

**‘NO OTHER FACTION BUT MY OWN’:
DYNASTIC POLITICS AND
ELIZABETH I’S CAREY COUSINS**

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Abstract

This thesis explores the relationship between kinship networks and Elizabethan politics. Elizabeth I's Carey cousins, part of the larger Boleyn kinship network, provide the case study. Serving her through three generations dating from before her ascension to her death, Elizabeth enjoyed the benefits and tribulations of the constant presence of her extended family. Extending Elton's 'points of contact' model to include not only court, privy council and parliament but also military and foreign service, allows analysis of the role of kinship networks in Elizabethan government. The gender inclusive nature of kinship networks demonstrates that women participated more fully in the political landscape than has hitherto been accepted. The Carey presence across the extended model provided stability and served as a bulwark against the factionalism so often assumed to have been a leading characteristic of the Elizabethan court. The Careys entered the family business of politics and government and kept Elizabeth within a family context thereby moderating the image of the solitary female ruler *Gloriana*.

This work is divided into four main sections. After a discussion of the methodological issues and a review of the literature, chapter three analyses the value of kinship networks, the wider royal and non-royal relations and introduces the first generation of Careys including their relationships with Elizabeth before 1558. Chapter four begins with Elizabeth's accession in 1558, her sense of family and the initial placement of Carey cousins in the new government. Chapters five and six place the family within an extended 'points of contact' model. Chapter seven juxtaposes a dynastic chronology, a key methodological approach for analyzing family participation in political events, in this case the arrival of Mary Queen of Scots in England. The thesis ends with the conclusion that the family was the essential political unit of the late Tudor period and that consequently men and women were both active pursuing dynastic ambitions and therefore political ambitions. The Careys, as a prominent dynasty, also benefitted from

their consanguineal relationship with the queen herself placing them at the centre of the Elizabethan political scene. Extensive appendices provide reference tables of Elizabethan relatives both royal and non-royal, the Careys specifically, their participation in the various 'points of contact' model and a sample chronology. Also included are transcriptions of letters written by women of the Carey family illustrating their use of kinship in shaping the political landscape.

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for Hannah and Russ

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Preliminary Notes

Place of publication is London unless otherwise noted. Specific volumes and dates are noted in each footnote reference.

Abbreviations

BL	British Library
Cecil Papers	<i>Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury, K. G., ...</i> : Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire
Collected Works	<i>Elizabeth I: Collected Works</i> , edited by L.Marcus, J.Mueller, and M.Rose (Chicago, 2000)
Complete Peerage	<i>The Complete Peerage</i> , edited by V.Gibbs (1910)
CPR	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>
CSP-Borders	<i>Calendar of State Papers concerning the Scottish Borders</i>
CSP-Domestic	<i>Calendar of State Papers Domestic</i>
CSP-Foreign	<i>Calendar of State Papers Foreign</i>
CSP-Ireland	<i>Calendar of State Papers Ireland</i>
CSP-Scottish	<i>Calendar of State Papers Scottish</i>
CSP-Spanish	<i>Calendar of Letters and State Papers Relating to English Affairs Preserved Principally in the Archives of Simancas</i>
De L'Isle & Dudley Papers	<i>Report on the Manuscripts of the Right Honourable Viscount De L'Isle & Dudley: Preserved at Penshurst Place</i> . All references are to volume 5.
HMC	<i>Historical Manuscripts Commission</i>
HoP	<i>The History of Parliament: House of Commons</i> , the various volumes are denoted by the editor's name (Her Majesty's Stationery Office)
L&I Soc.	List and Index Society
NA	National Archives, Public Record Office
NAS	National Archives Scotland
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> . All references are to the online edition.
Talbot, Dudley & Devereux Papers	<i>Talbot, Dudley and Devereux Papers 1533-1659, Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Bath, preserved at Longleat, Wiltshire</i>

Dates are in the old style but years are taken to start on 1 January.

1 The Problem, the approach and the challenges

Tudor politics have been researched, written, re-written and re-visioned, yet the resulting political historiography has primarily focussed on individual monarchs, dominant male personalities, developing government institutions, increased administrative bureaucracy and, more recently, explorations of faction and patronage networks. Yet, in a dynastic kingdom, the fundamental political unit was the family starting with the monarchial family at the centre and surrounded by elite families extending out through the political landscape. So far, social history of elite families has treated political involvement only as an incidental influence on literature, the arts or gifting. Most research on the early-modern family has been of the middling and lower sorts.¹ Nevertheless, at the heart of Tudor England was the royal family. For better or worse, politics revolved around their family politics. They set standards for behaviour, fashion, education and individual political agency that were then copied by those around them.² Their dynastic machinations were the lifeblood of the kingdom affecting domestic, foreign and religious policy and deriving legitimacy and power from their relationships with each other and the families surrounding them.³

The Tudor monarchy was founded on marriage between the two warring families of Lancaster and York, between Henry Tudor and Elizabeth of York. By marrying the eldest daughter of Edward IV who was also the strongest Yorkist claimant to the throne, Henry VII created a new royal family symbolised by combining the red rose of Lancaster and the white rose of York into the

1 For example, R.O'Day, *The Family and Family Relationships, 1500-1900* (1994) contains one section of two pages on aristocratic families, pp.66-8.

2 For the duke of Norfolk following royal standards by educating his daughters see R.Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance and Reformation* (Westport, CT, 1983), p.39.

3 S.Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony* (1996), for example, analyses Elizabeth's marriage negotiations and the consequent political policy ramifications.

red and white Tudor rose. With the stability of the realm dependant upon the success of this new family, Henry VII and Elizabeth of York dutifully produced seven children although only one son and two daughters survived to maturity. Henry VIII also had only one son and two daughters survive past childhood but required six wives, instead of his father's one, for the same achievement while none of his heirs had children of their own.⁴ Older branches of the royal family were lopped off over time reducing potential threats to the new dynasty and seemingly reducing the Tudor family to extinction by Elizabeth's death in 1603.⁵ This reduction of rivals was partly an illusion constructed to portray strength and stability and partly ruthless political survivalism. With no royal claimants, the family at the heart of the kingdom would remain safe from serious challengers and potential civil war. Despite this pruning of the royal tree, by the time Elizabeth I came to the throne, her kinship network was still extensive, the single largest group being her Boleyn 'cousins'. This relationship, the primary focus of this thesis, provided her with a loyal political staff that, for the most part, she counted on to have 'no faction beside my will'.⁶

While it might seem obvious that a kingdom headed by a dynastic monarch would be a kingdom based upon family, research into families as the elemental political unit in early-modern England has not attracted much attention. Moreover, if dynastic kingdoms depended on family networks, then it follows that women and men, the two required components for a basic family structure, were most successful when working interdependently. This, in turn, forces a re-examination of conventional views of political agency as an individual activity

4 S.Bindoff, *Tudor England* (Middlesex, 1950), pp.46-7.

5 Henry VII, Henry VIII, Mary I and Elizabeth I executed royal relations, including some dukes of Buckingham, dukes of Norfolk, various Poles, and Jane Grey, throughout their reigns.

6 *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, edited by L.Marcus, J.Mueller, and M.Rose (Chicago, 2000), p.267. Letter from Elizabeth to James VI, November 1585 recommending the bearer William Knollys, her first cousin once removed.

dominated by individual male personalities. If the family was fundamental to dynastic politics then single-gender history provides only half the story. From male factional court politics to female gift-exchange networks, the tendency to research history as though the two sexes lived completely separate lives, intersecting only at the point of marriage, has limited our understanding of political agency as practiced by early-modern elite families.⁷

The single-gender lens of Tudor political history seems especially disconcerting given that for fifty of the dynasty's 118 years the throne was held by queens-regnant. Clearly women were politically involved at the highest level. Despite this, historians have continued to characterise Mary and Elizabeth Tudor as 'accidents'.⁸ Viewing these female monarchs as gender anomalies isolates them, and by extension other elite women, from their political context. It also contradicts basic historical facts. The prevalence of sixteenth-century female rulers provided opportunities for elite women's participation in dynastic politics if for no other reason than the increase in royal households headed by women. Women were politically visible ruling in their own name as queens-regnant or acting as regents throughout the sixteenth century. Within England, Scotland, France (encompassing Brittany) and the Low Countries, there were 165 years of formal female rule in the hundred years between 1500 and 1599.⁹ Women were the majority in 1531 and from 1560 to 1563 ruling three out of these four states, Brittany having formally been incorporated into France in 1532. These women

⁷ See chapter 2 for a discussion of the literature.

⁸ M. Levine, 'The place of women in Tudor government' in D. Guth and J. McKenna (eds.), *Tudor Rule and Revolution: Essays for GR Elton from His American Friends* (Cambridge, 1982), p.123.

⁹ Elizabeth I's 42 years on the throne are the longest, but Margaret of Austria was regent of the Low Countries for 23 years and Mary of Hungary for 24. There is one case of double counting here; Mary Queen of Scots' reign from her coronation as a baby in 1542 to her exile from Scotland in 1567 equals 25 years, six of which also include Mary of Guise's regency. In this case, there was a female regent for a young and distant female queen-regnant.

flouted what is assumed to have been conventional gender-limited behaviour and were actively involved in dynastic and political affairs. The 1529 Treaty of Cambrai, also known as the 'Ladies Peace', ended nearly nine years of warfare between France and the Hapsburgs over territory on the Italian peninsula and was negotiated by Louise of Savoy representing France, and Margaret of Austria representing her nephew, Charles V.¹⁰ This treaty's nickname may sound slightly pejorative to modern ears, yet it clearly indicates that these women were fully engaged in the political process. In this context, it would be unrealistic to presume that Mary and Elizabeth Tudor were the only two politically active women in sixteenth-century England. Recovering this missing component of the political narrative requires new approaches that challenge basic assumptions about early modern politics and gender relations.

To begin with, the context for early-modern elite female political activity has not been clearly defined. Since the rise of second-wave feminism, there has been strong interest in researching independent female political agency, partly to counter the image of the politically independent man. This image of independence suggested that in order to establish gender parity, men and women's activities should be researched separately lending weight to the assumption that independence is a core component of political effectiveness. Combining this with the additional assumption that there was little archival support for female political activity contributed to the adoption of the 'separate spheres' model of gender history. If there was a paucity of sources available from which to base an image of the independent female, then in order to reconstruct any history at all, a female 'private sphere' would be imagined where lives could exist outside the gaze of public record.¹¹ The 'separate spheres' model served a useful purpose,

10 J.Freeman, 'Louise of Savoy: a case of maternal opportunism', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 3 (1972), 96.

11 For discussion of the 'separate spheres' model as a tool for historical research and analysis see chapter 2 and A.Vickery, 'Golden age to separate spheres?', *Historical Journal* 36 (1993), 383-414; L.Kerber, 'Separate spheres, female worlds, woman's place', *Journal of American History* 75 (1988), 9-39.

but not for the political historian. Further segregation of the genders does not aid understanding of the political role of either. Instead, examining the political landscape requires including all the participants, both male and female.

Researching elite political agency that includes both genders requires a convergence of methodologies as well as new approaches. Social historians have used gift-exchange theory to extend and define early-modern female social networks, although primarily for the middling sorts and for French elites.¹² Research into authorship and literary patronage has also flourished, revealing complex systems of female networks.¹³ At the same time, ‘new political historians’ have differentiated between politics and administrative institutions creating additional research space for elite political participation divorced from office.¹⁴ These methodologies have highlighted research into the political nature of social networks but have overlooked the most basic social network, the family.

The dynastic, familial, context by definition includes men, women, siblings, children, in-laws, grandparents and god-parents. Working within this kinship context requires clearly identifying elite men and women and establishing both their consanguineal and conjugal relationships. Wider dynastic ambitions depended on extended kinship relationships, so degrees of family relationship need to be clarified in order to complete the dynastic picture. By linking ‘private sphere’ research such as household and estate management, births, christenings and marriages to ‘public sphere’ events such as grants of office, military activity

12 N.Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 2000) and S.Kettering ‘The Patronage power of early-modern French noblewomen’, *Historical Journal* 32 (1989), 817-841 both extend the work of M.Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason For Exchange in Archaic Societies*, W.D. Halls (trans., 1990).

13 J.Daybell (ed.), *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700* (Aldershot, 2004) contains many strong essays on this topic including those by Daybell, H.Payne, B.Harris and S.Steen.

14 For discussion of ‘new political history’ see N.Mears, ‘Courts, courtiers, and culture in Tudor England’, *Historical Journal* 46 (2003), 703-722.

and diplomatic assignments a more complete dynastic chronology may be constructed. Comparing these chronologies to wider political events allows analysis of the role of the elite family in the political life of the kingdom and at the same time dissolves the artificial private-public boundary. Re-examining early-modern politics through a dynastic, as opposed to gender-segregated, lens it is clear not only that women participated in politics but also that men and women relied on each other to realise familial ambitions. Additionally, some political activity formerly gendered as either male or female emerges as standard behaviour for both men and women. So, an alternate approach that places both men and women within their family contexts reveals new patterns of activity and repopulates the political landscape.

David Cressy has written that in seventeenth-century England ‘a dense and extended kindred was a store of wealth, like a reserve account to be drawn upon as need arose’.¹⁵ This awareness of kindred relationships was inherited from at least the sixteenth century. The Elizabethans were aware, even hyper-aware, of family relationships and consistently used them to further their objectives. The use of relationship titles and forms of address clearly underlines the importance attached to familial relationship in all forms of written Tudor communication.

References to kinship were frequently the opening form of address in correspondence, especially if the purpose was to request a favour. Family relationships were so important that degrees of kinship were frequently conflated. Brothers-in-law became brothers, daughters-in-law became daughters, stepmothers became mothers and regardless of degree all cousins became simply ‘cousin’. The style was set at the highest level. Monarchs referred to each other not only as cousins but also by the more intimate terms of parent and sibling.

¹⁵ D.Cressy, ‘Kinship and kin interaction in early modern England’, *Past and Present* 113 (1986), 69.

Despite the tensions that irrevocably coloured their relationship, Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots called each other sister although they were first cousins once removed.¹⁶ Elizabeth referred to James VI as ‘brother’ and James signed his letters to her as ‘your most loving and devoted brother and son’.¹⁷ As the son of Mary Queen of Scots, the consanguinal relationship between Elizabeth and James was that of first cousins twice removed. In this particular case, Elizabeth was also James’s god-mother, so the use of the terms mother and son may have referred also to this spiritual relationship. While an argument can be made that familial forms of address between monarchs were merely a convention, the development of this style as opposed to a more ornate and distant one, implies that an intimate relationship such as that between family members was preferred over a more remote and august form of address between monarchs.

Even potential relationships were assumed to be real. One example of the anticipatory nature of kinship ties was the case of Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford and Frances Howard, daughter of William Howard and Margaret Gamage, who were calling each other husband and wife for five years before any public ceremony occurred. The ceremony was delayed because of hesitation over how best to present the engagement to the queen.¹⁸ Seymour had only recently regained the queen’s favour after the death of his first wife Lady Katherine Grey, who had been a maid of the court and a potential heiress to the

16 *Collected Works*, pp.117, 119. Elizabeth’s grandparents Henry VII and Elizabeth of York were the great-grandparents of Mary Queen of Scots.

17 For some examples see *Collected Works*, pp.263, 265, 266, 274. James VI’s father Henry Stewart, lord Darnley was related to Elizabeth in the same degree as his wife Mary Queen of Scots, both were first cousins once removed.

18 HMC, *Bath Longleat Manuscripts, Seymour Papers* 58, M.Blatcher, (ed.) (1968) vol. 4, for marriage date pp.153-4; for letters calling each other husband and wife pp.148-9; for her brother suing the queen for permission to marry p.158.

throne.¹⁹ Their secret marriage in 1560 landed them both in prison.²⁰ As his new intended, Frances Howard, was also a lady of the privy chamber and daily in the queen's presence they did not want to risk another royal reaction to a secret marriage.²¹ Despite the delay, their relationship was common knowledge within the close family. Seymour's son, Edward Lord Beauchamp in a letter dated 15 March 1582 discussing whether he had promised marriage to Honora Rogers before consulting his father, referred to Frances, who would not officially be his stepmother for another five years, as 'my good mother'.²² Beauchamp's use of the familial form of address presumed a familial relationship and the consequent responsibility; that of a mother who could help intercede with a father in negotiating a filial marriage.

According to Lawrence Stone, this conflation of kinship continued through to the early seventeenth century when Thomas Wentworth claimed Henry Slingsby as his cousin across seven genealogical links. Stone adds that three of these links were by marriage implying that conjugal kinship is less significant.²³ On the contrary, expansion of the kinship network was a key objective of marriage. Clearly, without marriage the family, and consequently dynastic ambition, would die out. Marriage increased and multiplied the kinship network even without

19 *Complete Peerage*, vol. 6, p.505 says Grey was buried in February 1568. There is significant confusion over Grey's exact court title. J.Goldsmith, 'All the queen's women: the changing place and perception of aristocratic women in Elizabethan England, 1558-1620', unpublished PhD dissertation (Northwestern University, 1987), p.269 lists her as a lady of the presence chamber/gentlewoman privy chamber. C.Merton, 'Women who served Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth: ladies, gentlewomen and maids of the privy chamber', unpublished PhD thesis (Trinity College, Cambridge, 1990) lists her as a maid of honour on p.261. The Spanish ambassador refers to her as a lady of the presence chamber in *CSP-Spanish 1559*, p.45.

20 *Complete Peerage*, vol. 6, p.505.

21 She was appointed in either 1568, Merton, 'The women who served', p.10; or in 1570, pp.226, 262. See also, BL Lansdowne MS 34, 30 fol.76.

22 *Seymour Papers* vol. 4, pp.148-9. They married in 1587, pp.153-4.

23 L.Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (1977), p.94.

offspring. The conjugal connection between two families and the conflation of relationships automatically increased each family member's 'mothers', 'fathers', 'sisters', 'brothers' and of course 'cousins'. In many cases, this marital expansion of the kinship network became the supporting structure of client networks.²⁴ Or, as Charlotte Merton has put it 'marriage held a fascination which was inevitable given the money, land and power at stake'.²⁵ Consequently, marriage was a key component of dynastic ambition.

Political historians need to explore kinship links formed by marriage before they can measure the strength and nature of political allegiances. This has been recognized, a little belatedly, by Simon Adams who in 1995 noted that his 1992 analysis of Robert Dudley earl of Leicester's 1584 parliamentary clientele was flawed by the fact that he had been unaware of the relationship between Leicester's wife of six years and her brother, Leicester's brother-in-law, Richard Knollys.²⁶ Evaluating the extension of a kinship network through marriage, such as that between Leicester and Lettice Knollys Devereux countess of Essex, seems essential to understanding how client networks functioned. Indeed, Richard was one of the few people present at Robert and Lettice's secret wedding in 1578.²⁷ He was so highly thought of within the family that he, along with his brother William, was a trustee of Lettice's jointure.²⁸ Clearly by 1584, Richard Knollys

24 M.Graves, 'The Common lawyers and the privy council's parliamentary men-of-business, 1584-1601', *Parliamentary History* 8 (1989), 203.

25 Merton, 'Women who served', p.128.

26 S.Adams, *Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 1558-1561, 1584-1586*, Camden Fifth Series vol. 6 (1995), p.478. Adams references his own 'The Dudley clientele and the House of Commons, 1559-1586' in G.Bernard (ed.) *The Tudor Nobility* (Manchester, 1992), pp.241-65.

27 Also present were the officiating clergyman, Humphrey Tyndall, the countess's father Sir Francis Knollys, Ambrose Dudley earl of Warwick, Henry Herbert earl of Pembroke, and Roger North baron North. S.Adams, 'Dudley, Lettice, countess of Essex and countess of Leicester (1543-1634)', *ODNB; Complete Peerage*, vol. 5, p.141, n. (d).

28 Adams, *Household Accounts*, p.478.

had been sharing in the responsibilities of his kinship network for some time and this network included Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester. Without establishing the kinship context first, a full understanding of client networks is not possible.

The next step is to map kinship networks onto political and governmental structures. The Tudor century saw many changes, some say revolutionary changes, in administration.²⁹ The extension of the monarch's household from feudal power base to kingdom-wide administration increased demand for lawyers and secretaries to manage the record keeping of the growing bureaucracy. With the establishment of paid positions in the household and formalisation of royal household management under the Eltham ordinances in 1526, records of payments to those attending the monarch became more regular.³⁰ This has provided us with some information, albeit far from complete, on the institution that Geoffrey Elton has identified as the 'largest single establishment of salaried and fee-earning posts in the realm'.³¹ The royal household was political ground zero and from 1553 until 1603 was run by women. With the accession of queens-regnant, more women were required in the royal household. Both the increased tendency to keep records and presence of more women at court therefore present the opportunity to analyse elite kinship networks and dynastic interdependence.

Mary's five-year reign established the precedent of a female monarchical household. Elizabeth's royal household staff varied from her sister's in terms of personnel but the essential structure remained. Consequently, from the beginning of her reign, elite families were already aware of the potential opportunities for dynastic advancement and were ready to take advantage of

29 Notably G.Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government: Administrative Changes in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1953). See chapter 2 for further discussion.

30 J.Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford, 1988), pp.103-4.

31 G.Elton, 'Presidential address: Tudor government: the points of contact, III; the court', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 26 (1976), 213.

them. Additionally, the length of Elizabeth's reign provides the opportunity to study multi-generational dynastic constructs – an option not readily available in the two previous short reigns. Favoured families were able to provide male and female service both to the royal household and to the wider court through multiple generations over the course of Elizabeth's forty-five year reign. The Carey family, one of the most prominent examples, provided three generations of service to Elizabeth, as well as being well represented in the royal households of the following reign.³² So, both the increasing tendency to document the structure of the court, the political importance of the royal household and the length of Elizabeth's reign point to the late Tudor period as a potentially rich research opportunity for analysing the relationship between kinship and political structures, whilst at the same time restoring gender balance to the historical narrative.

Cressy characterizes kinship systems as both 'egocentric and bilateral, contextual and informal'.³³ The same could be said of the political system. The discussion of political agency in any context requires distinguishing between power, office and authority. While office was a crucial component of the system, the authority and personality of the office holder determined his or her effectiveness. Hannah Arendt's discussion of power can be used as a counter-balance to the debate over independent agency in Tudor England.³⁴ Arendt provides a simple statement regarding power structures that is devoid of gender connotations: 'Power is never the property of an individual; it belongs to a group and remains in existence only so long as the group keeps together'.³⁵ She emphasizes that the exercise of power by a single individual must be acknowledged and supported by group

³² See chapters 3 and 4.

³³ Cressy, 'Kinship and kin', 67.

³⁴ H. Arendt, *On Power* (New York, 1969). Arendt wrote in the post-war context about the rise of fascist and Nazi political parties.

³⁵ Arendt, *On Power*, pp.44-5.

dynamics and does not belong to any specific office a single individual may hold. Similarly, authority is legitimized by group acceptance of the office holder's right to exercise power. It is not vested solely in office and in and of itself has no gender. Therefore, personalities, not office, were crucial to the exercise of both authority and power. Influential personalities depended on their 'group', their kinship networks, to exercise power egocentrically, bilaterally, contextually and informally. When the properties of authority and power are defined in this manner, holding office becomes only one of many criteria relevant to analysis of political effectiveness.

In Elizabethan England, an individual's relationship to the monarch largely dictated how others perceived their power and effectiveness. Elton has pointed out that at court 'influence, even if sometimes reflected in office, really depended on personal standing with the prince; that standing might or might not be embodied in office, nor need that office be a Court office, nor can standing necessarily be measured by the relative importance of offices held'.³⁶ For example, although Robert Dudley's primary office in 1559 was master of the horse, a household appointment, his political influence was as great as that of any privy councillor because the group, the court, recognized that his power transcended the theoretical scope of his office.³⁷ At the same time, his sister Mary Dudley Sidney was a member of the privy chamber and his brother was master of the ordnance.³⁸ So he had egocentric and bilateral, contextual and informal political influence both through his direct relationship with the monarch and through his kinship network. Political agency at the Elizabethan court was indisputably limited by gendered office - there were certainly no female privy councillors - but not by knowledge, judgment, will or more importantly the widespread recognition that

36 Elton, 'Points of contact; the court', 216.

37 Adams, 'Dudley, Robert, earl of Leicester', *ODNB*.

38 For Mary Dudley Sidney's post see NA LC2/4/3 fol. 53v. For Ambrose Dudley see O'Day, *The Longman Companion to the Tudor Age*, p.186.

in practice individuals were powerful because of their relationships both with the monarch and their kin.³⁹

The gendering of office in general has even obscured the political agency conferred by the office of monarch. This office is particularly useful to consider because while the office was gender-neutral, gender-specific assumptions were made about the office-holder who could, in practice, confound these assumptions. Despite this, government offices in Tudor England below the throne were distinctly gendered; privy councillor, member of parliament, admiral and so on were universally filled by men just as lady of the privy and bed-chamber were filled by women. While the men were expected to participate in the political life of the kingdom there have been gendered assumptions that these female office-holders confined their activities to the wardrobe, make-up and intimate care of the queen and did not participate in the political discourse.⁴⁰ Kings also had body-servants, drawn from the elite ranks, to help them with their clothes, hair and food, but the men who held these offices are rarely assumed to be apolitical.⁴¹ Some male royal household posts conferred automatic membership to the privy council, further dissolving the line between the royal household, designated as private, and the more public sphere of the privy council. Mortimer Levine's statement that women 'had no significant place in Tudor government' presupposes that there is no relationship between politics and government and that the distinction

39 For discussion of the gender of knowledge, judgment, will, authority and office see K.Jones 'What is authority's gender?' in N.Hirschmann and C.Di Stefano (eds.), *Revisioning the Political: Feminist Reconstructions of Traditional Concepts in Western Political Theory* (Colorado, 1996), pp.75-94. B.Harris, 'Women and politics in early Tudor England', *Historical Journal* 33 (June 1990), 259-281, includes discussion of early Tudor female office holders but not within the royal household.

40 P.Wright, 'A change in direction: the ramifications of a female household, 1558-1603' in D.Starkey (ed.), *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (Harlow, 1987), pp.147-172.

41 See discussion of Henry VII's household in D.Starkey, 'Intimacy and innovation: the rise of the privy chamber, 1485-1547' in Starkey (ed.), *The English Court*, pp.29-58.

of office is essential to participation in government politics.⁴² Equally, John Guy emphasizes that ‘Elizabeth’s government relied upon men who were at once major political figures and leading court officials...’ hinting at the confluence between political power and the authority conveyed by office among male courtiers. However, he distinguishes this from Elizabeth’s reliance in filling her privy chamber on ‘... women who were either her former servants or the wives and daughters of these same politicians’.⁴³ The inference is that these highly-placed female courtiers were neither ‘major political figures’ nor ‘leading court officials’.

Yet, the possibility that Elizabeth’s relationships with her female courtiers could involve the same issues as her relationships with their male counterparts, as well as relations between husbands and wives, fathers and daughters, is surely worth consideration. After all, how feasible is it that these well-connected women, deeply interested in the political futures of their aristocratic dynasties, left their political ambitions behind them when they stepped over the threshold of the royal, or their own, household? It is unrealistic to presume that those who held offices within royal chambers, the political centre of the kingdom, whether male or female, never discussed politics with their family and friends. In practice, both male and female participation in politics relied primarily on kinship networks. Even the distinctly male House of Commons, administrative departments and local justice systems were largely staffed through kinship-managed client networks.⁴⁴ Examining the relationship between family members across generations in achieving dynastic goals is therefore potentially more relevant to understanding politics than exploring independent female or male agency.

42 Levine, ‘The place of women’, p.123.

43 Guy, *Tudor England*, p.255. At the same time, he casually points to kinship as a possible underpinning to political staffing.

44 Adams ‘Dudley clientele’; W.MacCaffrey, ‘Place and patronage in Elizabethan politics’ in S.Bindoff, J.Hurstfield, and C.Williams (eds.), *Elizabethan Government and Society: Essays Presented to Sir John Neale* (1961), pp.95-126; M.Graves, *The Tudor Parliaments: Crown, Lords and Commons, 1485 – 1603* (1985), p.133.

Approach

The purpose of political agency is to create or change policy that is subsequently implemented by government institutions. Elton's influential essays on Tudor 'points of contact' suggested that access through the three representative avenues of court, council and Parliament to the central political figure in the kingdom, the monarch, sufficiently satisfied ambition and consequently lent stability to the age.⁴⁵ However, the 'representative' nature of court, council and parliament is debatable and it is much more likely that these contact points represented dynastic will, including Elizabeth's, as opposed to any sense of public weal.⁴⁶ Alternately, these three contact points may be seen as a bridge between the centre of political power, the monarch and her people. Despite the institutional approach of Elton's work and subsequent debates, the 'points of contact' model provides a useful framework for discussing Elizabethan government. However, he limited it to the court, encompassing the royal household, privy council and Parliament, leaving room for development. Even though neither was institutionalized enough to draw Elton's attention, extending his model to include military and diplomatic functions is appropriate as these two areas of service represented the sword arm and wit necessary to navigate Elizabeth's foreign policy and were equally crucial to the governmental machinery of her reign. The extended model then provides a framework for discussing the connection between kinship networks and politics.

45 G.R.Elton, all printed in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 'Presidential address: Tudor government: the points of contact I, the parliament' 24 (1974), 183-200; 'Presidential address: Tudor government: the points of contact II, the council' 25 (1975), 195-211; and the already referenced 'Tudor government: the points of contact III, the court' 26 (1976), 211-228.

46 See Elton, 'Tudor government: points of contact I, the parliament', 190 for discussion on the role of representation.

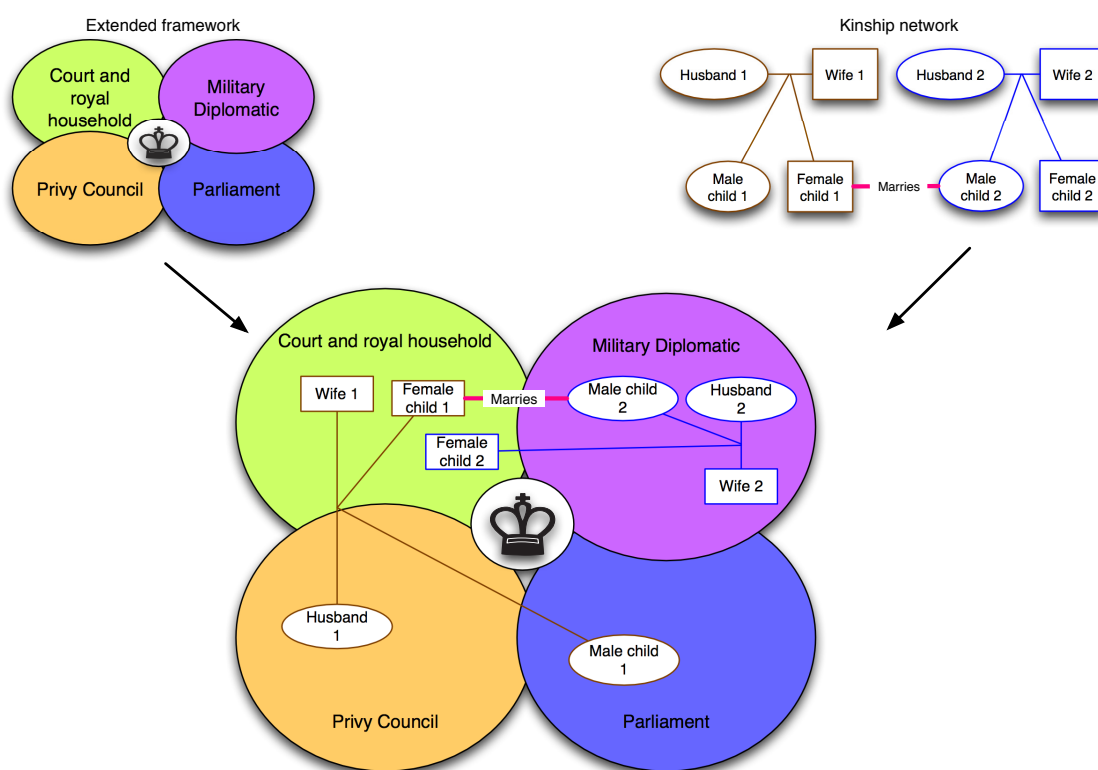


Figure 1.1 - A simple kinship network mapped across the extended 'points of contact' framework.

Figure 1 shows a simple version of mapping a small kinship network across the extended model. In this hypothetical case, the parents of family one hold posts in the privy council and royal household, while their daughter is also a member of the royal household and their son is a member of parliament. Family two's parents function as ambassadors at a foreign court, while their son is perhaps engaged in military service and their daughter is at court.⁴⁷ As the two families are related through marriage, the possibilities for politically influencing each other and more importantly the monarch would be manifold. For example, family one's wife might discuss the queen's wishes with her husband on the privy council, who in turn could query his family two relative the ambassador, now his 'brother',

⁴⁷ That a wife participated in ambassadorial responsibilities is born out by the case of Douglas Sheffield Stafford who in 1583 went to France with Edward Stafford, her husband and ambassador. M. Leimon and G. Parker, 'Treason and plot in Elizabethan diplomacy', *English Historical Review* 111 (1996), 1134-1158 see especially 1140-1, 1146.

regarding the same issue. Their daughter might receive military intelligence from her husband who might also share such information with his own mother and father who in turn might use the information to influence the privy councillor. This process of mapping kinship networks across the extended model becomes more interesting when placed against a chronology of family and political events. For example, what honours or appointments are accrued by the family after a wife or daughter is appointed to the privy chamber? Further, what political events or policies might be influenced after positioning various family members in the privy council, military, foreign embassies or parliament? These chronologies create a vertical and horizontal intersection of political and social history. They are also, like Cressy's kinship networks, egocentric, bilateral, contextual and above all informal.

Merton has pointed out that access to the monarch was an essential 'point of contact' for the maintenance of peaceful relations with her elite subjects, citing the example of the Percys and Nevilles who had no representatives on the privy council and no female relatives at court during the late 1560's. She uses the implication of dynastic chronologies to draw a connection between this kinship network's lack of direct access to the monarch and the extreme dissatisfaction that led to their revolt in 1569.⁴⁸ This fits with Cressy's description of how kinship networks function. For example, Charles Neville 6th earl of Westmorland's dissatisfaction and sense of isolation was egocentric; the tension between him and the monarch was bilateral as neither trusted the other; the context was the possibility of restoring Catholicism to England by supporting his brother-in-law the duke of Norfolk's plan to marry Mary Queen of Scots; and it was informal as, though they were regional magnates, neither they nor their family, including the countess of Westmorland, utilised 'office' as part of their rebellion.⁴⁹

48 Merton, 'Women who served', pp.24, 161. As Elton's student, Merton's conclusions come as no surprise

49 For context of the rebellion see Guy, *Tudor England*, pp.272-5.

While Elton and Merton focus on interaction between the monarch and their three ‘points of contact’, Michael Graves has researched interaction between the parliamentary and councillor ‘points of contact’. Further, he has written about the role marriage between parliamentary and councillor families played cementing personal and professional relationships and how ‘as a consequence, the parliamentary service of the former [rising lawyers], in the causes of the latter [councillors], became a natural extension of their extra-parliamentary relationships’.⁵⁰ For example, in the simplified graphic in figure 1-1 above, it would have been possible for the male child of family two to have served in Parliament as well as the military. Richard Leveson who in 1587 married Margaret Howard daughter of the privy councillor Charles Howard, 2nd baron Effingham also fits Graves’s description. Upon marriage, Leveson became part of the Carey kinship network, as his mother-in-law was Katherine Carey Howard, daughter of Henry Carey, lord Hunsdon. Leveson first served under his father-in-law, the Lord Admiral, as a volunteer against the Armada and then in 1589 at the first parliament after his marriage, he represented Shropshire.⁵¹ His marriage to Margaret Howard brought him not only into the Carey network but also into the queen’s, as his wife was Elizabeth’s first cousin twice removed. This would mean little if Elizabeth had no affection for her Carey cousins but that was not the case.⁵² Margaret’s mother was one of Elizabeth’s closest and most intimate friends, so close that Katherine’s death in February 1603 was said to cause such grief to the queen that it hastened Elizabeth’s own death the following month.⁵³

50 M.Graves, ‘The Common lawyers’, p.203.

51 For Leveson marriage and parliament see *History of Parliament, The House of Commons, 1558-1603*, P.Hasler (ed.), (1981) vol. 2, p.465; for Howard as privy councillor by 1584 see *Complete Peerage*, vol. 9, p.783.

52 Discussed in more detail in chapter 4.

53 A.Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest*, 8 vols (1854), vol. 6, p.772.

The Careys were descendants of Mary Boleyn Carey, Anne Boleyn's sister and consequently Elizabeth's cousins.⁵⁴ This close relationship between Elizabeth and the Carey kinship network makes them an ideal case study for this thesis for three reasons. First, they were plentiful with 103 members alive during Elizabeth's reign providing a large kinship network to research.⁵⁵ Second, Elizabeth, confident that their non-royal status presented no threat to her throne, used them to staff her government, which placed them at the political centre of the kingdom. They provided three generations of service to Elizabeth and continued to hold prominent posts in the court of James I serving in the royal household, the privy council, parliament and on military and diplomatic missions. Lastly, there has been no comprehensive study of them to date.⁵⁶

From the start of her reign Elizabeth was generous to her Carey cousins. Henry Carey was nominated November 1558 for knighthood and created baron Hunsdon on 13 January 1559.⁵⁷ His daughter Katherine Carey was sworn a maid of the court ten days earlier on 3 January 1559.⁵⁸ His sister, Katherine Carey Knollys was made chief lady of the bedchamber on 3 January 1559.⁵⁹ Her husband, Sir Francis Knollys was sworn to the privy council and made vice-chamberlain of the household on 19 Jan 1559.⁶⁰ Their daughter Lettice was sworn a maid of honour on 3 Jan 1559 and another daughter Elizabeth was sworn maid of honour on 15 January 1559.⁶¹ Elizabeth continued to surround herself with Careys throughout

54 See chapter 3 for discussion of the debate over the paternity of Mary Boleyn's children.

55 See appendix 1 for list of Careys alive during Elizabeth's reign.

56 See chapter 2.

57 *Complete Peerage*, vol. 6, p.628, *CPR-1558-1560*, p.60.

58 NA LC2/4/3 fol. 53v.

59 BL Lansdowne MS 3 88, fols.191-2; Goldsmith, 'All the queen's women', p.259.

60 *Acts of the Privy Council 1558-1570*, p.43.

61 NA LC 2/4/3 fol. 53v.

her reign. While she herself outlived the older generation, during 1603, the last year of her reign, the younger generations were well represented with Katherine Carey Howard already a maid of the court in 1558 as senior lady of the household. Her husband, Charles Howard earl of Nottingham was lord steward of the household, lieutenant and captain general of England, privy councillor as well as lord high admiral among other offices. At the end of her reign, there were at least five additional Carey females and six males serving in the household, three Carey members of the privy council with at least six other members holding military posts. Additionally, Elizabeth's last parliament of 1601 had nine Carey members.⁶²

Dynastic chronologies are useful for recreating the political bones of the kingdom but kinship by itself does not necessarily mean that all family members were in agreement or working equally towards the same goals. For example, chronologies do not shed any light on whether one person, male or female, was more effective in pursuing dynastic ambition than another. There is no weighting for personal talent nor do they take into account family and marital disagreements that might work against successful political agency. Perhaps the most well-known example of this was the disintegration of relations between Bess of Hardwick and her fourth husband, George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury whose marital squabbles escalated to the point that the queen had to step in to avert what one historian has termed 'a national emergency'.⁶³

Another less dramatic example of kinship in conflict occurred between two widowed sisters-in-law Lettice Knollys Devereux Dudley countess of Leicester and Anne Russell Dudley countess of Warwick over some lands that had been part of Lettice's jointure but were seized by the queen after Leicester's death.⁶⁴

⁶² See appendix 6 for details.

⁶³ *Bath Longleat Manuscripts, Talbot, Dudley, Devereux Papers 1535-1639*, G.Owen (ed), vol. 5, (1980); the editor in his introduction on p.4.

⁶⁴ Ambrose Dudley earl of Warwick died in 1590. O'Day, *Longman Companion to the Tudor Age*, p.186.

Anne counter-sued the queen for the lands, which prevented them from returning to Lettice.⁶⁵ Lettice was not helped by the fact that the queen had not forgiven her since her marriage to Robert Dudley, nor by the fact that Anne, who had been married to Leicester's elder brother Ambrose Dudley earl of Warwick, had taken up permanent residence at court.⁶⁶ In this case, kinship was not stronger than possession of the property and the closer physical and emotional relationship that Anne had with the queen trumped family feelings between Lettice and Elizabeth as well as between Lettice and Anne.⁶⁷

Sometimes family members adhered to politically different and even hostile groups. Relations between Robert Devereux, earl of Essex and his uncle William Knollys are a case in point. When in 1598 the latter was suggested as lord deputy of Ireland, instead of promoting his kinsman's appointment Essex, in one of many egocentric acts, nominated a rival candidate, George Carew.⁶⁸ It is perhaps no surprise that Knollys was among the councillors sent to Essex House on 8 February 1601 to order his nephew to appear before the privy council.⁶⁹ It is tempting to speculate that the queen thought that a member of the family might be successful at persuading Essex to answer the summons. However, any sense of family feeling that may have existed between them did not prevent Essex from locking Knollys up with the rest of the deputation, while he marched through the city in hopes of raising support for rebellion.⁷⁰ A far less dramatic family dispute occurred between Robert Carey and his elder brother George over some lands

65 Merton, 'The women who served', p.133.

66 BL Additional MS 12506, fols. 41, 80, 205; Goldsmith, 'All the Queen's women', pp.68-9.

67 Chapter 4 discusses Lettice Knollys Devereux Dudley's relationship within the Carey kinship network in more detail.

68 Guy, *Tudor England*, p.445.

69 Guy, *Tudor England*, p.450.

70 Guy, *Tudor England*, pp.442, 450; J.Neale, *Queen Elizabeth I*, (1934) p. 407.

given to their father for payment of a favour and subsequently assigned to the sons in tail male. The lands became part of a jointure agreement excluding Robert Carey from inheriting. George and Robert went to chancery court over the lands in 1593.⁷¹ This dispute did not create a permanent rift between the brothers and they both continued to serve the queen and by 1601 were both serving within the royal household.⁷² These sorts of transgressions against the kinship network help define their strengths and weaknesses within the kingdom's political life. Misalliances, financial disagreements and family conflicts all factored into dynastic success or failure. However, before these factors can be analysed the kinship network must be mapped.

The Challenges

Establishing the identities of those, especially female, included in kinship networks, posed the largest challenge to this project. The fluidity of names and erratic recording of births makes basic identification of individuals difficult. Elite women's last names changed to their husband's surname or titles upon marriage, although titled widows who subsequently married men with less exalted or no title frequently retained their previous honorific. After the widowed Katherine Willoughby, duchess of Suffolk married, probably in 1552, her gentleman usher, Richard Bertie she was still called the duchess of Suffolk.⁷³ Searching the catalogues for Frances Howard provides an illustrative example. As the daughter of Katherine Carey and Charles Howard, she carried her father's surname until her first marriage in early 1589 to Henry Fitzgerald, 12th earl of Kildare at which point she began signing her name Fr Kildare.⁷⁴ She is referred to as Frances

⁷¹ Carey, *Memoirs*, (1759), pp.63-69.

⁷² See appendix 5.

⁷³ Other examples include her stepdaughter Frances Brandon, duchess of Suffolk when she took as her second husband Adrian Stokes and Lettice, countess of Leicester when she took as her third husband Christopher Blount.

⁷⁴ BL Additional MS 12507 fol. 122.

Fitzgerald immediately before her second marriage to Henry Brooke, 11th baron Cobham in 1601.⁷⁵ After this second marriage, Queen Elizabeth referred to her as Lady Cobham but she was sometimes referred to in other correspondence as the countess of Kildare.⁷⁶ Establishing a life history for this one member of the Carey network therefore requires searching the archives for Frances Howard, Frances Fitzgerald, Frances Kildare, countess Kildare, Lady Kildare, Frances Brooke, Frances Cobham, Lady Cobham and baroness Cobham. Even after all these variations have been tried the most likely location for archival material will be among uncatalogued random estate papers or bundled with letters identified as by unrelated men. For example, one of her autograph letters to Dr Julius Caesar at the Court of Admiralty dated 7 July 1589 has been located in a collection catalogued as 'Letters from Noblemen' where her first name is spelled Fraunces.⁷⁷

As this suggests, surnames are not the only potential source of confusion. First names were also remarkably fluid, leading to misidentifications that have been passed down through the historiography. For example, contemporaries might refer to 'Margaret' as 'Mary' or Robert as Robart or Robin.⁷⁸ Particularly problematic was 'Margaret' and 'Mary' as there might be a child carrying each name within a single nuclear family where 'Mary', 'Margaret' and 'Megs' might be used interchangeably for either daughter.⁷⁹ Without accurate identification of

75 M.Nicholls, 'Brooke, Henry, eleventh baron Cobham', *ODNB*.

76 *CSP-Ireland, 1601-1603, Addenda*, pp.638-639; E.Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford, 1923), vol. 2, p.507.

77 BL Additional MS 12507, fol. 122.

78 Robert Carey recorded Queen Elizabeth calling him Robin see R.Carey, *Memoirs of the Life of Robert Carey, Baron of Leppington, and Earl of Monmouth* (1759), p.136.

79 Mary Sidney (1587-1653) dau. of Robert Sidney and Barbara Gamage Sidney was nicknamed Mall and Malkin, *Domestic Politics and Family Absence: The Correspondence of Robert Sidney, First Earl of Leicester, and Barbara Gamage Sidney, Countess of Leicester (1588-1621)*, edited by M.Hannay, N.Kinnamon and M.Brennan (Ashgate, 2005), p.245; Carey, *The Memoirs of Robert Carey*, F.Mares (ed.), (Oxford, 1972), p.xvi. In the introduction Mares assumes Margaret and Mary Carey was the same woman.

all family members including name, age and kinship relations, it is not possible to analyse dynastic participation in the political life of the kingdom. This is because dynasties functioned most effectively by using as many family members as possible and because the deployment of family across the extended 'points of contact' framework was partly dependent on the age and fitness of the individual members for their roles.

One method of checking the validity of an identification is to compare the individual's age to an event such as marriage, parenthood, becoming a maid of honour or military service. For example, is the individual old enough to represent the family at court as a maid of honour? Frances Howard Fitzgerald Brooke countess of Kildare baroness Cobham either had one sister named Margaret who was sometimes called Mary; or two sisters, one called Margaret the other Mary.⁸⁰ Margaret Howard wife of Sir Richard Leveson may have suffered from insanity whereas the Mary Howard who 'insolently refused to hold open the Queen's cape' in 1597 could have been either Frances's aunt, Mary Howard Sutton, daughter of William Howard 1st baron of Effingham, who married, possibly in 1571, Edward Sutton 4th baron Dudley, or Mary Howard, daughter of Charles Howard 2nd baron Effingham and sister to both Frances and Margaret.⁸¹ Age becomes a method of deciphering the 'insolent' Mary Howard's identity as she was also reported flirting with the earl of Essex in 1597, which indicates a younger rather than older Mary. Confusion over the identities of those mentioned in

80 For Margaret Howard daughter of Charles and Katherine Carey Howard see R. Wisker, 'Leveson, Sir Richard (c.1570–1605)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004); F. Barlow, *The Complete English Peerage: Or, A Genealogical and Historical Account of the Peers and Peeresses of This Realm, To the Year 1775 Inclusive* (1775) vol. 2, p.25 identifies Margaret but no Mary; the *ODNB* article on Katherine Carey Howard lists no daughters named Mary or Margaret, Goldsmith, 'All the queen's women', p.267 identifies a Mistress Mary Howard as the daughter of Katherine Carey Howard but no Margaret.

81 For flirtation and date see J. Harington, *Nugæ Antiquæ: Being A Miscellaneous Collection of Original Papers in Prose and Verse* (1792) vol. 2 of 3, pp.232-5. V. Wilson, *Queen Elizabeth's Maids of Honour and Ladies of the Privy Chamber* (1922), p.211.

this particular scandal extends to men as Merton has hypothesized that the earl in question was not, as generally assumed, Essex, but Southampton.⁸² For an analysis of the effectiveness of kinship networks, the identity of ‘insolent Mary’ is important when looking for political repercussions to the family.

A related challenge in correctly identifying family members was the prevalence of first names chosen by parents and god-parents as homage to family members or hoped-for future patrons, for example the proliferation of Elizabeths during that monarch’s reign. In the Carey family alone there were twelve Elizabeths during this period. While parents may have found it beneficial to pay homage to the queen in this manner, the confusion to historians has been lasting. For example, the British Library online description for Additional Manuscript 12506 folios 421 and 452 identifies the author Elizabeth Leighton as the daughter of William Gerard and wife of Edward Leighton. However, the first folio, dated 1593, was written from the court where Elizabeth Knollys Leighton, daughter of Katherine Carey and Francis Knollys, wife to Thomas Leighton, was serving in the privy chamber and the second letter, dated 1604, discusses political unrest on Guernsey.⁸³ Both Thomas and Edward Leighton, his nephew, married women named Elizabeth, but not the same Elizabeth. Thomas Leighton was appointed governor of Guernsey in 1570 and held the post till his death forty years later in 1616.⁸⁴ Given the date, place and content of both letters, it seems safe to assign them to Elizabeth Knollys Leighton rather than Elizabeth Gerard Leighton. By recognising the correct relationships, these letters take on political relevance to the kinship network.

82 For dispute regarding whom she flirted with see R.O’Day, *The Longman Companion To the Tudor Age* (1995), p.271; .For Southampton’s identity see Merton, ‘The women who served’, p.144, n.58. *Talbot, Dudley and Devereux Papers*, vol. 5., p.169.

83 See appendix 3 for relationship details. The dating in the British Library description is based on personal discussion with the Manuscripts room supervisor who said that the online descriptions were copied verbatim from previous versions.

84 *HoP: House of Commons 1558-1604*, vol. 2, p.458.

It is not just monarchs who were honoured in this manner. First names were reused multiple times within extended families making it difficult to identify accurately not only individuals but also generations. For example, Lettice Knollys Devereux Dudley, daughter of Katherine Carey and Francis Knollys, was named after Francis's mother Lettice Penniston Knollys Tresham Lee, and had four nieces, a granddaughter and a sister-in-law, who was most likely also her god-daughter, all named Lettice.⁸⁵ Katherine Carey and Francis Knollys named one son Francis, referred to as 'the Younger', had four grandsons named Francis and two granddaughters named Frances.⁸⁶ Francis 'the Younger' married Lettice Barrett who then was known as Lettice Knollys.⁸⁷ Unravelling which Lettice Knollys was granted an annuity, gave birth or even disappeared from the political radar thus becomes exceedingly tricky. Yet, without knowing the exact identity of the individual concerned, the available archival sources shed no light on how kinship worked or what political impact these relationships might have had.

The practice of using a last name for a first name could result in some distinctly unfeminine names when extended to girls. Margaret Gamage and William Howard, 1st baron of Effingham had a daughter named Douglas whose godmother was most likely Margaret Douglas, countess of Lennox. This Douglas Howard later had a female half-cousin, also named Douglas, for whom she probably stood as godmother.⁸⁸ Penelope Devereux, Lady Rich named one of her daughters Essex in honour of her brother, Robert Devereux, earl of Essex.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Listed in appendix 1.

⁸⁶ See appendix 1.

⁸⁷ M.Margetts, 'Stella Britannia: the early life (1563-1592) of Lady Penelope Devereux, Lady Rich (d. 1607)', unpublished PhD dissertation (Yale, 1992), p.432.

⁸⁸ For Douglas Howard Sheffield Stafford (1542-1608) dau. William Howard of Effingham and Margaret Gamage see Adams, 'Sheffield, Douglas, Lady Sheffield', *ODNB*; for Douglas Howard, b. 24 Jan 1592, d. of Henry Howard of Bindon and Frances Meautys see *Complete Peerage*, vol. 6. p.584.

⁸⁹ Margetts, 'Stella Britannia', p.285.

However, in some cases, this same propensity to name children in honour of royalty or other family members leads to suspicion over unusual, or one time only, names. Anne Morgan and Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon may have had a son named Michael, identified by two contemporary sources as brother to John Carey, another of their sons.⁹⁰ Because this is the only occurrence of 'Michael' identified in this extended kinship network, the historian may well question the reliability of the contemporary sources. Conflation of relationship titles may mean that this 'brother' might have been a distant cousin but because of his companionable service with John was considered a 'brother'. Unfortunately, whether 'Michael' was a biological son of Henry Carey and Anne Morgan or not affects an analysis, in this case, of the family's military participation. A blank sheet bound in between volumes chronicling France includes a list of six sons and two daughters with some of the handwriting identified as Henry Carey's own. However, only one daughter, Margaret, from this list also appears in the parish records at Hunsdon.⁹¹ Other records indicate two additional daughters.⁹² It is possible, however, that there were in fact twelve children in all. There is no known single contemporary listing of all the Carey children such as a family bible or, as is the case of his sister Katherine Carey and Francis Knollys, a Latin dictionary.⁹³ This explains basic difficulties facing historians who attempt to map

90 W. Devereux, *Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex, in the Reigns of Elizabeth, James I and Charles I, 1540-1646* (1853), vol. 1, pp.46-7; T. Churchyard, *The Firste Parte of Churchyardes Chippes, Containing Twelve Severall Labours* (1575), p.34.

91 Carey, *Memoirs of Robert Carey*, Mares, (ed), appendix 2, pp.90-91; Because Henry Carey and Anne Morgan travelled in service to the queen not all their children were born and therefore christened at the family seat of Hunsdon, *The Parish Registers of Hunsdon of Hertford 1546-1837*, transcribed by H Gibbs, (1915), available as searchable database at [http://www.hunsdon.org.uk/parish_registers.htm] accessed 2 January 2008.

92 For example, their brother Robert Carey discusses both Katherine Carey Howard and Philadelphia Carey Scrope in his memoirs because both were at court when he was there. Carey, *Memoirs* (1759), pp.53, 140.

93 I am indebted to Laura Weatherall, House Steward, Greys Court, The National Trust for providing digital images of the relevant pages of Sir Francis Knollys Latin dictionary.

dynastic networks like the Careys. One of the most referenced texts documenting the era, John Nichols's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth* states that Henry Carey's sister Katherine married Charles Howard, when in fact his sister Katherine Carey married Francis Knollys and it was his daughter Katherine Carey who married Charles Howard.⁹⁴ At the same time, an otherwise excellent article discussing the identification and significance of Elizabethan pregnancy portraits correctly identifies Katherine Carey Knollys as Henry Carey's sister but when discussing the Carey kinship networks incorrectly assigns her a sister, two daughters and one niece in the privy chamber.⁹⁵ Katherine Carey Knollys had no sisters. She had at least three daughters and two nieces in court over the course of the reign.⁹⁶ Without clearly identifying these women, their male relatives also lose their place in the kinship network, making any analysis faulty.

Unfortunately, the increased digitisation of archival catalogues inadvertently contributes to the challenges of placing the family at the centre of the political narrative. While electronic catalogues have been a boon to researchers, an unfortunate side effect is the further obscuring of existing but misidentified material. A significant amount of archival cataloguing for the early-modern period occurred before the emergence of gender and social history when there was a strong focus on male-centred political and military research. This in part contributed to the assumption that archival material would not support female political agency in the 'public sphere'. Current catalogue transference to electronic media methods frequently involves merely re-entering these original

94 J.Nichols, *The Progresses, and Public Processions, of Queen Elizabeth ... Now First Printed from Original MSS. of the Times; or Collected from Scarce Pamphlets, &c. Illustrated with Historical Notes* (1788) 2 Vols., vol. 1, p.6.

95 P.Croft and K.Hearn, 'Only matrimony maketh children to be certain...'; two Elizabethan pregnancy portraits', *British Art Journal* 3 (2002), 19.

96 Her daughters at court were Lettice Knollys Devereux, Elizabeth Knollys Leighton and Anne Knollys West; her nieces Philadelphia Carey Scrope and Katherine Carey Howard.

descriptions. As a result, as researchers become increasingly reliant on electronic searches there will be fewer fortuitous discoveries of digitally hidden material.⁹⁷ For example, the British Library online index for Additional Manuscripts 36901 lists 197 folios relating to property:

ASTON PAPERS. Vol. I. Miscellaneous correspondence relating chiefly to the various estates of the Knollys and Aston families in cos. Warwick, Berks, Notts, etc.; 1554-1807. The names of the writers are given in the Index.⁹⁸

Unfortunately this second digital index involves a separate search process and does not always point back to the same manuscripts listed in descriptive searches. More importantly, neither indicates to the researcher that around 100 of these folios, over 50 per cent, are letters to and from Margaret Cave Knollys who, as the widow of Henry Knollys, the son of Katherine Carey and Sir Francis Knollys, and also in her own right as her father, Sir Ambrose Cave's heir, managed substantial estates and patronage networks and worked hard to maintain her dynastic relationships. In 1592 her father-in-law was still addressing her as 'daughter' ten years after his son's death, indicating that dynastic marriage alliances could outlast the actual marriages.⁹⁹ Margaret's role in promoting the interests of both her consanguineal and conjugal families has therefore been obscured rather than highlighted by conflation within a collection of 'miscellaneous' estate correspondence accumulated over 250 years.

Not only is clear identification of members of the kinship network a challenge, but clearly identifying office holders can be just as difficult, especially for female

97 See I. Collins, 'Hardly any women at all', Presidential Lecture given at the Spring Conference and Annual General Meeting, University of East Anglia, 1983 for discussion of archive challenges.

