As the mother of the royal favourite, Lady Leicester was in an ideal position to influence Essex and she petitioned him in suits of wider significance. She helped a Mr Gawdy pursue a Mastership of the Rolls by promoting his worth and arguing that nobody would be more devoted towards Essex if he were placed in the position.<sup>1009</sup> She also requested that Essex intervene with the Council of the Marches to obtain the Lord Chamberlain's and Lord Admiral's backing for her cousin, the Dean of Lichfield, over a

---

<sup>1005</sup> WCRO MS MI229, same to same, n.d.

<sup>1006</sup> *Ibid.*, same to same, February 1595.

<sup>1007</sup> Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 176; Daybell, "Such Newes," 121.

<sup>1008</sup> Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 179-182; Payne, "Aristocratic Women and the Jacobean Court," 199-200.

<sup>1009</sup> WCRO MS MI229, Lady Leicester to Essex, n.d. This was possibly Sir Francis Gawdy, Judge of the King's Bench (Ibbetson, "Gawdy, Sir Francis (d. 1605), Judge," in *ODNB*, accessed February 15, 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10467>).

disputed parsonage.<sup>1010</sup> As Daybell notes, aristocratic women were obligated to assist their servants and neighbours in personal suits or legal matters and the countess solicited Essex more for these matters.<sup>1011</sup> She petitioned him to help four suitors from Staffordshire and asked Blount to approach him regarding her neighbour's Star Chamber suit.<sup>1012</sup> Lady Leicester's physical distance from court and her son, as well as her public disgrace, diminished her value as an intermediary in court patronage in the eyes of others.

Like many aristocratic mothers in early modern England, Lady Leicester implored her son to assist in her own matters.<sup>1013</sup> In 1588, she lost Wanstead, one of Leicester's properties, through repaying the earl's debts to the Crown.<sup>1014</sup> Essex entreated Burghley's assistance to reclaim the property, asserting to his mother that "for Wanstead ... I will not desire y<sup>t</sup> so as y<sup>f</sup> la[dishi]p shall loose one penny profit".<sup>1015</sup> In 1593, she received Wanstead back by guaranteeing her debts with other properties but subsequently leased it to Essex.<sup>1016</sup>

Essex assisted his mother with her biggest political hurdle – her lack of royal favour. In November 1597, Lady Leicester heard from court contacts that Elizabeth showed signs of relenting in her hostility towards her and informed Essex that she would come to London "if ... you myght hope to

---

<sup>1010</sup> WCRO MS MI229, Lady Leicester to Essex, 11 December 1595, Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 88-89.

<sup>1011</sup> Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 237.

<sup>1012</sup> WCRO MS MI229, same to same, September 1596; same to same, May 1597; two more n.d. letters to assist Simon Digby and a former servant; WCRO MS MI229, Lady Leicester to Blount, [to assist Mr Bagot – n.d.].

<sup>1013</sup> Harris, "Property," 619.

<sup>1014</sup> Hammer, *Polarisation*, 130.

<sup>1015</sup> Longleat Dudley MS 4/40, Essex to Lady Leicester, 27 March 1590; BL Lans. MS 62/35, Essex to Burghley, 25 January 1590; 62/53, A brief cause ..., 1589/1590; 76/7, same to same, 29 January 1594; *HMC Report* 4: 329, Essex to Sir Richard Bagot, 19 February 1589; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 272; Margetts, "Stella Britanna," 317.

<sup>1016</sup> Hammer, *Polarisation*, 130.

obtaine sum fauore for me".<sup>1017</sup> Lady Leicester braved the harsh English winter to arrive in London in January 1598, bringing a £3,000 jewel as a gift for Elizabeth.<sup>1018</sup> Although she was admitted to court and to an aristocratic home where the queen was visiting, Elizabeth took great pains to avoid the countess which led Essex to plead for her capitulation.<sup>1019</sup> On 2 March, the earl achieved a great victory when Elizabeth permitted the countess to kiss and embrace her after nearly 20 years of disgrace.<sup>1020</sup> But his success was short-lived; Elizabeth refused to see her the following week and never permitted her the royal presence again.<sup>1021</sup> This further demonstrates just how hard Elizabeth took her kinswoman's marriage to Leicester.

Essex and his mother rued their failure to reinstate her in the queen's favour when the earl fell into disgrace in 1599. Again, the countess braved difficult winter conditions, travelling to London by 24 January 1600 to stay in Essex House with her daughters and the Essex circle until the queen removed them in March.<sup>1022</sup> Their presence near the earl was not tolerated; even their visit to a property near the imprisoned earl in York House offended Elizabeth.<sup>1023</sup> Whyte even reported a rumour that the queen delayed Essex's transfer from York House to Essex House because his female kin planned to welcome him home.<sup>1024</sup>

---

<sup>1017</sup> WCRO MS MI229, Lady Leicester to Essex, November 1597.

<sup>1018</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/208, Whyte to Sidney, 14 January 1598; *Sidney Papers* 2: 92, same to same, 1598.

<sup>1019</sup> *HMCD* 2: 325, same to same, 23 February 1598; *Sidney Papers* 2: 92, same to same, 1598.

<sup>1020</sup> *Sidney Papers* 2: 93, same to same, 2 March 1598.

<sup>1021</sup> *Ibid.*, 95, same to same, 10 March 1598.

<sup>1022</sup> *Ibid.*, 130, same to same, 3 October 1599; KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/208, same to same, 24 January 1600; U1475/C12/209, same to same, 26 January 1600; U1475/C12/220, same to same, 8 March 1600; Varlow, *Lady Penelope*, 200.

<sup>1023</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/216, same to same, 25 February 1600.

<sup>1024</sup> Even Whyte concedes this was "coniectured" (KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/220, same to same, 8 March 1600).

Lady Leicester's poor favour restricted her power as a "petitioner for hir sonnes liberty".<sup>1025</sup> In January 1600, she headed to the court to seek Essex's relocation to "better ayre" but did not even receive an audience.<sup>1026</sup> In February, she returned to court with Lady Rich but failed again.<sup>1027</sup> Undaunted, she gave Lady Scudamore, one of the queen's ladies-in-waiting, a valuable, "most curious fine gown" and a petition to present to Elizabeth.<sup>1028</sup> Like all gifts, the gown contained unspoken, inherent conditions of debt, reciprocity, favour and obligation.<sup>1029</sup> As discussed below, a letter from Lady Rich might also have prejudiced Elizabeth against the Essex women at this crucial time.<sup>1030</sup> Although Elizabeth liked the gown, she did not accept it for fear that acceptance might be misinterpreted as favour towards Lady Leicester or Essex.<sup>1031</sup>

Running out of options for assistance, the countess beseeched Sir Robert Cecil to deliver a petition to visit her son, although she had not built an "aquayntance" with him and did not hold great hope of his assistance.<sup>1032</sup> Given her attitude towards the earl's enemies, she may have considered

---

<sup>1025</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/208, Whyte to Sidney, 24 January 1600.

<sup>1026</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/209, same to same, 26 January 1600.

<sup>1027</sup> *HMCD* 2: 435, same to same, 2 February 1600.

<sup>1028</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/216, same to same, 25 February 1600; U1475/C12/219, 3 March 1600, same to same.

<sup>1029</sup> Kettering, "Gift Giving and Patronage in Early Modern France," *French History* 2, no. 2 (June 1988); Lorna G. Barrow, "the Kyng sent to the Qwene, by a Gentyelman, a Grett Tame Hart: Marriage, Gift Exchange, and Politics: Margaret Tudor and James IV 1502-13," *Parergon* 21, no. 1, (January 2004), 66-69; Catherine Howey Stearn, "Critique or Compliment? Lady Mary Sidney's 1573 New Year's Gift to Queen Elizabeth I," *Sidney Journal* 30, no. 2 (2012), 125-126; Harris, "Women," 265-267; Broomhall and Van Gent, "Corresponding Affections," 149-150; Thorne, "Women's Petitionary Letters," 26.

<sup>1030</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/219, Whyte to Sidney, 3 March 1600.

<sup>1031</sup> Howey Stearn, "Critique or Compliment?" 125.

<sup>1032</sup> Cecil MS 98/140, Lady Leicester to Sir Robert Cecil, March 1600. Although the Essex women asked Burghley for assistance in the past (Cecil MS 17/54, Lady Leicester to Burghley, 20 November 1588; 17/108, same to same, 16 March 1590; Longleat Dudley MS 4/38, same to same, 7 March 1590; 4/42, same to same, 25 July [1590?]; TNA SO/3/1/283, Lady Perrot's warrant, December 1592; BL Lans. MS 39/41, Lady Perrot to Burghley, September 1583; 57/51, Lady Rich to Burghley, 10 September 1588).

writing to him as a last resort. Since Essex had been raised in Burghley's household, perhaps she hoped bonds of fictive kinship would compel Cecil to act but she did not labour that point, instead emphasising her "motherly affeccions" to compel assistance.<sup>1033</sup> Cecil replied that neither Essex's "alienation" from him, nor his unfamiliarity with her, constituted a reason to deny her request, but he cited extenuating "circumstances (of w[hi]ch you can not be ignorant) w[hi]ch I forsee, will make the request speed the worse, by my motion".<sup>1034</sup> Cecil may have meant that he could have worsened the situation for Lady Leicester, due to wider political circumstances. He urged Lady Leicester to approach one of her numerous kin "about her Ma<sup>ty</sup>" to deliver the petition instead and she may have approached Lady Scrope.<sup>1035</sup> Whatever the strategy, Lady Leicester was successful because, six days later, she visited the earl at Essex House.<sup>1036</sup>

The Countess of Leicester then returned to Staffordshire, never to see Essex again. Along with her son, her husband, Blount, was executed for his involvement in the 1601 revolt.<sup>1037</sup> It was a difficult time for Lady Leicester who was also engaged in a dispute with her daughter-in-law, Lady Essex, since both women claimed the same properties in their jointures.<sup>1038</sup> As Essex's mother, she received favour from James I who cancelled the

---

<sup>1033</sup> Cecil MS 98/140, Lady Leicester to Sir Robert Cecil, March 1600. For Essex in Burghley's household, see Croft, "Mildred," 285; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 22-24. For the bonds created during fosterage, see Beverley Smith, "Fosterage," 1-11, 16-35.

<sup>1034</sup> TNA SP 12/274/79, Sir Robert Cecil to Lady Leicester, 21 March 1600.

<sup>1035</sup> *Ibid.* There were at least 10 Privy Councillors, 18 men of the royal Household and 29 ladies-in-waiting from the Carey-Knollys kinship group throughout the reign (Bundesen, "No Other Faction," 71).

<sup>1036</sup> *HMCs* 10: 81-82, Sir Richard Barkeley to Sir Robert Cecil, 26 March 1600; *Sidney Papers* 2: 182-183, Whyte to Sidney, 29 March 1600.

<sup>1037</sup> Hammer, "Blount, Sir Christopher".

<sup>1038</sup> Longleat Devereux MS 3/170, case of Essex House and tenements, n.d.; 4/46, W. Sparke to Lady Leicester, [post 1601].

remainder of Leicester's debts to the Crown.<sup>1039</sup> She remained at Drayton Bassett until her death in 1634 at the remarkable age of 91, choosing interment with Leicester and her infant son in the parish church at Warwick.<sup>1040</sup>

Lady Leicester fulfilled her duty to support and help her adult son. Her career as an aristocratic mother prompted her to provide political advice as Essex's informant and reinforce his presence in Staffordshire. In doing so, she demonstrated that aristocratic mothers exercised dynastic power by promoting their adult sons outside the court. While her banishment from court curtailed her activities, it enabled her to play a greater role in Essex's county power-base. Lady Leicester also exerted a strong presence in Essex's life as his mother and as part of his political circle, demonstrating significant influence over the earl despite her physical distance from him. Lady Leicester was a strong, determined woman who might have played a more central role in court politics if she had retained royal favour.

## **Countess of Essex**

Lady Essex lacked a distinguished pedigree, in contrast to her female Devereux kin. Although her career was a steep learning curve, the countess mastered the role of aristocratic wife and mother. Marriage to the Earl of Essex defined her identity and Lady Essex dedicated herself to her duties associated with the "reproductive, managerial, political, and social functions" required to promote her husband's dynasty.<sup>1041</sup>

---

<sup>1039</sup> *CSPD* 1603-1610: 32, Acquittance to Lady Leicester, 18 August 1603; Payne, "Aristocratic Women and the Jacobean Court," 31.

<sup>1040</sup> Adams, "Dudley [née Knollys]"; *CP* 7: 552-553; *Progresses* 5: 287-289.

<sup>1041</sup> Harris, *English*, 61.

Frances was born in 1567 to the queen's Principal Secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham, and his wife, Ursula (née St Barbe).<sup>1042</sup> In 1583, she married courtier and poet, Sir Philip Sidney, and subsequently bore him a daughter, Elizabeth.<sup>1043</sup> Sidney accompanied his uncle, Leicester, to the Low Countries and died at the battle of Zutphen in 1586.<sup>1044</sup> His death brought financial hardship to his widow who struggled to pay his debts to the Crown.<sup>1045</sup> The marriage also brought her into the orbit of the Earl of Essex, who admired Sidney greatly.<sup>1046</sup> Their secret wedding in January or February 1590 deepened the earl's connection to the powerful Walsingham, who died only a few months later.<sup>1047</sup> The queen did not learn of her favourite's betrayal until October and could not "overcome her passyon", banning Lady Essex from court.<sup>1048</sup> However, Elizabeth did not regard her with the same hostility as she did Lady Leicester, possibly because she had never invested in her emotionally and did not share kinship with her, but also because Essex was not as important to her as Leicester.<sup>1049</sup>

---

<sup>1042</sup> Hammer, "Devereux, Robert".

<sup>1043</sup> *CP* 5: 142; H.R. Woudhuysen, "Sidney, Sir Philip (1554–1586), Author and Courtier," in *ODNB*, accessed August 11, 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25522>. The queen disapproved of the match; probably because Walsingham did not ask her permission (Margetts, "Stella Britanna," 145; Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney*, 248-249). For her place in the Sidney family, see Appendix B.

<sup>1044</sup> Woudhuysen, "Sidney, Sir Philip".

<sup>1045</sup> Hay, *Life of Robert Sidney*, 52-53; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 284.

<sup>1046</sup> Hammer, *Polarisation*, 52-54.

<sup>1047</sup> *CP* 5: 142; Simon Adams, Alan Bryson, and Mitchell Leimon, "Walsingham, Sir Francis (c1532-1590), Principal Secretary," in *ODNB*, accessed April 30, 2010, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28624>; LPL MS 3199/116, Tho Rory? to Lord Talbot, 23 October 1590. Hammer suggests January or February as the date of marriage because their son was christened in January 1591 (*Polarisation*, 54). Margetts ("Stella Britanna," 362) suggests a date in 1589 since Frances Sidney held a marriage licence in November 1588. For her place in the Devereux family, see Appendix D.

<sup>1048</sup> LPL MS 3199/116, Tho Rory? to Lord Talbot, 23 October 1590; 3201/208, John Stanhope to [Gilbert] Lord Talbot, [1590]; *HMCD* 2: 113, Thomas Wilkes to Sidney, 16 October 1590; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 54, 86, 89-90; Margetts, "Stella Britanna," 363.

<sup>1049</sup> Lady Essex may have always been isolated from court since she had neither given nor received a New Year's gift at this time (Lawson, ed., *Elizabethan New Year's*, 715).



Despite Essex's marital transgressions, his marriage was relatively harmonious.<sup>1050</sup> This was because a successful aristocratic marriage did not rely on romantic love, but was a working partnership dependent on shared dynastic interests, mutual capability and a bond that developed over time.<sup>1051</sup> Aristocratic husbands and wives did not always live together due to the pressing demands of high office, military campaigns, attendance at court, duties surrounding estates or childbearing.<sup>1052</sup> Thus it was not unusual for Lady Essex to live separately from her husband at the Walsingham residences, Barn Elms in Surrey and Walsingham House in London. She was a fertile wife, bearing eight children over 11 years of marriage (although only three survived by 1603) and bears out scholarly observations that aristocratic women's childbirth experiences ranged from every year to every 2-3 years.<sup>1053</sup>

Lady Essex upheld her end of the marriage partnership by managing some of Essex's patronage.<sup>1054</sup> In 1591, Essex was campaigning in Rouen when his wife wrote to Cecil that she was "bold in y<sup>e</sup> absence of my Lord, to become an earnest suto<sup>r</sup> vnto yor L<sup>p</sup> that yo<sup>w</sup> wilbee pleased to restore him

---

<sup>1050</sup> He fathered an illegitimate child with Elizabeth Southwell, a Maid-of-Honour in 1591 (Hammer, *Polarisation*, 95, 320; Hammer, "Sex," 83-84, 89, 90). He also had an affair with Elizabeth Stanley, Countess of Derby in 1596 (LPL MS 660/149, Lady Bacon to Essex, 1 December 1596, dated by Allen, ed., *Letters of Lady Anne Bacon*, 253; *HMCS* 7: 339, Edward Mylar to Sir Robert Cecil, 9 August 1597; Hammer, "Sex," 85-88, Hammer, *Polarisation*, 385).

<sup>1051</sup> Harris, *English*, 7, 8, 61-87; Harris, "View," 222; Grant, "Politicking," 95; Chapman, "Patronage as Family Economy," 30-33.

<sup>1052</sup> Hammer, "Sex," 83-84, 89, 90.

<sup>1052</sup> Harris, *English*, 62, 65, 125.

<sup>1053</sup> Crawford, *Blood*, 89; Harris, *English*, 30. Her children by Essex were: Robert (born 1591); Walter (born and died 1592); Penelope (born late 1593/early 1594, died 1599); Henry (born 1595, died 1596); 2 stillborn babies (born 1596 and 1598); Frances (born 1599), and Dorothy (born 1600) (Hammer, *Polarisation*, 284).

<sup>1054</sup> Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 238.

[the suitor, Anthony Doughty] againe vnto his office.”<sup>1055</sup> On another occasion, Essex had obtained a prebend for a Mr Hubbock but in 1596, the Bishop of Winchester took advantage of Essex’s absence in Cadiz to request Cecil to prevent Hubbock receiving it.<sup>1056</sup> Lady Essex countered the move, petitioning Cecil to honour the original agreement.<sup>1057</sup> She was also involved in Essex’s patronage network when he was not on campaign. Once, she discovered she had inadvertently backed the opposing candidate to Thomas Parker, a servant of Essex’s, and wrote to Lord Keeper Puckering to favour Parker instead.<sup>1058</sup> The countess also helped Essex’s personal servant, John Daniel, by requesting that his case be heard at the beginning of the legal term.<sup>1059</sup>

Her position as Essex’s wife meant that his allies considered her an approachable conduit to the earl including her former brother-in-law, Sir Robert Sidney, whose faith in Essex as a court patron was waning.<sup>1060</sup> He commanded his agent, Roland Whyte, to seek her favour and advice in his suit for the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports, and she complied by “continually put[ting] her Lord in mynd” of Sidney.<sup>1061</sup> She also promised to

---

<sup>1055</sup> TNA SP 12/264/155, Lady Essex to Sir Robert Cecil, 28 October 1591; Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 239.

<sup>1056</sup> *HMCS* 6: 317, same to same, 3 August 1596.

<sup>1057</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1058</sup> BL Harl. MS 6996/164, Lady Essex to Puckering, 5 June 1594.

<sup>1059</sup> BL Harl. MS 6997/62, same to same, 20 October 1595; 6997/88, same to same, 15 January 1596; TNA SP 46/52/43, same to same, [1595]; 46/52/44, same to same, [1595 or 1596]; 46/52/45, Lady Essex to Puckering and Chief Baron, [1596].

<sup>1060</sup> For Lady Essex’s relationship with the Sidneys, see *Sidney Papers* 1: 313-14, Roger Seys, to Sidney, November 1590?; *HMCD* 2: 33, Sidney to Lady Sidney, 24 March [1598]; 152, same to same, 19 May 1594; 155, same to same, [23 August] 1594; 174, Whyte to Sidney, 18 October 1595; 180, same to same, 29 October 1595; 329, same to same, 4 March 1597; 320-321, same to same, 11 February 1598; KHLC De L’isle MS U1475/C12/129, same to same, 4 February 1598; U1475/C12/205, same to same, 16 January 1599/1600; *HMCD* 2: 458-459, same to same, 3 May 1600; Hannay, eds., *Domestic*, 35, 53-54, 58.

<sup>1061</sup> KHLC De L’isle MS U1475/C12/66, same to same, 2 March 1597; U1475/C12/79, same to same, 3 April 1597; U1475/C12/129, same to same, 4 February 1598. See Chapter 3 for this suit.

move Essex regarding a military company in Flushing and a title for Sidney.<sup>1062</sup> Sidney was dissatisfied with Essex's efforts and, although she may have been sympathetic towards him, she loyally defended her husband.<sup>1063</sup> Lady Essex assured Whyte that "my Lord [Essex] loues my Brother [Sidney], more then he doth any Body els, and that he is much grieued he cannot procure his Return, and Aduancement at Home".<sup>1064</sup> She also reassured a despairing Lady Sidney of Essex's goodwill, arguing that he planned to take Sidney on the Azores expedition which might help him economically and raise his profile at court.<sup>1065</sup>

Although she wielded power during Essex's favour, his disgrace marked a downward turn in her fortunes and changed the focus of her actions as an aristocratic wife. Whereas the privileged countess had strengthened the patrimony through bearing children and consolidating the earl's networks, she now needed to defend the patrimony from social, financial and political destruction.<sup>1066</sup>

The earl's imprisonment in York House on 29 September 1599 could not have been worse timed for Lady Essex who went into labour the same day.<sup>1067</sup> Since Whyte describes her nearing her time at the start of September, the baby was not born prematurely but it is possible that the stress of her

---

<sup>1062</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/74, Whyte to Sidney, 19 March 1597, U1475/C12/127, same to same, 1 February 1598; *Sidney Papers* 2: 75, same to same, 5 November 1597; 84, same to same, 25 January 1598.

<sup>1063</sup> Dickinson (*Court Politics*, 107) describes the pressure Whyte and Sidney applied to Essex.

<sup>1064</sup> *Sidney Papers* 2: 47; same to same, 30 April 1597. See also KHLC De L'isle MS U475/C12/79, same to same, 3 April 1597; *HMCD* 2: 314, same to same, 8 January 1598.

<sup>1065</sup> *HMCD* 2: 288, same to same, 28 July 1597.

<sup>1066</sup> To add to her stress, her daughter, Penelope, died in June that year (Hammer, "Devereux, Robert").

<sup>1067</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/164, same to same, 29 September 1599.

husband's arrest precipitated the birth.<sup>1068</sup> In accordance with the custom of lying-in, Lady Essex would have been confined indoors up to a month after the birth, which obliged her to look to her children and health before Essex.<sup>1069</sup> In this case, Lady Essex epitomises Payne's observation that family demands were a "double-edged patriarchal sword" that motivated women but also restricted them from engaging in court politics.<sup>1070</sup>

Like her mother-in-law, Lady Essex's first strategy to assist Essex was to beseech the queen.<sup>1071</sup> In late November, the countess sent a jewel to Elizabeth, hoping to soften her attitude towards Essex but the queen rejected it.<sup>1072</sup> This failure spurred Lady Essex to disobey her ban from court to plead for permission to see her gravely ill husband.<sup>1073</sup> According to Whyte, she cut a sorrowful figure in black mourning dress and "all she wore was not valewed" at £5.<sup>1074</sup> Her appearance was a carefully orchestrated performance to elicit pity from courtiers and prompt their assistance. The desperate Lady Essex implored a senior lady-in-waiting with chambers at court, identified commonly as Catherine Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon, to move Elizabeth but was ordered to leave the court and not return.<sup>1075</sup> Whyte further

---

<sup>1068</sup> *Sidney Papers* 2: 120, Whyte to Sidney, 1 September 1599; KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/169, same to same, 6 October 1599; Hammer, "Devereux, Robert".

<sup>1069</sup> Harris, *English*, 76, 102–107.

<sup>1070</sup> Payne, "Aristocratic Women, Power, Patronage and Family Networks," 166. Given the circumstances, the baby was christened "without much ceremony" (*Sidney Papers* 2: 133, same to same, 16 October 1599).

<sup>1071</sup> Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 230. Lady Walsingham begged the queen for Lady Essex to write to Essex in October but it is not known whether she succeeded (KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/169, same to same, 6 October 1599).

<sup>1072</sup> *HMCD* 2: 418, same to same, 24 November 1599.

<sup>1073</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/188, same to same, 29 November 1599. For his illness, see U1475/C12/194, same to same, 8 December 1599; TNA SP 12/273/59, Dr Edward Stanhope to Sir John Stanhope, 29 December 1599; 12/274/1, David Roberts, 1 January 1600; 12/274/71, Chamberlain to Carleton, 5 March 1600.

<sup>1074</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/188, Whyte to Sidney, 29 November 1599. Essex wore mourning clothes to show contrition after his marriage (Margetts, "Stella Britannia," 376).

<sup>1075</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/188, same to same, 29 November 1599; *HMCD* 2: 418; *Sidney Papers* 2: 144. See Chapter 3 for the possibility this might have been Lady Warwick.

states that “yt was ill taken that she presumed to come hauing been denied yt [access to court] long since, but surely yt was the violence of her passion that moued her to doe yt. God comfort her, for I heare none can be more miserable.”<sup>1076</sup>

Her inability to attend the court was disastrous for Lady Essex because the men and women best placed to assist her husband congregated there. She now turned her attentions to approaching powerful courtiers and ministers outside the court, begging them to advocate for Essex. Whyte paints a tragic picture of Lady Essex searching for a champion: “I see my La his wiffe goe from one to one & smale comfort can she receaue by such as are in Authority who will not troble the q[ueen] in her desires”.<sup>1077</sup> She importuned Lord Treasurer Buckhurst and Sir John Fortescue, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in their homes at dawn almost every day at one point.<sup>1078</sup> Unfortunately, given the seriousness of Essex’s offences, most men were reluctant to assist him which meant that Lady Essex’s efforts largely fell on deaf ears.<sup>1079</sup>

However, an unlikely source assisted the desperate countess. Despite the tensions between her husband and Sir Robert Cecil, the latter showed mercy in broaching the subject of Essex with the queen and helped obtain permission for her to visit her husband.<sup>1080</sup> Lady Essex was extremely

---

<sup>1076</sup> KHLC De L’isle MS U1475/C12/188, Whyte to Sidney, 29 November 1599.

<sup>1077</sup> KHLC De L’isle MS U1475/C12/180, same to same, 4 November 1599.

<sup>1078</sup> KHLC De L’isle MS U1475/C12/194, same to same, 8 December 1599.

<sup>1079</sup> This included his allies Archbishop Whitgift, Sir Thomas Egerton and Sir William Knollys (Mears, “Regnum,” 64; Gajda, *Earl of Essex*, 151; Hammer, “Uses of Scholarship,” 41-42).

<sup>1080</sup> *HMCS* 9: 411, Lady Essex to Sir Robert Cecil, 12 December 1599; 10: 21, same to same, January 1600; Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 93. Lady Essex relied on Cecil to a limited extent during Essex’s favour (Cecil MS 55/86, Lady Essex to Sir Robert Cecil, September 1597; *HMCS* 7: 442, same to same, 24 October 1597).

grateful and considered that his sympathy towards her mitigated his hostility towards Essex:

no time or fortune shall ever extinguish in my lord and mee a thankfull memory and due acknowledgment of so undeserved a benefitt, from him whom this frendly favour assures mee will never bee proved my lords malicicious enemy<sup>1081</sup>

Her plight as a desperate wife carried sufficient agency to overcome the tensions between Cecil and Essex, demonstrating the power of Lady Essex's strategy.

The countess also provided crucial emotional support to the sickly earl. After her first visit to York House on 12 December 1599, she came every day and returned to Walsingham House in the evening.<sup>1082</sup> The frequency of her visits and unwavering loyalty surely raised the earl's spirits since the queen only permitted visitors at her discretion.<sup>1083</sup> Whyte described a touching domestic scene between them "in his garden, with his wiffe; now he, now she, reading one to the other".<sup>1084</sup> When the earl regained his health and moved to Essex House in March, she petitioned to live with him but her request was not granted.<sup>1085</sup> Lady Essex did not even dare reside nearby for fear of offending Elizabeth and was forced to continue visiting during the day until the earl was formally released in August 1600.<sup>1086</sup>

---

<sup>1081</sup> *HMCS* 9: 411, Lady Essex to Sir Robert Cecil, 12 December 1599. Dickinson (*Court Politics*, 93) provides a partial transcript.

<sup>1082</sup> *KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/195*, Whyte to Sidney, 13 December 1599; *HMCS* 9: 411, Lady Essex to Sir Robert Cecil, 12 December 1599. For her visits to York House, see *KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/195*, Whyte to Sidney, 13 December 1599; *U1475/C12/198*, same to same, 22 December 1599; *U1475/C12/200*; same to same, 5 January 1600.

<sup>1083</sup> Lady Essex was pregnant in April (*HMCD* 2: 454, same to same, 5 April 1600).

<sup>1084</sup> *Ibid.*, 454, same to same, 12 April 1600.

<sup>1085</sup> *Ibid.*, 450-451, same to same, 22 March 1600; *Sidney Papers* 2: 192, same to same, 3 May 1600.

<sup>1086</sup> *Sidney Papers* 2: 193, same to same, 10 May 1600. *TNA SP 12/275/51*, Sir William Knollys to Sir Edward Norris, 23 August 1600. For her visits to Essex House, see *HMCD* 2: 450-451, Whyte to Sidney, 22 March 1600; 454-455, same to same, 12 April 1600; *Sidney*

Although the earl was freed without charge, the Devereux were *personae non gratae* with queen and court, and plunged into financial decline.<sup>1087</sup> Sir Anthony Standen's comment in November that the countess "passed some hard speeches" towards Essex hints at her frustration and fear, particularly since she was heavily pregnant with another child who was born in December.<sup>1088</sup> There is no indication that Lady Essex knew about the rebellion on 8 February 1601, even though Lady Rich stayed at Walsingham House and used her sister-in-law's servant to coordinate her part in the events.<sup>1089</sup> Lady Essex was caught up in the siege, forced to play hostess to a group of councillors held as hostages at Essex House with Lady Rich.<sup>1090</sup> The women provided an additional benefit during the siege. The Earl of Nottingham, who led the forces against the rebels, refused to attack Essex House while Lady Essex and Lady Rich were inside.<sup>1091</sup> He granted the rebels two hours to remove the women which provided ample time to destroy incriminating evidence.<sup>1092</sup> Lady Essex was powerless to stop the capture and arrest of her husband.

---

*Papers* 2: 192, Whyte to Sidney, 10 May 1600. See also TNA SP 12/275/21, Chamberlain to Carleton, 1 July 1600; 12/275/37, Carleton to Chamberlain, 26 July 1600.

<sup>1087</sup> His situation became desperate in October 1600 after he lost a lease that allowed him to collect duties on sweet wines (Hammer, "Devereux, Robert"; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 77; TNA SP 12/275/89, Chamberlain to Carleton, 10 October 1600).

<sup>1088</sup> *HMCS* 10: 392-393, Sir Anthony Standen to "Sigr. Arrigo," 26 November 1600; Hammer, "Devereux, Robert".

<sup>1089</sup> TNA SP 12/278/45, Declaration of William Masham, 10 February 1601; 12/278/47, Examination of Fras. Smith, 10 February 1600; 12/279/10R, Examination of Edward Bromley, 2 March 1601; Meads, ed., *Diary*, 161.

<sup>1090</sup> TNA SP 12/278/46, Examination of Sir John Davies, 10 February 1601; 12/278/44, Sir Robert Cecil to Mountjoy, 10 February 1601.

<sup>1091</sup> TNA SP 12/278/44, Sir Robert Cecil to Mountjoy, 10 February 1601.

<sup>1092</sup> TNA SP 12/278/49, Vincent Hussey to unknown, 11 February 1601. For the destruction of letters, see TNA SP 12/278/49-51, Examination of the Earl of Rutland, 12 February 1601; 12/278/70, Examination of Henry Cuffe, 16 February 1601. Hammer argues that Cecil also destroyed some of Essex's papers after the rebellion ("Uses of Scholarship," 30, 47).

The situation for female kin of the conspirators was now dire. Contemporaries thought that women were endowed with natural inclinations towards mercy and compassion that made them ideal advocates in a time of crisis.<sup>1093</sup> As such, the women associated with Essex's allies wrote moving letters of petition to Cecil. Southampton's wife and mother begged to visit him and then to save his life, claiming "evil counsel" led him astray.<sup>1094</sup> Cecil successfully used this argument to reduce Southampton's death sentence to life imprisonment.<sup>1095</sup> Cecil similarly acted as a "mediator of her Majesty's mercy" for Christina, Lady Sandys, who successfully petitioned him to spare her husband, Sir William Sandys, from the block.<sup>1096</sup> Sir Ferdinando Gorge's wife, Elizabeth, also implored Cecil to later release her husband under house arrest although he ultimately waited until James I's accession.<sup>1097</sup> The success of these women possibly gave Lady Essex hope that she could motivate Cecil to save Essex from execution.

Lady Essex's plea to spare her husband's life was probably the most important letter she ever wrote.<sup>1098</sup> Aristocratic women with so much at stake painstakingly constructed their letters to employ the most effective epistolary strategies available to them including exploiting perceptions of female

---

<sup>1093</sup> Thorne, "Women's Petitionary Letters," 34.

<sup>1094</sup> *HMCS* 11: 70-71, Lady Southampton to Sir Robert Cecil, 19 February 1601; 71, same to same, 19 February 1601; 71-72, Dowager Countess of Southampton to Sir Robert Cecil, 19 February 1601.

<sup>1095</sup> James I pardoned Southampton (Park Honan, "Wriothesley, Henry, Third Earl of Southampton (1573–1624), Courtier and Literary Patron," in *ODNB*, accessed November 9, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30073>).

<sup>1096</sup> *HMCS* 11: 96-97, Lady Sandys to Sir Robert Cecil, February 1601; 139, same to same, before 21 March 1601; 181-183, same to same, 28 April 1601 (3 letters).

<sup>1097</sup> *HMCS* 12: 29-30, Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Sir Robert Cecil, 23 January 1602; 15: 374, Lady Gorges to Sir Robert Cecil, [1603]; 374, same to same [1603] [2 letters]; 375, same to same, [1603]; Charles E. Clark, "Gorges, Sir Ferdinando (1568–1647), Army Officer and Promoter of Colonization in America," in *ODNB*, accessed November 9, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11098>; Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 251.

<sup>1098</sup> BL Lans. MS 88/14, Lady Essex to Sir Robert Cecil, February 1601. See also Thorne, "Women's Petitionary Letters," 34; Bowden, "Women as Intermediaries," 220.



weakness.<sup>1099</sup> Lady Essex employed this strategy in her emotive letter of petition, bemoaning that “hade it not pleased god to powre uppon mee one affliction after an other and to add to the immesurable sorrowes of my harte so violent a sicknes as I am not able of my self to stur out of my bed”.<sup>1100</sup> According to Thorne in her analysis of petitionary letters, women also portrayed themselves as victims of their husband’s actions to avoid addressing sensitive political issues.<sup>1101</sup> Lady Essex knew that she could not elicit sympathy for her husband given the severity of the crime and the tensions between him and Cecil, so structured her plea based on mercy for her, not the earl. Lady Essex urged Cecil to spare Essex’s life out of concern for her welfare:

Honorable sr I know there bee priuate causes to discourage mee from mouinge you heerin: yet seeinge the highest prouidence hath placed you in acallinge most proper to bee amene for my comforte, and that former experiance shall taught me that you are rather inclyned to doe good then to looke allway to private interest: I beeseech you euer for your vertues sake, performe this noble office for mee.<sup>1102</sup>

Cecil ignored Lady Essex’s petition. If he had been in a position to save the earl, he might not have done so for fear that Essex would undermine him at the future Jacobean court.<sup>1103</sup> Essex received no quarter and was executed on 25 February 1601 at the age of 34.<sup>1104</sup> His lands fell under attainder, depriving his wife of resources to raise her three young children.<sup>1105</sup>

---

<sup>1099</sup> Thorne, ““Women’s Petitionary Letters,” 25-28, 31; Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 250-251. For other women writing during crises, see Harris, “Women,” 271-272; Harris, *English*, 141-143; Larminie, “Fighting,” 99-101.

<sup>1100</sup> BL Lans. MS 88/14, Lady Essex to Sir Robert Cecil, February 1601.

<sup>1101</sup> Thorne, “Women’s Petitionary Letters,” 34.

<sup>1102</sup> BL Lans. MS 88/14, same to same, February 1601. See also Thorne, “Women’s Petitionary Letters,” 32.

<sup>1103</sup> Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 45-46. For Essex’s correspondence with James, see Chapters 1-3 and Lady Rich below.

<sup>1104</sup> *HMCS* 11: 83-84, 25 February 1601; *CP* 5: 142.

