Personal Connections and Space: A Comparative Study of the Agency of Aristocratic Women in Mid-Tudor England

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Abstract

The mid-Tudor period was one of political and religious instability and uncertainty in England, creating both opportunities and significant dangers for those close to power. This thesis examines the influence of personal connections on the agency of eight royal and noble women between the mid-1530s and late 1550s across the domestic, local and religious, scholarly, elite social, and high political and royal court spaces. These women are Frances Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk; Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox; Jane Guildford, Duchess of Northumberland; Mary Howard, Duchess of Richmond; Queen Katherine Parr; Anne Stanhope, Duchess of Somerset; Lady Mary Tudor, later Mary I; and Katherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk. This thesis offers a comparative study of these eight women based on archival research, using a range of written primary source material to challenge the positivity of existing scholarship on networks and connections, and to advance our understanding of female participation in the mid-Tudor court.

This thesis argues that, despite potential hostility or failings, networks of personal relationships were valuable resources for these elite women to access power and to navigate the mid-Tudor volatility. These relationships served to connect them to central power across distances, and allowed them to both seize opportunities and mitigate losses. These women usually worked on behalf of their families, demonstrating their strong dynastic identities. This thesis demonstrates that not all relationships were positive, and that a reliance on support networks could limit female agency by limiting the assistance offered to these women, restricting their influence or success, or ensuring their dependency on male relatives. This underscores the confines of patriarchal power on even elite women; their subordination was not wholly overcome by recourse to their personal connections. Nonetheless, such relationships were crucial means of assistance to these women to help them negotiate space and traverse the precarity of the mid-Tudor period.

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List of Abbreviations

APC	*Acts of the Privy Council of England*, ed. J.R. Dasent et al., 46 vols (London, 1890–1964)
BL	British Library
CCEd	Clergy of the Church of England Database (online edn)
Collection of State Papers	*A Collection of State Papers Relating to the Affairs in the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth from the Year 1542 to 1570*, ed. S. Haynes (London, 1740)
CPR Edward VI	*Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward VI, 1547–1553*, ed. H.M. Maxwell-Lyte, 5 vols (London, 1924–26)
CPR Mary	*Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Philip and Mary, 1553–1558*, ed. A.E. Stamp, 4 vols (London, 1936–39)
CSPD Edward VI	*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series of the reign of Edward VI*, ed. C.S. Knighton (London, 1992)
CSPD Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth	*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reigns of Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, 1547–1580*, ed. R. Lemon (London, 1856)
CSPD Elizabeth and James I, Addenda	*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, Addenda, 1580–1625*, ed. M.A.E. Green (London, 1872)
CSPD Mary	*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of Mary I, 1553–1558*, ed. C.S. Knighton (London, 1998)
CSPF Edward VI	*Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Edward VI, 1547–1553*, ed. W.B. Turnbull (London, 1861)
CSPF Elizabeth	*Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1558–1589*, ed. J. Stevenson et al., 23 vols (London, 1863–1950)
CSPS	*Calendar of State Papers, Spain,* ed. G.A. Bergenroth et al., 19 vols (London, 1862–1954)

CSP Simancas	*Calendar of State Papers, Spain (Simancas)*, ed. M.A.S. Hume, 4 vols (London, 1892–99)
CSP Venice	*Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, ed. R. Brown et al., 38 vols (London, 1864–1947)
HMC Ancaster	Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Ancaster, Preserved at Grimsthorpe* (Dublin, 1907)
HMC Bath	Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable, the Marquess of Bath, Preserved at Longleat, Wiltshire*, 5 vols (London, 1904–80)
HMC Middleton	Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton, Preserved at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire* (London, 1911)
HMC Pepys	Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Pepys Manuscripts, Preserved at Magdalene College, Cambridge* (London, 1911)
HMC Rutland	Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, G.C.B., Preserved at Belvoir Castle*, vol. 1 (London, 1888)
HMC Salisbury	Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, 24 vols (London, 1883–1976)
HMC Seventh Report, I	Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Seventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, Part 1 (London, 1879)
HoP	*The History of Parliament: House of Commons* (online edition; the various volumes are denoted by the editor's name)
KP Works	K. Parr, *Katherine Parr: Complete Works and Correspondence*, ed. J. Mueller (Chicago, 2004)
L&P	*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509–1547*, ed. J. Brewer, J. Gairdner, and R.H. Brodie, 21 vols (London, 1862–1932)
LAO	Lincolnshire Archive Office

LL	M.S.C. Byrne (ed.), *The Lisle Letters*, 6 vols (Chicago, 1981)
Machyn, *Diary*	H. Machyn, *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, From A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563*, ed. J.G. Nichols (London, 1848)
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online edition)
PPE	*Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, Daughter of King Henry the Eighth, Afterwards Queen Mary*, ed. F. Maddern (London, 1831)
SP	State Papers
TAMO	J. Foxe, *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online or TAMO* (online edition)
TNA	The National Archives
Vita Mariae	R. Wingfield, 'The *Vita Mariae Angliae Reginae* of Robert Wingfield of Brantham', ed. D. MacCulloch, *Camden Miscellany*, vol. 28 (London, 1984), pp. 181–301
WAM	Westminster Abbey Muniments
Wriothesley, *Chronicle*	C. Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England during the Reigns of the Tudors*, ed. W.D. Hamilton, 2 vols (London, 1875–77)

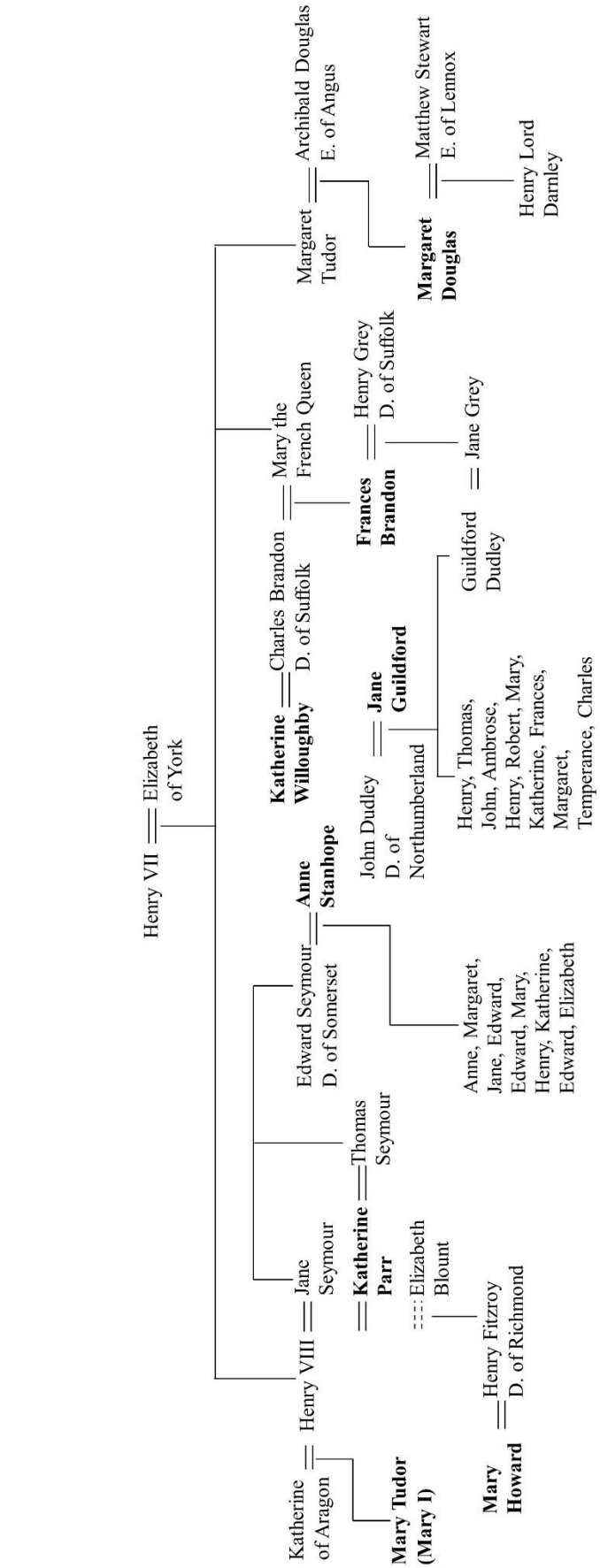
Notes on Conventions

In using quotations from manuscripts, contractions have been expanded and denoted with italics. Original spelling has been preserved.