98 BL website manuscript catalogue description for Additional MS 36901, accessed on 2 July 2006. <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/manuscripts/DESC0010.ASP>.

99 BL Additional MS 36901, fol. 46.

office holders. Within the royal household, the level of access each appointee might have to the centre of power, the monarch, correlated to the intimacy level of her chamber post; a bedchamber post therefore offered the most potential for political agency. For several reasons, it is difficult to reliably assign women to specific royal household posts. Fortunately, the unpublished theses of Merton and Joan Goldsmith provide useful information on the internal hierarchy of the queen's household but equally they reveal significant gaps and conflicts in the evidence.¹⁰⁰ Exactly who was in attendance at court at any given moment is difficult to ascertain as not every office holder was paid and not all paid office holders were continually present. For example, Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon does not appear in the wage records yet spent time at court as an unpaid lady of the privy chamber as well as at Berwick with her husband.¹⁰¹ Margaret Cave Knollys, discussed above, may have been a maid of honour although she also does not appear in the wage records Merton researched and Goldsmith does not mention her at all.¹⁰² As the queen was present at the 1565 wedding celebration of Margaret Cave and Henry Knollys, which included a tournament, the relationship between the queen and the young couple is of interest.¹⁰³ If Margaret were a maid of honour, the queen would have known her personally. If Margaret did not have a court appointment and instead the queen was honouring Henry Knollys, it speaks more to her relationship with her Carey cousins.¹⁰⁴ Because Margaret Cave and Henry Knollys have been positively identified within their respective kinship networks, analysis can spread to the relationship between the queen and the young couple's parents

100 Merton, 'The women who served'; Goldsmith, 'All the queen's women'.

101 Wright, 'Change of direction', p.149.

102 Merton, 'The women who served', p.116, n. 182.

103 Margetts, 'Stella Britannia', p.432.

104 Henry Knollys was Elizabeth's first cousin once removed.

whose offices are more easily identified.¹⁰⁵ In addition to identifying office holders, the household offices themselves are difficult to pin down. The mother of the maids for example held daily responsibility over the maids of honour, yet wage records are intermittent for this post. For 1558, Merton identifies a Mrs Morris while Goldsmith identifies Kat Ashley as mother of the maids.¹⁰⁶ The posts of mistress of the jewels and mistress of the wardrobe seem to have been particularly fluid, with responsibilities shared back and forth between post holders on what appears to be an ad hoc basis. Merton goes so far as to state that ‘mistress of the robes’ was not a defined office.¹⁰⁷ Even the post of chief lady of the bedchamber does not always appear in the records, although it would seem clear that there must have been one person of pre-eminent status at any given moment and this status would have been invaluable to her kinship network.

Being in favour with the monarch was not a popularity contest so much as a key component of dynastic political life. In order to reap the potential benefits of participating as fully as possible in the political system, families manoeuvred as many members as possible into positions of royal service. If Elton’s assertion that Tudor government depended on systems ‘constructed around local, familial and political foci which everywhere penetrated the visible politics of the day’ is correct, then the Carey kinship network must have been at the centre of the political kingdom.¹⁰⁸ Their relationship with Elizabeth and their sheer numbers

105 Margaret (1549-1606) was the daughter of Sir Ambrose Cave and Margaret Willington. Ambrose Cave was a privy councillor and chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. Henry (1541-1582) was the son of Sir Francis Knollys and Katherine Carey. At the time of the marriage, Francis was a privy councillor and vice-chamberlain and Katherine was a lady of the bedchamber. Goldsmith ‘All the queen’s women’, p.258 says she was chief lady of that chamber.

106 Merton, ‘The women who served’, p.264; Goldsmith ‘All the Queen’s women’, p.258.

107 See Merton, ‘Women who served’, p.247. Goldsmith, ‘All the Queen’s women’ pp.259, 260 lists Frances Newton Brooke Lady Cobham as mistress of the robes in 1559 and Mary Shelton Scudamore in 1587. Discussed further in chapter 4.

108 Elton, *Tudor Government*, p.4.

assured their prominence across the very visible ‘points of contact’ systems, whether official or not, that government depended on, despite their relative invisibility in the historiography. Their activities support the thesis that the family was the elemental political unit of sixteenth-century England: that is why they have been chosen as the case study.

Divorcing political agency from formal political office and situating it within dynastic contexts forces new ‘points of contact’ into the open. So, although Elton’s traditional institutional approach is perhaps not appropriate for a discussion of personal politics, his ‘points of contact’ model is worth revisiting. However, in order to support fully the idea of personal contact with the monarch as a method of satisfying political ambition, we must include additional areas where these ambitions were played out, the military and foreign service activities. By combining a clear understanding of kinship relationships and this extended model, it becomes clear that neither men nor women acted wholly independently but as part of the kinship network that supported the monarchy. As a result, there is no need to establish independent political agency by women in order to restore them to the political narrative. The political narrative is simply incomplete otherwise.

There are further research areas that could provide additional information about inter-dependent dynastic ambition including literary and theatrical patronage. Recent work on reconstructing the literary activities of elite women and placing this patronage within political contexts could shed additional light although there is still a need to place this single-gender research within a dual-gendered dynastic context.¹⁰⁹ Subsequent comparison of these activities to larger dynastic ambitions and political policy shifts would still need further analysis. Another area ripe for investigation is the role of household-based theatre company patronage as an

¹⁰⁹ For some recent work on these topics see Daybell, (ed.), *Women and Politics in Early Modern England*; N.Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge, 2005).

extension of dynastic activity. Within the context of the elite household, theatrical patronage should be of interest to gender historians as the household and estates were frequently managed by women. These two areas are beyond the scope of this thesis. Similarly, although clearly the church played an important role and the Carey family, most visibly Sir Francis Knollys, participated in the discourse and patronage of its development within the political life of the kingdom, a discussion of its relationship to kinship networks, or as an additional ‘point of contact’, deserves a thesis of its own and therefore is not included here.

The next chapter discusses further the literature related to this thesis. Following that, the Carey kinship network will be established and then mapped across the extended ‘points of contact’. This will be followed by analysis of their place in the political narrative and how their relationships amongst themselves and with their cousin the queen affected and in some cases shaped the political landscape. This should illuminate not only the intersection of male and female activities but also begin to make the case for political agency as a function of kinship, showing the family to be an integral component of the kingdom’s chronology.

2 Literature Review

In his 1989 inaugural address as Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, provocatively subtitled ‘history with the politics put back’, Patrick Collinson celebrated the arrival of a ‘new political history’ that was both social and political. He defined the scope for this new approach as narrative that explores the social nature of politics and the political nature of social connections.¹ In an earlier essay on male and female religious transactions, he called for what he termed the ‘radical proposition’ of including both men and women in the historical narrative, eschewing analysis that isolates one gender from another.² In this, Collinson was echoing Natalie Zemon Davis’s call for an end to ‘women worthies’ as the leading format for women’s history.³ Barbara Harris went even further when she wrote ‘only historians who include women in their accounts can fully elucidate the inner workings’ of the political scene.⁴ However, Tudor historians, political, social or new, have been slow in accepting this radical proposal, preferring to focus on traditionally-constructed political narrative, biographies of male and female ‘worthies’ or single-gender socio-political networks.⁵ Research on networks that are not defined by institutions but by social and political ties has primarily been on male-dominated client networks,

1 Lecture ‘Da republica Angolorum: or, history with the politics put back’ delivered 9 November 1989 in the University of Cambridge and reprinted in P.Collinson, *Elizabethans* (2003).

2 Read to the Renaissance Society in January 1989 printed for the first time as ‘Not sexual in the ordinary sense: women, men and religious transactions’ in Collinson, *Elizabethans*, p.132.

3 Her argument is put forth in N.Davis, “‘Women’s History’ in transition: the European case’, *Feminist Studies* 3 (1976), 83-103.

4 B.Harris, ‘Women and politics in early Tudor England’, *Historical Journal* 33 (1990), 260.

5 See S.Alford, ‘Politics and political history in the Tudor century’, *Historical Journal* 42 (1999), 535-548; D.Starkey, ‘Court, council, and nobility in Tudor England’ in R.Asch and A.Birke (eds.), *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility* (Oxford, 1991); A.Beer, *Bess, The Life of Lady Raleigh, Wife To Sir Walter* (2004); D.Durant, *Bess of Hardwick: Portrait of An Elizabethan Dynast* (1999); K.Schutte, *A Biography of Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox (1515-1578) – Niece of Henry VIII and Mother-In-Law of Mary, Queen of Scots* (Lewiston, NY, 2002).

female literary patronage or single-gender correspondence groups.⁶ At the same time, social historians have focused on marriage as the intersection point of the genders, while feminist historians have worked on independent female narratives.⁷ All this work has been important in establishing a more complete history of Tudor England; however the historiography still tends toward using gender as a point of differentiation instead of integration.⁸

Despite Collinson's, Harris's and Davis's calls for a more complete socio-political narrative, there has been little analysis, whether political, social or new, of sixteenth-century England premised on gender-inclusiveness. Rather, there has been energetic debate over the location of political activity, a debate that has diverted attention from the full cast of political players. Widening the narrative to include both men and women requires ending the consignment of each gender to their own categories of analysis, their own separate spheres, whether geographical or metaphorical, with separate narratives. A new approach that accepts Collinson's radical proposal and places dynasticism not only at the royal political centre but also at the foundation of sixteenth-century politics might merit celebration as 'new history'.

The debate over the location of Tudor politics – within government institutions, the court, the royal household, or embodied by individuals or individuals with

6 S.Adams, *Leicester and the Court: Essays On Elizabethan Politics* (Manchester, 2002); P.Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics, The Political Career of Robert Devereux Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (Cambridge, 1999); J.Daybell (ed.), *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700* (Aldershot, 2004); S.Frye and K.Robertson (eds.), *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens: Women's Alliances in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999).

7 Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*; O'Day, *The Family and Family Relationships*; Harris, 'Women and politics'; P.Hogrefe, *Tudor Women: Queens and Commoners* (Stroud, 1979); M.Weisner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2000); P.Mack, 'Women and gender in early modern England' *Journal of Modern History* 73 (2001), 379-392.

8 For discussion of issues surrounding the use of difference as an historical approach see J.Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, revised edition (New York, 1999), pp.195-8.

their associated client networks – has been spirited. Sir Geoffrey Elton's 'points of contact' addresses, organized around three administrative bodies, parliament, privy council and the court, suggested that future research should explore the metaphorical space between these institutions and their physical locations.⁹ Although he did not revise his basic argument that over the century these growing institutions became the originating point and implementing force for political policy, he clearly pointed towards areas he considered ripe for research. These three addresses also generated a vigorous debate over the relative importance of institutions in the political landscape.¹⁰ For example, David Starkey's claim that he was developing Elton's work by approaching the court as an institution, assessing its relative political significance and concluding that Elton's central issues were unsustainable, was then pointedly disputed by Elton.¹¹ Work on institutions is an essential component of developing a full understanding of the Tudor century and Elton's research has become so respected, even by those who disagree with him, as to transform his name into an adjective – Eltonian – used when referencing institutional and administrative approaches.¹²

9 G.Elton, all printed in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 'Presidential address: Tudor government: the points of contact I. The parliament' 24 (1974), 183-200; 'Presidential address: Tudor government: the points of contact II. The council' 25 (1975), 195-211; 'Presidential address: Tudor government: the points of contact III. The court' 26 (1976), 211-228.

10 The debate on Elton's thesis of a revolution in Tudor government was published in *Past and Present*, see P.Williams, 'A revolution in Tudor history?' 25 (1963), 3-8; J.Cooper, 'A revolution in Tudor history?' 26 (1963), 110-112; G.Elton 'The Tudor revolution: a reply' 29 (1964), 26-49; G.Harriss and P.Williams 'A revolution in Tudor history?' 31 (1965), 87-96.

11 See D.Starkey, 'Introduction' in Starkey (ed.), *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses To the Civil War* (1987), pp.2, 11; G.Elton, 'Tudor government' and D.Starkey, 'A reply: Tudor government: the facts?', *Historical Journal* 31 (1988), 425-34 and 921-31 respectively. The most succinct version of Starkey's thesis is his introduction to *English Court*, pp.1-24. For Elton's reply see his, 'Tudor Government', *Historical Journal* 31 (1988), 425-434.

12 For example see, Adams, *Leicester and the Court* in which one chapter is titled 'The Eltonian legacy: politics'.

Nevertheless, while Elton's points of contact reconnected the institutions of the parliament, privy council and court to the monarch, Starkey made a valid point when he identified the privy chamber as a distinct component within the court. His emphasis on both the real and metaphorical doorway between the monarch's private chambers and the wider establishment of the court combined an examination of the chamber staff with their political activities. Starkey's research on the privy chambers of Henry VII and Henry VIII set the path for research into the royal households of their successors. He stated that 'in the century that followed Henry's [VIII] death the organization of the household changed comparatively little', despite Henry's staff being of low birth and his daughters' staffs being predominately female, both of which he claimed 'erected a barrier ... between the privy chamber and influence in public affairs'.¹³ He later argued that Henry's privy chamber staff developed into a convenient mechanism for managing the king's business, including a channel for funding and raising significant military forces.¹⁴ If both these statements are true then some re-evaluation of Mary's and Elizabeth's privy chamber is called for, otherwise, we must assume that the unchanged structure, albeit staffed by those of 'low-birth' or female were, in fact, a mechanism for influencing political affairs.

Challenging Starkey's mostly spatial focus on distinctions between court and household, John Guy has provided the most probable sixteenth-century characterization of the court as 'politically fluid and culturally polycentric'.¹⁵ The idea that the 'court' moved not only geographically but was politically dependant on whoever was attendant on the monarch at the moment would mean that all attendants, male and female, privy council and household, could be

¹³ Starkey, *English Court*, pp.9, 5.

¹⁴ Starkey, 'A reply: Tudor government; the facts?', 931 and *English Court*, pp.87-91.

¹⁵ J.Guy, 'Introduction' in Guy (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade* (Cambridge, 1995), p.2.

considered part of court politics. This theory firmly places the court outside any fixed 'institutional' sensibility as well as presenting evidentiary challenges for the historian.

Accepting Guy's definition of the 'court' as the fluid, or at least peripatetic, nexus of place, personnel and time surrounding the monarch, Elton's more specific 'point of contact' between household and court blurs. Although it is clear that the gender balance of personal body attendants shifted with the gender of the monarch, the blurring of lines between the previously distinct political functions of the court and household also allows the lines of gendered political agency to dissolve. Further, if instead of institutions and their contact points with the monarch, dynasties emanating from the monarch are viewed as the central political structure, the court intriguingly becomes the central point of a distributed family network spreading across institutions, points of contact and generating complementary spheres of action for both genders.

This then raises the question: when the monarch was female, with the associated gender shift in chamber staff, was the household at the centre of the court really less political as both Guy and Starkey claimed? Pam Wright's contribution to Starkey's edited volume on the development of the English court answers this question by arguing that the women within Mary's and Elizabeth's households, without institutional or military office, lacked authority to participate in politics and therefore must have acted solely as a cocoon for their mistresses against the buffeting of political court winds.¹⁶ Her response shares Guy's assumption that political agency was confined to those holding office within the privy council and parliament, which was gender-specific, while ignoring the fluid nature of household office within the court. One clear example contradicting this would be

¹⁶ P.Wright, 'A change in direction', *passim*.

Robert Dudley's influence, which was as significant as that of any privy councillor although his primary office was a household appointment, master of the horse.¹⁷ Wright emphasized the 'emasculatation' of the privy chamber with the comment '[it] retreated into mere domesticity' – a startling turn of phrase as the privy chamber was within the same royal household whose organization and political centrality Starkey claimed had not substantially changed under the queens-regnant.¹⁸ This line of reasoning also ignores the basic fact that when the system of government is dynastic, entailed within the monarch's body, whether human, politic or both, then the household is both the domestic and the political centre of the kingdom.

Wright's essay has become disproportionately influential given that there are many other areas where her arguments are less than persuasive. For example, she writes that ambassadors and agents valued the women of the privy chamber highly while at the same time she relegates them to the role of dressers.¹⁹ In an effort to highlight the influence of the lord chamberlain, Thomas Radcliffe earl of Sussex, she inadvertently stresses his own appreciation of Mary Sidney's power by citing his efforts to limit her influence by keeping her from court.²⁰ Wright's choice of a letter from George Boleyn dean of Litchfield to the earl of Shrewsbury, meant as an example of the minimal influence of Mary Shelton Lady Scudamore, actually puts her on an equal footing with the lord chamberlain as both looked unfavourably on Boleyn's suits to the queen and both were unlikely to forward

17 For example, *CSP-Spanish*, p.195, 27 April 1561, where the Spanish Ambassador assumes Dudley has more influence with the queen than the privy council. Dudley did not formally join the council until the following year. See also Hammer's conclusion that Dudley elevated the post to political significance in *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics*, p.61, n.108.

18 Wright, 'Change of direction', p.150.

19 Wright, 'Change of direction', p.153.

20 Wright, 'Change in direction', p.154. As Mary Sidney was Robert Dudley's sister, her influence with the queen was a key element in sustaining the Dudley kinship network's influence at court.

them, suggesting rather that in this instance the lord chamberlain and the lady-in-waiting were equally influential.²¹ Even Wright's assertion that the queen did not tolerate even supplementary persuasion by her privy chamber staff lacks the considered contextualization that Elizabeth resisted all types of persuasion, not just that of her ladies-in-waiting. Wright's conclusion that the Elizabethan privy chamber's essential femaleness neutralized its value overlooks the value placed on the household staff by contemporaries, both at court and in the country, and completely overlooks the possibility of male and female family members working in consort to further shared dynastic ambition.

In response to Wright, Natalie Mears has reconsidered the context of Elizabethan influence and recognizes male and female political agency within the court irrespective of gender.²² Most importantly, by cross-referencing the official privy council records with memoranda and reports of meetings with privy councillors, Mears has established that Elizabeth debated policy issues in a wide variety of contexts unrestricted by institutional settings, thus supporting Guy's definition of a fluid in-the-moment court. Therefore, it follows that she might have had what Mears calls probouleutic policy discussions with both men and women in a variety of settings outside the council room, including within the privy chamber.²³ The concept of Elizabeth maintaining separate spheres, a private cocoon within the privy chamber and a political public sphere at the privy council 'point of contact', may just be retro-fitting an analytical model onto an historical figure who does not conform to twentieth-century conceptions of gendered behaviour.

21 Wright, 'Change in direction', pp.160-61, commenting on Lambeth Palace Library, Shrewsbury MS 707, fol. 221.

22 N.Mears 'Politics in the Elizabethan privy chamber: Lady Mary Sidney and Kat Ashley' in J.Daybell (ed.), *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700*.

23 N.Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge, 2005), pp.35-41.

The obstacles faced by historians like Mears who are responding to the calls for history that includes both men and women include the rigid assumption that marriage and the management of children have no political relevance. Despite the fact that Harris's seminal essay begins with the political importance of these specific dynastic functions, traditional historians have continued to consider these two topics as within the purview of social history. In turn, social historians have been tangled in the patriarchal nature of the proscriptive literature or entrenched in the private sphere. It is nine pages before Harris's essay turns to female participation in areas traditionally presumed to be masculine such as campaigning for knight of the shire elections, serving as justices of the peace, packing juries and serving as electors. Her consequent analysis that the 'separate spheres' model has hindered the inclusion of women in the political discourse because historians have created firm boundaries where they either 'did not exist or were extraordinarily permeable' should be taken more seriously; or as Joan Scott has noted 'the private sphere is a public creation'.²⁴ Harris's strongest contributions are first, her analysis of how elite men and women circumvented or ignored legal restrictions when they conflicted with dynastic ambition; and second, her conceptualization of service in the royal courts as a female career.²⁵ However, her focus on the late Yorkist and early Tudor period has left the Elizabethan era open for further research. Moreover, although these 'radical' approaches should be useful in bringing to light the dual-gendered nature of socio-political networks, it is easy to revert to a single-gendered narrative because Harris does not include examples of men participating in the same activities. Demonstrating that both men and women negotiated marriages and managed the care and education of children and including men in her later discussion of gifting, would have underlined the non-gendered nature of these elite activities.

²⁴ Harris, 'Women and politics', 268; J.Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988), p.24.

²⁵ B.Harris, *English Aristocratic Women, 1450-1550* (Oxford, 2002), see pp.18-26, 210-13.

One political historian who has tackled marriage as more than merely the point where the two genders intersect is Susan Doran, who deftly removes Elizabeth's courtships from the stigma of twentieth-century psychoanalysis and places them firmly back into the domestic and international political context. Doran maintains that royal marriage negotiations were an essential political discussion on the mechanics of ruling and the kingdom's future. Thus, for Doran, royal dynasticism is not a gender issue, which in many ways makes her work quintessentially feminist. However, her study of monarchy does not extend these ideas to the elite politiquers who served in the court and at least implicitly accepts Wright's premise that Elizabeth wanted her privy chamber staff to be apolitical. Doran maintains that Elizabeth wanted her ladies-in-waiting to remain unmarried because, with marriage, the additional pressure of a husband's political ambitions might disrupt the calm Elizabeth demanded.²⁶ The implication that only married women would have political ambition overlooks the possibility of dynastic, let alone independent, political ambition among matriarchal, unmarried or widowed women.

In contrast, Simon Adams has pointed out that the 'relative internal cohesion' of the court may have stemmed from the fact that the established court families were 'practically all each other's cousins in the most literal sense'.²⁷ Interestingly, despite Adams's analysis of the rapport between the privy council and the household as well as his conflation of household and court, he still characterizes the female privy chamber as an inner private sanctum 'impenetrable to most of the court'.²⁸ Either the household, including the privy chamber, is part of the court and consequently at the political heart of the kingdom or it is not. Adams concedes only slightly on this point when he acknowledges that female attendants

26 S.Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I* (1996), p.6.

27 Adams, *Leicester and the Court*, p.35.

28 Adams, *Leicester and the Court*, pp.38, 46.

were a source of information for the queen but draws the line at independent political agency and does not consider the possibility of interdependent male-female agency. Despite some sensitive contextualization of socio-political networks, it is disappointing that Adams continues to ascribe Elizabeth's fractious relationships with her royal cousins to sexual jealousy, without consideration of the succession issues at stake that presented a direct political threat to her throne.²⁹ Additionally, his presumption that Elizabeth was sexually jealous of courtiers who married without her permission lacks thorough analysis, given the number of weddings she attended, sent gifts to or how often she was godmother to the resulting children.³⁰ It is much more likely that the flouting of her royal authority was the cause of her anger on these occasions as opposed to sexual frustration.

As a counter-balance to male-dominated socio-political networks such as Adams's work on Leicester, recent research on female networks has flourished, albeit generally more social than political in nature and heavily influenced by literary scholars working on letter-writing, news networks and sisterly relations.³¹ Sharon Kettering's and Natalie Zemon Davis's work, building on Mauss's, establishing early-modern French patronage networks maintained through gifting is especially noteworthy, uncovering relationship networks, both familial and client-patron, where none were thought to exist.³² Although this work pricks

29 Adams, *Leicester and the Court*, p.37.

30 See chapter 4.

31 Daybell (ed.), *Women and Politics in Early Modern England*; Frye and Robertson (eds.), *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens*; Miller and Yavneh (eds.), *Sibling Relations and Gender in the Early Modern World*; P.Richards and J.Munns (eds.), *Gender, Power and Privilege in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700* (2003).

32 S.Kettering, 'The patronage power of early modern French noblewomen', *Historical Journal* 32 (1989), 817-841; S.Kettering, 'Patronage in early modern France', *French Historical Studies* 17 (1992), 839-862; N.Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (2001); M.Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, most recent translation by W.Halls (1990). Mauss's anthropological study of gift exchange as the origin of social relationships has provided social historians with a methodological underpinning for establishing social networks.

holes in the private-sphere model, the primary focus is still on establishing single-gendered networks and does not venture into the political realm. Consequently, it does not confront the idea that political agency, at its core is relational but not gendered.³³ While Mauss provides a method for constructing social relationships that both Kettering and Davis have implemented, we still need an understanding of power stripped of masculine connotations. In this respect, despite being concerned with the much more recent history of the world wars, Hannah Arendt's analysis of power can be useful. Arendt posits that power is a group activity deriving legitimacy and authority from the community and is consequently devoid of gender associations.³⁴ Thus her analysis supports research into a wide variety of socio-political situations and networks.

However, before analyzing these networks, their membership must first be clearly identified. Sixteenth-century historians face archival challenges hindering the identification of dynastic members and this, in turn, has limited identifying individual women who did not happen to be queens in the first place, much less analyzing their wider dynastic networks.³⁵ So should socio-political historians who wish to include women in their analysis resort to biographies of 'worthies' despite Davis's criticism? If so, will these biographies be able to transcend gendered assumptions and maintain their subjects within the political contexts that they inhabited?

Unfortunately, reliance on biography as a tool for liberating women's history has been an obstacle to furthering the integration of women into the political narrative.³⁶ It should be possible to write gender-neutral biographies, personal

33 Weisner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, pp.288-9.

34 H.Arendt, *On Power* (New York, 1969), pp.44-5, 52.

35 See chapter 1.

36 For early discussions of this issue see B.Carroll, 'Mary Beard's woman as force in woman's history' and A.Gordon, M.Buble and N.Dye, 'The problem of women's history' both in B.Carroll (ed.), *Liberating Women's History* (Champaign, Illinois, 1976), pp.26-41 and pp.75-92 respectively.

stories that maintain political contexts for both men and women. However, biographies of women tend to isolate the person from their political contexts, whereas biographies of men seem to suffer less from contextual isolation. Biographies of female monarchs, in particular, disproportionately weight romantic and sexual relationships over political effectiveness; biographies of royal mistresses are even worse culprits. Jenny Wormald has rightly pointed out that, for example, the plethora of biographies of Mary Queen of Scots have been of 'Mary, the little woman [and]. . . make her personality, whether good or evil, an end in itself'.³⁷ By making personal and emotional experiences the central biographical theme of politically-active women and not of politically-active men, female participation is diminished within the historical narrative. Aside from Wormald's, there have been very few recent biographies of queens that include sensitive political contextualization.³⁸

Moving from sixteenth-century rulers to aristocratic women there are few biographies of any sort. Popular interest in Bess of Hardwick is generated more by her exceptional status as a flamboyantly much-married, ambitious and extremely wealthy woman than by any consideration of her political role. Arbella Stuart, her granddaughter, suffers from the same sort of historical pity, although in a far less compressed chronology, as Lady Jane Grey.³⁹ The one published biography of Margaret Douglas countess of Lennox, sometime heir to the throne of England and a fixture at the English court (in between time spent in prison) from the 1530s until her death in 1578, spends the first four

37 J.Wormald, *Mary Queen of Scots* (New York, 2001), p.18.

38 Other politically sensitive biographies of queens include, R.Warnicke's *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn: Family Politics At the Court of Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1991); P.Ritchie, *Mary of Guise in Scotland 1548-1560, A Political Career* (East Linton, Scotland, 2002); W.MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I* (1993); E.Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Oxford, 2004), J.Guy, *My Heart Is My Own: The Life of Mary Queen of Scots* (2004).

39 S.Gristwold, *Arbella: England's Lost Queen* (2005); R.Norrington, *In the Shadow of the Throne: The Lady Arbella Stuart* (2002).

chapters, approximately 100 pages, describing events before her birth.⁴⁰ The recent biography of Elizabeth Throckmorton, Lady Raleigh attempts to keep the personal and the political entwined but is hampered by the scarcity of archival material for a woman with very little access to the court after her marriage became public in 1591 and even less after her husband's fall from grace in 1599.⁴¹

An early and substantial effort to write biographies of women 'worthies' while maintaining their political contexts was successfully managed by Agnes Strickland and her more reclusive sister Elizabeth when they published a series of multi-volume biographies establishing the potential for archive-based research into the lives of elite women. Despite their focus on the queens and princesses of England and Scotland, their material includes discussion of both elite men and women. While these texts are widely cited today, they include only a few references to the underlying archival material and they could not completely escape from the romantic and moralistic tone of the Victorian age.⁴² Frustratingly, a multitude of quotations, extracts and events cited in these volumes are just not traceable to their original sources, placing a wall of silence between the Stricklands and current research.

Still, there have been a few attempts to bring the women surrounding Elizabeth to historical light starting in the 1920s with Violet Wilson's work on the maids of honour and what she termed 'society women'. While Wilson's work frequently

40 Schutte, *A Biography of Margaret Douglas*. Highlighting the details of her relationships to other major personalities implies that she is interesting not for what she did herself but for her royal connections. [At time of writing, two more biographies of Margaret Douglas countess of Lennox were rumoured to be in progress.]

41 Beer, *Bess, The Life of Lady Raleigh*.

42 For but one example of tone see A. Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, 6 volumes, (Philadelphia, 1893), vol. 3 'Mary', p.564. 'Fortunately, the queen had chosen maids of honour whose correctness of life was unimpeachable; who were not only ladies of approved virtue, but ready to do battle, if any audacious offender offered an incivility.' Starkey discusses this further in the introduction to his *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII* (2003) pp.xvi-xvii.

relies on colourful imagery and hypothetical emotional content, she should not be dismissed out of hand or still less blamed, as Charlotte Merton does on the first page of her unpublished doctoral thesis, for the subsequent lack of scholarly interest in elite women.⁴³ For example, Wilson devotes an entire chapter to the diary of Anne Clifford printed as transcription with little editorial intervention thus presenting the primary source for analysis by the reader.⁴⁴ Merton's dismissal of Wilson as misguided and too romantic to interest any serious historian reveals more about Merton's understanding of romanticism than Wilson's impact on the historiography of elite women. The heroic is also romantic but historians have not found heroes to be uninteresting. This is not to argue that romanticism is sound history but that reasons for dismissing both the Stricklands's and Wilson's work probably have little to do with their Victorian attitudes or romanticism.

Despite this unfortunate dismissal, there has been valuable doctoral research done by both Merton and Joan Goldsmith in documenting elite female presence at Elizabeth's court, although their analysis of political participation barely veers away from Wright's assumptions that the women of the privy chamber were only domestic body servants.⁴⁵ Merton distinguishes between women who regularly attended the court on their own or their families' business and those holding office within the privy chamber when assessing political agency, a distinction perhaps without a difference.⁴⁶ Although Merton's chapter on politics strongly equates potential access to the monarch with potential patronage power, she does not cast this power as political. In contrast, Goldsmith's thesis suggests that with Elizabeth, but interestingly not with Mary, a 'new style of politics ... swept into

43 Merton, 'Women who served' p.1.

44 V.Wilson, *Society Women of Shakespeare's Time* (1924), p.148. See also her *Queen Elizabeth's Maids of Honour and Ladies of the Privy Chamber* (1922).

45 Merton, 'The women who served' and J.Goldsmith, 'All the queen's women'.

46 Merton, 'Women who served', p.156.

court on the embroidered farthingales of the Queen's women'.⁴⁷ Her analysis though is one of gendered separation or even inversion, concluding that men became 'politically and economically beholden to their wives'.⁴⁸ Neither work views kinship-networks as structural components of the political landscape nor regards male-female activity as potentially inter-dependent although, ironically, Merton chooses Anne Russell Dudley countess of Warwick, wife to Sir Ambrose Dudley, sister-in-law to Robert Dudley earl of Leicester and herself the daughter of Francis Russell earl of Bedford for extensive discussion.⁴⁹ Moreover, Merton discounts the value of kinship networks when she writes that 'even if not actually at daggers drawn, few members of the same family consistently agreed, and money and power politics only confused the issues'.⁵⁰ O'Day has convincingly argued that this sort of focus on power relationships between family members can be a self fulfilling investigative trap.⁵¹

At the other end of the spectrum, two popular works focusing on elite women of the court provide more concise reviews but pay less attention to political agency or dynastic networks. Anne Somerset set herself the challenge of writing about ladies-in-waiting over a five hundred year period with the inevitable issues of sustaining a theme over such a long period. Given the timespan covered and the dramatic shifts in both political institutions and the royal court it is difficult to extract much detail from the one chapter she allots to Elizabeth's reign. Disappointingly, she continues the presentation of Elizabeth's ladies-in-waiting as

47 Goldsmith, 'All the queen's women', p.122.

48 Goldsmith, 'All the queen's women', p.124.

49 Merton, 'Women who served', pp.258-69; Goldsmith, 'All the queen's women', p.258. Merton does not include Anne Russell Dudley as a paid member of the household although Goldsmith lists her as both a maid of honour and lady of the bed chamber.

50 Merton, 'Women who served', p.155.

51 O'Day, *Family and Family Relationships*, p.268.

‘mere foils’ providing a ‘decorative backdrop’ to the queen’s Gloriana image.⁵² In contrast to Somerset’s broad sweep across the centuries, Rosalind Marshall has found a unique and sharply-focused approach by writing a series of biographical sketches of the women who came into contact with Mary Queen of Scots. By using this persistently popular queen as the focal point, Marshall is able to survey a cross-section of women from Scotland, France and England from servants to queens including Elizabeth and Catherine de Medici. Although this approach connects these women to each other, or rather to Mary, the political narrative has been left to one side and there is no discussion of their male relatives and thus, in the end, Marshall is just as guilty of writing half a history.⁵³ In order to write a whole history, we must disregard the gendered private/public spheres model, especially if writing new socio-political narratives. Additionally, marriage must be revisioned as the intersection, not of men and women, but of whole kinship networks; networks that start with the consanguineal, extend to conjugal and then are further extended to the socio-religious relationship of god-parent.

These family networks need to be addressed systematically. Lawrence Stone’s work on the family and the aristocracy energized social history and brought statistical demography into the methodological toolkit. He focused on economic and class development, not politics, and at the same time posited that an Elizabethan crisis in the development of the aristocracy was a significant cause of the disintegration of the Stuart monarchy and consequently the English Civil War.⁵⁴ Demographic analysis is valuable work lending substance to generalized statements and can be used to support historical narrative. However,

52 A.Somerset, *Ladies in Waiting: From the Tudors To the Present Day* (1984), p.60.

53 R.Marshall, *Queen Mary’s Women: Female Relatives, Servants, Friends and Enemies of Mary Queen of Scots* (Edinburgh, 2006).

54 L.Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy* (Oxford, 1965); *The Causes of the English Revolution 1529-1642* (1972); *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (1977); *The Road to Divorce, England 1530-1987* (Oxford, 1990).

Stone's generalizations re-emphasized notions of paternalism, patriarchy and most infamously, the non-affective family.⁵⁵ His acceptance of patriarchy as the operative construct of power within marriage is clear when he writes that aristocratic men who held offices that no longer commanded respect under James I 'used their wives as agents' in efforts to 'save face'.⁵⁶ He clearly did not consider that women may have been active partners in shared dynastic ambitions or even have been their own agents. Stone's research was rooted almost exclusively in the notion that men and women lived in separate spheres and so can be misleading.⁵⁷ Additionally he limited his political analysis to the thesis that the shift away from localized power bases to the centralized power of the court emasculated the peerage.⁵⁸ Despite his sweeping research on the family and his suggestion that aristocratic power diminished through government centralization during this period, Stone never engaged with the notion that the politics of the Tudor elite were family-based. Yet, O'Day points out that if 'kinship was the primary bond of early modern society' then it clearly must have been an important political bond.⁵⁹

Here we can return to Elton's assertion that Tudor government depended on systems 'constructed around local, familial and political foci which everywhere penetrated the visible politics of the day', which places him more firmly in line with Collinson, Davis and even Harris than he himself might have admitted.⁶⁰ While the 'Eltonian' approach has recently become synonymous with 'out-dated'

55 For example, K.Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680*, new ed. (2003), pp.48, 76; also Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, p.261 where Stone's notion of non-affective marriage is characterised as 'reckless'.

56 Stone, *Aristocracy*, p.224.

57 See especially R.Houlbrooke, *The English Family, 1450-1700* (1984); Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*; A.Macfarlane, *Marriage and Love: Modes of Reproduction, 1300-1840* (Oxford, 1986); O'Day, *Family and Family Relationships*.

58 Stone, *Aristocracy*, p.183.

59 O'Day, *Family and Family Relationships*, p.66.

60 Elton, *Tudor Government*, p.4.

in historiographical discussions, the 'points of contact' addresses provided clear direction for future work. Locating politics within any institution limits the integration of social connections into the political narrative because the same evolution of bureaucracy that contributes to the self-perpetuation of institutions, even in the best sense, specifically disregards social networks. Although social networking has been and still is a key contributor to the staffing of institutions it occurs primarily outside prescribed administrative functions, which obscures its political character. The issue remains whether inclusion of social networks will satisfy the radical proposal of a gender-inclusive political narrative; and further if dynastic networks can be placed at the political centre with all the members, husbands, wives, sons, daughters, nephews, nieces, cousins and god-parents, represented. The literature regarding elite dynastic networks and their role in Tudor politics is still emerging, although it is clear that in an era of dynastic monarchies, the political landscape was structured by the powerful ambitions of elite and aristocratic families. Yet, with few exceptions this research isolates women from the dynastic context that governed Tudor politics. Still, common sense dictates that there must have been some type of female political agency within the royal households, especially those of the queens-regnant.

Feminist academics have struggled to construct approaches and methodologies that facilitate description of a population until recently invisible in the historiography but have reacted to this invisibility by fostering a single gender focus. This gender segregation especially at the elite level, isolates female political agency further from traditional politics, favouring instead 'compensatory women's history'.⁶¹ Scott has summed up the problem succinctly by stating that 'various strategies of women historians have all foundered on the issue of difference as a conceptual and structural phenomenon'.⁶² However, there is a

61 P.Mack, 'Women and gender in early modern England', 380.

62 Scott, *Gender and Politics*, p.196.

tendency in the few biographies of non-royal women not to reinsert them into the political narrative so much as to isolate them from their political contexts.⁶³ Even the successful 'heroic odyssey' model of biography that has generated popular interest in the history of male personalities has failed to excite the same interest in female personalities, with the notable exception of queens, however populist and sensationalist.⁶⁴

Unfortunately, Collinson's, Davis's and Harris's call for gender-inclusive political history remains largely unanswered, so the history of Tudor court politics is still missing a significant component of the narrative. Even influential families with multiple male and female members in court posts are still almost exclusively identified by their most prominent male members.⁶⁵ Yet, as argued in chapter one, the proposition that Elizabeth's relationships with her courtiers could involve the same issues regardless of gender is well worth consideration. Elton located the scope of sixteenth-century politics, both personal and national, within the confines of the court.⁶⁶ Collinson has pointed out that all privy councilors were courtiers but that not all courtiers were privy councilors. At the same time, he has confirmed that patronage networks were a fundamental structural component of the Elizabethan kingdom.⁶⁷ Looking between Elton and Collinson we might find that the recreation of elite dynastic networks will overcome the issue of gendered

63 For further discussion see K. Bundesen, 'Circling the crown: political power and female agency in sixteenth-century England', in J. Jordan (ed.), *Desperate Housewives: Politics, Propriety and Pornography, Three Centuries of Women in England* (Cambridge, 2008), 3-28.

64 A. Fraser, *Mary Queen of Scots* (1969), p.3 starts with the classic literary trope 'it was a dark and stormy night'. I have paraphrased here but the dramatic sentiment is the same.

65 For example, Adams, 'The Dudley clientele and the House of Commons, 1559-86', in his *Leicester and the Court*, pp.241-65.

66 Elton, *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government, vol. 3 Papers and Reviews 1973-1981* (Cambridge, 1983), p.40.

67 Collinson, *Elizabeth I*, pp.54-5.

difference and fulfill the radical proposition that only when we include both men and women will a new political history have finally arrived.

3 Elizabeth's Family

Although Elizabeth was the last Tudor monarch, she was surrounded by family. Research on Elizabeth's royal relations has focused primarily on succession issues inevitably positioning her in opposition to her sister Mary, her first cousin once removed Mary Queen of Scots, and to lesser degrees her cousin Margaret Douglas countess of Lennox, her first cousins once removed sisters Katherine and Mary Grey and Henry Hastings earl of Huntingdon who was descended from the Plantagenets. Research on her non-royal cousins has been limited to brief discussions either to specific individuals within biographies of other personalities or to the larger cousinhood group within general studies of the era; but there are no comprehensive surveys or case studies of Elizabeth's Boleyn relations.¹ This chapter identifies the queen's extended royal and non-royal family including her cousins the Careys as well as an exploration of the Careys' relationship to Elizabeth and their history prior to 1558.

The rhetoric of the solitary queen

The carefully-constructed image of Elizabeth I is that of a solitary autonomous icon and therefore an unusual woman. Her cult-like virginal status was reinforced by portrayals that isolated her from mere mortals.² Historiographical treatment of Elizabeth has continued to propagate this image or else partner her with strong male figures, either favourites or secretary-councillors, perhaps to tailor her image

¹ This list includes; P.Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics* (Cambridge, 1999) which focusses on Robert Devereux, 2nd earl of Essex; S.Varlow, *The Lady Penelope: The Lost Tale of Love and Politics in the Court of Elizabeth I* (2007); S.Doran, 'The political career of Thomas Radcliffe, 3rd earl of Sussex, 1526?- 1583', unpublished PhD thesis (University College London, 1977). Relationships to Elizabeth are detailed in appendix 1.

² Further discussion of these ideas may be found in S.Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (New York, 1996); M.Dobson, *England's Elizabeth: An Afterlife In Fame and Fantasy* (Oxford, 2002); R.Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (1991); R.Strong, *The Elizabethan Image: Painting in England 1540–1620* (London, 1969), p.42.

to a twentieth-century conception of female political agency that depends on a male partner. In reality, as were the monarchs before her, she was surrounded by a plethora of cousins both royal and non-royal. Elizabeth had approximately 193 relatives, including their spouses, alive during her reign.³

Despite this abundance of cousins, the public image of Elizabeth the Queen is one of female isolation – a virgin, a *Fairie Queene*, Cynthia the moon goddess, on her own above the earth and definitely not a normal human woman. Her portraits propagandized this rhetoric and included images that emphasized what Strong characterized as her ‘oneness’.⁴ The 1572 *Phoenix* portrait, so-called because there is a pendant phoenix at her breast, is a case in point.⁵ A phoenix needs no one to survive, recreating itself by eternally rising from its own ashes without parents. These propaganda images, including the c.1573 *Pelican*, the c.1592-94 *Ditchley* and the 1592-99 *Hardwicke* portraits became more stylized over the course of her reign while her costumes were increasingly laden with iconic imagery. Eventually, her figure became so disproportionate, especially noticeable in the *Ditchley* in the statue-like nature of her clothing, the improbable smallness of her waist and the angle of her feet at odds with the direction of her body, that to modern eyes her body does not resemble that of an ordinary female. While most paintings of Elizabeth portray her as a solitary figure, there are a few with other people in them. However, even these images emphasise her detachment from normal humans.⁶ There are at least two family portraits, one when she was a princess and one representing her as queen, much re-painted, called *The Family of*

³ See appendix 1 for lists of relatives.

⁴ Strong, *The Elizabethan Image*, p.42.

⁵ *The Phoenix Portrait* is attributed to Nicholas Hilliard, 1572 (National Portrait Gallery, London).

⁶ For further discussion of these paintings and their symbolism see S.Doran ‘Virginity, divinity and power: the portraits of Elizabeth I’ in *The Myth of Elizabeth*, S.Doran and T.Freeman (eds.), (Basingstoke, 2003), pp.171-199 at pp.175–6.

Henry VIII accompanied by Peace, Plenty and Mars, copied further in engravings with her costume becoming even more elaborate but her face remaining nearly unchanged.⁷ This family portrait reinforces her ancestry and divine affinity, not her humanity. Significantly, it was not named *The Family of Queen Elizabeth*; it was intended to legitimate her right to the throne. Therefore, even these group paintings continued the rhetoric of her uniqueness.

The second predominant image of Elizabeth partners her with a single strong man, either a romantic favourite, Robert Dudley earl of Leicester followed by his step-son, Elizabeth's first cousin twice removed, Robert Devereux earl of Essex, or the secretary-councillors William Cecil lord Burghley followed by his son, Robert Cecil, later earl of Salisbury, who also served James I and VI. These four men from these two families have defined the category of Elizabeth's partner, although there are other men who might qualify, such as Christopher Hatton and Francis Walsingham. There is no evidence that Elizabeth's relationships with these men were anything more than platonic and they were, for the most part, serially monogamous within each category. Nevertheless, the historiographical lens has cast these men as substitute husbands in an effort to modify what has been considered a gender anomaly – the single powerful female. A short survey of biographical titles covering her reign confirms this urge to partner Elizabeth with a strong or at least dynamic male.⁸ Surrounding Elizabeth with her family counteracts the image of her as a divine being or as partnered with strong men. Her many family members staffed her household, her court and every aspect

7 By an unknown artist c.1590–92 redone from a c.1570–75 version attributed to Lucas de Heere (Yale Center for British Art, CT). A copy of an earlier Tudor family portrait has recently come to light albeit too recently to be included in this discussion. See BBC Northamptonshire web site; <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/northhamptonshire/7421051.stm>, accessed 4/07/2008.

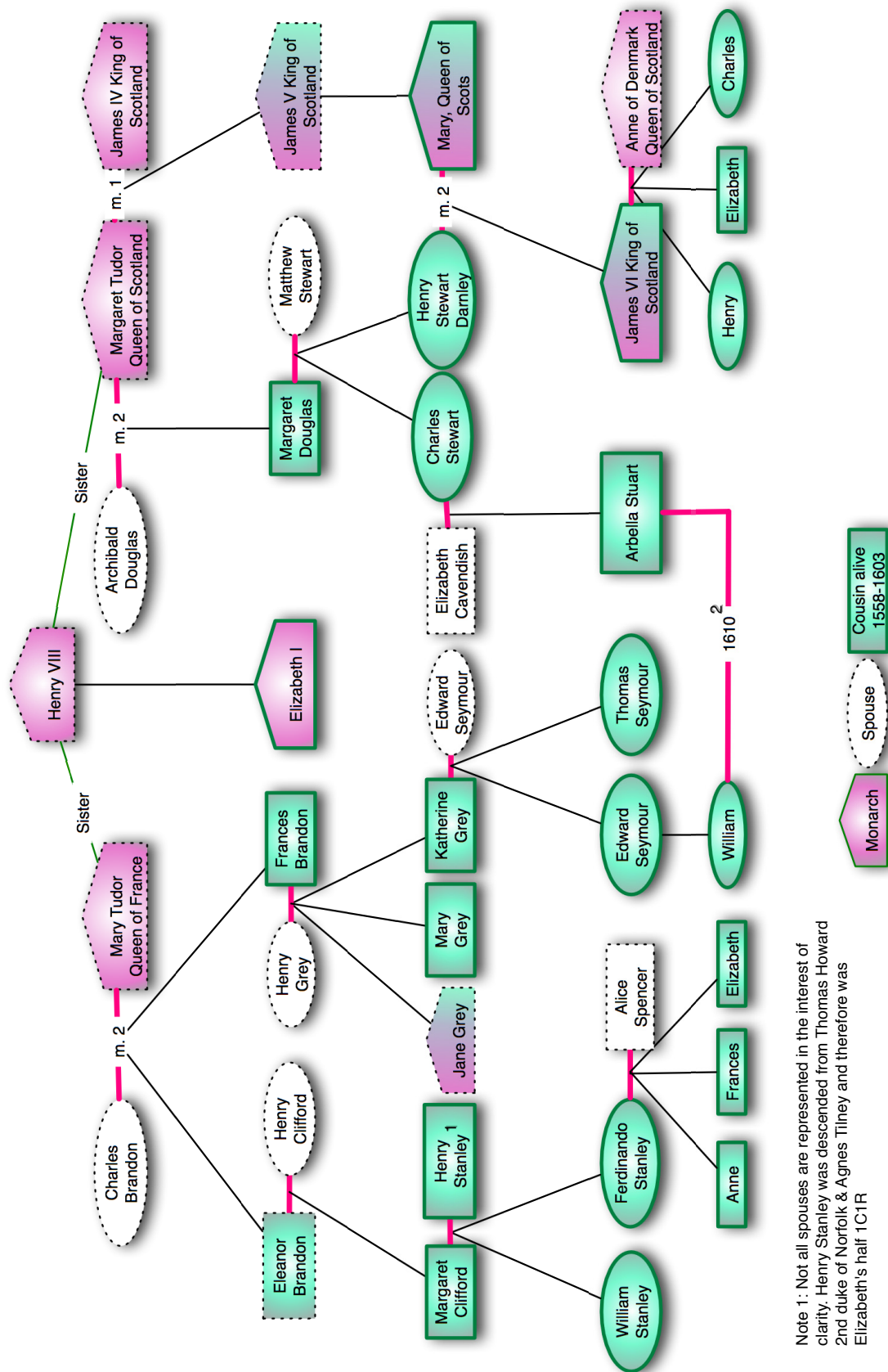
8 See for example C.Read, *Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth* (New York, 1955); E.Jenkins, *Elizabeth and Leicester* (1961); L.Strachey *Elizabeth and Essex: A Tragic history* (1928); J.Ross, *The Men Who Would Be King: Suitors To Queen Elizabeth I* (New York, 1975).

of her government providing both familial and practical support to their very human cousin. Elizabeth's 193 relatives can be divided into three distinct groups; royal, non-royal and those too young at the end of her reign to benefit directly from the relationship. There were approximately fifty royal relatives alive during her reign. The twenty-six royal and non-royal relatives under the age of ten at Elizabeth's death would have benefitted from their families' position but were too young to qualify for grants of office, money or strategic marriage alliances.

Elizabeth's royal relatives

Being one of Elizabeth's royal relatives was not an enviable position as they lived under constant threat of royal disfavour in the form of poverty, occasional imprisonment and execution. Despite Henry VIII's persistent drive to beget a legitimate male heir, the surviving Tudor family was primarily matrilineal, descending from his two sisters, Margaret and Mary.⁹

⁹ For detailed analysis of Tudor succession issues see M. Levine, *Tudor Dynastic Problems, 1460–1571* (New York, 1973). An alternate analysis is provided by A. McLaren, 'The quest for a king', *Journal of British Studies* 41 (2002), 259-290 although she does not address the claim of Eleanor Brandon's descendants.



Note 1: Not all spouses are represented in the interest of clarity. Henry Stanley was descended from Thomas Howard 2nd duke of Norfolk & Agnes Tilney and therefore was Elizabeth's half 1C1R

Note 2: This marriage was after Elizabeth's death

Figure – 3.1 Elizabeth's royal cousins alive 1558-1603

During Mary I's reign, Margaret Tudor's daughter by her second husband, the Catholic Margaret Douglas Stewart countess of Lennox was frequently referred to as chief lady of the court and positioned herself as heir apparent pending a royal birth.¹⁰ Despite some outward religious conformity during Elizabeth's reign, she was imprisoned twice, not for recusancy but for what was considered dynastic conspiracy.¹¹ The first time was in 1565 when her son, Henry lord Darnley married Mary Queen of Scots and the second was in 1574 when her other son, Charles, married Elizabeth Cavendish, daughter of Bess of Hardwick.¹² With Margaret's royal English and Scottish bloodlines, any alliance with her family had political implications and Margaret all too clearly had political ambitions for her children. Both times, the queen had every right to be concerned.

Henry Stewart lord Darnley and his brother were certainly educated in the courtly skills their parents hoped his future would require of them. It appears these skills helped Henry woo and win his half first cousin Mary Queen of Scots in 1565 but did nothing for his subsequent governing abilities or relationship with Elizabeth.¹³ His death in 1567 may have been a relief to many but not to his parents. His father remained in Scotland to pursue the murderers while Mildred Cooke Cecil and Lady Howard delivered news of Darnley's death to Margaret in the Tower, mistakenly informing her that her husband Matthew Stewart was also dead.¹⁴ Elizabeth's subsequent release of Margaret from the Tower was considered an act of kindness to a mourning mother, although this generosity did not extend

10 *CPR-Philip and Mary 1553–1554 I*, p.102. Which chamber, if any, Margaret presided over is not specified.

11 1565–6 and 1574. *CSP-Domestic 1547–1580*, pp.257, 259, 272.

12 *CSP-Spanish 1568-79*, vol. 2, p.491.

13 NAS, GD 220/2 194.

14 Either, Margaret Gamage Howard, baroness Effingham or her daughter-in-law Katherine Carey Howard. Positive identification so far has not been possible. L.Aikin, *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth* (1826), p.415.

to allowing the Lennoxes to administer their own estates.¹⁵ If Elizabeth did not keep Margaret in a physical prison she still kept her under financial restraint. Her husband also fell in and out of favour with Elizabeth and was never completely trusted. When he was sent to Scotland as Elizabeth's handpicked regent for his grandson James VI in 1570, Margaret was ordered to remain in England as a guarantee for his good behaviour.¹⁶ This represented a career highpoint for Matthew. However, a short twenty-one months later he was also assassinated.

With only one son left alive, Margaret still found a way to advance her dynastic ambitions when she connived with Bess of Hardwick, countess of Shrewsbury at the marriage of her son Charles to Bess's daughter Elizabeth Cavendish. This landed both mothers in the Tower while the earl of Shrewsbury pleaded ignorance of the whole affair.¹⁷ The marriage took on additional significance when in 1575 the couple gave birth to Arbella Stuart who, by virtue of her bloodlines, earned a place in the list of possible successors to Elizabeth. As Arbella grew older, the queen kept her either at court or under house arrest, to prevent her marrying and having children who might be considered heirs to throne.¹⁸ Charles died from tuberculosis in 1576, two years after his marriage to Elizabeth Cavendish. Margaret died in 1578 still pursuing the earldom of Lennox for her granddaughter Arbella and knowing that her grandson James was king of Scotland and might one day become king of England.¹⁹ Arbella's kinship to both the English and Scottish thrones made her a natural object of curiosity for those interested in changing the throne's occupant.

¹⁵ *CSP-Spanish 1568-79*, vol. 2, p.260, *CSP-Domestic 1601-1603 Addenda 1547-1565*, p.509, K.Schutte, *Margaret Douglas*, p.209.

¹⁶ NAS GD 124/10/13.

¹⁷ *CSP-Spanish 1568-79*, vol. 2, p.491.

¹⁸ R.Marshall, 'Stuart , Lady Arabella (1575–1615)', *ODNB*.

¹⁹ NAS GD 220/2 155, 156, 157.

Henry VIII's younger sister, Mary had two daughters but only one, Frances Brandon, was alive when Elizabeth came to the throne and she died nearly a year later on 21 November 1559.²⁰ Frances had three daughters including Lady Jane Grey the 'nine-days queen' who had been executed for treason in 1554. Mary I appointed Jane's younger sister, Katherine Grey, maid of honour despite the stain of treason on the family.²¹ In Elizabeth's court she felt insulted by an appointment as a lady of the presence chamber, complaining that her royal blood and status as a potential claimant to the throne entitled her to a more intimate post, preferably in the bed chamber.²² Her attempts in 1559 to convince the Spanish ambassador that her Catholic conformity under Mary I had been a true conversion led the Spanish to consider the possibility of a military intervention that would replace Elizabeth with Katherine and so preserve England as a Catholic client to Spain.²³ This was abandoned when Katherine returned to her reformed roots and secretly married Edward Seymour, cousin to Edward VI, in 1561.²⁴ They had two sons; the first pregnancy forced the marriage into the open and Elizabeth, fearing the implications for the succession, threw them both into prison, where they conceived a second child.²⁵ There were apparently only two witnesses to the marriage, Edward's sister Jane who was Katherine's friend at court and the clergyman who performed the service. Jane died before the

20 R. Warnicke, 'Grey [other married name Stokes]. Frances [nee Lady Frances Brandon] duchess of Suffolk (1517-1559), *ODNB*.

21 Mary I and Elizabeth I were all great granddaughters of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York while the Grey sisters were great-granddaughters and therefore cousins once removed. There is significant confusion over Katherine's exact title. In Goldsmith, 'All the queen's women', p.269 she is listed as Lady Presence Chamber/Gentlewoman Privy Chamber. Merton, 'The women who served', p.261 does not list her in Mary's court at all but includes her as a maid of honour in Elizabeth's court. The Spanish ambassador in his letter says that she was in Mary's privy chamber. *CSP-Spanish 1559*, p.45.

22 For more on relative importance of chamber posts see K. Bundesen, 'Circling the crown'.

23 *CSP-Spanish 1559*, p.45; *CSP-Spanish 1553-1564*, pp.114, 116, 176, 213.

24 BL Additional MS 14291, fol. 157; Levine, *Dynastic Problems*, p.109.

25 Edward, b.1561 and Thomas, b.1563. *Complete Peerage*, vol. 6, p.505.

first pregnancy became obvious and neither Edward nor Katherine recalled the identity of the clergyman. The archbishop of Canterbury declared there had been no marriage, which consequently made the children illegitimate and therefore, theoretically, ineligible to be king in the future. However, as both queens-regnant had at some point been declared illegitimate, this disqualifier was clearly not final and Elizabeth never forgave Katherine who remained under house arrest until her death in 1568.²⁶

Katherine's younger sister Mary Grey, a maid of honour to Elizabeth, was less conniving or perhaps just naïve.²⁷ She also offended her cousin the queen, when in 1565 she wed Thomas Keys the queen's sergeant porter, a widower with seven children who was substantially below her status. The discovery of this alliance sent Keys to the Fleet prison and Mary to house arrest. They never cohabited and no children were born. Keys was released from prison after three years and retired to the country where he died in 1571. Mary was kept under house arrest at various locations until 1572 a year after her husband's death. She eventually set up house in London and maintained cordial relations with the queen until her death in 1578.²⁸

Mary Tudor's other daughter Eleanor Brandon had died in 1547. She was survived by a daughter Margaret Clifford who married Henry Stanley lord Strange in 1555 and was a prominent member of Mary's court.²⁹ Margaret's life under Elizabeth has so far remained confused; Goldsmith names Margaret as part of Elizabeth's inner circle, but Merton does not list her among the paid women of any chamber during the reign while the *Complete Peerage* says

26 For some of her letters pleading for her liberty see BL Lansdowne MS 6, fols. 32, 36 and 92.

27 Merton, 'The women who served', p.37.

28 S.Doran, 'Keys [Grey], Lady Mary (1545?–1578)', *ODNB*.

29 *CSP-Venetian 1553-1554*, p.539.