<sup>1105</sup> *CP* 5: 142.

Alan Stewart argues that elderly widows were prone to perceptions as “mad old women” but, as a 34 year old widow, Lady Essex was a figure of pity.<sup>1106</sup> The last few years of Elizabeth’s reign were traumatic for the countess who sold property and jewellery to pay Essex’s debts, leaving less than £400 annually to care for her children.<sup>1107</sup> This was a devastating blow to the Devereux dynasty and prevented the countess raising her children as befitted their status. To add further strain, her mother died in June 1602.<sup>1108</sup>

As Karen Robertson observes, the first consequence of a personal disaster at the Elizabethan and early Jacobean courts was “a ripple of letters directed to a Cecil”.<sup>1109</sup> Lady Essex relied heavily on Cecil after Essex’s death and her letters to him are a litany of woe, emphasising her dire situation at every available opportunity. Portraying herself as a weak, sick, helpless poor widow with young children simultaneously debased and empowered her; pity became a source of agency motivating assistance that ultimately increased her power and wealth.<sup>1110</sup> Lady Essex begged Cecil, Buckhurst, Nottingham and Sir Thomas Egerton to persuade Elizabeth to let her pay a reduced repayment rate towards Essex’s debts to the Crown and thanked Cecil when it occurred.<sup>1111</sup> He also promised to further a suit for her children to receive lands from the estate of Essex’s executed associate, Sir Gelly

---

<sup>1106</sup> Stewart, “Voices,” 89.

<sup>1107</sup> *HMCS* 11: 131, Lady Walsingham to Sir Robert Cecil, 19 March 1601; Cecil MS 85/139, Lady Essex to Sir Robert Cecil, 3 April 1601. For the sale of assets, see Cecil MS 85/139; same to same, 3 April 1601; 90/81, same to same, [1601]; *HMCS* 11: 546, Lady Essex to the Lord Keeper, Lord Treasurer, Lord Admiral and Cecil [1601]; Longleat Devereux MS 3/172, Note of debts owed to/by Lady Essex, [1601].

<sup>1108</sup> TNA SP 12/284/46, Chamberlain to Carleton, 27 June 1602.

<sup>1109</sup> Robertson, “Tracing Women’s Connections,” 153.

<sup>1110</sup> See Daybell, “Female,” 63; Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 250-258.

<sup>1111</sup> *HMCS* 11: 546, Lady Essex to Lord Keeper, Lord Treasurer, Lord Admiral, and Cecil [1601]; Cecil MS 86/123, Lady Essex to Sir Robert Cecil, 27 June [1601].

Meyrick.<sup>1112</sup> At this time, she was also blackmailed by “the most perfidious and trecherous wretch that I thinke did euer infect the ayre w[i]th breath”, Essex’s former servant, John Daniel, who threatened to reveal compromising letters written by Essex if the countess did not pay him £3000.<sup>1113</sup> She could not meet his price but sold jewels to raise £1720 which Daniels exchanged for forged copies of the original letters that he kept.<sup>1114</sup> Cecil came to her rescue in Star Chamber and Daniels received perpetual imprisonment, a £2000 fine to pay the countess, a £1000 fine to pay the Crown and had his ears nailed to a pillory.<sup>1115</sup> Lady Essex’s strategy of employing feminine vulnerability to play on Cecil’s emotions effectively achieved the protection of her interests. In a sense, Lady Essex was most influential when she was in a weak position.

The countess’s situation was improving. According to the surviving New Year’s gift rolls, she received her first gift from the queen in 1603.<sup>1116</sup> It is possible that Elizabeth may have softened given the countess’s frequent petitions and financial hardships. However, Lady Essex was not a career widow and she married Richard Burke, the Irish 4th Earl of Clanricarde who was 10 years her junior in early 1603.<sup>1117</sup> As with her mother-in-law’s hasty

---

<sup>1112</sup> Cecil MS 86/123, Lady Essex to Sir Robert Cecil, 27 June [1601].

<sup>1113</sup> *Ibid.*; TNA SP 12/279/124; Statement by G Lisle, [1601]. The letters may have contained remarks about the queen and possibly Essex’s intention to seize the court after he returned from Ireland (Devereux Bouchier, ed., *Lives and Letters*, vol. 2, 155). This is the same Daniels she assisted above.

<sup>1114</sup> Devereux Bouchier, ed., *Lives and Letters*, vol. 2, 155.

<sup>1115</sup> *Ibid.* For more on the case, see *Ibid.*, 152-155; Gajda, *Earl of Essex*, 174; TNA SP 12/279/124; Statement by G Lisle; 12/281/34; Peter Bales, 31 July 1600; 12/282/3, Declaration by Peter Bales, 3 October 1601; 12/283/20, Jane Daniel to the Privy Council, 13 December 1601; 12/283/21, Jane Daniel to the queen, December 1601; 12/285/22, same to same, September 1602.

<sup>1116</sup> Lawson, ed., *Elizabethan New Year’s*, 513.

<sup>1117</sup> TNA SP 14/1/21, Chamberlain to Carleton, 12 April 1603; CP 5: 142. Clanricarde was raised in Essex’s household (Colm Lennon, “Burke, Richard, Fourth Earl of Clanricarde and First Earl of St Albans (1572–1635), Politician,” in *ODNB*, accessed April 30, 2010, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/67043>; Payne, “Aristocratic Women and the Jacobean Court,” 38-39; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 287-288.

remarriage, her decision was unpopular and contemporaries observed that “many that wisht her well are nothing pleased.”<sup>1118</sup> Payne probably correctly attributes her remarriage to financial difficulties and her subsequent withdrawal from public life to distaste for politics, given her experiences.<sup>1119</sup> In 1603, James I restored her eldest son to the peerage and she could have further benefited from his previous friendship with Essex.<sup>1120</sup> Instead, she spent much of her life on Clanricarde’s estates in Tonbridge, Kent, bearing a son and two daughters before dying in 1632.<sup>1121</sup>

Lady Essex was a model aristocratic wife and mother – loyal, fertile, obedient and capable with a measured temperament. Her experience shows that an aristocratic wife’s duties changed according to a family’s political fortunes, although her purpose in passing a dynastic legacy to her heirs remained the same. However, like her mother-in-law, the countess’s ban from court curbed her power. Lady Essex mostly heeded her limits as a disgraced courtier even when her family’s fortunes were at their most perilous, indicating a respect for authority and an understanding of her place. The countess’s campaign for Essex was nothing less than a public performance incorporating visual, epistolary and oral strategies that harnessed her femininity to win patronage. Although she did not save Essex, she saved his dynasty. Her case study demonstrates that aristocratic mothers and widows could wield great power by eliciting emotions from political figures.

---

<sup>1118</sup> TNA SP 14/1/21, Chamberlain to Carleton, 12 April 1603. There is no evidence for the claim that she was Clanricarde’s lover before their marriage (John Morrill, “Devereux, Robert, Third Earl of Essex (1591–1646), Parliamentarian Army Officer,” in *ODNB*, accessed November 5, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7566>).

<sup>1119</sup> Payne, “Aristocratic Women and the Jacobean Court,” 38-39.

<sup>1120</sup> *Ibid.*, CP 5: 143.

<sup>1121</sup> CP 3: 231; 5: 142; Lennon, “Burke, Richard”.

## Countess of Northumberland

Dorothy Percy, Countess of Northumberland has been overshadowed by her sister, Penelope, Lady Rich.<sup>1122</sup> Although she shared the same hubris, stubbornness and fiery temperament as her sister, Lady Northumberland was more diplomatic, highly-ranked and favoured by Elizabeth by the end of the reign than Lady Rich. Thus the countess is worthy of a case study in her own right.

Born in 1564, Dorothy was Lady Leicester's youngest daughter by her first husband, Walter Devereux, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Essex.<sup>1123</sup> Dorothy and Penelope Devereux were educated at home by Cambridge scholar, Mathias Holmes, then travelled with their mother to numerous aristocratic estates before settling in the household of the Earl and Countess of Huntingdon to learn the skills of aristocratic wives.<sup>1124</sup> As her next phase into adulthood, Dorothy became a Maid-of-Honour in 1582 or 1583, positioned at court where she could attract the attentions of wealthy, high-ranking men.<sup>1125</sup>

Despite the potential to marry into the peerage, Dorothy eloped with Sir Thomas Perrot in 1583.<sup>1126</sup> Elizabeth would never have allowed a Maid in her care to marry the lower-ranked Perrot whose father, Sir John, was also

---

<sup>1122</sup> She has been described as "less beautiful, less clever, and less amiable" as well as a "muted echo" of her sister (Devereux Bouchier, ed., *Lives and Letters*, vol. 2, 155; Margetts, "Stella Britanna," 125).

<sup>1123</sup> Hammer, "Devereux, Robert". For her kinship connections, see Appendix D.

<sup>1124</sup> Daybell, "Women, Politics and Domesticity," 112, 113; Margetts, "Stella Britanna," 115-118, 124-137; Cross, *Puritan Earl*, 54-55. See also Harris, *English*, 32-34, 39-40.

<sup>1125</sup> Harris, *English*, 40; Merton, "Women who Served," 41-42; Hammer, "Sex," 81. She was also suggested as a possible bride for James VI and Sir Philip Sidney (Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney*, 227; Margetts, "Stella Britanna," 248; *CSPS* 3: 477, Bernadino de Mendoza to Philip II, 11 June 1583).

<sup>1126</sup> *CSPS* 3: 477, same to same, 11 June 1583. For her marriage, see Strype, *Historical Collections*, 217-219; BL Lans. MS 39/41, Lady Perrot to Burghley, September 1583; 72/4, 22 July 1583; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 281; Margetts, "Stella Britanna," 249-259; *CP* 9: 734.

rumoured to be Henry VIII's illegitimate son.<sup>1127</sup> Elizabeth reacted badly to aristocratic couples who did not seek her permission to marry or whom she considered ill-suited, and she was furious when she learned of Dorothy's betrayal.<sup>1128</sup> She arrested their chaplain, sent Perrot to the Fleet prison and reacted angrily to Dorothy's presence at court.<sup>1129</sup> Dorothy settled into the role of aristocratic mother, bearing Perrot a daughter, Penelope, in 1590.<sup>1130</sup> However, the Perrot family fortunes declined when the Crown condemned her father-in-law to death for treason, seized his lands and forfeited his titles.<sup>1131</sup> Dorothy's position was precarious. In February 1594, her husband died shortly after Essex restored him to the blood and the Crown subsequently waged a lawsuit against her regarding her jointure lands.<sup>1132</sup>

Although Dorothy flouted the queen's authority in marrying without permission, she did not commit the greater offence of marrying a favourite. Moreover, there is no evidence that Elizabeth displayed a strong emotional investment in her whilst she was a Maid, other than the responsibility of a guardian over a minor. Dorothy changed the trajectory of her career and royal favour by marrying Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland in 1594.<sup>1133</sup>

---

<sup>1127</sup> Morgan, "Fall of Sir John Perrot," 109-123.

<sup>1128</sup> Hammer, "Sex," 81.

<sup>1129</sup> BL Lans. MS 39/41, Lady Perrot to Burghley, September 1583; BLO Tanner MS 76/29R, Essex to Edward Dier, 31 July 1587. She never received a New Year's gift from Elizabeth whilst married to Perrot (Lawson, ed., *Elizabethan New Year's*, 698).

<sup>1130</sup> Penelope was 25 when her husband died in 1615 (J. J. Roche, "Lower, Sir William (c.1570–1615), Politician and Natural Philosopher," in *ODNB*, accessed November 30, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/39195>).

<sup>1131</sup> Perrot was sentenced to death for conspiring against the Crown whilst Lord Deputy of Ireland, but died before the sentence could be carried out (Morgan, "Fall of Sir John Perrot," 109-125). Although she eloped, there was a marriage settlement since she had a jointure.

<sup>1132</sup> Hammer, *Polarisation*, 281, 344, Morgan, "Fall of Sir John Perrot," 123.

<sup>1133</sup> *CP* 9: 734. The earldom was recovering from the apparent suicide of his father in 1585 and disgrace over the family's role in the Northern Rebellion in 1569 (Nicholls, "Percy, Henry, Ninth Earl of Northumberland (1564-1632), Nobleman," in *ODNB*, accessed April 30, 2010, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21939>). See also Strong, "Nicholas Hilliard's Miniature of the 'Wizard Earl'," in *The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy: Pageantry, Painting, Iconography*, vol. 2, ed. Roy Strong (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995), 192-198.

Like her mother and sister-in-law, Dorothy remarried hastily – the marriage occurred in the same year as Perrot’s death.<sup>1134</sup> The match was highly advantageous for Dorothy as it elevated her rank to that of a countess, broadened her network with new marital kin and she gained a husband who could potentially help with her legal battles. The countess bore Northumberland five children during Elizabeth’s reign but tensions arose in the marriage, possibly over Northumberland’s growing dislike of his brother-in-law, the Earl of Essex.<sup>1135</sup> The marriage deteriorated: Northumberland had an affair in 1597, the couple separated in 1599 and the earl travelled to the Low Countries in 1600.<sup>1136</sup> Their separation was a legal limbo for the countess who lacked the security of a wife and the independence of a widow.<sup>1137</sup> Moreover, she did not have popular sympathy since Whyte reported that “men lay most fault in her” and Essex claimed she was

---

Elizabeth’s bestowal of christening and New Year’s gifts indicate her return to favour (see Lawson, ed., *Elizabethan New Year’s*, 436, 441, 456, 475, 494, 513, 519).

<sup>1134</sup> *CP* 9: 734.

<sup>1135</sup> Two infant sons died in 1597 (*Ibid.*; Nicholls, “Percy, Henry”). Her surviving children were: Dorothy (born 1598), Lucy (born 1599) and Algernon (born 1602) (Nicholls, “Percy, Henry”; Roy E. Schreiber, “Hay, Lucy, Countess of Carlisle (1599-1660), Courtier,” in *ODNB*, accessed April 30, 2010, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12733>). For Essex and Northumberland’s relationship, see Nicholls, “Percy, Henry”; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 281.

<sup>1136</sup> Nicholls, “Percy, Henry”; *Sidney Papers* 2: 133, Whyte to Sidney, 16 October 1599. See also Cecil MS 250/43, Lady Northumberland to Sir Robert Cecil, October 1600; *HMCS* 10: 56, same to same, 7 March 1600; 14 addenda: 127-128, Essex to Lady Northumberland, [1599 or 1600]. Hammer suggests that Anthony Bacon reported the infidelity anonymously (LPL MS 656/153, anonymous to Lady Northumberland, March 1597; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 281).

<sup>1137</sup> She was still subject to coverture as a wife (Erickson, *Women and Property*, 24, 124). There was scope for an agreement whereby the wife gained financial independence and the husband did not pay her debts, but the earl and countess could not agree on her allowance (Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, 43; *HMCD* 2: 420-421, Whyte to Sidney, 1 December 1599; Cecil MS 250/43, Lady Northumberland to Sir Robert Cecil, October 1600).

“condemned in the opinion of all men.”<sup>1138</sup> During this period, she relied on Essex to assist her with her marital, financial and legal difficulties.<sup>1139</sup>

Lady Northumberland shared a warm relationship with her brother, expressing sadness when he was too busy to see her and conveying her “dearest loue and best wishes” for his expedition to Cadiz.<sup>1140</sup> After one of his absences from court, Lady Northumberland enquired after his welfare and attempted to boost his spirits:

I canot but desier to know how the courte air and humors doth agree w<sup>th</sup> you, if both sorte wth your health and contentment, non shall be more glade if otherwise I will hope that your wisdom and patiens w<sup>ch</sup> hath euer accompaned you wilbe a remedy against all euells<sup>1141</sup>

When she learnt that Essex was unwell, she wrote to determine his state of mind.<sup>1142</sup> Her reassurance and encouragement were politically consequential since they helped him return to court to carry out his duties in high office.

Lady Northumberland deepened her connection with Essex through godparenting. When families selected godparents from within their ranks, this committed them to “formal amity, mutual obligation and reciprocal trust” towards the child and reinforced their existing bonds.<sup>1143</sup> The earl and

---

<sup>1138</sup> *HMCD* 2: 420-421, Whyte to Sidney, 1 December 1599; *HMCS* 14: addenda: 127-128, Essex to Lady Northumberland, [1599-1600]).

<sup>1139</sup> For her marital and financial difficulties, see *Sidney Papers* 2: 133, Whyte to Sidney, 16 October 1599; *HMCD* 2: 421, same to same, 1 December 1599; *HMCS* 10: 23-24, Lady Northumberland to Sir Robert Cecil, January 1600; 56, Essex to Lady Northumberland, 7 March 1600; 14 addenda: 127, draft of a letter from Essex to Northumberland, March 1600; 127-128, Essex to Lady Northumberland [1600].

<sup>1140</sup> WCRO MS MI229, Lady Northumberland to Essex, n.d.; same to same, n.d.

<sup>1141</sup> *Ibid.*, same to same, n.d.

<sup>1142</sup> *Ibid.*, same to same, n.d.; *HMCS* 10: 56, Essex to Lady Northumberland, 7 March 1600.

<sup>1143</sup> Beverley Smith, “Fosterage,” 1-11, 16-35; Payne, “Aristocratic Women and the Jacobean Court,” 185-186.



countess asked Essex to be their son's godfather, whilst he asked her to be his daughter's godmother.<sup>1144</sup>

Despite her close kinship to the earl, scant evidence survives of suitors soliciting Lady Northumberland as an intermediary to him. Similarly to Lady Leicester, she conveyed a number of smaller suits out of obligation, entreating Essex to assist an unidentified lady and gentleman and a neighbour with one suit because "if you but speake in it I assure my selfe it will be remitted".<sup>1145</sup> According to the surviving evidence, she was the only one of the Essex women who did not approach the earl for suits of wider consequence. This may be due to a perception that she was too embattled with her own affairs to be concerned with other people's suits.

Essex's actions on behalf of Lady Northumberland support scholarly observations that brothers provided material resources and other means of assistance to help their sisters, particularly when the family lacked a father.<sup>1146</sup> The earl helped her with crises resulting from her marriage to Perrot. In 1592, he attempted to stop her father-in-law's treason trial but was outmanoeuvred by Burghley.<sup>1147</sup> Essex was instrumental in restoring Dorothy's husband to the blood the next year and separated some of Perrot's lands from attainder for her via a special Act of Parliament.<sup>1148</sup> In February 1594, Lady Perrot's jointure suit became more critical when her husband fell

---

<sup>1144</sup> WCRO MS MI229, Northumberland to Essex, 25 June [1596?]; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 284; Margetts, "Lady Penelope Rich," 760. Children received one godparent of the opposite sex and two from their own sex. Children were frequently named after a godparent (Harris, "Sisterhood," 23). Lady Northumberland's son died young (Nicholls, "Percy, Henry").

<sup>1145</sup> WCRO MS MI229, same to same, n.d.

<sup>1146</sup> Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 183; Harris, *English*, 181.

<sup>1147</sup> TNA SP 12/242/4, Essex to Burghley, 3 May 1592; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 344, Morgan, "Fall of Sir John Perrot," 122. As discussed in Chapter 4, Lady Perrot wrote to Lady Russell on the matter (HMCS 4: 213-214, Lady Perrot to Lady Russell, [1592, June]).

<sup>1148</sup> Hammer, *Polarisation*, 274-275, 344, Morgan, "Fall of Sir John Perrot," 123.

gravely ill and Essex asked Burghley to help her if Perrot died.<sup>1149</sup> Brothers were known to help their sisters with their jointures and, after Perrot's death, Essex brokered a deal involving exchanges of Perrot land with the Crown, a payment of rents as a "free gift" and his own lands.<sup>1150</sup> The arrangement seemed settled until four years later when the Attorney General, Sir Edward Coke, claimed that Dorothy's legal contract omitted a word, which in turn, nullified Essex's original agreement and the lands were set to return to the Crown.<sup>1151</sup> This was disastrous for Lady Northumberland and her daughter who was Perrot's heiress.<sup>1152</sup> The countess urged Essex to mediate with the queen whom she had already petitioned and he also entreated Cecil and Burghley.<sup>1153</sup> Unfortunately, Essex did not live long enough to resolve the suit.

In early modern England, marital breakdown was not a personal matter between two individuals but a decision affecting two families that could create scandal and damage reputations.<sup>1154</sup> In his study on female letter-writers, Daybell found that third parties assisted aristocratic women in constructing letters to their husbands during marital conflicts.<sup>1155</sup> Essex did this, collaborating with his sister to draft a letter for Northumberland even

---

<sup>1149</sup> BL Lans. MS 76/9, Essex to Burghley, February 1594. Jointures granted widows an income from some of her husband's land for her lifetime (Harris, *English*, 23, 130).

<sup>1150</sup> Harris, *English*, 52-53; Crawford, *Blood*, 218, 222; TNA SO 3/1/283, Lady Perrot warrant, December 1592, *HMCS* 4: 261-262, Sir John Perrot's lands, [1592]; Cecil MS 2389, Lady Northumberland to the queen, [1597]; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 382.

<sup>1151</sup> WCRO MS MI229, Lady Northumberland to Essex, n.d.; Cecil MS 2389, Lady Northumberland to the queen, [1597]; *HMCS* 4: 261-262, Sir John Perrot's lands, n.d.

<sup>1152</sup> *HMCS* 4: 261-262, Sir John Perrot's lands, n.d.

<sup>1153</sup> *Ibid.*, Cecil MS 51/106, Essex to Sir Robert Cecil, 9 June 1597; 2389, Lady Northumberland to the queen, [1597]; KHL De L'isle MS U1475/C12/60, Whyte to Sidney, 21 February 1597; LPL MS 656/15, Edward Reynoldes to Bacon, March 1597; WCRO MS MI229, Lady Northumberland to Essex, n.d.

<sup>1154</sup> Harris, "Marriage Sixteenth-century Style: Elizabeth Stafford and the Third Duke of Norfolk," *Journal of Social History* 15, no. 3 (1982), 372-377; Foyster, "Parenting," 324, 326-327.

<sup>1155</sup> Daybell, "Female," 70.

whilst under house arrest in March 1600.<sup>1156</sup> Lady Northumberland previously sent him copies of her letters to her husband, since Essex commented on mixed messages she conveyed in “letters of contrary stiles, some that heal and others again that rankle the wound that you have made in his heart; which make him think you unconstant and commanded by your passions.”<sup>1157</sup> Essex’s reaction to his sister’s draft highlights the detail he contributed to them as her brother and counsellor:

The draught of a letter to your husband which you sent me, enclosed, is too short by two of the three material points which I tendered to you; and too long by that uncertain charge in the end of the letter, which shows no ground and can have no end. I do, therefore, wish you should write to some likely effect, or else be silent till you can persuade yourself otherwise; and when you write, that you should give no occasion to new questions, or mention anything that may kindle new jealousies.<sup>1158</sup>

Essex disagreed with her headstrong decision to separate from Northumberland and hoped she would consider reconciliation.<sup>1159</sup> If not, he advised her how to minimise the damage to her reputation and expressed concern over her welfare.<sup>1160</sup> Significantly, he also credited her with independent agency, describing her as “the beginner and ... continuer of yourself”.<sup>1161</sup>

Lady Northumberland’s kinship to the favourite could also be detrimental to her since she was occasionally caught up in his court rivalries. In 1587, Elizabeth visited Lady Warwick’s estate, North Hall, and was

---

<sup>1156</sup> *HMCS* 14 addenda: 127, [March 1600]; 127-128, Essex to Lady Northumberland, [1599-1600].

<sup>1157</sup> *HMCS* 14 addenda: 127-128, Essex to Lady Northumberland, [1599-1600].

<sup>1158</sup> *HMCS* 10: 56, same to same, 7 March 1600.

<sup>1159</sup> *HMCS* 14: addenda: 127-128, same to same, [1599-1600].

<sup>1160</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1161</sup> *Ibid.*

incensed to learn that Dorothy, then Lady Perrot, was present.<sup>1162</sup> According to Essex, his enemy, Sir Walter Raleigh, further incited Elizabeth, provoking her to fly into a rage against Essex and his family.<sup>1163</sup> The incident culminated in Essex removing Dorothy from North Hall in the middle of the night.<sup>1164</sup> She may also have been affected by the tensions between Essex and Coke who won the post of Attorney-General over Essex's candidate and ally, Sir Francis Bacon, in 1593.<sup>1165</sup> Unfortunately, Coke also led the Crown's case against Lady Northumberland and it is possible that he took a degree of pleasure in suing Essex's sister.<sup>1166</sup>

Close kinship to Essex did not guarantee a speedy or satisfactory conclusion to a suit. One of the earl's failings as a patron was his frequent absences from court on military campaigns or for personal reasons.<sup>1167</sup> Lady Northumberland relied on his advocacy and expressed concern over the effect of his absence in Cadiz on her jointure suit: "wherby I fear it will be delayed as it hath ben a long time and then I shall be faine to sue for my rents as I did when you wear last absente therfor I pray you be earnest to gett me a better estate in it before you go".<sup>1168</sup> Essex approached Cecil to ensure she would

---

<sup>1162</sup> BLO Tanner MS 76/29R, Essex to Edward Dier, 31 July 1587.

<sup>1163</sup> For their rivalry, see Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 23, 35-36, 44, 56, 77, 79, 94; Hammer, "Absolute," 44-48; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 63-65, 72, 76, 83, 90, 115-116, 266, 280, 360, 363, 364, 384, 396.

<sup>1164</sup> BLO Tanner MS 76/29R, Essex to Edward Dier, 31 July 1587.

<sup>1165</sup> See Chapter 4 for this suit. For Coke and Essex, see Boyer, *Sir Edward Coke*, 243; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 281. Coke also married Cecil's niece, Elizabeth, Lady Hatton, in November 1598 (Boyer, "Coke, Sir Edward (1552-1634), Lawyer, Legal Writer and Politician," in *ODNB*, accessed April 30, 2010, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5826>).

<sup>1166</sup> See WCRO MS MI229, Lady Northumberland to Essex, n.d.; LPL MS 656/15, Edward Reynoldes to Anthony Bacon, March 1597.

<sup>1167</sup> See *HMCD* 2: 231, Sir Francis Vere to Sir Robert Sidney, 8 February 1597; Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 87; Mears, "Regnum," 55-56; Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, 152.

<sup>1168</sup> WCRO MS MI229, Lady Northumberland to Essex, n.d.

not be disadvantaged by his absence, hinting that the pair worked together to help family.<sup>1169</sup>

Whereas Lady Leicester and Lady Essex were obligated to help Essex out of the love and commitment expected of aristocratic mothers and wives, the earl's sisters did not have such a strong social imperative to assist their brother during his disgrace. As Linda Pollock argues, "good siblings did not have to sacrifice their own well-being, even to further that of the heir".<sup>1170</sup> However, there was still an implicit expectation that siblings relied on each other for assistance.<sup>1171</sup> Lady Northumberland risked the wrath of the queen and loss of royal favour in assisting her brother, but believed that "those who love him [Essex] cannot so give him over".<sup>1172</sup> She joined the other Essex women in helping the earl during his disgrace.

Lady Northumberland was also forced to place the demands of aristocratic motherhood before kin assistance when she bore a daughter at the end of September.<sup>1173</sup> Lady Northumberland engaged in a furious row with her husband, possibly over her decision to assist Essex, and the fight culminated in their separation.<sup>1174</sup> Although she should have been in confinement, the headstrong Lady Northumberland reached Essex House in London on 16 October 1599 and court gossip immediately turned to the state

---

<sup>1169</sup> Cecil MS 51/106, Essex to Sir Robert Cecil, 9 June 1597.

<sup>1170</sup> Pollock, "Rethinking," 13.

<sup>1171</sup> Jeffries, "Women, Marriage and Survival," 185-227; Broomhall and Van Gent, "Corresponding Affections"; Crawford, *Blood*, 209, 223, 225, 226; Pollock, "Rethinking," 5; Harris, "Sisterhood," 32-33; Harris, *English*, 181, 185.

<sup>1172</sup> *HMCS* 10: 23 -24, Lady Northumberland to Sir Robert Cecil, January 1600.

<sup>1173</sup> Lucy Percy was born "about Michaelmas 1599" which was 29 September – the same day as Essex's imprisonment (Schreiber, "Hay, Lucy"; C.R. Cheney, ed., *A Handbook of Dates for Students of British History*, rev. Michael Jones, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 79). As Lady Carlisle, Lucy played a prominent role at the Caroline court (Wolfson, "Aristocratic Women," 160-172).

<sup>1174</sup> Harris, *English*, 102-107; Nicholls, "Percy, Henry".

of her marriage.<sup>1175</sup> Lady Northumberland must have regarded her brother very highly and took her role as a sister very seriously to consider assisting him at such a tumultuous time in her life.

Lady Northumberland also first sought a personal approach to the queen and received permission to plead for Essex in November.<sup>1176</sup> On 4 December 1599, Whyte reported the countess and Lady Rich “all in Blacke, were at Court ... they were humble Suters, to haue the Earle remoued to a better Ayre, and to a more convenient Place”.<sup>1177</sup> As with Lady Essex, the sombre spectacle of the sisters was deliberately orchestrated to evoke pity. The sisters achieved more at court than their mother and sister-in-law, meeting with the queen although they failed to achieve an outcome.<sup>1178</sup> Lady Northumberland and Lady Rich tried and failed again in January 1600, prompting Whyte to comment that “his sisturs can preuaile nothing at court”.<sup>1179</sup> At one point, Lady Northumberland was so concerned about Essex that she forgot to discuss her own matters with the queen.<sup>1180</sup>

The Countess of Northumberland asked Cecil to help Essex. Similarly to Lady Leicester, she encountered resistance and appealed to his conscience in arguing he would gain “thankful hearts” if he helped her brother.<sup>1181</sup> She mixed her advocacy of Essex with her own business, soliciting his assistance in her jointure lawsuit and with a letter Elizabeth was about to write to Northumberland.<sup>1182</sup> Given his inclination to help Lady Essex with personal

---

<sup>1175</sup> *Sidney Papers* 2: 133, Whyte to Sidney, 16 October 1599.

<sup>1176</sup> KHL C De L'isle MS U1475/C12/180, same to same, 4 November 1599.

<sup>1177</sup> KHL C De L'isle MS U1475/C12/194, same to same, 8 December 1599.

<sup>1178</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1179</sup> KHL C De L'isle MS U1475/C12/208, same to same, 24 January 1600.

<sup>1180</sup> *HMCS* 10: 23-24, Lady Northumberland to Sir Robert Cecil, January 1600.

<sup>1181</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1182</sup> *Ibid.*; Cecil MS 250/43, same to same, October 1600.

matters, she may have received his assistance in her own causes but not Essex's.

At this point, the Countess of Northumberland's relationship with the queen improved. She received a New Year's gift from Elizabeth despite her brother's disgrace and, by July 1600, she attended court "constantly" where she was graciously received by the queen.<sup>1183</sup> By September, she was "very often with the queen".<sup>1184</sup> However, there is no evidence to suggest that she used her improved royal favour to advocate for Essex. Indeed, she may have owed this favour to ceasing to trouble Elizabeth about Essex after he returned to Essex House in March 1600.

There is no surviving correspondence between Lady Northumberland and her brother after his release in August 1600 and no record has yet been found of her reaction to Essex's rebellion and execution. The countess's financial situation improved when she reconciled with her husband in 1602, bearing one son that year and another in 1604.<sup>1185</sup> Northumberland started James I's reign with a seat on the Privy Council and the captaincy of the Gentleman Pensioners, but his good fortune did not last.<sup>1186</sup> In November 1605, he was committed to the Tower for his connection with the Gunpowder plotters who attempted to murder the king, and Lady Northumberland visited him regularly until her death in 1619.<sup>1187</sup>

---

<sup>1183</sup> Lawson, ed., *Elizabethan New Year's*, 494. She also received gifts in 1603 (*Ibid.*, 513, 519); KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/263, Whyte to Sidney, 27 July 1600.

<sup>1184</sup> *Sidney Papers* 2: 216, Whyte to Sidney, 26 September 1600.

<sup>1185</sup> For the lawsuit, see TNA SP 12 279/55, Account by Ric Gwynne, 3 April 1601; *HMCS* 11: 264, Northumberland to Sir Robert Cecil, 3 July [1601]. For the reconciliation, see Nicholls, "Percy, Henry"; TNA SP 12/283/6, Carleton to Chamberlain, 6 January 1602.

<sup>1186</sup> Nicholls, "Percy, Henry".

<sup>1187</sup> *CP* 9: 733-734; Nicholls, "Percy, Henry". The earl was released in 1621 and died in 1632 (*Ibid.*).

Lady Northumberland clearly loved Essex and was deeply concerned for his welfare but was primarily absorbed in her own matters. Whilst she risked her marriage and reputation to assist Essex out of her personal sense of obligation as a sister, she also pursued her own business at the same time. Lady Northumberland was the most highly favoured of the four Essex women by 1603, which she may have owed to providing Elizabeth with a respite from the pleas of the other Essex women. The Countess of Northumberland used her position as sister of the favourite for personal ends rather than involvement in other matters of wider consequence concerning Essex.

### **Lady Rich**

In her work on families, Crawford argues that sibling relationships were “psychologically complex”.<sup>1188</sup> This aptly describes the bond between Penelope, Lady Rich, and her younger brother, the Earl of Essex. Lady Rich enjoyed a warm, caring and close relationship with him but simultaneously exploited his success to pursue her own political ambitions. In their study of the Nassau siblings, Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent found that early modern men could be closer to one sibling.<sup>1189</sup> Essex was closest to Penelope who exerted greater influence over his political career than her female kin.

Penelope, the eldest Devereux sibling, was born in 1563 and was fortunate to have Elizabeth as her godmother.<sup>1190</sup> Raised with her sister, she left the household of the Earl and Countess of Huntingdon to become a Maid-

---

<sup>1188</sup> Crawford, *Blood*, 209, 230.

<sup>1189</sup> Broomhall and Van Gent, “Corresponding Affections,” 153.

<sup>1190</sup> Margetts, “Christening,” 153-154; Margetts, “Stella Britanna,” 170-185, 191-197; Wall, “Rich [née Devereux]”; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 280. For her place in the Devereux family, see Appendix D.



of-Honour in 1581 at the age of 18.<sup>1191</sup> Although she was once proposed as a wife for Sir Philip Sidney, Penelope married the wealthy Robert, Lord Rich, in November 1581.<sup>1192</sup> She bore him at least four surviving children but she was an unfaithful wife, taking Essex's friend, Charles Blount (later Lord Mountjoy) as a lover by 1591.<sup>1193</sup> She bore him at least five surviving children whilst still married to Rich who knew about the affair.<sup>1194</sup> As with Lady Leicester's marriage to Essex's friend, Sir Christopher Blount, Lady Rich's affair reinforced her connection to Essex and consolidated Mountjoy as one of the earl's most trusted allies.<sup>1195</sup> Her marriage was a twist on gender roles. Lady Rich behaved more like a husband with an open mistress, whilst Lord Rich possibly tolerated the affair to retain kinship to his powerful brother-in-law.<sup>1196</sup> Despite this situation, she maintained an amicable relationship with Rich during Elizabeth's reign and even nursed him through

---

<sup>1191</sup> For her youth and time at court, see Margetts, "Stella Britanna," 159-202; Merton, "Women who Served," 40; Cross, *Puritan Earl*, 54-55. Margetts (237-238) and Bundesen, "No Other Faction," (224) suggest she returned as a lady-in-waiting after her marriage although no evidence supports this.

<sup>1192</sup> Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney*, 33, 108, 114-115, 198; BL Lans. MS 31/40, Huntingdon to Burghley, 10 March 1581; *CP* 11/2: 405. In 1581, Rich's landed wealth was approximately £5000 per year (Brett Usher, "Rich, Robert, First Earl of Warwick (1559?-1619), Nobleman and Politician," in *ODNB*, accessed April 30, 2010, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/61021>).

<sup>1193</sup> Wall dates the affair to 1590 ("Rich [née Devereux]"). Scholars disagree over Lord Rich's children but they were probably Lettice (born 1582/1583), Essex (born 1584/1585), Robert (born 1587) and Henry (born 1590) (Margetts, "Stella Britanna," 260, 271, 402-403, 406-407, 413; Wall, "Rich [née Devereux]"; Hammer, "Sex," 84; Usher, "Rich, Robert"; Maginn, "Blount, Charles"). Margetts also lists a daughter who was born and died in 1588 ("Stella Britanna," 271, 319-321).

<sup>1194</sup> Mountjoy's children were probably Penelope (born 1592), Isabella (born 1595), Mountjoy (born 1597), St John (born 1598/1599) and Charles (born 1600) (Margetts, "Stella Britanna," 413; *CP* 9: 344). Margetts suggests the affair was underway by spring 1591 ("Stella Britanna," 388). Penelope was given the surname, Rich, not Blount (Wall, "Rich [née Devereux]").