Dates are given in Old Style, but the year is taken to begin on 1 January.

Women could acquire several surnames and titles during their lifetimes. For clarity, women are identified by their natal surnames, usually with their marital surname or title following, such as Mary Kempe, Mrs Finch; or Eleanor Manners, Countess of Rutland. Exceptions are made when a married name offers better clarity. When a woman's title is given, the highest-ranking title is used, even if she did not hold it at that time, such as Anne Stanhope, Duchess of Somerset, even though she was previously Viscountess Beauchamp and Countess of Hertford. Titled men are usually referred to by the title they held at the time, rather than their surname.

Family Tree


Henry VII
Elizabeth of York
Katherine of Aragon
Henry VIII
Mary Tudor (Mary I)
Jane Seymour
Edward Seymour D. of Somerset
Anne Stanhope
Katherine Willoughby
Charles Brandon D. of Suffolk
Mary the French Queen
Margaret Tudor
Archibald Douglas E. of Angus
Katherine Parr
Thomas Seymour
Elizabeth Blount
Henry Fitzroy D. of Richmond
Mary Howard
John Dudley D. of Northumberland
Jane Guildford
Frances Brandon
Henry Grey D. of Suffolk
Margaret Douglas
Matthew Stewart E. of Lennox
Henry Lord Darnley
Guildford Dudley
Jane Grey
Anne, Margaret, Jane, Edward, Edward, Mary, Henry, Katherine, Edward, Elizabeth
Henry, Thomas, John, Ambrose, Henry, Robert, Mary, Katherine, Frances, Margaret, Temperance, Charles

Introduction

In 1548, Anne Stanhope, Duchess of Somerset and wife of the Lord Protector, received a manuscript translation of Benedetto Luchino's c.1542 *Tratatto utilissimo del beneficio di Giesu Cristo crocifisso verso i Cristiani* from a high-ranking prisoner in the Tower of London, Edward Courtenay. A dynastic threat to the Tudors due to his descent from Edward IV, Courtenay had been incarcerated since 1538. He dedicated his translation of this reformist Catholic text to Anne, in the hopes of gaining the goodwill of her husband's regime. He praised her 'mercyfull goodnes' and emphasised his own position as a 'sorrowfull captiue' in the Tower, asking her to petition the duke 'to deliuer me out of this miserable captiuite: and to vouchesafe to take me into his howse as his gracis seruant'. Although any approaches that Anne may have made to her husband for Courtenay's freedom were unsuccessful, as he was not released from the Tower until 1553, she nonetheless shared his manuscript with the king, Edward VI. He wrote two inscriptions of pious advice to Anne in the volume in his own hand, signing himself as 'Your loving neueu [nephew] Edward'.[1] Anne's involvement in Tudor dynastic politics and the court circulation of devotional texts, enabled by her connections to her husband and their royal nephew, illustrates the opportunities available to elite Tudor women, and the significant role played by their personal relationships.

This thesis examines the experiences of eight English aristocratic and royal women between the mid-1530s and late 1550s. These were Frances Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk; Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox; Jane Guildford, Duchess of Northumberland; Mary Howard, Duchess of Richmond; Queen Katherine Parr; Anne Stanhope, Duchess of Somerset; Queen Mary Tudor; and Katherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk.[2] The mid-Tudor period was a volatile time, and a comparative study of these women not only highlights the

[1] Cambridge University Library MS Nn.4.43, A. Paleario, 'A Treatise Most Profitable of the Benefit that True Christians Receive by the Death of Jesus Christ', trans. E. Courtenay, pr. C. Babbington (ed.), *The Benefit of Christ's Death* (London, 1855), pp. 91–94; I.W. Archer, 'Courtenay, Edward, first earl of Devon', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2008); Edward VI, *Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth*, ed. J.G. Nichols, vol. 1 (London, 1857), p. 338.
[2] See the family tree on p. 10.

importance of their personal relationships and support networks but also examines how these relationships limited elite female agency. These relationships were significant because they offered assistance and political advancement, and gave these women scope to exert influence, especially in the household and locality, and to push their own religious agendas. These women engaged with and mobilised their personal connections for the benefit of themselves, their families, and clients, seeking advancement during this period of instability and potential upward mobility: several rose to become queens, namely Katherine Parr and Mary Tudor, or wives of key statesmen like the Dukes of Somerset and Northumberland. However, this was also a period of uncertainty and danger, especially for those so close to power, and so these women relied on their support networks for protection by using them to help navigate precarious situations. They also negotiated space and distance by using personal relationships to connect them with the royal court and high politics over geographical distance, and to participate in different spaces such as the religious, the scholarly, and the local. Crucially, although their support networks and personal connections were important, their reliance on them did not result in total success, nor did it completely overcome patriarchal restrictions on their agency. Their dependence on male kin and husbands continued, they were limited by hostile or weak personal ties, and they experienced losses of power, wealth, and family members.

Early modern personal relationships can be characterised by their reciprocity, with expectations of mutual assistance despite inequality in social status. This thesis examines the utilitarian patronage value of relationships rather than measuring their emotional component, and argues that the instrumentality of such ties meant that they functioned well regardless of the extent of affection or intimacy. It demonstrates that personal ties were flexible yet resilient, as their positive, active, useful, and affective qualities could change and were renegotiated. For the eight women studied here, their noble households and estates were substantial financial resources, the management of which enabled them to forge personal connections with others both within and beyond the domestic sphere. Furthermore, their membership of the aristocracy and connections to the royal family brought access to a range of potential social

contacts. This thesis examines these relationships across five different contexts or spaces – the domestic, local and religious, scholarly, elite social, and royal court and high political – and contextualises them through comparison, which shows that these women participated in networks within and across all of these spaces, each of which forms the focus of a chapter. Not only does this reveal the fluid nature and overlaps of these spaces for aristocratic Tudor women, but it also reconceptualises the nature of space and proximity by claiming that these women participated in spaces despite geographical distance. While concurring with the significance of personal access and proximity, especially to the royal court, this thesis underscores the mobilisation of support networks and personal contacts as alternatives to physical presence. Far from being confined to the regions, these women were active players in central politics and at court, even when not formally in attendance.