Elizabeth became suspicious of her in 1580 and so put her under restraint.³⁰ However in 1562 she was named first in the New Year's gifts lists which would have been the privilege of the highest-ranking woman at court, indicating that at least at the beginning of the reign she was in relatively good standing despite her catholicism.³¹ Her husband, Henry Stanley, also a relative of the queen, actively pursued recusants, except for close friends, which no matter how deep his own religious convictions may have been, helped allay some of Elizabeth's fears over potential conspiracies.³² Their son, Ferdinando, proved his loyalty to Elizabeth when in 1593 he turned in Hesketh, a conspirator who was urging him to take the throne in the right of his grandmother Eleanor.³³ As these examples demonstrate, being Elizabeth's royal cousin did not guarantee warm family relations. Elizabeth's desire to protect her position and the peace of the realm led her to keep close scrutiny on those who might actively seek to displace her or who might become figureheads for conspirators.

Elizabeth's non-royal relatives

Descendants of Elizabeth's paternal great-grandparents Sir William Boleyn and his wife Margaret Butler and her maternal great-grandparents, Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk and his two wives Agnes and Elizabeth Tilney, were also the queen's cousins. The Boleyn cousins included the Careys, Sackvilles, Howards, Radcliffes and Sheltons. Elizabeth, her Boleyn cousins and the rest of the court,

30 Goldsmith, 'All the queen's women', p.258; Merton, 'The women who served', appendix 1; *Complete Peerage*, Gibbs (ed.) vol. 4, p.211, note (f); *CSP-Spanish 1569-1579*, vol. 2, p.692.

31 *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, J.Nichols (ed.), 3 Vols. (1823), vol. 1, p.120.

32 L.Knafla, 'Stanley, Henry, fourth earl of Derby (1521-1593)', *ODNB*. The Spanish ambassador mentions Stanley's Protestantism and the fact that he had legitimate children in his favour as a possible successor, even though his family was considered Catholic. *CSP-Spanish, 1568-1579*, vol. 2, p.229. For degrees of relationships see appendix 1.

33 *Complete Peerage*, vol. 4, p.212.

were acutely aware of these kinship relationships.³⁴ Perhaps precisely because the Boleyn cousins had no claim to any special status within succession discussions, they not only survived, they thrived, the Careys especially proving a reliable service dynasty through three generations, both genders and across all political and administrative functions of Elizabethan government. In return, she granted them posts, land and gifts, including the most valuable commodity of all, political and personal intimacy. Over the course of Elizabeth's reign there were at least ten of these 'cousins' sworn to her privy council, eighteen male members of the royal household, twenty-nine ladies in waiting, thirty-five members of parliament, forty-four engaged in military activities and at least eleven who were sent on foreign embassies.³⁵

34 Discussed in detail in the following chapter.

35 These numbers include spouses of direct descendants as they were also considered 'cousins'. See appendix 2 for fuller details.

Elizabeth's Boleyn cousins can be divided into two groups; those descended from her grandfather Thomas Boleyn and his sisters and those descended from her grandmother Elizabeth Howard's siblings including the dukes of Norfolk, barons of Effingham and earls of Sussex. The second group are generally referred to as her Howard cousins as a Boleyn-Howard marriage created the relationship. The families intermarried again in 1563 when Charles Howard, son of William Howard of Effingham married Katherine Carey, Henry Carey's daughter, and again in 1580 when Robert Sackville married Margaret Howard, a daughter of the 4th duke of Norfolk.³⁶ However, this discussion will focus on the relationships between Elizabeth I and the families of Katherine Carey and her brother Henry, the children of Mary Boleyn Carey before 1558.

Mary Boleyn was mistress to Henry VIII while a lady-in-waiting to Katherine of Aragon and before his passion developed for her younger sister Anne, probably in late 1525.³⁷ The exact dates of Mary's involvement with the king are unknown so the paternity of Mary Boleyn's children remains ambiguous. Eric Ives makes a reasonable assumption that the affair did not start until after 1519 when his previous mistress, Elizabeth Blount, gave birth to the king's only acknowledged bastard Henry Fitzroy, although it is possible that as Blount's pregnancy advanced the king might have moved on to other pastures before Mary Boleyn's marriage to William Carey, a gentleman of Henry VIII's privy chamber, in 1520.³⁸ The question of whether Mary and the king were sexual partners during this marriage remains open as until recently the birth order and dates of Mary's children were in question, further obscuring their paternity.

36 Not represented in Figure 3-2. Charles Howard and Katherine Carey Howard are discussed in more detail in the following chapters.

37 D.Starkey, *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII* (2003), p.274.

38 Marriage date 4 February 1520, Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, p.14. For William's place at court see J.Rutland, *Rutland Papers*, W. Jerdan (ed.) (1842), p.101.

Ives conjectures that Katherine and Henry Carey were born to Mary after she left the king and started to cohabit with her husband, arguing that her children were not likely to be the king's due to his generally low fertility.³⁹ The counter-argument is that Henry VIII had no problem getting women pregnant, only in producing healthy baby boys who lived to maturity. Katherine of Aragon was pregnant at least six times.⁴⁰ Elizabeth Blount sustained a healthy pregnancy. After Mary's affair with Henry, Anne Boleyn was pregnant three times and Jane Seymour was pregnant within six months of her marriage to the king. Impregnation was clearly not the issue. The fact that both Katherine and Henry Carey were exceptionally fecund with thirteen and twelve children, respectively, reaching maturity may speak to their mother's fertility. On the other hand, after these two births it appears Mary did not get pregnant by William Carey and had only one son who died in childhood by her second husband William Stafford.⁴¹

Hoskins has pointed out that major gifts from the king to William Carey and the naming of the ship *Mary Boleyn* coincided with the two births and therefore were most likely 'pay offs'.⁴² His conclusion that Katherine and Henry were royal bastards of the king is convincing given that there were significant reasons for supporting the charade that they were the legitimate children of William Carey. If Henry Carey were acknowledged as the king's son he would have been undeniable evidence that the king had slept with Mary and therefore threaten the legitimacy of any children born to Anne despite dispensations for consanguinity. There is some indication that contemporaries believed that Henry Carey was Henry VIII's bastard son, commenting on his likeness to the king, although such comments

39 Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, pp.16-7, 190, 200, 354-5.

40 Starkey, *Six Wives*, pp.114-5, 119-22, 149, 153-4, 158, 160.

41 William Carey died 22 June 1528. She married William Stafford in 1534 at which point she was about 35 years old.

42 A.Hoskins, 'Mary Boleyn's Carey children and offspring of Henry VIII', *Genealogists' Magazine*, 25 (1997), 345-52.

could prove fatal.⁴³ Further, acknowledgment of doubly adulterous children would have presented significant threats to the future stability of the throne. However, although little is known of Katherine and Henry Carey's childhoods both seem to have attracted Henry VIII's benevolent if distant attention regardless of any friction between the king, the Boleyns or the Howards.⁴⁴

Naunton in his *Fragmenta Regalia*, reported that Robert Dudley earl of Leicester, referred to Elizabeth's Boleyn cousins as the 'tribe of Dan'.⁴⁵ This biblical reference is very revealing, especially given the high level of allegorical literacy of the time evidenced by Elizabeth's coronation entry into London when she represented herself as the prophet Daniel in her prayer in front of the Tower. Additionally, two of the tableaux constructed for her entry, the 'Eight Beatitudes' and 'Deborah the judge conferring with her councilors', provide an indication that this literacy was assumed amongst the populace who would be watching the royal entry into London.⁴⁶ The biblical tribe of Dan is strikingly similar to the Carey kinship network. Dan was the son of the patriarch Jacob and his mistress Bilhah who was also his wife's handmaid, just as Mary Boleyn was 'handmaid' to Henry's wife Katherine of Aragon.⁴⁷ While the original reference may have included additional branches of the Boleyn tree its application to the Careys had particular resonance. The tribe is described in Deuteronomy as 'the

43 *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic Henry VIII, 1535*, vol. 8, 20 April 1535, item 567, letter from John Hale to the Council. Hale was executed two weeks later.

44 Hoskins, 'Mary Boleyn's Carey children', 348-9. Hoskins specifically points out that the Carey children seem to have been exempt from the Boleyn fall from grace, see p.350.

45 R.Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia: Memoirs of Elizabeth, Her Court and Favourites* (1824), p.10. This reference included the Careys and Sackvilles. A. Rowse, *Elizabethan Renaissance: Life of Society* (1971), p.49 includes the Careys and the Howards of Effingham, subsequent to Charles Howard's marriage to Katherine Carey in 1563, within the tribe but excludes the Sackvilles.

46 Frye, *Competition For Representation*, pp.24, 36.

47 Gen 30:6.

lion's whelp' which again could be interpreted as a reference to the offspring of Henry VIII.⁴⁸ It is listed in the Book of Numbers as the largest of the twelve tribes of the royal house of Israel.⁴⁹ The Careys were also remarkable fecund.⁵⁰ Finally, God gives the tribe of Dan the gifts of craftsmanship and wisdom.⁵¹ Although characterisations of Henry Carey did not usually include wisdom, other members of the kinship network were clearly consulted and relied upon for counsel throughout the reign and the description of craft workers would easily translate to the position the kinship network held within Elizabeth's kingdom. It is possible, therefore that although Henry and Katherine Carey were officially recognised as Elizabeth I's first cousins, they may have enjoyed a closer, more ambiguous relationship.⁵² Certainly, Elizabeth treated them affectionately, more so than many other members of her court. However, as no absolute proof exists regarding their paternity, in this thesis Katherine and Henry Carey will be referred to as Elizabeth's first cousins.

The Careys

The Carey 'tribe' was large enough to live up to its nickname; there were approximately 103 members of the Carey family alive during Elizabeth's reign.⁵³ As a member of the family, Elizabeth I participated in typical family events: standing as godmother, attending weddings, giving gifts, going to dinner, visiting their houses, lending money and paying for funerals. As monarch she relied on them to help manage her kingdom.

48 Deut 33:22.

49 Num 1:39.

50 See Figures 3-3, 3-4 and appendix 3.

51 Ex 31:6, 35:34, 38:23.

52 For discussion surrounding the birth dates and paternity of the children see Hoskins, 'Mary Boleyn's Carey children'; S.Varlow, 'Sir Francis Knollys's Latin Dictionary: new evidence for Katherine Carey', *Historical Research* 80 (2007), 315-323; Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, pp.16-7, 190, 200, 354-5.

53 See the complete list in appendix 3.

Katherine Carey

Assumptions regarding Katherine's birth year are not reconcilable with other known facts of her life. Most of the confusion stems from the assumption that she was younger than her brother whose birth date is fixed by his father's inquisition post mortem as 4 March 1526.⁵⁴ However, it was also assumed that her daughter Lettice was born in 1539, which would have made Katherine a married mother at twelve.⁵⁵ Additionally, Katherine was appointed as a maid of honour to Anne of Cleves in November 1539, an appointment generally given to girls who were fifteen or sixteen years old, not married women about to give birth.⁵⁶ The recent discovery of Sir Francis Knollys' Latin Dictionary, in which he recorded the names of his and Katherine Carey's children and their birthdates, has helped clarify the situation. According to the dictionary, she married Francis in 1540 and had her first child in 1541.⁵⁷ This makes a birth date c.1524 more realistic.

Francis Knollys's father, Robert, served at court from the late 1480's when he waited on Prince Arthur and by 1500 was promoted to gentleman usher of the chamber. In 1514, Robert and his wife Lettice Penniston were granted the manor of Rotherfield Greys, Oxfordshire in survivorship for the rent of one red rose on Midsummer Day.⁵⁸ Francis's first foray into politics began when he sat

54 J.Nichols, *The Herald & Genealogist*, vol. 4 (1867), 33-48, p.34. William Carey's inquisition post mortem of 22 June 1528 records Henry's age as two years, fifteen weeks and five days.

55 *Original Letters Illustrative of English History; Including Numerous Royal Letters*, 4 vols., H.Ellis (ed.) vol. 3, p.268. This birth year was subsequently repeated in the DNB until a 2006 revision.

56 This appointment was in advance of Anne of Cleves's arrival in England on 31 December.

57 Sir Francis Knollys' Latin Dictionary: a photographic reproduction was kindly provided by Laura Weatherall, House Steward for Greys Court, National Trust Property. The dictionary lists their first-born in 1541 as Henry Knollys. The DNB has conflicting information regarding the names of the daughters between the entries for Sir Francis Knollys and Sir Thomas Leighton.

58 F.Malpas, *Sir Francis Knollys and Family*, unpublished manuscript (Local history collection, Reading Central Library, 1993), p.7.

in the 1534 reformation session of Parliament although it is not known which constituency he represented.⁵⁹ In January 1540, he was part of the ceremonial company that welcomed Anne of Cleves to England and therefore would have been at court when Katherine was Anne of Cleves' maid of honour.⁶⁰ Shortly after their marriage, Francis was made a gentleman pensioner and an act of parliament confirmed the ownership of Rotherfield Greys to both Katherine and Francis in tail male.⁶¹ As the parliamentary act specifically named Katherine as joint owner, it might be interpreted as another sign of royal favour. After 1540, Katherine's whereabouts are uncertain, although she may have spent some time at court or in Elizabeth's household as well as exile, while giving birth to twelve children between 1541 and 1558. Lettice who was in fact her third child, was born at the family manor of Rotherfield Greys in 1543 so it may be safe to assume that she spent some of her other confinements there as well. By 1547, Francis was master of the horse to Edward VI, the same position of intimacy that Robert Dudley would hold under Elizabeth I. On the day after Edward's coronation, Francis and Sir Richard Devereux, whose son Walter would marry Francis's daughter Lettice thirteen years later, were two of the six gentlemen who challenged all comers to joust.⁶² Clearly, Francis's position at Edward's court was one of intimacy and high favour.

Katherine's and Francis's adherence to the new faith was strong enough that they left England during Mary I's reign. A letter dated 1553 from Elizabeth to Katherine may have been written in response to the news that she was leaving England. The letter was signed *cor rotto* or broken heart, giving us a glimpse of their close relationship and providing further support for the idea that Katherine

59 *HoP: House of Commons 1558-1604*, vol. 2, p.409.

60 Malpas, Sir Francis Knollys, p.10.

61 *HoP: House of Commons 1558-1604*, vol. 2, p.409; *L&P*, Parliament Office MSS, 3 C.47[o.n.53] April 1540.

62 Malpas, Sir Francis Knollys, p.14.

and Elizabeth spent time together before the family went into exile.⁶³ Francis was in Geneva from 1553 to 1555.⁶⁴ Together, they spent some time in Basel and Strasburg; then by June 1557 Katherine, her husband and five of their children were living in Frankfurt Am Main.⁶⁵ They did not return until shortly after Elizabeth's accession.

63 BL Lansdowne MS 94, fol. 21.

64 E.Hudson, 'An identification of a controversial English publication of Castello's "De Fide"', *Harvard Theological Review* 69 (1976), 197-206, p.198.

65 G.Peck, 'John Hales and the puritans during the marian exile', *Church History* 10 (1941), 159-177, p.174; Malpas, Sir Francis Knollys, p.18.

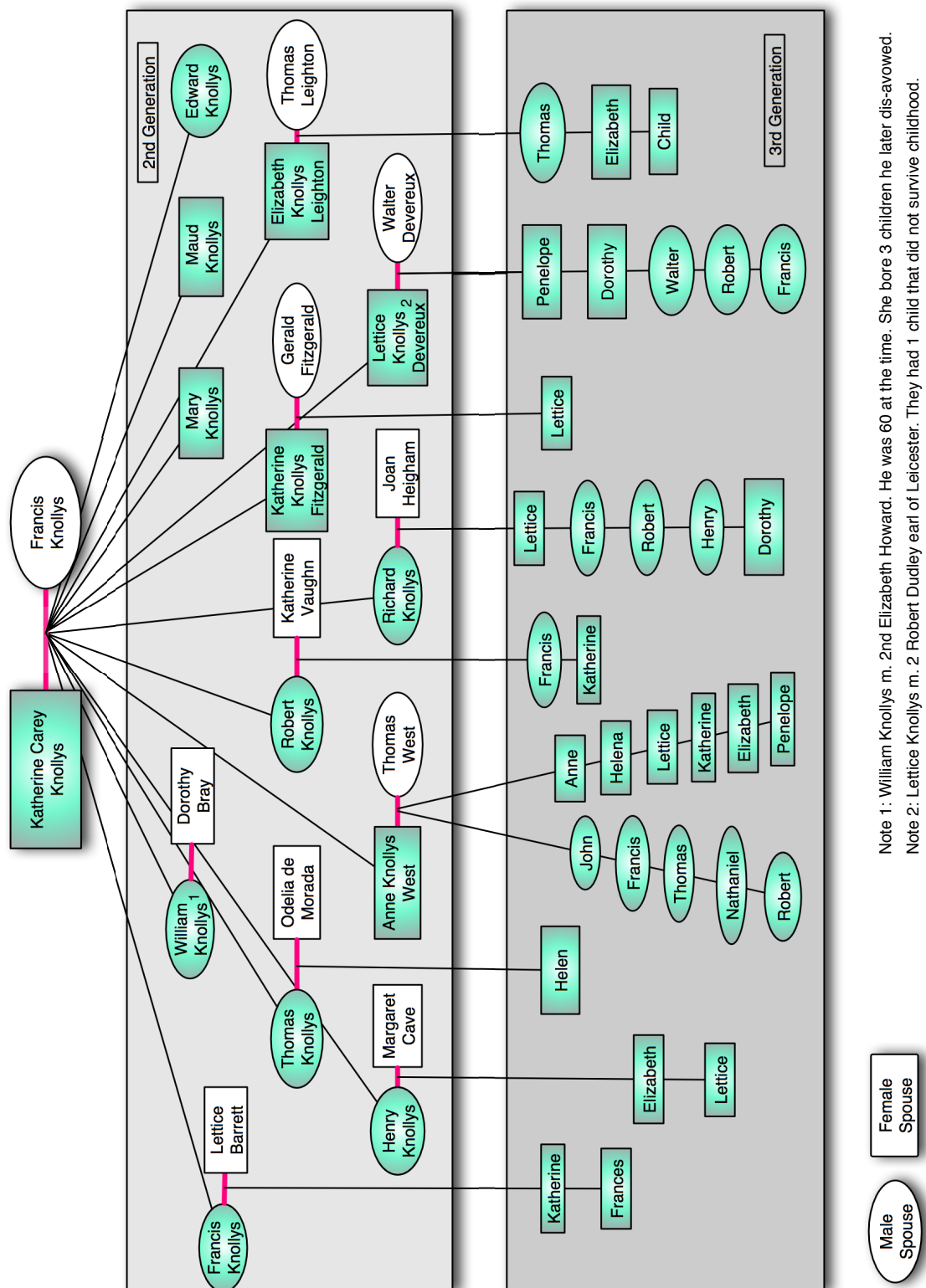


Figure – 3.3 Katherine Carey’s children, their spouses and her grandchildren

Katherine gave birth to at least fourteen children. Her last child, Dudley, named in honour of Robert Dudley earl of Leicester, was born in 1562 but died a month later.⁶⁶ This is the only child known not to have survived to maturity although there are discrepancies between the number of female and male children listed on Katherine's memorial plaque in Westminster Abbey (which says she bore sixteen children in total), the dictionary (six girls and eight boys) and the family monument constructed by her son William (seven girls and eight boys). It is possible that the number of females represented on the family monument in the church at Rotherfield Greys includes Dorothy Bray Brydges Knollys who was William's first wife. His second wife, the much younger Elizabeth Howard, is represented on top of the monument kneeling in prayer and gazing at the effigy of William.⁶⁷ For three of Katherine's children, Maud, Mary and Edward, very little information has been found and none on whether they were married or had children of their own. Further discussion of Katherine Carey and Francis Knollys and their descendants during Elizabeth's reign is in the following chapters.

⁶⁶ Sir Francis Knollys Dictionary.

⁶⁷ See figure 3-4.

Henry Carey

When William Carey died in 1528, the wardship of two-year-old Henry Carey was granted to his aunt, Anne Boleyn. It would be another four years before his mother married William Stafford who was considered a poor match for the sister of the queen, so there was no need to rescue immediately Henry from a less exalted household.⁶⁸ This opens the question of why Henry became his aunt's ward. At the time, he was not yet an heir to the Boleyn estate, so control of his wardship did not include control over a significant source of revenue, although it remains possible that control his eventual marriage would have been something that Anne and her family would have wanted to exert. Certainly, if the king were his father, his marriage would have been politically important. If the underlying Boleyn dynastic ambition dictated damping down any notion that Henry was part-Tudor, then Anne would have wanted to make sure that his spouse was carefully selected to avoid any future challenges to her own, yet to be born, children. There is no record of the wardship of his sister Katherine, who would have been about four years old at the time, so perhaps the siblings were separated at this stage.

Given that Anne Boleyn retained the wardship of Henry it is possible that after 1533 she placed him in her daughter's household. He would have been seven years old when Elizabeth was born and placing him in the royal nursery would have been a logical choice, especially for someone who had seen the French royal nurseries filled with both legitimate and illegitimate children. Another clue as to his early whereabouts may be that when Elizabeth made him a baron in 1558, she made him baron Hunsdon and not baron Carey.⁶⁹ Hunsdon was at various times the childhood residence of both princesses Elizabeth and Mary. Creating

⁶⁸ *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, Wood (ed.), vol. 2, p.194.

⁶⁹ She nominated him in November 1558 and the creation date was 13 January 1559. See *Complete Peerage*, vol. 6, p.628.

him baron of a childhood home may indicate that he too spent time there. At the very least, Elizabeth associated her cousin Henry with this place. However, the first evidence of his formal attachment to Elizabeth is his appointment as a gentleman of her household in 1545.⁷⁰ The same year, he married Anne Morgan the granddaughter of lady Herbert of Troy who was mistress of Elizabeth's household from 1537- 46.⁷¹ By this time, Henry's marriage was of little political importance. The king had his legitimate male heir in the eight-year-old prince Edward and the Boleyn family's appeared to be at a dynastic dead-end with Elizabeth bastardized and Mary Boleyn Carey Stafford's death in 1543.⁷² It seems plausible that Henry met his future wife in Elizabeth's household further reinforcing the idea that he spent a portion of his youth with his young cousin. He appears in her household accounts on 27 December 1551 for the christening of one of his children.⁷³ The household expenses also list a payment on 20 April 1552 to 'M^{ress} Carrye at her departing from Hatfelde, iiij.ti.'⁷⁴ Further identification is not possible but it seems likely that this was Anne Morgan Carey.⁷⁵

70 *HoP: House of Commons 1509-1558*, Bindoff (ed.), p.582.

71 The marriage license was dated 21 May 1545. W.MacCaffrey, 'Carey, Henry, first Baron Hunsdon (1526-1596)', *ODNB*.

72 By 1545, the Carey children were virtually orphaned as not only their mother had died but also their maternal and paternal grandparents.

73 His son John. *House of Commons 1509-1558*, Bindoff (ed.), p.582. For 1551-2 see S.Smythe (ed.), *The Household Expenses of Princess Elizabeth 1551-2*, Camden Miscellany, 2 old ser. (1853), pp.35, 38.

74 *Household Expenses of Princess Elizabeth*, p.39.

75 Dr. Jeri McIntosh, University of Tennessee, disagrees with this analysis and has theorized that; 'this was a "lesser" Carey... as the notation in the accounts refers to parting gift of cash upon termination of employment and/or formal association with the household. I am basing this on the size of the sum, the fact that this mistress Carey is not exalted enough to warrant a gift of a jewel or book ...and the fact that this Mistress Carey appears no where else in the accounts.' I am not convinced this was a permanent 'departing'. From email exchange dated 16-21 September 2007.

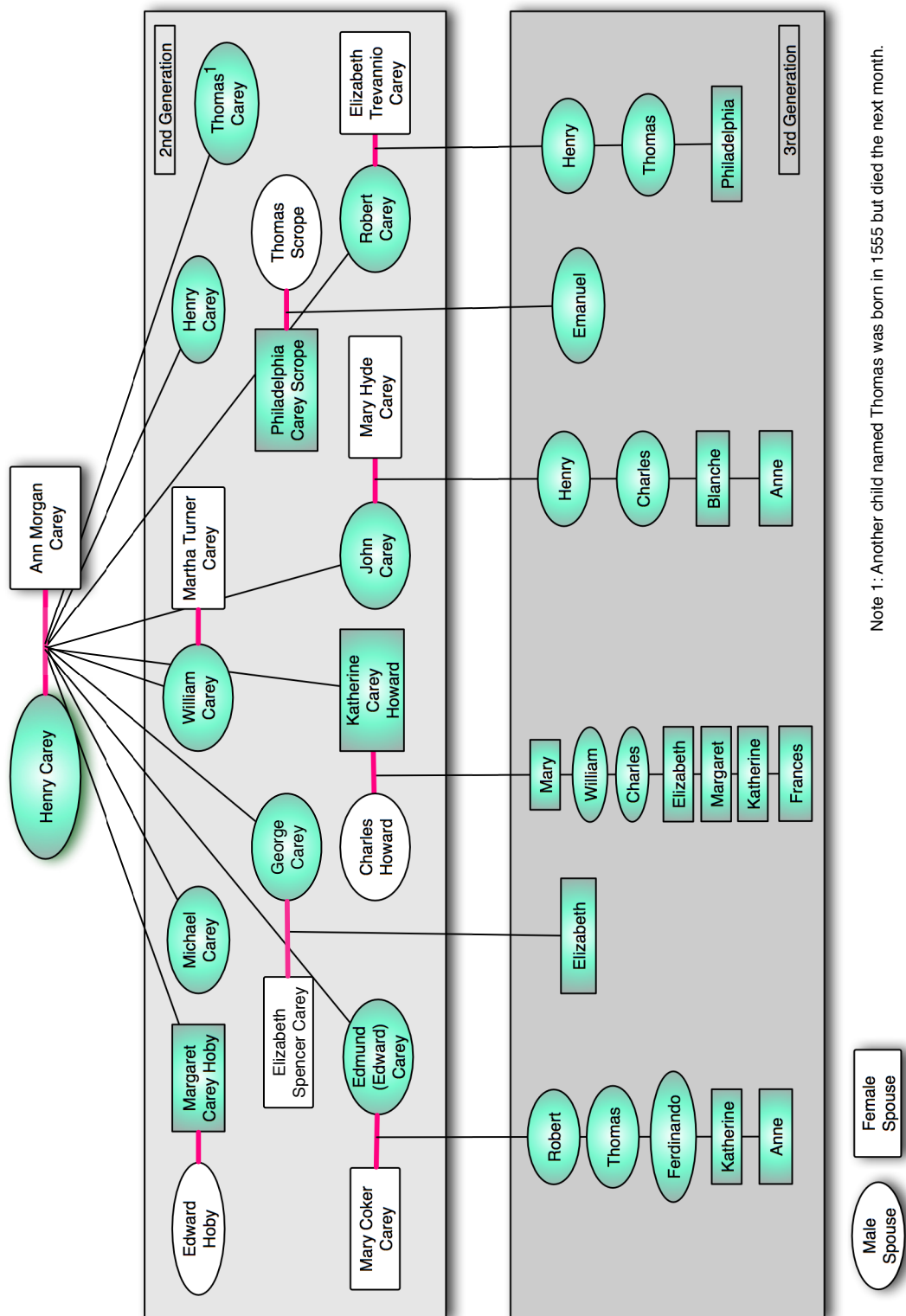


Figure – 3.4 Henry Carey’s children, their spouses and his grandchildren

Henry Carey and Anne Morgan were only slightly less prolific than his sister Katherine. They had twelve children, three daughters and nine sons, only one of whom did not live to maturity, Thomas who was born in 1555 and died a month later. There is very little information for their son Michael although it is possible he was born in 1550. Nichols names him as the third son, which would place him after George born in 1546, Katherine in 1547 and Henry who might have been born early in 1549.⁷⁶ The next child, John, was born in 1551 leaving a large enough gap in the birth order for another child. More detail about the Careys during Elizabeth's reign can be found in the following chapter.

By the age of nineteen, Henry Carey had attracted the attention of John Dudley viscount Lisle, serving under him as a military captain in the summer of 1545.⁷⁷ Although the Dictionary of National Biography lists Henry as a carver of the privy chamber from 1553 to 1558 it is unclear whose chamber is meant. He was not an early religious reformer like his sister and brother-in-law so that would not have prevented him from serving in Mary's household. However, given his closeness with Elizabeth it seems unlikely that he was in daily contact with Queen Mary, especially as in 1553 he was sent by Elizabeth to the Duke of Savoy to investigate his eligibility as a marriage partner.⁷⁸ He had begun his parliamentary career during Edward's reign by representing Buckingham in 1547. He also attended both sessions of the 1554 as well as the 1555 Marian parliament. Subsequently, he was briefly imprisoned in the Fleet for outstanding debts in 1557, a harbinger of things to come as he was also deeply in debt at his death.⁷⁹

At Elizabeth's accession both Katherine and Henry were quickly rewarded.

⁷⁶ Nichols, *The Herald & Genealogist*, vol. 4, p.40.

⁷⁷ *Letters & Papers*, vol. 20 part 2, 2 August 1545, item 16.

⁷⁸ *House of Commons 1509-1558*, Bindoff (ed.) vol. 1, p.583.

⁷⁹ Other pre-Elizabethan parliaments include 1554 and 1555. *House of Commons 1509-1558*, Bindoff (ed.), vol. 1, p.583.

As discussed in chapter one, Henry was nominated for knighthood at some point in the first thirteen days of the reign between Mary's death and the end of November.⁸⁰ This was followed shortly by extensive grants of land for the maintenance of his new rank.⁸¹ Katherine Carey Knollys first had to return from exile on the continent before her royal appointment as the chief lady of the privy chamber on 3 January 1559.⁸² Elizabeth's affection as manifested by the gift of places in the royal household extended to Henry and Katherine's spouses. Anne Morgan Carey, now baroness Hunsdon, became an unpaid lady of the privy chamber and was given livery for the coronation.⁸³ Sir Francis Knollys was sworn to the privy council and made vice-chamberlain of the royal household a few days after his wife's appointment on 19 January.⁸⁴

These appointments were both personal and political. In 1558, neither Henry nor his sister Katherine was especially rich or powerful. Neither were their spouses. Despite Francis Knollys's previous career at court his advocacy of the reformed faith and exile put an end to any advancement under Mary. Anne Morgan Carey's relationship to Elizabeth's lady governess, Blanche Lady Herbert of Troy, granted her entrée to the intimacy of the princess's household independently of her husband but her family was also neither rich nor powerful. Of the four, Henry Carey's Boleyn inheritance placed him in the strongest financial position but this was relative.⁸⁵ The only benefit to Elizabeth of elevating Henry to the peerage and

80 *Complete Peerage*, vol. vi, p.628. Knighted on 13 January 1559.

81 *CPR 1558-1560*, pp.115-7.

82 Merton, 'Women who served', 259 dates Katherine Carey Knollys service from 3 Jan 1559.

83 NA LC 2/4/3 fol. 53v.

84 See appendix 5.

85 His mother was co-heir with Elizabeth of his grandfather, Thomas Boleyn earl of Wiltshire and Ormond. As Katherine was married and Henry was in his eighteenth year when their mother died in 1543 it is possible Katherine did not receive any specific inheritance from her grandfather's estates and that Henry's inheritance was no longer subject to wardship.

appointing Katherine as head of her privy chamber and her husband to the privy council was to reward them for their earlier support and to surround herself with close family.⁸⁶

The solitary status conferred on Elizabeth as the last monarch of her line therefore did not translate to her personal isolation. On the contrary, she had several royal and non-royal relatives who now would call her sovereign. Her preference for non-royal relatives is not surprising given that she herself had been under intense suspicion during both her brother's and sister's reigns and that she had seen the tragic consequences of a potential heir being manipulated as Jane Grey had been. As long as the official paternity of her Carey cousins remained emphatically non-royal, they would not represent a threat to the throne. Their personal relationship could rest safely on the degree of cousin and was undoubtedly strengthened by time spent together under adverse conditions before 1558. That she would want these cousins and their numerous children around her appears not only to be normal human behaviour but also politically expedient.

Elizabeth's relationship with her Carey kinship network continued throughout her reign. Through three generations they helped her manage her kingdom. When she died, it was the Careys who notified King James VI of Scotland that he was now also king of England.⁸⁷ Their early support and long relationship with James helped support the surprisingly smooth transition from the Tudors to the Stuarts as well as guaranteeing them a continuing presence on the political scene. The next chapter introduces the rest of the kinship network and examines their personal and political relationship with the queen.

⁸⁶ There is a tale that Henry Carey lent Elizabeth money during Mary's reign. See Aikin, *Memoirs of the Court*, p.241.

⁸⁷ See chapter 5.

4 The ties that bind: The Carey kinship network

The previous chapter introduced Katherine and Henry Carey and discussed their early relationship with Elizabeth. This chapter looks at the wider kinship network and its relationship with queen Elizabeth from November 1558 onwards. Kinship implies basic affection and respect between members and that assumed emotional relationship serves as a basis for furthering dynastic ambitions.¹ An expression of the emotional bonds of these relationships is participation in typical family events like weddings, christenings, visits, gifts and funerals. This chapter includes evidence of the emotional relationships between the Careys themselves and between them and their cousin Elizabeth. As a large kinship network there were plenty of opportunities for the Careys and the queen to express their family ties.

Like all families, the Carey kinship network had assertive personalities and theirs included two of the most dominant personalities of the age, Robert Dudley earl of Leicester and his godson, later his stepson, Robert Devereux 2nd earl of Essex. In both cases, their emotional relationships with the queen were key to their political influence. Whether these two Elizabethan favourites also dominated the Carey network or, conversely, whether the larger kinship network underpinned their individual success is discussed at the end of the chapter.

Wider kinship network

For the rest of this thesis, the Carey kinship network is defined as direct descendants of Mary Boleyn Carey and their spouses alive during Elizabeth's reign. Some reference will occasionally be made to the wider network of the families of spouses. Three generations of Careys were active between November 1558 and March 1603.²

1 There is significant literature on emotionality including seminal work by N.Elias. For a recent review of work in this area see, B.Rosenwein, 'Worrying about emotions in history', *American Historical Review* 107 (2002) 821-845.

2 See appendix 2 for a list of members of the Carey kinship network alive during Elizabeth's reign. Chapter three includes graphical representations of the direct descendants of Mary Boleyn Carey.

While Katherine and her brother Henry were especially fecund and successfully raised between them twenty-five children to maturity, their own children had mixed results. Some second-generation marriages were more fruitful than others with four as the average number of children per couple was four. During Elizabeth's reign there were thirty-two Knollys grandchildren and twenty-one Carey grandchildren living. Statistically, the average age of men at first marriage was twenty-four and the average age of women was eighteen. The youngest couple to marry between 1558 and 1603 was Anne Knollys and Thomas West who were both sixteen when they wed on 19 November 1571.³ The eldest female and male at first marriage also married each other; Elizabeth Knollys, twenty-eight and Thomas Leighton, forty-three. The average time between marriage and the birth of a first child was two and a half years implying that on the whole the couples did not engage in pre-marital sex with each other. The average age at death for men was forty-five and for women fifty-eight. This difference is a reflection of some early male deaths in military service and the relative success of surviving childbirth by the women.

³ *Complete Peerage*, vol. 4, p.160.

	All	Male	Female
Statistics			
Number of people	111	71	40
Unique last names	47	21	35
Age at first marriage...			
Minimum	14	14	14
Average	21	24	18
Maximum	43	43	28
Age at death...			
Minimum			20
Average	50	45	58
Maximum	94	94	93
Age at first child...			
Minimum	16	17	16
Average	24	27	20
Maximum	41	41	30
Number of spouses...			
Minimum	1	1	1
Average	1	1	1
Maximum	4	4	3
Number of children...			
Minimum	1	1	1
Average	4	4	5
Maximum	14	14	14

Table 4.1 – Statistics for the Carey kinship network limited only to those alive between 1558 and 1603 including spouses.

Note: Some marriages and births occurred before 1558 and after 1603. The 14-year old male and female were born within Elizabeth's reign but married after 1603, Dorothy Devereux m. Henry Shirley in 1615 and her brother Robert Devereux 3rd earl of Essex m. Frances Howard in 1606.

First generation

Elite spousal relationships may not have always begun as affairs of the heart but there is strong archival evidence for affectionate marriage. John Harrington, Elizabeth's godson, reported that 'The Queene did once aske my wife in merrie sorte, how she kepte my goode wyll and love, . . . My Mall, in wise and discreete manner, tolde her Highnesse . . . [she] did persuade her husbände of her owne afectiōne, and in so doinge did commande his'.⁴ There can be no doubt that the previously mentioned relationship between Edward Seymour, 1st earl of Hertford and his second wife, Frances Howard was one example of elite marriage sparked by mutual affection.⁵ The Carey family also experienced their fair share of affectionate marriages.

⁴ Harrington, *Nugae Antiqua*, p.223.

⁵ See chapter 1.

There is some documentary evidence through which a glimpse of the first generation Carey personalities can be inferred. In January 1569, Katherine Carey Knollys was the first of her generation to die, suddenly, while serving at court. Her relatively shorter life combined with her gender means that there is little about her in the archives.⁶ Although the historical record portrays her conventionally as a loving and faithful wife and servant to the queen, there is a hint of her individuality in a letter to her from her husband wherein he reminds her that she ‘doe often forget to p event fyknes by dve & precife order’.⁷ This forgetfulness of her own condition could be interpreted as that of a servant more concerned with her mistresses’s health than her own. However, when she fell ill again, Leicester also wrote to Sir Francis that ‘I fere her dyet and order’.⁸ If she were following conventional medical wisdom, it is doubtful that those around her would express fear for her diet and regimen, while Francis’s and Leicester’s responses are more likely the emotional reactions to someone who obstinately followed their own medical path against prescription. Further clues to her personality may be found in the patent roll records, which indicate that she successfully sued for pardon of petty criminals.⁹ Although a traditional gendered sensibility might consider this benevolence the appropriate use of female influence, it should also be remembered that all grants of land and rents during her lifetime were given to her and her husband jointly, not to him individually. In these grants she is frequently referred to as ‘the Queen’s kinswoman’ while her husband is more often referred to as knight, councillor and his household title of vice-chamberlain.¹⁰ Therefore, her personality must have been strong enough to

6 Her husband lived to the age of 85, her brother Henry 70 and his wife Anne approximately 77.

7 *Papers Relating To Mary QoS*, p.14 letter dated 29 July 1568.

8 *Papers Relating To Mary QoS*, p.21 letter dated 7 August 1568.

9 See for example, *CPR 1566-1569*, part C.66/1036, item 469 and C.66/1052, item 1868.

10 See for example, *CPR 1560-63*, p.16; *CPR 1563-1566*, vol. 3, item 97.

warrant not only recognition of her place in the monarch's kinship network but also her inclusion in all conjugal financial transactions. This followed the pattern established in 1540 when Henry VIII granted the family seat of Rotherfield Greys to both Katherine and Francis as joint-tenants.¹¹ Certainly her husband treated her as a career partner when he begged her to engineer his recall from the unwelcome duty of guarding Mary Queen of Scots.¹² Her marriage was clearly affectionate and in her husband's eyes a marriage of equals as in a 1568 letter her husband addresses her 'to youe that is an other my selffe'.¹³ Unsurprisingly, her eulogy extols her virtues calling her a 'myrroure pure of womanhoode' and;

A head so fraight and beautified,
With wit and counsaile sounde,
A minde so cleane deuouide of guile,
Is vneth to be founde.¹⁴

This stanza shows that she had a reputation for intelligence and straightforward counsel and with her nearly constant presence at court she must have also provided counsel to her younger cousin the queen. While her husband addressed letters to 'his loving wife' chiding her about her health, the same letters referred to their children more formally by both their first and last names. For example, when supporting Katherine's decision not to send their son Edward to him at Bolton he refers to him as 'Edward knollys'. Even when expressing paternal pride regarding the behaviour of their son William he refers to him as 'wyllyam knollys'.¹⁵ There is a small crack in the formality when, thanking his daughter for a pair of gloves, he

11 *L&P*, Parliament Office MSS, 3 C.47[o.n.53] April 1540. See also chapter 3.

12 *Papers Relating To Mary QoS*, p.15 letter dated 29 July 1568.

13 *Papers Relating To Mary QoS*, p.62 letter dated 30 December 1568.

14 T.Newton, *An Epitaphe Vpon the Worthy and Honorable Lady, The Lady Knowles* (1569).

15 *Papers Relating To Mary QoS*, pp.14-5, 29 July 1568.

shortens her first name Elizabeth to ‘Besse Knollys’.¹⁶ Francis’s formality indicates a sombre nature that matches the image of him as a committed religious reformer and parliamentary workhorse. Despite this, his direct addresses to his wife express feelings of passion as when he wrote that he ‘wold to god I were so dispatched hence that I mgyht onely attend & care for your good recovery’.¹⁷ After his wife’s death he remained a patriarchal figure within the network involving himself in the marriages and finances of his children and grandchildren and diligently working for the queen and her kingdom until his death in 1596.¹⁸ Katherine’s brother, Henry Carey, was described as ‘a fast man to his prince’ utterly loyal to his cousin the queen and a boisterous man of the field.¹⁹ His wife, Anne, in a letter to Cecil reaffirms his unwavering loyalty to Elizabeth when she says he was ‘wholly to be a husband for the Queen’s Maj^{tie} as any hath been these many years...whereof some proof hath passed’.²⁰ Anne emphasised that Henry’s loyalty was like a husband’s and by extension a husband to her kingdom. Henry also apparently swore as much as his cousin but unlike her had no facility for languages as Naunton reported that ‘his dissimulation was as good as his latin’; a backhanded compliment to his honesty if not his learning.²¹ Rowse characterises him by quoting an anonymous poet:

Chamberlain, Chamberlain,
He of her Grace’s kin,
Fool hath he ever been
With his Joan Silverpin:

16 *Papers Relating To Mary QoS*, p.66, 30 December 1568.

17 *Papers Relating To Mary QoS*, p.14, 29 July 1568.

18 NA Prob. 11/88/121-122. His will details financial settlements for all his living sons, his grand-daughters Lettice and Elizabeth Knollys and tokens for the queen and his married daughters.

19 Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia*, pp.78-9.

20 *Cecil Papers*, vol. 1, p.372, 14 November 1568.

21 Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia*, p.79.

She makes his cockscomb thin
And quake in every limb;
Quicksilver is in his head
But his wit's dull as lead
Lord, for thy pity!²²

The poet implies that Henry suffered from venereal disease. Certainly his signature grew shakier over time but this is not a conclusive medical diagnosis. He was clearly promiscuous, impregnating Amelia Bassano before arranging her marriage to Alphonso Lanyer.²³ Additionally, there is speculation that Valentine Carey, later bishop of Exeter, was one of his illegitimate offspring.²⁴ As a father of at least eleven legitimate children it is doubtful his marriage to Anne Morgan was acrimonious and no evidence exists to suggest this was the case. Anne appears to have been a worthy and patient partner, working as an unpaid lady of the privy chamber and trying to bring some order to Berwick when she joined her husband there, writing to Cecil herself for additional funds to support the garrison.²⁵ Henry's strong feelings of responsibility and respect for Anne are clear from his strategies to provide for her after his death. He organised a reversion of lands with the queen and Cecil in order to protect her because he felt that 'her grieved mind would be very unfit to think of any such matter in my care of her quiet and for the great assurance I have had of her love'.²⁶ He also set up the equivalent of a retirement post for Anne when he asked that the keepership of Somerset House be granted to his wife, which she took over on 14 Dec 1595 almost seven months

²² Rowse, *Elizabethan Renaissance*, pp.59-60. Rowse provides no source for this poem. Charles Creighton in his *Shakespeare's Story of His Life* (Edinburgh, 1907), p.394 hypothesized that Thomas Churchyard was the author although it does not appear in any of Churchyard's published works.

²³ P.Hammer, 'Sex and the Virgin Queen', p.79, n.7.

²⁴ M.Schwarz, 'Carey, Valentine (d. 1626)', *ODNB*.

²⁵ *Cecil Papers*, vol. 1, p.372.

²⁶ *CSP-Domestic 1601-1603, with Addenda 1547-1565*, p.119.

before his death.²⁷ On his deathbed, he laments that he cannot leave her more as she has been ‘so a good wife to me’.²⁸

Family Feeling

The affection this family felt for each other, demonstrated in their letters, wills and memoirs, is palpable, even playful, as when in 1561 the queen disguised herself as Katherine Carey’s maid in order to watch Robert Dudley shoot at Windsor.²⁹ The 1584 and 1588 inventories of Leicester House leave an even more poignant impression of a close family. The lists include a picture of Leicester’s wife, Lettice Knollys Devereux Dudley ‘with blackamores by hir’, pictures of her daughters Penelope and Dorothy, her father Sir Francis Knollys, her brothers Sir Thomas Knollys and ‘Harry Knowles’, her sister Katherine Knollys Fitzgerald and Katherine’s daughter Lettice.³⁰ In the inventory of 15 June 1588 of Leicester’s wardrobe, there were also gifts of bootehose and stockings from Edmund Carey.³¹ Edmund was also left an annuity in Leicester’s will.³²

In line with most elite families, the kinship network stayed informed about both personal and political events through frequent correspondence between its members. Francis Knollys ‘the younger’ wrote a typical family letter from Paris in 11 November 1572 to his brother-in-law Walter Devereux earl of Essex apologizing for not writing more often and commending himself to ‘Madame ma soeur et vostre femme’.³³ While Charles Howard was co-commanding the Cadiz

27 *Complete Peerage*, vol. 6, p.629.

28 NA Prob. 11/88 image reference 18.

29 *CSP-Foreign 1561–62*, pp.418-9. Henry Carey and Anne Morgan Carey’s daughter.

30 *Talbot, Dudley, Devereux Papers*, vol. 5, pp.207, 224.

31 *Talbot, Dudley, Devereux Papers*, vol. 5, p.210.

32 Adams, *Household Accounts*, p.26, n.117.

33 *Talbot, Dudley, Devereux Papers*, vol. 5, p.233. The implication being that he would keep the family informed of events in France.

expedition in July 1596, he still managed to send letters back to his wife.³⁴ At the same time, his wife was used to exchanging such letters with Robert Cecil and sharing courier services with him.³⁵ Clearly the exchange of news could be of both personal and national importance further blurring the distinction between family and country. Intriguingly they volunteered to keep each other's secrets as when William Knollys wrote to his nephew Essex that 'If it may please your lordship, to impart to me your purpose this journey, I should be much satisfied, and will keep it to myself'.³⁶ In addition to sharing information, they shared resources like London town houses as when Walter Devereux earl of Essex wrote his father-in-law asking to use his London house in April 1573.³⁷ While the Carey men shared military adventures with Leicester and Essex it is the sense of family that comes across when we read that Edmund Carey lent Leicester money for gaming while at sea in 1585; or that Robert Carey beat his cousin Essex at chess in 1594-5 with his mother Lettice countess of Leicester providing the funds for the wager.³⁸ This raises the question of whether they were comrades-in-arms because they were family first.³⁹

There is evidence throughout the three generations that the Knollys and Carey sides of the network considered themselves one family. The forms of address between Henry Carey 'brother Carey' and Francis Knollys 'brother Knollys' are a case in point and perhaps set the tone for the rest of the family. As Henry Carey used 'brother Knollys' in a letter to Cecil it is also clear that knowledge

34 *Cecil Papers*, vol. 6, p.280, 23 July 1596.

35 *Cecil Papers*, vol. 6, p.221, 25 June 1596.

36 Birch, *Memoirs*, p.351.

37 *Talbot, Dudley, Devereux Papers*, vol. 5, p.233.

38 For Edmund lending Leicester money see Adams, *Household Accounts*, p.367; for Carey and Essex see *Talbot, Dudley, Devereux Papers*, vol. 5, p.261.

39 Discussed in chapter 5.

of relationships was a basic component of court communications.⁴⁰ It would not have taken any more ink to write a first name or an abbreviated form of his title, which at the time was vice-chamberlain. Yet this choice emphasized the close nature of their kinship. That the family considered both the Knollyses and Careys as one network was again demonstrated when Henry Carey in a letter to Cecil extended protection not only to his son George Carey, but also to his nephew Henry Knollys.⁴¹ The sheriff of Hertfordshire had a writ to apprehend George, Henry and also his nephew Thomas Morgan from Berwick.⁴² This extension of patriarchal protection to his son, nephew and nephew-in-law was standard operating procedure as well as effective. None of the cousins were arrested.

Relationship with Elizabeth

Not only were the Knollys and Carey sides of the family conscious of themselves as one affinity but the queen felt the same about them in turn maintaining deep emotional relationships with both the first and second generations. The sudden death of Katherine Carey Knollys in 1569 transformed the queen 'from a Prince wanting nothing in this World, to private Morning in which solitary Estate being forgettfull of hir awne Helthe, she tooke cold'.⁴³

However, at the start of the reign Elizabeth's affection towards Katherine Carey Knollys and Henry Carey took the happier form of royal gifts of advancement. As discussed in the previous chapter, both Katherine, her brother Henry and their spouses were among the earliest recipients of royal appointments. Elizabeth extended this initial outlay of royal appointments to female members of the next

40 For example see *CSP-Foreign 1566-1568*, 2625.

41 *Cecil Papers*, vol. 2, p.107, 10 September 1575.

42 Thomas Morgan was related to Henry Carey through his wife Anne Morgan.

43 Haynes, *State Papers*, p.509.

generation. Although in the past it has been assumed that no girls who were not yet fifteen and therefore in their sixteenth year, received household appointments and that the post maid of honour was the entry position for all girls this age, Merton has shown that there was an additional category for elite girls called maid of the court, a designation not tied to any specific chamber.⁴⁴ Although Lettice Knollys, daughter of Katherine and Francis, had just turned fifteen, her sister Elizabeth was only in her ninth year and Katherine Carey, daughter of Henry and Ann was twelve, all these young girls received household appointments in January 1559. Lettice was listed as a gentlewoman of the privy chamber and the other two girls simply as maids of the court.⁴⁵ It would seem this designation was possibly one method of keeping younger girls with their mothers serving at court but that it was limited to Elizabeth's Boleyn cousins. It appears that Elizabeth favoured her second-generation female, rather than male, relatives as although several of the second-generation boys were older than the youngest females given household appointments there is no evidence of them also receiving household posts that first year.⁴⁶

Much speculation has surrounded the nature of Elizabeth's relationships with men, specifically Leicester and Essex, while her friendships with other men have generally escaped notice. Her relationship with Henry Carey was as strong as her relationship with Dudley but clearly of a different character. When Elizabeth contracted smallpox in October 1562, Bishop Quadra wrote Philip II that not only had she indicated that Dudley should become protector of the realm, she 'also especially recommended her cousin Hunsdon to the Council'.⁴⁷ It is unclear if she meant that he should have an

44 Merton, 'Women who served', p.41.

45 BL Lansdowne MS 3, fol. 191v-192 lists Lettice as a 'gentlewoman of our privy chamber'. Merton, 'Women who served', p.263.

46 Second-generation boys aged nine or older in 1558 were George Carey, 12, Henry Carey, 9?, Henry Knollys, 17, William Knollys, 13, and Edward Knollys, 12. See appendix 3 for birth-death dates.

47 *CSP-Spanish 1558-1567*, p.263. Letter dated 25 October 1562.

increased role in the running of the kingdom or that she was encouraging the council to guarantee Henry's financial security. That this confusion exists reinforces the idea that distinction between family and governing is difficult to discern. If Elizabeth meant that he should hold a place of privilege on the council, this could have meant she was hoping that her policies would be implemented by Henry. If instead she was merely concerned for his and the family's financial well-being, then this was a demonstration of emotional responsibility. Feelings between the two were mutual as while the council was debating succession issues, it was Henry who brought in the German doctor credited with nursing Elizabeth through her illness.⁴⁸ Whether Henry was concerned for his cousin or whether his concern was for keeping the monarch alive is in this case a distinction without a difference. If Elizabeth died, he would mourn for Elizabeth the person but probably also for the loss of personal connection to the monarch which supported the kinship's dynastic ambition.

Again, a sense of family closeness is clear from details like the room assignments at Theobalds for the queen's May 1583 visit. Charles Howard and Katherine Carey Howard, sharing with Ambrose Dudley and his wife Anne Russell Dudley were assigned rooms in the Tower. The earl of Leicester had his own room at the end of the Queen's Gallery next to Henry Carey and his wife Anne. Other members of the court were placed further away under the gallery but the nearest rooms were reserved for the Dudleys and the Careys.⁴⁹

Elizabeth's concern for her family and theirs for her continued into the later years of her life. The account of Elizabeth comforting Philadelphia Carey Scrope upon the death of her page in 1593 demonstrates the two-way relationship in which Elizabeth's matriarchal benevolence towards Mary Boleyn Carey's descendants was reciprocated in terms of loyalty and affection.

48 *CSP-Spanish 1558-1567*, p.263; Wilson, *Uncrowned Kings of England*, p.277.

49 *Cecil Papers*, vol.13, p.228.

Here I found the lord sad and the lady full of tears, till her Majesty's princely care gave comfort to both, who acknowledge this so gracious remembrance to proceed only out of the infinite treasure of her sweet disposition which hath hitherto nursed their hopes and, as they say, shall ever preserve their faith and love, in all dutiful sort, spotless and firm to the last hour of their lives.⁵⁰

Elizabeth's financial relationship with Henry Carey appears much more familial than commercial or political. When he died in 1596 he had not paid either his parliamentary taxes since 1563 or the purchase price of wardships since 1584. Stone attributes this financial neglect to the crown to Cecil's 'easy tolerance amongst high-born friends'.⁵¹ Instead, this particular case could be attributed to the unique relationship between Henry and Elizabeth. Given that she paid for his funeral and presented gifts of money to his widow and daughters, and that his sons do not appear to have repaid their father's debts to the crown it is likely they were forgiven. This stands in stark contrast to how the queen viewed Leicester's debts after his death, which she demanded be paid in full. His widow Lettice was sole executrix of Leicester's estate and while the queen had more than forgiven Leicester she had not forgiven Lettice and was clearly not going to allow Lettice to become rich out of any previous royal benevolence to Leicester.⁵²

After the deaths of Elizabeth's first-generation cousins, Katherine in 1569, her husband Francis in 1596 and Henry also in 1596, the younger generation of the queen's nearest kin played an even larger role led by Katherine Carey Howard and her husband Charles Howard. Elizabeth apparently had developed the habit of dropping in on them without much notice presenting the Howards with a

50 *Cecil Papers*, vol. 4, pp.425-6, November 1593, J.Stanhope to R.Cecil.

51 L.Stone, 'Office under Queen Elizabeth: The case of Lord Hunsdon and the Lord Chamberlainship in 1585', *Historical Journal* 10 (1967), 281, n.12.

52 Leicester died deeply in debt. See Adams, 'Dudley, Lettice, countess of Essex and countess of Leicester' *ODNB*.

conundrum in 1593 when, as Charles wrote to Robert Cecil he hoped the queen would understand that the family had left Chelsea in advance of her visit because two of their sons were ill and might endanger the queen. He also delayed his return to court and the council table to make sure all danger of spreading illness to the queen had passed.⁵³

As Elizabeth grew older her progresses became shorter, often limited to visiting family homes in and around London. For example, in 1602 she visited George Carey now baron Hunsdon in February at West Drayton Middlesex, in April at his house in Blackfriars, then in May she visited William Knollys and Dorothy Bray Brydges Chandos Knollys at their house in St James Park, returning in June to Carey's house in Blackfriars, then on to the Howard's London residence, Arundel House. Mary Cole suggests that this was a family strategy to shorten the queen's progresses in order to spare her health and her expenses.⁵⁴

In 1597, Elizabeth created Charles and Katherine the earl and countess of Nottingham a title previously held by Henry Fitzroy the illegitimate son of Henry VIII and Elizabeth Blount.⁵⁵ At the same time, Charles was also created lord steward of the household, a post of high precedence.⁵⁶ The queen's high regard was reaffirmed the following year when on 20 April 1598 Katherine was made groom of the stool, the most intimate post available in the royal bedchamber.⁵⁷ In 1599, Roland Whyte wrote to Robert Sidney that 'I am credibly made to believe that at this instant the Lord Admiral [Charles Howard] is able to do with

53 *Cecil Papers*, vol. 5, p.194, April 1595.

54 M.Cole, *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Amherst, MA, 1999), pp.210, 216, 219.

55 Henry Fitzroy had also been given the title of lord high admiral, a title held by Charles Howard. Fitzroy died in 1536. According to Stone, there were only 18 titles in the entire reign that Elizabeth 'did create, revive, recognise or admit' adding more significance to the creation of the Nottinghams; *Crisis of the Aristocracy*, pp.49-50.

56 *Complete Peerage*, vol. 9, p.784.

57 Merton, 'Women who served', p.65.

the queen as much as Lord Leicester was'.⁵⁸ This speaks volumes about how Elizabeth increasingly relied upon the Carey dynasty.