<sup>1195</sup> Christopher and Charles Blount were not kinsmen. Essex was initially wary of Mountjoy but he became the earl's ally, accompanying him to the Azores and becoming embroiled in his plans for the succession (Maginn, "Blount, Charles"; Margetts, "Stella Britanna," 379-381; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 84, 237; Gajda, *Earl of Essex*, 37).

<sup>1196</sup> Margetts, "Stella Britanna," 402-403; Wall, "Rich [Devereux] Penelope". Rich even allowed Penelope's children by Blount to be raised with his children (Margetts, "Stella Britanna," 407). Lady Rich did not live with Mountjoy in the Elizabethan period (*CP* 9: 346). For Essex assisting Lord Rich, see Hammer, *Polarisation*, 286.

a serious illness in 1600.<sup>1197</sup> Early modern adulteresses were frequently punished severely and Lady Rich risked her reputation, financial security and children's futures by pursuing the scandalous relationship, but she escaped the late Elizabethan court unscathed in this regard.<sup>1198</sup>

Merton describes Lady Rich's status with Elizabeth as "*persona non grata*" but this was not the case for most of the period covered in this thesis since Lady Rich received numerous New Year's gifts from the queen between 1582 and 1600.<sup>1199</sup> Although Elizabeth condemned illicit sexual liaisons at court, Lady Rich's position as the queen's goddaughter probably helped her retain favour and it is possible that Elizabeth even overlooked the affair out of favour for Essex.<sup>1200</sup> If this is true, his position as favourite benefited Lady Rich enormously.

Essex enjoyed her playful sense of humour which she demonstrated in forwarding him one of Lord Rich's letters she had defaced for comic purposes.<sup>1201</sup> They appear to have understood each other. Their mother, Lady Leicester, once wrote to Essex that "the Idell wench your syster thretons reuenge on you for hyttyng hur eumors so right".<sup>1202</sup> Daybell argues that two

---

<sup>1197</sup> Wall, "Rich [née Devereux]". Marriages could typically be annulled only on extreme grounds such as consanguinity, non-consummation or prior marital contract (Eales, *Women*, 68).

<sup>1198</sup> Harris, *English*, 84.

<sup>1199</sup> Merton, "Women who Served," 161. She received New Year's gifts in 1582, 1588, 1589, 1597, 1598, 1599 and 1600 and a christening gift in 1589 (Lawson, ed., *Elizabethan New Year's*, 313, 380, 437, 405, 457, 477, 495).

<sup>1200</sup> Hammer, "Sex". See Merton, "Women who Served," 148 and Bundesen, "No Other Faction," 118. Two sons were named Mountjoy and Charles, indicating their parentage (*CP* 9: 346).

<sup>1201</sup> WCRO MS MI229, Lord Rich to Essex (forwarded and annotated by Lady Rich), 23 December 1596; Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 187.

<sup>1202</sup> WCRO MS MI229, Lady Leicester to Essex, n.d.

emotional letters from Essex to Lady Rich, in which he detailed his disillusionment with the court, show that she was his “political confidante”

As well as blood, fictive kinship enabled Lady Rich to further cement her close bond with Essex and his allies by leading a “small army” of godchildren.<sup>1206</sup> Lady Rich was godmother to two of Essex’s children, as well as Southampton’s daughter, Sir Robert Sidney’s son, and her sister’s daughter, Penelope.<sup>1207</sup> Essex reciprocated by organising royal godparents for her children, asking Elizabeth and Henri IV of France to stand as godmother and godfather to two of her children in 1588 and 1590.<sup>1208</sup> The earl also brokered a match between Lady Rich’s daughter and the son of Ralph Eure, Warden of the Middle Marches, although it did not eventuate.<sup>1209</sup>

Despite their close relationship, there is little evidence for courtiers soliciting Lady Rich as an intermediary to the earl although she forwarded suits to him out of obligations to tenants, servants and neighbours.<sup>1210</sup> Since

---

<sup>1203</sup> Freeman, ed., *Essex to Stella*; Daybell, “Women, Politics and Domesticity,” 117-118. Daybell (117) suggests one letter dates before 1593 when Essex won a Privy Council seat and the other dates to spring 1589 after Lady Rich’s baby died.

<sup>1204</sup> *HMCS* 14 addenda: 101, Lady Rich to William Downhall, [before 1599]; Laoutaris, “‘Toucht with bolt of Treason,’” 211.

<sup>1205</sup> Laoutaris, “‘Toucht with bolt of Treason,’” 211.

<sup>1206</sup> Varlow, *Lady Penelope*, 118.

<sup>1207</sup> For Essex, see Margetts, “Stella Britanna,” 286. For Southampton, see Varlow, *Lady Penelope*, 118, 192; Margetts, “Stella Britanna,” 286; Laoutaris, “‘Toucht with bolt of Treason,’” 216. For Sidney, see *HMCD* 2: 185, Sidney to Lady Sidney, 8 November 1595; 199, Whyte to Sidney, 14 December 1595; *Sidney Papers* 1: 371-373, same to same, 5 December 1595; 373, same to same, 7 December 1595; 374, same to same, 8 December 1595; 381, same to same, 19 December 1595; 386, same to same, St John’s Day 1595; 386, same to same, 3 January 1596; *HMCD* 2: 204, same to same, 26 December 1595; Margetts, “Stella Britanna,” 286. Varlow, *Lady Penelope*, 118. For others, see Margetts, “Stella Britanna,” 286; Varlow, *Lady Penelope*, 118.

<sup>1208</sup> Hammer, *Polarisation*, 93: source BL Egerton MS 6/71R, Essex to Henri IV of France, June 1590. Her daughter died soon after (Margetts, “Stella Britanna,” 271, 319-321).

<sup>1209</sup> LPL MS 656/136, Essex to Anthony Bacon, 30 March 1597; 656/375, Essex to Ralph Eure, 1 April 1597; 661/92, Eure to Essex, 29 March 1597.

<sup>1210</sup> BL Lans. MS 71/69, Lady Fitton to Burghley, 15 May 1592; Varlow, *Lady Penelope*, 182-183; WCRO MS MI229, Lady Rich to Essex on behalf of Mr Haruy, n.d.; same to same, for a former steward n.d.; Daybell, “Women, Politics and Domesticity,” 115: source Cecil MS 109/24, n.d.

there are few surviving letters of this kind from the Essex women to the earl, it is probable that many were destroyed during the siege at Essex House or at other times throughout the decade.<sup>1211</sup>

Lady Rich enthusiastically promoted Essex's career and, as Margetts argues in her thesis, her actions also constituted "self-promotion".<sup>1212</sup> Her enthusiasm and determination in furthering his interests suggest she derived significant personal pleasure from involvement in the highest levels of politics. Her first experience in this regard was in her role as the only woman in Essex's secret correspondence with James VI of Scotland in 1589.<sup>1213</sup> She used this opportunity to promote Essex's position and build a valuable rapport with the Scottish monarch who was most likely to succeed to the English throne, potentially feathering her own nest for the future.

Lady Rich employed her servant Jeanne Hotman and her husband, Jean, as well as Richard Douglas, nephew of the Scottish ambassador to England, to deliver letters to the king.<sup>1214</sup> Unfortunately, the letters have not survived and the only evidence in her hand is a single sentence scrawled on one of Jean Hotman's letters which reads "I have sent you a reply for the disguised prince".<sup>1215</sup> Margetts interprets this as a reference to an enclosed letter to James.<sup>1216</sup> The primary source of evidence for Lady Rich's role in the overtures to James lies in the letters of Thomas Fowler, an agent gathering

---

<sup>1211</sup> Allen, "Introduction," 44; Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 179; Hammer, "Uses of Scholarship," 30, 47; Gajda, *Earl of Essex*, 39.

<sup>1212</sup> Margetts, "Stella Britannia," 3.

<sup>1213</sup> For an account of Lady Rich and the correspondence, see Laoutaris, "'Toucht with bolt of Treason,'" 202-209.

<sup>1214</sup> Margetts, "Stella Britannia," 273, 357; Daybell, "Women, Politics and Domesticity," 116.

<sup>1215</sup> Hotman Letters, no. 44, Lady Rich to Jeanne Hotman, 11 September 1589, translated in Margetts, "Stella Britannia," 353-356.

<sup>1216</sup> *Ibid.*, 356.

intelligence for Burghley, who discovered the secret correspondence and reported it to his master.<sup>1217</sup>

According to Fowler, she played a major part in the correspondence. Lady Rich wrote to James on a weekly basis and created a list of ciphers to protect the identities of the correspondents and the people they talked about including Essex, James, Lord Rich and the queen.<sup>1218</sup> She called herself ‘Rialta’, possibly referring to an Irish term for ‘regular’ to suggest that her role as a sister promoting a brother was not out of the ordinary.<sup>1219</sup> Lady Rich took a significant risk committing Essex’s desires to paper in the correspondence. Fowler saw a letter in which she described the reasoning behind Essex’s cipher as the “wery knight”, stating “he is exceeding weary, accounting it a thrall he lives now in, and wishes the change.”<sup>1220</sup> This referred to the change of monarchs that would occur upon Elizabeth’s death.

In that one sentence, which neatly encapsulated Essex’s wish for the queen to die in order to expedite his political career, Lady Rich gambled her own and Essex’s reputations and possibly even their freedom to bind Essex to

---

<sup>1217</sup> Margetts, “Stella Britannia,” 316-317; Daybell, “Women, Politics and Domesticity,” 115-116.

<sup>1218</sup> Margetts, “Stella Britannia,” 356; Laoutaris, “‘Toucht with bolt of Treason’,” 202-205; *HMCS* 3:435, Fowler to Burghley, 7 October 1589; 443, same to same, 8 November 1589. For ciphers in letters, see Daybell, *Material*, 157.

<sup>1219</sup> “rialta,” in *Pocket Oxford Irish Dictionary: Irish-English*, ed. Breandán Ó Cróinin (Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed 16 February, 2015, <http://www.oxfordreference.com.proxy.library.adelaide.edu.au/view/10.1093/acref/9780191739460.001.0001/b-ga-en-00001-0010494>. The term also described a religious order of nuns (*Ibid.*). If Lady Rich intended this alternative meaning, she may have emphasised her virtue. Laoutaris argues that the name’s “ambiguity ... invites speculation”, suggesting that it was deliberately Italianate and most likely referred to the Venetian marketplace since other contemporary texts used the name in this way, or referred to an early form of the word ‘royalty’ (“‘Toucht with bolt of Treason’,” 204-208, 231). Margetts supports the Venetian marketplace explanation (“Stella Britannia,” 360). However, this area was known as the ‘Rialto’, not the ‘Rialta’.

<sup>1220</sup> *HMCS* 3: 435, Fowler to Burghley, 7 October 1589.

James. According to Fowler, Lady Rich's correspondence impressed the Scottish monarch:

She is very pleasant in her letters, and writes the most part thereof in her brother's behalf, so as they shall be showed to the King ('Victor'), which they were, and the dark parts thereof expounded to him. He commended much the fineness of her wit, the invention and well writing.<sup>1221</sup>

James evidently enjoyed reading the missives written by a woman of high intellect and epistolary prowess, demonstrating that aristocratic women possessed sufficient diplomatic skills to engage with kings.

Lady Rich accompanied her correspondence with gifts. According to art historian, Katherine Coombs, "miniatures suited the romantic play and emotional intensity of the court".<sup>1222</sup> Lady Rich sent James at least one portrait miniature of herself, possibly painted by court limner, Nicholas Hilliard.<sup>1223</sup> Since this small token of intimacy was a gift to strengthen bonds between the giver and the recipient, James's acceptance of the miniature indicated his favour for Lady Rich and her brother, and added a further emotive dimension to their communications.<sup>1224</sup>

Lady Rich tried to buy Fowler's silence when she discovered that he knew about the correspondence. Prior to his role as Burghley's intelligence agent, Fowler was Leicester's secretary whom Lady Leicester claimed

---

<sup>1221</sup> *HMCS* 3: 435, Fowler to Burghley, 7 October 1589.

<sup>1222</sup> Katherine Coombs, "English Limning: the Portrait Miniature in Tudor and Early Stuart England," in *Treasures of the Royal Courts: Tudors, Stuarts and the Russian Tsars*, ed. Olga Dmitrieva and Tessa Murdoch (London: V & A Publishing, 2013), 51.

<sup>1223</sup> *HMCS* 3: 438, Fowler to Burghley, 20 October 1589; Margetts, "Stella Britannia," 321-331; Laoutaris, "'Toucht with bolt of Treason,'" 204-205; Strong, "Queen," 146. Hilliard painted a miniature of her for the French ambassador and may also have painted the miniature for James VI (Margetts, "Lady Penelope Rich," 758-759).

<sup>1224</sup> Sir Robert Sidney kept a collection of miniatures including likenesses of his family, James I and Anne of Denmark (Strong, "The Leicester House Miniatures: Robert Sidney, 1st Earl of Leicester and his Circle," *Burlington Magazine* 127, October (1985)).

swindled her after her husband's death.<sup>1225</sup> Lady Rich offered to protect Fowler from any suit her mother might pursue against him if he kept quiet about the correspondence. Fowler claimed:

the Earl of Essex and all his friends would be mine in anything I had to do against his mother or whosoever. Lady Riche especially would be so, and had willed him to assure me of it ...I ... received a letter from her to me in short time, which contained but courteous promises of her friendship and the Earl's<sup>1226</sup>

Evidently he did not take up the offer since the correspondence petered out.

As Fowler stated, Lady Rich mostly used her correspondence with James to promote her brother and thereby improve his chances of political success at a future Jacobean court. Since she did so in a manner that pleased the king, Lady Rich won a place for herself in James's affections and increased her own chances for success. Lady Rich's acts on behalf of Essex demonstrate an overlap between family and personal political agency, showing that these two motivations were not in direct opposition to each other and could combine to make aristocratic women more eager to exercise power and influence. Lady Rich's careful cultivation of the Scottish king would later prove valuable when he acceded to the English throne.

Whilst the other Essex women hovered on the edges of the earl's political circle, Lady Rich positioned herself at its core. Her personal magnetism increased her popularity amongst her brother's allies who praised her "hospitality and intelligent conversation" and socialised with her accordingly.<sup>1227</sup> For example, in 1595, she was at supper with Essex and his associates when the earl decided to visit Anthony Bacon and then travel to

---

<sup>1225</sup> Margetts, "Stella Britanna," 316-317, 357.

<sup>1226</sup> *HMCs* 3: 435, Fowler to Burghley, 7 October 1589.

<sup>1227</sup> Hammer, *Polarisation*, 281.

Walsingham House with Sir Robert Sidney the following day.<sup>1228</sup> Despite a lack of room in the coach, Lady Rich insisted on coming and devised a plan for the coach to double back for Bacon and Essex.<sup>1229</sup>

She also built personal relationships with Essex's allies, such as Antonio Perez, a Spanish exile staying at Essex House.<sup>1230</sup> He gave dog-skin gloves to Lady Rich and her mother and wrote an accompanying letter containing the following:

I have resolved to sacrifice myself to your service and flay a piece of my own skin from the most tender part of my body ... But in my case this is nothing, for even my soul will skin itself for the person it loves. If my soul were visible like my body, the most pitiful soul would be seen and the most pitiful thing that has ever been looked upon. The gloves, my Lady, are of dog's skin, though they are mine; for I hold myself a dog and beg your Ladyship to keep me in your service upon the honour and love of a faithful dog.<sup>1231</sup>

Perez cast the letter in the mould of a courtly lover writing to an unattainable, admired mistress. His words were intended to flatter and win her attentions, indicating that he saw her as an important connection to cultivate in her own right. His efforts paid off with Lady Rich spending time with Perez as his companion around London, sending him gifts and asking after his welfare.<sup>1232</sup>

Lady Rich also built a favourable relationship with Anthony Bacon, the earl's intelligence coordinator who lived in Essex House and was privy to information about the earl's whereabouts.<sup>1233</sup> The few surviving letters

---

<sup>1228</sup> LPL MS 651/111, Standen to Anthony Bacon, 23 April 1595. The purpose of the visit was to discuss Antonio Perez's proposed extension of time in England (Laoutaris, "'Toucht with bolt of Treason'," 210).

<sup>1229</sup> LPL MS 651/111, Standen to Anthony Bacon, 23 April 1595.

<sup>1230</sup> LPL MS 653/145, Antonio Perez to Lady Rich, n.d.; Ungerer, *Spaniard*, 91.

<sup>1231</sup> Antonio Perez to Lady Rich [London, 1594], translated in Ungerer, *Spaniard*, 79-80, 199.

<sup>1232</sup> LPL MS 653/145, Antonio Perez to Lady Rich, n.d.; 657/61, Lady Rich to Anthony Bacon, 3 May 1596; 657/88, Anthony Bacon to Lady Rich, 5 May 1596; Ungerer, *Spaniard*, 82, 91; Laoutaris, "'Toucht with bolt of Treason'," 210, 213-215.

<sup>1233</sup> Hammer, "Uses of Scholarship," 30, 35-36.



between them demonstrate her acumen in employing the language of patronage to obtain news about Essex, as well as the latest information on international politics.<sup>1234</sup> In May 1596, she requested Bacon write to Essex in Calais for information on military affairs in France.<sup>1235</sup> Lady Rich thanked him for his assistance and offered her “friendship” and ability to “do all honor” to him as incentives to provide further news.<sup>1236</sup> Early modern friendship was a complex power relationship reminiscent of patronage in which two people reinforced their status by incurring and repaying obligations to each other.<sup>1237</sup> Lady Rich’s offer of friendship carried implicit requirements of mutual assistance and Bacon met her expectations, replying that he expected to hear from the earl soon and would inform her when he heard anything from Essex or any other source.<sup>1238</sup> He also shared information on troop movements and the Treaty of Greenwich between the English and the French.<sup>1239</sup>

Sir Christopher Blount, Essex’s friend and Lady Rich’s stepfather, sent her an eyewitness account of Essex’s success in the Cadiz expedition describing “the repellinge of ye aduerserie who first defended their walles”.<sup>1240</sup> Aside from news, Blount’s letter served another purpose for Lady Rich who used it as literary currency when she circulated it within Essex’s

---

<sup>1234</sup> Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 258.

<sup>1235</sup> LPL MS 657/61, Lady Rich to Anthony Bacon, 3 May 1596.

<sup>1236</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1237</sup> Larminie, “Fighting,” 97, 106; Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 195-197, 260-262; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, 231-242, 372-375; Koskinen, “Friends and Brothers,” 238-246; Pollock, “Practice of Kindness”; Wootton, “Francis Bacon”; Jardine, “Companionate”.

<sup>1238</sup> LPL MS 657/88, Anthony Bacon to Lady Rich, 5 May 1596.

<sup>1239</sup> *Ibid.*; Daybell, “Women, Politics and Domesticity,” 116.

<sup>1240</sup> LPL MS 658/198, Sir Christopher Blount to Lady Rich, 5 July 1596.

network. Lady Rich forwarded it to Bacon who sent her Cuffe's Essexian perspective of the victory at Cadiz, '*True Relacion*', in return.<sup>1241</sup>

Lady Rich was on good terms with Sir Robert Sidney. As Governor of Flushing, he was a valuable connection to the Low Countries and he sent her letters from the House of Orange-Nassau.<sup>1242</sup> She was also an important contact for him at court. When Sidney sought the post of Wardenship of the Cinque Ports in 1597, his agent, Whyte, fruitlessly approached a number of courtiers to deliver a petition to the queen before he encountered Lady Rich who took charge of the situation:

[she] then tooke me a syde, and sayd that the Queen of late asking her what newes abroad, she answered that she was glad to heare of the good choice her Maj[es]ty made of a warden of the cinq portes, and named you. The Queen sayd she had not yet disposed of yt. I tooke this oportunity to beseach her ... to deliver this lre (and showed yt her) to the queen she kissed yt and tooke yt and told me that you had neuer a friend in Court would be more ready then her self to doe you any pleasure.... w[ithout] asking any thing at all of the Contents of yt, she put yt in her bosom and assured me that this night or tomorrow morning yt wold be reade<sup>1243</sup>

On this occasion, Lady Rich was the only courtier willing to risk her reputation to assist Sidney with his suit.<sup>1244</sup> Her confidence in accepting the challenge to deliver the letter to Elizabeth shows the strength of her regard for Sidney, as well as her eagerness to play a role in court patronage.

When the earl fell from favour, Lady Rich lost a key source of her power. Although the brother she loved remained, the powerful favourite, politician and military commander she respected was gone. Lady Rich threw

---

<sup>1241</sup> LPL MS 658/300, Anthony Bacon to Lady Rich, 5 August 1596; Daybell, "Women, Politics and Domesticity," 116.

<sup>1242</sup> *HMCs* 6: 464, Sir Robert Sidney to Lady Rich, October 1596.

<sup>1243</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/74, Whyte to Sidney, 19 March 1597.

<sup>1244</sup> See Chapter 3 for more on this suit.

herself into the quest to regain his glory, desperate to restore her brother to favour but also regain a significant part of her own political agency.

Lady Rich was already in London at Essex House when her brother was imprisoned in late September 1599.<sup>1245</sup> Soldiers recently purged from the English forces in Ireland flocked to Lady Rich at Essex House for news on their former military commander.<sup>1246</sup> She astutely considered that associating with a large group of frustrated soldiers might antagonise the queen, so she fled to the country with Lady Southampton on 11 October and returned to London a few weeks later when the situation was less volatile.<sup>1247</sup> In November, she joined the campaign at court for Essex, pleading for her brother in conjunction with Lady Northumberland and her mother, as discussed above.<sup>1248</sup> Lady Rich also made at least one independent foray to court without the other Essex women in 1599.<sup>1249</sup> In December, she obtained an audience with Elizabeth, asking to visit Essex on the pretext of discussing her jointure with the sick earl in case he died.<sup>1250</sup> Elizabeth denied her request, arguing that she would have to grant Lady Northumberland the same privilege if she granted it to Lady Rich.<sup>1251</sup>

January 1600 was a frustrating month for Lady Rich whose efforts to help Essex were all thwarted.<sup>1252</sup> Again, she visited the court at Richmond for

---

<sup>1245</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/169, Whyte to Sidney, 3 October 1599; U1475/C12/170, same to same, 11 October 1599.

<sup>1246</sup> *Sidney Papers* 2: 130, same to same, 3 October 1599; KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/170, same to same, 11 October 1599; Gajda, *Earl of Essex*, 58. These men served with him on campaign, received his patronage or were knighted by him (James, "At a Crossroads," 428-429; Hammer, *Polarisation*, 216-226, 269, 291).

<sup>1247</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/170, same to same, 11 October 1599.

<sup>1248</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/180, same to same, 4 November 1599.

<sup>1249</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/198, same to same, 22 December 1599.

<sup>1250</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1251</sup> *HMCS* 10: 21, Lady Rich to Sir Robert Cecil, January 1600.

<sup>1252</sup> Although she received a New Year's gift from the queen (Lawson, ed., *Elizabethan New Year's*, 495).

permission to visit Essex but Elizabeth denied her an audience.<sup>1253</sup> Whyte reported that she wrote “to hur Ma[j]i[stie] many l[ett]res, sends many jewels many presents. Her l[ett]res are read, her presents receiued, but no leaue granted”.<sup>1254</sup> Lady Rich importuned Cecil twice to move the queen for permission to visit Essex, hoping that he would assist her given his recent success in gaining permission for Lady Essex to visit her husband.<sup>1255</sup> Either Cecil refused or failed since she never visited Essex while he was imprisoned. He possibly believed Essex’s wife had a greater claim to visit the earl and did not wish to place himself in an awkward position advocating for all of Essex’s female kin.

By this point, Lady Rich probably felt she had exhausted the standard avenues of imploring, petitioning and presenting gifts at court and turned to a more radical way of gaining Elizabeth’s attention.<sup>1256</sup> Although Lady Rich was a “skilled linguist”, her poor judgment overshadowed her epistolary talents in a letter she wrote to the queen in late January 1600.<sup>1257</sup> In contrast to Lady Essex’s tactful plea for Essex’s life, Lady Rich deliberately and unashamedly confronted court politics head on.<sup>1258</sup>

Daybell suggests that Lady Rich’s letter “utilizes a consciously ‘female’ voice of lament” which is evident in her description of Essex below:

my unfortunate brother, that all men haue liberty to defame as  
if his offences were capitall and he soe base delected a creature

---

<sup>1253</sup> KHLC De L’isle MS U1475/C12/207, Whyte to Sidney, 19 January 1600.

<sup>1254</sup> KHLC De L’isle MS U1475/C12/202, same to same, 12 January 1600.

<sup>1255</sup> *HMCS* 10: 21, Lady Rich to Sir Robert Cecil, January 1600; 24; same to same, January 1600. There is a third undated letter importuning Cecil, presumably from December 1599 or January 1600 (see *HMCS* 9: 428; same to same [1599]).

<sup>1256</sup> Daybell, “Women, Politics and Domesticity,” 119.

<sup>1257</sup> Thorne, “Women’s Petitionary Letters,” 33; Daybell, “Women, Politics and Domesticity,” 112-119. Her letter is one of the most widely disseminated scribal texts, surviving in over 30 manuscript versions (*Ibid.*, 111).

<sup>1258</sup> BL Lans. MS 88/14, Lady Essex to Sir Robert Cecil, February 1601. See also Thorne, “Women’s Petitionary Letters,” 32.

that his loue, his life, his seruice to yo<sup>r</sup> bewty and the state had deserved no absolucon after so hard punishments, or soe much as to answeare in yor faire p[re]sence.<sup>1259</sup>

With Essex so eloquently cast in the role of victim, Lady Rich attempted to evoke pity from the queen. She hoped Elizabeth would be so upset at the plight of her former favourite that she would restore him to favour.<sup>1260</sup>

According to Lady Rich, unnamed enemies plotted to destroy the earl and had already damaged his reputation since “the spotts they haue cast upon him are too fowle to be washed away”.<sup>1261</sup> She pleaded with Elizabeth to “checke the course” of these men to avoid dire consequences for Essex since “the last course willbe his last breath”.<sup>1262</sup> Finally, Lady Rich argued that if Elizabeth failed to act, she also risked her own safety.<sup>1263</sup>

In characterising the queen as a puppet manipulated by powerful men, Lady Rich reflected the opinions of the more radical Essex group with whom she conspired the following year in the Essex rebellion. Although she wrote the letter in a deliberately confronting and perhaps exaggerated manner to shock Elizabeth into action, there is no reason to think Lady Rich did not believe the sentiments she committed to paper. Laoutaris even goes so far as to suggest that Lady Rich deliberately employed “powerful and allusive *sententiae*” strongly influenced by contemporary political texts that justified deposing monarchs who ruled as tyrants.<sup>1264</sup> The letter is further evidence of

---

<sup>1259</sup> Daybell, *Women Letter-writers*, 254; Daybell, “Women, Politics and Domesticity,” 118; TNA SP 15/34/38, Lady Rich to the queen, January 1600.

<sup>1260</sup> TNA SP 15/34/38, Lady Rich to the queen, January 1600. For further analysis, see Daybell, “Women, Politics and Domesticity,” 118-121.

<sup>1261</sup> TNA SP 15/34/38, Lady Rich to the queen, January 1600. Cecil later interpreted that he was chief among the nameless enemies (*HMCS* 10: 167, Sir Robert Cecil to Buckhurst, 1600).

<sup>1262</sup> TNA SP 15/34/38, Lady Rich to the queen, January 1600.

<sup>1263</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1264</sup> Laoutaris, “Toucht by Bolt of Treason,” 219-223.

Lady Rich acting under the auspices of family as a sister for a brother, but demonstrating independent agency in her approach.

Gary Schneider observes that correspondence enabled a writer to air grievances too sensitive to raise verbally.<sup>1265</sup> Lady Rich might have risked imprisonment in the Tower if she had dared voiced her opinions in person. Lynne Magnusson argues that aristocratic women commonly used deferential or apologetic language in letters to higher ranked individuals, reflecting a correlation between language and self-perception of status.<sup>1266</sup> Lady Rich accorded herself a great deal of power if she believed writing in such a direct style would influence the Queen of England.

Lady Rich quickly discovered the consequences of her actions. The Privy Council summoned her for questioning twice in February and she cited illness to avoid attendance, hurriedly writing to Elizabeth in an “other kind of language”, possibly to apologise.<sup>1267</sup> The situation worsened when the letter was circulated via scribal publication.<sup>1268</sup> Elizabeth reacted with hostility and placed her under house arrest in late February.<sup>1269</sup> Lady Rich was still not prepared to face the repercussions and fled to the country to avoid another Privy Council summons in March.<sup>1270</sup> The situation became more serious when Elizabeth was livid upon discovering that hundreds of copies were also printed abroad with Essex’s *An Apologie of the Earle of Essex* in May

---

<sup>1265</sup> Schneider, “Affecting Correspondences,” 54-55; Pollock, “Anger,” 572.

<sup>1266</sup> Magnusson, “Rhetoric,” 55, 57-59, 63.

<sup>1267</sup> *HMCD* 2: 435, Whyte to Sidney, 2 February 1600; TNA SP 12/274/37, Carleton to Sir Edward Norris, 8 February 1600; 12/274/48, Chamberlain to Carleton, 22 February 1600.

<sup>1268</sup> Daybell, “Women, Politics and Domesticity,” 121-130. Letters associated with monarchs were popular (Daybell, *Material*, 191; Daybell, “Women, Politics and Domesticity,” 124).

<sup>1269</sup> KHL C De L’isle MS U1475/C12/216, Whyte to Sidney, 25 February 1600.

<sup>1270</sup> TNA SP 12/274/86, Carleton to Chamberlain, 29 March 1600, Varlow, *Lady Penelope*, 203.

1600.<sup>1271</sup> Court correspondents believed the earl's enemies printed the work to inflame the queen's anger against him, and Essex immediately ordered its suppression.<sup>1272</sup> Little wonder that Lady Rich was "like to have the worst of yt" when she returned to London at the end of the month.<sup>1273</sup>

Even then, she managed to evade answering for her actions until August when Lord Treasurer Buckhurst finally questioned her.<sup>1274</sup> Lady Rich selected contrition as her best strategy, begging the queen's forgiveness and Buckhurst observed her "sorrow for her Majesty's displeasure, her fear to offend further, her humble and obedient spirit to satisfy all doubts and her great desire to recover her Majesty's favour."<sup>1275</sup> Buckhurst reported his report to Cecil who showed it to the queen.<sup>1276</sup> Although Elizabeth was convinced of Lady Rich's contrition, she did not believe her protestation of innocence regarding the letter's distribution and printing.<sup>1277</sup> In a chapter on the letter, Daybell remains similarly unconvinced of Lady Rich's ignorance and argues that she was capable of playing a role in the letter's dissemination.<sup>1278</sup> Despite her reservations, Elizabeth did not pursue the issue and granted Lady Rich a full pardon.<sup>1279</sup>

---

<sup>1271</sup> Written by Essex to Anthony Bacon in 1598, 'The *'Apologie'* was the earl's most copied work – printing it with Lady Rich's letter would maximise circulation (Gajda, *Earl of Essex*, 99, 173-174). See also Daybell, *Material*, 212; Daybell, "Women, Politics and Domesticity," 121, 123.

<sup>1272</sup> TNA SP 12/274/150V, Chamberlain to Carleton, 28 May 1600; *Sidney Papers* 2: 194, Whyte to Sidney, 13 May 1600; Gajda, *Earl of Essex*, 174, 202; Daybell, "Women, Politics and Domesticity," 122.

<sup>1273</sup> TNA SP 12/274/150V, Chamberlain to Carleton, 28 May 1600.

<sup>1274</sup> TNA SP 63/207/67, Buckhurst to Sir Robert Cecil, 13 August 1600.

<sup>1275</sup> *HMCS* 10: 167, Sir Robert Cecil to Buckhurst, [August] 1600.

<sup>1276</sup> TNA SP 63/207/67, Buckhurst to Sir Robert Cecil, 13 August 1600.

<sup>1277</sup> *HMCS* 10: 167, Sir Robert Cecil to Buckhurst, [August] 1600.

<sup>1278</sup> Daybell, "Women, Politics and Domesticity," 117.

<sup>1279</sup> *Ibid*; TNA SP 63/207/67, Buckhurst to Sir Robert Cecil, 13 August 1600; Daybell, "Women, Politics and Domesticity," 122; Lawson, ed., *Elizabethan New Year's*, 704. She was still officially detained on 23 August (*Sidney Papers* 2: 212, Whyte to Sidney, 23 August 1600).

However, her name never appeared on another New Year's gift roll after this incident which indicates the gravity of her offence to the queen. Like gifts, petitions and personal pleas, Lady Rich considered her letter another strategy at her disposal to help her disgraced brother. Scholars have reached different conclusions about why the letter caused such offence. Thorne suggests that Lady Rich disrespected protocols that expected her to write deferentially "as a woman and a suppliant", whilst Daybell argues that the letter was unacceptable for a woman.<sup>1280</sup> However, gender was not the issue. Lady Rich's audacity in questioning princely authority was a shocking affront to royal prerogative and demonstrated an inappropriate way for a subject to attempt to exercise power, regardless of their sex.

Although Lady Rich escaped the crisis relatively unscathed, the letter undermined Essex's restoration to favour. As discussed above, in March 1600, Elizabeth rejected Lady Leicester's gown and petition to visit Essex because "things standing as they did, yt was not fitt for her [the countess] to desire what she did".<sup>1281</sup> The queen probably referred to the controversy over Lady Rich's letter and evasion of a Privy Council summons that month.<sup>1282</sup> Essex stood trial in June for his actions in Ireland, and Attorney-General Coke seized the opportunity to use Lady Rich's letter in the Crown's case against him.<sup>1283</sup> Coke referred to a letter "by a lady to whom though nearest in blood to my lord it appertained little to intermeddle in matters of this

---

<sup>1280</sup> Thorne, "Women's Petitionary Letters," 34; Daybell, "Women, Politics and Domesticity," 120.

<sup>1281</sup> KHLC De L'isle MS U1475/C12/219, same to same, 3 March 1600.

<sup>1282</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1283</sup> TNA SP 12/275/5, Chamberlain to Carleton, 13 June 1600; *CSPD 1598-1601*:442, JB to Peter Halins, 14 June 1600.



nature”, condemning its copying and printing.<sup>1284</sup> He also described the publication abroad as a “saucy ... action ... with very bitter and hard termes” and accused Essex of its wide distribution.<sup>1285</sup> His accusation was not far-fetched since the Essex circle were known for distributing and publishing private correspondence for political advantage.<sup>1286</sup> Daybell argues that the letter’s publication sent “mixed messages” that damaged Essex’s restoration to favour, because he could not claim contrition whilst under suspicion of acting so publicly against the queen.<sup>1287</sup> The consequences of Lady Rich’s letter further demonstrate the power and consequence of aristocratic women’s actions.

Like Essex himself, Lady Rich progressed along a political spectrum until she became a radical “agitator” like Southampton and Cuffe and played a role in coordinating the Essex rebellion in February 1601.<sup>1288</sup> The night before the rebellion, she supped at Essex House with Southampton, Blount and Sir Charles Danvers before urging two of Essex’s allies to action.<sup>1289</sup> Lady Rich secretly met Essex’s ally, Sir Henry Bromley, at Walsingham House to court his support for the planned action the next day.<sup>1290</sup> Bromley sent the earl a message that Thomas Smythe, Sheriff of the City of London,

---

<sup>1284</sup> Francis Bacon, *Works of Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam, Viscount St Alban, and Lord High Chancellor of England*, vol. 3 (London: C & J Rivington, 1826), 121.

<sup>1285</sup> *Ibid.*, Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary vwritten by Fynes Moryson Gent. First in the Latine Tongue, and then Translated by him into English ...* (London: Printed by Iohn Beale, 1617), Part II, 70, accessed November 12, 2014,

[http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99850468](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99850468).

<sup>1286</sup> Gordon, “Fortune,” 322-323; Gajda, *Earl of Essex*, 97-105, 158-164, 172-174; Daybell, *Material*, 193; Daybell, “Women, Politics and Domesticity,” 124.

<sup>1287</sup> Daybell, “Women, Politics and Domesticity,” 121.

<sup>1288</sup> James, “At a Crossroads,” 447.

<sup>1289</sup> TNA SP 12/278/69, Exam of Edward Bushell, 16 February 1601; James, “At a Crossroads,” 427; Laoutaris, “‘Toucht by Bolt of Treason’,” 226”.