This thesis demonstrates that although personal connections were a reserve to be drawn on for support or advantage, the assistance they offered had limits. Relationships needed to be built up and expectations maintained in order to be drawn on effectively, and contacts did not offer unbounded support. Although both Anne Stanhope and Jane Guildford worked for the release and pardon of themselves and their offspring after political crises, neither was able to save her husband from execution. The conservative nature of elite sociability also restricted the extent of support networks, mainly to pre-existing contacts and kin. However, personal relationships did not only follow partisan lines, as many cut across religious or political divides. This suggests that such relationships were not homogenous, and these women built connections on multiple identities such as shared locality, service, religion, clients, family, and political agenda or grouping. Each created obligations which could potentially clash, and such clashes of interests meant that, although some relationships were strong and cohesive, others were hostile or weak, and thus offered little support. This thesis demonstrates that personal ties were flexible, as they were able to change between positive or negative, useful or unhelpful, and active or latent. It argues for the significance of maintaining connections, which kept them active and accessible for mobilisation, as the existence of a tie alone, such as through kinship, did not necessarily result in support. Furthermore, the

sincerity of these women's loyalties, especially religious convictions and political allegiances, cannot be blindly accepted; their support for evangelicalism or Catholicism can sometimes reflect strategic efforts to support their husbands or protect themselves when vulnerable, rather than genuine piety. Their decisions to either act pragmatically and conform, or to offer public opposition, reflect the volatility of the mid-Tudor period and shed light on how these women worked for stability for themselves and their families at this time.

Conceptual frameworks

This thesis employs the following conceptual key terms: space, connections, patriarchy, and agency. It applies the concept of 'space' to both physical spaces, such as the household and locality, and conceptual or abstract spaces, such as the scholarly or religious space. Although some scholars have used the term 'site' for unplaced spaces, reserving 'space' for the geographically located, the use of 'space' for both physical and nonphysical spaces in this thesis has been useful for highlighting the similarities between the two.[3] There were often unclear boundaries between the two: a household could extend beyond the house to incorporate non-resident members, while a scholarly circle could be situated in apartments at the royal court.[4] Delman, and Eibach and Lanzinger, have also used the idea of 'social spaces' to describe the household or domestic

[3] S. Broomhall, 'Emotions in the Household', in Broomhall (ed.), *Emotions in the Household* (Basingstoke, 2008), pp. 1, 16–17; B. Harris, *English Aristocratic Women, 1450–1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 211–12; R. Smith, 'Paratextual Economies in Tudor Women's Translations: Margaret More Roper, Mary Roper Basset and Mary Tudor', in A. Rizzi (ed.), *Trust and Proof: Translators in Renaissance Print Culture* (Leiden, 2017), pp. 185–86; R.M. Delman, 'Elite Female Constructions of Power and Space in England, 1444–1541' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2017), pp. 12, 14, 39; E. Mazzola and C.S. Abate, 'Introduction: "Indistinguished Space"', in C.S. Abate (ed.), *Privacy, Domesticity, and Women in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 2–4; R. Siemens et al., 'Drawing Networks in the Devonshire Manuscript (BL Add 17492): Toward Visualizing a Writing Community's Shared Apprenticeship, Social Valuation, and Self-Validation', *Digital Studies*, 1/1 (2009).

[4] C. Mann, '"Whether your ladiship will or ne": Displeasure, Duty and Devotion in The Lisle Letters', in S. Broomhall (ed.), *Emotions in the Household, 1200–1900* (Basingstoke, 2008), pp. 120–22, 131; R. Southall, 'The Devonshire Manuscript Collection of Early Tudor Poetry, 1532–41', *The Review of English Studies*, 15/58 (1964), pp. 146–47.

space as a gendered 'site of sociability'.[5] 'Sphere' is often used in the secondary literature to contrast the private, conflated with the domestic, with the public, or political. Scholarship on early modern public and private spheres has demonstrated that these spheres were not wholly spatial, and that women were not confined to the household or excluded from the political by a gendering of the public and private.[6] This thesis employs the concept of 'proximity' to analyse the geographical nearness or distance between physical spaces.[7] The trajectory of this thesis largely shifts from more physical spaces to the more abstract. It finishes with high politics, which are often associated with the royal court, but the court was itself was centred around the monarch rather than a place, and was peripatetic.[8]

In this thesis, personal connections are considered to be the interpersonal relationships between two people, and networks as interconnected relationships among more than two people. Connections, relationships, ties, and alliances have been treated as largely synonymous in the secondary literature on early modern support networks, with 'tie' usually denoting the closest relationships and being especially associated with kinship, while 'connection' or 'alliance' is usually used for active and mutually advantageous relationships.[9] This thesis adheres to this use of these concepts. Although networks can be described as

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[5] Delman, 'Elite Female Constructions of Power and Space', pp. 39, 255; J. Eibach and M. Lanzinger, 'Introduction: Continuities and transformations in the history of the domestic sphere', in J. Eibach and M. Lanzinger (eds), *The Routledge History of the Domestic Sphere in Europe: 16th to 19th Century* (London, 2020), pp. 1–3. Mazzola and Abate also view the domestic space as a female space and the location of female subculture. Mazzola and Abate, 'Introduction', pp. 2–4.

[6] R.M. Warnicke, 'Private and Public: The Boundaries of Women's Lives in Early Stuart England', in J.R. Brink (ed.), *Privileging Gender in Early Modern England* (Kirksville, 1993), pp. 123–40; B.J. Harris, 'Space, Time, and the Power of Aristocratic Wives in Yorkist and Early Tudor England', in A.J. Schutte, T. Kuehn, and S.S. Menchi (eds), *Time, Space and Women's Lives in Early Modern Europe* (Kirksville, 2001), pp. 245–64; D. Clarke, 'Public and Private', in K. Raber (ed.), *A Cultural History of Women in the Renaissance* (Bloomsbury, 2016), pp. 115–42; J. Daybell, '"I wold wyshe my doings myght be ... secret": Privacy and the Social Practices of Reading Women's Letters in 16th-Century England', in J. Couchman and A. Crabb (eds), *Women's Letters across Europe, 1400-1700: Form and Persuasion* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 143–62.

[7] Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, p. 200.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 211–12.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 175, 200; S. Frye and K. Robertson, 'Introduction', in S. Frye and K. Robertson (eds), *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens: Women's Alliances in Early Modern England* (New York, 1998), pp. 3–5; S.M. Cogan, *Catholic Social Networks in Early Modern England: Kinship, Gender, and Coexistence* (Amsterdam, 2021), pp. 20, 25; N. Tadmor, 'Early Modern English Kinship in the Long Run: Reflections on Continuity and Change', *Continuity and Change*, 25/1 (2010), pp. 19, 32.

'social networks', this thesis prefers the term 'support networks', which demonstrates the active nature and instrumentality of these ties.[10] Not only horizontal but vertical relationships, either by status or generation, are considered here.[11] Although friendships can denote intimacy and closeness, they could also refer to strategic alliances, including between women. Here, 'friend' is reserved for affective ties, while recognising their instrumentality in offering mutual support.[12] The utility of connections usually results in scholars viewing them as 'active', also acknowledging that kinship ties can be 'latent' until activated when required.[13] This thesis focuses on the efforts to cultivate and maintain connections, and argues that these were important to ensure active ties which could be drawn on for support. This recognition of the instrumentality and utilisation of ties has led the wider scholarship to view such relationships as the basis of the patronage system, as they supported access to patron-client exchanges for both men and women.[14]

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[10] Cogan, *Catholic Social Networks*, pp. 21–22; T. Kemp, C. Powell, and B. Link, 'Accounting for Early Modern Women in the Arts: Reconsidering Women's Agency, Networks, and Relationships', in M.E. Wiesner-Hanks (ed.), *Challenging Women's Agency and Activism in Early Modernity* (Amsterdam, 2016), pp. 288, 290–91; B. Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 51, 56, 58–59; I.K. Ben-Amos, 'Gifts and Favours: Informal Support in Early Modern England', *The Journal of Modern History*, 72/2 (2000), pp. 297, 307; M.K. McIntosh, 'The Diversity of Social Capital in English Communities, 1300-1640 (With a Glance at Modern Nigeria)' *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 29/3 (1999), pp. 459–90.