So strong was this reliance that Katherine Carey Howard's death on 25 February 1603 may have contributed to Elizabeth's steep decline.⁵⁹ Katherine's husband, Charles, was called out of his mourning to coax Elizabeth into bed when she herself was dying and refusing to lie down. His brother-in-law, Robert, in his *Memoirs* reported that 'My lord Admiral was sent for (who, by reason of my sister's death, that this was his wife, has absented himself some fortnight from court); what by fair means, what by force, he got her to bed'.⁶⁰ The phrase 'was sent for' along with the general belief that Elizabeth's decline was caused by Katherine's death confirms Whyte's belief that there was widespread recognition at court of the Howards' unique influence over the queen.⁶¹

Christenings and funerals

Dynastic ties such as those between the queen and her influential cousins were strengthened through the socio-religious activities of christenings, marriages and funerals. The choice of godparents was a reflection of the parents' aspirations for themselves and their dynasty. Godparents became part of the extended family and were expected to provide for the child should the parents die. However, the process involved what Cressy has termed the 'accumulation or expenditure of social credit'.⁶² Asking the queen to become godparent took a healthy measure of social credit as well as accruing significant credit for the child's future. As she was godmother to princes of France and Scotland, joining such elevated

⁵⁸ *De L'Isle & Dudley Papers*, p.390, 12 September 1599.

⁵⁹ *CSP-Domestic 1598–1601*, p.476.

⁶⁰ Carey, *Memoirs* (Mares), p.59.

⁶¹ For rumours that Katherine's death might be the cause of Elizabeth's see *CSP-Domestic 1601-1603 with Addenda 1547-1565*, p.298.

⁶² Cressy, *Birth Marriage and Death*: p.157.

ranks reaffirmed the Careys social and familial standing.⁶³ Elizabeth acted as godmother to at least eight Carey children and it is possible that she acted as godmother to additional children within the wider kinship network.⁶⁴ Godparents had naming privileges over the child so tracking first names becomes part of the process for discerning the nature of relationships. There were twelve Elizabeths in the Carey kinship network born before 1603. This does not necessarily mean that the queen was godmother to all those girls but does at least indicate their systemic alignment with the queen.

From cradle to grave, compelling evidence that Elizabeth held her first cousins in extraordinarily high regard can be found. The queen paid for their funerals and buried both Katherine and Henry in Westminster Abbey with great ceremony.⁶⁵ Katherine Carey Knollys's hearse was so elaborate that the dean of Westminster and the heralds both wanted to keep it, while the monument to Henry Carey's tomb is so ornate that it has been called 'breathhtaking in its arrogance'.⁶⁶

63 Cressy, *Birth Marriage and Death*, p.159.

64 Elizabeth, George Carey's daughter; Philadelphia, Henry Carey's daughter; Elizabeth daughter of Katherine Carey Howard baroness Effingham; Dudley, who only lived for a month, son of Katherine Carey Knollys; Emmanuel, Philadelphia Carey Scrope's son; Elizabeth, Elizabeth Howard Lady Southwell's daughter; Elizabeth, Anne Knollys West's daughter; and Theophilia, Elizabeth Carey Berkeley's daughter.

65 Katherine Carey Knollys is buried in St. Edmund's chapel and Henry Carey in St. John's. For the queen's expenditure for Katherine's funeral see *Cecil Papers*, vol. 1-2, p.415, expenditure 9 July 1569.

66 *CSP-Domestic 1547-1580*, p.329; Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy*, pp.263-4. Stone says that Henry's wife paid for the Westminster monument however the money originated with the queen.



Figure – 4.1 The Knollys chapel in the parish church of Rotherfield Greys

Katherine Carey Knollys with her badge, cygnet with crown, at her feet in front of Sir Francis Knollys with his badge, the elephant at his feet (far right). Besides Katherine is a small effigy possibly representing Dudley who died in infancy. Effigies kneeling in the foreground represent their daughters are matched on the other side by seven effigies of sons. The first female is most likely Lettice adorned in robes and coronet to signify she was countess of Essex and Leicester. William Knollys who built this tomb in 1605, kneels atop the canopy with his second wife, Elizabeth Howard. *I am indebted to Diane Flux, Church Warden, Greys Church, Rotherfield Greys for allowing me access to the chapel.*

Although Katherine Carey Knollys was buried in Westminster Abbey, an elaborate funeral monument was built by her son William in 1605 honouring both her and her husband Francis. The monument displays both Katherine's badge of a cygnet with crown engorged and Francis's badge the elephant. These badges do not carry specific heraldic meaning. According to heraldic convention, even the use of the crown around the cygnet's neck does not necessarily convey royal blood in Katherine's veins.⁶⁷ However, the symbolism that the family considered itself in some sense related to royalty would not have been missed in a society enchanted with allegorical meanings. While a full discussion of the late sixteenth-century nuances of these badges is outside the parameters of this research project the historical allegorical characteristics are worth consideration.⁶⁸ The elephant was considered pleasing to God, faithful, wise and traditionally were the bearers of kings and queens. The cygnet was also considered faithful, full of dignity and because of its singing voice, pleasing company. Both these badges suit the picture that emerges of the Knollyses and Careys.

Upon their death, the queen took on the additional family responsibilities of discharging debts and providing for younger children. When Katherine Carey Knollys died, her brother wrote to Cecil that he was 'glad to hear of her majesty's good disposition to his late sister's children'.⁶⁹ Exactly how she was kind to these children is unclear excepting that Anne Knollys became a paid member of the royal household and was the recipient of several gifts.⁷⁰ The following

67 Email exchange with Dr. Cheesman, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant at the College of Arms dated 22-28 May 2009. Dr. Cheesman was unaware of any middle English meaning or assonance which would indicate the Knollys adoption of the elephant or the Carey adoption of the cygnet.

68 For additional medieval interpretations see The Aberdeen Bestiary available at <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/bestiary/contents.hti> [accessed 17 May 2009]

69 *Cecil Papers*, vols. 1-2, p.402, item 1282, 14 March 1569.

70 NA Duchess of Norfolk Deeds MS C/115/L2/6697 in Arnold, 'Lost from her majesties back', pp.40, 41, 58, 104.

year Henry Knollys joined the royal household as esquire of the body and his brother William became a gentleman pensioner but whether this was because of their mother's death or their own military accomplishments is debatable.⁷¹ Henry Carey was aware that the queen would be responsible for his estate as in his will he states that the queen had given him the word of a prince that she would discharge his debts and take care of his wife and children.⁷² She made good this promise as there was a royal warrant dated 30 November 1596, four months after his death, ordering the exchequer to pay to his widow Anne Morgan Carey and her daughters Philadelphia Carey Scrope and Margaret Carey Hoby 400*l.* and an additional 800*l.* to help discharge the costs of his funeral.⁷³ Presumably his third daughter, Katherine Carey Howard baroness Effingham was sufficiently wealthy or rewarded differently.

Second-generation marriages

As a rising family whose kinship to the queen was widely acknowledged, the second-generation children of Katherine and Henry were attractive marriage partners, although not all 'married up' in terms of aristocratic status. Carey marriages reflected the general policies of elites to increase status through marriage to nobility or to increase wealth through marriage to rich gentry. At the same time, because of Elizabeth's reluctance to enlarge the nobility, alliance with the Careys was valuable specifically because of their kinship with the queen and their potential to influence the monarch. Either as a consequence of this dynastic strategy or out of genuine affection, the queen always, if not immediately, approved their marriages, with one notable exception. Analysis of second and third generation marriages reveals only one discernable overall dynastic marriage

71 Henry as esquire *HoP: House of Commons*, vol. 2, p.416; William see *HoP: House of Commons*, vol. 2, p.417.

72 NA Prob/11/88 image reference 18.

73 *CSP-Domestic, 1595-97*, p.263. For comparative funeral costs for Margaret Douglas countess of Lennox and Mary Queen of Scots which were significantly less see BL Lansdowne MS 54, fol. 42.

strategy; between 1558 and 1603 none of the Careys married into the royal cousinhood. Their non-royal status granted them immunity from the persecutions suffered by the royal cousins and this would have been lost if they had married into the other side of the family. Even the faintest suggestion of marrying royalty was considered dangerous. When Francis Knollys was guarding Mary Queen of Scots in 1568, he made the mistake of suggesting to Mary that if she wanted to obtain Elizabeth's approval then she should marry into a family that Elizabeth wholly approved of, for example Henry Carey's son George who because of his near kinship with Elizabeth 'of the mother's side' would be considered a fit match for the queen of Scots.⁷⁴ Francis recognised this might have been a strategic mistake as he wrote to both Cecil and Henry Carey that he did not really mean seriously to suggest this but that George was the only name he could think of at the time.⁷⁵ Henry Carey quickly wrote to Cecil that his 'brother Knollys' had written to him regarding the unfortunate conversation and urged Cecil to assure the queen that he had no pretensions of marrying 'such a personage either for his son or anybody else'.⁷⁶ The haste with which the family backed away from this notion was impressive and because of this quick rejection, it appears the queen did not feel threatened. On the other hand, this incident reveals the awareness amongst the kinship network of their near-royal status, despite their ostentatious avoidance of any royal pretensions.⁷⁷

The only other marriage strategy with political implications pursued by the Carey dynasty might have been designed to bring the Irish Fitzgerald lands into the family thereby ensuring Fitzgerald loyalty to the crown. In 1578, the second-generation Katherine Knollys married Gerald Fitzgerald Lord Offaly,

⁷⁴ *CSP-Foreign 1566-1568*, item 2626, 27 October 1568.

⁷⁵ *CSP-Scottish 1563-1569*, pp.534-5.

⁷⁶ *CSP-Foreign 1566-1568*, item 2625. 5 November 1568.

⁷⁷ I am grateful to Dr. Simon Adams for discussion of this point.

heir to the 11th earl of Kildare. It is likely the couple made their home with the bride's father and that she was fond of her husband. Gerald's early death was a blow as Francis Knollys wrote to Walsingham that 'my lord garrets sodayne and untymely deathe hath disordred all my howse'.⁷⁸ As he died before his father he did not inherit. A decade later, in February 1589, Gerald's younger brother Henry Fitzgerald married Frances Howard, daughter of Katherine Carey Howard and first cousin once removed from the previous Lady Offaly.⁷⁹ This may have been the natural result of both Fitzgerald brothers being included in family functions and so fostering affection between Henry and Frances. On the other hand, given the Fitzgeralds' questionable loyalty both marriages may have been designed to bind them to the extended non-royal family. Henry had inherited the Kildare title and lands in 1585 and on his death the lands were aggressively pursued by the young dowager countess of Kildare, with the backing of her father Charles Howard by now the lord admiral.⁸⁰ There were no sons from either of these alliances; however, the daughters of both these Anglo-Irish marriages moved to Ireland while retaining their English kinship court contacts. Katherine Knollys Fitzgerald's daughter, Lettice, claimed the barony of Offaly as heir general after her father and paternal uncles died. She actively supported the plantation movement and escaped from a lengthy rebel siege in 1642 whose closeness may be judged by the inscription chosen for her portrait: 'I am escaped with the skin of my teeth'.⁸¹ Her cousin Bridget married Rory O'Donnell earl of Tyrconnell who abandoned his very pregnant wife during the 'flight of the earls' in 1607.

⁷⁸ *CSP-Domestic, 1547-80*, p.663. Garret was a synonym for Fitzgerald.

⁷⁹ Frances Howard Fitzgerald then became countess of Kildare. See appendix 3.

⁸⁰ *Cecil Papers*, vol. 7, p.362, 1 August 1597.

⁸¹ S.Kelsey, Lettice Digby (c.1580–1658), *ODNB*; *Complete Peerage*, vol. 7, p.239; C.Leinster, *The Earls of Kildare and Their Ancestors: From 1057 to 1773* (Dublin, 1858), pp.218-224.

After recovering from childbirth Bridget used her family at the English court to obtain a royal pension derived from her husband's lands and lived on her family's Kildare estates until her death in 1658.⁸²

The other Irish title that may have been of interest to the kinship network was the Ormond earldom that had been granted by Henry VIII to Elizabeth's grandfather Thomas Boleyn. However it was not granted back to the Careys, as co-heirs with the queen of Thomas Boleyn. George Carey 2nd baron Hunsdon considered claiming the Ormond earldom in 1597 but did not pursue it.⁸³ Elizabeth Sheffield, niece of Charles Howard 2nd baron of Effingham had married the 10th earl of Ormond Thomas Butler in 1583 so this came back into the extended network but not to the Careys directly.⁸⁴ It is possible that George Carey decided not to challenge his brother-in-law and his extended family or that the queen indicated that she had no intention of elevating George to an earldom.

The second-generation Carey marriages provide proof that alliance with the kinship network was considered valuable. The first of the younger generation to wed was the eldest Knollys daughter, Lettice, who in 1560 married Walter Devereux lord Hereford and heir to the earldom of Essex. Further circumstances surrounding the celebration are not known although Walter was granted his own wardship and an annuity of £200, which would have been considered a singular sign of favour.⁸⁵ That Lettice also stopped receiving wages as a member of the

82 King James took her daughter into his protection and she was then known as Mary 'Stuart' O'Donnell. See J.Casway, 'Heroines of victims? The women in the flight of the earls', *New Hibernia Review*, 7 (2003), 69-74; C.Brady, 'Political women and reform in Tudor Ireland' in *Women in Early Modern Ireland*, M.MacCurtain & M.O'Dowd (eds.), pp.69-90.

83 *CSP-Domestic 1595-1597*, p.510.

84 Birch, *Memoirs*, p.27 for marriage.

85 *CPR 1558-1560*, p.438. It is likely the queen attended this wedding but no documentary proof exists.

household at this time does not reflect royal disapproval but rather that a few months after marriage the couple retired to the groom's estates with royal assent.⁸⁶ In 1565, the couple travelled to court to celebrate her brother Henry's marriage, which implies they were held in high regard.⁸⁷ Lettice's marriage linked the Careys to the old nobility as the Devereux considered themselves descended from fifty-five different aristocratic families stretching back to Charlemagne.⁸⁸ The veracity of this pedigree is not a subject of this thesis, however there was no doubt that this marriage brought a coronet into the family. It also allied the Careys to the Huntingdons as Walter Devereux's mother was Dorothy Hastings, sister to the 2nd earl of Huntingdon.⁸⁹

For this analysis and, in general, mutual affection or, at the very least, mutual respect, was a requirement for pursuing dynastic ambition as united partners are more successful. There is no reason to suspect that this marriage did not start as one of mutual affection. Walter cut a dashing figure as a twenty-year-old at court and Lettice was considered beautiful with a remarkable likeness to the queen, tall, fair-skinned and with a good figure.⁹⁰ The Spanish ambassador reports a flirtatious episode between Lettice and Robert Dudley earl of Leicester in 1565 but it is unclear whether this was just a ploy to test Elizabeth's feelings for him or not. It is doubtful that the flirtation was serious as the earls remained friends and Leicester stood godfather to the couple's next child born December 1566.⁹¹ However, Margetts questions whether Walter's refusal to return to England from

86 Their first child was Penelope Devereux b. 1563 at Chartley, Staffordshire. For Lettice's household wages see BL Lansdowne MS 3, 88 and Merton, 'Women who served', p.263.

87 Margetts, 'Stella Britannia', p.49.

88 Margetts, 'Stella Britannia', pp.29-30.

89 After Walter's death, his and Lettice's daughters lived with the Hastings.

90 *CSP-Spanish*, vol. 1, p.472; in a letter from Guzman de Silva to Philip II Sept 3 1565, he describes Lettice as one of the most beautiful women of the court.

91 This was Robert Devereux later 2nd earl of Essex.

Ireland at the invitation of the queen and council was partly motivated by a desire to stay apart from his wife or more simply a reflection of his martial dedication.⁹² By the time he did return to court in 1573, the Spanish ambassador was again spreading gossip regarding Lettice and Leicester going so far as to assert that she had born Leicester two children.⁹³ While this was false, clearly an attachment between them developed at some point as they married two years after Walter's death.

In July 1563, one of the most durable dynastic marriages of the second generation took place when the eldest Carey daughter, Katherine, married Charles Howard later 2nd baron Effingham and earl of Nottingham. Charles may have initially aspired to wed the queen but after realising that would never happen he married her cousin and close friend, recognising that Katherine's Carey influence was more valuable than marriage into a family of more rank or wealth.⁹⁴ The Effingham Howards were among those favoured early on by Elizabeth.⁹⁵ Charles's father, William Howard baron Effingham, was Elizabeth's first chamberlain and sworn to the privy council in late 1558.⁹⁶ Charles's sisters, Douglas and Mary Howard, were members of the royal household by 15 January 1559 and participated in the coronation ceremonies with the Carey women. Robert Kenney has found no evidence to suppose that Katherine and Charles's marriage was anything less than companionable, observing that although Katherine was 'bound up' in the affairs of the royal household there is no record of gossip concerning

92 Margetts, 'Stella Britannia', p.78. Her conclusion is that relations between the couple were not harmonious based on the proviso in Walter's will that should Lettice sue for dower instead of accepting her jointure she should be cut off completely.

93 *CSP-Spanish*, vol. 2, p.511.

94 R.Kenny, *Elizabeth's Admiral, The Political Career of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham 1536–1624* (Baltimore, 1970), p.16.

95 He was appointed gentleman of the privy chamber in 1558 and his sisters Douglas and Mary were given posts in the royal household in January 1559. *Complete Peerage*, vol. 9, p.782; NA LC 2/4/3 fol. 54.

96 *Complete Peerage*, vol.5, p.9.

either her, or his, behaviour.⁹⁷ From the glimpse the archives provide of their private life, it appears they were a close family and at least six of their children lived to maturity. Charles worried over his children's illness and did not like being parted from either his children or his wife when they were ill.⁹⁸ The marriage lasted nearly as long as Elizabeth's reign ending with Katherine's death on 25 February 1603, only one month before the queen's. Speculation that the queen mourned Katherine's death more than her own husband was perhaps sparked by his remarriage only seven months after Katherine's death to the earl of Moray's daughter, Margaret. Nevertheless, he retired from court to mourn Katherine and one correspondent reported that he took his wife's death 'exceedingly grievously' while another said he was 'in sad earnest'.⁹⁹ They were perhaps more emotionally attached than has previously been recognised.

The next member of the network to create a dynastic alliance was Lettice's eldest brother Henry who wed the 'extremely rich' Margaret Cave on 16 July 1565 at Durham House, London with the queen and court in attendance.¹⁰⁰ The scale of this wedding and royal approval of the previous marriages implies that they were most likely graced with the queen's presence. This was in effect a royal family affair for the non-royal cousins as the celebrations included a ball, a tourney and two masques.¹⁰¹ The bride's father, Ambrose Cave chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster and privy councillor, invited both the French and Spanish ambassadors

97 Kenny, *Elizabeth's Admiral*, pp.16-7.

98 *Cecil Papers*, vol. 5, p.194, April 1595. He seems to have been an emotional man as he took his brother's death so hard that family members did not want to trouble him with business; see *Op.Cit.*, vol. 10, p.310, September 1600

99 Chamberlain, *State Papers, Letters Written By John Chamberlain During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, Camden Society (1861), p.179; *CSP-Domestic 1602-1603 with Addenda 1547-1565*, p.298.

100 Malpas, Sir Francis Knollys, p.37; *CSP-Spanish 1558-1567*, p.446 for quote.

101 According to a letter of Charles Howard's this was the same night that Mary Grey married Thomas Keys the queen's sergeant porter. Given that most of the court was at the wedding, it must have been easy for Mary to slip away. See *CSP-Domestic 1547-1580*, p.256.

nearly provoking a diplomatic incident over precedence which the queen had to step in and settle.¹⁰² The bride, sixteen, was a maid of honour at court and the groom, twenty-four, was already a member of parliament and most likely wearing Dudley's livery.¹⁰³ Almost three years later on 19 May 1569, the couple was given license to enter the lands she inherited from her father.¹⁰⁴ Malpas has hinted that this marriage was not as amicable as might have been hoped and that Henry was 'arrogant'.¹⁰⁵ He was an adventurer, indulging in a bit of piracy and frequently away from home on military actions.¹⁰⁶ The first of their two daughters was born about fourteen years into the marriage, which speaks either to Henry's long absences or a lack of affinity between the two in the early years.¹⁰⁷ However, after Henry's death in 1582, Margaret did not take another husband as a practical measure to help her manage her estates as many other elite widows did.¹⁰⁸ As a wealthy widow with good connections at court she would have been an attractive marriage partner. She had her own income and managed her own estates.¹⁰⁹ Additionally her daughters were co-heirs to their paternal grand-father's estate.¹¹⁰ Her sister-in-law, Lettice Knollys Devereux Dudley, godmother to her youngest daughter, seems to have been actively involved in negotiating marriage partners

102 *CSP-Spanish*, vol. 1, pp.451-2. It seems the French ambassador attended the first part of the celebrations and then left at which point the Spanish ambassador arrived to enjoy the balance of the evening.

103 Adams, *Household Accounts*, p.478.

104 *CPR 1563-1566*, vol. 3, item 2222.

105 Malpas, Sir Francis Knollys, pp.37, 83.

106 See chapter five.

107 Although it is possible that Margaret suffered a string of early miscarriages, there are no references to such or to her ill-health.

108 Examples of elite women remarrying below their station for what they claimed were practical reasons include Frances Brandon Grey Stokes and Katherine Willoughby Bertie.

109 BL Additional MS 36901 passim for correspondence to and from Margaret regarding estate management.

110 Berkshire Record Office, D/EX 1303/11/10/88 notes on documents related to the manor Stanford-in-the-vale; NA Prob. 11/88/121-2.

for both girls and was disappointed that her 'sister Knollys' had not come to an agreement in 1601 with the earl of Worcester.¹¹¹ Margaret maintained amicable relationships with her Knollys kin throughout her life, all of which implies that either she never emotionally recovered from the loss of her husband or that she was too independent of character to feel the need for a second one.

The next dynastic marriage was again to the aristocracy albeit a slightly clouded title. Anne Knollys, the eleventh child of Katherine Carey and Francis Knollys, married Thomas West, the heir to the barony of De La Warre, on 19 November 1571, probably with the queen in attendance.¹¹² Anne, sixteen, had been at court for two years as a maid of the chamber starting the same year her mother died and it is tempting to imagine the queen treating her a touch maternally.¹¹³ At first glance, this spousal choice does not appear particularly appealing. The title had been under attainder after the groom's father, William West, was convicted of treason in 1556 and although Elizabeth restored him in blood in 1563 the title was not fully restored.¹¹⁴ William seems to have pursued a rehabilitation programme as he served on both the commission to try the duke of Norfolk in 1572 and the commission to try the earl of Arundel in 1589 for treason. When William died in 1595, Thomas was granted the precedence of the ancient title making him the 11th baron De La Warre without regard for the previous attainder.¹¹⁵ This marriage was nearly as fruitful as her parents' with eleven children living past childhood. The young couple most likely spent time at court as the bride continued in service to the queen as a lady of the privy chamber.¹¹⁶

111 *Cecil Papers*, vol. 10, p.391, 24 November 1600; vol. 14, p.165, 25 February 1601. Both daughters were married in 1602.

112 *Complete Peerage*, vol.4, p.160.

113 Merton, 'Women who served', p.263.

114 He was accused of poisoning his uncle and predecessor; see Machyn, *Diary*, p.108; *Complete Peerage*, vol. 4, p.158.

115 *Complete Peerage*, vol. 4, p.160.

116 Merton, 'Women who served', p.263.

The marriage between the second-born Knollys son, William, and a widow sixteen years his senior, Dorothy Bray Brydges baroness Chandos, in 1574 seems to have been more a financial transaction than an alliance based on affection.¹¹⁷ She was co-heir of her father, Edmund Bray baron Bray's estates and had several children by her first husband, Edmund Brydges 2nd baron Chandos, but it is unclear if these children lived with her during her marriage to William. Dorothy had been a lady-in-waiting to Mary I and there is no record of her serving in Elizabeth's household. The motivation for this marriage is unclear but as the heir to a baron and the widow of a baron, for whose estate she was sole executrix, she undoubtedly contributed significant financial support for their marriage. Their marriage was childless and lasted until her death in 1605 at which point, with great haste, William married the much younger Elizabeth Howard.¹¹⁸

The sixth second-generation marriage in 1574 was between the first-born Carey son, George and Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Spencer and his wife Katherine Kitson and while this match may have been financially motivated it developed into a loving partnership. In 1593, he addressed a letter to her as 'My sweete soule, whos life in thy presens Joyeth most of any, and by thy wanteth what shold susteyne his beinge, or geeue cumfort to the oppression of his discontent'.¹¹⁹ Although not titled, the bride was well educated and rich. George seems to have taken his position as semi-royal kin to heart for although the records show that he was captain of the Isle of Wight, he employed the grander title of governor.¹²⁰

117 *HoP: House of Commons* (Hasler), vol. 2, p.417.

118 This marriage was also unhappy. She was 19, he 60 when they married and although she gave birth 3 times during the marriage, William did not acknowledge them which was just as well as they were Edward Vaux baron of Harroden's children.

119 K.Duncan-Jones, 'Christs Teares', 170.

120 *L&I Soc.*, vol. 286, *CPR 25 Elizabeth I (1582-1583)*, item 838; see also W.Long (ed.), *The Oglander Memoirs: Extracts From the Mss. of Sir J. Oglander, kt'* (1888), pp.4-5 where the complaint is recorded that he was a 'man beyond all ambitions' implying that he would have brought the islanders under subjugation.

George and Elizabeth Carey's reputation for hospitality and literary patronage suggests aspirations towards an old-fashioned sense of nobility. The family was known for their generous hospitality on the Isle of Wight as well as towards writers and poets. Elizabeth was an active patron and writer and educated their only daughter, also named Elizabeth in the same image.¹²¹ With only one daughter as a chip in the marriage market, they were careful about her marital prospects.¹²² Marriage into the queen's family could bring very tangible rewards – even at the third-generation level. George Carey's daughter brought with her a dowry of 1,000/ which came with her as 'next a kinne to Queen Anne Bullen' on top of any other settlement available from her mother's side of the family.¹²³

Not every Carey marriage alliance leaves the impression of affection and success in the archives. Less dynastically compelling was John Carey's marriage to the widow Mary Hyde Peyton who he sent to court to pursue various family business transactions. However, he may not have had complete trust in her abilities as he wrote to Burghley on 4 March 1595 that he was very sorry 'she hath so littell witt' not to know the friends who might best 'steed' her'.¹²⁴ At the same time, he was asking Burghley to support their suit for a lease, so this denigration of her abilities may have been simply to elicit Burghley's sympathy. Still, John complained many times that his wife was not functioning as he wished in business matters and needed help, so it is possible that she was not the sharpest partner he

121 Both mother and daughter had numerous works dedicated to them. See C. Harlow, 'Nashe's visit to the Isle of Wight and his publications of 1592-4', *Review of English Studies* 14 (1963), 225-242; K. Duncan-Jones and Elizabeth Carey, 'Bess Carey's Petrarch newly discovered Elizabethan sonnets', *Review of English Studies* 50 (1999), 304-319; K. Duncan-Jones, 'Christ's Teares'; J. Doelman, 'Seeking "The Fruit of Favour": The dedicatory sonnet's of Henry Lok's Ecclesiastes', *English Literary History* 60 (1993), 1-15.

122 *De L'Isle and Dudley Manuscripts*, vol. 2, p.194, 5 December 1595.

123 Collins, *Letter and Memorials*, vol. 1, p.372 as quoted by E. Strathmann in 'Lady Carey and Spenser', *English Literary History* 2 (1935), 33-57. This reference p.37.

124 *Border Papers 1595-1603*, vol. 2, p.274.

would have wished for or that he was simply a worrier.¹²⁵

The fourth-born Knollys daughter, Elizabeth, married Sir Thomas Leighton on 10 May 1578 in the chapel royal so it is likely the queen was in attendance.¹²⁶ The bride was twenty-eight and the groom forty-three. Their relatively advanced years for a first marriage suggests that this was not a match based on youthful passion or parental strategy but on mutual respect and friendship that had grown over time spent together at court. He had been busy on ambassadorial and military assignments as well as being a gentleman of the privy chamber since 1568 while she had been a member of the royal household since the coronation.¹²⁷ The marriage partners split their time between court and the Isle of Guernsey of which Thomas was governor in addition to his other government assignments. There is evidence that they were very fond of each other. When the queen would not let Elizabeth join him on Guernsey, he wrote that if it were not for the weather he would come to court to ‘play the good husband’ and if the weather would not cooperate he hoped the queen would allow his wife to come to Guernsey before Lent.¹²⁸ Despite their many separations they managed to have three children. The groom had been a Marian exile, a friend of the bride’s father but more importantly was related to the Dudley kinship network providing another link between the two networks.¹²⁹

By 1581, the third generation entered the marriage market when Penelope Devereux, daughter of an earl but also of the banished Lettice countess of Essex

125 *Border Papers 1595-1603*, vol. 2, pp.233, 252, 257 and 274 for examples.

126 Margetts, ‘Stella Britannia’, p.432; Malpas, Sir Francis Knollys, p.76. The queen gave the couple a 67oz gilt cup as a wedding gift.

127 *HoP: House of Commons* (Hasler) vol.2, p.458.

128 *Cecil Papers*, vol. 7 p.441, 22 October 1597.

129 He was the great-great-grandson of John Sutton 1st baron Dudley as was Robert Dudley earl of Leicester and Ambrose Dudley earl of Warwick.

and Leicester, married Robert Rich baron Rich. Philip Sidney's poetry confirms that she was beautiful and conversant in several languages, a trait she shared with her cousin the queen. Despite dynastic maneuvers to link the Dudley-Sidney network more closely to the Careys by a marriage between her and Sidney, he was not interested at the time and only seemed to fall for her after they were each married to other people. Instead, her guardian Henry Hastings earl of Huntingdon arranged her marriage to Rich and although there seems to have been a measure of respect between them, they were unhappy with each other and separated in 1590 so that she could pursue her relationship with Charles Blount 8th baron Mountjoy.¹³⁰ She apparently inherited the family's fecundity as during her first marriage she was pregnant at least five times with one child dying in infancy and with her lover she had another five children. Despite her relationship with Blount, she returned to her husband to nurse him in sickness and there is some evidence that her Rich and Blount children were housed together with Rich's consent.¹³¹ The status of this ménage à trois was open knowledge at court and tolerated by the queen. She neither ordered Penelope back to her husband nor banned her from court.¹³²

The Careys continued to marry with royal approval. The queen attended Edmund Carey's wedding to Mary Coker, which was held in 1582 at Somerset House where his parents had set up their London home.¹³³ Their affectionate seventeen-year marriage produced five children. However, his second marriage to the widow Elizabeth Neville Danvers appears to have been more mercenary as in exchange for a share of her father John Neville 4th baron Latimer's estate she expected the

130 Margetts, 'Stella Britannia', p.127 and pp.387-8.

131 Op.Cit, p.407.

132 There is a great deal of literature available about Penelope ranging from the unpublished PhD dissertation Margetts, 'Stella Britannia' to the popular biography by S.Varlow, *Lady Penelope* so further biographical detail will not be included here.

133 Cole, *Portable Queen*, p.216.

groom's kinship network to obtain pardons for her two sons who were accused of murder.¹³⁴

A potentially scandalous marriage occurred in 1590 when Thomas Knollys abducted Odelia de Morada causing an international incident. The adventure started when Thomas and his cousin and comrade-in-arms Thomas Morgan abducted two daughters of the marchioness Maria de Moreda of Dordrecht.¹³⁵ Thomas described the entire event as his 'lucky exploit'.¹³⁶ The marchioness was furious and sent a warship after them to no avail. Further, she complained to the States-General.¹³⁷ Yet again, the queen's approval was at least implicit in her lack of action against him as there is no record of any English royal reprimand or punishment for either of the men. The story the two couples gave out was that the girls had asked to be 'abducted' in order to save them from arranged marriages to 'enemy' Spanish Catholic cousins. It is unclear what happened to Odelia after her abduction and marriage but Thomas planned to send her to England to the care of his sister Elizabeth Knollys Leighton and his niece Penelope Devereux Rich and a daughter, Helen, was born the following year in 1591.¹³⁸ It would appear that Knollys's relationship with the queen combined with the righteousness of saving two young noblewomen from forced marriage to the enemy was sufficient to nullify even international suits.

134 *HoP: House of Commons* (Hasler) vol 1, p.545. The pardon was granted 30 June 1598. See *CSP Domestic, 1598-1601*, pp.59-69.

135 Thomas Morgan was a nephew of Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon

136 *Report On The Manuscripts Of The Earl Of Ancaster, Preserved At Grimsthorpe*, H.M.S.O. (Dublin, 1907), p.243, 4 January 1589.

137 I am grateful to Dr. David Trim for discussing this incident with me and providing the reference. W. Baron d'Ablaing van Giessenburg (ed.), *De Ridderschap van het Kwartier van Nijmegen: Namen en stamdeelen van de sedert 1587 verschenen edelen* (The Hague, 1899).

138 *Ancaster Manuscripts*, p.249, 30 January 1589; p.251, 16-17 January 1589.

The queen also approved the next Carey marriage of Margaret Carey to Edward Hoby in May 1588. The day after the wedding the queen was at Somerset House to knight the groom so it is possible she attended the ceremony as well. Although approved by the queen, this was not a happy marriage and they had no children although Edward did have a son by his mistress Katherine Pinckney. Edward had his own money and influence at court through his mother Elizabeth Cooke Hoby Russell, sister-in-law to William Cecil, his government career only took off after his marriage. By 1584, he was accompanying his new father-in-law on diplomatic missions to Scotland and two years later served as a member of parliament. Nevertheless, he never reached the inner sanctum of political power and only achieved a household post in the following reign.¹³⁹

One marriage definitely not approved in advance but quickly forgiven by the queen was Robert Carey's. In August 1593, he married Elizabeth Treviannon in Berwick where he was deputy warden of the West Marches under his father's general control of the Scottish borders. Elizabeth Treviannon was his first cousin as her mother was his maternal aunt. In his memoirs, he says he married her 'more for her worth than her wealth'.¹⁴⁰ She was the widow of Sir Henry Widdrington who had been a deputy governor of Berwick and she had £500 a year as jointure while Robert reports being £1,000 in debt with an income of only £100 as a pension from the exchequer, so even this modest 'wealth' must have held some attraction. Robert reports that the queen and most of his friends were upset with him for this marriage because they considered it below his status; nevertheless he had his father's backing. His knowledge of the queen's temperament reveals the close relationship between them. Despite the queen learning of his marriage, he carefully avoided her until he had an incontrovertible

139 L.Knafla, 'Hoby, Sir Edward (1560-1617)', *ODNB*. See chapter five for further discussion.

140 Carey, *Memoirs* (Mares), pp.25-6.

reason for seeing her in person.¹⁴¹ He had letters from the king of Scots that he would not allow to be delivered to the queen by anyone but himself on the pretence of their diplomatic value. Despite her anger, she relented for this reason and gave him an audience that he describes as at first ‘stormy and terrible’.¹⁴²

With the self-assurance of a memoirist, he quotes his response as:

She herselfe was the fault of my marriage and that if she had but graced mee with the least of her favours, I had never left her nor her court; and seeing she was the chief cause of my misfortune, I would never off my knees till I had kiss’d her hand and obtained my pardon. She was not displeased with my excuse and before wee parted wee grew good friends. Then I delivered my message and my papers.¹⁴³

The relationship Robert Carey remembers having with the queen was clearly one of long standing and intimacy, the sort of relationship one has with a family member and one where family relations could take precedence over state business.

Leicester and Essex

Through marriage the Careys had ties with other influential kinship networks of the day including the Effingham Howards, the Dudleys, through the Dudleys the Sidneys, and the Hastings-Huntingdons.¹⁴⁴ Because there were so many cousins in the network there were also multiple opportunities for training and employment within the family. Given that the royal household was also part of the kinship network, the Careys had access to the best training school and job placement in the kingdom. Even if a member did not join the royal household, a place could always be found for a son in need of a military apprenticeship or a daughter

141 Quite a feat as in the interim he performed in a joust for her entertainment but was so well disguised she did not know he was there or pretended the same.

142 Carey, *Memoirs* (1759), p.74.

143 Carey, *Memoirs* (1759), pp.74-5.

144 Mary Dudley, Leicester’s sister, had married Sir Henry Sidney in 1551. Leicester’s other sister, Katherine had married Henry Hastings 3rd earl of Huntingdon in 1553. Additionally, Walter Devereux’s mother was Dorothy Hastings the 3rd earl’s aunt.

who needed training in estate management. For example, several Knollys and Carey young men gained military experience under Leicester while the Devereux daughters were trained by the Huntingdons.¹⁴⁵

Elizabeth's two most prominent favourites were Robert Dudley earl of Leicester and Robert Devereux earl of Essex both of whom were part of the Carey network. Leicester was the dominant favourite from the beginning of the reign through his death in 1588 while Essex was the favourite for the latter part. However, the two cases are not similar. Leicester married into the Carey network when Lettice Knollys Devereux countess of Essex became his second wife in 1578.¹⁴⁶ However, relations between Leicester and the Carey network predate this marriage.¹⁴⁷ Leicester, who had recognised the Careys' unique position as the 'tribe of Dan', systematically integrated his interests with theirs both before and after his marriage to Lettice and enjoyed support from the extended Carey network at court.

One method of linking dynastic interests was to provide training for elite children within large and active households.¹⁴⁸ Just as girls were traditionally sent to aristocratic households to be educated in estate management for their future as dynastic partners, young men joined the households and followed the activities of aristocratic men. During Elizabeth's reign the most elite household for girls was of course the queen's. In the absence of a royal male household, parents of sons

145 Either a Mary or Maud Knollys was placed in the duchess of Suffolk's household by 1561. See *Ancaster Manuscripts*, p.460, April 1561. Margetts, 'Stella Britannia', p.129.

146 *Complete Peerage*, vol. 5, p.141, note (d).

147 See for example, Adams, *Household Accounts*, p.478 for Henry Carey the younger wearing Dudley's livery before 1567.

148 B.Harris, 'Women and politics in early Tudor England', 264.

looked to the most influential men and their households for placement. William Cecil tried to create just such a training ground for young men and his position as head of the court of wards put him in an ideal position to redirect aristocratic young men to his own formidable household.¹⁴⁹ However, for those young men who were less interested in a classical education and more interested in foreign service and military exploits, or those whose parents preferred the Dudley-Sidney network to the Cecil network, Leicester's household was ideal. Mary Dudley Sidney was also a favourite of Elizabeth's and so in the early years of the reign this dynasty had both strong male and female representation at court.¹⁵⁰ The Careys placed several sons in Leicester's house or under his command in the field strengthening ties between the Dudley and Carey networks both before and after his marriage to Lettice. Leicester took an unsuccessful part in arranging matrimonial alliances when he encouraged Henry Knollys, a member of his household, to pursue marriage with a Mistress Lingen before his marriage to Margaret Cave as in 1561.¹⁵¹ Leicester derived administrative support from the Careys as well. For example, Adams has characterised the parliamentary network to which both the Careys and Leicester belonged to as led by Leicester. This ignores the extensive Carey kinship network already in Parliament as well as Sir Francis Knollys' prominent parliamentary career.¹⁵²

Robert Devereux was Lettice Knollys Devereux's son from her first marriage to Walter Devereux earl of Essex and therefore a direct descendant of Mary Boleyn Carey. Essex's position at court did not suffer because of his mother's

149 See J.Hurstfield, 'Lord Burghley as Master of the Court of Wards, 1561-98' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series (1948) vol. 31, 103-4.

150 Additionally, Robert and Mary's brother was Ambrose earl of Warwick and his third wife was Anne Russell Dudley one of Elizabeth's inner circle although not paid chamber wages.

151 *Talbot, Dudley and Devereux Papers 1533-1659*, vol. 5, pp.164-5.

152 Discussed further in chapter 6.

banishment; instead it flourished under his stepfather's guidance and the Carey network's influence. His stepfather knighted Essex after the battle of Zutphen in September 1586, the same battle where Leicester's nephew and heir, Phillip Sidney, received his fatal wound.¹⁵³ The following year, Leicester arranged for Essex to take a royal household post, master of the horse, the same favoured position Dudley had been granted upon Elizabeth's accession.¹⁵⁴ During the campaign in the Netherlands, Essex not only enjoyed the patronage of Leicester and the wider Dudley-Sidney kinship network but seven of his Carey cousins were also serving under Leicester.¹⁵⁵ Too much should not be read into this large family representation. This was the military expedition of the day and most young men with adequate means and the right religious tendencies found a way to join the campaign. Yet, clearly a close relationship existed between Sidney who was thirty-two at the time of his death and Essex who was only nineteen as, in his will, Sidney left Essex his best sword.¹⁵⁶ This symbolic gesture of handing the sword of nobility to Essex designated him as the figurative leader of the third generation of the Dudley-Sidney kinship network and was further reinforced when Essex married Sidney's widow Frances Walsingham Sidney in 1590.¹⁵⁷ This aligning of Essex with his step-father's network did not in any way lessen his ties with the Careys, especially the women whom he relied on for his relationship with the queen. In 1595, for example he felt safe in assuming that his absence from court was sanctioned by the queen as the information has been 'signified by my Lady Leighton' his aunt Elizabeth Knollys Leighton.¹⁵⁸ In 1599, Essex relied

153 Sidney died 17 October 1586. *Complete Peerage*, vol. 6 p.479, vol. 5, p.141.

154 *Lives & Letters of the Devereux*, p.190.

155 See appendix 9 for details. This count includes second and third-generation direct descendants and spouses.

156 Woudhuysen, 'Sidney, Sir Philip, (1554-1586), author and courtier', *ODNB*.

157 *Complete Peerage*, vol. 5 p.142.

158 *Cecil Papers*, vol. 5, p.291, 27 July 1595.

on his cousin Philadelphia Carey Scrope to be his most ardent supporter to the queen, despite some harsh treatment she received in return.¹⁵⁹ Essex continued to use Philadelphia to help him win the queen's favour in September 1600 when she reported in a letter signed 'my service to the uttermost of my power shall wholly be commanded by your Lordship, your most assured friend and loving cousin'.¹⁶⁰

His political career has been analyzed sufficiently that it need not be addressed here. However, ultimately his influence within the Carey kinship network was ineffectual.¹⁶¹ He fought with the earl of Kildare, the husband of his cousin Frances Howard Fitzgerald countess of Kildare in 1591 and was called before the privy council whose members included his grand-father Sir Francis Knollys, his grand-uncle Henry Carey baron Hunsdon and his cousin Charles Howard.¹⁶² In 1597, when Charles Howard was simultaneously created earl of Nottingham and lord steward, giving him precedence over all other earls, Essex became resentful. Essex was particularly upset as this honour was in recognition of Howard's role in the Cadiz expedition of which Essex had been co-commander. His ego was not mollified until he was made earl marshal, a title that took precedence over that of lord steward. The queen used family members unashamedly in her attempts to control him. When he 'stole from court' in 1587, she sent Robert Carey after him to prevent him from going to Sluys and in 1601 sent his uncle, William Knollys, to negotiate with him at Essex House.¹⁶³ However, while he had individual supporters within his family, the kinship network as a whole was willing to cut

159 *De L'Isle & Dudley Manuscripts*, p.400, 11 October 1599.

160 *Cecil Papers*, vol. 10, pp.330-1, September 1600.

161 See chapter one for additional discussion of this point.

162 *APC 1591*, vol. 21, p.53. Howard was his half cousin thrice removed and by marriage his first cousin once removed.

163 For the queen sending Robert Carey after Essex see Carey, *Memoirs* (1759), p.9; for Knollys see *Lives and Letters of the Devereux*, p.141. Robert then did exactly what the queen had forbidden Essex – he stole away to the Netherlands where he joined his brother Edmund.

him off, when he committed the ultimate folly of rebelling against their cousin the queen whose favour was the bedrock of their status and influence.

The next chapter continues the discussion of the Carey kinship's political and governmental activities and their roles across the extended points of contact model.

5 Points of Contact: The Household

The court was the least institutionalised of Elton's original three points. The historiographical debates regarding distinctions between the court and the royal household miss the essential point that both only existed because of the monarch's presence.¹ The court was merely an extension of the monarch's household. Defining a border separating the court from the household is less relevant than recognizing that the centre of the court was the monarch's bedchamber and that access to the highest level of the court was access to that chamber. The act of going to court meant entering the fringes of the royal household. Receiving ambassadors at court was the act of receiving a visitor to a chamber of the household. It is therefore unfortunate that despite the survival of so many of Cecil's papers and extensive research of the period, our understanding of the personnel and their duties that collectively comprised the court is still limited. Elton's institutional approach comes to a sudden halt when faced with the fluid nature of the court while Adams rather gently describes the Elizabethan court as retaining 'an enigmatic quality'.²

¹ See chapter 2.

² Adams, 'Eliza enthroned?', *Leicester and the Court*, p.24.

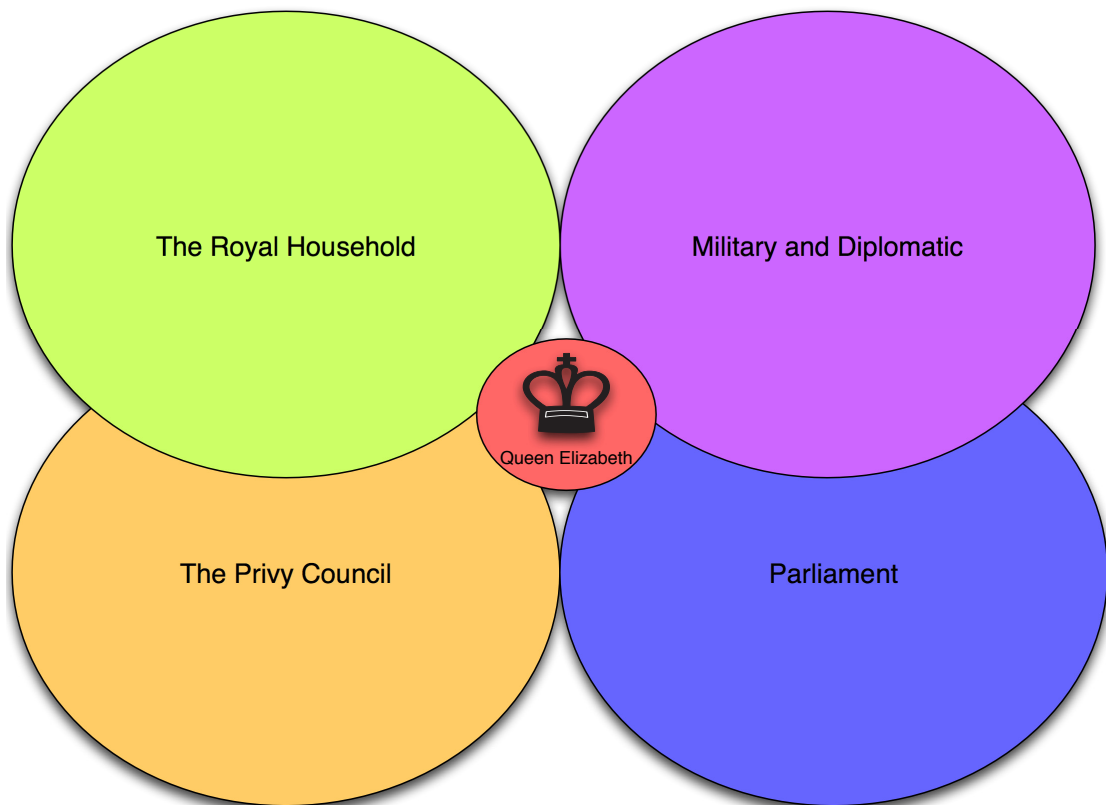


Figure 5.1 – Extending the points of contact

The perception of being at the centre of the political universe and therefore a person of importance was clearly recognized and exploited by those fortunate enough to have access to the monarch. Christopher Hatton knew this perception was worth exploiting signing the letters he wrote from court with his name followed by a colon and the word ‘Court’ all on the same line as though it was a territorial suffix title.³ He rarely specified the temporary geographic location of the court, what mattered was his own location at the centre of the political kingdom. This emphasises that the court was wherever Elizabeth happened to be and that this cultural, if amorphous, space was the centre of power.

Whether or not the queen’s bedroom was physically the most private room in any given residence, conceptually it was the inner sanctum.⁴ Access to the rooms

³ See BL Additional MS 12506 fols. 24, 26.

⁴ See figure 5-2.

where the queen slept and dressed represented access to the source of political power. Continuing this theoretical description of the court hierarchy, the privy chamber was the next closest to the queen. This chamber was open to both genders of differing ranks with the chamberlain officially granting *entrée*. While efforts were made to reform royal household expenditure, there were no major reforms on the order of Wolsey's 1526 Eltham ordinances. Wright posits that that there was 'no indication that the great politicians on the Council felt the need for privy chamber reform to bolster their hold on power' and that neither Elizabeth nor the politicians altered the household ordinances because the privy chamber 'retreated into mere domesticity'.⁵ It is however equally plausible that the politicians on the council did not feel this need as they had representatives in the bed and privy chambers who shared their ambitions. Elizabeth's domestic arrangements within the privy chamber were fully integrated with the more overtly political 'points of contact' and the great political dynasties were happy to operate within the existing framework. Therefore, unlike the Henrician privy chamber, the Elizabethan chamber was not another political battlefield but a companion field to that of the other three points of contact. Career politicians, like Cecil, Knollys, Carey, Howard, and Leicester had access to the centre of power both through their own direct relationship with the queen and through female partners representing kinship network interests on the staff of the privy and bed chambers.⁶ For example, Cecil's wife Mildred Cooke Cecil and her sisters Anne Cooke Bacon and Elizabeth Cooke Hoby Russell were members of Elizabeth's household and could represent both the Cecil family's interests to the queen and the queen's to Cecil the councillor.⁷

5 Wright, 'Change of direction', p.148, 150.

6 The exception to this pattern was Hatton who had no near female kin in the privy or bed chambers. See chapter 6.

7 The Cooke sisters Anne and Mildred Cooke received livery for the coronation and thereafter appear to have served as unwaged members of the privy chamber. See LC2/4/3 fol.53v; Merton, 'Women who served', p.259. Their sister Elizabeth does not appear in the coronation livery lists but served as an unwaged member of the court.

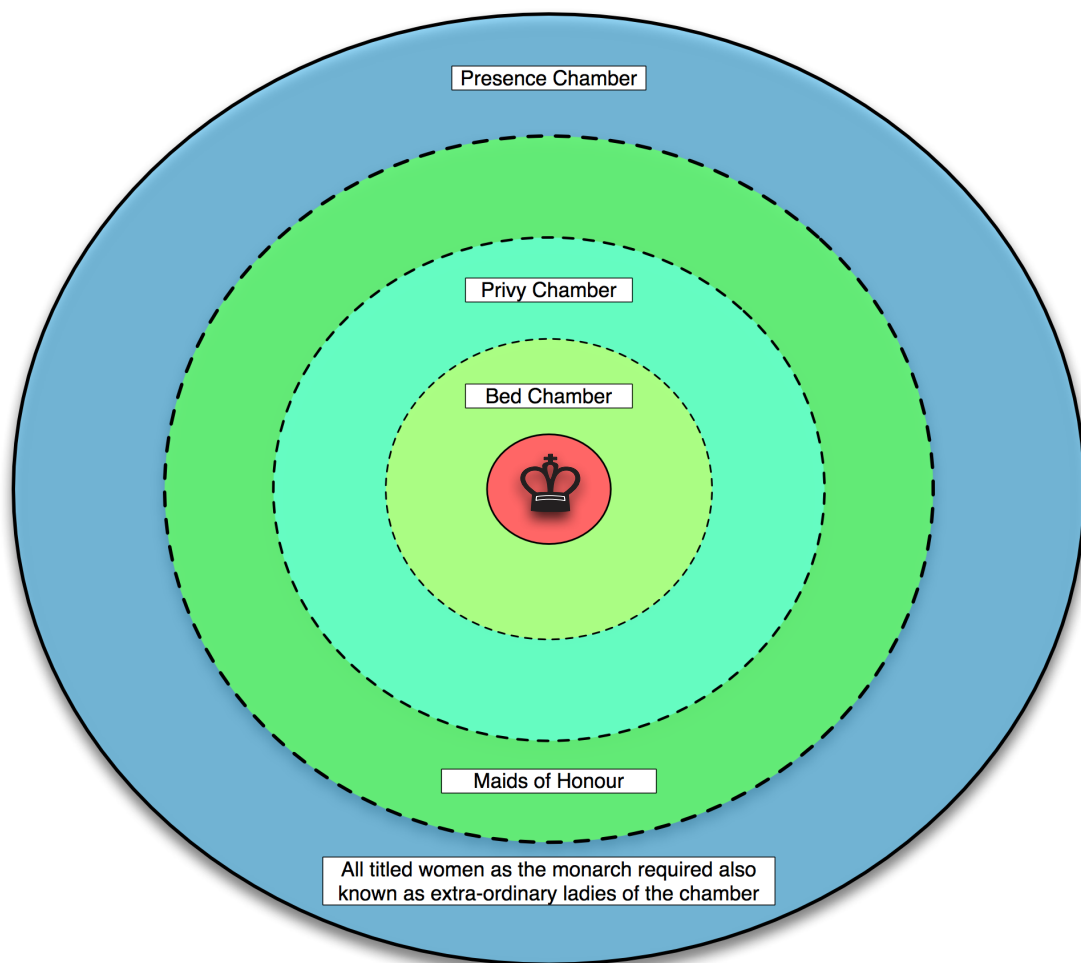


Figure 5.2 - Conceptualizing the female court

Gender balance

Clearly the inner chambers of Elizabeth's court were predominantly staffed with women and the bed chamber was exclusively female but there were also men with paid posts in the privy chamber. Male posts included gentleman of the privy chamber, groom of the chamber, esquire of the body, master of the horse, comptroller of the household and the lord chamberlain, the titular overseer of the queen's household. Women held posts such as chief lady of the bed chamber, lady carver, mother of the maids, and the more prosaic-sounding but no less potentially influential positions of lady of the bed chamber, lady of the privy chamber, maid of the court and maid of honour.⁸ There seems to have been no functional difference

⁸ Merton was the first historian to distinguish between maids of honour and maids of the court.

between how ladies versus gentlewomen of the chamber were treated by the monarch with the possible exception that married titled women were not always paid wages while those without title, married or unmarried, rarely went without.⁹

There have been widely differing estimates regarding the numbers of women at court. For example, MacCaffery estimates that in 1567 there were approximately 175 men and only a dozen women in the court.¹⁰ If we accept that there were six maids of honour at any given time, this would leave only three women for the privy chamber and three for the bed chamber.¹¹ This would have been a very strange environment as well as impractical. It is hard to imagine a court entertainment that would include dancing with 175 men and only twelve women. Elizabeth Brown provides a slightly more optimistic estimate of sixteen paid and six unpaid women.¹² As the maids of honour were frequently unpaid, this would leave eight women for each chamber.¹³ However, in 1567, the year MacCaffery chose for his estimate, the records list at least forty women receiving wages.¹⁴ In addition, there were the women who served without wages, including but not limited to Anne Morgan Carey who split her time between the court and Berwick-upon-Tweed; the Cooke sisters; Helena Snakenborg, a Swedish lady-in-waiting to Princess Cecilia who stayed in England to serve Elizabeth after her mistress left; and Anne Russell Dudley who served the length of Elizabeth's reign, to name but a few. An estimate of at least sixty elite women at court including the maids of honour would be nearer the mark. This count does not include the

9 Wright, 'Change of direction', p.127.

10 MacCaffrey, 'Place and patronage', pp.106-7.

11 Wright, 'Change of direction', p.151.

12 Brown, "'Companion me with my mistress'", p.132.

13 Although some received life annuities like Elizabeth Fitzgarret who received £50 for life for service to the queen. See *L&I Soc.*, vol. 286, *CPR 25 (1582-1583)*, item 147, 18 Sep 1584.

14 Merton, 'Women who served', appendix 1.

many women at court as wives, mothers, sisters or daughters to male courtiers without posts of their own, nor those employed as fools, painters, entertainers or the female chamberers from below stairs employed to clean and wash. It is much more likely therefore that there was a relatively equal gender balance at the court.

With this more balanced picture comes the question of the role women played. The historiography is in complete agreement that women of the privy and bed chamber spent time dressing and undressing the queen as well as aiding in the maintenance of her wardrobe. There is even general agreement over their decorative value and deployment, dressed and jeweled, as visual representation of the majesty of the English court when receiving foreign ambassadors. However, the historiography makes a distinction between male attendants who concurrently held office such as keeperships of the dry stamps and the privy coffer members of Henry VIII's and Edward VI's privy chamber and the female attendants of Mary and Elizabeth's reign who did not.¹⁵ The removal of these tokens of administrative functions from the female-dominated chambers has led to the assumption that without them the chamber was devoid of political significance.¹⁶ This is yet another misconception of the relationship between office and power but in this case the significance of office-holding has been given disproportional weight against information, which is also a political tool.

In 1592, Robert Beale published the *Treatise of the Office of a Councillor*, an instruction manual for those who hoped to obtain a post within the court in which he encouraged the wise secretary to cultivate the female members of the privy chamber 'w[i]th whom you must keepe creditt, for that will stande you in much steede.'¹⁷ While this has been interpreted as advice to assess the queen's mood

15 For example, Merton, 'Women who served', p.5; Wright, 'Change of direction', passim.

16 For example, Wright, 'Change of direction', p.150.

17 Beale's treatise is printed as an appendix to C.Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1925), pp.428-439, this quote p.437.

before presenting her with any suits, it also acknowledges the vital role played by women of the chambers as channels of communication. Moreover the fact that Beale continues to warn his reader, 'yet yeilde not to much to their importunitie for sutes, for so you may be blamed' clearly indicates that these women were active in pursuing business directly with the office of the secretary and were not just barometers of the queen's mood. It is undoubtedly true, as Wright argues, that the important role played by the female staff of the royal household as intermediaries 'was in no sense a part of their official duties'.¹⁸ Political influence, however, is rarely circumscribed in practice by such theoretical restrictions.