<sup>1290</sup> TNA SP 12/279/10R, Examination of Edward Bromley, 2 March 1601; Gajda, *Earl of Essex*, 182; James, “At a Crossroads,” 429; Laoutaris, “‘Toucht by Bolt of Treason’,” 226”.

would provide armed men to march with Essex, but the promised support did not eventuate on the day.<sup>1291</sup> On the morning of the rebellion, Lady Rich fetched the Earl of Bedford from a sermon to drum up his support for the earl.<sup>1292</sup> When Sir Thomas Egerton, the Earl of Worcester, Sir William Knollys and Lord Chief Justice Popham arrived at Essex House to speak with the earl, he held them hostage whilst he marched through London.<sup>1293</sup> Lady Rich and Lady Essex kept them company although the former was more conspirator than hostess, teasing Essex's guards that "if they were true gentlemen, they would throw her down the head of that old fellow", namely Popham.<sup>1294</sup>

When the rebels were captured, Lady Rich was officially listed as a conspirator and committed to the custody of Henry Sackford, Keeper of the Privy Purse, and was extremely fortunate to escape serious punishment.<sup>1295</sup> By comparison, the Earl of Bedford, who refused to participate, received a £20,000 fine for associating with the rebels.<sup>1296</sup> The Privy Council or Elizabeth possibly released Lady Rich for fear of upsetting her lover, Mountjoy, who was making progress in the Irish campaign.<sup>1297</sup> If the success

---

<sup>1291</sup> TNA SP 12/278/59, Examination of Thomas Smythe, 13 February 1601; Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 43.

<sup>1292</sup> BL Add. MS 4160/158-158V, Bedford's disclaimer, 14 February 1601, TNA SP 12/278/49, Vincent Hussey to unknown, 11 February 1601; Laoutaris, "'Toucht by Bolt of Treason'," 226".

<sup>1293</sup> TNA SP 12/278/46, Examination of Sir John Davies, 10 February 1601; Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 43; Laoutaris, "'Toucht by Bolt of Treason'," 226.

<sup>1294</sup> Philip Caraman, *Henry Garnet, 1555-1606 and the Gunpowder Plot* (London: Longman, Green and Co., 1964), 173; source Arch SJ Rome, Anglia, 2, 11 March 1601.

<sup>1295</sup> TNA SP 12/278/39, List of persons in custody, 10 February 1601, 12/278/41, List of persons in the Tower, 10 February 1601; 12/278/49-50, Vincent Hussey to unknown, 11 February 1601; *HMCS* 11: 44, Captain Thomas Lee to Sir Henry Lee, 12 February 1601.

<sup>1296</sup> BL Add. MS 4160/158-158V, Bedford's disclaimer, 14 February 1601; Byard, "Trade of Courtiership," 25.

<sup>1297</sup> Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 99; Laoutaris, "'Toucht by Bolt of Treason'," 226. Mountjoy nearly fled Ireland when he heard about the rebellion but remained and Tyrone surrendered to him a week after Elizabeth's death (Maginn, "Blount, Charles").

of the war in Ireland hinged on whether she was prosecuted, it underscores the power and political significance of women's relationships with important men.

Although Lady Rich escaped charges, another threat came from an unexpected quarter when the Earl of Nottingham reported that Essex accused her of inciting him to rebellion.<sup>1298</sup> In a letter to Mountjoy, Nottingham reported Essex's words:

I must accuse one who is most nearest to me, my sister, who did continually urge me on with telling me how all my friends and followers thought me a coward and that I had lost all my valour ... She must be looked to, for she has a proud spirit.<sup>1299</sup>

Although Essex's accusation credited her with significant independent political agency and great influence over the earl, it was potentially disastrous for Lady Rich. A reputation as the driving force behind an armed insurrection could only damage her efforts to court the favour of the now unrivalled powers at court, Cecil and Nottingham. Lady Rich wrote an important letter to Nottingham, defending herself and seeking his support for Mountjoy which surely served as a delicate reminder that actions against her might threaten the Irish campaign.<sup>1300</sup> Lady Rich portrayed herself as a sister who supported her brother out of love, distancing herself from obedience as a political follower:

For my deserts towards him that is gone, it is known that I have been more like a slave than a sister, w<sup>ch</sup> p[ro]ceeded out of my exceeding Love, rather than his Authority. What I have lost, or suffer'd, besides her Maties Displeasure, I will not menc[i]on; yet so strangely have I been wrong'd<sup>1301</sup>

---

<sup>1298</sup> Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, 258: source BLO Tanner 76/38, Nottingham to Mountjoy, 31 May 1601.

<sup>1299</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1300</sup> BLO Tanner MS 76/52b, Lady Rich to Nottingham, [1601].

<sup>1301</sup> *Ibid.*

Her strategy shows that aristocratic women could conveniently claim they acted on behalf of family to absolve themselves of responsibility when it suited them. Although family and political action went hand in hand, in this case Lady Rich deliberately separated the two concepts to couch her actions in terms of sisterly affection because she did not wish to be associated with Essex's treason. Thus women could strategically exploit the concept of family to their advantage similarly to the way they exploited the concept of femininity, using it to play on the emotions of others to their advantage. Given her character, Lady Rich was certainly capable of urging her brother on as alleged, regardless of her words.

The language Lady Rich used to defend herself is reminiscent of Sir Francis Bacon's when he sought to distance himself from the earl in 1601:

I am not seruite to him [Essex] havinge regard to any superior duty, I haue byn much bound unto him, and thother side I protest before god I haue spente more thoughts, and more tyme aboute his well doinge then euer I did aboute myne owne<sup>1302</sup>

In both cases, the writer laboured that they were bound to and served Essex out of love at great personal cost and distanced themselves from the earl's politics. In an article on Bacon, Andrew Gordon argues that Bacon sought a "strategic reformulation" of his relationship with Essex for this purpose.<sup>1303</sup>

Lady Rich's letter did the same.

Lady Rich's efforts cultivating James's favour in 1589 finally paid off when he acceded to the English throne in 1603. He awarded her the precedence of the Essex earldom and his queen, Anna of Denmark, selected

---

<sup>1302</sup> Gordon, "Fortune," 329: source BL Add. MS 4106/72v.

<sup>1303</sup> Gordon, "Fortune," 329.

her as a lady-in-waiting.<sup>1304</sup> Mountjoy's star also ascended with James creating him Earl of Devonshire in 1603.<sup>1305</sup> In November 1605, Lord Rich successfully divorced Lady Rich in the ecclesiastical courts on the grounds of adultery which she did not dispute.<sup>1306</sup> Lady Rich married Mountjoy weeks later, but the nuptials contravened the conditions of the divorce which forbade her marrying during Lord Rich's lifetime.<sup>1307</sup> She lost her grip on power during the subsequent scandal which led to a fall from royal favour, their children being declared illegitimate and Mountjoy's titles being forfeited.<sup>1308</sup> The couple did not live long after the controversy. Mountjoy died of a respiratory infection in 1606, followed by Penelope the next year.<sup>1309</sup>

Wall observes that Lady Rich's "independence ... derived from her own personal qualities, as well as from Essex's position as the queen's favourite."<sup>1310</sup> Judging by her strong nature, tenacity and appetite for court politics, it is unlikely that she considered she owed Essex obedience but she might have thought she owed him loyalty.<sup>1311</sup> Whereas most aristocratic women who might have relied heavily on a husband, father or son, Lady Rich's brother was her most powerful and important connection and she

---

<sup>1304</sup> This enabled her to hold a higher rank amongst the eldest daughters of earls (Payne, "Aristocratic Women and the Jacobean Court," 98). See also TNA SP 14/3/25, Grant to Lady Rich, 17 August 1603; Daybell, "Women, Politics and Domesticity," 114; Payne, "Aristocratic Women and the Jacobean Court," 24, 31, 40-42, 73, 74, 98.

<sup>1305</sup> Gordon, "Fortune," 322; *CP* 9: 345.

<sup>1306</sup> Wall, "Rich [née Devereux]"; Payne, "Aristocratic Women and the Jacobean Court," 32, 42; Margetts, "Stella Britanna," 408; *CP* 9: 346; 11/2: 406. He presumably waited until after Essex's death when Lady Rich no longer provided such an important family connection.

<sup>1307</sup> *CP* 9: 346; Wall, "Rich [née Devereux]".

<sup>1308</sup> Maginn, "Blount, Charles", Wall, "Rich [née Devereux]"; Margetts, "Stella Britanna," 409; *CP* 9: 346-347.

<sup>1309</sup> *CP* 9: 346-347, Wall, "Rich [née Devereux]".

<sup>1310</sup> Wall, "Rich [née Devereux]".

<sup>1311</sup> Pollock found that sisters did not owe their brothers obedience ("Rethinking," 5, 15).

fashioned a career for herself as his political ally. Lady Rich based her career around assisting her brother whilst simultaneously demonstrating significant and consequential personal agency. Her actions show that aristocratic women could shape high politics as a result of their place within a family but that sufficient leeway existed for them to use personal initiative and act independently for kin. Thus Lady Rich's case study shows that family and independent political action overlapped in a complementary way that could enhance an aristocratic woman's power. Put another way, she was more personally motivated to assist her brother because she enjoyed being part of his political world.

## **Conclusion**

Frustrated with Lady Northumberland's headstrong decision to separate from her husband, Essex rued a "tyranny of passion which doth thus govern many times excellent hearts against their judgments, their friends' advice and their own good."<sup>1312</sup> Although aimed at his sister, he aptly describes the Devereux siblings and their mother since they took action against their best interests, based on strong emotion.

Their independent choices determined the nature and degree of political agency the Essex women enjoyed at court more than Essex's position as royal favourite. All four women angered Elizabeth either by their marital decisions or through other actions. Even at the height of the earl's favour when he held the greatest sway over Elizabeth, he could not alter the queen's opinion towards his female relatives. Their poor favour, in turn,

---

<sup>1312</sup> *HMCS* 10: 56: Essex to Lady Northumberland, 7 March 1600. Pollock defines passion as "any strong emotion" although her article focuses on anger ("Anger," 573).

undermined their individual and collective success to assist him during his disgrace. Thus, just like aristocratic men, independent agency empowered aristocratic women as decision-makers but could also undo their efforts if they made bad choices.

The Essex women assisted the career of the royal favourite according to their own family roles. Lady Leicester helped him as a dutiful aristocratic mother whose interest in Essex extended through his adult life. She provided valuable family connections, promoted him in his regional power-base in Staffordshire and boosted his fluctuating self-confidence. Lady Essex played the role of aristocratic wife bearing Essex's children, protecting his dynastic legacy, maintaining his patronage networks and employing every strategy at her disposal when he needed her the most. Lady Northumberland was a supportive sister who cared for Essex's welfare, consulted with him as the family patriarch and risked her own marriage to support him. Finally, Lady Rich went beyond her kin obligations as a sister by becoming his political ally.

Kinship to the royal favourite was not a guaranteed gateway to power and influence at the late Elizabethan court. Although the role of wife was "the most powerful, socially desirable position open to aristocratic women", this was not the case for the wives of Elizabeth's favourites.<sup>1313</sup> Lady Leicester and Lady Essex faced exile from court, financial devastation, costly lawsuits and hasty remarriages for security. Essex's sisters fared better because they were not rivals for Essex's romantic affections. Since both were intelligent women with the capacity for court politics, Lady Northumberland and Lady

---

<sup>1313</sup> Harris, *English*, 61.

Rich could have used their kinship with Essex to develop a relationship with the queen as did Leicester's female kin, the Countesses of Warwick and the Huntingdon. However, the queen's relationship with Essex soured which eventually prevented them from exercising power in this way.

Lady Rich was the only one of the Essex women to capitalise on her relationship with the royal favourite to play politics at a higher level. Essex's success was her *raison d'être* because it was so closely bound with her own ambitions. For Lady Rich, family provided the impetus to engage in court politics but was also a strategic defence to protect her from punishment for offences carried out under the auspices of family. Despite her intellect and charisma, Lady Rich squandered her chances to become a stable and enduring political agent through her own choices.

These case studies demonstrate that power flowed both ways between a royal favourite and his female kin. Aristocratic women could use their kinship to the favourite to enhance their own positions and political power, whilst also playing a highly consequential role in a favourite's career within his various spheres of power at court and in the counties. The extent to which they wielded power depended on them, illustrating an overlap between family and independent political agency, as well as the broad consequences of their decisions on the political world around them.



## Chapter 6

### Conclusion

As historians have argued in relation to aristocratic marriage where men and women shared responsibilities in well-functioning households, politics was a partnership between the sexes at the late Elizabethan court.<sup>1314</sup> The realities of a personal monarchy under a queen regnant and the operation of power meant that the court would not have functioned effectively without the significant involvement of aristocratic women. Both sexes relied on each other as complementary political agents for the common good of the state, as well as for their own personal and dynastic agendas. Female and male agency in politics and patronage were both vital cogs in the machinery of power at Elizabeth's court.

The political landscape from 1580 to 1603 presented aristocratic women with a set of unique opportunities to exercise power. The one constant over the 23 years was Elizabeth whose authority over her courtiers remained strong. Otherwise, the court was ever changing as it moved towards an inevitable conclusion upon Elizabeth's impending death. The rise and fall of favourites and bureaucrats and the deaths of an older generation of pivotal men altered the composition of Elizabeth's "inner ring" of advisors.<sup>1315</sup> These changes forced suitors to reconstruct their networks and re-evaluate who to trust to win their suits. Female agency increased as a result of this attrition with older women of proven ability such as the Countess of Warwick

---

<sup>1314</sup> Chapman, "Patronage as Family Economy," 12, 14-15, 20, 24-27; O'Day, "Matchmaking," 279-281, 294; Harris, "View," 222; Harris, "Property," 610; Harris, "Women," 270, 272; Grant, "Politicking," 98; Harris, *English*, 61-87.

<sup>1315</sup> Adams, "Eliza," 30.

stepping into a vacuum to become even more integral to the system of court patronage. An uncertain succession, the onset of war, a more conservative Church of England and a competitive court environment enabled the women in these case studies to participate in secret correspondence with James VI, to play a role in military and religious patronage and in suits for high office. The political divisions between the Cecils and the Essex circle enabled Lady Russell to use her role as a mediator to increase her power. Aristocratic women's careers placed them at the forefront of court politics by virtue of their access to sources of agency that facilitated political change such the queen, their families, court contacts or broad aristocratic networks

The case studies demonstrate that power at court in itself was not gendered, but how power was exercised depended on a courtier's sex. Men and women shared certain sources of agency, such as kinship connections and dense networks, but others were gendered. Although patriarchal society restricted women from wielding power in exclusively male domains such as the Privy Council, it enhanced the concept of female agency by creating unique strategies for women to use in addition to those already available to them by virtue of their status. Ladies-in-waiting controlled the flow of information in and out of the Bedchamber and sought to convince Elizabeth to reward or work against others. Companion favourites enjoyed the most stable form of royal favour and closest physical and emotional access to Elizabeth. Female mediators were trusted to handle the sensitive grievances of the most powerful ministers and courtiers. Other women in desperate situations, such as Lady Essex, used gender as a source of agency by exploiting perceptions of feminine vulnerability to receive assistance that

improved their positions. Aristocratic women also employed a similar strategy in their letters, playing to male sympathies for female stereotypes to win favour and patronage.

For either gender, power depended on success in politics and patronage at court. The most powerful courtiers improved their position through skilful exploitation of political circumstances, close working relationships with court contacts and, most critically, high royal favour. This winning combination enabled Lady Warwick to become one of the most successful courtiers of the reign, rivalling the power of the most important men at court in a number of ways. The other women in the case studies were less well-rounded, but all exercised significant power. Lady Bacon's behaviour was influential in affecting the nature of political divisions and controlling religious patronage, but her power declined owing to the tensions at court and her isolated life in Hertfordshire. Although Lady Russell exploited political divisions to increase her power as a mediator and restore amity to a fractured court, she did not build a close relationship with the queen. The Essex women increased their power when the earl was a royal favourite, but the taint of scandal and their poor royal favour hampered their agency in politics and patronage. Of the four Essex women, Lady Rich best seized the opportunity presented by her brother's favour to increase her power, but came undone when she angered the queen.

As Helen Graham-Matheson observes, "it was not involvement in politics at even the highest level that was an issue for women; it was the manner in which they conducted themselves."<sup>1316</sup> For aristocratic women, the

---

<sup>1316</sup> Graham-Matheson, "Petticoats and Politics," 49.

key to maintaining power was to exercise agency within accepted limits, predominantly by not encroaching on Elizabeth's royal prerogative. Lady Warwick recognised the extent of her power, pragmatically abstaining from unwinnable suits that could risk her reputation or royal favour. She acted respectfully towards Elizabeth and wielded power appropriate to her rank on behalf of others, which perhaps prompted her description as a "virtuous user of her power".<sup>1317</sup> Since Lady Russell mediated between political divisions at court at the request of senior bureaucrats and courtiers, her role in shaping political discourse was considered an acceptable exercise of power by contemporaries. Both women set their own limits on when to support suitors or kin, remaining neutral on occasion. In doing so, they demonstrated that neutrality was not a sign of political weakness but an indication of independent thought, political pragmatism or a desire to maintain harmony. The Essex women exercised power appropriately and inappropriately. All four used accepted strategies such as petitioning, sending gifts and imploring courtiers to assist Essex. However, Lady Essex breached her banishment from court and Lady Rich criticised the queen in her disastrous letter. In both cases, they exceeded their limits as subjects by flouting or questioning the monarch's authority. For both men and women, keen political judgment and knowing one's limits were vital to building power at court.

These case studies further highlight the political importance of personal connections at the late Elizabethan court. The queen's emotional investment in specific courtiers was laden with political power as shown in the case study of the Countess of Warwick as companion favourite.

---

<sup>1317</sup> Wotton, *Parallel*, 13.

Moreover, betrayal of Elizabeth's emotional investments could kill court careers as the Countess of Leicester discovered. Success in court politics also relied on strong relationships with networks of non-related courtiers, ministers and bureaucrats. Cultivating and maintaining these links underpinned Lady Warwick's agency at court and Lady Rich's popularity in the Essex circle. Conversely, failure to foster emotional connections with court contacts perhaps acted against Lady Russell in her suits against the Russell family and the Earl of Nottingham. Lady Bacon, Lady Leicester and Lady Essex were also disadvantaged since their distance from court forced them to build relationships via correspondence. Finally, Lady Bacon and Lady Russell relied heavily on maintaining mutually beneficial relationships with kin in high office. If these close relationships were not maintained, power dynamics could alter to a woman's detriment as Lady Bacon discovered.

Family provided means, motive and opportunity for aristocratic women to engage with court politics out of obligation, responsibility, love and duty as part of their feminine roles within a variety of families. As an aristocratic wife engaged in the partnership of marriage, Lady Essex assisted her husband and children and defended the patrimony. The role of aristocratic mother was a powerful motivator. With the exception of the childless Lady Warwick, all the women in the case studies were compelled to assist their children practically and emotionally in every sphere of their lives. These women put their children first wherever possible, risking their rapport with other kin if loyalties were conflicted. Moreover, obligations to birth and

marital kin also encompassed networks of individuals surrounding both families as tenants, servants, allies or patronage connections.

More distant kin relationships brought their own set of political implications. Lady Warwick, Lady Northumberland and Lady Rich were involved in court politics as sisters obligated to assist siblings with favour, suits and information. As sisters-in-law, Lady Bacon and Lady Russell cultivated a mutually beneficial tie to their powerful brother-in-law, Burghley, and became, by extension, part of his political world. With a more objective, familial remove from a younger generation, aristocratic aunts like Lady Warwick, Lady Bacon and Lady Russell staunchly defended their birth families' dynastic line of descent, built relationships with their nieces and nephews, provided them with patronage and promoted their careers by ensuring harmonious relationships with kin best placed to assist them. The relationships between the Cooke sisters and their nephews epitomised the intertwining of family and state politics. For them, family division was political division. Although childlessness was not the desired state for an aristocratic woman, it gave Lady Warwick freedom to help her nieces and nephews, and the rest of her birth family, in a way that aunts with their own children, such as the Cooke sisters, could not. Finally, widows such as Lady Warwick wielded significant power for kin based on resources they controlled such as grants, jointures or bequests from a husband's will, or retreated onto estates to play roles in regional politics like Lady Leicester or Lady Bacon. Family helped to equip aristocratic women to play important and valuable roles in Elizabethan politics.

Within the dense and complex frameworks of kin obligations, aristocratic women enjoyed sufficient scope to exercise independent agency by deciding how to assist their families. In doing so, some women deliberately left a deeper imprint on the Elizabethan political landscape and extended their own careers even further. Lady Rich exemplified this phenomenon. Although Lady Northumberland was also Essex's sister, only Lady Rich used her role as his sibling to extend herself politically. Driven by dual family and personal motivations, her career took on an enhanced political dimension in her correspondence with James VI, prominent place in Essex's political circle and participation in an armed rebellion. Much of Lady Rich's power lay behind closed doors; it was covert.

Like family, a role as a lady-in-waiting could also be considered a starting point to extend women's careers. Most ladies-in-waiting performed politically significant duties by virtue of their proximity and potential influence over the queen. However, some women extended themselves politically as companion favourites who were a cut above their counterparts in the Bedchamber. Lady Warwick thrived on court politics and was deeply involved in the daily business of state due to her close relationship with the queen. Her motivations also demonstrate the complex, overlapping nature of women's roles at court. The countess acted for family, her broader network and herself, but carefully balanced these pressing obligations against her commitment to serve the queen. In contrast to Lady Rich's covert activities, Lady Warwick's power was publicly visible at court. Thus the informal exercise of power in the final years of the reign enabled aristocratic women to

extend themselves as political agents beyond their expected roles either with or without Elizabeth's knowledge.

Since word limit restrictions prevent a thorough examination of the post-Essexian court, the years from 1601 to 1603 are the next logical period to examine for aristocratic women's power at court. During this time, uncertainty over the succession led Sir Robert Cecil to cultivate a friendship with James VI. Aided by Henry Howard, Cecil put his political life on the line in a secret correspondence to establish himself as James's lynchpin at court.<sup>1318</sup> Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh independently involved themselves in the correspondence against Cecil's and Howard's wishes. Their wives, Frances Fitzgerald Brooke (née Howard), Countess of Kildare and Elizabeth, Lady Raleigh (née Throckmorton) would be excellent subjects for case studies during this period.

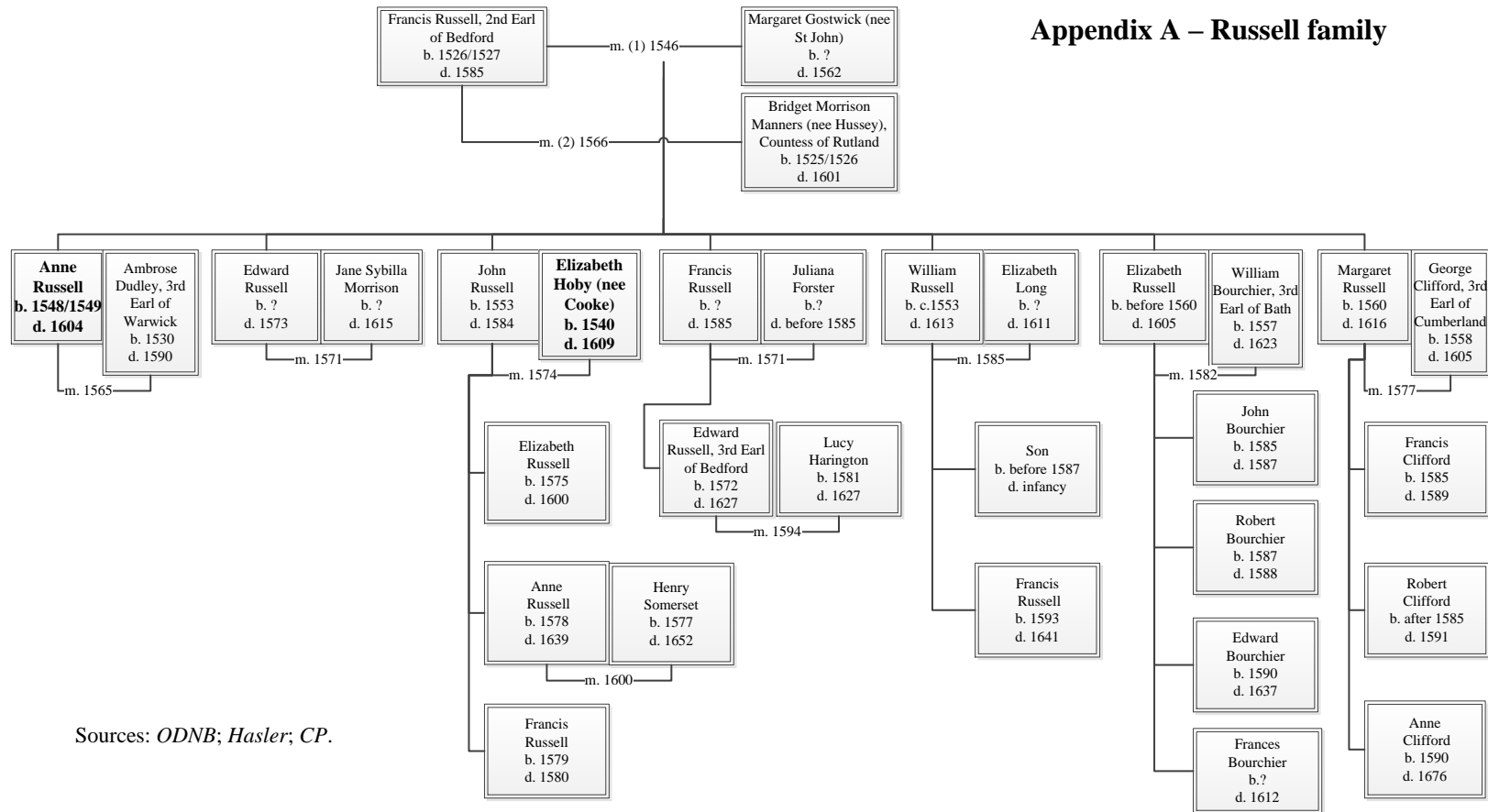
Aristocratic women were public figures in politics and essential links in patronage at the late Elizabethan court. However, describing them so obscures the role played by their humanity. Women came to court with dreams and ambitions. They experienced love, happiness, success and companionship, and suffered disappointment, resentment, anger and grief. Their success depended on communicating, understanding and harnessing the political value of these emotions in their conduct with others. Aristocratic women who mastered this and operated within their limits could exercise great power, particularly those who used their skills and initiative to take their political agency to another level.

---

<sup>1318</sup> For the correspondence, see David Dalrymple, ed., *The Secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil with James VI: King of Scotland* (Edinburgh: printed for A. Millar, 1766); Bruce, ed., *Correspondence of King James VI*.

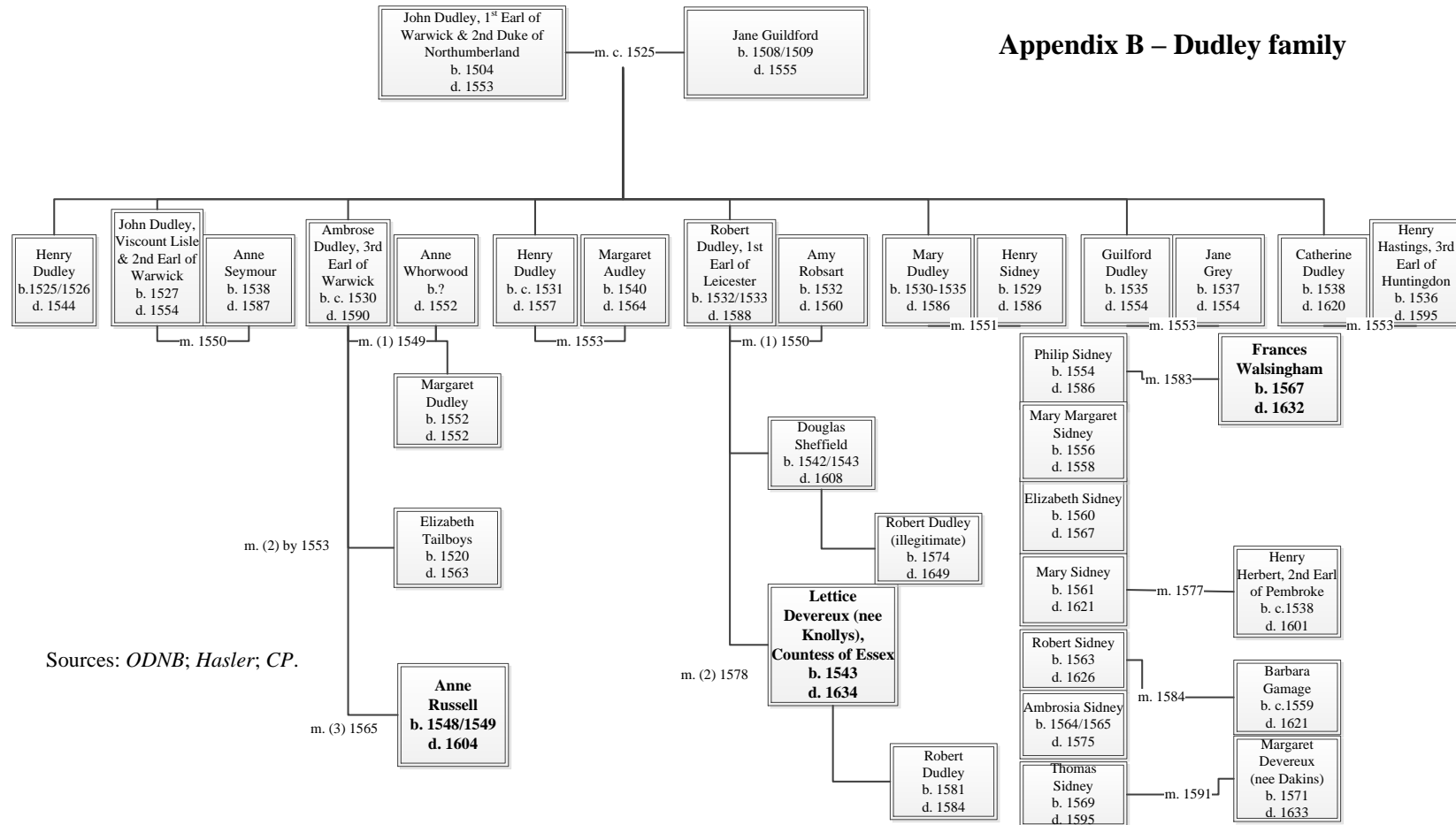


## Appendix A – Russell family



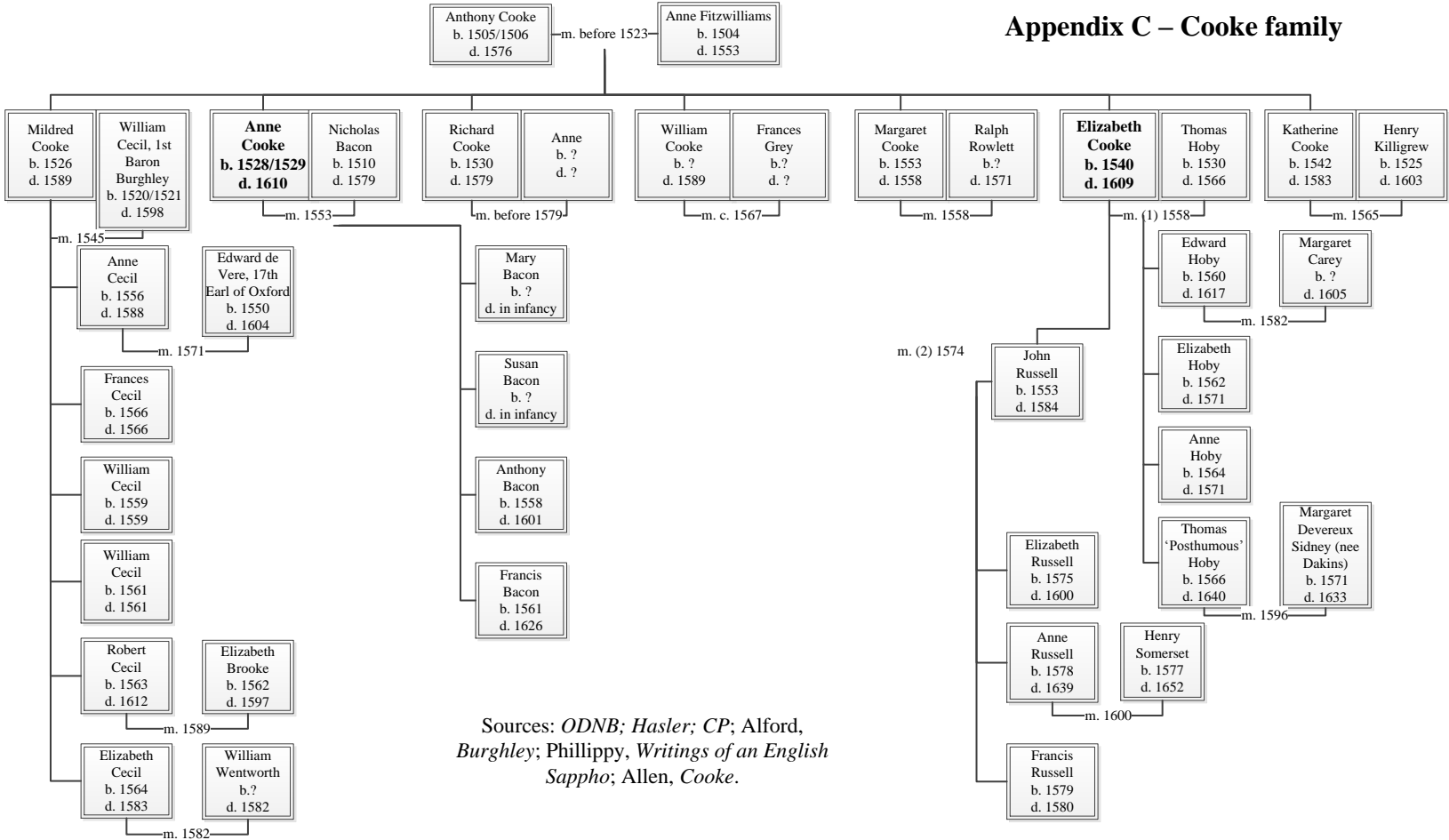
Sources: *ODNB; Hasler; CP.*

## Appendix B – Dudley family



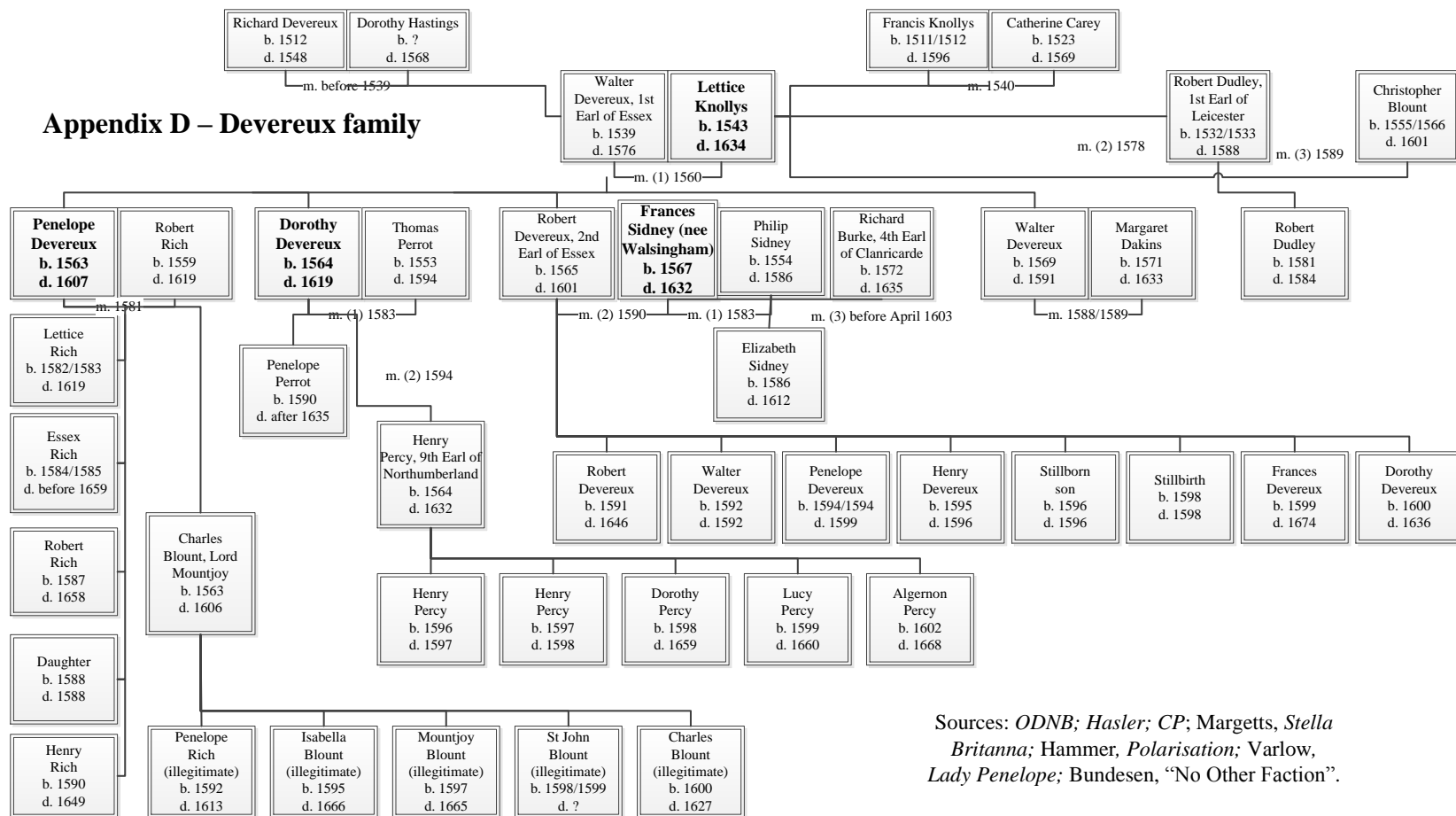
Sources: ODNB; Hasler; CP.