[11] Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, p. 175; Cogan, *Catholic Social Networks*, pp. 21–22, 26; B. Labreche, 'Patronage, Friendship, and Sincerity in Bacon and Spenser', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 50/1 (2010), pp. 83–84.

[12] K. Wrightson, 'Mutualities and Obligations: Changing Social Relationships in Early Modern England', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 139 (2006), p. 164; Tadmor, 'Early Modern English Kinship', p. 19; Tadmor, N., *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 175, 191; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 184, 204; C. Luckyj and N.J. O'Leary, 'Editors' Introduction', in C. Luckyj and N.J. O'Leary (eds), *The Politics of Female Alliance in Early Modern England* (Lincoln, 2017), pp. 2–4; Cogan, *Catholic Social Networks*, p. 21.

[13] D. Cressy, 'Kinship and Kin Interaction in Early Modern England', *Past & Present*, 113 (1986), pp. 67–69; Cogan, *Catholic Social Networks*, pp. 20, 25. By contrast, Warnicke has viewed patronage relationships at the Tudor court as being temporary and unstable, usually lacking the kinship or other formal connection to solidify their relationship. R.M. Warnicke, 'Family and Kinship Relations at the Henrician Court: The Boleyns and Howards', in D. Hoak (ed.), *Tudor Political Culture* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 40–41.

[14] J. Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers in Tudor England* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 26–27, 151, 160–63; F. Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 180–206; Cogan, *Catholic Social Networks*, p. 21; Labreche, 'Patronage, Friendship, and Sincerity', p. 84; B. Harris, 'Sisterhood, Friendship and the Power of English Aristocratic Women, 1450–1550', in J. Daybell (ed.), *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450–1700* (London, 2016), p. 22; C. Merton, 'Women, Friendship, and Memory', in A. Hunt and A. Whitelock (eds), *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth* (New York, 2010), p. 240.

Much scholarship has emphasised that early modern kinship ties and friendships were both 'affective and effective', combining interest with emotions.[15] Friendships, especially female friendships, are recognised as not being purely private and affective relationships.[16] Especially within the family, Tadmor has argued against a dichotomy between interest and emotions, claiming that material interest and affection were 'intermixed' as they were closely related and functioned together.[17] This thesis acknowledges that personal ties combined the instrumental and the affective, and that one did not necessarily negate the other. It is more difficult to measure the latter, and this thesis is focused on the former. It does not attempt to situate intimacy and affection into all relationships. As these relationships had a strategic role, it is important to consider the primary functions of these ties, which were usually the active and pragmatic mobilisation of mutual obligations for self-interest.

This thesis views the patriarchy as a structure of multiple interrelated systems which favour men and places power in their hands.[18] It recognises that patriarchal structures do not necessarily favour all men equally, and nor do they subordinate all women totally. As part of the shift away from second wave radical feminism, scholars have recognised that the patriarchy is not a monolithic totality.[19] Early modern patriarchal systems inherently had tensions or contradictions from different articulations within these systems, and from their interactions with other political and economic systems. These contradictions were spaces, or opportunities, for female authority. Such

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[15] Wrightson, 'Mutualities and Obligations', pp. 166, 168; Tadmor, 'Early Modern English Kinship', pp. 25–27; Luckyj and O'Leary, 'Editors' Introduction', pp. 2–3; Cogan, *Catholic Social Networks*, p. 20.

[16] Luckyj and O'Leary, 'Editors' Introduction', pp. 3–4, 10; A.E. Herbert, *Female Alliances: Gender, Identity, and Friendship in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven, 2014), pp. 4–5, 7–8, 16; Harris, 'Sisterhood', pp. 21–22. Labreche has argued that the utilitarian or self-interested element of early modern male friendships did not negate their sincerity. Labreche, 'Patronage, Friendship, and Sincerity', pp. 86–88, 103.

[17] Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, pp. 28–29, 175–78, 191, 193; Wrightson, 'Mutualities and Obligations', p. 166; E. Paranque, 'Catherine de Medici's Grandmotherhood: The Building of Emotional and Political Intergenerational Relationships', *Renaissance Studies*, 34/3 (2020), pp. 425–28; Cogan, *Catholic Social Networks*, p. 21.

[18] S.D. Amussen, 'The Contradictions of Patriarchy in Early Modern England', *Gender & History*, 30/2 (2018), p. 344; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 10–11.

[19] Amussen, 'The Contradictions of Patriarchy', pp. 344, 350; A.M. Poska, 'The Case for Agentic Gender Norms for Women in Early Modern Europe', *Gender & History*, 30/2 (2018), p. 354; A. Dialeti, 'Patriarchy as a Category of Historical Analysis and the Dynamics of Power: The Example of Early Modern Italy', *Gender & History*, 30/2 (2018), pp. 331–33, 335–36, 339.

consideration of how men and women could gain or be excluded from power, and where the tensions existed in the system, makes the patriarchy a useful concept for this thesis.[20] The women studied in this thesis did not seek to overturn patriarchal structures, but did work to circumvent them. Although limited by these structures, they also benefitted from them. Drawing on the concept of intersectionality allows this thesis to acknowledge the advantages gained by these women from their social class.[21] It shows that these women had multiple identities based on their sex, class, and other loyalties such as family, religion, faction, or locality; they did not necessarily prioritise their sex nor work together in harmonious female networks to challenge patriarchal structures.[22] This thesis also shows that patriarchal structures were not the only systems which hindered or restricted these women. They were also affected by factors including political and religious change, danger and uncertainty, marital status, and the tenor of and reliance on personal relationships.[23]

Female agency means the capacity to intentionally act.[24] The agency of early modern women is usually understood within patriarchal structures, where scholars have highlighted a paradox between elite early modern women's simultaneous subordination and capability or competence.[25] Expectations for female action and capability has led Poska to propose the existence of agentic gender norms alongside patriarchal gender norms. This thesis follows Poska in seeing multiple expectations for women, to be both active and subordinate.[26] In

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[20] Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 6, 10–11; M. Howell, 'The Problem of Women's Agency in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe', in S.J. Moran and A. Pipkin (eds), *Women and Gender in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Leiden, 2019), pp. 29–31; Amussen, 'The Contradictions of Patriarchy', pp. 343–45; Dialeti, 'Patriarchy', pp. 335, 339.
[21] Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 8–9; Poska, 'The Case for Agentic Gender Norms', p. 361.
[22] Dialeti, 'Patriarchy', pp. 334–35; Poska, 'The Case for Agentic Gender Norms', p. 361; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, p. 239.
[23] R. O'Day, *Women's Agency in Early Modern Britain and the American Colonies: Patriarchy, Partnership and Patronage* (Harlow, 2007), p. 8.
[24] M.E. Wiesner-Hanks, 'Women's Agency: Then and Now', *Parergon*, 40/2 (2023), p. 10; Howell, 'The Problem of Women's Agency', p. 28; Kemp, Powell, and Link, 'Accounting for Early Modern Women', p. 292.
[25] Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, p. 6; L. Pollock, '"Teach Her to Live Under Obedience": The Making of Women in the Upper Ranks of Early Modern England', *Continuity and Change*, 4/2 (1989), pp. 231, 233–34.
[26] Poska, 'The Case for Agentic Gender Norms', pp. 354–55; Wiesner-Hanks, 'Women's Agency', pp. 12, 14, 22. Pollock argues that early modern upper class women were socialised as children to defer to men but not to lose their independent thought and actions, becoming competent but obedient, and thus able to perform the dual role of submissive wives capable of

determining the bounds of agentic expectations, this thesis sheds light on elite women's activities and motivations beyond working for familial interests, showing that although family loyalties were important, these women were also able to work to benefit themselves and their allies and clients.[27] Their economic agency was especially important, as they had access to financial resources from their household and estates. This thesis examines how they also negotiated agency from the contradictions within the patriarchal system. Despite patriarchal expectations of female subordination within marriage, marriages to domestic servants resulted in lower-status husbands reliant on their wives' wealth and connections to enhance their careers. Religious agency was gained through expectations that elite women should direct the spiritual training of their children and staff, and their power to convert others was further enhanced by evangelical acceptance that women could read Scripture and patronise vernacular devotional texts.[28] This thesis also engages with scholarship on collective agency, by examining the importance of networks.[29]