Thomas Kitson's 1590 letter to Gilbert Talbot earl of Shrewsbury provides an example of female participation in political communication as well as illuminating the operation of kinship networks at the highest level.

I went presently to Burghley House and got Mr. Maynard to deliver your letter so soon as ever my Lord's chamber door was opened, which, when he had read it he presently sent for Mrs. Cecil and by her did presently advertise her Majesty.¹⁹

William Cecil clearly relied on his female relatives in the privy chamber to communicate information and advice to the queen, a role filled in this case by his daughter-in-law Elizabeth Brooke Cecil.²⁰ A further example comes from a letter from Francis Knollys to the queen in 1593 challenging her criticism of how he managed the troublesome task of purveyance, a component of his office of comptroller,

¹⁸ Wright, 'Change of direction', p.152.

¹⁹ Talbot, *Dudley, Devereux Papers*, p.102.

²⁰ P.Croft, 'Cecil, Robert, first earl of Salisbury (1563-1612)', *ODNB*. Elizabeth Brooke Cecil, married to Robert Cecil, was god daughter to the queen and also the daughter of Frances Newton Brooke countess Cobham one of the most senior ladies of the bed chamber. Mildred Cooke Cecil had died in 1589.

Because I have hard bothe by the generall reporte of all men & p[ar]ticularlye by my daughter Leyghton th[at] your Ma[jes]tie hathe conceyvid a harde opynion of me to be careles & neglygent in myne offyce.²¹

Elizabeth Knollys Leighton's timely advice in this case allowed her father to mount a successful defence of his position resulting in the appointment of two additional deputies to manage the workload.²² This kinship-based communication pathway to the monarch helped lend stability to the kingdom.

Nor was the communication one-way. On the contrary, for a queen who saw economy in using whoever was at hand regardless of their official status, she was quite happy to use her household staff on 'official' business. For example, Elizabeth sent Blanche Parry to John Dee at Mortlake to discuss which 'ecclesiasticall dignity' within the kingdom he should like to take up.²³

Wright's assertion that Elizabeth's ladies-in-waiting led narrow lives has clearly been influenced by what she has termed 'the passive role accorded to women in the sixteenth-century scheme of things'.²⁴ In the earlier example, Francis Knollys is happy to let the queen know that his daughter had been reporting to him about Elizabeth's thoughts and opinions. This implies that the queen expected her ladies to send these reports; that she was using them to send the messages she wanted to convey without any direct intervention on her part. If she had deliberately surrounded herself with passive domesticity as a cocoon against the political world, she would have been furious that these ladies were betraying her confidence.

21 BL Lansdowne MS 73 fol. 34.

22 A. Woodworth, 'Purveyance in the Royal Household in the reign of Queen Elizabeth', *Transactions of American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia, 1945), 8-9.

23 J. Dee and J. Crossley, *Autobiographical Tracts*, p.13. He turned down the offer of a church post.

24 Wright, 'Change of direction', pp.157, 154-5.

The elite women who served Elizabeth, a clearly active female monarch, conformed more to the queen's example than to any general ideal of passivity. Given the approximately two hours needed to dress and another two hours to undress the monarch, ample opportunity for discussion and debate was granted to those present.²⁵ It is also impossible to escape the fact that the women of the chamber were in daily contact not only with the queen but with her ministers and government administrators. Mildred Cooke Cecil for example was involved in the highest levels of foreign policy discussions carrying on a correspondence with William Maitland during the 1560's that discussed the state of the Scottish regency government after the death of Mary of Guise and before the arrival of the newly widowed Mary Queen of Scots.²⁶

This daily contact meant that the women were at the very least well informed. For example Elizabeth Knollys Leighton was familiar with the correspondence of the privy council as revealed in her 21 August 1593 letter to Julius Caesar referring explicitly to the contents of 'the counsels letter' to the admiralty court concerning a conflict between a Guernsey sailor and the sea beggars of New Haven. Further, she was taking an active role in aligning herself with the privy council's actions.²⁷ Given that she was married to the captain of Guernsey, Thomas Leighton, and later in her letter comments that she had ridden in the victim's boat, it is tempting to hypothesize that she instigated the privy council's actions on behalf of the sailor in the first place.²⁸

In 1581, the women of the chambers had been more informed than the queen

25 Merton, 'Women who served', p.67.

26 Haynes, *State Papers*, pp.293, 301, 362-3, 359.

27 BL Additional MS 12506 fol. 436 [old fol. 421]. See appendix 10 for a transcription.

28 As no record has yet been identified indicating that she brought the matter to the council's attention before her letter to the admiralty court, this idea must remain hypothetical.

regarding Anglo-Scottish relations. When Henry Carey sent a raiding party into Scotland and suffered losses, the women of the chambers knew and informed the queen before Walsingham had a chance to make his report.²⁹ Which ladies were involved remains unknown; however as Henry Carey and at least two of his sons were involved in this raid and there were at least five Carey women attending the queen at this time it is possible the information was conveyed to the court through kinship correspondence.³⁰ Additional evidence that women participated in foreign policy discussions with the queen present comes from a report in February 1582 when Walsingham's attempt to persuade Elizabeth that William of Orange deserved her support because he was a godly man was interrupted by a lady in attendance who pointed out that William was not so godly as he had an illegitimate child.³¹ Again, the lady is not named but she was well informed about the religious and personal attributes of foreign leaders and felt sufficiently confident to break into the discussion and contradict the secretary of state.

Even in military affairs, an area generally considered as exclusively male, there is evidence of female participation. In 1586, Anne Russell countess of Warwick raised a military troop of her own to send to her brother-in-law Leicester enquiring only what the allowance should be and employing a kinsmen to convey her troupe to the Low Countries.³² Elite female activities thus extended into the privy council, foreign affairs and the military. Their parliamentary interactions

29 *CSP-Spanish 1580-1586*, p.85 Mendoza to Philip II 27 Feb 1581.

30 Henry Carey's sons John, George, Henry, Robert and Michael all served on the borders. In 1581, it is most likely that John and Michael were serving under their father. (It is possible Michael Carey died in March 1581.) *CSP-Scotland*, vol. 5, 1574-81, pp.646-697, item 741. Carey women at court at this point in time included at least Anne Morgan Carey, her daughter Katherine Carey Howard, her daughter Philadelphia, her grand-daughter Elizabeth Howard and her nieces Elizabeth Knollys Leighton and Anne Knollys.

31 *CSP-Spanish*, p.282, 9 Feb 1582.

32 Bruce, (ed), *Leycester Correspondence*, p. 183 Sir Thomas Shirley to the earl of Leicester 21 March 1585-6.

have so far been completely obscured yet the pattern of kinship partnership across other points of contact suggests that they were most likely well-informed if not actually direct participants.

The Careys at court

Carey women served their cousin at court throughout the reign and in sufficient numbers that the family was always strongly represented at the centre of power. The family made a firm showing at the coronation celebrations with participation by both the senior couples Katherine Carey Knollys, her husband Francis and Henry Carey and his wife Anne.³³ In addition, coronation livery was granted to Lettice Knollys, her sister Elizabeth Knollys and their cousin Katherine Carey. It is also possible that two more daughters participated in the coronation celebrations; Mary Knollys who as the eldest Knollys daughter was one year older than Lettice and Maud Knollys, the fourth daughter who was one year older than her sister Elizabeth.³⁴ At least one of them, either Mary, Maud or both, served in the household of the duchess of Suffolk and therefore would have worn her livery instead of the new queen's but nevertheless would most likely have attended the celebrations.³⁵ Before 1558, the Suffolk household would have been an excellent choice for a Knollys daughter given the duchess's status, the religious affinity between the two families and because Elizabeth's household was limited by her sister the queen.

However, once she established her own court, Elizabeth had several of her Carey cousins around her. Katherine Carey Knollys became chief lady of the bed

33 *CSP-Spanish*, vol. 1-2, p.158, 29 Dec 1559 Johns Mydelton to Sir Wm. Cecil. The sister referred to was her sister-in-law Anne Morgan Carey.

34 Mary was born 25 October 1542 and Maud 30 March 1548. Latin Dictionary.

35 *Ancaster Manuscripts*, pp.460. The household accounts of the Richard Bertie and Katherine duchess of Suffolk of 1560-62.

chamber a post she retained till her death ten years later.³⁶ Lettice Knollys was a lady of the privy chamber and served consistently until her marriage to Walter Devereux and then sporadically until she was banished in 1578 for marrying Leicester. Her sister Elizabeth started in 1559 as a maid of the privy chamber but her designation changed in 1565 to lady of the privy chamber just eleven days shy of her sixteenth birthday. She did not marry until 1578 when she was twenty-eight so her change in chamber status did not reflect a change in marital status. Her younger sister Anne became maid of the chamber in 1569 and was promoted to lady of the privy chamber in 1571 in this case coinciding with her marriage to Thomas West later 2nd baron De La Warre. It is unclear if the youngest Knollys sister, Katherine, ever formally served in Elizabeth's court. However she seems to have spent a great deal of time with the Dudleys including serving as a bridesmaid at the wedding of Anne Russell and Ambrose Dudley.³⁷

On the other side of the family, Henry Carey's wife Anne Morgan Carey was at the coronation with their daughter Katherine as a maid of the court at the age of twelve. She was promoted to lady of the privy chamber in July 1563 when she married Charles Howard. At the same time she was referred to as the lady carver of the privy chamber, responsible for receiving the queen's food into the privy chamber and laying it out on plates.³⁸ By 1572, she was named as chief lady of the privy chamber and in 1598 she is referenced as the groom of the stool.³⁹ Her sister Philadelphia was serving in the court by the 1580s. She was promoted to lady of the privy chamber at the time of her marriage to Thomas Scrope 10th baron Scrope in 1584.⁴⁰ She served the entire length of the reign and may have

36 Goldsmith, 'All the queen's women', p.25; BL Lansdowne MS 3, fol. 88; Merton, 'Women who served', p.259.

37 Malpas, Sir Francis Knollys, p.37; Adams, *Household Accounts*, pp.299-390.

38 Merton, 'Women who served', p.18, n.20 referencing E351/1954 fol.5.

39 Merton, 'Women who served', p.65, E451/1956 and p.73.

40 Goldsmith, 'All the queen's women', p.259.

been assigned to the bed chamber by the 1590's.⁴¹ Henry and Anne's youngest daughter Margaret Carey Hoby was a maid of the court but possibly unpaid.⁴² Women who married into the family were also often given household posts. For example, Elizabeth Spencer Carey, wife of George Carey, was a lady of the privy chamber as a letter from her husband was addressed to her as such.⁴³ Although Merton states that chamber posts were at the pleasure of the queen and in no sense hereditary, the recruitment of family members by family members made chamber posts at the very least a function of dynasticism.⁴⁴ As the Careys were a part of the queen's family, female recruitment into the chamber was an exercise of royal dynasticism functioning alongside that of other elite families.⁴⁵

The queen did not appoint as many Carey men to posts in the royal chambers as women. Francis Knollys's appointment as vice-chamberlain was the only Carey male household appointment at the start of the reign. By 1567 he was also made treasurer of the household although he was never elevated to the peerage.⁴⁶ According to Woodworth, the comptroller or treasurer of the household was traditionally treated as holding the rank of baron although this must not have been much consolation to him.⁴⁷ In contrast, Henry Carey, who had held posts in Elizabeth's household before 1558, was elevated to the peerage at the very beginning of the reign but did not receive a royal household post until October 1560 when he was appointed master of the hawks.⁴⁸ Over the course of the

41 *Cecil Papers*, vol. 7, pp.41, 55.

42 See chapter 1.

43 As printed in Duncan-Jones, 'Christs Teares', 170.

44 Merton, 'Women who served', p.30.

45 The Cooke/Cecil/Russells are another example. In addition to the Cooke sisters, their daughters also all served at court.

46 *CPR 1566-1569*, item 881.

47 Woodworth, 'Purveyance for the royal household', 8-9.

48 *CPR 1558-1560*, p.415.

reign further honours came to these two patriarchs including some additional household posts but both found additional points of contact for their ambitions.⁴⁹

There is no evidence of second-generation males receiving household appointments in 1558-9, although there is some confusion on the male side of the family. Katherine Carey Knollys and Francis Knollys had a son named Henry who would have been seventeen in 1559. However, Francis Knollys also had a brother named Henry Knollys who served in the court from the beginning of the reign. A Henry Knollys was an esquire of the body by 1567 but could have been appointed as early as 1559. Disentangling the history of these two Henrys is difficult and proof that either received livery for Elizabeth's coronation or wages her first regnal year is elusive.⁵⁰ Nevertheless over the course of the reign several male members of the Carey kinship network officially joined the royal household. As grooms of the privy chamber and esquires of the body the men would have been in very close attendance on the queen. The history of the Elizabethan gentlemen pensioners has yet to draw wide attention, however this household-based band of soldiers would have been an ideal post for second and third generation sons and nephews especially as after 1583 Henry Carey was their captain.⁵¹ However, even before his appointment, his sons John and Edmund and their cousin William Knollys were members.⁵²

49 See appendix 5.

50 See Adams. *Household Accounts*, p.478 where he discusses the confusion and speculates that Henry, son of Francis and Katherine, wore Robert Dudley's livery through 1567.

51 There is an unpublished doctoral thesis on the subject but I was unable to consult it; W.Tighe, 'The gentlemen pensioners in Elizabethan politics and government' (Cambridge, 1983).

52 John was a member by 1573, Edmund by 1577, William Knollys by 1570. Charles Howard joined in 1559 but he was not yet married to Katherine Carey. Their son, Charles joined by 1598. See appendix 5.

The Case of the Chamberlainship

The ultimate household post for a man, however, was lord chamberlain and while Francis Knollys desired it, Henry Carey eventually got it. It is tempting to theorise that Henry's blood tie proved stronger than Francis's conjugal tie even with his years of experience as the vice-chamberlain. A key component of the post of chamberlain was the control of access to the privy chamber.⁵³ This door-keeping function allowed the post-holder potentially significant influence over the politics of the chamber. Without private access to the queen, very few courtiers could pursue their personal ambitions and suits. With control of that access, the post-holder could pursue a wide range of suits for his own benefit and that of his kinship network.

While Williams characterizes Elizabeth as returning this office to the ranks of the aristocracy, as table 5.1 demonstrates she in fact staffed the post almost exclusively with members of her own family. Williams mistakenly identifies her first lord chamberlain as Edward lord Howard of Effingham.⁵⁴ Actually, this was William Howard 1st baron of Effingham and Elizabeth's half grand-uncle. The post then went in 1572 to his nephew, Thomas Radcliffe 3rd earl of Sussex, followed in 1584 by William Howard's son Charles, also Elizabeth's half first cousin once removed but more importantly the husband of Katherine Carey Howard, chief lady of the privy chamber since 1572.⁵⁵ Gurr makes the mistake of assuming that Henry Carey was acting as vice-chamberlain to his son-in-law in 1584.⁵⁶ Instead the vice-chamberlain was Carey's brother-in-law and Howard's

53 It is also possible that Elizabeth did not relish Francis's puritanism at her door day and night.

54 P.Williams, *The Later Tudors, England 1547-1603* (Oxford, 1995), p.126.

55 *HoP: House of Commons*, Hasler, p.344 (lists 1583-5). Charles had acted as deputy chamberlain during Radcliffe's illness.

56 Gurr, 'Three reluctant patrons and early Shakespeare', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 44 (1993), 162.

uncle by marriage Sir Francis Knollys who had held the post since 1559.⁵⁷ This is borne out by the warning to Henry Carey that by taking the chamberlainship Carey would ‘committ a great injurie to Mr Vicechamberlain, who hardlie will ever disgeste to be put from the place he hath so longe served for’.⁵⁸ After only a year, Charles traded the post to become lord high admiral. His father-in-law and Elizabeth’s closest male relative, Henry Carey took the post and held it until his death in 1596.⁵⁹ William Brooke 10th baron Cobham next filled the post for nine months until his own death in March 1597. Elizabeth then turned again to her own family appointing George Carey 2nd baron Hunsdon, son of Henry.

Although William Howard was a son of Thomas Howard, 2nd duke of Norfolk, his appointment as Elizabeth’s chamberlain was perhaps more a reflection of his relationship with Elizabeth during Mary’s reign than his aristocratic background.⁶⁰ As the Effinghams were a Marian creation and the Hunsdons Elizabethan, their aristocratic backgrounds were relatively short. Their appointments were instead based upon the confidence their relative the queen had in them rather than some reversion to ancient bloodlines.

⁵⁷ *APC 1558-1570*, p.43.

⁵⁸ Berkeley Castle MSS, Letters, vol. II, fols. 71-2 as printed on pp.282-5 in Stone, ‘Office’, 283-5.

⁵⁹ In 1585, Charles Howard became lord high admiral for life as well as lord lieutenant of both Surrey and Sussex.

⁶⁰ MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I*, p.40.

Elizabeth's Lord Chamberlains of the household					
Last Name	First Name	Took Office	Birth-Death	Relationship	Parents
Howard	William	1558	1510-1573	Half Granduncle	Thomas Howard 2 nd duke of Norfolk & Agnes Tilney Howard, duchess of Norfolk
Radcliffe	Thomas	1572	1526-1583	Half 1C1R	Henry Radcliffe, 2 nd earl of Sussex and Elizabeth Howard Radcliffe, countess of Sussex
Howard	Charles	1584	1536-1624	Half 1C1R and married to Katherine Carey Howard baroness Effingham (1C1R*)	William Howard 1 st baron Effingham & Margaret Gamage Howard baroness Effingham
Carey	Henry	1585	1526-1596	1 st Cousin	William Carey & Mary Boleyn
Brooke	Henry	1596	1526-1597		George Brooke, 9 th baron Cobham & Ann Bray baroness Cobham
Carey	George	1597	1546-1603	1C1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Ann Morgan baroness Hunsdon

Table 5.1 – Lord Chamberlains

Robert Vernon conveniently laid out the benefits and disadvantages to accepting the office of Chamberlain in 1585 in a letter to Henry Carey when he was deciding whether to accept the office. One of Vernon's chief concerns was that Carey might lose out financially if he had to give up the governorship of Berwick, a post worth £1,100. In the event, however, Carey was able to retain his salary, appointing his sons as deputies. In this way Berwick remained within Carey family control.⁶¹ The political advantages, meanwhile, were considerable, first and foremost being 'continuall presence aboute her Maiesties parson to take anie advauntage of tyme and occasion for havinge of sutes'.⁶² This final benefit is precisely the advantage enjoyed by the principal ladies of Elizabeth's household, an advantage consistently undervalued in the historiography.

Vernon's final set of considerations address Henry Carey's personal relationship with the queen, chief amongst them that as her close kinsman, the chamberlain's office would not in itself bring about any greater access or respect from Elizabeth.

⁶¹ Stone, 'Office', p.281.

⁶² Op.cit., p.282.

This indicates that the kinship relationship between them was both significant and widely acknowledged by contemporaries. However, as Vernon's post as supplier to the garrison of Berwick kept him removed from any practical personal experience of court and may well have given him a vested interest in opposing Carey's removal to London, his opinion may be open to questions. Nothing could substitute for being physically close to the centre of power, although this in itself could be a source of danger as Vernon also warned that a clash of Carey's and Elizabeth's volatile tempers might jeopardize his position.

Vernon's skepticism about the potential advantages that might accrue to Carey may go some way to support Wright's contention that the lord chamberlain was reduced to overseeing lodging at court and the organization of royal progresses and that there has not survived any evidence that this position was the target of suitors hoping to secure positions within the privy chamber. Her analysis that the post declined in influence is particularly relevant as the process of suing for positions inside the privy chamber switched from the lord chamberlain to the women who already held chamber posts. This became a female managed career trajectory.

The later generations

The Carey women with household posts managed the court careers of their daughters, nieces and granddaughters with a large degree of success. Four of Katherine Carey Knollys's daughters held court appointments. As mentioned above two of her daughters, Maud and Mary, may have found places in other elite households including the duchess of Suffolk's. Despite having eighteen granddaughters, evidence of court service exists for only two, Penelope and Dorothy Devereux although it is possible that two others were maids of honour, Elizabeth Leighton daughter of Elizabeth Knollys Leighton and Katherine Knollys daughter of Robert Knollys and Katherine Vaughan Knollys. Elizabeth Knollys Leighton certainly had an active court career and if her own case served as precedent then she would have had her daughter at court with her as

a maid of the chamber as she herself was when her mother joined the court. In the second case, Robert Knollys was a gentleman of the privy chamber and his wife was related to Blanche Parry.⁶³ In both cases the family was at court, had multiple relatives already serving and daughters within a reasonable age range. Surprisingly there is no evidence for any of the six daughters of Anne Knollys West and Thomas West 2nd baron De La Warre serving at court. The youngest daughter Lettice, probably born in 1590, would have been thirteen when the queen died, the same age her mother had been when she joined the court as a maid of the chamber. The family was at court so it is possible that the daughters were given posts but the archival evidence has not been uncovered or may not have survived. The daughters of Henry Knollys and Margaret Cave Knollys however, did not attend court and seem to have been educated at home under the supervision of their mother. Richard Knollys and his family lived in Stanford and did not attend court on a regular basis. The daughter of Katherine Knollys Fitzgerald may have spent a part of her youth in Ireland.

On the other side of the family, Henry Carey and Anne Morgan Carey's three daughters all served, two of them Katherine Carey Howard and Philadelphia Carey Scrope, for the whole reign. Of the eleven grand-daughters, all but one of Katherine Carey Howard's daughters served and even one of her great grand-daughters representing the fourth generation, Elizabeth Southwell, was a maid of honour by 1599.⁶⁴ The only one of Katherine Carey Howard's daughters who did not serve was Margaret Howard Leveson who may have been insane.⁶⁵ Neither Philadelphia nor Margaret had daughters. They did however have nieces. George

⁶³ Robert Knollys was a gentleman of the privy chamber by 1587. *HoP: House of Commons*, Hasler (ed.), vol. 2, p.417. Robert and Katherine married c.1585.

⁶⁴ Collins, *Sydney Papers*, vol. II, p.156; Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney. Court, 5 January 1598/9: 'The young faire Mrs Southwell, shall this Day be sworn Mayde of Honor.'

⁶⁵ R.Wisker, 'Leveson, Sir Richard (c. 1570-1605)', *ODNB*.

Carey and Elizabeth Spencer Carey had one daughter who, as the family was frequently at court and her mother was an unwaged lady-in-waiting, most likely was a maid of honour. In 1593 she would have been sixteen and her father was a member of parliament for Hampshire that session so it is likely that the family was at court, although by 1594 she may have been back on the Isle of Wight with her mother.⁶⁶ John Carey's eldest daughter, Anne, served as a maid of honour along with her cousin also named Anne Carey, daughter of Edmund. The remaining third generation grand-daughters were too young to participate at court.

Even though no second-generation Carey men seem to have been given household posts at the start of the reign, they did eventually formally join the household.⁶⁷ No discernable pattern has yet emerged regarding the timing of their posts. Almost all the second and third-generation men who received household posts had experience either as members of parliament or in military service before joining the household. The exception may have been Edmund Carey who became a gentleman of the privy chamber at the age of 19 in 1577 although it is likely that he saw some military action under his father on the Scottish border before this. The same year his younger brother Robert, 17 at the time, was part of an ambassadorial mission to the Netherlands, his elder brother George, 31, was granted first purchasing rights to Cornish tin while his father joined the privy council. Edmund was eventually promoted to esquire of the body in 1598 after an illustrious military career. Even without a formal appointment, the second-generation Henry Carey was frequently at court and received commissions from the queen regarding religious matters.⁶⁸

66 *D'Lisle & Dudley Papers*, p.173 Oct 15 1595 London.

67 Charles Howard was named gentleman of the privy chamber at the start of the reign although he did not marry Katherine Carey until 1563. *Complete Peerage*, vol. 9, p.782. See above chapter 4.

68 *CPR 1572-1575*, vol. vi, item 1995. *Rutland Papers*, vol. 1, pp.98-9.

In the same manner that female posts in the chamber were passed from generation to generation, male posts tended to run within the kinship network as well. As discussed above, the chamberlainship provides the clearest example. However, after Francis Knollys's death, his son William became comptroller of the household and then in 1602 treasurer of the household as well.⁶⁹ A third generation male example would be Charles Howard, son of Katherine Carey Howard and Charles Howard, who in 1598 at the age of 18, joined the band of gentlemen pensioners. He had already served in parliament the previous year and was married. Among his father's many other honours, he was named as lord steward of the household on 24 October 1597.⁷⁰

As this indicates, even with a portion of the second and third-generation Carey men deployed across other points of contact, it is clear that all the primary household posts available for men were held by Careys at some point in the reign. As discussed above, hierarchically the office of the chamberlainship provided the most potential for political influence. Additionally, the offices of the vice-chamberlainship, treasurer of the chamber, captain of the guards, captain of the gentlemen pensioners and knight marshal of the household were all held by Carey men.⁷¹ Only six second-generation Carey men appear to have held no household posts at all. Five of these had active military careers while the sixth was a parliamentarian leading to the conclusion that they were well-represented in the household by the rest of their family and instead pursued careers through other 'points of contact' which will be discussed in the next chapter.⁷²

69 Birch, *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth from the Year 1581 Till Her Death*, vol. 2, p.119; *HoP: House of Commons* (Hasler), pp.417-8. See appendix 5 for complete male household appointments.

70 *Complete Peerage*, vol. 9, p.784.

71 The other prominent male position officially a household post was master of the horse held first by Robert Dudley earl of Leicester and then by his 'Carey' step-son Robert Devereux earl of Essex. See chapter 4.

72 The six were Edward, Richard and Francis 'the younger' Knollys; Henry, Thomas and Michael Carey.

6 Kinship and government: the privy council, parliament, foreign service and military

Whether the monarch's household remained the centre of government during the Tudor era is debatable. According to Starkey, Elton's theory of the institutionalized privy council created a separation between the government and the household, while he himself argued that real political power continued to operate within the intimacy of the king's privy chamber although he does not extend this rebuttal into the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth.¹ Perhaps a touch of patriarchal prejudice is at play in both Elton's original assessment and Starkey's analysis of it, an assumption that with women on the throne for the last half of the century, governing must have separated from the female monarch's household. The machinery necessary to implement Elizabethan policies certainly continued to develop and in that sense there was an inevitable distancing of the royal household from enlarging administrative institutions. If, however, the definition of governing refers to political control, influence or regulation then there was significantly less division than the historiography assumes.

Privy Council

As an extension of royal will, the Elizabethan privy council was a political and governing force that appears to have functioned efficiently even if the archival sources do not provide a complete record of council table discussions. Henry VIII considered any subset of councilors in his vicinity to be his privy council even before the 1526 Eltham ordinances formally re-constituted this body.² During Henry's reign, the household offices of the lord chamberlain, vice-chamberlain, the treasurer and comptroller of the monarch's household, the secretary, the chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster and captain of the guard all became privy

1 Starkey, 'Court, council and nobility', p.175.

2 Starkey, 'Court, council and nobility', pp.191-2.

council posts. As originally conceived, this made practical sense as those officers would be available to provide counsel regardless of time or location. These same office-holders would, by consequence of birth, influence and wealth, be the men the monarch would most want to hear from on policy issues. While not all household officers were privy councillors and not all privy councillors held household posts, the core group of councillors available for regular meetings would have been those already resident at court.³ In this context, the distinction between the monarch's household and the privy council would have been fuzzy at best.

Elizabeth clearly saw the council as an appendage of her household, an appendage that managed a significant amount of day-to-day business as an extension of her royal authority but did not require her presence. This was only effective because she was intimately familiar with their kinship ambitions; a familiarity it would have been impossible to avoid given how many members of the council had family in the privy and bed chambers. At the same time, the privy councillors were exceptionally well-informed regarding the queen's wishes for the exact same reasons. This strong two-way channel of communication engendered trust, leading to an efficient decision-making process for the councillors. Starkey's conclusion that the 'road of the nobility to court thus lay, not through the privy chamber, but through the privy council' is a distinctly Henrician conclusion with no place in the Elizabethan historiography as her privy council was not only relatively static in membership but also included several gentlemen without noble title.⁴ The politically-savvy Elizabethan knew that in practice the road to court often lay through the women of her chambers or their male relatives. For example, Cecil, Walsingham Hatton and Knollys did not start their careers with the benefit of membership in the aristocracy yet all of them achieved household posts that qualified them for the privy council and all of them except Hatton had

³ Pullman, *The Elizabethan Privy Council*, pp.9-16 provides a brief history of the council.

⁴ Starkey, 'Court and council in Tudor England', p.202.

female kin attendant upon the queen.⁵

The non-household posts that automatically granted entrée to the privy council were the secretary, the chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and the lord high admiral. As originally conceived, the secretary was the queen's, not the council's, to manage the paperwork and correspondence of the monarchy. At the same time, the post guaranteed admission to the council as the secretary, at the very least, prepared the council agendas.⁶ By 1558, the chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster managed the estates and revenue descended to the crown from Henry IV that paid directly into the monarch's treasury. The ideal qualities of its chancellor were unswerving loyalty to the crown, preferably without any regional power-base of his own to tempt him to rise against the monarch. At the start of Elizabeth's reign, Ambrose Cave held this post but Francis Knollys was clearly angling for it.⁷ He satisfied all of the above criteria, plus his eldest son married Cave's daughter providing a kinship alliance to bolster his position. However, he was passed over and the office went instead to Ralph Sadler. The third post that retained a permanent position on the privy council but was not directly based in the household was lord high admiral. At the beginning of the reign Edward Fiennes de Clinton was the holder of this office.⁸ After his death in 1585,

5 Cecil's female court connections are discussed in the previous chapter. Walsingham was related to the Careys through his mother who married secondly John Carey brother of William Carey who had been married to Mary Boleyn. Walsingham's half brother, Edward Carey married Katherine Paget Knyvet Carey in 1568. She was a maid of honour as early as 1558 and lady of the bedchamber by 1567. See Merton 'Women who served' p.263; Goldsmith 'All the queen's women', p.267. Edward Carey was a groom of the privy chamber by 1563. See *HoP: House of Commons*, Hasler, p.546. Walsingham's wife Ursula St. Barbe Walsingham was also a lady of the court.

6 Read, *Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth*, p.120. Clearly the Cecils greatly expanded the role of secretary.

7 Cave had managed some of Elizabeth's estates during Mary's reign. See S.Jack, 'Cave, Sir Ambrose (c.1503-1568)', *ODNB; Papers Relating To Mary QoS*, pp.64-5.

8 Fiennes had held this office under both Edward VI and Mary I. See Nichols, *Progresses*, vol. 1, p.75, n.2.

this post went to a Carey kinship network male with a family history of naval experience, Charles Howard.⁹

In 1558, it was neither possible nor desirable for Elizabeth to assemble a privy council of princes of the blood as there were very few left alive.¹⁰ Even the highest-ranking aristocrat, Thomas Howard 4th duke of Norfolk, had to wait until 1562 for appointment to the privy council and then was admitted simultaneously with Robert Dudley. However, it was possible to compose a council of those ‘near of kin’ or those with whom she had strong personal relationships. MacCaffrey credits Cecil with honing the council ‘down to a tightly-organised administrative board that monopolised all routine government business, large and small, and included within its ranks all top-level political figures of the court’.¹¹ While this definition recognises the Careys as top-level political figures, more importantly they were the queen’s close kin. Henry Carey was in some sense an exception to the principles of privy council membership in that at first he held no qualifying household office; instead he held the higher ‘post’ of the queen’s nearest male relative, superseding the claim of the duke of Norfolk despite the latter’s precedence in the peerage. Although Carey had held positions in Elizabeth’s pre-1558 household, his first appointment in the new reign was master of the hawks, granted on 31 October 1560.¹² Nevertheless it would not be until 1577 that he was formally sworn to the privy council.

The critical mass of Carey cousins in the privy council comes in the years 1584-88 coincidental with the tumultuous run up to the Spanish Armada and including

9 His father was lord admiral under Mary I. His half uncle Thomas Howard 3rd duke of Norfolk was lord admiral under Henry VIII.

10 See appendix 2 for a list of royal relatives alive during the reign.

11 MacCaffrey, *War and Politics*, p.25.

12 *CPR 1558-1560*, p.415.

the death of Anjou, the assassination of William of Orange, Leicester's sojourn to the Netherlands and the execution of Mary Queen of Scots. It is relevant to note that during these increasingly-dangerous years family presence on the privy council increased. By this time, Francis Knollys, Henry Carey and Charles Howard had all joined the council.¹³ MacCaffrey refers to the eight members, including Henry Carey and Charles Howard who attended more than 100 times between Feb 1586 and March 1587 as the council's 'workhorses'.¹⁴ However, he omits Francis Knollys from this category despite his past record of near constant attendance. Michael Pullman writes that the council of the early seventies, including Knollys, met with near daily frequency and that he attended 'more than any other single councillor appearing at 372 meetings out of a possible 412'.¹⁵ Nothing drastic in Knollys's relationship with the queen or position within the household had changed between the 1570s and the 1580s. Archival sources in his hand survive from 1586, including a 6 July treatise on the queen's security written as treasurer of the household.¹⁶ His appointment jointly with Henry Norrys to be the queen's lieutenants in Oxfordshire and Berkshire with the city of Oxford which names him as treasurer of the queen's household and privy councillor, proves that he was still in her good graces.¹⁷ Why MacCaffrey overlooked Knollys in this context is therefore unclear.

As the older generation of cousins aged, Elizabeth turned to their sons. Children following parents was a model of privy council staffing that had precedence not

13 Of these, Knollys had served the longest joining the council 19 Jan 1559. See appendix 7 for more detail.

14 MacCaffrey, *War and Politics*, p.26. See also M.Pulman, *The Elizabethan Privy Council in the Fifteen Seventies*. (Berkeley, California, 1971); Williams, *The Tudor Regime*.

15 M.Pullman, *Elizabethan Privy Council*, referencing the period from 24 May 1570 to 29 June 1575, pp.165, 168.

16 BL Lansdowne MS 51, 12 fol.24.

17 *L&I Soc.*, vol. 295, *CPR 29 Elizabeth I (1586-1587)*, C 66/1286-1303, item 1263.

only in the aristocratic model of inheritance but also in the more immediate example of the privy and bed chamber where daughters frequently took over from mothers and aunts. In 1596 both William Knollys and George Carey were appointed to replace their fathers on the privy council.¹⁸ William's appointment was eight months after his father's death and George's five months.¹⁹ As a result by 1597 the Carey cousins on the council numbered four with Robert Devereux earl of Essex stepping into his stepfather Leicester's shoes when he joined the council in 1592. Essex's execution on 25 February 1601 changed the family representation and it was a year before another third-generation cousin, Thomas West, 3rd baron De La Warre, was sworn to the council.²⁰ While these numbers seem small, the Careys were always among the core 'workhorses' of the council involved in the daily management of the kingdom, their presence as ubiquitous as the Cecils.

Additionally, the links between the council table and the queen's household were like a close-knit web, tying council proceedings to the chambers with multiple overlapping relationships. It is impossible to escape the fact that the women of the chamber were in daily contact not only with the queen but also with her ministers who were also their husbands, brothers, fathers and sons. It has been recognized that William Cecil, by consequence of his wife and sisters-in-law's service to Elizabeth, had significant opportunities for communicating to, from and about the queen.²¹ The Careys, by virtue of their numbers, had significantly more female representatives within the royal household and, potentially, significantly more opportunities for communication.

18 For Knollys see Birch, *Memoirs*, p.119; *HoP: House of Commons*, Hasler, pp.417-8. For Carey see *Complete Peerage*, vol. 6, p.630.

19 See appendix 3 for birth-death dates; appendix 7 for privy council dates.

20 March 1602. *Complete Peerage*, vol. 4, p.160.

21 P.Croft, 'Mildred, Lady Burghley : the matriarch', in Croft, P. (ed.), *Patronage, Culture and Power: The Early Cecils* (2002), 283-300.

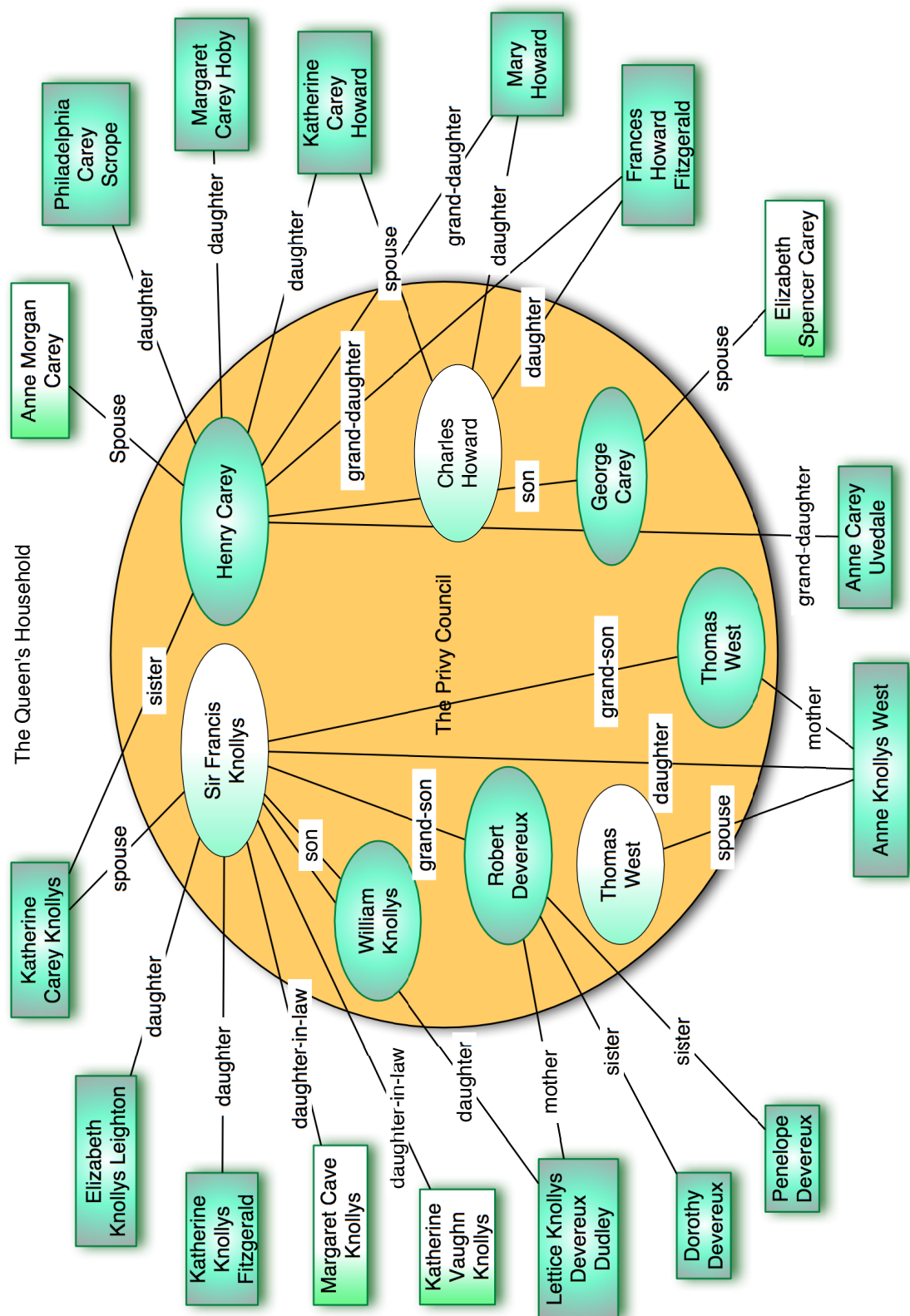


Figure 6.1 - Carey kinship privy councilors and their female relations serving in the royal household.

It would be impossible to represent every relationship.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Elizabeth Knollys Leighton's knowledge of privy council business is evident from her letter to Dr Julius Caesar with its casual comment that 'it will Apeare to you by the counsels lettars'.²² Clearly she had read the letters and either enclosed hers with the council's or enclosed the council's letter with her own. In either case, she had access to the business of the council and was participating in implementing its decisions. Hers is not the only example of female knowledge and participation in consiliar activities. In September 1596, Philadelphia Carey Scrope wrote to her husband that, having interviewed the men, who were to report to the privy council regarding a land deal gone awry, she decided they were untrustworthy and so 'I wel do my best to kepe them from coming before the Cunsel tel I here from you agayne'.²³ The implication that as a lady of the chamber and kin to the queen she could influence the privy council's agenda is inescapable.

Another example of female influence comes in 1600 as reported by Sir John Talbot in a letter to Robert Cecil. In this case, Talbot and Frances Howard countess of Kildare were under threat of suit and Talbot turned to Howard for political support with the privy council. 'Having acquainted her therewith', he wrote, 'she promised to procure the Council's letters to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, to the effect of the enclosed copy'.²⁴ Talbot's contribution was to send the supporting documentation to Robert Cecil as Howard did not want to trouble her father Charles Howard, the lord admiral and earl of Nottingham, who was in mourning for a brother. This goes beyond influence to action: while Howard could have used her father to move the privy council on her behalf, in this particular instance she used other means, perhaps her uncle George Carey,

22 BL Additional MS 12506 fol. 436 [old fol. 421] Elizabeth Knollys Leighton to Julius Caesar, judge of the Admiralty Court, 21 Aug 1593. See appendix 10 for transcription.

23 *Border Papers*, vol. 2, item 117.

24 *Cecil Papers*, vol. 10, p.310.

to procure the council's support and, with a confidence born from familiarity she was sure she could achieve the desired results. This implies that female relations of the council members regularly and successfully conducted business with the privy council. This is interesting because not only did Howard get the item onto the council's agenda but also obtained council action in her and Talbot's favour.

While Elton emphasised that the stability the privy council provided to the monarchy was its outward gaze, MacCaffrey extends that gaze to practical outreach by casting justices of the peace as those responsible for administering and implementing the multitude of orders generated by the council as well as regulatory statutes.²⁵ Although Pulman notes that all the privy councillors were also justices of the peace, it was also true that in practice this function was farmed out to the councillors' kinship networks.²⁶ While Cecil held the most posts as an individual justice of the peace, the Careys held the most within a single kinship network.²⁷ This extension of the family as a governmental structure thus started in the chamber, extended to the council table and thence outward to the justices of the peace.

25 Elton, 'Points of contact: the council', 118; MacCaffrey, *War and Politics*, pp.24-5.

26 Pulman, *Elizabethan Privy Council*, p.21.

27 See table 6.1.

Justice of the Peace					
Last Name	First Name	Birth-Death	Date	Place	Relationship/Spouse
Carey	Edmund	1558-1637	1592	Northants	1C1R*
Carey	George	1546-1603	1580	Hertfordshire	1C1R*
			1584	Middlesex and Hants.	
Carey	Henry	1526-1596	1562	Bedford	1 st Cousin
Carey	John	1551-1617	1594	Cambridgeshire	1C1R*
Carey	Robert	1560-1639	1596	Northumberland	1C1R*
			1601	and Durham	
Hoby	Edward	1560-1617	1591	Middlesex	Margaret Carey Hoby
Howard	Charles	1536-1624	1573	Surrey	Half 1C1R and married to Katherine Carey Howard baroness Effingham, countess of Nottingham
Howard	Charles	1579-1642	1601	Surrey	1C2R*
Knollys 'the younger'	Francis	1553-1648	1593	Berkshire	1C1R*
Knollys	Henry	1541-1582	1574	Warwickshire	1C1R*
			1578	Oxfordshire	
Knollys	Robert	1550-1619	1585	Brecknockshire	1C1R*
Knollys	William	1545-1632	1577	Gloucestershire	1C1R*
			1582	Wiltshire	
			1583	Oxfordshire	
			1594	Berkshire	
Leighton	Thomas	1535-1616	1601	Worcester	Elizabeth Knollys Leighton
Leveson	Richard	1570-1605	1594	Salop and Staffordshire	Margaret Howard Leveson
Perrot	Thomas	1553-1594	1575	Pembrokeshire	Dorothy Devereux Perrot
Scrope	Thomas	1567-1609	1593	Cumberland	2C1R* and married to Philadelphia Carey Scrope baroness Scrope
Southwell	Robert	1563-1599	1585	Norfolk, Suffolk	Elizabeth Howard Lady Southwell
West	Thomas	1550-1602	1582	Hants.	Anne Knollys West baroness De La Warre
			1596	Sussex	

Table 6.1 - Justice of the Peace

All references are from *HoP: House of Commons, 1558–1603* (Hasler) except; for Henry Carey see *CPR 1560-63*, p.433; for Robert Southwell see H.Smith, *County and Court: Government and Politics in Norfolk, 1558-1603*, (Oxford, 1974), p.368. Sir Francis Knollys was JP 1547-1554 but does not appear to have held this post under Elizabeth; Perrot's appointment as JP pre-dates his marriage into the family.

As a family prerogative, the authority and independence of action accorded justices of the peace was considered sacrosanct. William Knollys condemned a 1597-98 parliamentary attack on the post in strong terms, echoing; ‘I much marvel that men will of dare accuse Justices of the Peace, ministers to her Majesty without whom the commonwealth cannot be. If this boldness go on they will accuse judges, and lastly the seat of justice itself’.²⁸ In drawing a direct connection between an assault on the authority of the justices of the peace and the ultimate authority of the queen his cousin, he was extending his kinship’s governing interests and reinforcing family participation in running the kingdom. This entwining of family interest, maintaining the authority of posts they occupied, and the crown’s interest, the ‘seat of justice itself’, again dissolves distinction between dynastic and national policy.

Parliament

The queen, always aware of the value of pageantry, used her ceremonial entry into Parliament as yet one more opportunity to surround herself with family, emphasising their importance to her government. Her 1566 entry is described by Sir Simonds d’Ewes:

Apparelled in her parliamentary robes she entered with her mantle born up on either side from her shoulders by the lord chamberlain and the lord of Hunsdon who also stood by her for the assisting thereof; when she stood up, her train was born by Lady Strange assisted by Sir Francis Knollys.²⁹

Although the number of privy councillors under Elizabeth was few, Parliament

²⁸ Hartley, *Elizabeth’s Parliaments*, p.158 quoting BL Stowe MS 362, fols. 180v, 183, 184v-6.

²⁹ S.d’Ewes, *Journal of the House of Lords*, October 1566, pp.95-103. In 1566, the lord chamberlain was her half grand uncle, William Howard 1st baron Effingham. Lady Strange was Margaret Clifford Stanley, daughter of Eleanor Brandon Clifford countess of Cumberland and Elizabeth’s first cousin once removed on the royal side.

provided a larger and growing arena for extending kinship network influence. The increase in seats during Elizabeth's reign has been attributed to a recognition by the crown that additional manpower was needed to manage increased legislative business.³⁰ It was only natural that the Careys be deployed across this point of contact to aid in the management of Elizabeth's kingdom and the *History of Parliament Papers* duly reports that the Careys, even without their Knollys relations, were the largest family group.³¹ Although, MacCaffrey claims that it was the Knollyses, without their Carey relations, who were the largest group, taken together there can be no doubt that they were the largest dynastic group in the House of Commons.³² Katherine Carey Knollys and Francis Knollys had six sons and two grandsons who were members of Elizabethan parliaments. Henry Carey and Ann Morgan Carey had six sons and three grandsons who were members.³³ The average age of Carey men upon entering their first parliament was twenty-five. Fourteen of these twenty-nine men became members after they married; five of these the same year that they married.³⁴ With the addition of sons-in-law and grandsons-in-law for a total of twenty-nine members, the combined Carey family interest must have been a dominating influence.

30 Williams, *Later Tudors*, p.137.

31 *HoP: House of Commons* (Hasler), p.410.

32 MacCaffrey, 'Knollys, Sir Francis (1511/12–1596)', *ODNB*.

33 See figure 6.2.

34 The date of William Carey's marriage to Martha Turner Carey is unknown.

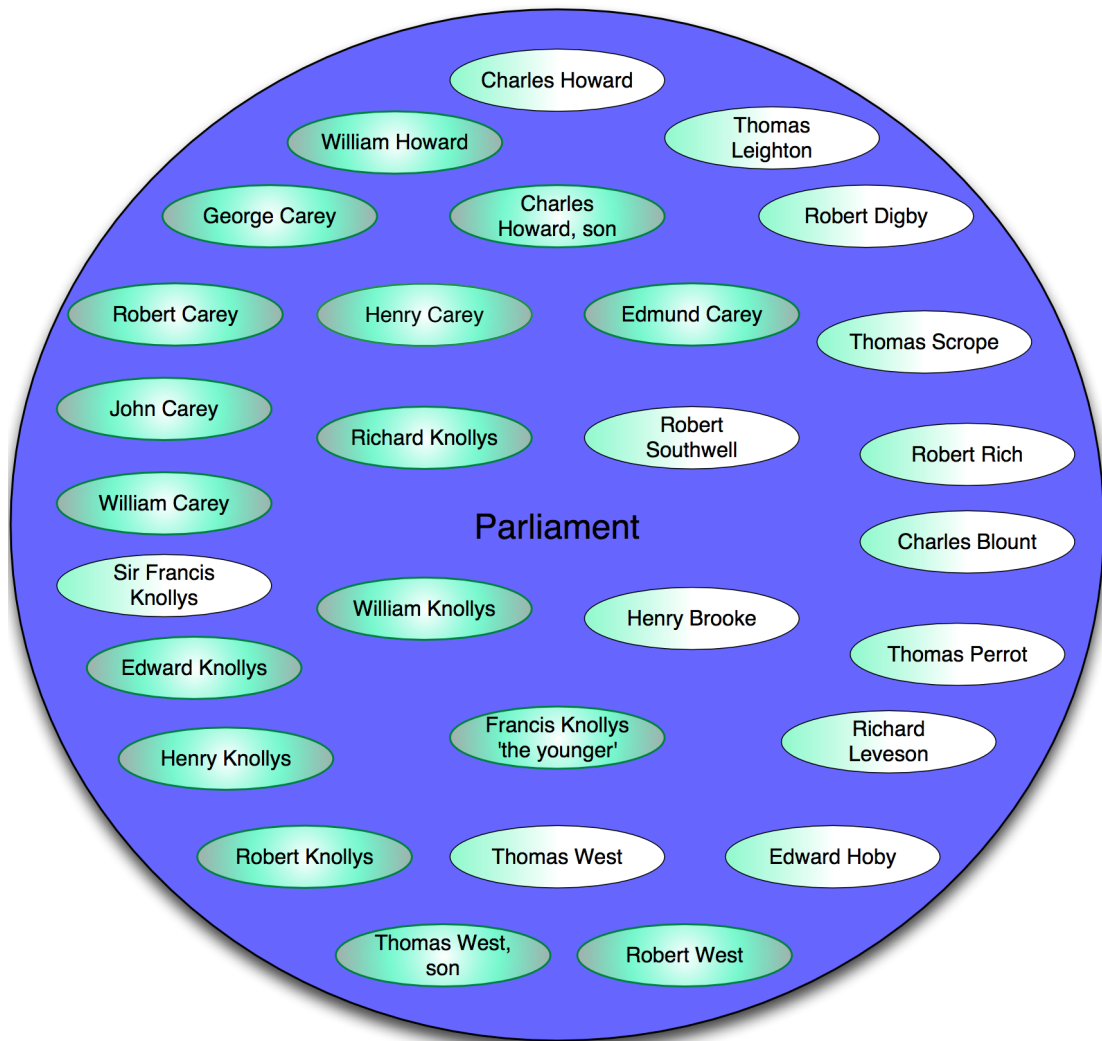


Figure 6.2 - Carey men in the House of Commons³⁵

Despite this omnipresence of Careys, the *History of Parliament Papers* identifies only one member of the Carey kinship network, Thomas West 2nd baron De La Warre, as a member for the 1576 and 1581 sessions.³⁶ In the preceding session of 1572 it lists ten Carey kinship members and ten for the succeeding session of 1584. Of the 1572 members, three had died by 1584, Henry Carey the younger in 1581 who sat for Buckingham, Edward Knollys in 1575 who sat for Oxford and Henry Knollys in 1582 who represented Oxfordshire. The family replenished

³⁵ Robert Dudley earl of Leicester is not represented here. Neither is Henry Carey baron Hunsdon who sat in the Commons before his elevation to the peerage but not after.

³⁶ The dates of representation at the top of the individual biographies reveal this gap. However on p.410 within the biography of Sir Francis Knollys is the following comment; 'From 1565 to 1586 there was always a Knollys sitting for Reading.'

their ranks by adding William Carey who sat for Morpeth, John Carey who took over Buckingham after his brother's death and Richard Knollys who represented Wallingford.³⁷ Francis Knollys 'the younger' took over the Oxford seat in 1584, 1586 and 1589 before representing Berkshire in 1593. In addition, Thomas Scrope, representing Cumberland at the age of seventeen, was added to the Carey family ranks through his 1584 marriage to Philadelphia Carey.³⁸ There is no reason to suspect that the family purposely avoided the 1576 and 1581 sessions nor that they were somehow evicted from all their seats. Additionally, D'Ewes records Sir Francis Knollys's presence in both the intervening sessions, leading to the conclusion that the History of Parliament has some omissions.³⁹

Clearly, some seats were passed from father to son or, brother to brother. Three different Knollys men sat for Reading and three were knights of the shire for Oxfordshire.⁴⁰ Four different Careys represented Buckingham, while three different Howards sat for Surrey.⁴¹ Although Oxford was a Knollys seat for most of the reign, in 1593 Edmund Carey held the seat for one parliament. By the next

37 *The HoP: House of Commons* (Hasler) presents yet another inconsistency. Edward Knollys's death date is listed as 1575 with him probably dying in Ireland serving under his brother-in-law the earl of Essex. Francis 'the younger' is listed as taking over the seat midway through the 1572 session because his brother has died. Edward had been too ill in 1568 to help his father guard Mary Queen of Scots so perhaps he was too ill to continue in the 1572 session. The chance that he recovered sufficiently to participate in military activities in Ireland however seems unlikely.

38 Thomas Scrope was also the queen's second cousin once removed through his mother Margaret Howard Scrope, a great-granddaughter of Thomas Howard 2nd duke of Norfolk.

39 d'Ewes, *Journal of the House of Commons: November 1584*, *The Journals of All the Parliaments During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth (1682)*, for 1576 see pp.236-251; for 1581 see pp.277-290.

40 Henry Knollys sat first for Reading in 1563; Robert first in 1572 and Francis 'the younger' first in 1572. Sir Francis Knollys first in 1563; Henry Knollys in 1572; and William Knollys in 1584.

41 For Buckingham, Edmund Carey, Henry Carey baron Hunsdon, Henry Carey his son, and John Carey. For Surrey, Charles Howard baron Effingham and his two sons William and Charles Howard.

parliament in 1597, Edmund represented Buckingham, a Carey stronghold.⁴² This supports the thesis that the two sides of the family considered themselves one kinship network with Edmund temporarily covering the Oxford seat on behalf of the greater family interest. The Carey presence was further extended through their clientele. The creation of six boroughs for the Isle of Wight during George Carey's tenure as captain, which was a direct result of his relationship with the queen, is an example.⁴³ The Careys seem to have managed their parliamentary network in a confident, even autocratic, manner as when George Carey ordered the committee on the Isle of Wight to send him a letter nominating members of parliament but to leave all the names blank so that he could fill in his choices at his leisure.⁴⁴

Individually, Sir Francis Knollys' extensive parliamentary career stands out and was clearly political, not ceremonial. As both an officer of the queen's household and council, and a close member of the family, he was placed in the position of trying to explain the queen to parliament and parliament to the queen. He was also the most senior member of the Commons responsible for nominating speakers and managing crown business. He represented Arundel in 1559 and was knight of the shire for Oxfordshire at all subsequent sessions. He found himself frequently upholding the queen's prerogatives and communicating her wishes to the House as in 1566 when he relayed her order to the Commons that they cease debate of the succession.⁴⁵ While we cannot be certain that had he not been

42 By 1597, the Oxford seat had gone to Anthony Bacon, son of Anne Cooke Bacon with William Knollys as his patron maintaining knight of the shire status for Oxfordshire. Henry Carey baron Hunsdon first sat for Buckingham in 1547.

43 Graves, *Tudor Parliaments*, p.133.

44 W.Long (ed.), *The Oglander Memoirs: Extracts From the MSS. of Sir J. Oglander, kt. of Nunwell, Isle of Wight*. (1888), pp.xiii – xiv.

45 *HoP: House of Commons*, Hasler, p.412. Sir Francis Knollys's parliamentary career has been written about extensively and therefore will not be covered in detail here. See the *HoP: House of Commons* biography, which is one of the longest included in that work and P.Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (1967), passim.

the queen's kinsman he would have supported reforming the Book of Common Prayer, it would have been in keeping with his reputation as a religious radical. Nevertheless, he spoke against it on the basis that it would violate the queen's authority on such matters.⁴⁶ In this case, he put the queen's policy before his personal inclination as an alignment of the family with the crown. The family was uniquely attuned to the queen's possible reactions to activities in the Commons. In the last Elizabethan parliament, William Knollys spoke against the reading of a bill regarding the control of arms sales because he anticipated Elizabeth's negative reaction, warning 'we must note that her self and her prerogative will not be forced'.⁴⁷

George Carey similarly championed Elizabeth's interests in the Commons, speaking in favour of the subsidy in March 1593 on the grounds that the Spanish were arming the Scots and the queen required support to protect her subjects whom the members of parliament were meant to represent.