### Appendix C – Cooke family



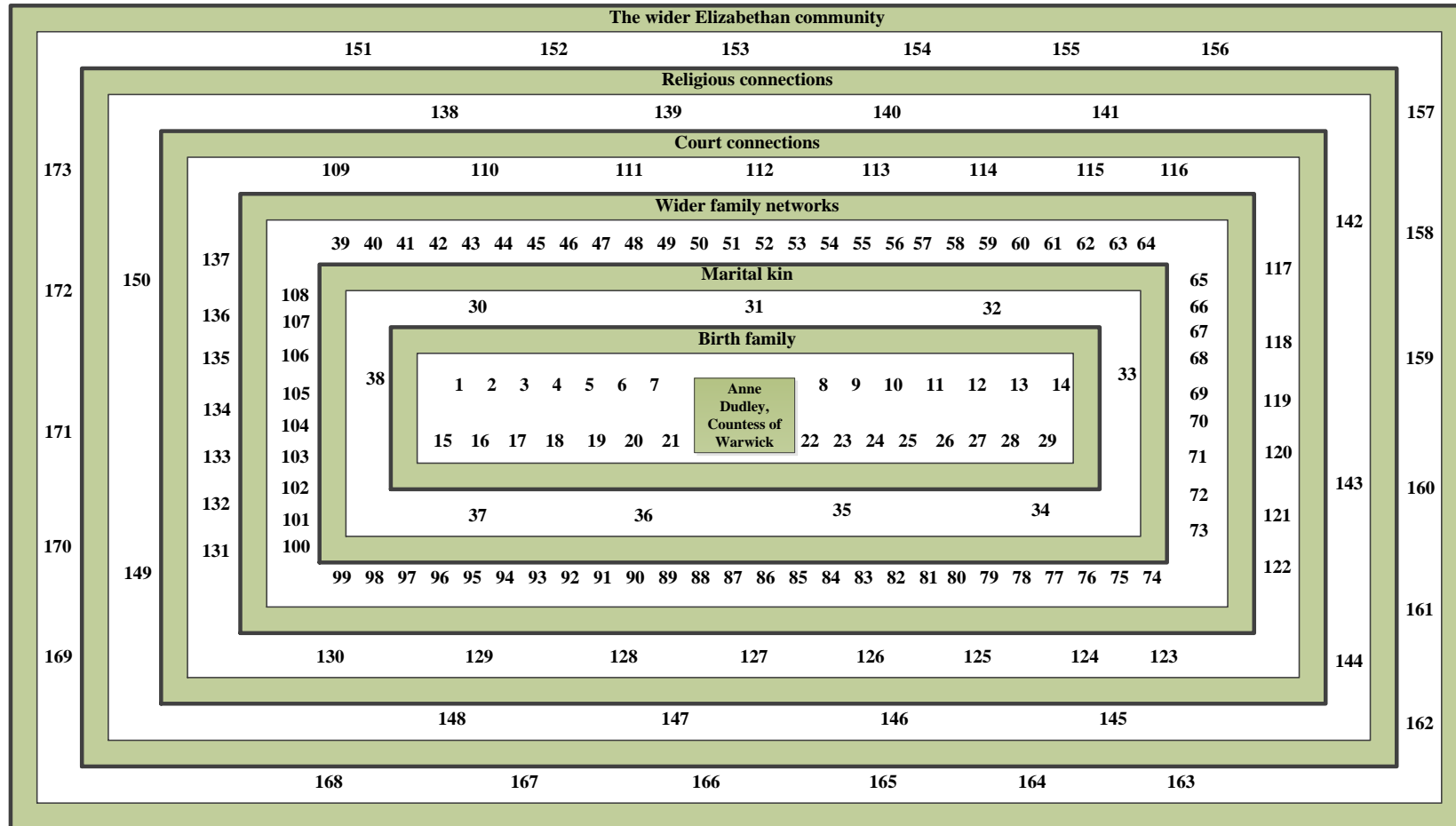
Sources: ODNB; Hasler; CP; Alford, Burghley; Phillippy, *Writings of an English Sappho*; Allen, *Cooke*.

## Appendix D – Devereux family



Sources: ODNB; Hasler; CP; Margetts, *Stella Britanna*; Hammer, *Polarisation*; Varlow, *Lady Penelope*; Bundesen, "No Other Faction".

**Appendix E – Countess of Warwick’s Patronage Network (for numbers, see people/groups on pages 278-291)**



## Lady Warwick's Patronage Network

Number	Name	Source	Date
	<b>Birth family (close and extended)</b>		
<b>1</b>	Elizabeth Bouchier, Countess of Bath (sister)	<i>HMCP</i> 2: 19; TNA PROB 11/103	1594, 1604
<b>2</b>	Edward Bouchier (nephew)	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
<b>3</b>	Lady Frances Bouchier (niece)	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
<b>4</b>	William Bouchier, 3rd Earl of Bath (brother-in-law)	<i>HMCS</i> 11: 401	1601
<b>5</b>	Lady Anne Clifford (niece)	Clifford, ed., <i>Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford</i> , 21-26, 28, 259, 266; Gilson, "[Introduction]," 24-25, 36; TNA PROB 11/103	1603/1604
<b>6</b>	George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland (brother-in-law)	Spence, <i>Privateering</i> , 116, 136, 173; Williamson, <i>George</i> , 65-66, 124-125, 176-177; <i>HMCR</i> 1: 180	1590s
<b>7</b>	Margaret Clifford, Countess of Cumberland (sister)	KHLC U1475/C12/257; TNA SP 12/275/21; <i>HMCR</i> 1: 8: 178, Clifford, ed., <i>Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford</i> , 21, 26; Acheson, ed., <i>Memoir</i> , 43; TNA PROB 11/103; Spence, <i>Privateering</i> , 116, 136, Williamson, <i>George</i> , 148; 296-297	1580s-1604
<b>8</b>	Anne Somerset, Lady Herbert (née Russell) (niece)	<i>HMCS</i> 6: 546; <i>HMCS</i> 10: 175-176; TNA PROB 11/103	1600, 1604
<b>9</b>	Lady Elizabeth Herbert (niece's daughter)	TNA PROB 11/103	1604

<b>10</b>	Edward Russell, 3rd Earl of Bedford (nephew)	TNA SP 12/181/77; 12/182/51; 12/185/28; 12/185/28i; 12/197/26; 12/197/41; 12/182/51; 12/199/17; 12/238/69; 12/245/23; <i>HMCS</i> 11: 533; 562; BL Add. MS 40629/37; <i>CPR</i> 28: vol. 294 (C 66/1271-1285), item 232; TNA PROB 11/103; Byard, 20, 22, 24, 27	1587-1604
<b>11</b>	Lady Elizabeth Russell (niece)	KHLC U1475/C12/257; TNA SP 12/275/21	1600
<b>12</b>	Elizabeth, Lady Russell (née Long) (sister-in-law)	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
<b>13</b>	Francis Russell (nephew)	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
<b>14</b>	Lucy Russell (née Harington), Countess of Bedford (nephew's wife)	<i>HMCS</i> 11: 533; TNA PROB 11/103	1601, 1604
<b>15</b>	William Russell, Lord Russell of Thornhaugh (brother)	Cecil MS 52/58; TNA SP 84/23/138; 84/23/280; <i>HMCS</i> 5: 53-54; 6: 230; 7: 135; 9: 298; 12: 97; LPL Carew MS 612/2V; 612/28; 612/110; 612/111; KHLC U1475/C12/67; TNA PROB 11/103	1580s-1604
<b>16</b>	Henry Barrow (distant kin)	Carlson, ed., <i>Writings of John Greenwood</i> , xiii, xiv, 179-185	1593
<b>17</b>	Henry Bertie (Lady Kent's nephew)	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
<b>18</b>	Mawryce Dennis (distant kin)	Bruce, ed., <i>Correspondence of Robert Dudley</i> , 183	1586
<b>19</b>	William Fleetwood (distant kin)	Cecil MS 26/32	1594
<b>20</b>	Charles Grey, 7th Earl of Kent (cousin)	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
<b>21</b>	Henry Grey, 6th Earl of Kent (cousin)	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
<b>22</b>	Susan Wingfield, Countess of Kent (widow of 5th Earl - Lady Warwick's cousin)	Cecil MS 52/54; 53/7	1597
<b>23</b>	John Manners (distant kin)	<i>HMCR</i> 1: 12: 356	1599
<b>24</b>	Roger Manners (distant kin)	<i>HMCR</i> 1: 12: 333; TNA SP 12/238/69; TNA PROB 11/103	1604

25	Sir Charles Morrison (stepbrother)	BL Add. MS 40629/37	1585
26	William Paulet, 4th Marquess of Winchester (distant kin)	<i>HMCS</i> 9 : 197	1599
27	Oliver, Lord St John of Bletsoe (cousin)	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
28	Sir Edward Stradling (second cousin)	Traherne, ed., <i>Stradling Correspondence</i> , 23	1584
29	Peter Wentworth (distant kin)	<i>HMCS</i> 7: 303	1597
	<b>Marital kin (close and extended)</b>		
30	Robert Devereux, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Earl of Essex (brother-in-law's stepson)	BLO Tanner MS 76/29R; <i>HMCS</i> 3: 438; 9: 298; Wotton, <i>Parallel</i> , 13	1587, 1589, 1600
31	Robert Dudley, 1 <sup>st</sup> Earl of Leicester (brother-in-law)	<i>CSPS 1580–1586</i> :324-325; Bruce, ed., <i>Correspondence of Robert Dudley</i> , 183; <i>HMCS</i> 1: 476; Adams, “Dudley, Robert”; Adams, “At Home,” 22.	1586
32	Catherine Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon (sister-in-law)	<i>HMCH</i> 2: 39; TNA PROB 11/103	1595-1604
33	Henry Herbert, 2nd Earl of Pembroke (niece's husband)	<i>HMCD</i> 2: 200	1595
34	Elizabeth Manners (née Sidney), Countess of Rutland (nephew's daughter)	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
35	Barbara, Lady Sidney (nephew's wife)	Traherne, ed., <i>Stradling Correspondence</i> , 23; KHLC U1475/C12/205, KHLC U1475/C12/211, <i>HMCD</i> 2: 457, <i>Sidney Papers</i> 1: 359; 2: 143, 168, 196	1584-1602



<b>36</b>	Sir Robert Sidney (nephew)	Traherne, ed., <i>Stradling Correspondence</i> , 23; Hannay, eds., <i>Domestic</i> , 73; <i>Sidney Papers</i> 1: 360, 361, 364; 368; 373; 375, 379, 380, 383; 2: 11, 43, 62, 64, 65-67, 90, 114, 118, 121-122, 123, 141, 143, 168, 177, 178, 180 (x2), 183-184, 188, 190-191, 192, 193-194, 196, 215-216, 216-217, 217, 218, 219; <i>HMCD</i> 2: 179; 187-188, 220, 222, 243, 258, 261, 280, 293, 295, 425, 450, 451, 457, 458, 460, 468, 478, 488, 619; KHLC U1475/C12/65, 72, 74, 96, 114, 124, 127, 133, 134, 135, 163, 167, 188, 195, 197, 202, 205, 206, 208, 211, 212, 214, 215, 216, 218, 219, 249, 253, 254, 260, 262; TNA PROB 11/103*	1584-1604
*This material is primarily taken from 3 sources but each record is unique – there are no duplicates in this list. Transcriptions in HMCD and the Sidney Papers are different to each other and sometimes different to the original record. Where possible, I have selected the original KHLC manuscript. The corresponding Sidney Papers record has been selected as the next preference. However, if a Sidney Papers reference does not contain a full transcript, the HMCD reference has been selected in preference.			
<b>37</b>	Lord Henry Seymour (extended kin)	<i>HMCS</i> 10: 86	1600
<b>38</b>	Sir Thomas Throckmorton (extended kin)	LPL MS 2004/41, <i>HMCS</i> 4: 571	1594
	<b>Wider family networks</b>		
	<b>Russell networks/estates</b>		
<b>39</b>	Hugh Broughton	BLO Tanner MS 76/144	1601
<b>40</b>	Gosnald	<i>HMCS</i> 10: 318-319	1597?
<b>41</b>	George Margitts	<i>HMCS</i> 4: 615	1594
<b>42</b>	Mr Claye	TNA SP 12/202/39	1587

43	Hugh Vaughan	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
44	Wilkinson the baker	TNA SP 12/199/17	1587
	<b>Dudley networks/estates</b>		
45	Sir Arthur Atye	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
46	Thomas Bodley	BL Cotton MS Galba D IX 176/334b	1592
47	Company of Fishmongers	Dean, "Parliament,"58: source, G.L. MS 5570/1, 50, 51	1595
48	(Ellen?), Lady Conway	BL Add. MS 23212/187	1580s?
49	Sir Richard Fiennes	TNA SP 12/264/146	1597
50	Martin Frobisher	<i>CSP Colonial, East Indies, China and Japan 1513-1616</i> :2, 23-24, 37, 43-44	1577, 1578
51	Leicester's Hospital	TNA REQ 2/157/475	1594
52	Thomasine, Lady Malby	Merton, "Women who Served," 185: source BLO Ballard MS 43/138/277	1579
53	Humphrey Michell	Cecil MS 2329, 2329a	1589
54	Sir George More	SRO Loseley 6729/2/75, 6729/9/93; 6729/9/94	1600
55	Margaret, Lady More	<i>HMC Report 7</i> : 635	1581
56	Sir Henry Parker	<i>HMCS 4</i> : 199	1592
57	Elizabeth Sutton	Daybell, <i>Women Letter-writers</i> , 211 : source GLRO ACC1876/F/3/7/2/68	1602

58	Elizabeth, Lady Wolley	<i>HMC Report 7: 653, McCutcheon, 39</i>	1590s
59	John Wynn	Neale, "Elizabethan Political," 78: source NLW Wynn of Gwydir papers, Panton group, 9051 E, no 129	1591
60	Sir Edward York	TNA SO 3/1/511	1595
61	John Beer	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
62	Sir Edmund Bowyer	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
63	Simon Chamber	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
64	Cholmie	<i>HMCS 7: 377-378</i>	1597
65	Thomas Cogdall	TNA C 115/101/7557	1591
66	Sibell Collison	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
67	Edmund Coppinger/William Hackett	TNA SP 12/239/93	1591
68	Richard Danford	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
69	William Dennys	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
70	William Dillon	BL Add. MS 12506/41	1592
71	Master Glover	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
72	Robert Godfrey	BL Tanner MS 241/3R	1578
73	Eustace Grub	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
74	Mistress Grub	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
75	Dr Hammond	<i>HMCS 11: 576</i>	1601
76	Hampshire	BL Add. MS 12506/205	1596

77	Katherine Hill	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
78	George Hocknell	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
79	William Holman	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
80	John Jenkins	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
81	Edward Jones	<i>HMCS</i> 14: 288	1596
82	Peter Martin	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
83	Roger Meredith	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
84	John Morgan	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
85	Arnold Oldsworth	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
86	Mistress Oldsworth	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
87	Richard Rogers	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
88	All other servants	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
89	Thomas Stephens	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
90	John Talkarne	<i>HMCS</i> 9: 290	1599
91	Henry Vincent	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
92	Frances Watson	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
93	Dorothy Watson	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
94	Lucy Tolkerne	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
95	Elizabeth Needham	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
96	Anne Woods	TNA PROB 11/103	1604

97	Dr Wilkinson (physician)	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
98	Pietro Bazzari	Duncan-Jones, <i>Sir Philip Sidney</i> , 79	1565
99	Thomas Brannet	[Dedicatorie epistle] in <i>The Historie of France</i>	1595
100	Earl of Warwick's men	Chambers, <i>Elizabethan Stage</i> , vol. 2, 99	1594
101	George Gifford	[Dedicatory epistle] in <i>Eight Sermons</i>	1589
102	Edward Hake	[Dedicatory epistle] in <i>An Oration Conteyning an Expostulation</i>	1587
103	Lewis Lewkenor	[Dedicatory epistle] in <i>The Commonvvealth and Gouernment of Venice</i> ; [Dedicatory epistle] in <i>The Resolued Gentleman</i>	1598
104	John Knewstub	<i>Lectures of John Knewstub</i>	1577
105	Hugh Plat	Duncan-Jones, <i>Sir Philip Sidney</i> , 13	1572
106	Edmund Spenser	[Dedicatory epistle] in <i>Fowre Hymns</i>	1596
107	George Turbervile	[Dedicatory epistle] in <i>A Plaine Path to Perfect Vertue Plaine</i>	1567
108	Richard Willes	Payne, "Willes, Richard"	1577
	<b>Court connections</b>		
	<b>Courtiers</b>		
109	Sir John Byron	LPL MS 3205/54	1599
110	Sir Henry Cock	<i>CPR</i> 28: 294 (C 66/1271-1285); TNA PROB 11/103	1597, 1604

111	Sir William Cornwallis	Cecil MS 49/47	1597
112	Francis Dacre	HMCS 7: 396-7; 402	1597
113	John Dee	Fell-Smith, <i>John Dee</i> , 26, 114, 116, 124, 127, 130	1592
114	Sir Drue Drury	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
115	Moyle Finch	<i>Sidney Papers</i> 1: 368; Clifford, ed., <i>Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford</i> , 28; TNA PROB 11/103	1604
116	Master Gray	HMCS 14: 232-233	1601
117	Florence McCarthy	HMCS 5: 444	1595
118	Edward Monings	<i>The Landgraue of Hessen his Princelie Receiuing of Her Maiesties Ambassador</i>	1590s
119	Henry Savile	Hammer, <i>Polarisation</i> , 302	1596
120	George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury	LPL MS 3205/77	1580s
121	Gilbert Talbot, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury	TNA SP 46/49/51; LPL MS 3199/937; 3205/54	1599
122	Mary Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury	TNA SP 46/49/51; <i>Sidney Papers</i> 2: 61	1595
123	Peregrine, Lord Willoughby of Eresby	<i>Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Ancaster</i> , 330	1595
124	Edward, Lord Zouche	BL Egerton MS 2812/2V; 2812/48V; TNA PROB 11/103	1600
	<b>Officers of court/state/law</b>		
125	Sir Edmund Anderson	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
126	Sir Julius Caesar	BL Lans. MS 157/19	1590

127	Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Ellesmere	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
128	Thomas Fanshaw	TNA SP 46/38/334	1593
129	Sir Edward Fenner	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
130	Sir Thomas Fleming	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
131	Margaret, Lady Hawkins	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
132	Charles Howard, 1st Earl of Nottingham	<i>HMCS</i> 12: 281-282	1602
133	William Lambarde	Alsop, "Lambarde, William"	1601
134	Sir William Peryam	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
135	Sir John Popham	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
136	Mary Radcliffe	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
137	Dorothy, Lady Stafford	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
	<b>Religious connections</b>		
	<b>Elite clergy</b>		
138	Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester	<i>HMCS</i> 6: 217	1596
139	Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster	<i>HMCS</i> 11: 5	1601
140	Tobie Mathew, Dean of Christ Church	BL Add. MS 15891/105	1582

	<b>Godly writers</b>		
141	Richard Allison	[Dedicatory epistle] in <i>The Psalmes of Dauid in Meter</i>	1599
142	James Bell	“[Dedicatorie epistle]” in <i>A Treatise, Touching the Libertie of a Christian</i>	1579
143	Anne Prowse	[Dedicatory Epistle] in <i>Of the Markes of the Children of God</i>	1590
144	Peter Moffett	[Dedicatory epistle] in <i>The Excellencie of the Myserie of Christ Iesus</i>	1596
145	John Norden	[Dedicatory epistle] in <i>A Pensive Soules Delight</i>	1603
146	Henry Peacham	Greaves, “Role of Women,” 305	1590s
147	RV	RV, <i>The Right VVay to Heauen</i> , [A4]	1602
148	Bartholomew Chappell	[Dedicatory epistle] in <i>The Garden of Prudence</i> ; Pelling and White, “Chappell, Bartholomew”	1595
	<b>Godly clerics</b>		
149	Edmund Snape	Collinson, <i>Elizabethan Puritan</i> , 415, 442; Greaves, “Role of Women,” 303	1590
150	John Udall	Peel, ed., <i>The Seconde Parte of a Register</i> , 40, 46-47	1586
	<b>The wider Elizabethan community</b>		



151	Mr Bernard	BL Add. MS 12506/80	1599
152	Chenies and Devon poor	TNA PROB 11/103	1604
153	John Corbett	<i>HMCS</i> 9: 188	1603
154	Kevan Cibon	<i>Sidney Papers</i> 2: 209	1600
155	Giovanni Darcuero	<i>State Papers Supplementary</i> SP 46/125/236	1596
156	Roger Deerham	<i>CSPD</i> 1595-1597: 351	1597
157	John Dive	Wall, "Greatest Disgrace," 315: source BL Harl. MS 6996/101/198	1594
158	Robert Dyer	TNA SP 12/261/43	1596
159	Bernard Goold	BL Lans. MS 158/12	1597
160	Robert Greene	[Dedicatory epistle] in <i>Penelopes Web</i>	1587
161	Mr Haruy	WCRO MS MI229	1590s
162	Sir Jar. Harvye	Cecil MS 130/133	1597
163	John Daniell	Cecil MS 36/47	1597
164	Benjamin Kerwyn	TNA SP 12/260/21	1596
165	Henry Lok	TNA SP 12/262/13; Henry Lok, <i>Ecclesiastes</i>	1597
166	Lovelace	Collier, ed., <i>Egerton Papers</i> , 124	1588
167	North	<i>HMCS</i> 5: 101	1595
168	William Oldsworth	<i>HMCS</i> 14: 149	1600
169	John Parry	<i>HMCS</i> 12: 484	1602
170	Christopher Pays	TNA SP 12/242/63	1592

171	Portsmouth soldier	SRO LM/COR/3/526	1594
172	Ellinor Sampson	TNA SP 12/285/26	1602
173	Thomas Yonger/Nicholas Gymbson	CPR 4: 24, item 107	1567
	<b>Unidentified</b>		
174	Unidentified letter writer	KHLC U1475/C12/188	1599
175	Unknown gentlewoman	TNA SP 15/30/10	1587
176	Unknown lady	HMCS 14: 232-233	1587

Total number of people/groups	176
Assistance during widowhood (after February 1590)	148
<b>Kin connections during period of study (1580-1604)</b>	
Close birth family	15
Extended birth family	14
Marital kin	7
Extended marital kin	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>Family networks during period of study (1580-1604)</b>	
Russell allegiance/estates	6

Dudley allegiance/estates	50
Dudley literary	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>62</b>
<b>Total regarding her place in Russell or Dudley families</b>	<b>100*</b>
<b>Assistance outside family during period of study (1580-1604)</b>	
Court connections	29
Religious connections	12
Wider Elizabethan community	22
<b>Total outside family</b>	<b>63*</b>
*Note - these totals do not include the 3 unidentified letters	

## Appendix F – Countess of Warwick's will

TNA PROB 11/103

11 October 1603

Will of Anne Dudley, Countess of Warwick

In the name of God I Countesse of Warwick widowe late wife of Ambrose late Earle of Warwick deceased being of good and p[er]fect memorie, doe make and ordaine this my last will and testamente the eleventh day of October in the year of our Lorde god One Thowsande six hundred and Three. And in the first yeare of the Raigne of our sovereigne lord James by the grace of god of England Scotland Fraunce and Ireland kinge defendor of the faith in manner and forme following. First I commend my sowle to god my creator (hopinge that through the death and passion of christe Iesus my saviour all my synnes are remitted and wiped awaye, and that I am elected to eternall salvac[i]on) and my bodie I comitt to decent and xtian buriall at Cheyneys in the Countie of Hertforde w[i]thoute pompe at the direction of mine Executors. Item I will my debts which I owe either in lawe or conscience to be paied with a convenient speede of which such as are or shall be due to the Kings maiestie I will to be discharged by my mannors landes and tenem[e]nts in the Countie of Gloucester according to mine order and direction and a conveyance or lease in that behalf made or intended to be made. And I will the residue of my estate to by freed by the saide lands in the said County of Gloucester of those debts due to his Maiestie, and also of any other debts due to his maiesty or to the late Queene Elizabethe by the late Earl of Leicester. And for that cause I will and bequeath the saide manors lands and tenements

to my loving brother Sir William Russell knight Lord Russell of Thornehaugh and to Sir Henrie Cocke and Sir Moyle Fynch knight for the term of One thousand yeres. And concerning all my lordshippes manors lands and tenem[en]ts of estate of inheritaunce I will the same and such rents and Annuyties as I haue giuen or shall giue out of the same to be held and enioyed according to my direcc[i]on and meaning and to the lymitac[i]ons, condic[i]ons and clauses conteyned and to be conteyned in the deedes and wrytings of assurance and conveyance thereof, which wrytings I haue directed and caused to be drawn and made readie and doe purpose to p[er]fect and finish (godwilling) with speede convenient. And neu[er]theles for better affirmaunce and sthrengthning of the same wrytings and conveyances if they shall be in all things effectually made and p[er]fected. And otherwise if happily by any meanes the same shall nott be soe p[er]fected or that anie defact or want shall be therein, Then for devising conveyenge and establishing my saide manors lands tenements and hereditaments and such rents and annuities out of the same as aforesaid by this my last will and testament of and concerning the same mannors lands Tenements and hereditaments rents and annuyties in manner and forme following. That is to saie, Thirtie poundes rent charge p[er] annu[m] payable at the Feastes of Saint Michaell Tharchangell, and the Annunciac[i]on of the Virgin Marie by euen porc[i]ons I will be paid yerely out of my manors lands and tenements in the saide County of Gloucester to my loving cosen Oliver Lord Seintiohn and to my lovinge frendes Sir Edmund Boyer, Sr Arthur Atye and Sr Thomas Flemynge knights and to John Beere esquire and to William Holman and Eustace Grubb gentleman and to their heires and assignes for euer towards

the maintenance of ten poore people. That is the said fower men and six women in an Almes howse or meason de dieu by me intended and directed to be builded at Cheyneys aforesaid. And twentie poundes more like rents charges p[er] annu[m] for euer payable likewise at the said feaste for the same intente and purposes I will to be paied yerelie to the abovenamed p[er]sons and their heires and assignes out of my manor of Northawe in the County of Hertforde. And I will all estates lease and graunts for life liues or yeres made by me or my late Lorde of Warwick or both of us of any landes tenements or hereditaments whatsoever or wheresoeuer or of any Rents or Annyties out of the same or anie parte thereof to be held and enioyed according to his [ ] or our intent and meaning and the purporte of the deedes and wrytings thereof in that behaulf made. And the saide mannor of Northaw otherwise commonly called Northall or Northaugh And the rectorie of Northaugh also Northall and all my landes and tenements in Northawe or Cuffley or els where in the said Countie of Hertforde or called Northawe I will to be enioyed by my saide deare and loving brother the lord Russell of Thornehaugh for terme of his life without impediment of wast during which time I will that he shall pay to his sonne my nephew Frauncis Russell an yerelie rent charge of Fiftie poundes p[er] annu[m] out of the same mannor rectorie and landes payable yerely at the Feastes of saint Michaell Tharchangell and the Annunciac[i]on of the blessed virgin Marie by even porc[i]ons. And after the decease of my said brother I will the said mannor rectorie landes and tenements to be enioyed by his sonne my nephew France[s] Russell and the heires males of his body. And for want of such yssue by the heires males of the bodie of the saide Lorde Russell And for

wante of such yssue by the heres of the body of the said Lorde Rusell, And for wante of such yssue by my neece the Lady Anne Herbert, wife of Henrie lord Herbert daughter and heire of my late brother John Lorde Russell deceased and the heires of her bodie. And for wante of such yssue by my sister the lady Margaret Countesse of Cumberland and the heires of her body. And for wante of such yssue by my sister the Lady Elizabeth Countesse of Bath and the heires of her body And for wante of such yssue by my nephew Edwarde Earle of Bedford and the heires of his bodye. And for wante of such yssue by my cosen henry Earle of Kent and the heires males of his bodye. And for wante of such yssue by my cosen Charles Grey esquire brother to the said Earle of Kente and the heires males of his bodie. And for wante of such yssue by my cosen Oliver Lord Seintiohn of Bletsoe and the heires males of his body. And for the wante of such issue by the right heires and assignes of me the said Countesse of Warwick for euer. And I will that when the remainder of the said manor Rectory and lands, shall fall and come in possession to the saide Ladye Herberte or the heres of her body that then she and her saide heires of her bodie or some of them w[i]thin one yeare than next ensuing shall paye or cause to be paide to my two neeces Lady Anne Clifford daughter of my said sister Margaret Countesse of Cumberlande and the Lady France[s] Bouchier daughter of my saide sister Elizabeth Countesse of Bath the somme of One thowsand poundes. That is to saie, to each of them fwe hundred poundes if my said neeces or either of them be living or ells in default of such payment my said two neeces shall then and thenceforth each of them seauerally during their seauerall lives haue a seaverall rent charge of One hundred poundes p[er] annum a peece yssuing out of the said manor

rectory and lands payable at the Feastes of Saint Michaell Tharchangell and Thanunciac[i]on of the virgin Marie by euen porc[i]ons and may seauerally [\_\_\_\_\_] therefore in the said mannor Rectory and landes and reteine and avowe of the same distresse and distresses untill they shall be of the said seauerall rents acreage thereof satisfied. And my Parke of Kendall and all my lands tenements mylls and hereditaments in Kendall or elsewhere in the County of Westmorlande I will to be enjoyed in manner and forme following, that is to saie firste the woodes nowe growinge therevppon to be solde by myne executors and the money thereof coming to be for and towards the p[re]ferment in marriage of Elizabeth the daughter of the said Ladie Herbert. And [\_\_\_\_\_] moyetie of the said parke lands tenements and hereditaments in Kendall aforesaid I will to be enjoyed by my said Neece the Lady Herbert and her heires. And one other quarter or fowerth parte of the same parke landes tenements and hereditaments in the said Countie of Westmorlande I will to be enjoyed by my said sister the Ladie Margaret Countesse of Cumberlande and her said daughter the Ladie Anne Clifford and the heires of my said sister. And other other quarter or fowerth parte of the said p[ar]ke landes tenements hereditaments in the said countie of Westmorelande I will to be enjoyed by my said sister the Ladie Elizabeth Countesse of Bath and her sonne Edward Bouchier Lorde Fitzwarren and the said Lady France[s] Bouchier daughter and the heires of my said sister. And touching my mannors lands tenements and hereditaments in the County of Gloucester called or known by the names of Wootton, Wootton Vnderedge, Simondshall also Elsingham, Sayes, Cam and Linton, or anie of them or by anie other names or liuinge in Wootton, Simondshall, Arlingham also Erlingham Sayes,



Slymebridge, Cam and Linton aforesaid or anie of them or elsewhere in the saide Countie of Gloucester I will giue and bequeath out of the same mannors lands and tenements the seu[er]all yerelie rents and charges following. That is to saie to Henrie Bertie some of the late Lord Willowghby deceased during his [\_\_\_\_] life ten poundes p[er] annum. And to my physic[i]on maister Doctor Wilkinson duringe his life twenty nobles p[er] annum. And to my servant Roger Meredith during his life fower poundes p[er] annum. And to the Lady Katherine Countesse of Huntingdon during her life One hundred poundes p[er] ann[um]. And after the decease of the said Countesse of Huntingdon to the Ladie Elizabeth Countesse of Rutlande for her life one hundred poundes p[er] ann[um]. All the said rents to be paid at the feastes of Sainte Michaell Tharchangell and the Annunciac[i]on of the blessed virgin Mary by euen porc[i]ons. And that the saide Henrie Bertie, Doctor Wilkinson and Roger Meredith and the saide Countess of Huntingdon during her lief and after her death the said Countesse of Rutlande may seuerallie [\_\_\_\_] in the saide mannors lands and tenements for their seuerall rents and acreages thereof being behind. Aand I will the said mannors lands tenements and hereditaments in the said Countie of Gloucester (saueing and preserving the lease and terme thereof before menc[i]oned of one thowsand yeres onely for discharginge of the said debtes due to the Kings maiestie or the late Queene Elizabeth as aforesaid) to be enioyed by S[i]r Robert Sydney knighte Lord Sidney of [\_\_\_\_] and the heires of his bodie. And for want of such issue by the saide Ladie Katherine Countesse of Huntingdon for the term of her life, and after by the saide Ladie Elizabeth Countesse of Rutlande and the heires of her bodie. And afterwards by the righte heires of the saide Lorde Sidney and I will that the

said Lord Sidney and the heires of his body (discharging within convenient time all such debtes acreage and matters of accompte as I doe or shall owe or anie way be chargeable withall to our Sovereigne Lord the Kinge\ s maiestie his heires or successors and always after my decease vntill such full discharge) sauing [\_\_\_\_] my heires executors administrators lands tenements goods chattels and estate of and concerning the same debts acreage and matters of accompte shall haue the lease and terme thereof of one thowsande yeres hereby or by any other lease or writings by me in trust for such intent made to my saide brother the Lorde Russel and to Sir Henrie Cock and Sir Moyle Finch knights to be surrendered to him the said Lorde Sidney and his said heires. And also shall haue and enioy the lease and terms of and in the moyetie of the saide manor of Wootton or Wotton Vndersedge and of other lands in the same lease which was made to me or to my vse by or from Sir Christofer Blunte knighte and his Ladie the Countess of Leicester for certaine yeres descending vppon her life. Item I will that the deedes writings and evidence concerning my lands and leases herein menc[i]oned shall goe and remaine and shall be kepte deliu[er]d, preserved and disposed to the p[er]sons and according to the estates interests limitac[i]ons & bequeasts herein conteyned and to the purporte and true meaning hereof. Item I will that my seauerall seruants hereafter following (during so manie yeres of my lease and terme of the p[ar]sonage of hitchen in the Countie of Hertforde as they shall seauerally liue) shall seauerallie haue and enioye the seauerall rents charge under menc[i]oned and to them seauerallie limited payable at the Feaste of Saint Michael Tharchangell and the Annunciac[i]on of the virgin Marie by euen porc[i]ons, to be yssuing out of the saide parsonage. That is to saie,

William Dennys thirtie pounds, p[er] ann[um] and Richard Danford one hundred marks p[er] ann[um] George Hocknell twentie pounds p[er] ann[um] Symon chamber twentie marks p[er] ann[um] John Jenkins ten poundes p[er] ann[um] John Morgan twentie nobles p[er] ann[um] Sibell Collison twentie nobles p[er] ann[um] and Katherine Hill fower poundes p[er] ann[um]. And the seauerall annuitie or rent of every of the saide p[er]sons to determine by his or their deathe. And I will the said lease to be preserved from forfeiture and in case the same shall be renewed I will that sufficient order be taken for the same p[er]sons nontheles to haue and enjoy their said or the like rents as aforesaid. Item I giue and bequeath the saide lease of Hitchen p[ar]sonage and all my terms and interest therein to my said loving brother the Lorde Russell meaning and willing that therewith or with the ouerplus thereof above the rents reserved before bequeathed and with the remnant of my lease and terms in the mannor of Topsham in the Countie of Devon, an Almes House or maison de dieu for tenne poore persons for ever made be and made at Cheyneys aforesaide for which I haue before appointed fiftie poundes p[er] ann[um] as is above menc[i]oned. Item I give and bequeath to Frauncis Russell my nephew sonne of the saide Lord Russell my leases terms and [\_\_\_\_] of my house in and near Broadstreet in London (excepting during soemanie yeres of the saide terme, as my said sister Margaret Countess of Cumberland shall liue) the rooms and newe lodginges thereof together with free, may ingresse, egressse and regresse to and from the same and for the use thereof to be enjoyed by my said sister the Countesse of Cumberland rent free. And concerning my Cabbinetts, iewells and plate I giue and bequeath to my louing sister the Ladie Russell wife to my saide brother the Lorde Russell

my cabinet covered with crimson velvet and all things therein conteyned. And my neece the Ladie Anne Clifforde daughter of my said sister the Countess of Cumberlande my crosse of dyamonds. And to my neece the Ladie Francis, daughter of my sister Elizabeth Countesse of Bath a iewell with an Emeralde and Rubyes and dyamondes. And to my saide sisters the Countesses of Cumberland and Bath all thinges conteyned in my cabinet set with Aggats to be deuided as they shall agree, or by mine executors. And to my said sister Margaret Countesse of Cumberlande the said Cabbynet set with Agats. And to the Ladie Katherine Countesse of Huntingdon a great ringe with an Amethyst. And to Margaret Lady Hawkins my ringe with a dyamande which I use to weare. And to my nephew Edward Earle of Bedforde and the Countesse of Bedforde his wife my Agat cup of golde And to Roger Manners sonne of Thomas Earle of Rutlande the somme of twentie poundes in recompence for his legacie giuen him by my said late husband Ambrose late Earle of Warwick. And I giue him more a cup of silver guilte, with a flye upon it and six silver plates. And to my loving frendes, Sir Moyle Finch and his ladie my best bason and Ewer of silver guilt and to my louing frends Sir Henrie Cock and his Lady two silver guilte [stope?] pots and my plate which I usually was wonte to haue and use at the Courte. I bequeath to my said sister the Countesse of Cumberlande and to my sister the saide Ladie Russelll to be deuided as they shall agree or by mine executors, and the residue of my plate nott otherwise particularly disposed of or bequeathed in this my will I giue and bequeath to my said brother the Lorde Russell. As for all my nedleworke cushions such of them as sometimes were my said neece the Ladie Herberte I bequeath vnder her the said Ladie Herbert, the residue of

all my nedlework cushions wheresouer they be, I giue to my said sisters the Countesses of Cumberland and Bath and to my said sister the Ladie Russell and to the saide Ladie Herbert to be deuided between them as they shall agree or by my executors. Towching my stuff implements and furniture of household nowe at my house at Northaw I giue and bequeath the same all (saving the bedding and furniture in one chamber there called the Grene Chamber) to my said brother the Lorde Russell, and the same bedding and furniture in the said Grene Chamber I giue to my saide neece the Lady Herbert. Towching my stuff implements and furniture and household nowe remayning in my howse in or neare Broadstreete in London I giue and bequeath the one half thereof to my said neece the Ladie Herbert and thother half thereof to my saide sisters the Countesses of Cumberland and Bath. The same to be deuided as they shall agree or by mine Executors. As for myne apparell I giue vnto mistres Oldisworth wife of Arnold Oldisworth esquire one of my best gownes and one of my best kirtles, and vnto Mistresse Grub wife to Eustace Grub gent one other of my best gownes and one of my best kirtles. And the residue of my wearing apparel and wearing linnen vsed for myne owne p[er]son I giue to my two gentlewomen Frauncis Watson and Dorothy Watson. And to my late gentlewomen mistres Lucye Tolkerne, mistres Elizabeth Needham and to mistres Anne Woods to be deuided as they shall gree or by mine executors. And for my horses geldings and mares I giue to my saide sister the Countess of Cumberland fower geldings and to my seruante Eustace Grub one gelding, and to each of my foure seruants [\_\_\_\_] William Dennys, Richard Danforde, George Hocknell and Symon Chamber one gelding or mare a peece and the residue of my horses geldings and mares

and my coach I giue to my saide nephew Frauncis Russell. Item I giue and forgiue to the said Arnold Oldsworth my seruante all such money and debts as he doth nowe owe unto me by bondes or specialties and his bondes and specialties to be deliuered up and discharged he payeinge thereof and therefore to each of my two saide gentlewomen Frances Watson and Dorothe Watson One hundred pounds. Item I giue to Thomas Stephens esquire the somme of twentie poundes, or a silver cup of the value of twentie poundes. Item I giue to William Holman gentleman of the somme of twentie poundes. Item I giue to maister Glover minister of Northawe ten poundes. Item I giue to euery of my seruants which haue wages (other than those to whom are before bequeathed) three yeres wages. Item I giue unto the poore the somme of one hundred poundes to be distributed as my executors shall thinke meete. The residue of all my goodes chattels plate debts and things not form[er]ly bequeathed (after my Funerall expence discharged and debts and particular legacies paide and the intent and true meaning of this my will p[er]formed I giue and bequeath to my said louing brother the Lorde Russell. And I doe make and ordaine my said brother and togeather with him (for his better assistance for p[er]formance of this my will) the said Arnold Oldsworth and Richard Danforde executors of this my last will and testament willing that requisite and competent allowance and recompence be made oute of my estate for all charges, travails and paines in and concerning the same and the due p[er]formaunce and execuc[i]on thereof. And I appoint the said Sir Henry Cock and Sir Moyle Finch overseers of this my last will and testament, whole direc[i]on and advise I would have to be had and followed as occasion shall

require. In witness whereof I haue hereunto set my hande and seale the daie  
and yeare first above wrytten.