The eight women examined in this thesis were not seeking to challenge or overthrow patriarchal systems, but instead worked with and within them.[30] Their agency can be seen in their efforts to circumvent or negotiate patriarchal structures, and to actively support them. Their 'patriarchal bargains' or collusion helped to uphold class hierarchies, and ensured personal benefit over female solidarity. This thesis suggests that these women upheld the status quo in order to benefit themselves, their families, and their clients, due to a combination of duty or obligation, dynastic ambition, and a selfish pursuit of authority and power.[31] They sometimes used the advantages of their sex and

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stepping in as business and estate managers. Pollock, 'Teach Her to Live', pp. 234, 246, 249–50.

[27] Howell, 'The Problem of Women's Agency', pp. 22–24.

[28] Wiesner-Hanks, 'Women's Agency', p. 14; C. Canavan and H. Smith, '"The needle may convert more than the pen": Women and the Work of Conversion in Early Modern England, in S. Ditchfield and H. Smith (eds), *Conversions: Gender and Religious Change in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester, 2017), pp. 108–113; Clarke, 'Public and Private', p. 128; Amussen, 'The Contradictions of Patriarchy', p. 346.

[29] Kemp, Powell, and Link, 'Accounting for Early Modern Women'; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, p. 9. See the discussion on female and kinship networks in the Literature Review below, pp. 31–34.

[30] Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 8–9.

[31] Clarke, 'Public and Private', pp. 130–31; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 8–9; Kemp, Powell, and Link, 'Accounting for Early Modern Women', pp. 296–97; Dialeti, 'Patriarchy', p. 335; Poska, 'The Case for Agentic Gender Norms', p. 361.

sometimes the advantages of their social status, and manoeuvred between contradictions in patriarchal systems. Their personal ties and support networks were important tools to help them in these manoeuvres. Personal connections were usually an indirect route to achieve a goal, when these women were denied more formal access to power by patriarchal structures.[32] These structures reduced their options for decision-making or action, usually hindering their agency. However, such restrictions also led these women to seek alternative, informal positions instead, and the informality of these roles had more manoeuvrability in crises.[33] They used networks and personal connections to enhance their capability, even as such ties also placed limits on their agency.

Literature review

By examining elite female agency across the domestic and wider spaces, this thesis corroborates the trend in scholarship on early modern women which recognises their agency and opportunities for influence, especially by challenging the older assumption of a division between public and private activity which saw women removed from the public or political sphere. Scholars have demonstrated that the early modern family was not 'private', and that politics were 'personal, familial and public', widening the political to include informal female participation.[34] Within the family, more recent studies have qualified early modern women's subjugation to their husbands by noting

[32] Kemp, Powell, and Link, 'Accounting for Early Modern Women', p. 303.
[33] Clarke, 'Public and Private', p. 137; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, p. 15; H. Graham-Matheson, 'Petticoats and Politics: Elisabeth Parr and Female Agency at the Early Elizabethan Court', in N. Akkerman and B. Houben (eds), *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies-in-Waiting across Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2013), pp. 48–49. See especially the discussion of Anne Stanhope in Chapter 5 on pp. 219–33.
[34] S. Frye and K. Robertson, 'Afterword', in Luckyj and O'Leary (eds), *The Politics of Female Alliance*, p. 250; B.J. Harris, 'Aristocratic and Gentry Women, 1460–1640', *History Compass*, 4/4 (2006), pp. 671–72, 675; B.J. Harris, 'The View from My Lady's Chamber: New Perspectives on the Early Tudor Monarchy', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 60 (1998), p. 247; S.D. Amussen, 'Gender, Family and the Social Order, 1560–1725', in A. Fletcher and J. Stevenson (eds), *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 196, 216–17; S.E. Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys 1660–1720* (Oxford, 1999), p. 108; D. Starkey, 'The Age of the Household', in S. Medcalf (ed.), *The Later Middle Ages* (London, 1981), pp. 262–63; J. Crawford, *Mediatrix: Women, Politics, and Literary Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 15–24.

that obedience did not equate to passive subordination, while elite wives were expected to act as active partners in managing estates and co-leading the great household.[35] Marriage has been regarded as a change in elite women's status, bringing responsibility and the opportunity to gain increased domestic power over time; Hannay claimed that mature women and wives 'redefined themselves through personal achievement', usually for familial benefit, rather than conforming to social expectations as in their youth, and Harris and Day have each outlined how noble wives moved from subordinated brides to experienced and confident family leaders.[36] While some scholars have emphasised the manoeuvring between husbands, male kin, and other authorities which women could employ to escape patriarchal control, and the defiance shown to husbands, others have claimed that mutual affection and workable partnerships within marriages were often formed, although Harris has argued that 'spousal unity' was nothing more than a 'social myth, masking the subordination of wives'.[37] Scholars have also noted the importance of good marital relationships in allowing women to access political influence by giving them opportunities to advise or influence their husbands by acting as their junior political partners.[38] Recent scholarship has emphasised the significance of women's connections with both their natal and marital relatives. However, Warnicke and Clark have each noted the limits to familial help, with Clark

[35] Pollock, 'Teach Her to Live', pp. 231–34, 245–46, 250–51; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 5–6, 72–73; Amussen, 'Gender, Family and the Social Order', pp. 197–204, 204, 208–09; C.E. Thomas, *If I Lose Mine Honour, I Lose Myself: Honour Among the Early Modern English Elite* (Toronto, 2017), pp. 97–104; Poska, 'The Case for Agentic Gender Norms'.

[36] M.P. Hannay, '"O Daughter Heare": Reconstructing the Lives of Aristocratic Englishwomen', in B. Travitsky and A.F. Seeff (eds), *Attending to Women in Early Modern England* (Newark, 1994), pp. 35–39; M. Cannon, 'Families in Crisis: Parenting and the Life Cycle in English Society, c. 1450–1620' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Northumbria University, 2015), pp. 1–4, 14–17, 32–33; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, p. 62; Harris, 'Space, Time', pp. 246, 252–53, 260–63; Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p. 203.

[37] Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 73–77; A. Wall, 'Deference and Defiance in Women's Letters of the Thynne Family: The Rhetoric of Relationship', in J. Daybell (ed.), *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450–1700* (Basingstoke, 2001), pp. 77–93; Daybell, *Women Letter Writers*, p. 200; R.C. Richardson, *Household Servants in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2010), pp. 146, 162; Thomas, *If I Lose Mine Honour*, pp. 100–04.