The Spaniard already hath sent seven thousand Pistolets of Gold into Scotland to corrupt the Nobility, and to the King twenty thousand Crowns now lately were dispatched out of France into Scotland for the Levying of three thousand, which the Scottish Lords have promised; and the King of Spain will Levy thirty thousand more, and give them all Pay. Her Majesty is determined to send Sir Francis Drake to Sea to encounter them with a great Navy. Wherefore this our danger is to be prevented, and those her Majesties infinite Charges by us to be supplied.⁴⁸

Although George was not yet a privy councilor he was clearly privy to their deliberations as well as the queen and his detailed report lent credence to his

⁴⁶ Read, *Mr. Secretary Cecil*, p.131.

⁴⁷ Hartley, *Elizabeth's Parliaments*, p.160.

⁴⁸ d'Ewes, '*Journal of the House of Commons, March 1593*', pp.479-513.

argument. As the Careys were so intimately involved with Anglo-Scottish border relations, he was the perfect advocate to mobilize the Commons to grant a sufficiently large subsidy even though, in this parliament, he sat for the southern county of Hampshire.

The influence of Elizabethan parliaments on national policy has been difficult to assess because of the limited nature of the archival sources.⁴⁹ As the official journal of the Commons does not record how each member voted, nor details records of the debates, and d'Ewes, by his own admission 'enlarged and supplied many things in matter of form, which are not found in the original Journal-book of the same', deciphering factional politics within the house based on official records is tricky at best.⁵⁰ Perhaps this is why historians have focussed on the patronage component of staffing the commons as a method for interpreting the internal politics.⁵¹ The large number of MPs can easily lead to the conclusion that parliamentary influence upon national political policy was equally large. However, it remains unclear whether that was the case. Elton concluded that parliament was not the centre of public affairs.⁵² Elizabeth's parliaments were called primarily, if intermittently, for one reason, the voting of a subsidy for the crown. Loyally, the Commons unfailingly voted in her favour on this issue which was also close to the heart of her extended family and financial dependents, the Carey MPs. Elizabeth's protectiveness of the royal prerogative as well as her distinction that debate of affairs of estate be conducted only on topics introduced on her behalf, meant that the political power of parliament on the national stage was circumscribed.⁵³

49 For discussion of this issue see N.Jones, 'Parliament and the governance of Elizabethan England: a review', *Albion* 19 (1987) 327-346.

50 d'Ewes, *Journal of the House of Commons: January 1559*, p.37.

51 See for example, Adams, 'The Dudley clientele'; R.Kenny, 'Parliamentary influence of Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham, 1536-1624', *Journal of Modern History* 3 (1967), 216-232; Graves, 'The Common lawyers'.

52 G.Elton, *The Parliament of England, 1559-1581* (1989), p.ix.

53 Elton, *The Parliament of England*, p.343.

Foreign Service

The queen made the Anglo-Scottish border the Careys particular area of expertise starting with the appointment of Henry Carey as governor of Berwick-upon-Tweed on 25 August 1568.⁵⁴ However his foreign activities started much earlier. As previously stated he served under John Dudley viscount Lisle both in a military capacity and as a member of his embassy to France in 1546. He was also a member of William Parr marquess of Northampton's 1551 embassy to France.⁵⁵ It is possible that he was in Frankfurt on 3 January 1559 with John Grey of Pyrgo.⁵⁶ However, as he was definitely at the Tower of London on 13 January for his creation as baron of Hunsdon, the post horses and channel winds would have had to have been very favourable for him to return in time.⁵⁷ His next foreign assignment of note was conveyance of the Order of the Garter to the king of France at Lyons in 1564.⁵⁸ Despite the availability of higher-ranked peers, his status as the queen's nearest male relative acted as a counterbalance to his relatively recent and lowly ranking in the peerage. His previous French experience must also have added weight to the mix. He was well received and while he was there conducted negotiations regarding the freeing of prisoners of war and the rampant piracy.⁵⁹ In 1582 he was sent with Leicester and his son-in-law Charles Howard to fetch the duke of Anjou as part of Elizabeth's complex matrimonial manoeuvres.⁶⁰ In this case, she referred collectively to her envoys 'cousins' so the image portrayed was one of Elizabeth sending her family to meet her perspective bridegroom.

⁵⁴ *Complete Peerage*, vol. 6, p.628.

⁵⁵ See chapter 3.

⁵⁶ Garrett, *Marian Exiles*, p.190.

⁵⁷ *CPR 1558-1560*, p.60.

⁵⁸ *Complete Peerage*, vol. 6, p.628.

⁵⁹ *CSP-Foreign*, June 1564, pp.16-30 items 521, 522, 523, 524.

⁶⁰ *CSP-Foreign*, 6 February 1582, pp.478-491.

As governor of Berwick-upon-Tweed, Henry Carey's responsibilities were both military and diplomatic as the garrison was the staging point for English espionage activities in Scotland.⁶¹ When his wife, Anne Morgan Carey, arrived in Berwick, she assisted her husband taking it on herself to lobby Cecil for more funds to support the garrison.⁶² Carey's understanding of the border situation and familiarity with Scottish politics made him a sound choice to meet the earl of Arran in 1584 as part of Elizabeth's efforts to manipulate Scottish politics in the wake of the 1582 Ruthven Raid.⁶³ George and Robert Carey and their cousin William Knollys were sent on multiple missions to Scotland during this period.⁶⁴ Additionally, he brought to Berwick his new son-in-law, Edward Hoby, who was also used on confidential missions to James until the king developed an inconvenient fondness for him.⁶⁵ Deploying her Carey cousins on missions of this sort assured the queen that there would be no conspiring with foreign dignitaries or possible usurpation of her throne, which was always a concern with royal relations. In this case, family relationship was the predicate for implementing foreign policy. Elizabeth advertised their close relationship in letters of introduction as testament of their commitment to her policies and therefore trustworthiness writing to James VI of William Knollys 'who I dare promise is of no faction beside my will'.⁶⁶ This emphasis provided the Careys with sufficient

61 H. Wallace, 'Berwick in the reign of Queen Elizabeth', *English Historical Review*, 46 (1931), 85.

62 *Cecil Papers*, vol. 1, p.372. 14 Nov 1568.

63 *Letters and Papers Relating to Patrick Master of Gray*, pp.12-18. I am grateful to Dr. Simon Adams for this reference. Also Hammer, *Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics*, p.155.

64 *Gray Papers*, p.174; *Collected Works*, p.266. The cousins went on missions to Scotland, France and the Netherlands throughout the reign. See appendix 8.

65 Edward Hoby married Margaret Carey on 21 May 1582. Hoby's mother was Elizabeth Cooke and so he enjoyed the patronage of the Cookes and the Cecils in addition to the Careys. Knafla, 'Hoby, Sir Edward (1560-1617)', *ODNB*.

66 See *Calendar of Scottish Papers 1585-1586*, p.687, item 1173; p.694, item 1189; *Collected Works*, p.266-7; p.296. BL Additional MS 23240, fol. 23 reprinted in *Collected Works*, p.267.

status to compensate for their lack of titles, at least in the eyes of a foreign court if not in their pockets.

Perhaps one of the most uncomfortable foreign assignments was given to Robert Carey when Elizabeth sent him to James after the execution of Mary Queen of Scots. While Robert was not immediately admitted to Scotland, he did eventually reach the king in May 1588 with a letter dated 17 February 1586 that opened:

My dear Brother, I woulde you knewe (though not felt) the extreme Dolor that overwhelmes my Minde for that miserable Accident, which (farre contrary to my Meaning) hath befallen. I have now sent Sir Robert Carew, this Kinsman of mine, whome, ere now, yt hath pleased you to favour, to instruct you truly of that which is too irksome for my Penne to tell you.⁶⁷

On the surface sending the youngest son of a baron as one's messenger might be taken as insincere, even insulting. However, her choice of messenger was based on two criteria; first, Robert was a near relation and second, James had developed an amiable working relationship with him. According to Robert, by 1598 James considered any family member, regardless of their official position, more trustworthy than career diplomats to communicate between the two monarchs.

My brother John Cary, that was then Marshall of Berwick was sent by the King of Scottes to desire him that he would meet his Majestie at the bound rode at a day appointed; for that he had a matter of great importance to acquaint his sister the Queene of England withall, but he would not trust the Queen's Embassadour with it, nor any other, unless it were my father, or some of his children.⁶⁸

The outcome of this incident also highlights the Careys's intimate understanding of the queen. John sent word to James that he could not meet him without

⁶⁷ Haynes, *State Papers*, vol. 1, pp.246-7.

⁶⁸ Carey, *Memoirs*, Mares (ed.), p.69.

Elizabeth's permission, so he sent word to his father at court who then passed the request to Elizabeth. Elizabeth decided to have John remain at Berwick and send Robert instead, but Robert, who was currently out of favour because he had recently married without permission, asked for the instructions on paper in case she changed her mind afterwards and decided to 'hang me'.⁶⁹ Robert knew his royal cousin well enough to know that she could use the situation to set him up for an official reprimand for going to Scotland in lieu of a personal scolding over his marriage – a scolding he received nevertheless upon his return but which was mitigated by the queen's curiosity regarding the contents of James's message.⁷⁰

Francis Knollys's foreign experience in contrast seems to have focused more on his ability to assess military affairs. He was sent to Le Havre in 1563 to report on the state of the army under Ambrose Dudley earl of Warwick during the futile attempt to regain Calais, or at least to retain English possession of continental land.⁷¹ The Spanish ambassador accurately reported that the news was not good.⁷² The use of Knollys, who at the time was vice-chamberlain of the household, indicates that Elizabeth had confidence in his military knowledge regardless of his official post. He was used in this capacity again in 1566 when he was sent to Ireland to evaluate the performance of and advise Sir Henry Sidney as lord deputy of Ireland. This aspect of his career has been overlooked in the historiography that has focused more on his parliamentary interests and puritanical tendencies.

As a member of the household, privy council and parliament with first-hand knowledge of military preparedness, Knollys was exceptionally well-informed. He

⁶⁹ Op.cit. p.71.

⁷⁰ Carey, *Memoirs*, Mares (ed.), p.70.

⁷¹ *CSP-Foreign 1563*, pp. 436-448, items 454, 977, 978.

⁷² *CSP-Spanish 1558-1567*, p.340, Bishop Quadra to the King, London 26 June 1563.

had in fact been considered briefly as a candidate for the permanent ambassador post in France and was rejected because he lacked the financial means the queen expected of her ambassadors.⁷³ By 1574, Knollys was lobbying for additional financial support on behalf of his son-in-law Walter Devereux earl of Essex, who was governor of Ulster and earl marshal of Ireland. Elizabeth consistently supported the Carey family but only up to a certain point. This was an example, as her reason for denying the title of Deputy of Ireland to Devereux was that she did not want to elevate anyone with hereditary lands to a position where they could threaten her own authority.⁷⁴ It is tempting to wonder if Elizabeth was also being cautious regarding her cousin Lettice Knollys Devereux's ambitions and bloodlines. Given the opportunity, would the couple's aspirations have led them to set up their own court in Ireland? This was one of Elizabeth's concerns in February 1586 when Lettice was rumoured to be assembling staff and supplies to set up a court with her second husband Leicester in the Low Countries.⁷⁵

After the 1570's, Francis Knollys's participation in foreign affairs appears to be entirely domestically-based, receiving ambassadors both privately, and at court and preparing memorandums on policies.⁷⁶ As he was now in his sixties this may have been in consideration of his health. His earlier active career in Elizabeth's service is enough in itself to refute Naunton's rather dismissive remark that the Knollys side of the family owed their influence mainly to 'the court and carpet, and not by the genius of the camp'.⁷⁷ As figure 6.3 demonstrates, both sides of the Carey kinship network were actively involved in military and diplomatic service to the crown.

⁷³ MacCaffrey, 'Sir Francis Knollys', *ODNB*.

⁷⁴ Devereux, *Lives and Letters of the Devereux*, vol. 1, pp.51-2.

⁷⁵ *Leycester's Correspondence*, pp.111-112, 143.

⁷⁶ For examples see MacCaffrey, 'Knollys, Sir Francis', *ODNB*; *CPR 1572-75*, vol. 6, item 212; *CPR 1580-82*, vol.9, item 2115.

⁷⁷ Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia* (1814), p.60.

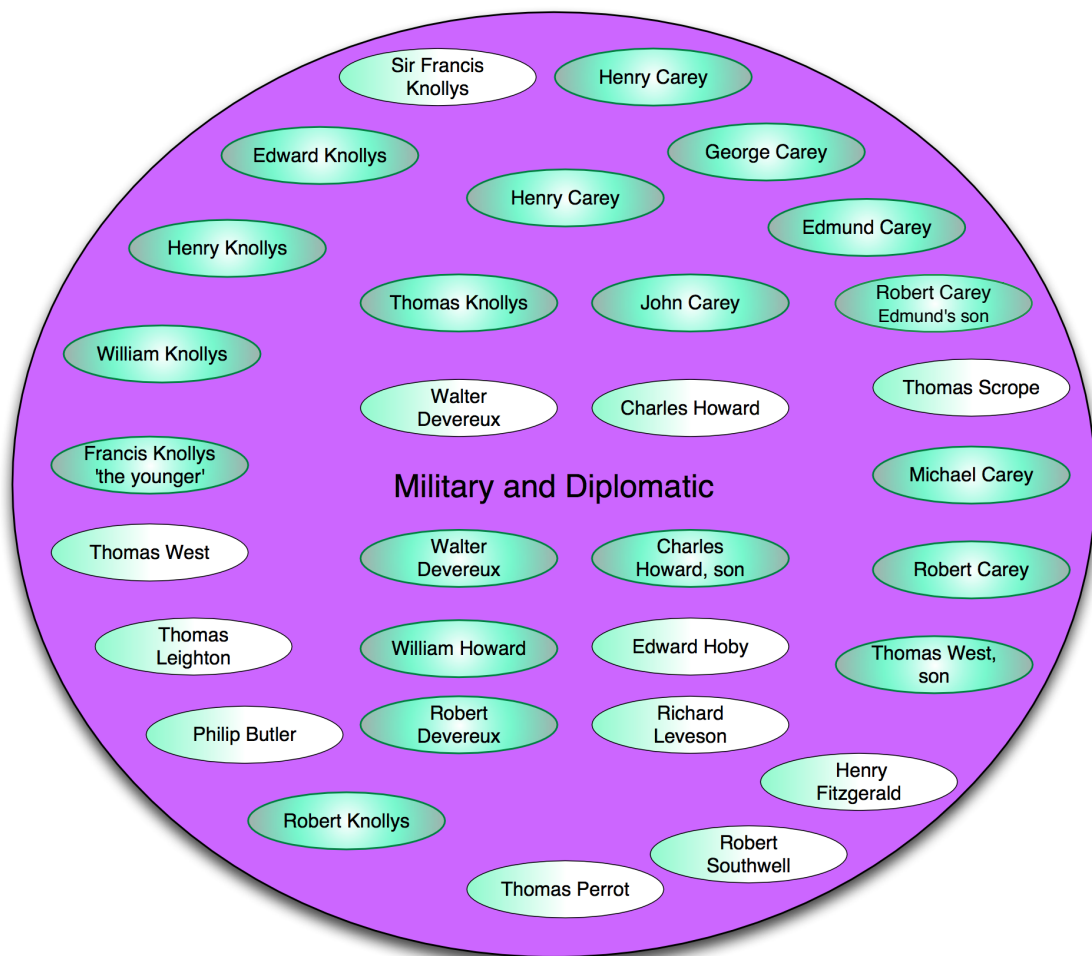


Figure 6.3 Carey men who participated in military and diplomatic activities.

Military Service

As a 'point of contact', military service offered numerous opportunities for the many Carey sons and grandsons. Fathers and sons, brothers and cousins fought together in conflicts on the Scottish border, in Ireland, on the continent and on the high seas. One of the earliest Carey military victories of the reign was Henry Carey's participation in the suppression of the northern earls. As Elizabeth's succession to Mary's throne was accomplished without armed conflict, the 1569 rebellion presented the first opportunity for military defense of her throne.

Although command of the northern army was placed under the earl of Sussex, he was ably assisted by the extended family including Walter Devereux earl of Essex as high marshal of the field, Charles Howard as general of the horse with Henry Knollys as his lieutenant; William Knollys was a captain and his cousins George

and Michael Carey served under their father. When Leonard Dacre attempted the second phase of the rebellion in early 1570, Henry Carey, as governor of Berwick, was geographically well-placed to mount a rapid response team. His prowess in this conflict earned him the following postscript to a more formal letter from the queen.

I doubt much, my Harry, whether that the victory were given me more joyed me or that you were by God appointed the instrument of my glory, and I assure you for my country's good the first might suffice, but for my heart's contentation the second more pleased me.

Your loving kinswoman⁷⁸

Her use of the familiar name 'Harry', so in keeping with her tendency to refer to her favourites by nicknames, clearly places him within the ranks of those with whom she maintained an intimate relationship. The merging of the state and the personal, so well articulated in this note carried over into all 'points of contact' therefore reveals a great deal about Elizabeth's feelings regarding her family's support of her throne.

While at least seven of the Careys had participated in the previous year's conflict, a contemporary, if florid, account written by Thomas Churchyard describes a foray on the Scottish border in May 1570 with a listing of participants that reads like a family gathering. 'Sir George Carye, M. William Knowle, M. Henry Cary, M. Robert Knowlls, M. Michell Carye and a Captaine Carye' whose first name is unknown but was probably younger brother John.⁷⁹ Of the thirteen names of captains and gentlemen listed six were Carey cousins. Following a parley between the commander William Drury and the Scottish general Lord Fleming

⁷⁸ *Collected Works*, pp.125–6.

⁷⁹ Churchyard, *Chippes*, fol. 39.

during which shots were fired at Drury, George Carey wrote to Lord Fleming challenging him to single combat, accompanied by a threat to trumpet Fleming's dishonour across Europe if he refused.⁸⁰ That he decided to issue a challenge to single combat might be attributed to his estimation of his place within his cousin's kingdom; he acted as if personally responsible for upholding English honour on behalf of queen and country. Interestingly, Fleming refused the challenge on the basis that Carey was a lowly soldier and not his equal and offering another gentleman of his company to meet Carey in battle, even though Carey had been knighted by Sussex for his prowess on the field during the previous year's rebellion. Presumably Fleming either did not want to enter single combat at all denying responsibility for the attack on Drury, or did not want to do so against one of the queen's kinsmen, which he knew Carey to be.⁸¹ Despite this, Fleming was an established member of the Scottish aristocracy while Carey was the son a newly-made baron and did not even have the grace of a courtesy title. The social distinction inherent in the situation would have been enough for Fleming to refuse without consideration of Carey's kinship to the queen. Nevertheless, Carey maintained his birth was as good as Fleming's and in fact now superior as it was without the dishonour Carey now ascribed to Fleming's conduct.⁸²

The Careys found themselves very busy on the borders in Anglo-Scottish relations as Henry Carey was not only governor of Berwick but also warden of the east march. When he took the position of chamberlain of the household he deputized his son John for both these posts. John became warden of the east march in 1594 to 1596 in his own right until he took over his father's post as governor of Berwick. Robert meanwhile was deputy warden of the west march

⁸⁰ Op.cit., fol. 41-2.

⁸¹ George Carey had been to Scotland on a diplomatic mission the previous year. Additionally he had already been suggested as a possible husband to Mary Queen of Scots in 1568. See chapter 4

⁸² Churchyard, *Chippes*, fol. 43.

1593 for his brother-in-law Thomas Scrope and then deputy warden of the east march in 1595, graduating to warden of both the east and west marches from 1596 to 1598.⁸³ This was one area of government that the Carey kinship network dominated throughout Elizabeth's reign and was no longer needed after 1603.

Neither military might, money, conjugal alliance nor persuasion could effect English domination of Ireland in the sixteenth century. This did not stop Elizabeth or her family from trying. When Walter Devereux earl of Essex mounted his colonization scheme in 1573 as governor of Ulster he took a contingent of Carey men with him including John and Michael Carey and 'his brother' Henry Knollys.⁸⁴ In addition to the earls of Essex, father and son, throwing both men and their personal fortunes into Ireland, two of the Carey cousins married brothers who were successively heirs to the earldom of Kildare.⁸⁵

When Leicester went to the Netherlands at the head of the English military response to the assassination of William of Orange and the fall of Antwerp, he took with him several thousand men including an inevitable Carey contingent. Edmund Carey went over with Leicester in 1585, then returned to England in 1586 with a commission to raise a company of three hundred troops to serve under Dutch pay. He managed to raise two hundred that he transported to the Netherlands. He served as a captain of the town of Ostend where he was visited by his brother Robert on the day the town surrendered.⁸⁶ The balance of his troops were then transferred to the garrison at Deventer. When William Stanley surrendered the town to the Spanish any English troops who wished to leave

⁸³ See appendix 9.

⁸⁴ See appendix 9. *Lives and Letters of the Devereux*, vol. 1, pp.46-7.

⁸⁵ Katherine Knollys married Gerald Fitzgerald and Frances Howard married his brother Henry Fitzgerald who succeeded to the earldom. See discussion of this in chapter 4.

⁸⁶ Carey, *Memoirs*, (Mares), line 75.

were allowed to do so under the command of Carey.⁸⁷ Both, Robert and Henry Carey the younger also earned their military spurs captaining troops. The Knollys cousins were equally militarily active with Thomas Knollys later serving as a governor of Ostend in 1586. In 1585-6 Ostend looked like a Carey outpost with both Thomas Knollys and Edmund Carey as well as assorted brothers based there, although by December 1586 John Conway was governor.⁸⁸ In fact, the only second-generation cousin for which military service has not been established is Richard Carey. Their presence under Leicester was so obvious that his enemies blamed him for ‘preferring his wife’s kindred, and not those who deserved it’.⁸⁹

As Elizabeth pulled out of the Netherlands, she had to prepare for the greatest military event of her reign, defence against the Spanish Armada, which in turn gave rise to perhaps her most famous speech, her address to the troops at Tilbury. The conventional historiographical stress on a strong male partnership has focused on the end of the speech where she delegates field command authority to her lieutenant-general, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester. However, the speech starts with a reference to those who ‘are careful of our safety’ applicable above all to Henry Carey who held the most personal responsibility of defending the monarch’s body – whether that of a weak and feeble woman or with the heart and stomach of a king.⁹⁰ Henry Carey was also general of the land army, theoretically in command of 34,000 foot and 2,000 horse, although a more realistic estimation is that in addition to the contingents from the counties he commanded 5,300 foot and 2,150 horse.⁹¹ Meanwhile, Francis Knollys was charged with management of

87 D.Trim, ‘The employment of English and Welsh mercenaries in the European wars of religion’, unpublished PhD thesis (King’s College, London, 2003), pp.412-13.

88 I am grateful to Dr. Trim for discussing this point and sharing portions of his thesis with me.

89 *CSP-Domestic, 1598-1601*, vol. 273, undated 1599, pp.367-375, item 103. 25 July 1587.

90 *Complete Peerage*, vol. 6, p.628, *CSP Domestic 1581–1590*, p.517.

91 Camden, *History*, p.312. See Cole, *The Portable Queen*, p.159; N.Younger, ‘War and the counties: the Elizabethan lord lieutenancy, 1585-1603’, unpublished PhD thesis (University of Birmingham, 2006), p.102. I am grateful to Dr. Younger for sharing his thesis with me.

the land-based troops. Thomas Leighton was tasked with surveying the south and east coasts in addition to preparing the defense of Guernsey.⁹² Edward Hoby was sent to survey Spanish progress from the Isle of Sheppey.⁹³ Francis Knollys ‘the younger’ was colonel of the militia in Hertfordshire and possibly master of the ordnance at Tillbury. Charles Howard was made lieutenant general and governor of the army on 21 December 1587.⁹⁴ Even Richard Leveson, newly married to Howard’s daughter Margaret, volunteered on the ship, the Ark Royal.⁹⁵ The family gathered around the queen to protect her and their own dynastic interests which would have suffered a catastrophic blow under a Spanish regime.

As her reign progressed, Carey men were deployed militarily across several regions. Henry Carey remained the ‘leading expert on Scottish affairs’.⁹⁶ Francis Knollys could be counted on to advise on munitions and military preparedness. Charles Howard, Carey’s son-in-law, became the lord high admiral in 1585 overseeing all naval activities as well as naval intelligence.⁹⁷ For this Howard could count on his brother-in-law George Carey, captain of the Isle of Wight and his cousin-in-law Thomas Leighton, governor of Guernsey and their agents monitoring the southern seas and channel.⁹⁸ Leighton’s wife, Elizabeth Knollys Leighton, carried on extensive correspondence covering broad areas of administration and supply with her husband’s deputy on Guernsey, Edward

92 MacCaffrey, *War and Politics*, p.33.

93 Knafla, ‘Sir Edward Hoby’, *ODNB*.

94 *L&I Soc.*, vol. 297; *CPR 29 Elizabeth I (1587-1588)* C 66/1304-1321, item 1029.

95 *HoP: House of Commons*, vol. 2, p. 465. Robert Carey served in a naval squadron, George administered naval supplies for Howard, Edmund Carey may have stayed in the Netherlands during this time. Thomas Knollys had just been knighted in Bergen and was most likely still in Ostend.

96 Hammer, *Polarisation*, p.155

97 *Complete Peerage*, vol. 5, p.10.

98 *L&I Soc.*, vol. 286, *CPR 25 Elizabeth I (1582-1583)*, item 838.

Zouche.⁹⁹ Howard also appointed several family members as vice-admirals; Edmund Carey was vice-admiral for Lincoln, George Carey took over as vice-admiral for Hampshire the year after was he appointed captain of the Isle of Wight and Robert Carey succeeded his father as vice admiral for Cumberland and Westmorland in 1594.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, Howard's daughter, Frances, convinced him to appoint her new husband Henry Fitzgerald to the admiralty of Ireland.¹⁰¹ Although his name does not appear in the published lists, there are enough questions to allow for the possibility that he did take an Irish vice-admiralty, if not for the whole country, as after 1585 the office was broken into four regions.¹⁰²

Included in the Carey maritime service was some exploration and like all good English sailors a bit of piracy and privateering. However, they were never seriously punished for these activities, either because it suited Elizabeth's policy or because they were her kin. In 1578, Henry Knollys set sail with Humphrey Gilbert who had obtained letters patent to explore and claim for himself and his heirs any lands not already claimed by other Christian princes. Although Knollys was in command of three of the ships forming Gilbert's fleet, he left the expedition within days capturing instead the pirate Holbourne and a French prize ship. He brought both to Plymouth where he let Holbourne go and kept the plunder without recorded payment of a fee to the queen.

99 BL Egerton MS 2812 passim.

100 See The Institute of Historical Research, <http://www.history.ac.uk/office/viceadmirals2.html#kl>. Henry Carey was vice-admiral for Durham 1575-96; Northumberland 1575-96; Westmorland 1575-c. 1587; Cumberland 1586 – c.1587.

101 See appendix 10.

102 The Institute of Historical Research lists do not include Henry Fitzgerald earl of Kildare but the Connaught, Leinster, Munster and Ulster subdivisions created in 1585 are listed as vacant. It is possible that after his 1589 marriage he had one or more of these posts.

In 1579, he continued his sea career taking a Breton ship off the coast of Ireland and selling off the goods in Cork. His brother Francis joined his fleet and they sent one of his ships to capture prizes off the Spanish coast while Henry visited court meeting up with them on Guernsey where he sold off some of the plunder.¹⁰³ He arranged for the rest of it to be hauled to Ewelme a property in the stewardship of the family. On the way, the carts were seized by the authorities in Southampton for not paying the queen's customs dues but 'hearing from one of Knollyze's servants that they were Mr. Knollyze's goods he released them'.¹⁰⁴ Although the Spanish ambassador Mendoza complained about Knollys's attacks on Spanish ships, he reported to King Philip that 'justice has never been done'.¹⁰⁵ Neither Henry nor Francis Knollys, who continued taking prizes through at least 1586, suffered more than a few days imprisonment for their conduct on the high seas despite the Spanish ambassador's continued complaints.¹⁰⁶ As a consequence, the queen's family enriched themselves while supporting her generally subversive policy to harass Spanish shipping without formally declaring war – a typically economical solution to two problems, supporting her family and annoying Philip.

As this chapter has demonstrated, Elton's identification of parliament, privy council and court as the points at which contact with the monarch satisfied elite ambition does not fully encompass all points of contact available to the politically ambitious. In particular, he did not include diplomatic or military developments, perhaps because these two areas were barely institutionalised. There was certainly no professional foreign service training and few permanent ambassadorial

103 See *Voyages of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, no. 84 (1939), pp.209-10, p.283. His flagship was called the *Elephant* a reference to the Knollys family symbol which was also used on his father's tomb in Rotherfield Greys. His second ship was a prize renamed the *Francis* after his father. Under sponsorship of his sister and brother-in-law, Francis Knollys was also rear-admiral of the galleon the *Lettice Leicester* when he accompanied Drake to harass the Spanish in the New World.

104 *Voyages of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, p.506.

105 *CSP-Spanish 1580-86*, 20 October 1581, p.206

106 *CSP-Spanish 1580-1586*, pp.218, 228, 232, 306, 607, 650.

posts; Elizabeth's frugality extended to the funding of permanent embassies and by 1568 there were only two permanent posts; Edinburgh and Paris.¹⁰⁷ There was no permanent standing army in England at the time, while the ships that comprised the navy were not wholly owned by the state.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, the Carey family's extended kin network participated fully in these fledgling areas of government service, demonstrating beyond question that together they provided a fourth 'point of contact' between the queen and her most influential subjects. The Careys's ubiquitous presence at court and council, in politics, diplomacy and natural defence, also demonstrates how central they were to Elizabeth's management of her kingdom. With her Boleyn cousins around her, the queen did not require a large privy council or heavily institutionalised points of contact to provide stability to her kingdom. Because her family's self interest depended on her security, they were both willing and able to provide an effective extension of her will across four key areas of the kingdom's government.

107 Leimon and Parker, 'Treason and plot in Elizabethan diplomacy', *English Historical Review*, 1135-6.

108 E.Fowler, *English Sea Power in the Early Tudor Period, 1485-1558* (Ithaca, NY, 1965), pp.1, 36; D.Loades, *The Tudor Navy* (1992), pp.178-81.

7 Chronological relationships

As discussed in chapter one, placing dynastic and political events within a single chronology reveals the connection between family and the political life of the kingdom. The awarding of honours, granting of offices and assignments of royal responsibility were all part of the political landscape and were most often the result of dynastic connections and efforts. One of the most obvious ways of establishing the relationship between the familial and the political is by analysing the careers of men who married into the Carey family. One of the most straightforward markers of favour was the granting of knighthood. The recognition of personal valour and courage that warranted knighthood is usually thought to have been a reward of the battlefield. Yet it appears that marriage into the Carey family could prove more important than military prowess in receiving this particular honour.

Knighthood

Francis Knollys was already a knight when Elizabeth came to the throne and she knighted Henry Carey within days of her accession so the first generation had achieved this distinction by November 1558.¹ Of the ten men who married into the second-generation of Careys, eight were knighted after their marriage ranging from Edward Hoby who was knighted the day after his marriage to Margaret Carey to Thomas Leighton who was knighted the year after his marriage to Elizabeth Knollys. Leighton, despite being at court as a gentleman of the household for ten years, demonstrating remarkable military prowess at the siege of Rouen in 1562, again at Le Havre under Ambrose Dudley in 1563 and commanding 500 harquebusiers in the army of the north during the rebellion of the northern earls, was not knighted until May 1579.² His military exploits

1 He was knighted after marriage into the family. He married Katherine Carey in 1540 and was knighted in 1547 for his efforts during the 'rough wooings'.

2 *HoP: House of Commons* (Hasler), vol. 2, p.459; *Lives and Letters of the Devereux*, vol. 1, p.16; Malpas, Sir Francis Knollys, p.29.

exceeded those of many other men who were knighted so there seems little explanation as to why this honour was so long delayed or what precipitated its eventual granting unless the power of his wife, a lady of the privy chamber and her family is taken into account. That his conjugal relationship to the Careys contributed to this long overdue reward is underlined by the grant of the office of captain and governor of the Isle of Guernsey with the associated profits the month before his wedding in 1578 which would have been after the marriage had been announced, the contracts agreed and the queen's permission obtained.³

An exceptional case was that of Charles Howard who had to wait until 30 August 1571, eight years after his marriage to Katherine Carey, for his knighthood, and which coincided with his creation as a master of Cambridge.⁴ His placement as a gentleman of the privy chamber along with his father early in 1559 and his relationship to Elizabeth independent of his marriage to a Carey suggests that this particular honour was just overlooked or deemed a minor distinction amongst all his others.⁵ The two husbands who were knighted before marriage into the family were the second husband of Frances Howard Fitzgerald countess of Kildare, Henry Brooke baron Cobham and Thomas Perrot. Cobham was knighted three years before his marriage and Perrot four years before his elopement with Dorothy Devereux.⁶

3 *CPR 1575-1578*, vol. 7, item 2842.

4 *Complete Peerage*, vol. 9, p.783.

5 *Complete Peerage*, vol. 9, pp.782-88. He had already been sent on several foreign missions including accompanying the queen-consort of Spain from the Low Countries to Spain.

6 Elizabeth created 10 knights of the Garter within the family. Not counting Robert Dudley the earliest was Henry Carey in 1561. Francis Knollys had to wait until 1593. All these honours were conferred after marriage, although Charles Blount's was also after his separation from Penelope Devereux Rich Blount. The list in addition to Carey, Knollys and Blount includes George Carey, Walter Devereux, Robert Devereux, Charles Howard, Thomas Scrope and Thomas West.

The Peerage

Elizabeth's reluctance to increase the peerage was notorious and extended to her own family. Aside from creating Henry Carey baron Hunsdon within days of her accession, the only titles she bestowed on the family were the earldom of Nottingham in 1597 to Charles Howard baron of Effingham, making her chief lady of the chamber, Katherine Carey Howard, a countess. The previous holder of this title was Henry Fitzroy, Elizabeth's half brother who had also been designated as lord high admiral.⁷ Fitzroy was only six in 1525 when these titles were conferred on him and he died in 1536 leaving the earldom vacant until Elizabeth gave it to the Howards. It is perhaps too obvious to assume that Elizabeth considered this title the purview of her family, which was why she did not bestow it on anyone else. The queen also restored the title of De La Warre to the Wests well in time for Anne Knollys to marry the baronial heir Thomas West. After Thomas acceded to the title in 1595, the House of Lords determined that his father's attainder was limited to the person and seated the new baron according to the ancient order of precedence.⁸

Carey women compensated for Elizabeth's frugal approach to creating nobles by marrying into the existing peerage and thereby increasing their kinship network power base throughout the kingdom. Besides De la Warre, the list included the earldoms of Essex, Northumberland and Kildare and the baronies of Rich, Scrope, Paget, Berkeley and Offaly.⁹ Two men married titled women when William Howard, who would become the 3rd baron Effingham, married Ann St. John the

7 Fitzroy died in 1536 when Elizabeth was 3 years old so there was little occasion for sibling affection. *Complete Peerage*, vol. 10, p.829.

8 *Complete Peerage*, vol. 4, p.160. This granting of precedence placed Gibbs, editor of the referenced work, in a state of confusion. In his estimation the Lords were wrong. Elizabeth had restored West's father in blood in 1563 and he had been working on a steady path of rehabilitation.

9 Because of the exceptional nature of all parties involved, I have not included the earldom of Leicester in this list. The Irish link has been discussed earlier. The Careys also received a generous share of new titles when James came to the throne.

10th baroness of Bletsoe bringing that title into the family and William Knollys married Dorothy Bray Brydges Chandos bringing a significant portion of the Bray and Chandos baronage lands into the family although this latter couple had no children.

Family careers

Young men with uncertain careers found that marrying into the family provided a strong and pervasive mentoring network. Shortly after his marriage to Margaret Howard in December 1587, Richard Leveson began his naval career by ‘volunteering’ to serve under his new father-in-law the lord admiral during the Armada crisis.¹⁰ Leveson’s first few years of service were inauspicious but the family supported him long enough for him to gain the queen’s respect for some successful privateering and he distinguished himself on the Cadiz expedition under his second cousin-in-law Essex.¹¹ Edward Hoby’s increase in royal employment subsequent to his marriage into the Careys has already been discussed. Yet, further evidence of kinship promotion of his royal service career comes in a 5 March 1588 letter Charles Howard wrote from his ship to Count Maurice when that he ‘sends his brother-in-law, Sir Edward Hoby to inform him of her Majesty’s displeasure’ regarding the treatment of Colonel Sonoy and the siege in Medenblick.¹² This pattern was repeated when Robert Southwell revived his family’s reputation even overcoming suspected recusancy by marrying Elizabeth Howard.¹³ He was promoted to vice-admiral for Norfolk, appointed justice of the peace for both Norfolk and Suffolk and knighted all in the same

10 While the *ODNB* terms Leveson’s participation in the Armada crisis on the Ark Royal as voluntary it is doubtful that family pressure did not come to bear.

11 Wisker, ‘Leveson, Sir Richard’, *ODNB*; R.Kenny, ‘Parliamentary influence of Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham’, 226.

12 *CSP-Foreign, January-June 1588*, vol. 21, part 4, pp.154-172, letter dated 5 Mar 1588.

13 Smith, *County and Court*, pp.65-6.

year. Although it is unknown what role his wife played in the appointment she was most likely pregnant or had just given birth and the coincidence of dynastic event and granting of honours is inescapable.¹⁴

Sometimes bridegrooms were mentored at the instigation of their new father-in-law but just as often their new wives provided the vital push. For example, the sixteen-year-old Frances Howard Fitzgerald was instrumental in promoting her husband's government career by lobbying her father and then notifying the Admiralty court of his decision.¹⁵ While the archives have yet to yield a full treasure of first person female accounts such as this one, other correspondents commented upon the female promotion of family interests. In 1590 John Stanhope wrote to Gilbert Talbot earl of Shrewsbury that 'my Lorde Chamberlaine doth stande to be Chamberlain of the Chequer, and Mrs Care stands for her husbände.'¹⁶ This wording implies that the two suitors for the post were husband and wife. However, in 1590, the only Mrs Carey who would stand for her husband the chamberlain would have been Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon. In the end, it was another member of the family; Thomas West married to Anne Knollys, who received this post in 1590.¹⁷ It is possible that the correspondent was referring to Anne as a member of the Carey family but doubtful as contemporary records name her as Mrs Weste.¹⁸ One of West's greatest assets would have been his wife who remained at court throughout their marriage and eleven pregnancies.¹⁹ Her participation in the annual New Years

14 Smith, *County and Court*, pp.65-6. They were married sixteen years and she sustained eight pregnancies. See *Complete Peerage*, vol. 9, pp.726-7.

15 BL Additional MS 12506 fol. 258. See appendix 10 for transcription.

16 *Talbot, Dudley, Devereux*, vol. 5, p.101.

17 *HoP: House of Commons* (Hasler), vol. 3, p.602.

18 Nichols, *Progresses*, New Years gift rolls for 1589.

19 Merton, 'Women who served', p.263 lists her as lady of the privy chamber by which time she had most likely born 3 or 4 children.

gifting ceremony implies that she nurtured her relationship to the queen on behalf of the family.²⁰

Leicester also recommended that women promote family ambitions, at least according to Thomas Stanhope. In a postscript to a letter dated 12 January 1578 addressed to earl of Shrewsbury, he suggests that if the earl is not feeling well that he send his wife to court as:

your Lordship knoweth that women with women can worke best, specially such one as my Lady whose wisdom and discrete cours can sufficiently deale with the best of them, by this with her Majesty of the Counsell of the other ladies about her Highnes. And so may she prepare the way for all thinges and return so instructed and leave such a plott for you behind her and worke your frendes for you in suche good order, as att your one comyng thear shalbe no difficulty att all, but that every thinge may goo as your would desier.²¹

Stanhope finishes by saying that Leicester directed him to include this advice. If one of the most powerful politicians of the day advocated using women to pursue court business, then clearly this was a strategy that worked. That this was a generally accepted strategy is born out by the example of John Carey who sent his wife to court to pursue their business and then was informed by her of competing interests to their suits. He wrote to Burghley in 1597 that his wife told him ‘that I have had some back frendes’ and he begged Burghley to help his wife else he feared that ‘without it she will hardly get an end of her business.’²² The pattern of men relying on their female kin at court to partner with them in the achievement of dynastic ambitions was not limited to marriage and the conferring of knighthood and entering parliament. Women at court provided

20 Nichols *Progresses* provides evidence of her presenting the queen with gifts at least through 1600.

21 Talbot, *Dudley & Devereux Papers*, vol. 5, p.23.

22 *Border Papers 1595-1603*, pp.233, 152.

an essential link and took upon themselves the responsibilities of managing the wider client network.

However, it was not just with the queen that women pursued family suits. Douglas Sheffield Stafford took an active hand in managing family business when she wrote to Julius Caesar at the court of Admiralty asking him to come to her chamber at court in order to resolve some issues regarding both her own affairs and those of her brother's office.²³ Her letter is specific and urgent naming the time for him to come and offering to provide a horse from her own stables if he requires it. Her letter has the voice of experienced authority and of someone used to organising meetings with government officials. The use of emotive language near the end of the letter is not an indicator of gendered behaviour as men closed their letters in much the same way, but the language of requests familiar to the Elizabethan elite.²⁴

The queen's secretary was also an essential business contact. Anne Morgan Carey lobbied Cecil in 1568 for additional funds to support the Berwick garrison which she was managing while her husband was in the field.²⁵ The Carey women must have been respected for their ability to conduct court business as, after petitioning her mother for permission, Henry Woddryngton sent his wife and 'bedfellow' to court with Philadelphia Carey Scrope, in order for her to 'make her accesses unto your honour' and 'in particular acqueynt your honour withall'.²⁶ No doubt as a member of the Berwick garrison and familiar with the successes of the Carey women, he was hopeful that Philadelphia would support and guide

23 BL Additional MS 12506 fol. 368 [old fol. 337], See appendix 10 for transcription.

24 For but two examples of men's letters using the same sort of language, see BL Lansdowne MS 33, 84, fol. 201 Francis Knollys to William Cecil; BL Additional MS 12506, vol.1, fol.271, George Carey to Julius Caesar.

25 *Cecil Papers*, vol. 1, p.372.

26 *Border Papers*, vol. 1, April 1588, item 605.

his wife while at court. The full extent of Philadelphia's activities will never be known however her involvement in public affairs extended to the church as Cecil wrote in November 1594 to her husband that he would remember the 'personnage' recommended by her and will do as she wishes 'uppon the remove of the Deane of Wyndsor'.²⁷ Clearly, hers were not the only wide-ranging female Carey activities. Frances Howard Fitzgerald enlisted the secretary's help when she petitioned the court of the Exchequer to exchange some of her jointure lands in Ireland for an annual pension.²⁸ Elizabeth Spencer Carey took it upon herself to go to court to sue for additional lands for her daughter's inheritance as 'being next of kinn unto her Majestie'.²⁹

Both Robert Carey's wife and his sister Margaret lobbied Robert Cecil in 1596 when his late father's offices were being parcelled out. Robert had been deputy warden of the east march which included the stewardship of Norham castle until his father's death at which time his elder brother John was given this post along with that of marshall of Berwick.³⁰ Margaret, herself in mourning for their father, wrote to Robert Cecil in July 1596:

though my present state and misery be fittest only to continue in prayer to God for His Grace that I may with patience endure this rod of my affliction, yet doth the "feeling" knowledge of my bother Robert's estate and despairs when he shall hear of this desolate news, added to her Majesty's undeserved displeasure, so fright me that I am forced to be a mediator to you that he may not be forgotten. Alas! Sir his desires were such at his going down as both his wife and I had much ado to make him stay in his own country. Judge then what this new assault of sorrow will work in him; for besides his natural grief, his office of the wardenry which he had under my lord is gone,

27 *Border Papers*, vol. 1, November 1594, item 991.

28 *Cecil Papers*, vol. 14, p.87.

29 *De L'Isle & Dudley Papers*, p.173.

30 *HoP: House of Commons* (Hasler), vol 1, p.549.

his office of Norham is no avail to him, his brother having (by her Majesty's commandment) the commodity of it, so as in that country both countenance and commodity is lost now, and if her Majesty with some remorse do not "begene" comfort in him that was first overthrown by her, I fear we shall have cause to bewail the untimely misfortune of my brother with the unfortunate loss of my father. "She that is nothing but greffe and misery, Margarete Hoby."³¹

Their efforts were successful as Robert was made warden of both the east and west marches.³²

There are two known cases of women marrying into the Carey family who were subsequently granted a court post; Anne Morgan Carey who was also the granddaughter of Elizabeth's governess and Elizabeth Spencer Carey who is referred to as a lady of 'her majesty's privy chamber' and neither of them appears in the wage records.³³ Alternately, Carey men sometimes married women already at court. Robert Knollys married maid of honour Katherine Vaughan who was also Blanche Parry's cousin and Henry Knollys married maid of honour Margaret Cave. Neither of these marriages altered these men's career paths. Robert Knollys was thirty-four at the time of his marriage and his career was already well established with a parliamentary focus. Although only twenty four at the time of his marriage, Henry Knollys had already sat in one parliament and held an appointment as esquire of the body within the household. Unlike men marrying Carey women, the blood relationship between Carey men and the queen was more important to their future careers than marrying any lady of the court.

A case might be made that men without female kin in the household would, as they aged and gained more experience, have received promotions regardless.

31 *Cecil Papers*, vol. 6, p.301. His wife's letter is vol. 6, p.277.

32 *HoP: House of Commons* (Hasler), vol. 1, p.550. Robert Carey also wrote Robert Cecil after his wife and sister on 30 July 1596, see *Cecil Papers*, vol 6, pp.297-8.

33 See chapter 4.

However, the continual accumulation of honours and responsibilities throughout the reign by the Careys including those who married into the family was remarkable. The Cecils were the only other family that matched up in terms of honours if not in terms of kinship numbers.³⁴ It is possible that if Leicester had lived longer, he would have been able to promote his Sidney kin even more strongly. However, without progeny of his own and the relative numbers of surviving Sidneys the only manner in which his kinship network could have superseded all others would have been if the Careys and the Dudley-Sidneys were folded together. This was clearly a strategy he pursued even before his marriage to Lettice Knollys Devereux maintaining Careys in his livery and household. Further investigation into the relative dynamics of Leicester's relationship with the queen versus the Carey blood relationship and their 'tribe of Dan' qualities might prove that Leicester and the Careys in fact formed a mutual admiration society in the service of the queen respecting each other's qualities and for the most part using them cooperatively. The only other family that might have rivaled the Careys were their own extended kin the Effingham Howards who also found favour with Elizabeth from the first of the reign.³⁵ However, with the marriage of Charles Howard to Katherine Carey the Effingham Howards were more dependent on this power couple for access to the monarch than as a competing network.³⁶ Other than these examples, there were no significant political kinship networks active in all aspects of Elizabethan government.

The Careys became more prominent during those times when Elizabeth's position and consequently, the stability of her kingdom, were most vulnerable. The events surrounding Mary Queen of Scots's arrival in England was one such period.

34 There were approximately 51 Cecil kin combined with descendants of all the Cooke sisters alive during Elizabeth's reign.

35 See chapter 4.

36 In 1573 Charles acceded to the title baron of Effingham.

When Mary fled over the border in May 1568 to Carlisle, Francis Knollys was despatched from court to take control of the situation. Henry Scrope, governor of Carlisle, met him and they jointly took responsibility for the Scottish queen.³⁷ As Mary recovered from her ordeal, Knollys found that, despite his ten years' experience managing Elizabeth's household, the responsibilities of managing that of an exiled queen who was also a threat to the English crown required a great deal of finesse. His understanding of the potential political danger that Mary represented led him to the decision that Mary should be moved to a more secure location. While the proposal of moving Mary was clearly under discussion at court, Knollys did not wait for Elizabeth's official permission before moving the exiled court to Scrope's more secure house at Bolton.³⁸ A letter from Cecil finally authorising the move followed them from Carlisle to Bolton where they had already arrived.³⁹ That Knollys was able to take this action speaks to his acknowledged position as the queen's kinsman. Scrope reportedly commented that Knollys was the only councillor in England that would have risked acting in such a manner.⁴⁰ By the end of July, Knollys was eager to return to court feeling that he had established Mary in a safe location and together with Scrope and Henry Carey recently appointed as warden of the marches had established protocols for guarding her.⁴¹ His letter of 29 July to his wife Katherine specifically asks her to 'help that I may be revoked and retorne agayne, for I haue lytle to doe here & I may be spared hence very well'.⁴² In the meantime, his son William

37 This was the beginning of a long dynastic friendship that was eventually tied when Scrope's son married Knollys's niece Philadelphia Carey in 1584.

38 BL Cotton MS Caligula B ix fol. 137.

39 *Papers Relating To Mary QoS*, pp.7, 15. Cecil's letter is dated 12 July. The party arrived at Bolton on the 15th of July.

40 *Papers Relating To Mary QoS*, p.16.

41 Op.Cit., pp.10-11; *CPR 1566-69*, item 1904.

42 *Papers Relating To Mary QoS*, p.15.

had joined him in guarding Mary taking the opportunity to practice his French.⁴³ By 25 August, Henry Carey had been made governor of Berwick and thus the queen positioned another family member in this hot spot.⁴⁴ With the reasonable proximity between Bolton and Berwick, Knollys and Carey were able to confer more easily especially as they used their sons William and George as go-betweens.

Consequently, the two brothers-in-law decided to assign troops from the Berwick garrison to Bolton to bolster security. Despite Knollys's pleas to his wife, Katherine, he was not released from duty. Whether this was because Katherine was too sick to effectively lobby, Elizabeth was reluctant to remove any family from this particular arena, or she was just being obstinate is not clear. Even after his wife had died on 15 January 1569, Knollys was not released from this duty until he had conducted Mary from Bolton to Tutbury and into the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury on 26 January.⁴⁵

The family continued to be involved in the political fallout from Mary's presence. In October 1569 Knollys was sent to Kenninghall to arrest the duke of Norfolk for conspiring to wed Mary Queen of Scots thereby sparking the rebellion of the northern earls. Henry Carey and his garrison at Berwick were summoned to join the army of the north under Sussex. With him were at least three of his sons and two of his Knollys nephews.⁴⁶ In early 1570 after the initial rebellion had been quelled, Leonard Dacres, not ready to give up on his pursuit of power made one last attempt at rallying an army to march across England. As discussed previously, Henry Carey defeated Dacres's larger army and won the gratitude of

43 Op.Cit.

44 *Complete Peerage*, vol. 6, p.268; *Papers Relating To Mary QoS*, p.32.

45 Guy, *My Heart Is My Own*, p.517. MacCaffrey, 'Knollys, Sir Francis (1511/12-1596)', *ODNB* says this happened 26 February. *Papers Relating To Mary QoS*, p.62 unnumbered note quotes an entry in Cecil's diary that he returned on 3rd February.

46 See chapter 6.

his cousin in the process. Carey was also instrumental in convincing the queen to extend her mercy to several of Dacres's followers even venturing to obtain a pardon for the earl of Northumberland but failed.⁴⁷

Participation in the large events of the day would have been normal for any Elizabethan court family. However, the scale of Carey participation and the link between their personal relationships with the queen and each other brings into focus the conjoining of family and political activities, local and national.⁴⁸ Not only was Francis Knollys sent to guard Mary but Henry Carey was thrown into the breach with his appointments on the Scottish border. The two brothers-in-law and their sons corresponded and met each other over the course of the autumn. While Katherine was at court, Anne Morgan Carey travelled to Berwick where she took up the daily responsibilities of bringing order to the garrison including shouldering the financial management. Deployment of multiple generations by the queen and the family itself demonstrate how important kinship relations were to successfully managing their political responsibilities. Not only was William with his father learning how to manage a difficult responsibility that if badly done could have endangered the queen, but George Carey was sent from Berwick where he was learning his father's trade to deliver messages to the regent of Scotland. Knollys also felt that the Carey relationship with the queen was so strong that if Mary wed George Carey she would be safe falling under Elizabeth's protection. It is interesting to note that Knollys claimed he could think of no other safe choice for a husband to the exiled queen going so far as to recognize that if George was too dangerous as the eldest son of a newly-created baron, then a second son might be an acceptable choice. Also he did not blurt out the name of one of his own sons, either because that would have been seen as too obvious

47 Wallace, 'Berwick in the reign of Queen Elizabeth', *English Historical Review*, 46, 84.

48 See a sample dynastic and political chronology of these events in appendix 11 including references for this section.

a grab for power, or because he was tacitly acknowledging that he was Carey by marriage and his sons, under the theory if not the practice, of primogeniture would have ranked behind Henry Carey's, even if Knollys had held an equivalent title. Nevertheless, Knollys was confident enough in his and his wife's relationship with Elizabeth to act without her explicit approval. As Scrope observed, no one else in the kingdom would have felt able to carry this off.⁴⁹

At the same time and despite her illness, Katherine Carey Knollys was involved deciding which sons to send to Bolton for training, conferring with Cecil and Leicester regarding recalling her husband to court and there was an expectation on the part of her husband that she would be able to obtain the queen's permission for Knollys's return to court. Only Katherine's death precipitated his release from duties and then only after he had conducted Mary to Tutbury and been replaced by his brother, Henry Knollys, another trusted member of the family. In the wake of the dynastic event of Katherine's death, the queen allowed Knollys's return and bestowed additional gifts and honours to the Knollys children.⁵⁰

In late 1569 as the army of the north gathered in response to the growing unrest, the Careys expanded their reach and responsibilities with the addition of Walter Devereux earl of Essex and Charles Howard to the army of the north. By the middle of 1570, nearly all the participants had received additional honours and responsibilities.⁵¹ Mary's flight to England precipitated an immediate response and a new fluidity of policy. Although Mary Queen of Scots would continue to

49 Henry Carey acted with the same independence in 1570 when suing for pardon of not only the earl of Northumberland but also some of his common followers.

50 The youngest daughter, Katherine, may have lived with her father or her eldest sister Lettice or Anne Russell countess of Warwick. She would later be closely associated with the Leicester household.

51 See appendix 11.

preoccupy and exacerbate domestic and foreign policy, the focus of this analysis has been to show Elizabeth's deployment of her Carey kin and their willingness to take on difficult decisions in a context of immediacy.

The eventual execution of Mary in 1587 was but one event in the run-up to the Armada crisis in 1588, which included the conflict in the Netherlands where many members of the family served. As discussed in previous chapters as the crisis grew closer Henry Carey became responsible for the personal safety of the queen, Francis Knollys was responsible for planning the ground troops movements and supplies, while Charles Howard was in command of the fleet. To aid them, Thomas Leighton as governor of Guernsey provided early sightings of the fleet while George Carey fulfilled the same function as captain of the Isle of Wight. Additionally, a wide range of second-generation sons and sons-in-law raised troops and volunteered both on land and sea. Elizabeth's tendency to pick family over those with less significant representation at court is nicely highlighted in this letter to the earl of Shrewsbury:

I heard lately that you are likely to be made Lieutenant-General of the Army for the guard of her Majesty's person, and that you would be summoned to London for the purpose. But the matter can only have been privately mentioned to her Majesty and not formally moved for by the Privy Council. I was dining yesterday with the Lord Chancellor, and he protested he knew nothing of the matter. He said your name was mentioned among others, but that after Lord Hunsdon was resolved on, he never heard you named in that behalf.⁵²

Two things happened; first the earl of Shrewsbury had no significant or close female representation in the household and second his kinship relationship with

⁵² Talbot, *Dudley, Devereux Papers*, vol. 5, p.92.

the queen was one of courtesy not blood. Both these reasons are why Henry Carey became the obvious and certain choice.

While obviously surrounded by male members of her family, the iconography and political historiography has neglected to include any images or mention of the women around the queen at this time. Given the waves of excitement and anxiety that swept the kingdom it would be inconceivable that both women and men were not equally affected. A very small glimpse of the participation of women at the time is retold by Nichols when he relates the story of Elizabeth knighting Mary Lady Cholmondeley ‘distinguished for military prowess on the eve of the expected Spanish invasion’.⁵³ At the very least, Elizabeth would have been attended by two or three ladies-in-waiting on her trip to the camp at Tilbury. Anne Russell’s raising and funding of a band of soldiers provides reason to believe that other women of the court might have done the same. Further research into the activities of court women during the crisis is in order.

As the family had surrounded Elizabeth at her accession, they also surrounded her at her death. Robert Carey has left a dramatic description of the last days and final passing of Elizabeth. The sentimental linking of Katherine Carey Howard’s death with Elizabeth’s begins the final example of the intersection of dynastic and political events. The close relationship between these two women was never in doubt and Elizabeth’s affection for Katherine Howard was evident from the early days when the queen disguised herself as Katherine’s maid to the grants given to her and her husband throughout the reign. All the grants and annuities to the couple in the published versions of the Calendar of Patent Rolls name both husband and wife frequently including the phrase ‘for their service’.⁵⁴ This

⁵³ J. Nichols, *Progresses of King James the First* (1828), vol. 3, p.406.