Anne Warwicke

Signed sealed and published in the [presence?] of William Russell Jo[hn]  
Hamonde Thomas Stephens William Holman Richard Danforde George  
Hockenhull Symon Chamber William Miller and Robert Strycklande.

The gratuities and giuftes appointed and given by the right honorable the  
Countesse of Warwick vnto the persons following [\_\_\_].

The Lorde Ellesmere Lord Chauncelor of Englande in plate twentie poundes.  
To the Earle of Kent in plate thirteen pounds six shillings eight pence. To the  
Lord Zouch in plate thirtene poundes six shillings eight pence. To the Lorde  
St John of Bletsoe in plate thirtene pounds six shillings eight pence. To Sr  
John Popham knight Lorde cheif Iustice of England in plate tenne poundes.  
To Sr Edmonde Anderson knight Lord cheif Iustice of the common plees in  
plate ten poundes. To Sr William Peryam knight Lorde cheif Baron of the  
Exchequer in plate tenn poundes. To Sr Edward Fenner knight one of the  
Iustice[s] of the Kings Bench in plate tenn pounds. To Sr Drewe Drurye  
knight gentleman vssher of the kings maiesties priuie chamber in plate six  
poundes thirtene shillings foure pence. To Sr Thomas Fleming knight the  
King's Solicitor in plate six poundes thirteen shillings foure pence. To Peter  
Martin gentleman her Lady ships seruante threscore six poundes thirteen  
shllings foure pence. Anne Warwick. Quinto Novembris 1603. Signed in the  
[presence] of Thomas Stephens Arn. Oldsworth. Octavo Novemb[er] 1603

her ladyship appointed to Sir Edmund Bowyere a life remembraunce of plate abouesaide tenne pounds, and then also appointed my Lorde of Warwicks and my Lorde of Leicesters pictures here in the gallery at Northawe to be giuen to the Countesse of Huntingdon. Arn Oldsworth.

Xvii November 1603 her Ladiship appointed these giuftes [\_\_\_]. To the old Lady Stafford of priuie chamber to the late Queene in plate tenn poundes. To Sr Arthur Atye knight in plate six pounds thirtene shillings foure pence. To Henry Vincent esquire tenn poundes. To John Beere esquire tenne poundes. Arn Oldsworth.

Secundo February 1603 [1604] her Ladiship appointed these giuftes. To Richard Rogers her Ladiships old coachman duringe his life p[er] ann[um] Fyve poundes. To mistres Marie Ratcliff of the priuie chamber to the late Queene in plate tenn poundes. To maister Hugh Vaughan esquire my L. of Bedford's officer the like tenn poundes. Arn Oldsworth Rich Danforde.



## **Bibliography**

### **Manuscript Sources**

#### **British Library**

Additional Manuscripts  
Cecil Papers (BL microfilm and Cecil Papers Database)  
Cotton Manuscripts  
Egerton Manuscripts  
Harleian Manuscripts  
Lansdowne Manuscripts  
Sloane Manuscripts  
Stowe Manuscripts

#### **Institute of Historical Research**

Dudley Papers (microfilm XR 48)  
Devereux Papers (microfilm XR 50)  
Tanner Collection (microfilm XR 43)

#### **Kent History and Library Centre**

De L'Isle Manuscripts

#### **Lambeth Palace Library**

Bacon Papers  
Carew Papers  
Miscellaneous Papers  
Shrewsbury Papers  
Talbot Papers

#### **The National Archives**

Chancery  
Exchequer  
Prerogative Court of Canterbury wills  
Court of Requests  
Signet Office  
State Papers Domestic  
State Papers Ireland  
State Papers Foreign  
Star Chamber

#### **Warwickshire County Record Office**

Essex letter book (WCRO MS MI229)

## Printed Primary Sources

Acheson, Katherine, ed. *The Memoir of 1603 and the Diary of 1616-1619*. Ontario: Broadview Editions, 2007.

Aikin, Lucy, ed. *Memoirs of the Court of King James the First*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 2 vols. London: Longmans, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1822.

Allen, Gemma, ed. *The Letters of Lady Anne Bacon*. Camden Society. 5<sup>th</sup> series, 44. London: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Allison, Richard. [Dedicatory epistle.] In *The Psalmes of Dauid in Meter the Plaine Song Beeing the Common Tunne to be Sung and Plaide Vpon the Lute, Orpharyon, Citterne or Base Violl ...* London: Richard Allison, 1599.

Accessed April 27 2014.

[http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99842747](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99842747).

Bacon, Francis. "Of Faction." In *The Moral and Historical Works of Lord Bacon: incl., his Essays, Apophthegms, Wisdom of the Ancients, New Atlantis, and Life of Henry the Seventh*, edited by Joseph Devey, 137-138. London: George Bell and Sons, 1877.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Works of Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam, Viscount St Alban, and Lord High Chancellor of England*. Vol. 3. London: C & J Rivington, 1826.

Batho, G. R., and Catherine Jamison, eds. *A Calendar of the Shrewsbury and Talbot Papers in Lambeth Palace Library and the College of Arms*, 2 vols. London: HMSO, 1966-1971.

Bayley, John. *Calendars of the Proceedings in Chancery, in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth: to Which are Prefixed Examples of Earlier Proceedings in that Court, Namely, from the Reign of Richard the Second to That of Queen Elizabeth, Inclusive: From the Originals in the Tower*, 3 vols. London: Printed for G. Eyre and A. Strahan, 1827-1832.

Beale, Robert. "A Treatise of the Office of a Councillor and Principall Secretarie to her Ma[jes]tie." In *Mr Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*, edited by Conyers Read. Vol. 1, 423-443. Connecticut: Archon Books, 1967.

Bell, James. "[Dedicatorie Epistle]." In *A Treatise, Touching the Libertie of a Christian*. Translated by James Bell. London: Imprinted by Ralph Newbery and H. Bynneman, 1579. Accessed January 4 2014.

[http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99844600](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99844600).

Bickley, Francis, ed. *An English Letter Book*. London: Guy Chapman, 1925.

Bindoff, S. T., ed. *The House of Commons, 1509-1558*, 3 vols. London: History of Parliament Trust, 1982.

Birch, Thomas. *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, From the Year 1581 Till her Death, in Which the Secret Intrigues of her Court and the Conduct of her Favourite, Robert Earl of Essex, Both at Home and Abroad are Particularly Illustrated*, 2 vols. London: A. Millar, 1754.

Brannet, Thomas. "Dedicatorie Epistle." In *The Historie of France in Fowre First Bookes*, La Poelinere, Lancelot-Voisinhomas, edited by Sir Edward Hoby, [1-9]. London: printed by John Winder, 1595. Accessed January 4 2014. [http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99856443](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99856443).

Brewer, J. S. and A.B. William, eds. *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, Preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth*. Vols. 1-4. London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1867-1873.

Bruce, John, ed. *Correspondence of King James VI of Scotland with Sir Robert Cecil and others in England, during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*. Westminster: Camden Society, 1861.

\_\_\_\_\_ ed. *Correspondence of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leycester : During his Government of the Low Countries, in the Years 1585 and 1586*. Camden Society, no. 27. London: Printed for the Camden Society, by John Bowyer Nichols and Son, 1844.

\_\_\_\_\_ ed. *Diary of John Manningham of the Middle Temple, and of Bradbourne, Kent, Barrister-at-Law, 1602-1603*. Works of the Camden Society, 99. Westminster: Camden Society, 1868.

\_\_\_\_\_ and Thomas Thomason Pearowne, eds. *Correspondence of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury: Comprising Letters Written by and to him, From A.D. 1535 to his Death, A.D. 1575*. Parker Society series. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1853.

Bain, Joseph, W.K. Boyd, Henry W. Meikle, Anne I. Cameron, J.D. Mackie, eds. *Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603: Preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum and Elsewhere in England*, 23 vols. Edinburgh: HMSO, 1898-1969.

*Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Elizabeth I*, 7 vols. London: HMSO, 1939-1982.

Camden, William. *The Historie of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princesse Elizabeth late Queen of England Containing all the Important and Remarkable Passages of State ...*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: printed by Nicholas Okes ..., 1630. Accessed March 16 2015.

[http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99842866](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99842866).

Chappell, Bartholomew. [Dedicatory epistle.] In *The Garden of Prudence: Wherein is Contained, a Patheticall Discourse, and Godly Meditation, most Brieflie Touching the Vanities of the World, the Calamities of Hell, and the Felicities of Heauen*. Printed at London: by Richard Iohnes ..., 1595.

Accessed April 29, 2014.

[http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99840683](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99840683).

Clifford, D.J.H., ed. *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*. Sutton: Gloucestershire, 2003.

Collier, J. Payne, ed. *Egerton Papers: a Collection of Public and Private Documents Chiefly Illustrative of the Times of Elizabeth and James I*. 1<sup>st</sup> series, no. 12. London: Camden Society, 1840.

Collins, Arthur, ed. *Letters and Memorials of State, in the Reigns of Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth, King James, King Charles the First, Part of the Reign of King Charles the Second, and Oliver's Usurpation*, 2 vols. London: Printed for T. Osborne, 1746.

Cooper, Charles Henry and Thompson Cooper. *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, 3 vols. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co. and Macmillan and Co, 1858-1913.

Dalrymple, David, ed. *The Secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil with James VI: King of Scotland*. Edinburgh: printed for A. Millar, 1766.

Dascent, John Roche, ed. *Acts of the Privy Council of England*. Vol. 21. London: HMSO, 1900.

Dixon, William Hepworth. *Personal History of Lord Bacon from Unpublished Papers*. London: John Murray, 1861.

Dyfnallt Owen, G., ed. *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Bath, Preserved at Longleat, Wiltshire*. Vol. 5, *Talbot, Dudley and Devereux Papers, 1533-1659*. London: HMSO, 1980.

Gerard, John. *John Gerard: the Autobiography of an Elizabethan*. Translated by Philip Caraman. London: Longman Green, 1951.

Gifford, George. [Dedicatory epistle.] In *Eight Sermons, Vpon the First Foure Chapters, and Part of the Fift, of Ecclesiastes Preached at Mauldon*. London: printed by Iohn Windet for Toby Cooke, at the Tygers head in Paules Church-yard, 1589. Accessed January 4 2014.

[http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99849259](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99849259).

Goldring, Elizabeth, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke, and Jayne Elisabeth Archer, eds. *John Nichols's 'The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I': a New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, 5 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Goodman, Godfrey. *Court of King James the First by Dr. Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester; to Which are Added, Letters Illustrative of the Personal History of the Most Distinguished Characters in the Court of that Monarch and his Predecessors*, edited by J.S. Brewer, 2 vols. London: Richard Bentley, 1839.

Green, Mary Anne Everett, ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of James I: 1603-1610*. London, Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1857.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I., Addenda, 1580-1625, Preserved in Her Majesty's Record Office*. London: Longman and Co, 1872.

Greene, Robert. [Dedicatory epistle.] In *Penelopes Web: Wherein a Chrillall Myrror of Faeminine Perfection Represents to the Viewe of Euery One Those Vertues and Graces ...* London: [by Thomas Orwin? For T[homas C[adman]. and E[dward]. A[ggas], [1587]. Accessed July 19 2014.  
[http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99899100](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99899100).

Halliwell, James Orchard, ed. *The Private Diary of Dr John Dee, and the Catalogue of his Library of Manuscripts: From the Original Manuscripts in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, and Trinity College Library, Cambridge*. Works of the Camden Society, no. 19. London: printed for the Camden Society by John Bowyer and Son, 1842.

Hamilton, Hans Claude, Ernest George Atkinson and Robert Pentland Mahaffy, eds. *Calendar of State Papers, Relating to Ireland of the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, 1509-1603, Preserved in the Public Record Office*, 10 vols. London: HMSO, 1860-1912.

Hannay, Margaret P., Noel J. Kinnamon and Michael G. Brennan, eds. *Domestic Politics and Family Absence: the Correspondence (1588-1621) of Robert Sidney, First Earl of Leicester, and Barbara Gamage Sidney, Countess of Leicester*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.

Hake, Edward. [Dedicatory Epistle.] In *An Oration Conteyning an Expostulation as Well With the Queene's Faithfull Subiects ...* London: [by T. Orwin] for Edward Aggas, [1587]. Accessed April 18, 2015.  
[http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99839363](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99839363)

Hasler, P. W., ed. *The House of Commons 1558-1603*, 3 vols. London: Published for the History of Parliament Trust by HMSO, 1981.

Hassell Smith, A., Gillian M. Baker, and R.W. Kenny, eds., *Papers of Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey*. Vols. 1-2. Norwich: Norfolk Historical Society, 1979-1983.

Hawarde, John. *Les Reportes del Cases in Camera Stellata, 1593 to 1609: From the Original MS. of John Hawarde*, edited by William Paley Baildon. London: Alfred Morrison, 1894.

Historical Manuscripts Commission. *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. The Marquis of Salisbury ... Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, 14 vols. London: HMSO, 1883-1923.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Portland, Preserved at Welbeck Abbey*. Vol. 2. London: HMSO, 1893.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, G.C.B., Preserved at Belvoir Castle*. Vol. 1. London: HMSO, 1888.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Ancaster, Preserved at Grimsthorpe*. Dublin: HMSO, 1907.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, 9 vols. London: HMSO, 1874-1883.

Hoby, Thomas. "The Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby, Kt of Bisham Abbey, Written by Himself 1547-1564." In *Camden Miscellany*, edited by Edgar Powell, 4, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, no. 4, 3-144. London: Camden Society, 1902.

Hume, Martin A.S., ed. *Calendar of Letters, Despatches and State Papers Relating to English Affairs Preserved Principally in the Archives of Simancas*, 4 vols. London: HMSO, 1892-1899.

Kempe, Alfred John. *Loseley Manuscripts: Manuscripts and other Rare Documents, Illustrative of Some of the More Minute Particulars of English History, Biography and Manners, From the Reign of Henry VIII to that of James I: Preserved in the Muniment Room of James More Molyneux, at Loseley House, in Surrey*. London: J. Murray, 1836.

Kingsford, C.L., ed. *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord De L'Isle & Dudley, Preserved at Penshurst Place*. Vol. 2. London: HMSO, 1934.

Knewstub, John. *The Lectures of John Knewstub, Vpon the Twentieth Chapter of Exodus, and Certeine Other Places of Scripture Seene and Allowed According to the Queenes Maiesties Iniunctions*. [London], Imprinted by Lucas Harrison, 1578. Accessed January 5 2014.

[http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99843805](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99843805).

Lawson, Jane A., ed. *The Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges 1559-1603*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Lemon, Robert, ed. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic of the Reigns of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, 1547-1580*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1856.

\_\_\_\_\_ and Mary Anne Everett Green, eds. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth...*, Preserved in the Public Record Office, 6 vols. London: Longman and Co, 1856-1870.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series of the Reigns of Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth and James I: 1547-[1625]*, Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office, 12 vols. London: Longmans, Brown, Green, 1856-1872.

Lewkenor, Lewis. [Dedicatory epistle.] In *The Commonwealth and Gouernment of Venice* ... Translated by Lewis Lewkenor. London: Imprinted by John Windet for Edmund Mattes, ... Fleetstreet, 1599. Accessed April 28 2014. [http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99844276](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99844276).

\_\_\_\_\_. [Dedicatory epistle.] In *The Resolued Gentleman*. Translated by Lewis Lewkenor. London: Richard Watkins, 1594. Accessed April 28 2014. [http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99843873](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99843873).

Lodge, Edmund, ed. *Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners: In the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, & James I* ... 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 3 vols. Westmead: Gregg International Pub, 1969.

Lok, Henry. *Ecclesiastes, Otherwise called The Preacher Containing Salomons Sermons or Commentaries* ... London: Printed by Richard Field, dwelling in the Blacke-friers neare Ludgate, 1597. Accessed April 29 2014. [http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99840321](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99840321).

Maclean, John, ed. *Letters From Sir Robert Cecil to Sir George Carew*. Works of the Camden Society, no. 88. Westminster: Camden Society, 1864.

Meads, Dorothy M., ed. *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599-1605*. London: Routledge, 1930.

Moffett, Peter. [Dedicatory Epistle.] In *The Excellencie of the Mysterie of Christ Iesus Declared in an Exposition, or Meditation Vpon the 16. Verse of the First Epistle of Saint Paul vnto Timothie*. At London: printed by Thomas Orwin, for Raphe Iackson, and William Young, 1590. Accessed April 29 2014. [http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99849478](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99849478).

Monings, Edward. *The Landgraue of Hessen his Princlie Receiuing of Her Maiesties Ambassador*. Imprinted at London: Robert Robinson, 1596. Accessed January 5 2014. [http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99848051](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99848051).



Morrin, James, ed. *Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland, of the Reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth*, 2 vols. Dublin: HMSO, 1861-1862.

Moryson, Fynes. *An Itinerary vwritten by Fynes Moryson Gent. First in the Latine Tongue, and then Translated by him into English ...* At London: Printed by Iohn Beale, Dwelling in Aldersgate Street, 1617. Accessed January 6 2014. [http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99850468](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99850468).

Naunton, Robert. *Fragmenta Regalia, or, Observations on the Late Q. Elizabeth, Her Times and Favorites*. [London], 1641. Accessed January 6 2014. [http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:62369491](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:62369491).

Nichols, John. *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First, His Royal Consort, Family, and Court*. Vol. 1. New York: B. Franklin, 1967.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Progresses, and Public Processions, of Queen Elizabeth*, 3 vols. London: John Nichols, 1788-1805.

Nicolas, Harris, ed. *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Sir Christopher Hatton, K.G., Vice-Chamberlain and Lord Chancellor to Queen Elizabeth: Including his Correspondence With the Queen and other Distinguished Persons*. London: Richard Bentley, 1847.

Norden, John. [Dedicatory Epistle]. In *A Pensive Soules Delight ...* London: Printed by T[homas] C[reede] for William Lutter, and are to be Sold at the Signe of the Blinde Knight, ouer against S. Andrewes Church in Holborne, 1603. Accessed January 6 2014. [http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:image:13655:3](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:13655:3).

Peel, Albert, ed. *The Seconde Parte of a Register: Being a Calendar of Manuscripts Under that Title Intended for Publication by the Puritans about 1593, and now in Dr Williams' Library, London*, 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915.

Phillippy, Patricia, ed. *The Writings of an English Sappho: Elizabeth Cooke Hoby Russell*. The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe: the Toronto Series, no. 14. Toronto: Iter Inc, Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2011.

Pollard, A.W. and G. R. Redgrave, *Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland*. Revised by W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson and K.F. Pantzer, 3 vols. London: Bibliographical Society, 1976-91.

Popham, John. *Reports and Cases Collected by the Learned Sir John Popham, Knight, Late Lord Chief-Justice of England*. London: Thomas



Roycroft for Henry Twyford and John Place, 1656. Accessed January 6 2015.  
[http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:12060808](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:12060808).

Prowse, Anne. “[Dedicatory epistle].” In *Of the Markes of the Children of God, and of their Comforts in Afflictions*. John Taffin, translated by Anne Prowse. London: printed by Thomas Orwin, 1590. Accessed January 6 2014.  
[http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99853294](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99853294).

Rich, Penelope. *La Rich to her Maiestie in the Behalfe of the Earle of Essex*. London? : For J. Smethwick?, 1600. Accessed January 6 2014.  
[http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:22292886](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:22292886).

R.V. *The Right VWay to Heauen an a Good Presedent for Lawyers and All Other Good Christians ...* London: printed by Thomas Este, 1602. Accessed April 18 2015. [http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99846834](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99846834).

Sainsbury, W. Noel, ed. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, East Indies, China and Japan: 1513-1616*. London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1862.

Sainty, J.C. “Lieutenancies of Counties, 1585-1642.” *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, special supplement no. 8 (May 1970).

Spedding, James, ed. *The Letters and Life of Francis Bacon Including all his Occasional Works*, 7 vols. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, 1868-1890.

Spenser, Edmund. [Dedicatory epistle.] In *Fowre Hymns*. London: Printed [by Richard Field] for William Ponsonby, 1596. Accessed January 6 2014.  
[http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99846652](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99846652).

*State Papers Domestic: Supplementary, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland (SP46/3, SP46/129, SP46/130)*. List & Index Society, no. 222. Kew: List and Index Society, 1986.

*State Papers Supplementary, Part I*. List & Index Society, no.9. London: List and Index Society, 1966.

Steen, Sara Jayne, ed. *The Letters of Lady Arbella Stuart*. Women Writers in English 1350-1850. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Stevenson, J, A. J. Crosby, A. J. Butler, S. C. Lomas, A. B. Hinds, R. B. Wernham, eds. *Calendar of State Papers Foreign Series of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1558-[1589], Preserved in the Public Record Office*, 29 vols. London: Longman Green, 1863-1975.

Strype, John. *Historical Collections of the Life and Acts of the Right Reverend Father in God, John Aylmer, Lord Bp ...* New York, B. Franklin Reprints, 1974.

Thomson, McClure Elizabeth, ed. *The Chamberlain Letters: a Selection of the Letters of John Chamberlain Concerning Life in England from 1597 to 1626*. London: Murray, 1966.

Traherne, John Montgomery ed. *Stradling Correspondence: a Series of Letters Written in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*. London: Longman, 1840. Accessed February 16 2015.  
<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=9q4KAAAAYAAJ&dq=stradling%20correspondence&pg=PR3#v=onepage&q=stradling%20correspondence&f=true>

Turberville, George. [Dedicatory epistle.] In *A Plaine Path to Perfect Vertue: Devised and Found out by Mancinus a Latine Poet, and Translated into English*. Dominicus Mancinus, translated by George Turberville. London: Henry Bynneman, 1568. Accessed February 16 2015.  
[http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99855508](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99855508).

Vaughan, Rowland. *Rowland Vaughan: His Booke*. Republished and prefaced by Ellen Beatrice Wood. John Hodges: London, 1897. Accessed March 15 2015. <http://www.archive.org/details/rowlandvaughanhi00vaugrich>.

Wilkinson, Louise J., Simon R. Neal, Christine Leighton, eds. *Calendar of Patent Rolls. Elizabeth I. List and Index Society Series. Nos. 25-39*. Kew: List and Index Society, 1999-2005.

Williams, Sarah, ed. *Letters Written by John Chamberlain During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*. Camden Society, 79. London: Camden Society, 1861.

Wotton, Henry. *Parallel Between Robert Late Earl of Essex, and George Late Duke of Buckingham*. London: 1641. Accessed January 6 2014.  
[http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:99872004](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99872004).

## Secondary Sources

Acheson, Katherine. "Introduction." In *The Memoir of 1603 and the Diary of 1616-1619*, edited by Katherine Acheson, 9-34. Ontario: Broadview Editions, 2007.

Acheson, R.J. *Radical Puritans in England 1550-1660*. London: Longman, 1990.

Adams, Robert. P. "Despotism, Censorship, and Mirrors of Power Politics in Late Elizabethan Times." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 10, no. 3 (1979): 5-16.

Adams, Simon. "The Composition of 1564 and the Earl of Leicester's Tenurial Reformation in the Lordship of Denbigh." In *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics*, edited by Simon Adams, 253-292. Manchester: Manchester University, 2002.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Court as an Economic Institution: the Court of Elizabeth I of England (1558-1603)." In *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics*, edited by Simon Adams, 114-130. Manchester: Manchester University, 2002.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Dudley, Ambrose, Earl of Warwick (c.1530–1590), Magnate." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed March 7 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8143>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Dudley, [née Russell], Anne, Countess of Warwick (1548/9 – 1604), Courtier." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed March 15 2012. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24737>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Dudley Clientele, 1553-63." In *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics*, edited by Simon Adams, 151-175. Manchester: Manchester University, 2002.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Dudley Clientele and the House of Commons, 1559-86." In *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics*, edited by Simon Adams, 196-224. Manchester: Manchester University, 2002.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Dudley [née Knollys; other married name Devereux], Lettice, Countess of Essex and Countess of Leicester (1543–1634), Noblewoman." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed April 30 2010. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8159>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Dudley, Robert, Earl of Leicester (1532/3–1588), Courtier and Magnate." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed January 23 2011. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8160>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Eliza Enthroned? The Court and its Politics." In *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics*, edited by Simon Adams, 24-45. Manchester: Manchester University, 2002.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Faction, Clientage and Party: English Politics 1550-1603." In *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics*, edited by Simon Adams, 13-23. Manchester: Manchester University, 2002.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Favourites and Factions at the Elizabethan Court." In *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics*, edited by Simon Adams, 46-67. Manchester: Manchester University, 2002.

\_\_\_\_\_. "A Godly Peer? Leicester and the Puritans." In *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics*, edited by Simon Adams, 225-234. Manchester: Manchester University, 2002.

\_\_\_\_\_. "At Home and Away: the Earl of Leicester." *History Today* 46 (May 1996): 22-28.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Gentry of North Wales and the Earl of Leicester's Expedition to the Netherlands." In *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics*, edited by Simon Adams, 235-252. Manchester: Manchester University, 2002.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Howard [née Carey], Katherine, Countess of Nottingham (1545x50–1603), Courtier." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed February 4 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/67994>.

\_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 1558-1561, 1584-1586*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Office-holders of the Borough of Denbigh and the Lordships of Denbighshire in the Reign of Elizabeth I." In *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics*, edited by Simon Adams, 293-309. Manchester: Manchester University, 2002.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Patronage of the Crown in Elizabethan Politics: the 1590s in Perspective." In *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics*, edited by Simon Adams, 68-94. Manchester: Manchester University, 2002.

\_\_\_\_\_. "A Puritan Crusade? The Composition of the Earl of Leicester's Expedition to the Netherlands, 1585-86." In *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics*, edited by Simon Adams, 176-195. Manchester: Manchester University, 2002.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Queen Elizabeth's Eyes at Court: the Earl of Leicester." In *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics*, edited by Simon Adams, 133-150. Manchester: Manchester University, 2002.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Radcliffe, Mary (c.1550–1617/18), Courtier." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed February 10 2014. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/92795>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Sidney [née Dudley], Mary, Lady Sidney (1530x35–1586), Courtier." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed July 18 2012. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69749>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Stafford, Dorothy, [née Stafford] Lady Stafford (1526–1604), Courtier." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed July 19 2014. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69753>.

\_\_\_\_\_ and Mark Greengrass, "Memoires Et Procedures De Ma Negociation En Angleterre (8 October 1852-8 October 1583) by Jean Malliet, Councillor of Geneva." In *Religion, Politics and Society in Sixteenth-Century England*, edited by Ian W. Archer, 137-196. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Adams, Simon, Alan Bryson, and Mitchell Leimon, "Walsingham, Sir Francis (c1532-1590), Principal Secretary." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. Accessed April 30 2010. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28624>.

Adamson, John. "Introduction: the Making of the Ancien-Regime Court 1500-1700." In *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture Under the Ancien Regime 1500-1750*, edited by John Adamson, 7-41. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1999.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Kingdoms of England and Great Britain: the Tudor and Stuart Courts 1509-1714." In *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture Under the Ancien Regime 1500-1750*, edited by John Adamson, 95-117. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1999.

Akkerman, Nadine and Birgit Houben. "Introduction." In *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies-in-Waiting Across Early Modern Europe*, edited by Nadine Akkerman and Birgit Houben, 1-30. Leiden: Brill, 2014.

Alford, Stephen. *Burghley: William Cecil at the Court of Elizabeth I*. London: Yale University Press, 2008.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Politics and Political History in the Tudor Century." *Historical Journal* 42, no. 2 (1999): 535-548.

Allen, Gemma. "'a briefe and plaine declaration': Lady Anne Bacon's 1564 Translation of the *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*." In *Women and Writing, c. 1340-1650: the Domestication of Print Culture*, edited by Anne Lawrence-Mathers and Phillipa Hardman, 62-71. York: York Medieval Press, 2010.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Cooke Sisters: Education, Piety and Politics in Early Modern England*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Introduction." In *The Letters of Lady Anne Bacon*, edited by Gemma Allen, 1-45. Camden Society, 5<sup>th</sup> series, 44. London: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Alsop, J. D. "Lambarde, William (1536–1601), Antiquary and Lawyer." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed July 5 2012.  
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15921>.

Anderson, D.C. *Lord Henry Howard (1540-1614): an Elizabethan Life*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2009.

Archer, Ian. "The 1590s: Apotheosis or Nemesis of the Elizabethan Regime?" In *Fins de Siecle: How Centuries End 1400-2000*, edited by Asa Briggs and Daniel Snowman, 65-94. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.

Arnold, Janet. "The 'Coronation' Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I." *Burlington Magazine* 120, no. 908 (November 1978): 726-741.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd: the Inventories of the Wardrobe of Robes Prepared in July 1600: edited from Stowe MS 557 in the British Library, MS LR 2/121 in the Public Record Office, London, and MS V.b.72 in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC*. Leeds: Maney, 1988.

Astington, John H. "Sir John Astley and Court Culture." *Shakespeare Studies* (2002): 106-110.

Aughterson, Kate. "Hatton, Elizabeth, Lady Hatton [née Lady Elizabeth Cecil; other married name Elizabeth Coke, Lady Coke] (1578–1646), Courtier." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Accessed January 26 2013.  
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/68059>.

Baker, J.H. "Fleming, Sir Thomas (c. 1544-1613), Judge." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed April 26 2008.  
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9712>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Style, William (c.1599–1679), Law Reporter and Legal Writer." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed March 2 2013.  
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26755>.

Barclay, Katie. *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy and Scotland, 1650-1850*. Manchester University Press, 2011.

Barroll, Leeds. *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England: a Cultural Biography*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Barrow, Lorna G. "the Kynge sent to the Qwene, by a Gentyلمان, a Grett Tame Hart' Marriage, Gift Exchange, and Politics: Margaret Tudor and James IV 1502-13." *Parergon* 21, no. 1 (January 2004): 65-84.



- Bassnett, Susan. *Elizabeth I: a Feminist Perspective*. Oxford: Berg, 1988.
- Becher, A. B. (1842). "The Voyages of Martin Frobisher." *Journal of the Royal Geographic Society of London* 12 (1842): 1-20.
- Beer, Anna. *My Just Desire: the Life of Bess Raleigh, Wife to Sir Walter*. New York: Ballantine Books, 2003.
- Beer, Barrett L. "Seymour, Edward, Duke of Somerset [Known as Protector Somerset] (c.1500–1552)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. Accessed March 4 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25159>.
- Beilin, Elaine. *V. Redeeming Eve: Women Writers of the English Renaissance*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1987.
- Bevan, Bryan. *The Real Francis Bacon*. London: Centaur Press, 1960.
- Blaisdell, Charmarie Jenkins. "Calvin's Letters to Women: the Courting of Ladies in High Places." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 13 no. 3 (1982): 67-84.
- Blakiston, Nicholas. "Nicholas Hilliard and Queen Elizabeth's Third Great Seal." *Burlington Magazine* 90, no. 541 (1948): 101-107.
- Borman, Tracy. *Elizabeth's Women: the Hidden Story of the Virgin Queen*. London: Jonathon Cape, 2009.
- Bowden, Caroline M.K. "Killigrew [née Cooke], Katherine (c.1542–1583), Gentlewoman and Scholar." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed October 31 2011. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15531>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Women as Intermediaries: an Example of the Uses of Literacy in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries." *History of Education* 22, no. 3 (1993): 215-223.
- Boyden, J. M. "'Fortune has Stripped you of your Splendour': Favourites and their Fates in Fifteenth and Sixteenth-century Spain." In *The World of the Favourite*, edited by J.H. Elliott and L.W.B. Brockliss, 26-37. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Boyer, Allen D. "Coke, Sir Edward (1552–1634), Lawyer, Legal Writer and Politician." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. Accessed April 30 2010. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5826>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Sir Edward Coke and the Elizabethan Age*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003.

Brady, Ciaran. *The Chief Governors: the Rise and Fall of Reform Government in Tudor Ireland 1536-1588*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Political Women and Reform in Tudor Ireland." In *Women in Early Modern Ireland*, edited by Margaret MacCurtain and Mary O'Dowd, 69-91. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991.

Breen, Aidan. "MacCarthy Reagh, Florence [Finian Mac Cárthaigh Riabhach] (1562–c.1640), Chieftain and Writer on Ireland." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed March 9 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17383>.

Bremer, Francis J and Tom Webster, eds. *Puritans and Puritanism in Europe and America: a Comprehensive Encyclopedia*. 2 vols. Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 2006.