[38] B.A. Hanawalt, 'Lady Honor Lisle's Networks of Influence', in M. Erler and M. Kowaleski (eds), *Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (Athens, Georgia, 1988), p. 191; D.L. Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1992), pp. 251–53, 260; M.L. Beer, *Queenship at the Renaissance Courts of Britain: Catherine of Aragon and Margaret Tudor, 1503–1533* (Woodbridge, 2018), pp. 2–3, 98–103; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 5–6, 62, 72–77; Hannay, 'O Daughter Heare', pp. 35–39.

claiming that dynastic assistance could be contingent on suitable submissive behaviour.[39] The historiography on early modern widowhood has emphasised how widows were accorded real agency, by enjoying greater legal and economic independence than their married counterparts, and without the risks of childbearing; widowhood could be the 'culmination of [their] … careers', according to Harris.[40]

This thesis challenges the optimistic trend in the secondary literature of claiming that affection within early modern marriages was prevalent and served to reduce female subordination, by instead demonstrating the continued dependence of elite wives on their husbands. Likewise, relationships with other male kin could create reliance and place limitations on these women. Evaluating the extent of their autonomy can shed light on both patriarchal power and women's vulnerability, such as in Mary Howard's widowhood when she was financially reliant on her father, or in Anne Stanhope's and Jane Guildford's only partially successful efforts to seek the political rehabilitation of their families. Anne Stanhope, Margaret Douglas, and Frances Brandon have been vilified as bad or domineering wives, but rather than seeking to rehabilitate their reputations, this thesis regards their marriages as unequal partnerships with their husbands, where negotiation was required and there was scope for female agency, but where patriarchal restrictions ultimately still remained.[41] This thesis also offers fresh perspectives by moving beyond

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[39] Cressy, 'Kinship and Kin Interaction', pp. 41, 44–47, 49, 67–68; J.J. Hurwich, 'Lineage and Kin in the Sixteenth-Century Aristocracy: Some Comparative Evidence on England and Germany', in A.L. Beier, D. Cannadine, and J.M. Rosenheim (eds), *The First Modern Society: Essays in English History in Honour of Lawrence Stone* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 37; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 78, 10; N. Clark, 'Dynastic Politics: Five Women of the Howard Family during the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509–1547' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Royal Holloway College, University of London, 2013), pp. 15–19, 202; Warnicke, 'Family and Kinship Relations', pp. 32–34, 38, 40–41, 51–52.

[40] K. Schutte, 'Marrying Out in the Sixteenth Century: Subsequent Marriages of Aristocratic Women in the Tudor Era', *Journal of Family History*, 38/1 (2012), pp. 6–7, 13; S. Mendelson and P. Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England: 1550–1720* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 174–84; S.E. James, *Women's Voices in Tudor Wills, 1485–1603: Authority, Influence and Material Culture* (Farnham, 2015), pp. 151, 157–62, 179–81, 201–05, 215–16, 221; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 127–28, 133–34, 143–46, 150–52.

[41] R.M. Warnicke, *Wicked Women of Tudor England: Queens, Aristocrats, Commoners* (New York, 2012); R.M. Warnicke, 'Inventing the Wicked Women of Tudor England: Alice More, Anne Boleyn, and Anne Stanhope', *Quidditas*, 20 (1999), pp. 11–30; M. Ring, *So High a Blood: The Life of Margaret, Countess of Lennox* (London, 2017), pp. 94, 98–99, 137–38, 155; R.K. Marshall, 'Douglas, Lady Margaret, countess of Lennox', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2006); H. Chapman, *Lady Jane Grey* (London, 1985), pp. 18–21; E. Ives, *Lady Jane Grey: A Tudor Mystery* (Chichester, 2009), pp. 2–3, 38–39, 51.

widowhood as a time of independence for women, and instead examining the remarriages of Anne Stanhope, Frances Brandon, and Katherine Willoughby to their servants, despite the opportunities open to them as widows.[42] Some studies have acknowledged that a small but distinct group of elite Tudor women, including these three women, combined the advantages of a male protector and good marital partnership with the benefits of financial independence by remarrying to one of their senior servants.[43] By considering this literature on exogamous marriages, and by situating these marriages within the household space, this thesis shows that remarriages to servants were as similarly liberating as widowhood. Finally, this thesis expands the focus on Tudor noblewomen's familial efforts by evaluating their other motivations for networking and exerting influence beyond their obligations to both kin and clients, also highlighting their self-interest and displays of personal prestige.

Aristocratic women's authority in the early modern household has also been recognised.[44] Harris has argued that early modern aristocratic women had 'familial careers', in which they helped to manage the social life, displays of power, local government, and estates contingent to ruling a noble household, all with the aim of promoting their family's advancement, while Hannay has shown that Barbara Gamage, Lady Sidney's, domestic oversight extended to staffing, provisioning, purchases, and building works, claiming that her labours were akin to 'running a small corporation'.[45] In studying Elizabeth Hardwick's

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[42] Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 129–62; R.E. Archer, '"How Ladies … Who Live on their Manors Ought to Manage their Households and Estates": Women as Landholders and Administrators in the Later Middle Ages', in P.J.P. Goldberg (ed.), *Woman is a Worthy Wight: Women in English Society c.1200–1500* (Stroud, 1992), pp. 153–56, 162–67.

[43] Other aristocratic Tudor women include Anne Wentworth, Lady Maltravers, and Lettice Knollys, Lady Leicester. Schutte, 'Marrying Out'; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 118, 160–66; Archer, 'How Ladies … Who Live on their Manors', p. 170; A.L. Schuele, 'Marrying Down: A Strategy for Aristocratic Tudor Widows?' (unpublished master's dissertation, University of Maryland, 2016), pp. 2–3; L. Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 619–23.

[44] R.M. Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance and Reformation* (Westport, 1983), pp. 8–9, 12, 167–71; Warnicke, 'Private and Public', pp. 134, 136–40; E.A. Culling, 'The Impact of the Reformation on the Tudor Royal Household to 1553' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Durham University, 1986), pp. 22–24, 93–94, 174, 179–81; M.B. Rowlands, 'Recusant Women 1560–1640', in M. Prior (ed.), *Women in English Society, 1500–1800* (London, 1985), pp. 149, 152–55, 157, 160, 166, 171–74; K. Charlton, 'Mothers as Educative Agents in Pre-Industrial England', *History of Education*, 23/2 (1994), pp. 129, 132–38, 142–44, 155–56.

[45] Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 6–8; M.P. Hannay, '"High Housewifery": The Duties and Letters of Barbara Gamage Sidney, Countess of Leicester', *Early Modern Women*, 6 (2001), pp. 7–35.

letters with her servants, Maxwell has demonstrated Elizabeth's domestic capability in managing the house and instructing her officials, while also recognising their own authority as senior servants, and claimed that Elizabeth's husband entrusted her to act as his partner and representative.[46] This thesis builds on the existing scholarship which recognises that patriarchal authority in the early modern elite household was not absolute, as wives were expected to act in partnership as junior co-leaders with their husbands, by whom they were delegated much management, rather than existing in a state of simple subordination, although ultimately husbands had the ability to undermine their wives' household authority.[47] Of the women studied in this thesis, although Mary Tudor was royal, McIntosh has shown that, in having her own household rather than residing in a royal nursery or permanently at court, Mary's experiences were more similar to those of elite men and women rather than of royal princesses, with a key difference being that she exercised domestic power in her own name instead of that of a husband.[48] The exception was Katherine Parr, who did have a royal household at court, separate but subordinate to that of her husband.[49]