⁵⁴ See for example *CPR 1572-75*, vol. 6, item 528; *CPR 1578-1580*, vol. 8, item 1828; *L&I Soc.*, vol. 308, *CPR 33 1590-1591 C 66/1362-1378*, item 251. Exceptions to this are grants specifically related to Charles Howard’s inheritance.

emphasis on the marital unit as the recipient of royal largesse underlines the importance of both husband and wife to the success of the family. Both Charles Howard and Katherine Carey participated in Elizabeth's accession. As the consummate courtiers, Charles had held posts in the household, the council and the military field throughout the reign. Katherine had remained at court moving from a maid to lady of the privy chamber, through at least five pregnancies to lady carver, to chief lady of the bed chamber and in the final years of the reign was referred to as groom of the stool, a designation that not used earlier implying that there was no more intimate title Elizabeth could bestow on her. By 1599, Rowland Whyte was writing 'I am credibly made to believe that at this instant the Lord Admiral is able to do with the Queen as much as Lord Leicester was.'⁵⁵

On 25 February 1603, at the age of 56, Katherine died. Apparently rumours circulated at her death that untold riches were secreted away in her house.⁵⁶ Both her husband and the queen went into mourning. Robert Carey reported that he had not seen the queen sigh so much since the beheading of Mary Queen of Scots.⁵⁷ Apparently after refusing to go to move for four days, Charles Howard 'was sent for' and by 'what faire means, what by force, he gatt her to bed'.⁵⁸ That no one else could shift the queen to her bed but the grief stricken Howard indicates that the court considered his influence with her to be above all others, and that he cared for her enough to leave his mourning and help arrange her comfort. At the time, George Carey was chamberlain of the household. Robert Carey says that his brother had been up for many nights watching over the queen. At this point in the tale though, family ambition comes back into the picture.⁵⁹

55 *L'Isle and Dudley Papers*, vol. 2, p.390.

56 Adams, 'Howard, Katherine, countess of Nottingham (1545x50-1603)', *ODNB*.

57 Carey, *Memoirs*, p.137.

58 Op.Cit., p.140.

59 Any sibling jealousy engendered by their previous land dispute had been long forgotten. See chapter 1.

Robert had previously written James VI that Elizabeth was ill but that he shouldn't make any moves until he had certain information. Once Elizabeth had died, the council adjourned to decide the next move, which is when Robert went to wake his brother in order to use his authority to leave the castle and start the journey to Scotland. However, he waited long enough to be summoned back to the council on the pretence of being the official messenger but was warned off by his cousin William Knollys. This support along with the infamous blue ring from one of the ladies-in-waiting and a long and bloody ride to Scotland earned the Carey family the privilege of informing James that he was now king of England.⁶⁰ Although Robert mentions his sister Philadelphia there were other members of the family also at court and possibly present including Frances Howard Kildare Cobham, Elizabeth Knollys Leighton, Elizabeth Howard Southwell, Anne Carey Uvedale, Elizabeth Spencer Carey and Anne Knollys West. Male embers of the family holding court posts in 1603 aside from George Carey and William Knollys included Edmund Carey, Charles Howard the younger, Robert Knollys and Thomas Leighton.⁶¹

The Careys royal service continued into the Jacobean court and they spread out to the new world.⁶² Robert Carey's dashing rider to Scotland to inform King James VI that he was also now King James I paid dividends. Robert Carey became chamberlain of Charles, prince of Wales's household. His wife became the prince's keeper in 1604. His daughter, Philadelphia, was raised with the princess Elizabeth and served in her privy chamber. His son, Henry, became a groom of Prince Charles's bedchamber. Titles ensued not only for Robert but for also for William Knollys and Robert Rich. Carey women joined Anne of

⁶⁰ Carey, *Memoirs*, pp.144-154.

⁶¹ See appendices 4 and 5.

⁶² The Wests were especially interested in the New World with two sons serving as governors of two different colonies and the state of Delaware is named after them.

Denmark's household and participated in court entertainments. As an established court family, their experience of Elizabeth's court proved useful in establishing households for the new royal family.⁶³

⁶³ See H. Payne, 'Aristocratic Woman and the Jacobean Court, 1603-1625', unpublished PhD thesis (Royal Holloway, 2001) for a discussion of the English and Scottish courts meeting and the role women played within Anne of Denmark's.

8 Conclusion

While it has been the practice to research political history with little consideration of family dynamics or events, and conversely the practice to study the family isolated from the political landscape within which it exists, the two areas require each other to construct a more complete narrative.¹ Within Elizabethan England, the family was the central political unit and started with the queen herself.

While Elizabeth was a single woman, she chose her Carey cousins over her royal relatives for her immediate family. She lived, slept and ate with them as well as using them to carry out her political will. Because of their intimate relationship with the queen, they in turn were able to exercise their own judgement in implementing that will as witnessed by Francis Knollys moving Mary Queen of Scots before official permission was granted.² As royal intimates, they also knew when to cajole, flatter, withhold information and act independently in the best interest of the crown, which was also the best interests of their kinship network. Robert Carey refusing to impart the information he had from James VI until Elizabeth would see him in person and accept his marriage is just such an example.³

The specific example presented in the previous chapter of Carey involvement in events surrounding the arrival of Mary Queen of Scots demonstrates that the combination of their kinship network and their relationship with Elizabeth placed them squarely at the centre of the political landscape. With husbands, wives and children taking roles in the management of personnel, finance, military and diplomatic activities, dynastic relationships were clearly a fundamental component of political activity. During the immediate crisis dynastic representatives from the household, privy council, military and diplomatic ‘points

1 See chapter 2.

2 See chapter 7.

3 See chapter 6.

of contact' were all involved. By the next parliamentary session in April 1571, seven members of the family participated in the legislative discussions regarding treasonous activities and the northern unrest bringing Carey participation across all four 'points of contact' to bear.

While the Careys have formed the case study for this research project, this model of political kinship was not unique to either this family, or the Elizabethan court. The Guise family of France also deployed themselves across multiple points of contact although with some distinct differences. First, the 'points of contact' model within the French kingdom shifts with more emphasis on the church and less on representative institutions. Second, the Guise family's participation at court was assured because of their royal lineage. Last, their position was greatly enhanced when a member of their family became queen consort to James the V of Scotland and produced the next occupant of that throne, Mary Queen of Scots. While the Guise were also remarkable fecund and enjoyed high rates of survival, their network still did not approach the size of the Careys.

During the reign of Francis I, through the death of Francis II in 1560, the Guise family fortunes rose significantly.⁴ However, with the death of Francis II, the return of Mary to Scotland and her subsequent flight to England in 1568, the family ambition was checked by the ascendancy of the Medici and Bourbon factions and further complicated by the civil wars of religion. However during Francis II's reign, the brothers duke of Guise and cardinal of Lorraine were the two most powerful individuals excepting the queen mother.⁵ This power was supported and extended by placing brothers, sisters, daughters, nieces and nephews in multiple offices

4 Francis I reigned 1515-1547. He was followed by Henry II 1547-1559 and then Francis II 1559-1560.

5 L.Frieda, *Catherine de Medici*, (2003), p.145.

including church benefices.⁶ Although a strong case has been made for the Guise dynastic strategy of placing women in the church, this was not the only arena in which Guise women were active. For example, oversight of Mairie of Guise's French lands while she was queen consort and regent of Scotland as well as the child Mary Queen of Scots's French household were managed by the family matriarch Antoinette.⁷ While the differences between France and England were mirrored by the ways in which the Guise and Carey dynasties exploited their kinship networks, both were fundamental components of their respective dynastic kingdoms.

Additional work on the role of kinship networks in the development of the Netherlands has been undertaken by Julia Adams who argues that local offices came under the control of kinship networks.⁸ However, she also argues that men and women did not work inter-dependently towards dynastic success but instead that women were restricted to the role of pawns in the marriage market. Further, she acknowledges that when local control became subservient to regional and national government her model breaks down. This argument raises several questions. First, the families studied were not connected to a national court or monarch and so issues of national policy do not enter into the discussion. Second, compared to the Careys, the kinship networks discussed were small which in itself limits the potential for political participation. Third, the late sixteenth-century collection of cities and regions that eventually coalesced into the Netherlands suffered from instability bred from being a constant battleground. Not only was there war between native forces and Hapsburg

6 J.Baker, 'Female monasticism and family strategy: The Guises and Saint Pierre de Reims', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 28 (1997), 1091-1108.

7 M.Wood (ed.), *Foreign Correspondence with Marie de Lorraine Queen of Scotland from the Originals in the Balcarres Papers, 1545-1557* (Edinburgh, 1925), pp.136-7, 218, 221-2.

8 J.Adams, 'The Familial state: elite family practices and state-making in the early modern Netherlands', *Theory and Society* 23 (1994) 505-539.

military might but there was also religious and more traditional European territorial acquisitional conflicts at work. None of these issues were applicable to Elizabethan England.

The relative stability of Elizabeth's reign with her court at the centre of the political kingdom presents a different landscape that relied on dynastic networks emanating outwards in order to function. As the queen's own, safely non-royal family Elizabeth could deploy the Careys in a wide variety of roles and be assured that their successes would not seriously challenge her authority.⁹ She provided them with sufficient support that other court families could not escape the fact that the Careys were the most favoured 'tribe of Dan', yet she never provided them sufficient wealth and power that they could destabilise her authority. In this, she treated them as she treated other elites, preventing over-reaching ambitions for the establishment of regional power bases by holding tightly to the reins of the royal largesse. That the Careys were cognisant that their success depended on never being perceived as a potential threat to the throne comes across clearly in this research. For example, when Henry Carey heard that the idea of his son George being married to the queen of Scots was in the air, his immediate response was to write to Cecil and the queen that he had no such ambitions.¹⁰ If George had married the Queen of Scots the fecundity of the family combined with Mary's demonstrated ability to produce a healthy boy would have created a secondary and, potentially rival, court around an heir. It would also have opened up the issue of the Careys's paternity which in turn would have challenged Elizabeth's legitimacy.¹¹ This was a dynastic gamble the Careys were unwilling to take.

At the same time, the fact that Francis Knollys suggested a Carey son as a spouse

⁹ See chapter 3.

¹⁰ See chapter 7.

¹¹ See chapter 4.

for Mary indicates that the relationship with the queen was so valuable as to possibly overcome any resistance based on rank from the woman who turned down Elizabeth's horse master, the earl of Leicester. According to Knollys's own reports, Mary did not reject the idea out of hand implying that she was also aware of the nature of the close relationship between Elizabeth and the Careys. While it is highly doubtful that any such plan would have been implemented, the fact that when pressed, Knollys could 'think of no other' indicates that he was sufficiently aware of Elizabeth's opinions regarding all other possible candidates.¹² Any other potential spouse, foreign or domestic, would have threatened the family and consequently the queen.

By extending Elton's 'points of contact' model the extent of kinship-network participation across Elizabeth's kingdom becomes apparent. The extension of the model is justified for although the emerging administration of naval activities, for example, did not draw Elton's attention it certainly provided a 'point of contact' for the ambitious. Otherwise the newly-married Frances Howard Fitzgerald would not have pursued a vice-admiralty post for her husband.¹³ The same was true for foreign service which provided a significant opportunity to improve one's fortunes at court as Edward Hoby did.¹⁴ This military and foreign service in defence of the realm provides a fourth point of contact and an area where the Careys excelled.¹⁵ As the reign progressed the Careys increasingly managed the relationship between England and Scotland. With Charles Howard as lord high admiral the second and third generation Careys consistently found work within the developing navy. Military activities provided several employment opportunities for the family frequently under the leadership of a relative. For

¹² See chapter 7.

¹³ See chapter 5 and appendix 10.

¹⁴ See chapter 6.

¹⁵ See chapter 6.

example, the expedition to Cadiz included several second, third and some fourth-generation cousins under the co-leadership of Charles Howard and Robert Devereux earl of Essex.¹⁶

Even two of the most assertive personalities of the reign, Robert Dudley earl of Leicester and Essex were part of the Carey kinship network, calling into question whether in the case of Leicester he maintained his position and, in the case of Essex he achieved his position, through their own charisma and talents or through reliance on the family network. Whether Leicester consciously allied with the Careys to bolster his position with the queen or they maintained a relationship with him to avoid the establishment of a strong rival is unclear. Rather, it is worth acknowledging that it was Leicester who characterised the Careys as the ‘tribe of Dan’ and that it would be fruitless to challenge them because of their strength and close relationship with the queen.¹⁷ Without the backing of his family, Essex would not have become the dynamic personality that he did. Several other young, charismatic noblemen might have risen to the same position but they lacked Essex’s extensive family.¹⁸ However, his attempt at rebellion was exactly the sort of ambition run amok that Elizabeth had worked assiduously to avoid. In the end, if he had worked within the shared ambitions of his dynastic network instead of disregarding their attempts to repair his position with the queen, they may have been able to save him from himself.

¹⁶ See appendix 9.

¹⁷ See chapter 3.

¹⁸ The earls of Southampton and Oxford were contemporaries whose careers never reached the same heights.

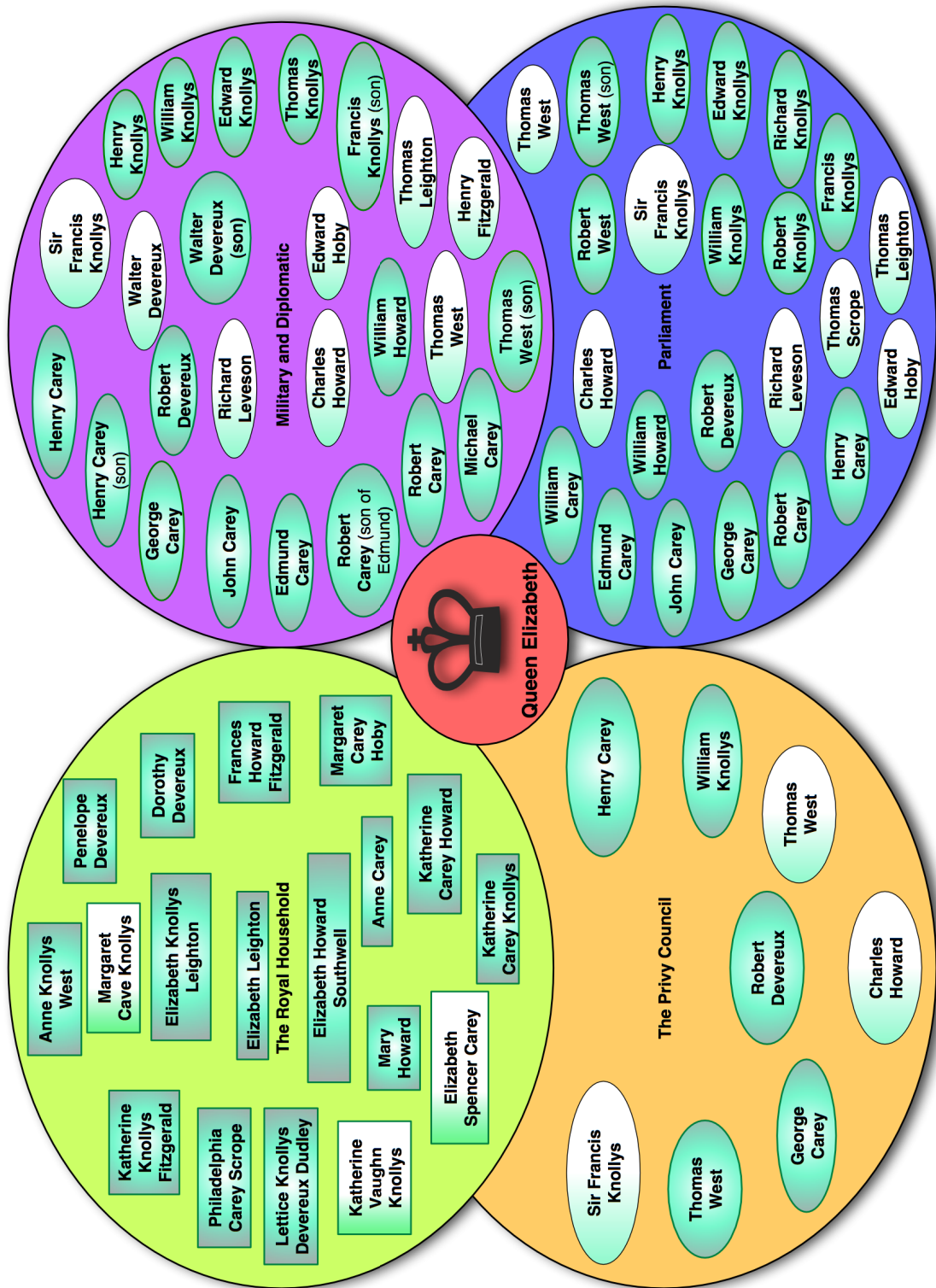


Figure 8.1 – The Careys and the extended ‘points of contact’

By connecting the extended model, as Elton did with his original version, to the monarch, the royal household takes on a pivotal role, on a par with the privy council and parliament in satisfying political ambitions. As those members of the household staff in most frequent contact with a queen-regnant were female, the role of women in the pursuit and implementation of kinship ambition was of equal weight to their brothers, sons, fathers and spouses in the three other political areas. The assumption that the household staff was somehow radically different than the staff in the other three political arenas, that they shunned politics, were dumb and deaf to any issues other than dressing and undressing the queen or husband-hunting among the courtiers becomes untenable especially when family relationships are taken into account. Clearly elite men expected their female kin to work within the household to further the family network as they were doing at the council table, in parliament or in the field.¹⁹ In the Careys's case, the kinship network was also the queen's family and therefore their ambitions served to further the queen's interests which she in turn expected; most especially in regard to her Carey female kin. If she had thought otherwise, they would not have comprised such a large and consistent component of chamber staff, nor would she have taken Carey girls as young as nine into the court.²⁰ While Elizabeth had other female favourites, the sheer number of Careys present throughout the reign proves that she trusted them. She was as dependent on them as they were on her.

When Elizabeth died, it was the Careys who notified King James VI of Scotland that he was now also king of England.²¹ Elizabeth's consistent use of the family as emissaries to Scotland, their deployment along the border as wardens and governors of Berwick combined with their employment across the 'points of

¹⁹ See chapter 5.

²⁰ See chapter 4.

²¹ Carey, *Memoirs* (1759), pp.149-151.

contact' supported the smooth transition from the Tudors to the Stuarts as well as guaranteeing the Careys a continuing presence on the political scene. As an established court family, their experience proved invaluable in establishing the households of the new royal family. As a consequence, the Careys's royal service continued into the Jacobean court and they spread out to the new world.²²

Their successful transition to this new era of dynastic politics was a tribute to the tenacity and cohesion with which multiple generations of Carey men and women worked together to manage the family business of politics and government. The family was political and politics was the family business. Without their loyal service, their cousin Elizabeth would have lacked the family context that lay at the heart of contemporary governance: Gloriana would have been as singular and solitary in reality as her carefully-constructed image through the centuries seems to suggest.

²² See Carey's own *Memoirs* as well as Payne, 'Aristocratic women and the Jacobean court'.

Appendices

Appendix 1 - Relatives of Elizabeth I alive 1558 - 1603

Last Name	First Name	Birth-Death	Relation-s hip ¹	Parents ²
of Denmark	Anne	1574-1619	³	Frederick II of Denmark & Sophie of Mecklenburg
Arundel	Matthew	1535-1598		
Audley Dudley Howard	Margaret	1540-1564		Thomas Audley baron Audley
Berkeley	Thomas	1575-1611		Henry Fitzhardinge Berkeley baron Berkeley & Katherine Howard Berkeley baroness Berkeley
Berkeley	George	1601-1658	IC3R*	Sir Thomas Berkeley & lady Elizabeth Carey Berkeley Chamberlain
Blount	Charles	1563-1606		James Blount 6th baron Mountjoy & Catherine Lee Blount baroness Mountjoy
Blount	Christopher	1555-1601		Thomas Blount
Blount	Charles	1600-1627	IC3R*	Charles Blount 8th baron Mountjoy & Penelope Devereux Rich Blount baroness Rich, Mountjoy
Blount	Isabella	1595-1666	IC3R*	Charles Blount 8th baron Mountjoy & Penelope Devereux Rich Blount baroness Rich, Mountjoy
Blount	Mountjoy (Scipio)	1597-1665	IC3R*	Charles Blount 8th baron Mountjoy & Penelope Devereux Rich Blount baroness Rich, Mountjoy
Brandon	Frances	1517-1559	1 st Cousin	Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk & Queen Mary Tudor Valois Brandon, duchess of Suffolk
Bray Brydges Chandos Knollys	Dorothy	1529-1605		Edmund Bray 1 st baron Bray & Jane Hallighwell Bray baroness Bray
Brooke	Henry	1564-1618		William Brooke 10 th earl Cobham & Frances Newton Brooke countess Cobham
Butler	Thomas	1531-1614		
Carey	Robert	1560-1639	IC1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan baroness Hunsdon
Carey	Henry	1526-1596	1 st Cousin	William Carey & Mary Boleyn Carey
Carey	Edmund	1558-1637	IC1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Carey	George	1546-1603	IC1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Carey	Henry	?1549-1581	IC1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon

¹ IC1R=first cousin once removed IC2R=first cousin twice removed etc. An asterisk * indicates a cousin in descendency or a descendant of a full cousin; without an asterisk indicates a cousin in the ascendancy for example an ancestor of a full cousin such as a child of a great-aunt.

² Suffix titles are listed in full if child was the result of parents' last marriage even if title was granted after 1603. Otherwise parental titles are listed only for the marriage in effect at the time of birth.

³ If this field is empty the person listed is a spouse of a relative.

Carey	John	1551-1617	IC1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Carey	William	1553-1593	IC1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Carey	Anne	?1584-1622	IC2R*	John Carey 3 rd baron Hunsdon & Mary Hyde Peyton Carey baroness Hunsdon
Carey	Henry	?1579-1666	IC2R*	John Carey 3 rd baron Hunsdon & Mary Hyde Peyton Carey baroness Hunsdon
Carey	Henry	1596-1661	IC2R*	Robert Carey baron Carey, 1 st earl of Monmouth, baron of Leppington & Elizabeth Trevianion Carey baroness Carey, countess of Monmouth
Carey	Henry	1577-1578	IC2R*	John Carey 3 rd baron Hunsdon & Mary Hyde Peyton Carey baroness Hunsdon
Carey	Philadelphia	1594-1654	IC2R*	Robert Carey baron Carey, 1 st earl of Monmouth, baron of Leppington & Elizabeth Trevianion Carey baroness Carey, countess of Monmouth
Carey	Robert	1583-1621	IC2R*	Edmund Carey & Mary Coker Carey
Carey	Thomas	1597-1634	IC2R*	Robert Carey baron Carey, 1 st earl of Monmouth, baron of Leppington & Elizabeth Trevianion Carey baroness Carey, countess of Monmouth
Carey Berkeley Chamberlain	Elizabeth	1576-1635	IC2R*	George Carey 2 nd baron Hunsdon & Elizabeth Spencer Carey baroness Hunsdon
Carey Hobby	Margaret	1564-1605	IC1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Carey Howard	Katherine	1547-1603	IC1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Carey Knollys	Katherine	1524-1569	1 st Cousin	William Carey & Mary Boleyn Carey
Carey Scrope	Philadelphia	1563-1629	IC1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Cave Knollys	Margaret	1549-1606		Sir Ambrose Cave & Margaret Willington Cave
Cavendish	Elizabeth	1554-1582		Charles Cavendish & Elizabeth Hardwick Barlow Cavendish
Clifford	Henry	1517-1570		Henry Clifford 1 st earl of Cumberland & Margaret Percy Clifford countess of Cumberland
Clifford Stanley	Margaret	1540-1596	IC1R*	Henry Clifford 2 nd earl of Cumberland & Eleanor Brandon Clifford countess of Cumberland
Cokayne Howard	Mary	1598-1651		Sir William Cokayne & Mary Morris Cokayne
Coker Carey	Mary	1565-1595		Christopher Coker & ?
Dacre	Anne	1557-1630		Thomas Dacre 4 th baron Dacre of Gilsland & Elizabeth Leybourne Dacre baroness Dacre of Gilsland
Dacre	Mary	1563-1578		Thomas Dacre 4 th baron Dacre of Gilsland & Elizabeth Leybourne Dacre baroness Dacre of Gilsland
Dakins Devereux Sidney Hoby	Margaret	1571-1633		Arthur Dakins & Thomasine Gye Dakins
Devereux	Walter	1539-1576		Sir Richard Devereux & Dorothy Hastings Devereux
Devereux	Robert	1566-1601	IC2R*	Walter Devereux 1 st earl of Essex & Lettice Knollys Devereux countess of Essex
Devereux	Walter	1570-1591	IC2R*	Walter Devereux 1 st earl of Essex & Lettice Knollys Devereux countess of Essex
Devereux		1596-1596	IC3R*	Robert Devereux 2 nd earl of Essex & Frances Walsingham Sidney Devereux countess of Essex

Devereux	Dorothy	1600-1636	IC3R*	Robert Devereux 2 nd earl of Essex & Frances Walsingham Sidney Devereux countess of Essex
Devereux	Henry	1595-1596	IC3R*	Robert Devereux 2 nd earl of Essex & Frances Walsingham Sidney Devereux countess of Essex
Devereux	Robert	1591-1646	IC3R*	Robert Devereux 2 nd earl of Essex & Frances Walsingham Sidney Devereux countess of Essex
Devereux	Walter	1592-1592	IC3R*	Robert Devereux 2 nd earl of Essex & Frances Walsingham Sidney Devereux countess of Essex
Devereux Perrot Percy	Dorothy	1564-1619	IC2R*	Walter Devereux 1 st earl of Essex & Lettice Knollys Devereux countess of Essex
Devereux Rich Blount	Penelope	1563-1607	IC2R*	Walter Devereux 1 st earl of Essex & Lettice Knollys Devereux countess of Essex
Devereux Seymour	Frances	1599-1674	IC3R*	Robert Devereux 2 nd earl of Essex & Frances Walsingham Sidney Devereux countess of Essex
Digby	Robert	1575-1618		
Douglas	Margaret	1515-1578	1 st Cousin	Archibald Douglas 6 th earl of Angus & Queen Margaret Tudor Stuart Douglas, countess of Angus
Dudley	Robert	1532-1588		John Dudley earl of Warwick, duke of Northumberland & Jane Guildford countess of Warwick, duchess of Northumberland
Dudley	Robert	1574-1649	Half 2 nd Cousin	Robert Dudley earl of Leicester & Douglas Howard baroness Sheffield ⁴
Dudley	Robert	1581-1584	IC2R*	Robert Dudley earl of Leicester & Lettice Knollys Devereux Dudley countess of Essex & Leicester
Egerton	John	1579-1649		Sir Thomas Egerton & Alice Spencer Stanley Egerton, countess of Derby
Fiennes	Gregory	1539-1594		
Fiennes de Clinton	Edward	1512-1585		Thomas Fiennes De Clinton 8 th lord Clinton & Saye & Unnamed
Fitzalan	Henry	1512-1580		William Fitzalan 11 th earl of Arundel & Anne Percy Fitzalan countess of Arundel
Fitzalan	Jane	1537-1578	Half 2 nd Cousin	Henry Fitzalan 12 th earl of Arundel & Catherine Grey Fitzalan countess of Arundel
Fitzgerald	Lettice	1580-1658	IC2R*	Gerald Fitzgerald lord Offaly & Katherine Knollys Fitzgerald lady Offaly
Fitzgerald	Gerald	1525-1585	Half 2 nd Cousin	Gerald Fitzgerald 9 th earl of Kildare, baron Offaley & Elizabeth Grey Fitzgerald countess of Kildare, baroness Offaley
Fitzgerald	Gerald	1559-1580	Half 2C1R*	Gerald Fitzgerald 11 th earl of Kildare & Mabel Browne Fitzgerald countess of Kildare
Fitzgerald	Henry	1562-1597	Half 2C1R*	Gerald Fitzgerald 11 th earl of Kildare & Mabel Browne Fitzgerald countess of Kildare

⁴ Marriage denied by both parties until after Leicester's death. Son considered illegitimate in England during Elizabeth's lifetime.

Fitzgerald	Mary	1556-1610	Half 2C1R*	Gerald Fitzgerald 11 th earl of Kildare & Mabel Browne Fitzgerald countess of Kildare
Fitzgerald Browne Fiennes de Clinton	Elizabeth	1528-1589	Half 2 nd Cousin	Gerald Fitzgerald 9 th earl of Kildare, baron Offaley & Elizabeth Grey Fitzgerald countess of Kildare, baroness Offaley
Gamage Howard	Margaret	1515-1581		Sir Thomas Gamage of Coety, Glamorgan & Margaret Gamage
Grey Seymour	Katherine	1540-1568	1C1R*	Henry Grey 3 rd marquess of Dorset, duke of Suffolk & Frances Brandon Grey marchioness of Dorset, duchess of Suffolk
Grey Keys	Mary	1545-1578	1C1R*	Henry Grey 3 rd marquess of Dorset, duke of Suffolk & Frances Brandon Grey marchioness of Dorset, duchess of Suffolk
Guise	Mary of	1515-1560		Claude de Guise duke of Lorraine & Antoinette de Bourbon duchess of Lorraine
Hamilton	James	1516-1575	4 th Cousin	James Hamilton earl of Arran & unnamed
Hamilton	James	1530-1609	4C1R*	James Hamilton 2 nd earl of Arran, duke of Chatelherault
Herbert	Henry	1538-1601		William Herbert earl of Pembroke & Anne Parr Herbert countess of Pembroke
Hoby	Edward	1560-1617		Thomas Hoby & lady Elizabeth Cooke Hoby
Howard	Charles	1579-1642	1C2R*	Charles Howard 2 nd baron Effingham, 1 st earl of Nottingham & Katherine Carey Howard baroness Effingham, countess of Nottingham
Howard	Elizabeth	1564-1646	1C2R*	Charles Howard 2 nd baron Effingham, 1 st earl of Nottingham & Katherine Carey Howard baroness Effingham, countess of Nottingham
Howard	William	1577-1615	1C2R*	Charles Howard 2 nd baron Effingham, 1 st earl of Nottingham & Katherine Carey Howard baroness Effingham, countess of Nottingham
Howard	Elizabeth	1586-1658	2C2R*	Thomas Howard lord Howard of Walden, 1 st earl of Suffolk & Katherine Kynvett countess of Suffolk
Howard	Henry	1542-1591	2 nd Cousin	Thomas Howard viscount Howard of Bindon & Elizabeth Mamey Howard viscountess Howard of Bindon
Howard	Henry	1540-1614	2 nd Cousin	Henry Howard earl of Surrey & Frances De Vere Howard countess of Surrey
Howard	Jane	1537-1593	2 nd Cousin	Henry Howard earl of Surrey & Frances De Vere Howard countess of Surrey
Howard	Thomas	1538-1572	2 nd Cousin	Henry Howard earl of Surrey & Frances De Vere Howard countess of Surrey
Howard	Margaret	1560-1591	2C1R*	Thomas Howard 4 th duke of Norfolk & Margaret Audley Dudley Howard duchess of Norfolk
Howard	Philip	1557-1595	2C1R*	Thomas Howard 4 th duke of Norfolk & Mary Fitzalan Howard duchess of Norfolk
Howard	Thomas	1561-1626	2C1R*	Thomas Howard 4 th duke of Norfolk & Margaret Audley Dudley Howard duchess of Norfolk
Howard	Frances	1590-1632	2C2R*	Thomas Howard baron Howard of Walden, 1 st earl of Suffolk & Katherine Kynvett countess of Suffolk
Howard	Theophilus	1584-1640	2C2R*	Thomas Howard baron Howard of Walden, 1 st earl of Suffolk & Katherine Kynvett countess of Suffolk
Howard	Thomas	1520-1582	1C1R	Thomas Howard earl of Surrey, 3 rd duke of Norfolk & Elizabeth Stafford Howard duchess of Norfolk
Howard	Charles	1536-1624	Half 1C1R	William Howard 1 st baron of Effingham & Margaret Gamage Howard baroness of Effingham

Howard	Martha	1554-1598	Half 1C1R	William Howard 1 st baron of Effingham & Margaret Gamage Howard baroness of Effingham
Howard	William	1510-1573	Half Granduncle	Thomas Howard 2 nd duke of Norfolk & Agnes Tilney Howard duchess of Norfolk
Howard Fitzgerald	Frances	?1573-1628	1C2R*	Charles Howard 2 nd baron Effingham, 1 st earl of Nottingham & Katherine Carey Howard baroness Effingham, countess of Nottingham
Howard Leveson	Margaret	1570-1641	1C2R*	Charles Howard 2 nd baron Effingham, 1 st earl of Nottingham & Katherine Carey Howard baroness Effingham, countess of Nottingham
Howard Pranel	Frances	1578-1639	2 nd Cousin	Thomas Howard viscount Howard of Bindon & Mabel Burton Howard, viscountess Howard of Bindon
Howard Seymour	Frances	1554-1598	Half 1C1R	William Howard 1 st baron of Effingham & Margaret Gamage Howard baroness of Effingham
Howard Sheffield Stafford	Douglas	1542-1608	Half 1C1R	William Howard 1 st baron of Effingham & Margaret Gamage Howard baroness of Effingham
St. John Howard	Anne	?1581-1638		John St. John 2 nd baron St. John of Bletsoe & Katherine Dormer St. John baroness St. John of Bletsoe
Valois	Francois	1544-1560		King Henry Valois II & Queen Catherine de Medici
Knollys	Francis	1511-1596		Robert Knollys & Lettice Peniston Knollys
Knollys	William	1545-1632	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys lady Knollys
Knollys	Dudley	1562-1562	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys lady Knollys
Knollys	Edward	1546-1575	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys lady Knollys
Knollys	Francis	1553-1648	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys lady Knollys
Knollys	Henry	1541-1582	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys lady Knollys
Knollys	Mary	1542-?1632	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys lady Knollys
Knollys	Richard	1552-1596	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys lady Knollys
Knollys	Robert	1550-1619	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys lady Knollys
Knollys	Thomas	1558-1648	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys lady Knollys
Knollys	Elizabeth	?1579-?1632	1C2R*	Henry Knollys & Margaret Cave Knollys
Knollys	Lettice	?1581-1655	1C2R*	Henry Knollys & Margaret Cave Knollys
Knollys	Francis	1592-1640	1C2R*	Richard Knollys & Joan Heigham Knollys
Knollys	Lettice	1587-1631	1C2R*	Richard Knollys & Joan Heigham Knollys
Knollys	Richard	1594-1595	1C2R*	Richard Knollys & Joan Heigham Knollys
Knollys	Robert	1589-1659	1C2R*	Richard Knollys & Joan Heigham Knollys

Knollys Devereux Dudley	Lettice	1543-1636	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys lady Knollys
Knollys Fitzgerald Butler	Katherine	1559-1632	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys lady Knollys
Knollys Leighton	Elizabeth	1549-?1616	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys lady Knollys
Knollys West	Anne	1555-1608	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys lady Knollys
Kynvett	Katherine	1564-1638		Henry Kynvett & Elizabeth Stumpe Kynvett
Leighton	Thomas	1535-1616		John Leighton of Watlesburgh & Joyce Sutton Leighton
Leveson	Richard	1570-1605		
Littleton	Elizabeth	1546-1594		
Lumley	John	1533-1609		
Morgan	Ann	1535-1607		Sir Thomas Morgan & Anne Whitney Morgan
Neville	Charles	1542-1601		Henry Neville 5 th earl of Westmoreland & Anne Manners Neville countess of Westmoreland
Neville		1569-1571	2C1R*	Charles Neville 6 th earl of Westmoreland & Jane Howard Neville countess of Westmoreland
Paulet	William	1532-1598		
Percy	Henry	1564-1632		
Percy		1603-1603	1C3R*	Henry Percy 9 th earl of Northumberland & Dorothy Devereux Perrot Percy countess of Northumberland
Percy	Algernon	1602-1668	1C3R*	Henry Percy 9 th earl of Northumberland & Dorothy Devereux Perrot Percy countess of Northumberland
Percy	Henry	1596-1597	1C3R*	Henry Percy 9 th earl of Northumberland & Dorothy Devereux Perrot Percy countess of Northumberland
Percy	Henry	1597-1598	1C3R*	Henry Percy 9 th earl of Northumberland & Dorothy Devereux Perrot Percy countess of Northumberland
Percy	Lucy	1600-1660	1C3R*	Henry Percy 9 th earl of Northumberland & Dorothy Devereux Perrot Percy countess of Northumberland
Percy Sidney	Dorothy	1598-1659	1C3R*	Henry Percy 9 th earl of Northumberland & Dorothy Devereux Perrot Percy countess of Northumberland
Perrot	Thomas	1553-1594		John Perrot & Anne Cheyne Perrot
Perrot	Robert	1592-1593	1C3R*	Sir Thomas Perrot & Dorothy Devereux Perrot
Radcliffe	Thomas	1526-1583	Half 1C1R	Henry Radcliffe 2 nd earl of Sussex & Elizabeth Howard Radcliffe countess of Sussex
Rich	Robert	1559-1619		Robert Rich 2 nd baron Rich & Elizabeth Baldry Rich baroness Rich
Rich	Henry	1590-1649	1C3R*	Robert Rich baron Rich & Penelope Devereux Rich baroness Rich
Rich	Lettice 'Lucy'	1583-1619	1C3R*	Robert Rich baron Rich & Penelope Devereux Rich baroness Rich
Rich	Penelope	1592-1613	1C3R*	Charles Blount 8 th baron Mounjoy & Penelope Devereux Rich Blount baroness Rich & Mounjoy
Rich	Robert	1587-1658	1C3R*	Robert Rich baron Rich & Penelope Devereux Rich baroness Rich

Sackville	Thomas	1536-1608	2 nd Cousin	Richard Sackville & Winifred Brydges Sackville	
Sackville	Robert	1560-1609	2C1R*	Thomas Sackville baron Buckhurst & Cicely Baker Sackville baroness Buckhurst	
Sackville	William	1569-1592	2C1R*	Thomas Sackville baron Buckhurst & Cicely Baker Sackville baroness Buckhurst	
Scrope	Henry	1533-1592		John Scrope 8 th baron Scrope & Katherine Clifford Scrope baroness Scrope	
Scrope	Emmanuel	1584-1630	1C2R*	Thomas Scrope 10 th baron Scrope & Philadelphia Carey Scrope baroness Scrope	
Scrope	Thomas	1567-1609	2C1R*	Henry Scrope 9 th baron Scrope & Margaret Howard Scrope baroness Scrope	
Scudamore	John	1542-1623			
Seymour	Edward	1539-1621		Sir Edward Seymour earl of Hertford, duke of Somerset & Anne Stanhope Seymour duchess of Somerset	
Seymour	Edward	1561-1612	1C2R*	Edward Seymour 1 st earl of Hertford & lady Katherine Grey Seymour countess of Hertford	
Sheffield	John	1538-1568		Edmund Sheffield 1 st baron Sheffield & Anne Sheffield countess of Sheffield	
Sheffield	Edmund	1565-1646	Half 2 nd Cousin	John Sheffield 2 nd baron Sheffield & Douglas Howard Sheffield baroness Sheffield	
Shelton	Mary	1510-1570	1C1R	Sir John Shelton & Anne Boleyn Shelton	
Shelton	Mary	1556-1604	2 nd Cousin	Sir John Shelton & Margaret Parker Shelton	
Scudamore					
Sidney	Frances	1531-1589		Sir William Sidney & Anne Pagenham Sidney	
Sidney	Robert	1595-1677		Robert Sidney viscount Lisle, 1 st earl of Leicester & Barbara Gamage Sidney viscountess Lisle, countess of Leicester	
Southwell	Robert	1563-1599		Thomas Southwell & Mary Mansell Southwell	
Southwell	Elizabeth	1586-1631	1C3R*	Lord Robert Southwell & Elizabeth Howard lady Southwell	
Spencer	Alice	1559-1637		Sir John Spencer & Katherine Kitson Spencer	
Spencer Carey	Elizabeth	1552-1618		Sir John Spencer & Katherine Kitson Spencer	
Stafford	Edward	1552-1605		William Stafford & Dorothy Stafford	
Stafford	William	1512-1556			
Stanley	Edward	1509-1572			
Stanley	Ferdinando	1559-1594	1C2R*	Henry Stanley lord Strange, 4 th earl of Derby & Margaret Clifford lady Strange, countess of Derby	
Stanley	William	1561-1642	1C2R*	Henry Stanley lord Strange, 4 th earl of Derby & Margaret Clifford lady Strange, countess of Derby	
Stanley	Anne	1580-1647	1C3R*	Ferdinando Stanley lord Strange 5 th earl of Derby & Alice Spencer Stanley lady Strange, countess of Derby	
Stanley	Elizabeth	1587-1633	1C3R*	Ferdinando Stanley lord Strange 5 th earl of Derby & Alice Spencer Stanley lady Strange, countess of Derby	
Stanley	Frances	1583-1636	1C3R*	Ferdinando Stanley lord Strange 5 th earl of Derby & Alice Spencer Stanley lady Strange, countess of Derby	
Stanley	Henry	1531-1593	Half 1C1R	Edward Stanley 3 rd earl of Derby & Dorothy Howard Stanley countess of Derby	

Stewart	Mathew	1516-1571			
Stewart	Charles	1555-1576	1C1R*	Mathew Stewart 13 th or 4 th earl of Lennox & Margaret Douglas Stewart countess of Lennox	
Stewart	Henry	1545-1567	1C1R*	Mathew Stewart 13 th or 4 th earl of Lennox & Margaret Douglas Stewart countess of Lennox	
Stokes	Adrian	1533-1585			
Stuart	Mary	1542-1587	1C1R*	James V & Queen Mary of Guise	
Stuart	Arbella	1575-1615	1C2R*	Charles Stewart & Elizabeth Cavendish Stewart	
Stuart	James	1566-1625	1C2R*	Henry Stewart lord Damley, King Consort of Scotland & Mary Stuart Queen of Scots	
Uvedale	William	1586-1652			
De Vere Stanley	Elizabeth	1575-1627		Edward De Vere 17 th earl of Oxford & Anne Cecil De Vere countess of Oxford	
Walsingham	Frances	1567-1632		Francis Walsingham & Ursula St. Barbe Walsingham	
Sidney					
Devereux Burgh					
West	Thomas	1550-1602		William West baron De La Warre & Elizabeth Strange West baroness De La Warre	
West	Francis	1586-1634	1C2R*	Thomas West 2 nd baron De La Warre & Anne Knollys West baroness De La Warre	
West	Nathaniel	1592-1623	1C2R*	Thomas West 2 nd baron De La Warre & Anne Knollys West baroness De La Warre	
West	Penelope	1582-1619	1C2R*	Thomas West 2 nd baron De La Warre & Anne Knollys West baroness De La Warre	
West	Robert	1574-1594	1C2R*	Thomas West 2 nd baron De La Warre & Anne Knollys West baroness De La Warre	
West	Thomas	1577-1618	1C2R*	Thomas West 2 nd baron De La Warre & Anne Knollys West baroness De La Warre	
Willoughby	Francis	1547-1596	Half 2 nd Cousin	Henry Willoughby & Anne Grey Willoughby	
Willoughby	Margaret	1545-1585	Half 2 nd Cousin	Henry Willoughby & Anne Grey Willoughby	
Willoughby	Thomas	1541-1559	Half 2 nd Cousin	Henry Willoughby & Anne Grey Willoughby	
Willoughby	Bridget	1566-1629	Half 2C1R*	Francis Willoughby & Elizabeth Littleton Willoughby	
Total: 193					

Appendix 2 - Elizabeth's royal relatives alive between 1558 and 1603

Last Name	First Name	Birth-Death	Relationship	Parents
Brandon ⁵	Frances	1517-1559	1 st Cousin	Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk & Queen Mary Tudor Valois, duchess of Suffolk
Clifford	Margaret	1540-1596	1C1R*	Henry Clifford 2 nd earl of Cumberland & Eleanor Brandon Clifford countess of Cumberland
Douglas	Margaret	1515-1578	1 st Cousin	Archibald Douglas 6 th earl of Angus & Queen Margaret Tudor Stewart, countess of Angus
Fitzalan	Jane	1537-1578	Half 2 nd Cousin	Henry Fitzalan 12 th earl of Arundel & Catherine Grey Fitzalan countess of Arundel
Fitzgerald	Lettice	1580-1658	1C2R*	Gerald Fitzgerald lord Offaly & Katherine Knollys Fitzgerald Butler lady Offaly
Fitzgerald	Gerald	1525-1585	Half 2 nd Cousin	Gerald Fitzgerald 9 th earl of Kildare, baron Offaley & lady Elizabeth Grey Fitzgerald countess of Kildare
Fitzgerald	Gerald	1559-1580	Half 2C1R*	Gerald Fitzgerald 11 th earl of Kildare & Mabel Browne Fitzgerald countess of Kildare
Fitzgerald	Henry	1562-1597	Half 2C1R*	Gerald Fitzgerald 11 th earl of Kildare & Mabel Browne Fitzgerald countess of Kildare
Fitzgerald	Mary	1556-1610	Half 2C1R*	Gerald Fitzgerald 11 th earl of Kildare & Mabel Browne Fitzgerald countess of Kildare
Fitzgerald	Elizabeth	1528-1589	Half 2 nd Cousin	Gerald Fitzgerald 9 th earl of Kildare, baron Offaley & lady Elizabeth Grey Fitzgerald countess of Kildare
Grey	Katherine	1540-1568	1C1R*	Henry Grey 3 rd marquess of Dorset, duke of Suffolk & lady Frances Brandon Grey marchioness of Dorset, duchess of Suffolk
Grey	Mary	1545-1578	1C1R*	Henry Grey 3 rd marquess of Dorset, duke of Suffolk & lady Frances Brandon Grey marchioness of Dorset, duchess of Suffolk
Hamilton	James	1516-1575	4 th Cousin	James Hamilton earl of Arran
Hamilton	James	1530-1609	4C1R*	James Hamilton 2 nd earl of Arran, duke of Chatelherault
Howard	Elizabeth	1586-1658	2C2R*	Thomas Howard lord Howard of Walden, 1 st earl of Suffolk & Katherine Kynvett countess of Suffolk
Howard	Henry	1542-1591	2 nd Cousin	Thomas Howard viscount Howard of Bindon & Elizabeth Marney Howard viscountess Howard of Bindon
Howard	Henry	1540-1614	2 nd Cousin	Henry Howard earl of Surrey & Frances De Vere Howard countess of Surrey
Howard	Jane	1537-1593	2 nd Cousin	Henry Howard earl of Surrey & Frances De Vere Howard countess of Surrey
Howard	Thomas	1538-1572	2 nd Cousin	Henry Howard earl of Surrey & Frances De Vere Howard countess of Surrey
Howard	Margaret	1560-1591	2C1R*	Thomas Howard 4 th duke of Norfolk & Margaret Audley Dudley Howard duchess of Norfolk
Howard	Philip	1557-1595	2C1R*	Thomas Howard 4 th duke of Norfolk & Mary Fitzalan Howard duchess of Norfolk

⁵ Women are listed under their natal family names only in this table.

Howard	Thomas	1561-1626	2C1R*	Thomas Howard 4 th duke of Norfolk & Margaret Audley Dudley Howard duchess of Norfolk
Howard	Frances	1590-1632	2C2R*	Thomas Howard lord Howard of Walden, 1 st earl of Suffolk & Katherine Kynvett countess of Suffolk
Howard	Theophilus	1584-1640	2C2R*	Thomas Howard lord Howard of Walden, 1 st earl of Suffolk & Katherine Kynvett countess of Suffolk
Howard	Thomas	1520-1582	1C1R	Thomas Howard earl of Surrey, 3 rd duke of Norfolk & Elizabeth Stafford Howard duchess of Norfolk
Howard	Frances	1578-1639	2 nd Cousin	Thomas Howard viscount Howard of Bindon & Mabel Burton Howard viscountess Howard of Bindon
Neville	Charles	1542-1601		Henry Neville 5 th earl of Westmoreland & Anne Manners Neville countess of Westmoreland
Neville		1569-1571	2C1R*	Charles Neville 6 th earl of Westmoreland & Jane Howard Neville countess of Westmoreland
Scrope	Emmanual	1584-1630	1C2R*	Thomas Scrope 10 th baron Scrope & Philadelphia Carey Scrope baroness Scrope
Scrope	Thomas	1567-1609	2C1R*	Henry Scrope 9 th baron Scrope & Margaret Howard Scrope baroness Scrope
Seymour	Edward	1561-1612	1C2R*	Edward Seymour 1 st earl of Hertford & lady Katherine Grey Seymour countess of Hertford
Stafford	Edward	1552-1605		William Stafford & Dorothy Stafford
Stafford	William	1512-1556		
Stanley	Ferdinando	1559-1594	1C2R*	Henry Stanley lord Strange, 4 th earl of Derby & Margaret Clifford Stanley lady Strange, countess of Derby
Stanley	William	1561-1642	1C2R*	Henry Stanley lord Strange, 4 th earl of Derby & Margaret Clifford Stanley lady Strange, countess of Derby
Stanley	Anne	1580-1647	1C3R*	Ferdinando Stanley 5 th earl of Derby & Alice Spencer Stanley countess of Derby
Stanley	Elizabeth	1587-1633	1C3R*	Ferdinando Stanley 5 th earl of Derby & Alice Spencer Stanley countess of Derby
Stanley	Frances	1583-1636	1C3R*	Ferdinando Stanley 5 th earl of Derby & Alice Spencer Stanley countess of Derby
Stewart	Mathew	1516-1571		
Stewart	Charles	1555-1576	1C1R*	Mathew Stewart 13 th or 4 th earl of Lennox & lady Margaret Douglas Stewart countess of Lennox
Stewart	Henry	1545-1567	1C1R*	Mathew Stewart 13 th or 4 th earl of Lennox & lady Margaret Douglas Stewart countess of Lennox
Stuart	Mary	1542-1587	1C1R*	King James V & Queen Mary of Guise
Stuart	Arbella	1575-1615	1C2R*	Charles Stewart & Elizabeth Cavendish Stewart
Stuart	James	1566-1625	1C2R*	Henry Stewart lord Darnley, King Consort of Scotland & Mary Stuart Queen of Scots
Willoughby	Francis	1547-1596	Half 2 nd Cousin	Henry Willoughby & Anne Grey Willoughby
Willoughby	Margaret	1545-1585	Half 2 nd Cousin	Henry Willoughby & Anne Grey Willoughby
Willoughby	Thomas	1541-1559	Half 2 nd Cousin	Henry Willoughby & Anne Grey Willoughby
Willoughby	Bridget	1566-1629	Half 2C1R*	Francis Willoughby & Elizabeth Littleton Willoughby
Total: 49				

Appendix 3 - Descendants of Mary Boleyn Carey alive 1558-1603 and their spouses, with Elizabethan 'points of contact'

Last Name	First Name	Suffix Title	Birth-Death	Relationship ⁶	Points of Contact	Spouse ⁷
Berkeley	Thomas		1575-1611			Elizabeth Carey Berkeley
Berkeley	George		1601-1658	GG Grandson		⁸
Blount	Christopher		1555-1601		Parliament	Lettice Knollys Devereux Dudley Blount countess of Essex & Leicester
Blount	Charles		1600-1627	GG Grandson		
Blount	Isabella		1595-1666	GG Granddaughter		
Blount	Mountjoy (Scipio)		1597-1665	GG Grandson		
Bray Brydges Chandos ⁹	Dorothy	Lady Chandos	1529-1605		Court? ¹⁰	William Knollys ¹¹
Brooke	Henry	11 th baron Cobham	1564-1618			Frances Howard Fitzgerald countess of Kildare baroness Cobham
Carey	Henry	baron Hunsdon	1526-1596	Son	Court, Diplomat, Military, Parliament, Privy Councillor	Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Carey	Edmund		1558-1637	Grandson	Court, Military, Parliament	Mary Coker Carey ¹²
Carey	George	2 nd baron Hunsdon	1546-1603	Grandson	Court, Military, Parliament, Privy Councillor	Elizabeth Neville Danvers Carey Elizabeth Spencer Carey baroness Hunsdon

⁶ Relationships are to Mary Boleyn Carey who was maternal aunt to Elizabeth I. If no relationship is specified then person is a spouse of a descendant.

⁷ Women in this column are listed by their married names and associated titles.

⁸ Entries without spouses were either still too young to marry in 1603 or no spouse has been recorded.

⁹ Only women's last names at time of marriage are listed. When Dorothy married William Knollys her name was Dorothy Bray Brydges Chandos, Lady Chandos.

¹⁰ Member of Mary I's court. Her position at Elizabeth's court is uncertain but likely an unpaid lady of the presence chamber.

¹¹ Only Elizabethan titles are included. For example, William Knollys was created Baron Knollys of Grey, Viscount Walingford and earl of Banbury by James I but held no such titles under Elizabeth I.

¹² Spouses are listed in order of marriage. For example, Edmund married 1st Mary Coker and 2nd Elizabeth Neville Danvers.

Carey	Henry		?1549 ¹³ -1581	Grandson	Military, Parliament	
Carey	John		1551-1617	Grandson	Court, Military, Parliament	Mary Hyde Peyton Carey
Carey	Robert		1560-1639	Grandson	Court, Diplomat, Military, Parliament,	Elizabeth Trevianian Carey
Carey	William		1553-1593	Grandson	Parliament	Martha Turner Carey
Carey	Henry		1577-1578	G Grandson		
Carey	Henry		?1579-1666	G Grandson	Military	Judith Pelham Carey
Carey	Henry		1596-1661	G Grandson	Parliament	Martha Cranfield Carey
Carey	Philadelphia		1594-1654	G Granddaughter		Sir Thomas Wharton of Easby
Carey	Robert		1583-1621	G Grandson		Alice Hogenoke Carey
Carey	Thomas		1597-1634	G Grandson		Margaret Smith Carey
Carey Berkeley	Elizabeth		1576-1635	G Granddaughter		Thomas Chamberlain
Carey	Margaret		1564-1605	Granddaughter	Court	Edward Hoby
Carey	Katherine		1547-1603	Granddaughter	Court	Charles Howard 2 nd baron Effingham 1 st earl of Nottingham
Carey	Katherine		1524-1569	Daughter	Court	Sir Francis Knollys
Carey	Philadelphia		1563-1629	Granddaughter	Court	Thomas Scrope 10 th baron Scrope
Cave	Margaret		1549-1606		Court	Henry Knollys
Coker	Mary		1565-1595			Edmund Carey
Dakins	Margaret		1571-1633			Walter Devereux
						Thomas Sidney
						Thomas Posthumous Hoby
Devereux	Walter	Lord Hereford 1 st earl of Essex	1539-1576		Military	Lettice Knollys Devereux lady Hereford countess of Essex
Devereux	Robert	2 nd earl of Essex	1566-1601	G Grandson	Court, Military, Privy Councillor	Frances Walsingham Sidney Devereux countess of Essex
Devereux	Walter		1570-1591	G Grandson	Military	Margaret Dakins Devereux
Devereux			1596-1596	GG Grandson		
Devereux	Dorothy		1600-1636	GG Granddaughter		
Devereux	Henry		1595-1596	GG Grandson		

¹³ This birth date is conjecture. Nichols, *H & G*, 4 p.46 lists baptism on 15 Sep 1564 but *HoP* vol. 1, P.549 says he was MP for Berwick-on-Tweed in 1571. Using Nichols baptism date would make him an 8-years-old MP. 1549 represents a gap in the family birth order and would make him approximately 22 at his first parliament.

Devereux	Robert		1591-1646	GG Grandson	Military, Parliament	
Devereux	Walter		1592-1592	GG Grandson		
Devereux	Dorothy		1564-1619	G Granddaughter	Court	Sir Thomas Perrot Henry Percy 9 th earl of Northumberland
Devereux	Penelope		1563-1607	G Granddaughter	Court	Lord Robert Rich
Devereux	Frances		1599-1674	GG Granddaughter		
Dudley	Robert	earl of Leicester	1532-1588		Court, Military, Parliament, Privy Councillor	Amy Robsart Dudley Lettice Knollys Devereux Dudley countess of Essex & Leicester
Dudley	Robert	baron Denbigh	1581-1584	G Grandson		
Dudley	Robert		1574-1649	Half 1C1R*		
Fitzgerald	Lettice	baroness Offaly	1580-1658	G Granddaughter	Court, Military, Royal Blood	Sir Robert Digby
Fitzgerald	Gerald	Lord Offaly	1559-1580			Katherine Knollys Fitzgerald
Fitzgerald	Henry	12 th earl of Kildare	1562-1597		Military	Frances Howard Fitzgerald countess of Kildare
Hoby	Edward		1560-1617		Court, Parliament	Margaret Carey Hoby
Howard	Charles	2 nd earl of Nottingham and baron Howard of Effingham	1579-1642	G Grandson	Military, Parliament	Charity White Howard, countess of Nottingham, baroness Howard of Effingham
Howard	Elizabeth		1564-1646	G Granddaughter	Court	Lord Robert Southwell
Howard	William	3 rd baron Howard of Effingham	1577-1615	G Grandson	Military, Parliament	Anne St. John 10 th baroness Beauchamp of Bletsoe, baroness Howard of Effingham
Howard	Elizabeth		1586-1658	1C3R*		William Knollys 1 st earl of Banbury
Howard	Frances		1590-1632	1C3R*		Robert Devereux 3 rd earl of Essex Viscount Hereford Lord Ferrers and Bouchier
Howard	Charles	2 nd baron Effingham 1 st earl of Nottingham	1536-1624	Half 1st Cousin	Court, Diplomat, Military, Parliament, Privy Councillor	Katherine Carey Howard baroness Effingham, countess of Nottingham
Howard	Frances		?1573-1628	G Granddaughter	Court	Henry Fitzgerald 12 th earl of Kildare Henry Brooke, baron Cobham
Howard	Margaret		1570-1641	G Granddaughter		Sir Richard Leveson
Knollys	Francis		1511-1596		Court, Military,	Katherine Carey Knollys lady Knollys

Knollys							Parliament, Privy Councillor	
Knollys	Dudley		1562-1562		Grandson			
Knollys 'the young'	Edward		1546-1575		Grandson		Military, Parliament	
Knollys	Francis		1553-1648		Grandson		Military, Parliament	Lettice Barrett Knollys
Knollys	Henry		1541-1582		Grandson		Court, Diplomat, Military, Parliament	Margaret Cave Knollys
Knollys	Mary		1542-?1632		Granddaughter			
Knollys	Richard		1552-1596		Grandson		Parliament	Joan Heigham Knollys
Knollys	Robert		1550-1619		Grandson		Court, Parliament	Catherine Vaughn Knollys
Knollys	Thomas		1558-1648		Grandson		Military	Odelia (Adelia) De Morada Knollys
Knollys	William		1545-1632		Grandson		Court, Diplomat, Military, Parliament, Privy Councillor	Dorothy Bray Brydges Chandos Knollys lady Chandos
Knollys	Francis		1592-1640		G Grandson			
Knollys	Lettice		1587-1631		G Granddaughter			
Knollys	Richard		1594-1595		G Grandson			
Knollys	Robert		1589-1659		G Grandson			
Knollys	Lettice		1543-1636		Granddaughter		Court	Walter Devereux Lord Hereford 1 st earl of Essex
							banished after 2 nd marriage discovered by Elizabeth.	Robert Dudley earl of Leicester
Knollys	Katherine		1559-1632		Granddaughter		Court	Christopher Blount
Knollys	Anne		1555-1608		Granddaughter			Gerald Fitzgerald Lord Offaly
Leighton	Thomas		1535-1616				Court	Philip Butler
Leveson	Richard		1570-1605				Court, Diplomat, Military, Parliament	Thomas West 2 nd baron De La Warre
Morgan	Ann		1535-1607				Military, Parliament	Elizabeth Knollys Leighton
							Court ¹⁴	lady Margaret Howard Leveson
								Henry Carey baron Hunsdon

¹⁴ Anne Morgan Carey, baroness Hunsdon's position at court is unclear. She appears to have travelled between Berwick-on-Tweed and the court and may have been considered an unpaid lady of the privy chamber.