Brennan, Michael G. "Lok, Henry (d. in or after 1608), Poet." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed March 11 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16949>.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Sidney's of Penshurst and the Monarchy, 1500 – 1700*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.

Brigden, Susan. "Clinton, Elizabeth Fiennes de, Countess of Lincoln [other married name Elizabeth Fiennes Browne, Lady Browne; called Fair Geraldine] (1528?–1589), Noblewoman." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed July 19 2014. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9549>.

Brooks, Christopher W. "Fleetwood, William (c.1525–1594), Lawyer and Antiquary." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed March 11 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9690>.

Broomhall, Susan and Jacqueline Van Gent. "Corresponding Affections: Emotional Exchange Among Siblings in the Nassau Family." *Journal of Family History* 34, no. 2 (2009): 143-165.

Brown, Elizabeth A. "Companion Me with My Mistress": Cleopatra, Elizabeth I, and Their Waiting Women." In *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens: Women's Alliances in Early Modern England*, edited by Susan Frye and Karen Robertson, 131-145. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Brown, Irene Q. "Domesticity, Feminism and Friendship: Female Aristocratic Culture and Marriage in England, 1660-1760." *Journal of Family History* no. 4 (1982): 406-422



Brown, Jonathan. "Peut-on Assez Louer cet Excellent Ministre?": Imagery of the Favourite in England, France and Spain." In *The World of the Favourite*, edited by J.H. Elliott and L.W.B. Brockliss, 223-235. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1999.

Bruce, John. "Introduction." In *Correspondence of King James VI of Scotland with Sir Robert Cecil and Others in England, During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, edited by John Bruce, v-lv. Westminster: Camden Society, 1861.

Bucholz, R.O. *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993.

Buck Jr., Philo. M. "Spenser's Lost Poems." *PMLA* 23, no. 1 (1908): 80-99.

Byard, Margaret M. "The Trade of Courtiership: the Countess of Bedford and the Bedford Memorials: a Family History from 1585 to 1607." *History Today* 29, no. 1 (1979): 20-28.

Calkins, Donn L. "Cooke, Sir Anthony (1505/6–1576), Educator and Humanist." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Accessed October 31 2011. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6155>.

Caraman, Philip. *Henry Garnet, 1555-1606 and the Gunpowder Plot*. London: Longman, 1964.

Carey, Vincent. *Surviving the Tudors: the 'Wizard' Earl of Kildare and English Rule in Ireland, 1537-1586*. Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2002.

Carlson, Leland H., ed. *The Writings of John Greenwood and Henry Barrow 1591-1593*. Vol. 6, *Elizabethan Non-conformist Texts*. London: Routledge, 2003.

Casway, Jerrold. "Heroines or Victims? The Women of the Flight of the Earls." *New Hibernia Review* 7, no. 1 (2003): 56-74.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Irish Women Overseas, 1500-1800." In *Women in Early Modern Ireland*, edited by Margaret MacCurtain and Mary O'Dowd, 112-132. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991.

Challis, C. E. *The Tudor Coinage*. Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1978.

Chalus, Elaine. "Elite Women, Social Politics, and the Political World of Late Eighteenth-century England." *Historical Journal* 43, no. 3 (2000): 669-697.

Chambers, E. K. *The Elizabethan Stage*. Vol 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Elizabethan Stage Gleanings." *Review of English Studies* 1, no. 1 (1925): 75-78.

Chapman, Sara. "Patronage as Family Economy: the Role of Women in the Patron-Client Network of the Phelypeaux de Pontchartrain Family, 1670-1715." *French Historical Studies* 24, no. 1 (2001): 11-35.

Charlton, H.B. "The Date of 'Love's Labour's Lost'." *Modern Language Review* 13, no. 4 (1918): 387-400.

Cheney, C.R, ed. *A Handbook of Dates for Students of British History*, revised by Michael Jones. Revised edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Clark, Charles E. "Gorges, Sir Ferdinando (1568–1647), Army Officer and Promoter of Colonization in America." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed November 9 2014.  
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11098>.

Clarke, Danielle. "The Countess of Pembroke and the Practice of Piety." In *The Intellectual Culture of Puritan Women, 1558-1603*, edited by Johanna Harris and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, 28-41. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Clayton, Sarah. "Yorke [York], Rowland (d. 1588), Soldier and Traitor." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed April 26 2013.  
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30236>.

Clennell, W. H. "Bodley, Sir Thomas (1545–1613), Scholar, Diplomat and Founder of the Bodleian Library, Oxford." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. Accessed April 20 2012. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2759>.

Cole, Mary Hill. *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999.

Collier, J. Payne. *The History of English Dramatic Poetry to the Time of Shakespeare: and Annals of the Stage to the Restoration*. London, John Murray, 1831.

Collins, A. Jefferies, ed. *Jewels and Plate of Queen Elizabeth I: the Inventory of 1574*. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1955.

Collinson, Patrick, "Barrow, Henry (c.1550–1593), Religious Separatist." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed April 10 2012.  
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1540>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Cartwright, Thomas (1534/5–1603), Theologian and Religious Controversialist." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed April 26 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4820>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Dyke, Daniel (d. 1614), Church of England Clergyman." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed October 31 2011. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8356>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Ecclesiastical Vitriol: Religious Satire in the 1590s and the Invention of Puritanism." In *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*, edited by John Guy, 150-170. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Elizabethan Church and the New Religion." In *Reign of Elizabeth I*, edited by Christopher Haigh, 169-194. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1967.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Locke [née Vaughan; other married names Dering, Prowse], Anne (c.1530–1590x1607), Translator and Religious Activist." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed March 7 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69054>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Sir Nicholas Bacon and the Elizabethan *Via Media*." *Historical Journal* 23, no. 2 (1980): 255-273.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Snape, Edmund (c.1565–1608), Church of England Clergyman and Evangelical Preacher." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed April 26 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25973>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Wilcox, Thomas (c.1549–1608), Church of England Clergyman." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed March 5 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29390>.

Considine, John. "Grey, Elizabeth [née Lady Elizabeth Talbot], Countess of Kent (1582-1651), Literary Patron and Supposed Author." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. Accessed March 9 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11530>.

Constantinidou, Natasha. "On Patronage, Fama and Court: Early Modern Political Culture." *Renaissance Studies* 24, no. 4 (2010): 597-610.

Coombs, Katherine. "English Limning: the Portrait Miniature in Tudor and Early Stuart England." In *Treasures of the Royal Courts: Tudors, Stuarts and the Russian Tsars*, edited by Olga Dmitrieva and Tessa Murdoch, 44-55. London: V & A Publishing, 2013.

Cooper, Ian. "Bourchier, William, Third Earl of Bath (1557–1623), Nobleman and Administrator." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. Accessed March 28 2015. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/105618>.

Crawford, Jon G. *A Star Chamber Court in Ireland: the Court of Castle Chamber, 1571-1641*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, c. 2005.

Crawford, Katherine. "Catherine de Medicis and the Performance of Political Motherhood." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 31, no. 3 (2010): 643-673.

Crawford, Patricia. *Blood, Bodies and Families in Early Modern England*. Women and Men in History. London: Pearson Education, 2004.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Women and Religion in England, 1500-1720*. London: Routledge, 1993.

Cressy, David. "Kinship and Kin Interaction in Early Modern England." *Past and Present* 113 (Nov 1986): 38-69.

Croft, Pauline. "Can a Bureaucrat be a Favourite? Robert Cecil and the Strategies of Power." In *The World of the Favourite*, edited by J.H. Elliott and L.W.B. Brockliss, 81-95. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Capital Life: Members of Parliament Outside the House." In *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell*, edited by Thomas Cogswell, Richard Cust and Peter Lake, 65-83. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Cecil, Robert, First Earl of Salisbury (1563–1612), Politician and Courtier." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed January 18 2011. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4980>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Foreword: 'The Translation of a Monarchy': the Accession of James VI and I, 1601-1603." *History in Focus*, no. 5 (2003). Accessed February 10, 2014. <http://www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/Elizabeth/>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Howard, Henry, Earl of Northampton (1540–1614), Courtier, Administrator and Author." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed January 23 2011. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13906>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Howard, Thomas, First Earl of Suffolk (1561-1626), Naval Officer and Administrator." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed April 8 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13942>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Mildred, Lady Burghley: the Matriarch." In *Patronage, Culture and Power: the Early Cecils*, edited by Pauline Croft, 283-300. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Somerset, Edward, Fourth Earl of Worcester (c.1550–1628), Nobleman and Courtier." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. Accessed March 6 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26005>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Why Court History Matters." *History Today* 46, no 1 (1996): 10-13.

\_\_\_\_\_ and Karen Hearn. "Only Matrimony Maketh Children to be Certain ...": Two Elizabethan Pregnancy Portraits." *British Art Journal* 3, no. 3 (2002): 19-24.

Cross, Claire. *Church and People: England 1450-1660*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Hastings, Katherine, Countess of Huntingdon (c.1538–1620), Noblewoman." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed March 9 2015. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69739>.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Puritan Earl: the Life of Henry Hastings, Third Earl of Huntingdon*. London: Macmillan, 1966.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Royal Supremacy in the Elizabethan Church*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1969.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Udall, John (c.1560–1592/3), Religious Controversialist." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed April 27 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27973>.

Cokayne, George E. *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct or Dormant*, 13 vols. Revised, enlarged edition. Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1982.

Coster, Will. *Family and Kinship in England*. London: Longman, 2001.

Cunningham, Bernadette. "Malby, Sir Nicholas (c.1530–1584), Soldier and President of Connacht." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed March 9 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17856>.

Davidson, Peter and Jane Stevenson. "Elizabeth I's Reception at Bisham (1592): Elite Women as Writers and Devisers." In *The Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, edited by Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight, 207-226. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Daybell, James. "Baskerville, Sir Thomas (d. 1597), Soldier." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed June 2 2012.

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1626>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Female Literacy and the Social Conventions of Women's Letter-Writing in England, 1540-1603." In *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450-1700*, edited by James Daybell, 59-76. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Introduction." In *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450-1700*, edited by James Daybell, 1-15. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Introduction: Rethinking Women and Politics in Early Modern England." In *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700*, edited by James Daybell, 1-20. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing, 1512-1635*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Recent Studies in Sixteenth-century Letters." *English Literary Renaissance* 35, no. 2 (2005): 331-362.

\_\_\_\_\_. "'Suche Newes as on the Quenes Hye Wyes We Have Mett': the News and Intelligence Networks of Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury (c. 1527-1608)." In *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700*, edited by James Daybell, 114-131. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Women Letter-writers in Tudor England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Women's Letters and Letter Writing in England, 1540-1603: an Introduction to the Issues of Authorship and Construction." *Shakespeare Studies* 27 (1999): 161-187.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Women, Politics and Domesticity: the Scribal Publication of Lady Rich's Letter to Elizabeth I." In *Women and Writing, c. 1340-c.1650: the Domestication of Print Culture*, edited by Anne Lawrence-Mathers and Phillipa Hardman, 111-130. York: York Medieval Press, 2010.

Dean, David. "Wentworth, Peter (1524–1597), Member of Parliament." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed April 26 2008. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29051>.

Dean, David. M. "Parliament, Privy Council, and Local Politics in Elizabethan England: the Yarmouth-Lowestoft Fishing Dispute." *Albion* 22, no. 1 (1990): 39-64.

Dean, Daniel. *Law-making and Society in Late Elizabethan England: the Parliament of England, 1584-1601*. London: Cambridge, 1996.

De Lisle, Leanda. *After Elizabeth: the Rise of James of Scotland and the Struggle for the Throne of England*. New York: Ballantine Books, 2007.

Devereux, Walter Bouchier, ed. *Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex: in the Reigns of Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I, 1540-1646*, 2 vols. London: John Murray, 1853.

Dickinson, Janet. *Court Politics and the Earl of Essex, 1589-1601*. Political and Popular Culture in the Early Modern Period, no. 6. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012.

\_\_\_\_\_ and Neil Younger. "Just How Nasty were the 1590s?" *History Today* 64, no. 7 (2014): 10-16.

Doelman, James. "Seeking 'The Fruit of Favour': the Dedicatory Sonnets of Henry Lok's Ecclesiastes." *English Literary History* 60, no. 1 (1993): 1-15.

Doran, Susan. *Elizabeth I and Religion 1558-1603*. Lancaster Pamphlets. London: Routledge, 1994.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Elizabeth I: Gender, Power and Politics." *History Today* 53, no. 5 (2003): 29-36.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Monarchy and Matrimony: the Courtships of Elizabeth I*. London: Routledge, 1996.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Seymour, Edward, First Earl of Hertford (1539?–1621), Courtier". In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Accessed March 9 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25161>.

\_\_\_\_\_ and Christopher Durston. *Princes, Pastors, and People: the Church and Religion in England, 1529-1689*. London: Routledge, 1991.

Drake, George A. "Percy, Algernon, Tenth Earl of Northumberland (1602–1668), Politician." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed April 27 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21923>.



Du Maurier, Daphne. *Golden Lads: a Study of Anthony Bacon, Francis and Their Friends*. London: Gollancz, 1975.

Dubost, J.F. "Between Mignons and Principal Ministers: Concini, 1610-1617." In *The World of the Favourite*, edited by J.H. Elliott and L.W.B. Brockliss, 71-78. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Duffy, Eamon. "The Shock of Change: Continuity and Discontinuity in the Elizabethan Church of England." *Ecclesiastical Law Journal* 7, no. 35 (2004): 429-446.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Stripping the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400-1580*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

Duggan, Dianne. "Woburn Abbey: the First Episode of a Great Country House." *Architectural History* 46 (2003): 57-80.

Duncan-Jones, Katherine. *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1991.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Sidney, Stella, and Lady Rich." In *Sir Philip Sidney: 1586 and the Creation of a Legend*, edited by Jan van Dorsten, Dominic Baker-Smith, and Arthur F. Kinney, 170-192. Leiden: Brill, 1986.

Dunlop, R. "Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1601-3 by R.P. Mahaffy." *English Historical Review* 28, no. 112 (1913): 781-785.

Eales, Jacqueline. "Browne [née Dacre], Magdalen, Viscountess Montagu (1538–1608), Patron of Roman Catholics." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed March 4 2013.

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/71781>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Patriarchy, Puritanism and Politics: the Letters of Lady Brilliana Harley (1598-1643)." In *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450-1700*, edited by James Daybell, 143-158. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Women in Early Modern England, 1500-1700*. Introductions to History. London: UCL Press, 1998.

Edwards, David. "Ireland: Security and Conquest." In *The Elizabethan World*, edited by Susan Doran and Norman Jones, 182-202. London: Routledge, 2011.

Edwards, Edward. *The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh: Based on Contemporary Documents Preserved in the Rolls House, the Privy Council Office, Hatfield House, the British Museum, and Other Manuscript Repositories, British and Foreign; Together with his Letters, Now First Collected*. Vol. 2. London: Macmillan, 1868.



Elliott, J.H. "Introduction." In *The World of the Favourite*, edited by J.H. Elliott and L.W.B. Brockliss, 1-12. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Staying in Power: the Count-Duke of Olivares." In *The World of the Favourite*, edited by J.H. Elliott and L.W.B. Brockliss, 112-122. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Ellis, Stephen. *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors, 1447-1603: English Expansion and the End of Gaelic Rule*. London: Longman, 1998.

Elton, G.R. "Presidential Address: Tudor Government: the Points of Contact: III: the Court." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*. 5<sup>th</sup> Series, 26 (1976): 211-228.

Elzinga, J.G. "Browne, Anthony, First Viscount Montagu (1528–1592), Nobleman and Courtier." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. Accessed February 7 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3667>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "York, Sir John (d. 1569), Administrator." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Accessed March 9 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30233>.

Emerson, Kathy Lynn. *Wives and Daughters: the Women of Sixteenth Century England*. New York, Whitson Publishing Company, 1984.

Erickson, Amy Louise. *Women and Property in Early Modern England*. London: Routledge, 1995.

E.S.. "An Unpublished Letter of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 1564." *Notes and Queries* s6III, 67 (1881), 283-284.

Falkner, James. "Churchill, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough (1660–1744), Politician and Courtier." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed July 21 2014. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5405>.

Felch, Susan M. "The Exemplary Anne Vaughan Lock." In *The Intellectual Culture of Puritan Women, 1558-1680*, edited by Johanna Harris and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, 15-27. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Fell-Smith, Charlotte. *John Dee (1527-1608)*. London, Constable and Company, 1909.

Feros, Antonio. "Images of Evil, Images of Kings: the Contrasting Faces of the Royal Favourite and the Prime Minister in Early Modern European Political Literature." In *The World of the Favourite*, edited by J.H. Elliott and L.W.B. Brockliss, 205-222. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Fincham, Kenneth and Nicholas Tyacke. *Altars Restored: the Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c.1700*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Finnegan, David. "Fitzgerald, Gerald, Eleventh Earl of Kildare (1525–1585), Magnate." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed February 5 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9557>.

Fissel, Mark Charles. *English Warfare 1511-1642*. London, Routledge, 2001.

Fletcher, Jefferson. B. "A Study in Renaissance Mysticism: Spenser's 'Fowre Hymnes'." *PMLA* 25 no. 3 (1911): 452-475.

Ford, Alan. *James Ussher: Theology, History and Politics in Early-Modern England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Travers, Walter (1548?–1635), Religious Activist and College Head." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed October 31 2011. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27673>.

Fox, Alistair. "The Complaint of Poetry for the Death of Liberality: the Decline of Literary Patronage in the 1590s." In *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*, edited by John Guy, 229-257. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Foyster, Elizabeth. "Parenting was for Life, not Just for Childhood: the Role of Parents in the Married Lives of their Children in Early Modern England." *History* 86, no. 283 (2001): 313-327.

Freeman, Arthur. "Correspondence: the Hatton Manuscript." *Library* s5, XXVIII (1) (1971): 333-334.

\_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Essex to Stella: Two Letters from the Earl of Essex to Penelope Rich*. Boston: Godine, 1971.

Freedman, Sylvia. *Poor Penelope: Lady Penelope Rich, an Elizabethan Woman*. Bourne End: Kendal Press, 1983.

Frye, Susan. "Sewing Connections: Elizabeth Tudor, Mary Stuart, Elizabeth Talbot, and Seventeenth-Century Anonymous Needleworkers." In *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens: Women's Alliances in Early Modern England*, edited by Susan Frye and Karen Robertson, 165-182. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Fuchs, Dieter. "'Poor Penelope: Penelope Rich: Sir Philip Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* as a Prototype for the Rewriting of the Odysseus Myth in *Ulysses*.'" *James Joyce Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (2011): 350-356.

- Fuller, Jean Overton. *Francis Bacon: a Biography*. London: East-West Publications, 1981.
- Gajda, Alexandra. *The Earl of Essex and Late Elizabethan Political Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Political Culture in the 1590s: the 'Second Reign of Elizabeth.'" *History Compass* 8, no. 1 (2009). 88-100.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The State of Christendom: History, Political Thought and the Essex Circle." *Historical Research* 81, no. 213 (2008), 423-446.
- Gardiner, Samuel Rawson. "Preface." In *The Fortescue Papers: Consisting Chiefly of Letters Relating to State Affairs Collected by John Packer, Secretary to George Villiers Duke of Buckingham*, edited by Samuel Rawson Gardiner, i-xxv. London: Camden Society, 1871.
- Gibson, William. *A Social History of the Domestic Chaplain, 1530-1840*. London: Leicester University Press, 1997.
- Gilson, J.P. "[Introduction]." In *Lives of Lady Anne Clifford: Countess of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery (1590-1676) and of her Parents*. [London]: printed for presentation to the members of the Roxburghe Club [by Hazell, Watson and Viney], 1916.
- Glover, Katherine. "The Female Mind: Scottish Enlightenment Femininity and the World of Letters. A Case Study of the Women of the Fletcher of Saltoun family in the Mid-Eighteenth Century." *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 25, no. 1 (2005): 1-20.
- Goldring, Elizabeth. "Talbot, George, Sixth earl of Shrewsbury (c.1522–1590), Nobleman." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. Accessed March 9 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26928>.
- Gordon, Andrew. "A Fortune of Paper Walls": the Letters of Francis Bacon and the Earl of Essex." *English Literary Renaissance* 37 (1994): 319-336.
- Goulding, R.D. "Savile, Sir Henry (1549–1622), Mathematician and Classical Scholar." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed October 31 2011. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24737>.
- Graham-Matheson, Helen. "Petticoats and Politics: Elisabeth Parr and Female Agency at the Early Elizabethan Court." In *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies-in-Waiting Across Early Modern Europe*, edited by Nadine Akkerman and Birgit Houben, 31-50. Leiden: Brill, 2014.

Grant, Ruth. "Politicking Jacobean Women: Lady Ferniehirst, the Countess of Arran and the Countess of Huntly, c. 1580-1603." In *Women in Scotland c.1100-c.1750*, edited by Elizabeth Ewan and Maureen M. Meikle, 95-103. East Linton: Tuckewell Press, 1999.

Grattan Flood, W. H. "New Light on Late Tudor Composers: XXXVII. Richard Allison." *Musical Times* 69, no. 1027 (1928): 795-796.

Gray, Austin K. "The Secret of Love's Labour's Lost." *PMLA* 39 no. 3 (1924): 581-611.

Gray, Madeleine. "Sidney, Barbara, Countess of Leicester (c.1559–1621), Noblewoman." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed July 22 2014. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/67993>.

Greaves, Richard L. "The Role of Women in Early English Nonconformity." *Church History* 52 no. 3 (1983): 299-311.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Foundation Builders: the Role of Women in Early English Nonconformity." In *Triumph Over Silence: Women in Protestant History*, edited by Richard L. Greaves, 75-92. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1985.

Griffiths, R. A. "Stradling, Sir Edward (c.1529–1609), Antiquary." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed April 27 2014. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26624>.

Gunn, S. J. "A Letter of the Duchess of Northumberland in 1553." *English Historical Review* 114, no. 439 (November 1999), 1267-1271.

Gunn, Steven. "Running into the Sand: the Last of the Suffolk Line." In *Lives and Letters of the Great Tudor Dynasties: Rivals in Power*, edited by David Starkey, 174-183. London, Macmillan, 1990.

Guy, John. "The 1590s: the Second Reign of Elizabeth I?" In *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*, edited by John Guy, 1-19. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Elizabethan Establishment and the Ecclesiastical Polity." In *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*, edited by John Guy, 126-149. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Hadfield, Andrew. "Fenton, Sir Geoffrey (c.1539–1608), Translator and Administrator in Ireland." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed March 2 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9296>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Spenser, Edmund (1552?–1599), Poet and Administrator in Ireland." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed March 7 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26145>.

Haggerty, George E. "Male Love and Friendship in the Eighteenth Century." In *Love, Sex, Intimacy and Friendship Between Men, 1550-1800*, edited by Katherine O'Donnell and Michael O'Rourke. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Haigh, Christopher. "The Church of England, Catholics and the People." In *Reign of Elizabeth I*, edited by Christopher Haigh, 195-220. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Elizabeth I*. London: Longman, 1988.

Hall, E. Vine. "Lettice, Countess of Leicester." *Notes and Queries* 168 (January 12 1935): 27-28.

Hamilton, J. A. "Peryam, Sir William (1534–1604), Judge." Rev. David Ibbetson. In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed April 28 2014. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22006>.

Hammer, Paul E.J. "'Absolute and Sovereign Mistress of her Grace'? Queen Elizabeth I and her Favourites, 1581-1592." In *The World of the Favourite*, edited by J.H. Elliott and L.W.B. Brockliss, 38-53. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

\_\_\_\_\_. "An Elizabethan Spy Who Came in From the Cold: the Return of Anthony Standen to England in 1593." *Historical Research* 65, no. 158 (1992): 277-295.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Blount, Sir Christopher (1555/6–1601), Soldier and Conspirator." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed August 11 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2685>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Cuffe, Henry (1562/3–1601), Classical Scholar and Secretary to the Earl of Essex." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed April 30 2010. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6865>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Devereux, Robert, Second Earl of Essex (1565–1601), Soldier and Politician." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed October 31 2011. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7565>.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Elizabeth's Wars: War, Government and Society in Tudor England, 1544-1604*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Essex and Europe: Evidence from Confidential Instructions by the Earl of Essex, 1595-6." *English Historical Review* 111, no. 441 (1996): 357-381.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Last Decade." *History Today* 53 no. 5 (2003): 53-61.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Meyrick, Sir Gelly (c.1556–1601), Conspirator." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed April 30 2010.  
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18639>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Patronage at Court, Faction and the Earl of Essex." In *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*, edited by John Guy, 65-86. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585-1597*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Reynoldes, Edward (d. 1623), Administrator and Politician." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed April 30 2010.  
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/39702>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Sex and the Virgin Queen: Aristocratic Concupiscence and the Court of Elizabeth I." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 31, no. 1 (2000): 77-97.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Shakespeare's Richard II, the Play of 7 February 1601, and the Essex Rising." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 59, no. 1 (2008), 1-35.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Uses of Scholarship: the Secretariat of Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex, c. 1585-1601." *English Historical Review* 109, no. 430 (1994): 26-51.

Handover, P.M. *The Second Cecil: the Rise of Power 1563-2004 of Sir Robert Cecil, Later First Earl of Salisbury*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1959.

Hannay, Margaret Patterson. "Introduction." In *Silent But For the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works*, edited by Margaret Patterson Hannay, 1-14. Ohio: Kent University Press, 1985.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Strengthening the walles of .. Ierusalem": Anne Vaughan Lok's Dedication to the Countess of Warwick." *ANQ*, 5, no. 2-3: 71-75.

Hankins, John. E. "The Harpalus of Spenser's 'Colin Clout'." *Modern Language Notes* 44 no. 3 (1929): 164-167.

Hardman Moore, Susan. "Sexing the Soul: Gender and the Rhetoric of Puritan Piety." In *Gender and Christian Religion: Papers Read at the 1996 Summer Meeting and the 1997 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, edited by R.W. Swanson, *Studies in Church History* 34, 175-186. Woodbridge: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1998.

Harrington, Paul. "Gorges [née Snakenborg], Helena, Lady Gorges [other married name Helena Parr, Marchioness of Northampton] (1548–1635), Courtier." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed July 9 2012. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69751>.

Harris, Barbara J. "Defining Themselves: English Aristocratic Women, 1450-1550." *Journal of British Studies* 49, no. 4 (October 2010): 734-752.

\_\_\_\_\_. *English Aristocratic Women 1450-1550*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Marriage Sixteenth-century Style: Elizabeth Stafford and the Third Duke of Norfolk." *Journal of Social History* 15, no. 3 (1982): 371-382.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Power, Profit, and Passion: Mary Tudor, Charles Brandon, and the Arranged Marriage in Early Tudor England." *Feminist Studies* 15, no. 1 (1989): 59-88.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Property, Power, and Personal Relations: Elite Mothers and Sons in Yorkist and Early Tudor England." *Signs* 15, no. 3 (1990): 606-632.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Sisterhood, Friendship and the Power of English Aristocratic Women, 1450-1550." In *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700*, edited by James Daybell, 21-50. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The View from My Lady's Chamber: New Perspectives on the Early Tudor Monarchy." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 60, no. 3 (1997): 215-247.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Women and Politics in Early Tudor England." *Historical Journal* 33, no. 2 (1990): 259-281.

Harris, Frances. "The Honourable Sisterhood: Queen Anne's Maids of Honour." *British Library Journal* 19, (1993): 181-198.

\_\_\_\_\_. *A Passion for Government: the Life of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

Harris, Johanna and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, "Introduction," in *The Intellectual Culture of Puritan Women, 1558-1680*, edited by Johanna Harris and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, 1-15. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.



Hawkyard, Alisdair. "Guardians of Claimants to the Throne: the Talbots." In *Lives and Letters of the Great Tudor Dynasties: Rivals in Power*, edited by David Starkey, 230-249. London: Macmillan, 1990.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Councillors to Queen Elizabeth: the Cecils." In *Lives and Letters of the Great Tudor Dynasties: Rivals in Power*, edited by David Starkey, 250-269. London: Macmillan, 1990.

Hawkyard, Alasdair, David Starkey and Richard Dutton. "Ambitions of Glory': Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex." In *Lives and Letters of the Great Tudor Dynasties: Rivals in Power*, edited by David Starkey, 270-283. London: Macmillan, 1990.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Man Who was the 'Flower of the Age': Sir Philip Sidney." In *Lives and Letters of the Great Tudor Dynasties: Rivals in Power*, edited by David Starkey, 202-229. London: Macmillan, 1990.

Hay, Millicent V. *The Life of Robert Sidney: Earl of Leicester (1563-1626)*. Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1984.

Heal, Felicity. "Reputation and Honour in Court and Country: Lady Elizabeth Russell and Sir Thomas Hoby." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6 (1 January 1996): 161-178.

Heale, Elizabeth. "Contesting Terms: Loyal Catholicism and Lord Montague's Entertainment at Cowdray, 1591." In *The Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, edited by Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight, 189-206. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Hernan, Enrique. *Ireland and Spain in the Reign of Philip II*. Translated by Liam Liddy. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009.

Hewitt, G.R. "Gray, Patrick, Sixth Lord Gray (c.1558–1611), Nobleman and Courtier." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed February 15 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11348>.

Hicks, Michael. "Talbot, Gilbert, Seventh Earl of Shrewsbury (1552–1616), Landowner." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed 9 March 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26930>.

Hicks, Phyllis. D. "Lettice, Countess of Leicester: a Tercentenary." *Notes and Queries* 167, December 22 (1934): 435-438.

Hill, L.M. *Bench and Bureaucracy: the Public Career of Sir Julius Caesar, 1580-1636*. Cambridge: James Clarke, 1988.



Hogrefe, Pearl. *Women of Action in Tudor England: Nine Biographical Sketches*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1977.

Holmes, Peter. "Bell, James (1523/4-1584), Roman Catholic Priest and Martyr." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed March 19 2012. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2007>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Clifford, George, Third Earl of Cumberland (1558–1605), Courtier and Privateer." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed April 27 2014. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5645>

Honan, Park. "Wriothesley, Henry, Third Earl of Southampton (1573–1624), Courtier and Literary Patron." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed November 9 2014. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30073>.

Hudson, Hoyt H. "Penelope Devereux as Sidney's Stella." *Huntingdon Library Bulletin*, no. 7 (1935): 89-129.

Hume, Martin. *Spanish Influence on English Literature*. London: Eveleigh Nash, 1905.

Hurstfield, Joel. *The Queen's Wards: Wardship and Marriage Under Elizabeth I*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Frank Cass, 1973.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Succession Struggle in Late Elizabethan England." In *Elizabethan Government and Society: Essays Presented to Sir John Neale*, edited by S.T. Bindoff and J Hurstfield, 369-396. [London]: University of London, Athlone Press, 1961.

Hurwich, Judith. "Lineage and Kin in the Sixteenth-Century Aristocracy: Some Comparative Evidence on England and Germany." In *The First Modern Society: Essays in English History in Honour of Lawrence Stone*, edited by A.L. Beier, David Cannadine and James M. Rosenheim, 33-64. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Hutton, Ronald. "Byron, John, First Baron Byron (1598/9–1652), Royalist Army Officer." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Accessed May 11 2010. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4281>.

Ibbetson, David. "Anderson, Sir Edmund (1530?–1605), Judge." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed April 28 2014. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/469>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Fenner, Sir Edward (d. 1612), Judge." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed April 28 2014. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9288>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Gawdy, Sir Francis (d. 1605), Judge." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed February 15 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10467>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Popham, Sir John (c.1531–1607), Judge and Speaker of the House of Commons." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed April 28 2014. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22543>

Jardine, Lisa. "Companionate Marriage Versus Male Friendship: Anxiety for the Lineal Family in Jacobean Drama." In *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England: Essays Presented to David Underdown*, edited by Susan D. Amussen and Mark A. Kishlansky, 234-254. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.

\_\_\_\_\_ and Alan Stewart. *Hostage to Fortune: the Troubled Life of Francis Bacon*. London: Victor Gollancz, 1998.

James, Mervyn. "At a Crossroads of the Political Culture: the Essex Revolt, 1601." In *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England*, edited by Mervyn James, 416-465. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Jones, J. Gwynfor. "Wynn, Sir John, First Baronet (1553–1627), Landowner and Antiquary." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. Accessed March 11 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30153>.

Johnson, Paul. *Elizabeth I: a Study in Power and Intellect*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974.

Kalas, Robert. J. "Marriage, Clientage, Office Holding, and the Advancement of the Early Modern French Nobility: the Noailles Family of Limousin." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27, no. 2 (1996): 365-383.

Kee, Robert. *Ireland: a History*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1980.

Kelsey, Sean. "Digby, Lettice, Lady Digby and Suo Jure Baroness Offaly (c.1580–1658), Landowner." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed February 14 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7631>.

Kelly, James E. "Kinship and Religious Politics Among Catholic Families in England, 1570-1640." *History* 94, no. 315 (2009): 328-343.

- Kendall, Alan. *Robert Dudley: Earl of Leicester*. London: Cassell, 1980.
- Kenny, Robert W. *Elizabeth's Admiral: the Political Career of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, 1536-1624*. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1970.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Parliamentary Influence of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, 1536-1624." *Journal of Modern History* 39, no. 3 (1967): 215-232.
- Kettering, Sharon. "Brokerage at the Court of Louis XIV." *Historical Journal* 36, no. 1 (1986): 69-87.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Gift Giving and Patronage in Early Modern France." *French History* 2, no. 2 (June 1988): 131-151.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Household Appointments and Dismissals at the Court of Louis XIII." *French History* 21, no. 3 (2007): 269-288.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Household Service of Early Modern French Noblewomen." *French Historical Studies* 20, no. 1 (1997): 55-85.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Patronage and Kinship in Early Modern France." *French Historical Studies* 16, no. 2 (1989): 408-435.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Patronage Power of Early Modern French Noblewomen." *Historical Journal* 32, no. 4 (1989): 817-841.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Patrons, Brokers and Clients in Seventeenth-century France*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Strategies of Power: Favorites and Women Household Clients at Louis XIII's Court." *French Historical Studies* 33, no. 2 (Spring 2010), 178-200.
- Kitchen, Frank. "Norden, John (c.1547–1625), Cartographer." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed April 26 2008.  
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20250>.
- Kitching, C.J. "The Quest for Concealed Lands in the Reign of Elizabeth I." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 24 (January 1974): 63-78.
- Klarwill, Victor Von, ed. *Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners*. Translated by T.H. Nash. London: Bodley Head, 1928.
- Knafla, Louis A. "Hake, Edward (fl. 1564–1604), Lawyer and Satirist." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed March 7 2013.  
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11881>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Hoby, Sir Edward (1560–1617), Politician and Diplomat." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed October 31 2011. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13410>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "More, Sir George (1553–1632), Landowner and Administrator." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed May 5 2012. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19177>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Zouche, Edward la, Eleventh Baron Zouche (1556–1625), Landowner." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed April 28 2014. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30301>.

Knighton, C.S. "Goodman, Gabriel (1528–1601), Dean of Westminster." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. Accessed March 9 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10976>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Wiburn, Percival (1533/4–1606), Church of England Clergyman." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed March 5 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29346>.

Kolkovich, Elizabeth Zeman. "Lady Russell, Elizabeth I, and Female Political Alliances Through Performance." *English Literary Renaissance* 39, no. 2 (2009), 290-314.

Koskinen, Ulla. "Friends and Brothers: Rhetoric of Friendship as a Medium of Power in Late-16<sup>th</sup>-century Sweden and Finland." *Scandinavian Journal of History* 30, no. 3 (2005), 238-248.

Lake, Peter. *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

\_\_\_\_\_. "From *Leicester his Commonwealth* to *Sejanus his Fall*: Ben Jonson and the Politics of Roman (Catholic) Virtue." In *Catholics and the "Protestant Nation": Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England*, edited by Ethan Shagan, 128-161. Politics, Culture and Early Modern Britain. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.

Lamb, Mary Ellen. "The Cooke Sisters: Attitudes Towards Learned Women in the Renaissance." In *Silent but for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators and Writers of Religious Works*, edited by Margaret P. Hannay, 107-125. Ohio: Kent University Press, 1985.

Lamburn, D.J. "The Influence of the Laity in Appointments of Clergy in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century." In *Patronage and Recruitment in the Tudor and Early Stuart Church*, edited by Claire Cross, 95-119. York: University of York, 1996.

Lander, J.R. "The Yorkist Council, Justice and Public Order: The Case of Straunge Versus Kynaston." *Albion* 12, no. 1 (Spring 1980), 1-22.

Laoutaris, Chris. *Shakespeare and the Countess: the Battle that Gave Birth to the Globe*. London: Fig Tree, 2014.

\_\_\_\_\_. "‘Toucht with bolt of Treason’: the Earl of Essex and Lady Penelope Rich." In *Essex: the Cultural Impact of an Elizabethan Courtier*, edited by Annaliese Connolly and Lisa Hopkins, 201-236. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013.