This thesis considers the great or noble houses, which employed a large body of mostly male domestic servants organised in a strict hierarchy, unlike most Tudor households, which only employed a single maidservant.[50] Noblewomen held authority over male staff as their employers, despite patriarchal strictures.[51] Lifecycle servants, young people who entered domestic service for several years before setting up their own houses, made up the majority of the

[46] F.L. Maxwell, 'Household Words: Textualising Social Relations in the Correspondence of Bess of Hardwick's Servants, c. 1550–1590' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 2014), pp. 93–97, 101.
[47] Richardson, *Household Servants*, pp. 146–48, 162–63; Amussen, 'Gender, Family and the Social Order', pp. 197–204, 204; Thomas, *If I Lose Mine Honour*, pp. 97–104; J. Weil, *Service and Dependency in Shakespeare's Plays* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 50; Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance*, pp. 8–9, 12; Warnicke, 'Private and Public', p. 134.
[48] J.L. McIntosh, *From Heads of Household to Heads of State: The Preaccession Households of Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, 1516–1558* (New York, 2009), pp. 2–5, 18–19, 198–99.
[49] Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', pp. 10–14.
[50] D. Herzog, *Household Politics: Conflict in Early Modern England* (New Haven, 2013), pp. 148–49; K. Mertes, *The English Noble Household 1250–1600: Good Governance and Politic Rule* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 17–19, 26, 30–32.
[51] McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, p. 197.

servant population.[52] Household officers and senior staff tended to serve longer tenures, and only had a place in large households. The officers in a noble house were the treasurer, comptroller, chamberlain, secretary, and chaplain, headed by the steward, and could also include senior gentleman attendants like the Master of the Horse, and members of the lord's (or lady's) council such as the receiver-general.[53] In the sixteenth century, service was a common experience across social classes, without a large physical and emotional divide between servants and the higher class families they served; the existing historiography has shown that there was scope for close and affectionate relationships between staff and employers.[54] However, this thesis offers a new perspective by suggesting that emotional attachment was not a necessity and instead showing the value of cohesive working relationships. By emphasising the reciprocal nature of mistress–servant ties, it advances the secondary literature which shows that employers, especially mistresses, were expected to fulfil responsibilities to their staff by tending to their welfare and providing training.[55] This thesis compares positive and negative relationships between mistresses and servants, pushing the existing scholarship on domestic conflict by examining both strong and hostile ties, and attributing them to servants' expectations of their employers.[56] It also confirms the importance of female

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[52] S.M. Cooper, 'Service to Servitude? The Decline and Demise of Life-Cycle Service in England', *The History of the Family*, 10/4 (2005), pp. 369–70; M.K. McIntosh, 'Servants and the Household Unit in an Elizabethan English Community', *Journal of Family History*, 9/1 (184), pp. 11–13, 18–19, 21.

[53] Mertes, *The English Noble Household*, pp. 21–32, 59; Maxwell, 'Household Words', pp. 46–47, 82–83, 153–54; T. Percy (ed.), *The Regulations and Establishment of the Household of Henry Algernon Percy, the Fifth Earl of Northumberland* (London, 1827), p. 34.

[54] A. Flather, 'Gender, Space, and Place: The Experience of Service in the Early Modern English Household c. 1580–1720', *Home Cultures*, 8/2 (2011), pp. 171–88; F. Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1990), p. 29; Cooper, 'Service to Servitude'; Richardson, *Household Servants*, pp. 117–18, 132–33; McIntosh, 'Servants and the Household Unit', pp. 5, 11–14; T. Earenfight, 'A Precarious Household: Catherine of Aragon in England, 1501–1504', in T. Earenfight (ed.), *Royal and Elite Households in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: More than Just a Castle* (Leiden, 2018), pp. 343–45, 352–54; Mann, 'Displeasure, Duty and Devotion', pp. 125–27, 129–31; Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, p. 139; L. Gowing, 'The Haunting of Susan Lay: Servants and Mistresses in Seventeenth–Century England', *Gender & History*, 14/2 (2002), p. 186; Broomhall, 'Emotions in the Household', pp. 16–17; Mertes, *The English Noble Household*, pp. 169–70.

[55] McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, p. 70; Charlton, 'Mothers as Educative Agents', pp. 152–58; E. Mazzola, 'Schooling Shrews and Grooming Queens in the Tudor Classroom', *Critical Survey*, 22/1 (2010), pp. 9–11; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, p. 32.

[56] Herzog, *Household Politics*, pp. 152, 173–76, 182–83, 192–93; Gowing, 'The Haunting of Susan Lay', pp. 187–89; Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, pp. 143–44, 155; Hannay, 'High Housewifery', p. 20; Weil, *Service and Dependency*, p. 55.

householders in working with servants, even when their husband was head of the household, as mistresses tended to take on more direct supervision of both male and female staff.[57]

Scholars have recognised the close relationship between noble households and their estates, and the authority offered by landholdings, as elite women could develop a local affinity of supporters, or retainers, secured through financial patronage.[58] Archer has claimed that late medieval aristocratic wives and widows held more power than legally permitted because of their estate administration, which gave them authority over their property and staff.[59] Rowley-Williams has emphasised that early Tudor aristocratic women were permitted to manage and legally defend their property, while Thomas has argued that both household and estate management were spaces of female honour for noblewomen, adding to their reputation and self-identification as socially elite.[60] This thesis advances the scholarship on the overlaps between the domestic and the political by examining the household as one of several interrelated spaces, rather than in isolation. It confirms the significance of elite Tudor women's households and estates as resources to help forge alliances in other spaces. This thesis also challenges understandings of the domestic sphere as a place of privacy or concealment and thus advances the growing literature on political displays of the household, by demonstrating how these women

[57] R.C. Richardson, 'Social Engineering in Early Modern England: Masters, Servants, and the Godly Discipline', *Clio*, 33/2 (2004), pp. 176–77; Richardson, *Household Servants*, p. 150; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 65–66; Thomas, *If I Lose Mine Honour*, pp. 96–97.
[58] A.M. Thorstad, 'There and Back Again: The Hospitality and Consumption of a Sixteenth-Century English Travelling Household', in Earenfight (ed.), *Royal and Elite Households in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, pp. 357–77; J. Ross, 'The Noble Household as a Political Centre in the Early Tudor Period', in C.M. Woolgar (ed.), *The Elite Household in England, 1100–1550: Proceedings of the 2016 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2018), pp. 78, 82–83; Heal, *Hospitality*; F. Heal, 'Food Gifts, the Household and the Politics of Exchange in Early Modern England', *Past & Present*, 199 (2008), pp. 41–70; J.C. Ward, *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1992), pp. 133–34, 137–41; M. Beer, 'A Queenly Affinity? Catherine of Aragon's Estates and Henry VIII's Great Matter', *Historical Research*, 91/253 (2018), pp. 426–28, 433–34, 441–42; Mertes, *The English Noble Household*, pp. 59–60, 167; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 148–49; McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, pp. 120–22.
[59] Archer, 'How Ladies … Who Live on their Manors', pp. 150–51, 158–59, 164–65.
[60] J.A. Rowley-Williams, 'Image and Reality: The Lives of Aristocratic Women in Early Tudor England' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Wales, Bangor, 1998), p. 289; Thomas, *If I Lose Mine Honour*, pp. 96–97, 115–16.

used their houses to display their status, including making public statements on their religion.[61]

Although Levine had argued that women 'had no significant place in Tudor government' due to the lack of women in official posts, revisionist works since the 1980s have demonstrated that Tudor women could hold considerable political power. Women were politically active in the local regions – mainly through their active roles in the family, household, and estates – and at court.[62] Harris has claimed that early modern aristocratic women actively supported the patriarchal structures of their society by working to maintain the power of their families and class, gaining wealth, power, and prestige for this collusion.[63] Elite women have been integrated into the new Tudor political history, which has shifted scholarship beyond formal political institutions and incorporated social networks and ideologies.[64] With political power being 'diffuse', women could participate in the patronage system.[65] Early modern women are especially recognised as being active in court politics, and studies have emphasised the necessity of court attendance for access to royal patronage. Works on female courtiers claim that these women used their court presence to advance themselves, their families, and clients.[66] Scholarship has shown that

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[61] Rowlands, 'Recusant Women'; Warnicke, 'Private and Public'; J. Summit, 'Writing Home: Hannah Wolley, the Oxinden Letters, and Household Epistolary Practice', in N.E. Wright, M.W. Ferguson, and A.R. Buck (eds), *Women, Property, and the Letters of the Law in Early Modern England* (Toronto, 2004), p. 201; Crawford, *Mediatrix*, pp. 15–24; McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, pp. 16–18.