Percy	Henry	9 th earl of Northumberland	1564-1632				Dorothy Devereux Percy countess of Northumberland
Percy	Algernon		1602-1668	GG Grandson			
Percy	Henry		1596-1597	GG Grandson			
Percy	Henry		1597-1598	GG Grandson			
Percy	Lucy		1600-1660	GG Granddaughter			
Percy	Dorothy		1598-1659	GG Granddaughter			
Perrot	Thomas		1553-1594		Military, Parliament		Dorothy Devereux Perrot
Perrot	Robert		1592-1593	GG Grandson			
Rich	Robert		1559-1619		Parliament		Penelope Devereux Rich baroness Rich
Rich	Henry		1590-1649	GG Grandson			
Rich	Lettice 'Lucy'		1583-1619	GG Granddaughter			
Rich	Penelope		1592-1613	GG Granddaughter			
Rich	Robert		1587-1658	GG Grandson			
Scrope	Emmanuel		1584-1630	G Grandson			
Scrope	Thomas	baron Scrope	1567-1609	1C2R*	Military, Parliament		Philadelphia Carey Scrope baroness Scrope
Sidney	Robert		1595-1677				
Southwell	Robert		1563-1599		Military, Parliament		Elizabeth Howard Southwell lady Southwell
Southwell	Elizabeth		1586-1631	GG Granddaughter	Court		Robert Dudley
Spencer	Elizabeth		1552-1618				George Carey 2 nd baron Hunsdon
Uvedale	William		1586-1652				Anne Carey Uvedale
Walsingham	Frances		1567-1632				Phillip Sidney
West	Thomas	2 nd baron De La Warre	1550-1602		Court, Military, Parliament		Robert Devereux, 2 nd earl of Essex
West	Francis		1586-1634	G Grandson			Anne Knollys West baroness De La Warre
West	Nathaniel		1592-1623	G Grandson			
West	Penelope		1582-1619	G Granddaughter			
West	Robert		1574-1594	G Grandson	Parliament		Elizabeth Cocke West
West	Thomas	3 rd baron De La Warre	1577-1618	G Grandson	Military, Parliament, Privy Councillor		Cecily Shirley West, baroness De La Warre
Total: 103							

Appendix 4 - Carey Women in Elizabeth's Household

Last Name	First Name	Birth-Death	Relationship ¹⁵	Spouse	Parents	Household Posts ¹⁶
Carey Hoby	Margaret (Mary)	1564-1605	IC1R*	Edward Hoby	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon	Maid – 1580 ¹⁷
Carey Howard	Katherine	1547-1603	IC1R*	Charles Howard 2 nd baron Effingham, 1 st earl of Nottingham	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon	Maid – 3 Jan 1559 Privy Chamber Carver – 1563 Chief lady of the Privy Chamber – 1572 Bed, Groom of the Stool – 20 Apr 1598 ¹⁸
Carey Knollys	Katherine	1524-1569	1 st Cousin	Sir Francis Knollys	William Carey & Mary Boleyn Carey	Maid - 1539 ¹⁹ Chief lady of the Bed Chamber – 3 Jan 1559
Carey Scrope	Philadelphia	1563-1629	IC1R*	Thomas Scrope 10 th baron Scrope	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon	Maid – 1580 Privy – 1584 Bed – 1590 ²⁰
Carey Uvedale	Anne	1582-	IC2R*	Sir William Uvedale	Edmund Carey & Mary Coker Carey	Maid – 1596
Cave Knollys	Margaret	1549-1606		Henry Knollys	Sir Ambrose Cave & Margaret Willington Cave	Maid – 1564? ²¹
Devereux Perrot	Dorothy	1564-1619	IC2R*	Sir Thomas Perrot	Walter Devereux 1 st earl of Essex & Lettice Knollys Devereux countess of Essex	Maid – 1580? ²²

¹⁵ Relationships are to Mary Boleyn Carey who was maternal aunt to Elizabeth I. If no relationship is specified then person is a spouse of a descendant.

¹⁶ Unless otherwise noted, references are from Merton, 'Women who served', appendix I, pp.258-269.

¹⁷ 'Women who served', p.170 where she is referred to as Mary Carey-Hoby.

¹⁸ 'All the queen's women', p.259; BL Lansdowne 59, 22 fol. 42, 42v.; 'Women who served', p.18, n.20, p.65.

¹⁹ To Anne of Cleves, *L&P Henry VIII*, vol. 14, part ii, p.203, item 572.

²⁰ 'All the queen's women', p.259; Rowse, *Elizabethan Renaissance*, p.39 quoting HMC Salisbury Mss, VII. 41, 55; 'All the queen's women', p.259; Carey, *Memoirs*, Mares (ed.), pp 63-4.

²¹ 'Women who served', p.116, n.182.

²² Hurstfield, *Wards*, p.140.

Devereux Rich	Penelope	1563-1607	1C2R*	Lord Robert Rich 1 st earl of Warwick	Walter Devereux 1 st earl of Essex & Lettice Knollys Devereux countess of Essex	Presence – 1581 Bed – 1590s ²³
Howard	Elizabeth	1564-1646	1C2R*	Lord Robert Southwell	Charles Howard 2 nd baron Effingham, 1 st earl of Nottingham & Katherine Carey Howard baroness Effingham, countess of Nottingham	Maid - 1 Jan 1578 Privy – 1588 ²⁴
Howard	Katherine		1C2R*		Charles Howard 2 nd baron Effingham, 1 st earl of Nottingham & Katherine Carey Howard baroness Effingham, countess of Nottingham	Maid – 1576 Privy – 1578
Howard	Mary		1C2R*		Charles Howard 2 nd baron Effingham, 1 st earl of Nottingham & Katherine Carey Howard baroness Effingham, countess of Nottingham	Maid – 1590 Possibly Lady Cup Bearer ²⁵
Howard Fitzgerald	Frances	?1573-1628	1C2R*	Henry Fitzgerald 12 th earl of Kildare	Charles Howard 2 nd baron Effingham, 1 st earl of Nottingham & Katherine Carey Howard baroness Effingham, countess of Nottingham	Privy – 1590 Lady Carver ²⁶
Knollys Devereux	Lettice	1543-1636	1C1R*	Walter Devereux 1 st earl of Essex	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys	Maid - 3 Jan 1559 Privy – 1565 Banished 1578
Knollys Fitzgerald	Katherine	1559-1632	1C1R*	Gerald Fitzgerald Lord Offaly	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys	Maid – 1575 ²⁷
Knollys Leighton	Elizabeth	1549-?1616	1C1R*	Sir Thomas Leighton	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys	Maid - 15 Jan 1559 Privy – 5 Jun 1565
Knollys West	Anne	1555-1608	1C1R*	Thomas West 2 nd baron De La Warre	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys	Maid – 1569 Privy – 1 Jan 1578

²³ Does not appear in the wage records as a Maid of Honour but known to be at court. Goldsmith lists her as a lady of the Presence Chamber p.269. 'All the queen's women', p.269; *HoP: House of Commons*, p.445.

²⁴ Adams, 'Howard, Katherine, countess of Nottingham (1545x50-1603)', *ODNB*; 'All the queen's women', p.265.

²⁵ 'All the queen's women', p.267.

²⁶ 'All the queen's women', p.263.

²⁷ Her presence as a Maid of the Chamber by 1575 is conjecture based on her father's office, her sisters's appointments at young ages (Lettice, 15, Anne 13, Elizabeth 9) and Elizabeth's fondness for her mother who died when Katherine was 9. Her wedding, age 18, to Gerald Fitzgerald, who was at court, was attended by the queen. See *Complete Peerage*, vol. 7, p.239.

Southwell	Elizabeth	1586-1631	IC3R*	Robert Dudley duke of Northumberland, earl of Warwick	Lord Robert Southwell & Elizabeth Howard Lady Southwell, countess of Carrick	Maid - 12 Jan 1600 ²⁸
Spencer Carey	Elizabeth	1552-1618		George Carey 2 nd baron Hunsdon	Sir John Spencer & Katherine Kitson Spencer	Privy – 1593? ²⁹
Vaughn Knollys	Katherine			Robert Knollys	Sir Roland Vaughn of Porthamel & unknown	Maid – 1568? ³⁰

²⁸ ‘All the queen’s women’, p.39 dates her service from 1599; p.269 from 1600.

²⁹ Duncan-Jones, ‘Christis Teares’, 170 includes a transcription of a letter to her as ‘one of the honourable ladies of the privy chamber’.

³⁰ Malpas, *Sir Francis Knollys*, p.94 says she came to court after her father’s death subsequent to the parliamentary session of 1567. Dictionary of Welsh Biography, <http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-VAUG-POR-1475.html>, accessed 14 April 2008.

Appendix 5 - Carey Men in Elizabeth's Household³¹

Last Name	First Name	Birth-Death	Relationship ³²	Spouse	Parents	Some of their Household Posts
Carey	Robert	1560-1639	IC1R*	Elizabeth Trevianion Carey	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon	Privy Chamber - 1600 ³³
Carey	Henry	1526-1596	1st Cousin	Anne Morgan baroness Hunsdon	William Carey & Mary Boleyn Carey	Privy Chamber - May 1545 Carver Privy Chamber – 1553 Master of the Hawks – 31 Oct 1560 Captain Gentlemen Pensioners - 1583 Lord Chamberlain - Jul 1585 ³⁴
Carey	Edmund	1558-1637	IC1R*	Mary Coker Carey	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon	Privy Chamber – 1577 Esquire of the body - 1598 ³⁵
Carey	George	1546-1603	IC1R*	Elizabeth Spencer Carey baroness Hunsdon	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon	Knight Marshall - 1578 Lord Chamberlain - 1597 ³⁶
Carey	John	1551-1617	IC1R*	Mary Hyde Peyton Carey	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon	Gentleman Pensioner - 1573 ³⁷
Devereux	Robert	1566-1601	IC2R*	Frances Walsingham Sidney Devereux countess of Essex	Walter Devereux Lord Hereford, 1 st earl of Essex & Lettice Knollys Devereux countess of Essex	Master of the Horse - 23 Dec 1587 ³⁸

³¹ Although Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester was married to a member of the family his 'points of contact' were exceptional and therefore not included in this appendix.

³² Relationships are to Mary Boleyn Carey who was maternal aunt to Elizabeth I. If no relationship is specified then person is a spouse of a descendant.

³³ *CSP-Domestic 1602-1603 With Addenda 1547-1565*, p.137.

³⁴ *HoP: House of Commons*, Bindoff, p.582; 1545 and 1553 appointments to Princess Elizabeth; For master of hawks see *CPR 1558-60*, p.415.

³⁵ *CPR 1575-1578*, vol. 7, item 2449; *Herald and Genealogist*, iv, p.42.

³⁶ *HoP: House of Commons*, Hasler, vol. 1, p.547; *Complete Peerage*, vol. 6, p.630.

³⁷ *HoP: House of Commons*, Hasler, vol. 1, p.549.

³⁸ Hammer, 'Devereux, Robert, second earl of Essex (1565-1601)', *ODNB*, (January 2008).

Howard	Charles	1579-1642	1C2R*	Charity White Howard	Charles Howard 2 nd baron Effingham, 1 st earl of Nottingham & Katherine Carey Howard baroness Effingham, countess of Nottingham	Gentleman Pensioner - 1598 ³⁹
Howard	Charles	1536-1624	Half 1C1R	Katherine Carey Howard baroness Effingham, countess of Nottingham	William Howard 1 st baron of Effingham & Margaret Gamage Howard baroness of Effingham	Privy Chamber - 1558 Lord Chamberlain 1574 Lord Steward – 24 Oct 1597 ⁴⁰
Knollys	Francis	1511-1596		Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys	Robert Knollys & Lettice Peniston Knollys	Vice-chamberlain of household - 19 Jan 1559 Captain of the guards -1565 Treasurer of Chamber - 3 Jan 1567 Treasurer of the household - 1570 ⁴¹
Knollys	Henry	1541-1582	1C1R*	Margaret Cave Knollys	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys	Esquire of the body - 1567 ⁴²
Knollys	Robert	1550-1619	1C1R*	Katherine Vaughn Knollys	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys	Privy Chamber - 1587 ⁴³
Knollys ⁴⁴	William	1545-1632	1C1R*	Dorothy Bray Brydges Chandos Knollys Lady Chandos	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys	Gentleman Pensioner – 1570 Comptroller of the household - 30 Aug 1596 ⁴⁵ Treasurer – 1602
Leighton	Thomas	1535-1616		Elizabeth Knollys Leighton	John Leighton of Watlesburgh & Joyce Sutton	Privy Chamber - 1568 ⁴⁶

³⁹ HoP: *House of Commons*, Hasler, vol. 2, p.346.

⁴⁰ *Complete Peerage*, vol. 9, p.782; HoP: *House of Commons*, Hasler, vol. 2, p.344; *Complete Peerage*, vol. 9, p.784.

⁴¹ APC 1558-1570, p.43; Malpas, *Sir Francis Knollys*, p.36, HoP, *House of Commons*, Hasler, vol. 2, p.409; CPR 1566-69, item 881; HoP: *House of Commons*, Hasler, vol. 2, p.409.

⁴² Adams, *Household Accounts of Robert Dudley*, p.478.

⁴³ HoP: *House of Commons*, Hasler, vol. 2, p.417.

⁴⁴ HoP: *House of Commons*, Hasler, vol. 2, pp.417-8.

⁴⁵ Birch, *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. 2, p.119.

⁴⁶ HoP: *House of Commons*, Hasler, vol. 2, p.458.

Appendix 6 – Elizabeth’s Carey family in the House of Commons⁴⁷

Date of Parliament: dominant issues

Last name	First name	Birth-death	Relation ship ⁴⁸	Parents
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23 Jan 1559: Religious settlement uniformity and supremacy; Queen’s title confirmed; first fruits and tenths restored to crown subsidy; Queen’s marriage

Knollys	Francis	1511-1596		Robert Knollys & Lettice Peniston Knollys
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11 Jan 1563: Assurance of Queen’s power; succession: artificers; relief of poor; artificers; purveyors; subsidy

Howard	Charles	1536-1624	Half 1C1R	William Howard 1 st baron of Effingham & Margaret Gamage Howard baroness Effingham
Knollys ⁴⁹	Francis	1511-1596		Robert Knollys & Lettice Peniston Knollys
Knollys	Henry	1541-1582	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys

30 Sep 1566: Succession; Alphabetical bills, including Bill A (articles of religion); subsidy

Howard	Charles	1536-1624	Half 1C1R	William Howard 1 st baron of Effingham & Margaret Gamage Howard baroness Effingham
Knollys	Francis ⁵⁰	1511-1596		Robert Knollys & Lettice Peniston Knollys

2 April 1571: Treasons; papal bulls; northern rebels; archbishop and licenses; alphabetical bills, especially Bills A and B; coming to church; prayer book and Strickland; subsidy

Carey	George	1546-1603	1C1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Carey	Henry	?1549-1581	1C1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Knollys	Francis	1511-1596		Robert Knollys & Lettice Peniston Knollys

⁴⁷ Unless otherwise noted, parliamentary dates and issues from Hartley, *Elizabeth’s Parliaments*, pp.174-5 and membership dates from *HoP: the House of Commons 1559-1604*, Hasler, although this work is incomplete for Parliaments of 1576 and 1581 as the only Carey kinship member listed as participating in those sessions is Thomas West.

⁴⁸ If this field is blank, the person was related by marriage to a direct descendant.

⁴⁹ Sir Francis Knollys’s brother, also named Henry Knollys, sat in this Parliament as well as in 1571 and 1572. Neale, *Elizabeth I And Her Parliaments, 1559-1581*, p.90 and *HoP: House of Commons*.

⁵⁰ D’Ewes, *Journal of the House of Lords*, September 1566, pp.93-95.

Knollys	William	1545-1632	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys
Knollys	Edward	1546-1575	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys
Knollys	Henry	1541-1582	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys
West	Thomas	1550-1602		William West baron De La Warre & Elizabeth Strange West baroness De La Warre

8 May 1572: Queen's safety; Rites and ceremonies

Carey	George	1546-1603	1C1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Carey	Henry	?1549-1581	1C1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Howard	Charles	1536-1624	Half 1C1R	William Howard 1 st baron of Effingham & Margaret Gamage Howard baroness Effingham
Knollys ⁵¹	Francis	1511-1596		Robert Knollys & Lettice Peniston Knollys
Knollys	William	1545-1632	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys
Knollys	Edward	1546-1575	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys
Knollys	Francis	1553-1648	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys
Knollys	Henry	1541-1582	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys
Knollys	Robert	1550-1619	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys
West	Thomas	1550-1602		William West baron De La Warre & Elizabeth Strange West baroness De La Warre

8 Feb. 1576: Petitions on church; coming to church; apparel; forests; Stourton; Peter Wentworth; subsidy

Knollys ⁵²	Francis	1511-1596		Robert Knollys & Lettice Peniston Knollys
West	Thomas	1550-1602		William West baron De La Warre & Elizabeth Strange West baroness De La Warre

16 Jan 1581: Obedience of subjects; seditious words; petitions on church; coming to church; subsidy

Knollys	Francis	1511-1596		Robert Knollys & Lettice Peniston Knollys
Knollys ⁵³	Henry	1541-1582	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys
West	Thomas	1550-1602		William West baron De La Warre & Elizabeth Strange West baroness De La Warre

⁵¹ According to MacCaffery, ODNB, this was the last parliament that Sir Francis Knollys was responsible for managing the house.

⁵² Neale, *Elizabeth I And Her Parliaments, 1559-1581*, pp. 329, 338, 341; ODNB; D'Ewes, *Journal of the House of Commons*, February 1576, pp.236-251.

⁵³ D'Ewes, *Journal of the House of Commons*, February 1581, pp.290-301.

23 Nov 1584: Petitions on church; Turner's Bill and Book; Queen's safety (and Bond of Association); Jesuits; 1571 Act on ministers; Sabbath; fraudulent conveyances; wardships; subsidy

Carey	Edmund	1558-1637	1C1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Carey	George	1546-1603	1C1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Carey	John	1551-1617	1C1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Carey	William	1553-1593	1C1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Knollys	Francis	1511-1596		Robert Knollys & Lettice Peniston Knollys
Knollys	William	1545-1632	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys
Knollys	Francis	1553-1648	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys
Knollys	Richard	1552-1596	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys
Knollys	Robert	1550-1619	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys
Scrope	Thomas	1567-1609	2C1R*	Henry Scrope 9 th baron Scrope & Margaret Howard Scrope baroness Scrope

29 Oct 1586: Mary QoS; sovereignty of Netherlands; purveyors; Peter Wentworth; Cope's Bill and Book

Carey	Robert	1560-1639	1C1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Carey	George	1546-1603	1C1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Hoby	Edward	1560-1617		Thomas Hoby & Lady Elizabeth Cooke Hoby
Knollys	Francis	1511-1596		Robert Knollys & Lettice Peniston Knollys
Knollys	Francis	1553-1648	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys
Knollys	Richard	1552-1596	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys
Knollys	Robert	1550-1619	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys
Perrot	Thomas	1553-1594		John Perrot & Anne Cheyney Perrot
West	Thomas	1550-1602		William West baron De La Warre & Elizabeth Strange West baroness De La Warre

4 Feb 1589: Exchequer; pluralities; purveyance; subsidy

Carey	Robert	1560-1639	1C1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Carey	Edmund	1558-1637	1C1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Carey	George	1546-1603	1C1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Carey	John	1551-1617	1C1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon

Carey	William	1553-1593	1C1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Hoby	Edward	1560-1617		Thomas Hoby & Lady Elizabeth Cooke Hoby
Knollys	Francis	1511-1596		Robert Knollys & Lettice Peniston Knollys
Knollys	Francis	1553-1648	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys
Knollys	Richard	1552-1596	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys
Knollys	Robert	1550-1619	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys
Leveson	Richard	1570-1605		
Scrope	Thomas	1567-1609	2C1R*	Henry Scrope 9 th baron Scrope & Margaret Howard Scrope baroness Scrope
West	Thomas	1550-1602		William West baron De La Warre & Elizabeth Strange West baroness De La Warre

19 Feb 1593: Disloyal subjects/secretaries; popish recusants (Five-mile act); Morice's bills

Carey	Robert	1560-1639	1C1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Carey ⁵⁴	George	1546-1603	1C1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Carey	Edmund	1558-1637	1C1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Carey	George	1546-1603	1C1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Carey	John	1551-1617	1C1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Hoby	Edward	1560-1617		Thomas Hoby & Lady Elizabeth Cooke Hoby
Knollys	Francis	1511-1596		Robert Knollys & Lettice Peniston Knollys
Knollys	William	1545-1632	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys
Knollys	Robert	1550-1619	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys
Perrot	Thomas	1553-1594		John Perrot & Anne Cheyney Perrot
West	Robert	1574-1594	1C2R*	Thomas West 2 nd baron De La Warre & Anne Knollys West baroness De La Warre
West	Thomas	1577-1618	1C2R*	Thomas West 2 nd baron De La Warre & Anne Knollys West baroness De La Warre
West	Thomas	1550-1602		William West baron De La Warre & Elizabeth Strange West baroness De La Warre

24 Oct 1597: Tillage, husbandry; monopolies; ecclesiastical fees; marriage licenses; probate of wills

Carey	Robert	1560-1639	1C1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
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⁵⁴ Townshend, *Historical Collections, Proceedings in the Commons, 1593*, March 2, pp.51-78.

Carey	Edmund	1558-1637	1C1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Hoby	Edward	1560-1617		Thomas Hoby & Lady Elizabeth Cooke Hoby
Howard	Charles	1579-1642	1C2R*	Charles Howard 2 nd baron Effingham, 1 st earl of Nottingham & Katherine Carey Howard baroness Effingham, countess of Nottingham
Howard	William	1577-1615	1C2R*	Charles Howard 2 nd baron Effingham, 1 st earl of Nottingham & Katherine Carey Howard baroness Effingham, countess of Nottingham
Knollys	William	1545-1632	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys
Knollys	Francis	1553-1648	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys
Knollys	Robert	1550-1619	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys
Southwell	Robert	1563-1599		Thomas Southwell & Mary Mansell Southwell
West	Thomas	1550-1602		William West baron De La Warre & Elizabeth Strange West baroness De La Warre

27 Oct 1601: Monopolies; pluralities; Sabbath; exchequer; ordnance; subsidy

Carey	Robert	1560-1639	1C1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Carey	Edmund	1558-1637	1C1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon
Howard	Charles	1579-1642	1C2R*	Charles Howard 2 nd baron Effingham, 1 st earl of Nottingham & Katherine Carey Howard baroness Effingham, countess of Nottingham
Howard	William	1577-1615	1C2R*	Charles Howard 2 nd baron Effingham, 1 st earl of Nottingham & Katherine Carey Howard baroness Effingham, countess of Nottingham
Knollys	William	1545-1632	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys
Knollys	Robert	1550-1619	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys
Leighton	Thomas	1535-1616		John Leighton of Watlesburgh & Joyce Sutton Leighton
Hoby	Edward	1560-1617		Thomas Hoby & Lady Elizabeth Cooke Hoby

Appendix 7 - Elizabeth's Carey family in the Privy Council

Last Name	First Name	Birth-Death	Relationship ⁵⁵	Parents	Spouse	Joined Privy Council
Carey	George	1546-1603	1C1R*	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan baroness Hunsdon	Elizabeth Spencer Carey baroness Hunsdon	17 Apr 1597 ⁵⁶
Carey	Henry	1526-1596	1st Cousin	William Carey & Mary Boleyn Carey	Anne Morgan baroness Hunsdon	16 Nov 1577 ⁵⁷
Devereux	Robert	1566-1601	1C2R*	Walter Devereux Lord Hereford, 1 st earl of Essex & Lettice Knollys Devereux, countess of Essex	Frances Walsingham Sidney Devereux countess of Essex	25 Feb 1592 ⁵⁸
Howard	Charles	1536-1624	Half 1C1R	William Howard 1 st baron of Effingham & Margaret Gamage Howard baroness Effingham	Katherine Carey Howard baroness Effingham, countess of Nottingham	Jan 1584 ⁵⁹
Knollys	Francis	1511-1596		Robert Knollys & Lettice Peniston Knollys	Katherine Carey Knollys Baroness Knollys	19 Jan 1559 ⁶⁰
Knollys	William	1545-1632	1C1R*	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys	Dorothy Bray Brydges Chandos Knollys Lady Chandos	30 Aug 1596 ⁶¹
West	Thomas	1577-1618	1C2R*	Thomas West 2 nd baron De La Warre & Anne Knollys West baroness De La Warre	Cecily Shirley West baroness De La Warre	1602 ⁶²

⁵⁵ If this field is blank, the person was related by marriage to a direct descendant.

⁵⁶ *Complete Peerage*, vol. 6, p.629.

⁵⁷ MacCaffrey, 'Carey, Henry, first Baron Hunsdon (1526-1596)', *ODNB*, (January 2008).

⁵⁸ *Complete Peerage*, vol. 5, p.141.

⁵⁹ *Complete Peerage*, vol. 5, p.10.

⁶⁰ *APC 1558-1570*, vol. 7, p.43.

⁶¹ *HoP: House of Commons*, Hasler, vol. 2: pp.417-8.

⁶² Fausz, 'West, Thomas, third baron de La Warr (1577-1618)', *ODNB*, (January 2008).

Appendix 8 - Some of Elizabeth's Carey family in foreign service

Last Name	First Name	Birth-Death	Relation-Ship ⁶³	Spouse	Parents	Foreign Service
Carey	George	1546-1603	1C1R*	Elizabeth Spencer Carey baroness Hunsdon	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan baroness Hunsdon	Scotland; 1578 the Low Countries ⁶⁴
Carey	Henry	1526-1596	1 st Cousin	Anne Morgan baroness Hunsdon	William Carey & Mary Boleyn Carey	Carried Order of the Garter to Charles IX and witnessed Treaty of Troyes, 1564 France; Scotland 1584 ⁶⁵
Carey	Henry	?1549-1581	1C1R*		Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan baroness Hunsdon	Scotland ⁶⁶
Carey	John	1551-1617	1C1R*	Mary Hyde Peyton Carey baroness Hunsdon	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan baroness Hunsdon	Scotland ⁶⁷
Carey	Robert	1560-1639	1C1R*	Elizabeth Trevianion Carey	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan baroness Hunsdon	Member of Thomas Leighton's 1577 embassy to the Netherlands, 1588 - France, multiple trips to Scotland ⁶⁸
Hoby	Edward	1560-1617		Margaret Carey Hoby	Thomas Hoby & Lady Elizabeth Cooke Hoby	1584, Scotland with father-in-law; employed on secret missions, The Netherlands ⁶⁹
Howard	Charles	1536-1624	Half 1C1R	Katherine Carey Howard baroness Effingham, countess of Nottingham	William Howard 1 st baron of Effingham & Margaret Gamage Howard baroness of Effingham	1559, France to congratulate François II on his accession; 1570 the Low Countries and Spain ⁷⁰

⁶³ Relationships are to Mary Boleyn Carey who was maternal aunt to Elizabeth I. If no relationship is specified then person is a spouse of a descendant.

⁶⁴ *CSP Domestic, Addenda, 1566-1579*, vol. 15, p.164 for 1564, Camden, *Princess Elizabeth: Selected Chapters*, MacCaffrey (ed.), p.116 for 1568; MacCaffrey, 'Carey, Henry, first Baron Hunsdon (1526-1596)', *ODNB*, (January 2008).

⁶⁵ *CSP Foreign, Elizabeth: 1564-1565*, vol. 7, items 401, 402, *CSP -Scotland: 1584-85*, vol. 7, items 220, 294, 304.

⁶⁶ *HoP: House of Commons*, Hasler, vol. 1, p.549.

⁶⁷ Carey, *Memoirs*, (1759), p.69;

⁶⁸ *HoP: House of Commons*, vol. 1, p.550; *HMC Ancaster*, p.141; Carey, *Memoirs*, (1759) p.7; *Collected Works*, p.296-7, p.355.

⁶⁹ Knafla, 'Hoby, Sir Edward (1560-1617)', *ODNB*, (January 2008). *CSP-Foreign, Jan-Jun 1588*, vol. 21, part 4, item dated Mar 5 1588 [pp 154-172].

⁷⁰ *HoP: House of Commons*, vol. 2, p.344; *Complete Peerage*, vol. IX p.782.

Knollys	William	1545-1632	IC1R*	Dorothy Bray Brydges Chandos Knollys Lady Chandos	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys	1585, Scotland, Ambassador-Extraordinaire; ⁷¹ 1599, the Netherlands as envoy to the states of Holland ⁷²
Leighton	Thomas	1535-1616		Elizabeth Knollys Leighton	John Leighton of Watlesburgh & Joyce Sutton Leighton	1574, France, to Reconcile Charles IX and Alençon; 1577, the Low Countries; 1585, France; 1588, France, representing the Huguenot cause ⁷³

⁷¹ *Collected Works*, p.266.

⁷² Malpas, *Sir Francis Knollys*, p.96; HoP: *House of Commons*, vol. 2, p.417; *Collected Works*, p.266.

⁷³ HoP: *House of Commons*, vol. 2, p.458-9.

Appendix 9 - Some of Elizabeth's Carey family military activities

Last Name	First Name	Birth-Death	Relation ship	Spouse	Parents	Military Service
Blount	Christopher	1555-1601		Lettice Knollys Devereux Dudley Blount, countess of Essex & Leicester	Thomas Blount	Lieutenant to Leicester in the Netherlands, captain of his horse – 1586-88 Served under Essex in Ireland-1599 ⁷⁴
Butler	Philip	-1592		Katherine Knollys Fitzgerald Butler Lady Offaly		Captain of horse band under Leicester in the Netherlands – 1586-87 ⁷⁵
Carey	Henry	1526-1596	1st Cousin	Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon	William Carey & Mary Boleyn Carey	Governor-general of Berwick – 1568 Rebellion of the northern earls – 1569-70 Lord lieutenant for Norfolk, Suffolk – 1585 Principle captain and governor of the army for the defense of the monarch at Tilbury – 1588 ⁷⁶ Served under Leicester in the Netherlands – Dec 1585
Carey	Edmund	1558-1637	ICIR*	Mary Coker Carey	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon	Deventer; stayed fighting in states pay after surrender – 1587-8 ⁷⁷
Carey	George	1546-1603	ICIR*	Elizabeth Spencer Carey baroness Hunsdon	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon	Scottish borders, Glasgow - 1570 Captain Isle of Wight – 1583 Vice-admiral for Southampton - 1586 ⁷⁸
Carey	Henry	?1549-1599?	ICIR*		Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon	Captain in the Netherlands Ireland - 1599 ⁷⁹

⁷⁴ Adams, *Household Accounts*, p.463; *CSP-Domestic 1598-1601*, pp.146-158.

⁷⁵ *CSP-Foreign July-Dec 1588*, pp.259-273; Margetts, 'Stella Britannia', p.285.

⁷⁶ *Collected Works*, p.125; Smith, *County and Court*, p.90; *Complete Peerage*, vol. 6, p.628.

⁷⁷ Trim, 'Jacob's Warres', p.412-3.

⁷⁸ *Churchyard's Chippes*, fol. 41-2; *L&I*, vol. 286, *CPR 25 (1582-1583)*, item 838; *HoP: House of Commons*, vol. 1, p.547. George Carey styled himself 'Governor'.

⁷⁹ Trim, 'Jacob's Warres', p.413.

Carey	John	1551-1617	IC1R*	Mary Hyde Peyton Carey	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon	Ireland under Walter Devereux - 1573 Deputy of the East Marches, Governor of Berwick ⁸⁰
Carey	Michael		IC1R*		Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon	Scotland – 1570 Ireland under Walter Devereux - 1573 ⁸¹
Carey	Robert	1560-1639	IC1R*	Elizabeth Trevianon Carey	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Carey baroness Hunsdon	Leicester sent him to serve under his brother Edmund at Bergen-op-zoom in 1585 Captain in the Army in France under Essex - 1591 ⁸²
Carey	Robert	1583-1621	IC2R*	Alice Hogenoke Carey	Edmund Carey & Mary Coker Carey	Captain of the horse under Sir Horatio de Vere the Netherlands – c. 1596 ⁸³
Devereux	Walter	1539-1576		Lettice Knollys Devereux, countess of Essex	Sir Richard Devereux & Dorothy Hastings Devereux	High marshall of the field during northern rebellion – 1569 Captain general & governor of Ulster – 9 Jul 1573 Governor of Ireland – 24 Jul 1574 Earl marshall of Ireland – 1575 ⁸⁴
Devereux	Robert	1566-1601	IC2R*	Frances Walsingham Sidney Devereux countess of Essex	Walter Devereux, 1 st earl of Essex & Lettice Knollys Devereux, countess of Essex	Served under Leicester in the Netherlands – 1586 Master of the horse, Armada crisis – 1587-8 Lord lieutenant Staffordshire - 1594 Earl marshall – 28 Dec 1597 Governor-general of Ireland – 1598 Cadiz expedition – 1596 ⁸⁵
Devereux	Walter	1570-1591	IC2R*	Margaret Dakins Devereux	Walter Devereux, 1 st earl of	Siege of Rouen ⁸⁶

⁸⁰ Carey, *Memoirs*, (1759), p.69; Devereux, *Lives And Letters*, vol. 1, pp.46-7; *L&L*, vol. 286, *CPR 25 (1584-1585)*, item 341.

⁸¹ Devereux, *Lives And Letters*, vol. 1, pp.46-7; Churchyard, *Churchyardes Chippes*, p.34.

⁸² Carey, *Memoirs*, (1759), p.11; *Salisbury MS*, vol. 4, p.169.

⁸³ Nichols, *H & G*, vol. 4, pp.33-48, p.42.

⁸⁴ *Complete Peerage*, vol. 6, p.479; *CPR*, 1572-75, vol. VI, item 506.

⁸⁵ *Complete Peerage*, vol. 6, p.479, vol. 5, p.141; Devereux, *Lives And Letters*, vol. 1, p.190.

					Essex & Lettice Knollys Devereux Dudley, countess of Essex	
Fitzgerald	Henry	1562-1597	Half 2C1R*	Frances Howard Fitzgerald countess of Kildare	Gerald Fitzgerald 11 th earl of Kildare & Mabel Browne Fitzgerald countess of Kildare	Ireland – 1588, '93 and '97 ⁸⁷
Howard	William	1577-1615	1C2R*	Anne St. John Howard 10 th baroness Beauchamp of Bletsoe	Charles Howard 2 nd baron Effingham, 1 st earl of Nottingham & Katherine Carey Howard baroness Effingham, countess of Nottingham	Cadiz - 1597 ⁸⁸
Howard	Charles	1536-1624	Half 1C1R	Katherine Carey Howard baroness Effingham, countess of Nottingham	William Howard 1 st baron of Effingham & Margaret Gamage Howard baroness of Effingham	Lord lieutenant of the musters - 1579 Lord lieutenant Surrey, Sussex – 3 Jul 1585 Lord high admiral – 8 Jul 1585 Lieutenant general and governor of the army – 21 Dec 1587 Earl marshal – 1592 Commander-in-chief of Cadiz expedition – 1596 Queen's lieutenant, captain general for the south of England – 1599, 1601 ⁸⁹
Knollys	Francis	1511-1596		Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys	Robert Knollys & Lettice Peniston Knollys	Governor of Portsmouth – 1562 Captain of the guard – 1565 Lord lieutenant Oxfordshire – 1569 Lord lieutenant Oxfordshire, Berkshire – 1585 ⁹⁰
Knollys	Edward	1546-1575	1C1R*		Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady	Served under Walter Devereux in Ulster – 1575 ⁹¹

⁸⁶ Margetts, 'Stella Britannia', p.407.

⁸⁷ *Complete Peerage*, vol. 7, pp.239-40.

⁸⁸ *Complete Peerage*, vol. 5, p.10.

⁸⁹ *HoP: House of Commons*, Hasler, vol. 2, p.344-5; *Complete Peerage*, vol. 5, p.10; *L & I vol. 293, CPR 27 (1584-1585)*, item 785; *L & I vol. 297, CPR 29 (1587-1588)*, item 1029; *Complete Peerage*, vol. 9 p.784.

⁹⁰ *Malpas, Sir Francis Knollys*, p.36; *HoP: House of Commons*, Hasler, vol. 2, p.409.

⁹¹ *HoP: House of Commons*, Hasler, vol. 2, p.408.

Knollys	Francis	1553-1648	ICIR*	Lettice Barrett Knollys	Knollys Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys	Rear-admiral of 'The Leicester' on Drake's voyage – 1585 Served under Leicester in the Netherlands - 1587 Colonel of the militia, Hertfordshire – 1588 ⁹²
Knollys	Henry	1541-1582	ICIR*	Margaret Cave Knollys	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys	Rebellion of the northern earls – 1569 Captain in Ireland under Walter Devereux – 1573 Rear-admiral under Humphrey Gilbert – 1578 Commissioner of musters – 1580 the Netherlands - 1582 ⁹³
Knollys	Thomas	1558-1648	ICIR*	Odelia (Adelia) De Morada Knollys	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys	Netherlands – 1585, 1588, 1599 Acting governor of Ostend – 1586 ⁹⁴
Knollys	William	1545-1632	ICIR*	Dorothy Bray Brydges Chandos Knollys Lady Chandos	Sir Francis Knollys & Katherine Carey Knollys Lady Knollys	Captain in army of the north – 1569 Scotland – 1570 Netherlands – 1582, 1585, 1586 Acting governor of Ostend – 1587 Captain of band of horse – 1588 Lord lieutenant Oxfordshire, Berkshire – 1596 ⁹⁵
Leighton	Thomas	1535-1616		Elizabeth Knollys Leighton	John Leighton of Watlesburgh & Joyce Sutton Leighton	Le Havre under Warwick – 1563 Governor-general of Guernsey – 14 Apr 1570 Served under Leicester in the Netherlands – 1580s Armada crisis – 1588 France – 1591 Commission of the musters – 1601 ⁹⁶

⁹² HoP: *House of Commons*, Hasler, vol. 2, p.408; Sir Francis Drake's *West Indian Voyage*, Keeler (ed.), p.216.

⁹³ Adams, *Household Accounts*, p.478; Devereux, *Lives and Letters*, vol. 1, pp.15-6, 47; HoP: *House of Commons*, Hasler, vol. 2, p.415.

⁹⁴ Trim, 'Jacob's Warres', p.385.

⁹⁵ HoP: *House of Commons*, Hasler, vol. 2, p.417; Trim, 'Jacob's Warres', p.442; CSP-*Foreign, Jul-Dec 1588*, pp.259-273, Oct 11 1588. Governor was a courtesy title.

⁹⁶ CSP-*Foreign 1563*, item 1081; HoP: *House of Commons*, Hasler, vol. 2, p.458; CSP-*Spanish 1587-1603*, p.554; MacCaffrey, *War and Politics*, p.33; *Salisbury MSS*, Part 4, p.147.

Leveson	Richard	1570-1605		Margaret Howard Leveson		Volunteer Armada crisis – 1588 Vice-admiral north Wales – 1593 Vice-admiral of the Narrow Seas – 1600 Commander at sea – 1601-02 ⁹⁷
Perrot	Thomas	1553-1594		Dorothy Devereux Perrot	John Perrot & Anne Cheyney Perrot	Commissioner of the musters – 1581 Deputy lieutenant Pembrokehire – 1586 Captain in the Netherlands under Leicester – 1586 ⁹⁸
Southwell	Robert	1563-1599		Elizabeth Howard Lady Southwell	Thomas Southwell & Mary Mansell Southwell	Vice-admiral Norfolk - 1585 ⁹⁹
West	Thomas	1550-1602		Anne Knollys West baroness De La Warre	William West baron De La Warre & Elizabeth Strange West baroness De La Warre	Netherlands under Leicester – 1580s Dublin with Essex – 1599 ¹⁰⁰
West	Thomas	1577-1618	1C2R*	Cecily Shirley West baroness De La Warre	Thomas West 2 nd baron De La Warre & Anne Knollys West baroness De La Warre	Dublin with Essex - 1599 ¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ HoP: *House of Commons*, Hasler, vol. 2, p.464; *CSP-Domestic 1601*, p.101.

⁹⁸ HoP: *House of Commons*, Hasler, vol. 3, p.207.

⁹⁹ Smith, *County and Court*, pp 65-6.

¹⁰⁰ HoP: *House of Commons*, Hasler, vol. 3, p.603.

¹⁰¹ HoP: *House of Commons*, Hasler, vol. 3, p.603.

Appendix 10 - Transcribed Letters

Transcription Conventions

[letter]	Expanded abbreviations enclosed. W th n is w[i]th[i]n
/	End of line is marked by
Word	Crossed out in the original
\word/	Inserted in the original
[?word]	Possible but not definite
[?]	Letter possible but not definite
[...]	Text missing
[word]	possible missing word

BL Add MS 12506 fol. 436 [old fol. 421]

Elizabeth Knollys Leighton, lady of the privy chamber, to Julius Caesar, judge of the Admiralty Court

21 Aug 1593

M^r. doctor ceasare it will Apeare to you by the counsels / lettars, what great losses this yong man Lamberte, hathe / hade by the [?begars] of newhaven, And even now lately / he loste a bar[q?e], whiche I my selfe have come in out / of garnsey. I know you ar charitable ~~by your~~ \and/ pittifu[?ll]/ to thos whoi ar in distrese, yet at his erneste request, / I must entreate your favor and helpe towards him, / ^t_w what exspedission you maye, because necessity [?brookes] / noe delays. And so recommending the partye to / his caues to your good considarasion, And my selfe / in frendly manner to you, I leve you to the holy / keping of the all mighty from the courte / at Winsor this 21 of Auguste

Your Asuared frende

E. Leighton

BL Add Ms 12506 fol. 258 [old fol. 244]

Frances Howard Fitzgerald, countess of Kildare, lady of the privy chamber, to Dr.
Julius Caesar at the court of Admiralty, ?? of February 1591

Goode M^r Doctor, I am to intreate our favor in the behalf of / these ij Marchantes of
Ireland Peter Brett and Richarde fitzsimons / who have a suite dependinge before yow
in the Admeraltie / Courte; thay are my n[?e]ghbors in Irland and my L. frends and
therefore I woulde be glad to [?secure] them what / frendshipp I might in their Just
and honest cause / if herin yow shall do them that pleasure they [?ell] / [me?] yow
~~may~~ Latutly may, yow shall cause me / to be thankfull to you, and redie to requite /
the same by any goode meane I can, and so / Leavinge them and their cause to your
goode / and favorable considera[?]on I byd youe hertely / farewell from the Courte
this [?vy]th of Fibr[uary] 1591

your Lovinge frende

F Killdare

BL MS Additional 12506 fol. 368 [old fol. 337]

Douglas Howard Sheffield Stafford, baroness Sheffield from the court at Richmond to Dr. Julius Caesar at the court of Admiralty¹⁰²

Good Master Sessar, ~~Alord~~ my lord my brother desiers you/ and I most earnestly request you, to take the pains as to / be hear with him , about xiii or ix of the cloke in / the morning ^{\one monday/} for that afterwards he goes from hence, / and shall not be hear to speke with you, I being / present, it is about my bissines, whear[m?] I besic[torn] / yo[?u] uses your care, therin, and I shall ever thi[ink?] / my selfe most beholding to you, and requit it, [hi?] / eny thing I may, he wold be sattisfied in [?somm]/ things, that toches his office, whether he may / serch in perticular places, as well as in the / main see, as you shall know at your coming, / which I pray you that this journey which / is, I confes, to your \gret/ pains, to doe me agret / good, but in the ende, I hope you shall find / it to your contentment and not bestowed one / an ungratful parson, and this in gret hast I / ende with my most hartest commendacyons / from the court at Richmond if you have / not horses, redy you shall have horses at / my stable at westminster if you will send / and apoint what houer you will have / them redy at Lambeth and how meny

Your most assured and fast

Frind to dis[?] Douglas Sheffeld

¹⁰² This letter is dated 16 October 1594 in the British Library catalogue although no date appears on the manuscript.

BL ADD MS 12507, fo. 239, [old fol. 122]

F. Kildare 7 July 1589 from the court at Nonsuch

Goode Mr. Doctor \Casar/, havinge procured my L. my fathers assent for grantinge of
/ the office of the Admiraltie in Irelande unto my Lorde my husbande agreeable / to
the instructions which I have geven to the bearer my Servant, I thought / goode to
direct him unto youe to see the same acordingly en[d]orssed with as / favourable and
ample woordes to be inserted therin, as any way youe can – / Praeing youe to manifest
youre earnest and goode meaninge therin an Sorte / as I may rest thanckfull of youe
for youre courtesie. And even So leving / the same to youre frendly care, I bidd you
heartelly farewell: / I from the Courte at Nonsuch this 7 of July 1589

youre assured frend

~~F-H~~ F Kildare

Appendix 11 - Sample Dynastic Chronology Events surrounding the arrival of Mary Queen of Scots in England, 1568-1570¹⁰³

Year	Date	Name	Age	Event
1568	17-Feb	Sir Francis Knollys	57 ¹⁰⁴	Grant - Commission to survey the ordnance and order more supplies as the queen and privy council sees fit. ¹⁰⁵
1568	29-Mar	Henry Carey Lord Hunsdon George Carey	42 22	Grant for life to Henry Lord Hunsdon and George Cary his son and heir apparent the office of Chief Steward of the Honour of Amphihill, Bedford and Buckingham, Steward of the manors of Amphihill, Millbrook,...etc property, houses, parks, wages, bailiff, etc without fine or fee by Q. ¹⁰⁶
1568	02-Apr	Margaret Cave Knollys	19	Father's Death: Sir Ambrose
1568		Katherine Carey Knollys	44	Gift Rec'd - 'Item gevon by her majesties commaundment to the Lady Knolles One hatt of blak vellat with borders enbrodered striped with venice golde.' ¹⁰⁷
1568	04-May	Henry Knollys	27	Grant for life - the offices of keeper of Moulton Park, Northants; master of the game all void by the death of Ambrose Cave. ¹⁰⁸
1568	18-May			Mary QoS arrives Carlisle.
1568	May	Francis Knollys		Arrives in Carlisle. ¹⁰⁹
1568	03-Jul	Katherine Carey Knollys		Queen grants her request for pardon of William Constable of Esington, East Riding, York ¹¹⁰
1568	13-July			Francis Knollys, Henry Scrope and Mary QoS arrive Bolton Castle
1568	16 July	Francis Knollys		Writes to Cecil from Bolton announcing that they have arrived, that he did this with insufficient support from the court; that Mary QoS has found this out which has destroyed his credit with her. He has set up the guard schedule. ¹¹¹
1568	24-Jul	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon		Appointment during pleasure, to the Queen's kinsman, to be warden or keeper general of the Marches of England towards Scotland. With the usual powers. Wages and staff specified. By the queen. ¹¹²
1568	29 Jul	Francis Knollys		Writes to his wife asking her to work for his return to court. ¹¹³

¹⁰³ This chronology is not to be construed as complete or comprehensive. It merely illustrates the intertwining of dynastic and political events with associated rewards.

¹⁰⁴ Ages are repeated when they change.

¹⁰⁵ CPR 1566-1569, item 1018a.

¹⁰⁶ CPR 1566-1569, item 996.

¹⁰⁷ 'Lost from Her Majesties Back', *Costume Society*, 7, 37.

¹⁰⁸ CPR 1566-1569, item 1560.

¹⁰⁹ He had arrived no later than 5 June when he wrote to Scotland requesting some of Mary's clothes and belongings be sent south.

¹¹⁰ CPR 1566-1569, item 1868 C.66/1052.

¹¹¹ *Papers Relating to Mary QoS*, p.8.

¹¹² CPR 1566-1569, item 1904.

¹¹³ *Papers Relating To QoS*, pp.14-17.

1568	12 Aug	William Knollys		Part of father's staff guarding Mary QoS. Sent on errands in the neighbourhood including to Berwick to confer with Henry Carey. ¹¹⁴
1568	25-Aug	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon		Grant during pleasure of the office of governor of the Town and Castle of Berwick-upon-Tweed and of the Tower on the Bridge of the Town; with the profits and the fees appointed by the new constitutions lately made and renewed by the Queen's signature, for his service. ¹¹⁵
1568	2 Sept	Francis Knollys/Henry Carey		Elizabeth writes to Francis Knollys telling him he can use Henry Carey at Berwick as a secure messenger for correspondence between England and Scotland. ¹¹⁶
1568	13 Oct	George Carey	22	Sent as messenger to James VI who finds him a 'meet person'. ¹¹⁷
1568	20 Oct	Francis Knollys		Letter to duke of Norfolk explaining his suggestion that marriage between Mary QoS and George Carey might meet with Elizabeth's approval. Also writes to Cecil explaining this conversation. ¹¹⁸
1568	27-Oct	Francis Knollys		Writes to Henry Carey requesting additional soldiers, Elizabeth's safety at risk if Mary QoS escapes, thinks French will invade, assures him that Mary QoS seems content to marry George Carey if Elizabeth approves, or another brother if Elizabeth does not want her married to the eldest son. ¹¹⁹
1568	5 Nov	Henry Carey		Writes to Cecil regarding letter from his 'brother Knollys' and the proposal to marry his son George to Mary QoS. Trusts queen knows he has no such ambitions. ¹²⁰
1568	14-Nov	Anne Morgan Carey	38	Writes to Cecil for supplies for the garrison at Berwick. ¹²¹
1568	30-Dec	Francis Knollys		Writes to his wife, complains that Elizabeth will not release him from duty nor grant their suit regarding Ewelme Park; worried about her illness; includes text he originally wrote to Elizabeth but took out of the final letter because it was too frank; suggest that they consider abandoning court to live in the country. ¹²²
1569	Jan			<i>Suspension of Anglo-Spanish trade</i>
1569	15-Jan	Katherine Carey Knollys	44	Death: spouse Francis 58, son Henry 27, daughter Lettice 25, son William 23 son Edward 22, daughter Elizabeth 19, son Robert 18, son Richard 16, son Francis 15, daughter Anne 13, son Thomas 10, sister Katherine 9; suddenly at Hampton Court
1569	26 Jan			<i>Mary QoS moved to Tutbury Castle, custody of the earl of Shrewsbury and Henry Knollys (Francis Knollys's brother)</i>
1569	3-Feb	Francis Knollys		Released from Mary QoS duty. ¹²³

¹¹⁴ *Papers Relating To Mary QoS*, p.22.

¹¹⁵ *CPR 1566-1569*, item 1149.

¹¹⁶ *Papers Relating To Mary QoS*, p.32.

¹¹⁷ *Cal Scottish Papers*, p.687.

¹¹⁸ *Cal Scottish Papers*, pp.530, 534-5.

¹¹⁹ *CSP-Foreign, 1566-1568*, item 2626.

¹²⁰ *CSP-Foreign, 1566-1568*, item 2625.

¹²¹ *Cecil Papers*, vol. 1, p.372.

¹²² *Papers Relating To Mary QoS*, pp.60-7.

1569	21 Feb	Henry Carey		Writes from Berwick with news of Scotland, supplies for the garrison essential, his wife's waiting women and most of his children along with 20 soldiers are sick blaming short supplies. Asking for a temporary replacement so he can take some air and not get sick. ¹²⁴
1569	Mar?	Anne Knollys	13	Maid of the court
1569	14-Mar	Henry Carey		Writes to Cecil expressing his satisfaction that the queen is being nice to his nieces and nephews. ¹²⁵
1569				<i>Court conspiracy to overthrow Cecil and effect the marriage of Norfolk to Mary QoS (spring)</i>
1569	19-May	Margaret Cave Knollys	20	Grant to enter into her lands with her husband
1569	11-Jun	George Carey	23	'Grant for life to George Carie, the queen's kinsman, of the reversion of the office of Chirographer of the Common Pleas, for his service, by P.S.' ¹²⁶
1569		Charles Howard	33	General of the horse of the army levied in the south against the northern earls. ¹²⁷
1569	Oct			<i>Rebellion of the Northern Earls</i>
1569		Sir Francis Knollys	58	Lord Lieutenant Oxon.
1569		Walter Devereux 1 st earl of Essex	29	Lieutenant high marshall of the field in the army of the north. ¹²⁸
1569		William Knollys	23	Captain in the army of the north
1569		Henry Knollys	28	Lieutenant to Walter Devereux in army of the north. ¹²⁹
1569	26-Nov	Henry Carey writes to Cecil		Has asked his wife to be a suitor to the queen for a northern fortress to better serve royal interests. ¹³⁰
1569	29-Dec	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon & Anne Morgan Lady Hunsdon	43	Gift Rec'd 'Twelve newe Sable skynnes {viz} the Lorde of Hunsdon & the Lady his wief.' ¹³¹
1570	Jan		39	
1570	Feb			<i>Assassination of Regent Moray in Scotland</i>
1570				<i>Papal bull of excommunication</i>
1570	14-Feb	Francis Knollys		To Walter Mildmay, Henry Knollys (brother) and Gilbert Gerrard in reversion of Cholsey as long as Francis or any heir male of the body of Francis by Katherine his wife, now deceased shall survive - Also license to convey the premises to Francis (only heirs male of Katherine) without fine or fee. ¹³²

¹²³ *Papers Relating To Mary QoS*, p.62, note; 'In Cecil's diary is found the entry: "Febr. 3rd Sir Francis Knolles came from the Scotts Quene at Tutbury, Mr. Henry Knolles went thither."'

¹²⁴ Haynes, *Collection Of State Papers*, vol. 1, p.509.

¹²⁵ *Cecil Papers*, vols. 1-2, p.402, item 1282, 14 March 1569.

¹²⁶ *Border Papers* 1595-1603, item 2144.

¹²⁷ *HoP: House Of Commons* (Hasler), p.344.

¹²⁸ *Lives And Letters Of The Devereux*, pp.15-6.

¹²⁹ Op. cit.

¹³⁰ *CSP-Domestic 1566-1579 Addenda* vol. 15, p.125.

¹³¹ 'Lost from her Majestie's back', *Costume Society* 7, 39.

1570	26-Feb	Henry Carey			Receives letter from Elizabeth congratulating him on defeating Leonard Dacres in last battle of rebellion of the northern earls. ¹³³
1570		Charles Howard		34	Ambassador Low Countries
1570		Margaret Howard			Born: mother Katherine Carey Howard, 23, father Charles Howard 34.
1570		Walter Devereux		30	Born: mother Lettice 26, father Walter 30, sister Penelope 6, sister Dorothy 5, brother Robert 3.
1570		William Knollys		24	Knighted on borders of Scotland
1570	7-Apr	Henry Carey			Writes Cecil from Berwick regarding activity on the border, awaiting Sussex's troops. ¹³⁴
1570		William Knollys		24	Made a gentleman pensioner
1570	24-Apr	Anne Knollys		14	Multiple gifts rec'd
1570	11-May	George Carey		24	Knighted
1570	22-May	George Carey		24	Challenge of single combat issued to Scottish general, near Glasgow
1570	28-May	Anne Knollys		14	Gift Rec'd
1570	28-Jun	Henry Carey		21	Appointed to commission to examine bishops. ¹³⁵
1570	Sep	Henry Carey baron Hunsdon		44	Visited on progress at Hunsdon ¹³⁶
1570	12-Oct	Anne Knollys		15	Grant of specially made footwear
1570	20 Oct	Henry Carey & Anne Morgan Carey			Staying with the earl of Sussex for 10 or 12 days ¹³⁷

¹³² *CPR 1569-1572*, vol. 5, item 273.

¹³³ Marcus et al, pp.125-6.

¹³⁴ *CSP-Domestic, Addenda*, Apr 1570, item 32.

¹³⁵ *APC 1558-1570*, p.366.

¹³⁶ Cole, *Portable Queen*, pp.180-235.

¹³⁷ *CSP-Foreign*, Oct 1570, item 1356.

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