Larminie, Vivienne. "Fighting for Family in a Patronage Society: the Epistolary Armoury of Anne Newdigate (1574-1618)." In *Early Modern Women’s Letter Writing, 1450-1700*, edited by James Daybell, 94-108. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.

Lawson, Jane A., "Introduction." In *The Elizabethan New Year’s Gift Exchanges 1559-1603*, edited by Jane A. Lawson, 1-29. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Legislation.gov.uk. *Chronological Tables of Private and Personal Acts*. London: The National Archives, [2014]. Accessed April 25 2014. <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/changes/chron-tables/private/1>.

Leinster, Charles William Fitzgerald. *The Earls of Kildare and Their Ancestors: From 1057 to 1773*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Dublin: Hodges, Smith & Co., 1858.

Lennon, Colm. "Burke, Richard, Fourth Earl of Clanricarde and First Earl of St Albans (1572–1635), Politician." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed April 30 2010. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/67043>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Nugent, Christopher, Fifth Baron Delvin (1544–1602), Nobleman." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed March 4 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20387>.

Levin, Carole. "Faunt, Nicholas (1553/4–1608), Administrator." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed March 5 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9211>.

Levy, Fritz. "The Theatre and the Court in the 1590s." In *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*, edited by John Guy, 274-300. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Little, Patrick. "'Blood and Friendship': the Earl of Essex's Protection of the Earl of Clanricarde's Interests." *English Historical Review* 112, no. 448 (Sept 1997), 927-941.

Loades, D.M. *The Cecils: Privilege and Power Behind the Throne*. Kew: National Archives, 2007.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Dudley, John, Duke of Northumberland (1504–1553), Royal Servant." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed March 25 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8156>.

Lloyd, Howell A. *The Rouen Campaign, 1590-1592: Politics, Warfare and the Early-Modern State*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973.

Lock, Julian. "Brooke, William, Tenth Baron Cobham (1527–1597), Nobleman and Diplomat." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed February 7 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/61735>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Grey, Arthur, Fourteenth Baron Grey of Wilton (1536–1593), Lord Deputy of Ireland and Soldier." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed November 19 2010. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11524>.

Lockyer, Roger. *Buckingham: the Life and Political Career of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham 1592-1628*. London: Longman, 1981.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Villiers, George, Duke of Buckingham (1592-1628), Royal Favourite." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. Accessed August 11 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28293>.

Lovell, Mary S. *Bess of Hardwick: First Lady of Chatsworth, 1527-1608*. London: Little, Brown, 2005.

Lyne, Raphael. "Turberville, George (b. 1543/4, d. in or after 1597), Poet and Translator." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed March 7 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27825>.

Lyte, H.C. Maxwell. *A History of Eton College, 1440-1875*. London, 1875.



MacCaffrey, Wallace T. "Cecil, William, First Baron Burghley (1520/21–1598), Royal Minister." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed February 5 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4983>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Hatton, Sir Christopher (c.1540–1591), Courtier and Politician." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed January 18 2011. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12605>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Place and Patronage in Elizabethan Politics." In *Elizabethan Government and Society: Essays Presented to Sir John Neale*, edited by S. T. Bindoff, J. Hurstfield, and C.H. Williams, 95-126. London: Athlone Press, 1961.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Russell, Francis, Second Earl of Bedford (1526/7–1585), Magnate." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed April 23 2014. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24306>.

MacCulloch, Diarmaid. "Beware of High Degree': the Howards under Elizabeth I." In *Rivals in Power: Lives and Letters of the Great Tudor Dynasties*, edited by David Starkey, 184–201. London: Macmillan, 1990.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Wingfield, Robert (c.1513–c.1561), Historian." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Accessed November 4 2011. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/47131>.

MacDonald, Alan R. "Murray, David, First Viscount of Stormont (d. 1631), Politician." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Accessed February 15 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19599>.

Machardy, Karin J. "Cultural Capital, Family Strategies and Noble Identity in Early Modern Habsburg Austria 1579-1620." *Past and Present*, no. 163 (May 1999): 36-75.

Mack, Phyllis. "Women and Gender in Early Modern England." *Journal of Modern History* 73, no. 2 (2001): 379-392.

Mackerness, E. D. "Thomas Nashe and William Cotton." *Review of English Studies* 25, no. 100 (1949): 342-346.

MacLean, S.-B. "The Politics of Patronage: Dramatic Records in Robert Dudley's Household Books." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 44, no. 2 (1993): 175-182.

Macpherson, Rob. "Stuart, Ludovick, Second Duke of Lennox and Duke of Richmond (1574–1624), Courtier." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. Accessed January 18 2011.

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26724>.

Maginn, Christopher. "Blount, Charles, Eighth Baron Mountjoy and Earl of Devonshire (1563–1606), Soldier and Administrator." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed April 30 2010.

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2683>.

Magnusson, Lynne. "Bacon [Cooke], Anne, Lady Bacon (c.1528–1610), Gentlewoman and Scholar." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Accessed November 6 2011. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/987>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Imagining a National Church: Election and Education in the Works of Anne Cooke Bacon." *Literature Compass* 9, no. 3 (2012): 242-251.

\_\_\_\_\_. "A Rhetoric of Requests: Genre and Linguistic Scripts in Elizabethan Women's Suitors' Letters." In *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700*, edited by James Daybell, 51-66. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Widowhood and Linguistic Capital: the Rhetoric and Reception of Anne Bacon's Epistolary Advice." *English Literary Renaissance* 31, no. 1 (2001): 3-33.

Maguire, Nancy Klein. "The Duchess of Portsmouth: English Royal Consort and French Politician, 1670-85." In *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, edited by R. Malcolm Smuts, 247-73.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Malone, Edward A. "Bell, James (d. 1606?), Translator." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed April 26 2008.

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2008>.

Marcombe, David. "Whittingham, William (d. 1579), Dean of Durham." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman.

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed March 7 2008.

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29329>.

Margetts, Michele. "A Christening Date for Lady Penelope Rich." *Notes and Queries* 40 no 2 (1993): 152-154.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Lady Penelope Rich: Hilliard's Lost Miniatures and a Surviving Portrait." *Burlington Magazine* 130, no. 1027 (1988): 758-761.



Marsden, R. G. "The Vice-Admirals of the Coast." *English Historical Review* 23, no. 92 (1908): 736-757.

Mathew, David. *Sir Tobie Mathew*. London: M. Parrish, 1950.

McCoy, R.C. "Lord of Liberty: Francis Davison and the Cult of Elizabeth." In *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*, edited by John Guy, 212-228. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

McCutcheon, Elizabeth. "Playing the Waiting Game: the Life and Letters of Elizabeth Wolley." *Quidditas* 20 (1999): 31-53.

McDermott, James. "Frobisher, Sir Martin (1535?-1594)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed March 7 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10191>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Howard, Charles, Second Baron Howard of Effingham and First Earl of Nottingham (1536-1624), Naval Commander." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed February 4 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13885>.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Martin Frobisher: Elizabethan Privateer*. Yale: Yale University Press, 2001.

McGrath, Patrick. *Papists and Puritans under Elizabeth I*. London: Blandford Press, 1967.

McGurk, John. *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: the 1590s Crisis*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997.

McGurk, J.J.N. "Devereux, Walter, First Earl of Essex (1539-1576), Courtier and Adventurer." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed November 7 2014. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7568>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Russell, William, First Baron Russell of Thornhaugh (c.1553-1613), Lord Deputy of Ireland." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed April 10 2012. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24342>.

McIntosh, J.L. *From Heads of Household to Heads of State: the Preaccession Households of Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, 1516-1558*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.

McLaren, Anne. "The Quest for a King: Gender, Marriage, and Succession in Elizabethan England." *Journal of British Studies* 41, no. 3 (July 2002): 259-290.

- McLeod, Anne. *The Brilliant Stage: the Story of Frances Walsingham*. London: Matador, 2014.
- Mears, Natalie. "Courts, Courtiers and Culture in Tudor England." *Historical Journal* 43, no. 3 (2003): 703-722.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Politics in the Elizabethan Privy Chamber: Lady Mary Sidney and Kat Ashley." In *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700*, edited by James Daybell, 67-82. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Regnum Cecilianum? A Cecilian Perspective of the Court." In *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*, edited by John Guy, 46-64. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Meikle, Maureen M. "Forster, Sir John (c.1515–1602), Administrator and Soldier." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed March 28 2015. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9910>.
- Mendelson, Sara and Patricia Crawford. *Women in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Montgomery, James M. "The Structure of Norms and Relations in Patronage Systems." *Social Networks* 29, no. 4 (2007) 565-584.
- Moody, T. W., F.X Martin and F.J. Byrne. *A New History of Ireland*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1976.
- Morgan, Hiram. "The Fall of Sir John Perrot." In *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture*, edited by John Guy, 113-124. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Tyrone's Rebellion: the Outbreak of the Nine Years War in Tudor Ireland*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993.
- Morgan, Irvonwy. *The Godly Preachers of the Elizabethan Church*. London: Epworth Press, 1965.
- Morrill, John. "Devereux, Robert, Third Earl of Essex (1591–1646), Parliamentarian Army Officer." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed November 5 2014. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7566>.
- Morrissey, Mary and Wright, Gillian. "Piety and Sociability in Early Modern Women's Letters." *Women's Writing* 13, no. 1, (2006): 38-50.

Neale, John E. *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments 1584-1601*. London: Cape, 1953.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Elizabethan Political Scene." In *Essays in Elizabethan History*, edited by John Neale, 59-84. London: Cape, 1958.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Queen Elizabeth I*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1960.

Nenner, Howard. *The Right to be King: the Succession to the Crown of England, 1603-1714*. Houndsmills: Macmillan, 1995.

Newcomb, L. H. "Greene, Robert (bap. 1558, d. 1592), Writer and Playwright." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed April 26 2008. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11418>.

Newton, Diana. *Papists, Protestants, and Puritans, 1559-1714*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Nicholls, Kenneth. "Irishwomen and Property in the Sixteenth Century." In *Women in Early Modern Ireland*, edited by Margaret MacCurtain and Mary O'Dowd, 17-31. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991.

Nicholls, Mark. "Brooke, Henry, Eleventh Baron Cobham (1564–1619), Conspirator." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed February 7 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3543>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Grey, Thomas, Fifteenth Baron Grey of Wilton (1575–1614), Soldier and Courtier." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed March 11 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11562>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Percy, Henry, Ninth Earl of Northumberland (1564-1632), Nobleman." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed April 30 2010. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21939>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Sir Walter Raleigh's Treason: a Prosecution Document." *English Historical Review* 110, no. 438 (1995): 902-924.

Nicholls, Mark and Penry Williams. "Raleigh, Sir Walter (1554–1618), Courtier, Explorer and Author." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed January 23 2011. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23039>.

Norris, M. M. "Manners, Henry, Second Earl of Rutland (1526–1563), Courtier and Soldier." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed March 28 2015. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17955>.

O'Connor, Marion. "Godly Patronage: Lucy Harington Russell, Countess of Bedford." In *The Intellectual Culture of Puritan Women, 1558-1603*, edited by Johanna Harris and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, 71-83. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Ó Cróinín, Breandán, ed. *Pocket Oxford Irish Dictionary: Irish-English*. Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed February 16 2015. <http://www.oxfordreference.com.proxy.library.adelaide.edu.au/view/10.1093/acref/9780191739460.001.0001/acref-9780191739460>.

O'Day, Rosemary. "Ecclesiastical Patronage of the Lord Keeper, 1558-1642." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 23 (January 1973): 89-109.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Matchmaking and Moneymaking in a Patronage Society: the First Duke and Duchess of Chandos, c. 1712-35." *Economic History Review* 66, no. 1 (2013): 273-296.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Tudor and Stuart Women: their Lives Through their Letters." In *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450-1700*, edited by James Daybell, 127-142. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.

O'Dowd, Mary. *A History of Women in Ireland 1500-1800*. Harlow: Pearson, 2005.

Orr, Clarissa Campbell. "Introduction: Court Studies, Gender and Women's History, 1660-1837." In *Queenship in Britain 1660-1837: Royal Patronage, Court Culture and Dynastic Politics*, edited by Clarissa Campbell Orr, 1-52. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002.

Osborn, James M. *Young Philip Sidney 1572-1577*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972.

O Tuathaigh, Gearóid. "The Role of Women in Ireland Under the New English Order." In *Women in Irish Society: the Historical Dimension*, edited by Margaret MacCurtain and Donncha Ó Corráin, 26-36. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1979.

Outhwaite, R.B. "Dearth, the English Crown and the 'Crisis of the 1590s'." In *The European Crisis of the 1590s: Essays in Comparative History*, edited by Peter Clark, 23-43. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1985.

Ovenden, Richard and Stuart Handley. "Howard, Lord William (1563-1640), Antiquary and Landowner." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed May 30 2011. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13947>.

Palliser, D. M. (1983). *The Age of Elizabeth: England Under the Later Tudors, 1547-1603*. London: Longman, 1983.

Parry, Glyn. "Wolley, Sir John (d. 1596), Administrator and Member of Parliament." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed May 9 2011. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29844>.

Partridge, Mary. "Lord Burghley and *Il Cortegiano*: Civil and Martial Models of Courtliness in Elizabethan England." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 19, (2009): 95-116.

Payne, Anthony. "Wiles, Richard (1546–1579?), Poet and Geographer." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed April 26 2011. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29444>.

Payne, Helen. "Aristocratic Women, Power, Patronage and Family Networks at the Jacobean Court, 1603-1625." In *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700*, edited by James Daybell, 164-180. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Cecil Women at Court." In *Patronage, Culture and Power: the Early Cecils*, edited by Pauline Croft, 265-282. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.

Pearson, A.F. Scott. *Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism 1535-1603*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925.

Peck, Linda Levy. "Benefits, Brokers and Beneficiaries: the Culture of Exchange in Seventeenth-Century England." In *Court, Country and Culture: Essays on Early Modern British History in Honor of Perez Zagorin*, edited by Bonnelyn Young Kuntze and Dwight D. Brautigam, 109-128. New York: University of Rochester Press, 1992.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England*. Boston: Unwyn Hyman, 1990.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Monopolizing Favour: Structures of Power in the Early Seventeenth-Century English Court." In *The World of the Favourite*, edited by J.H. Elliott and L.W.B. Brockliss, 54-70. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Northampton: Patronage and Policy at the Court of James I*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1982.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Peers, Patronage and the Politics of History." In *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*, edited by John Guy, 87-108. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Pelling, Margaret and Frances White. "Chappell, Bartholomew." In *Physicians and Irregular Medical Practitioners in London 1550-1640*. London: University of London, 2013. Accessed January 10 2014.  
[http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=17307&strquery=bartholomew\\_chappell](http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=17307&strquery=bartholomew_chappell).

Peltonen, Markku. "Bacon, Francis Viscount St Alban (1561–1626), Lord Chancellor, Politician and Philosopher." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. Accessed October 31 2011.  
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/990>.

Phillippy, Patricia. "Introduction." In *The Writings of an English Sappho: Elizabeth Cooke Hoby Russell*, edited by Patricia Phillippy, 1-40. *The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe: the Toronto Series*, no. 14. Toronto: Iter Inc, Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2011.

Pollock, Linda. "Anger and the Negotiation of Relationships in Early Modern England." *Historical Journal* 47, no. 3 (2004): 567-590.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Honor, Gender, and Reconciliation in Elite Culture, 1570–1700." *Journal of British Studies* 46, no. 1 (2007): 3-29.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Practice of Kindness in Early Modern Elite Society." *Past and Present*, no. 211 (May 2011): 122-158.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Rethinking Patriarchy and the Family in Seventeenth-Century England." *Journal of Family History* 23, no. 3 (1998), 3-27.

Prest, Wilfred. "William Lambarde, Elizabethan Law Reform, and Early Stuart Politics." *Journal of British Studies* 34, no. 4 (1995): 464-480.

Priestland, Pamela. "Russell, Elizabeth, Lady Russell [other married name Elizabeth Hoby, Lady Hoby] (1528–1609), Linguist and Courtier." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed October 31 2011.  
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13411>.

Questier, Michael. *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c. 1550-1640*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Practical Antipapistry during the Reign of Elizabeth I." *Journal of British Studies* 36, no. 4 (1997): 371-396.

Quitslund, Jon A. "Spencer and the Patronesses of the Fowre Hymns: "Ornaments of True Love and Beauty." In *Silent But for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators and Writers of Religious Works*, edited by Margaret P. Hannay, 184-202. Kent: Ohio, 1985.

Ramsay, G.D. "The Foreign Policy of Elizabeth I." In *The Reign of Elizabeth I*, edited by Christopher Haigh, 147-168. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1984.

Rawson, Maud Stepney. *Penelope Rich and her Circle*. London: Hutchison, 1911.

Read, Conyers. "A Letter from Robert, Earl of Leicester, to a Lady." *Huntington Library Bulletin* 9 (April 1936): 15-26.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1960.

Reid, Stuart. "Percy, Henry, Baron Percy of Alnwick (c.1604–1659), Royalist Army Officer." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed February 2 2011. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21940>.

Richardson, Ruth Elizabeth. *Mistress Blanche Queen Elizabeth's Confidante*. Wootton: Logaston Press, 2007.

Richardson, William. "Bilson, Thomas (1546/7–1616), Bishop of Winchester." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed April 28 2014. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2401>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Topcliffe, Richard (1531–1604), Interrogator and Torturer." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed March 11 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27550>.

Roberts, Peter R. "Parry, Blanche (1507/8–1590), Courtier." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. Accessed July 22 2014. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/65989>.

Robertson, Karen. "Negotiating Favour: The Letters of Lady Raleigh." In *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700*, edited by James Daybell, 99-113. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Tracing Women's Connections from a Letter by Elizabeth Raleigh." In *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens: Women's Alliances in Early Modern England*, edited by Susan Frye and Karen Robertson, 149-164. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Robinson, John Martin. *The Dukes of Norfolk: a Quincentennial History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Robinson, W. A. S. "Six Wills Relating to Cobham Hall." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 11 (1877): 199-304.



Robison, William B. "Browne, Sir Anthony (c.1500–1548), Nobleman and Courtier." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed March 4 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3665>.

Roche, J. J. Roche. "Lower, Sir William (c.1570–1615), Politician and Natural Philosopher." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed November 30 2014. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/39195>.

Rogers, W.H. Hamilton. *Brook of Somerset and Devon: Barons of Cobham in the County of Kent: Their Local History and Descent*. Taunton: Barnicott and Pearce, 1899-1901.

Rosman, Doreen M. *The Evolution of the English Churches, 1500-2000*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Rowse, A. L. *Court and Country: Studies in Tudor Social History*. Brighton, Harvester, 1987.

Roy, Ian. "Towards the Standing Army, 1485-1660." In *The Oxford Illustrated History of the British Army*, edited by David Chandler, 25-48. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Ruberg, Willemijn. "Letter Writing and Elite Identity in the Netherlands, 1770-1850." *Scandinavian Journal of History* 30, no. 3 (2005): 249-258.

Sainty, J.C. and A. D. Thrush, *Vice-Admirals of the Coast*. List and Index Society. Vol 321. Kew, Surrey: List and Index Society, 2007.

Saunders, Will. "Faction in the Reign of Elizabeth I." *History Review*, March (2004): 28-33.

Schleiner, Louise. *Tudor and Stuart Women Writers*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.

Schneider, Gary. "Affecting Correspondences: Body, Behaviour, and the Textualization of Emotion in Early Modern English Letters." *Prose Studies* 23, no. 3 (2000): 31-62.

Schreiber, Roy E. "Hay, Lucy, Countess of Carlisle (1599-1660), Courtier." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed April 30 2010. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12733>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Naunton, Sir Robert (1563–1635), Politician." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed February 11 2014. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19812>.



Schwoerer, Lois G. "Women and the Glorious Revolution." *Albion* 18, no. 2 (1986): 195-218.

Seaver, Paul. "Puritan Preachers and Their Patrons." In *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke*, edited by Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, 128-142. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006.

Shapiro, I.A. "Correspondence: the Hatton Manuscript." *Library* s5, XXVI, no. 1 (1973): 63-64.

Sheils, William Joseph. "Matthew, Tobie (1544?-1628), Archbishop of York." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed May 10 2012. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18342>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Whitgift, John (1530/31?-1604), Archbishop of Canterbury." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed January 18 2011. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29311>.

Shephard, Robert. "Sidney, Robert, First Earl of Leicester (1563-1626), Courtier and Poet." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed March 15 2012. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25524>.

Shirren, A. J. "The Fleetwoods of Ealing and Cranford." *Notes and Queries* 198 (January 1953): 7-14.

Silke, John J. "O'Donnell, Rury, Styled First Earl of Tyrconnell (1574/5-1608), Magnate and Soldier." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed February 13 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20559>.

Sim, Alison. "The Royal Court and Progresses." *History Today* 53, no. 5 (2003): 49-53.

Slack, Paul. "Hoby, Margaret, Lady Hoby (bap. 1571, d. 1633), Diarist." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. Accessed March 28 2015. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37555>.

Smith, Llinos Beverley. "Fosterage, Adoption and God-Parenthood: Ritual and Fictive Kinship in Medieval Wales." *Welsh History Review* 16, no. 1 (1992): 1-35.

Smuts, R. Malcolm. "Rich, Henry, First Earl of Holland (bap. 1590, d. 1649), Courtier." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. Accessed March 2 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23484>.

Sonmez, Margaret J.M. "A Study of Request Markers in English Family Letters from 1623-1660." *European Journal of English Studies* 9, no. 1 (April 2005): 9-19.

Sotheby's. *British Paintings 1500-1850: London, Wednesday 20<sup>th</sup> November 1985 at 11 am*. London: Sotheby's, 1985.

Spence, Richard T. "Clifford, Margaret, Countess of Cumberland (1560–1616), Noblewoman." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed July 22 2014. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5655>.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Lady Anne Clifford: Countess of Pembroke, Dorset and Montgomery (1590-1676)*. Stroud: Sutton, 1997.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Privateering Earl*. Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1995.

St Clare Byrne, M. "The Mother of Francis Bacon." *Blackwood's Magazine* 234, (December 1934): 758-771.

\_\_\_\_\_ and Gladys Scott Thompson. "My Lord's Books". The Library of Francis, Second Earl of Bedford, in 1584." *Review of English Studies* 7, no. 28 (October 1931): 385-405.

Starkey, David. "Rivals in Power: the Tudors and the Nobility." In *Lives and Letters of the Great Tudor Dynasties: Rivals in Power*, edited by David Starkey, 8-25. London: Macmillan, 1990.

Stearn, Catherine Howey. "Critique or Compliment? Lady Mary Sidney's 1573 New Year's Gift to Queen Elizabeth I." *Sidney Journal* 30, no. 2 (2012): 109-127.

Stebbing, William. *Sir Walter Raleigh: a Biography*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891.

Steen, Sara Jayne. "The Cavendish-Talbot Women: Playing a High-Stakes Game." In *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700*, edited by James Daybell, 147-163. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.

Stephens, Edgar. *The Clerks of the Counties, 1360-1960*. London: Society of Clerks of the Peace of Counties and of Clerks of County Councils, 1961.

Stevens, M.A. "Conway, Sir John (d. 1603), Writer and Soldier." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed March 9 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6123>.

Stevenson, David. "Erskine, Thomas, First Earl of Kellie (1566–1639), Courtier." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. Accessed March 4 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8872>.

Stretton, Timothy. *Women Waging Law in Elizabethan England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Stewart, Alan. "Bacon, Anthony (1558–1601), Spy." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed October 31 2011. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/988>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Voices of Anne Cooke, Lady Anne and Lady Bacon." In *'This Double Voice': Gendered Writing in Early Modern England*, edited by Danielle Clarke and Elizabeth Clarke, 88-102. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000.

Stone, Laurence. "Anatomy of the Elizabethan Aristocracy." *Economic History Review* 18, no. 1-2 (1948): 1-53.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Elizabethan Aristocracy - a Restatement." *Economic History Review* 4, no. 3 (1952): 302-321.

Strickland, Agnes. *Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest*. Vol. 3. London: George Bell, 1892.

Strong, Roy. "My Weeping Stagger I Crowne": the Persian Lady Reconsidered." In *The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy: Pageantry, Painting, Iconography*. Vol. 2, edited by Roy Strong, 303-324. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Nicholas Hilliard's Miniature of the 'Wizard Earl'." In *The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy: Pageantry, Painting, Iconography*. Vol. 2, edited by Roy Strong, 187-198. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Leicester House Miniatures: Robert Sidney, 1st Earl of Leicester and His Circle." *Burlington Magazine* 127, October (1985): 694-701.

\_\_\_\_\_. "A Portrait by Queen Elizabeth's Serjeant Painter." In *The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy: Pageantry, Painting, Iconography*. Vol. 2, edited by Roy Strong, 187-198. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Queen Elizabeth, the Earl of Essex and Nicholas Hilliard." In *The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy: Pageantry, Painting, Iconography*. Vol. 2, edited by Roy Strong, 181-186. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Sir Francis Carew's Garden at Beddington." In *The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy: Pageantry, Painting, Iconography*. Vol. 2, edited by Roy Strong, 325-336. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995.

Surrey County Council. "Chief Members of the More Family of Loseley and Other Main Correspondents." *Surrey County Council Website*. Surrey: Surrey County Council, 2013. Updated April 2015. Accessed May 7 2015.  
<http://new.surreycc.gov.uk/heritage-culture-and-recreation/archives-and-history/surrey-history-centre/surrey-history-centre-help-for-researchers/archives-and-history-research-guides/the-loseley-manuscripts-at-surrey-history-centre/chief-members-of-the-more-family-of-loseley-and-other-main-correspondents>.

Surrey History Centre. "More Molyneux Family of Loseley Park: Historical Correspondence Volumes." *Exploring Surrey's Past*. Woking: Surrey History Centre, 2012. Accessed January 4 2014.  
[http://www.exploringsurreypast.org.uk/collections/getrecord/SHCOL\\_6729](http://www.exploringsurreypast.org.uk/collections/getrecord/SHCOL_6729).

Swett, Katharine W. "The Account between Us": Honor, Reciprocity and Companionship in Male Friendship in the Later Seventeenth Century." *Albion* 31, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 1-30.

Thompson, I.A.A. "The Institutional Background to the Rise of the Minister-favourite." In *World of the Favourite*, edited by J.H. Elliott and L.W.B. Brockliss, 13-25. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Thorne, Alison. "Women's Petitionary Letters and Early Seventeenth-century Treason Trials." *Women's Writing* 13, no 1 (2006): 23-43.

Tighe, W.J. "Country into Court, Court into Country: John Scudamore of Holme Lacy (c. 1542-1623)." In *Tudor Political Culture*, edited by Dale Hoak, 157-178. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Tittler, Robert. "Bacon, Sir Nicholas (1510-1579), Lawyer and Administrator." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. Accessed October 31 2011. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1002>.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Nicholas Bacon: the Making of a Tudor Statesman*. Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1976.

Todd, Margo. *Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Humanists, Puritans and the Spiritualized Household." *Church History* 49, no. 1 (1980), 18-34.

Travitsky Betty S. "Clinton, Elizabeth, Countess of Lincoln (1574?-1630?), Noblewoman and Writer." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. Accessed March 4 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/40933>.

Trevalyan, Raleigh. *Sir Walter Raleigh*. London: Penguin, 2003.

Trevor-Roper, H. R. "The Elizabethan Aristocracy: an Anatomy Anatomized." *Economic History Review* 3, no. 3 (1951): 279-298.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Sutton, Thomas (1532-1611), Church of England Clergyman." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed March 11 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26806>.

Trim, D. J. B. "Vere, Sir Francis (1560/61-1609), Army Officer and Diplomat." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed March 11 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28209>.

Tuve, Rosemond. "Spenserus." In *Essays by Rosemond Tuve: Spenser, Herbert, Milton*, edited by Thomas P. Roche, 139-162. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970.

Ungerer, Gustav. *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England: the Correspondence of Antonio Perez's Exile*. Vol. 1. London: Tamesis Books, 1974.

Usher, Brett. "Gifford, George (1547/8-1600), Church of England Clergyman and Author." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed March 7 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10658>.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Rich, Robert, First Earl of Warwick (1559?-1619), Nobleman and Politician." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed April 30 2010. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/61021>.

Urwick, William. *Nonconformity in Hertfordshire: Being Lectures Upon the Nonconforming Worthies of St. Albans, and Memorials of Puritanism and Nonconformity in All the Parishes of the County of Hertford*. London: Hazell, Watson, and Viney Limited, 1884.

Varlow, Sally. *The Lady Penelope: The Lost Tale of Love and Politics at the Court of Elizabeth I*. London: Andre Deutsch, 2007.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Sir Francis Knollys's Latin Dictionary: New Evidence for Katherine Carey." *Historical Research* 80, no. 209 (2007): 315-323.

Walker, Claire. "Doe not suppose me a well mortified Nun dead to the world": Letter-Writing in Early Modern English Convents." In *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450-1700*, edited by James Daybell, 159-176. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.

Wall, Alison. "Deference and Defiance in Women's Letters of the Thynne family: the Rhetoric of Relationships." In *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450-1700*, edited by James Daybell, 77-93. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Greatest Disgrace": the Making and Unmaking of JPs in Elizabethan and Jacobean England." *English Historical Review* 119, no. 481 (2004): 312-332.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Patterns of Politics in England, 1558-1603." *Historical Journal* 31, no. 4 (1988): 947-996.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Points of Contact": Court Favourites and County Faction in Elizabethan England." *Parergon* 6, no. 1 (1988): 215-226.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Rich [née Devereux], Penelope, Lady Rich (1563-1607), Noblewoman." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed August 10 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23490>.

Wallace, Willard. *Sir Walter Raleigh*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959.

Walsham, Alexandra. "Coppingier, Edmund (c.1555–1591), Prophet." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed March 7 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6278>.

Warnicke, Retha M. "Family and Kinship Relations at the Henrician Court: the Boleyns and the Howards." In *Tudor Political Culture*, edited by Dale Hoak, 31-53. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Women and Humanism in England." In *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*. Vol. 2, edited by A. Rabil Jr., 39-54. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988.

Weiss Gallery, *Tudor and Stuart Portraits from the Collections of the English Nobility and their Great Country Houses*. London: Weiss Gallery, 2012.

Wernham, R. B. *The Return of the Armadas: the Last Years of the Elizabethan War Against Spain, 1595-1603*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Westhauser, Karl E. "Friendship and Family in Early Modern England: the Sociability of Adam Eyre and Samuel Pepys." *Journal of Social History* 27, no. 3 (Spring 1994), 517-536.

Whigham, Frank. "The Rhetoric of Elizabethan Suitors' Letters." *PMLA* 96, no. 5 (1981): 864-882.

White, Paul Whitfield. "Shakespeare, the Cobhams and the Dynamics of Theatrical Patronage." In *Shakespeare and Theatrical Patronage in Early Modern England*, edited by Paul Whitefield White and Suzanne R. Westfall, 64-89. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Whitelock, Anna. *Elizabeth's Bedfellows: An Intimate History of the Queen's Court*. London: Bloomsbury, 2013.

Whitfield, Christopher. "Sir Lewis Lewkenor and *The Merchant of Venice*: a Suggested Connexion." *Notes & Queries* 11, no. 4 (1964): 123-133.

Whiting, Mary Bradford. "Anne, Lady Bacon." *Contemporary Review* 122, (October 1922): 497-508.

Whitt, P. B. "New Light on Sir William Cornwallis, the Essayist." *Review of English Studies* 8, no. 30 (1932): 155-169.

Whyman, Susan. "Gentle Companions: Single Women and their Letters in Late Stuart England." In *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450-1700*, edited by James Daybell, 177-193. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Pen and the People: English Letter Writers 1660-1800*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Wiesner-Hanks, Merry. "Gender in Early Modern Europe: Introduction to Recent Studies." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 31, no. 1, (2000): 3-5.

Wiffen, J.H. *Historical Memoirs of the House of Russell from the Time of the Norman Conquest*. Vol. 1. London: Longman, 1883.

Wijffels, Alain. "Caesar [formerly Adelmare], Sir Julius (bap. 1558, d. 1636), Civil Lawyer." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed March 9 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4328>.

Willen, Diane. "Godly Women in Early Modern England: Puritanism and Gender." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 43, no. 4 (1992): 561-580.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Russell, John, First Earl of Bedford (c.1485–1555), Courtier and Magnate." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Accessed April 23 2014. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24319>.



Williams, Neville. *All the Queen's Men: Elizabeth I and her Courtiers*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972.

Williams, Penry. "Herbert, Henry, Second earl of Pembroke (b. in or after 1538, d. 1601), Nobleman and Administrator." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed March 9 2013.  
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13028>.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Tudor Regime*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979.

Williamson, George C. *Lady Anne Clifford: Countess of Dorset, Pembroke & Montgomery, 1590-1676: Her Life, Letters and Work*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Wakefield, Yorkshire: S.R. Publishers, 1967.

\_\_\_\_\_. *George, Third Earl of Cumberland (1558-1605) His Life and His Voyages: a Study from Original Documents*. Cambridge: University Press, 1920.

Wilson, Charles. *Queen Elizabeth and the Revolt of the Netherlands*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970.

Wilson, Derek. *Sweet Robin: a Biography of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester 1533-1588*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1981.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Uncrowned Kings of England: the Black Legend of the Dudleys*. London: Constable, 2005.

Wilson, Violet A. *Queen Elizabeth's Maids of Honour and Ladies of the Privy Chamber*. London: John Lane, 1922.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Society Women of Shakespeare's Time*. London: Bodley Head, [1924].

Wingfield, Robert. "The *Vita Mariae Angliae Reginae* of Robert Wingfield of Brantham." Edited and translated by Diarmind MacCulloch. In *Camden Miscellany*, 4<sup>th</sup> series, no. 28, 181-301. London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1984.

Wingfield-Stratford, Esme. *The Lords of Cobham Hall*. London: Cassell, 1959.

Woodworth, Allegra. "Purveyance for the Royal Household in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, new series 35, no. 1 (December 1945): 1-89.

Wootton, David. "Francis Bacon: Your Flexible Friend." In *The World of the Favourite*, edited by J.H. Elliott and L.W.B. Brockliss, 184-204. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.



Worden, Blair. "Favourites on the English Stage." In *The World of the Favourite*, edited by J.H. Elliott and L.W.B. Brockliss, 159-183. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Wormald, Jenny. "Ecclesiastical Vitriol: the Kirk, the Puritans and the Future King of England." In *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*, edited by John Guy, 171-191. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Woudhuysen, H.R. "Sidney, Sir Philip (1554–1586), Author and Courtier." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. Accessed August 11 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25522>.

Wright, Pam. "A Change in Direction: the Ramifications of a Female Household, 1558-1603." In *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, edited by David Starkey, 147-172. London: Longman, 1987.

Wright, Stephen. "Rockray, Edmund (d. 1597), Church of England Clergyman." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Accessed November 5 2011. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23924>.

Wynne, Sonya. "The Mistresses of Charles II and Restoration Court Politics." In *The Stuart Courts*, edited by Eveline Cruickshanks, 171-190. Stroud: Sutton, 2000.

Younger, Neil. "William Lambarde on the Politics of Enforcement in Elizabethan England." *Historical Research* 83, no. 219 (February 2010): 69-82.

## Unpublished Theses

Bundesen, Kristin. "“No Other Faction But my Own”: Dynastic Politics and Elizabeth I's Carey Cousins." Ph.D. diss., University of Nottingham, 2008.

Farber, Elizabeth. "Letters of Lady Elizabeth Russell (1540-1609)." Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1977.

Goldsmith, Joan Barbara Greenbaum. "All the Queen's Women: the Changing Place and Perception of Aristocratic Women in Elizabethan England, 1558-1620." Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1987.

Jeffries, Tania Claire. "Women, Marriage and Survival in Early Modern England: the Hastings, Earls and Countesses of Huntingdon, 1620-1690." Ph.D. diss., University of Adelaide, 2005.

Margetts, Michele. "Stella Britanna: the Early Life (1563-1592) of Lady Penelope Devereux, Lady Rich (D. 1607)." Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1992.

Merton, Charlotte Isabelle. "The Women who Served Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth: Ladies, Gentlewomen and Maids of the Privy Chamber, 1553-1603." Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1992.

Payne, Helen Margaret. "Aristocratic Women and the Jacobean Court, 1603-1625." Ph.D. diss., University of London, 2001.

Wolfson, Sara Joy. "Aristocratic Women of the Household and Court of Queen Henrietta Maria, 1625-1659." Ph.D. diss., University of Durham, 2010.

Woolcott, Elizabeth. "Maternity's Wards: Investigations of Sixteenth Century Patterns of Maternal Guardianship." M.A., diss., Utah State University, 2003.