[62] M. Levine, 'The Place of Women in Tudor Government', in D.J. Guth and J.W. McKenna (eds), *Tudor Rule and Revolution: Essays for G.R. Elton from his American Friends* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 115, 123; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 148–49; Harris, 'Aristocratic and Gentry Women', pp. 669–71; McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, pp. 11–12, 194–99; Mertes, *The English Noble Household*, pp. 59–60, 167; Beer, 'A Queenly Affinity', pp. 426–28, 433–34, 441–42; Ross, 'The Noble Household', pp. 78, 82–83; H. Payne, 'The Cecil Women at Court', in P. Croft (ed.), *Patronage, Culture and Power: The Early Cecils, 1558–1612* (New Haven, 2002), pp. 265–82.

[63] B.J. Harris, 'Women and Politics in Early Tudor England', *The Historical Journal*, 33/2 (1990), p. 281; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 8–9.

[64] N. Mears, 'Courts, Courtiers, and Culture in Tudor England', *The Historical Journal*, 46/3 (2003), pp. 704–06.

[65] Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, p. 365; Harris, 'Sisterhood', p. 22.

[66] Payne, 'The Cecil Women at Court', pp. 265–82; Harris, 'The View from My Lady's Chamber'; O. Hufton, 'Reflections on the Role of Women in the Early Modern Court', *Court Historian*, 5/1 (2000), pp. 1–2, 5-10; Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', pp. 266–71; H.J. Graham-Matheson, '"All wemen in thar degree shuld to thar men subiectit be": The Controversial Court Career of Elisabeth Parr, Marchioness of Northampton, c. 1547–1565' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University College London, 2005), pp. 34, 98, 107, 111, 131,

female courtiers contributed to diplomacy, gathering and sharing information, and participating in the court's political events.[67] Much work has focused on women in the Elizabethan court, where the privy chamber under a female monarch became a place of female power, as its members could act as patrons and brokers to the queen.[68]

Fewer studies have considered women in the mid-Tudor period under Edward VI and Mary I. This has traditionally been regarded as a period of instability and crisis, especially of social and economic problems, religious conflict, court factionalism, and monarchical ineffectuality.[69] Without a queen consort, works on female involvement at court are usually limited to identifying leading privy councillors' wives as court hostesses. The current literature regards these women as supporters of their husbands and not agents in their own right, with the exception of Anne Stanhope, who is often regarded as a significant political player.[70] The existing scholarship on royal women has focused on queens consort and revealed their roles as mediators of foreign alliances, sources of

289–90, 298–99; C.I. Merton, 'The Women Who Served Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth: Ladies, Gentlewomen and Maids of the Privy Chamber, 1553–1603' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, Trinity College, 1992), pp. 3, 6–8; N. Mears, 'Politics in the Elizabethan Privy Chamber: Lady Mary Sidney and Kat Ashley', in Daybell (ed.), *Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, pp. 67, 70–75.

[67] Harris, 'Women and Politics', pp. 276–77; J. Daybell, 'Gender, Politics and Diplomacy: Women, News and Intelligence Networks in Elizabethan England', in R. Adams and R. Cox (eds), *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture* (Basingstoke, 2011), pp. 101, 103–04, 108–09; J. Taffe, '"Pleasaunt Pastime" or Drunken Diplomacy? Ladies and Gentlewomen at the Field of Cloth of Gold', in A. Musson and J.P.D. Cooper (eds), *Royal Journeys in Early Modern Europe: Progresses* (Routledge, 2022), pp. 127–38.

[68] H. Graham-Matheson, 'Elisabeth Parr's Renaissance at the Mid-Tudor Court', *Early Modern Women*, 8 (2013), pp. 289–90, 298–99; Merton, 'The Women Who Served', pp. 3, 6–8; Mears, 'Politics in the Elizabethan Privy Chamber', pp. 67, 70–75; J.B.G. Goldsmith, 'All the Queen's Women: The Changing Place & Perception of Aristocratic Women in Elizabethan England 1558–1620' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Northwestern University, 1981); P. Wright, 'A Change in Direction: The Ramifications of a Female Household, 1558–1603', in D. Starkey et al. (eds), *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (Harlow, 1987), pp. 147–72.

[69] D. Loades, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis, 1545–1565* (Basingstoke, 1992), pp. 1–4; J. Loach and R. Tittler, 'Introduction', in J. Loach and R. Tittler (eds), *The Mid-Tudor Polity, c.1540–1560* (London, 1980), pp. 1–8; D. Hoak, 'Rehabilitating the Duke of Northumberland: Politics and Political Control, 1549–53', in *ibid*., pp. 29–33, 50–51; A. Weikel, 'The Marian Council Revisited', in *ibid*., pp. 52–73; J. Loach, *Edward VI*, ed. G.W. Bernard and P. Williams (New Haven, 1999), p. 183.

[70] Graham-Matheson, 'All wemen in thar degree', pp. 24–25, 95; Graham-Matheson, 'Elisabeth Parr's Renaissance', p. 292; C. Medici, 'More Than a Wife and Mother: Jane Dudley, the Woman Who Bequeathed a Parrot and Served Five Queens', in C. Levin (ed.), *Scholars and Poets Talk about Queens* (New York, 2015), pp. 259–61; A. Bryson, '"The Speciall Men in Every Shere". The Edwardian Regime, 1547–1553' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of St Andrews, 2001), pp. 15, 197–99; Merton, 'The Women Who Served', pp. 50–51.

patronage, performers of royal display, and advisors to their husbands.[71] Fewer studies have examined other royal Tudor women besides consorts and the queens regnant, although Margaret Beaufort's role as a regional magnate has been recognised.[72] However, there was not necessarily a large gulf between the experiences of royal – by birth or marriage – and noble women in Tudor politics; Hamilton has claimed that, as queen, Katherine Parr was merely an exaggerated or higher-status example of the power of aristocratic women.[73] Additionally, as Katherine was born a subject and not a princess, her life before she became a royal wife was typical of an aristocratic woman. This thesis offers a comparative study of a combination of royal and noble women, showing how the nobility and royalty were often interconnected but also how their experiences could be exceptional. It also concurs with the centrality of the Tudor court, while challenging the significance of formal attendance and even of physical presence by appraising how these women accessed royal patronage and participated in high politics when both proximate to and distant from court, showing that their personal connections and marriages were essential in connecting them across distance to the court. This thesis especially studies the period without a queen consort, challenging the centrality of consorts and contributing to the scholarship on female courtiers by showing that women continued to engage in court when they lacked official positions there. This demonstrates the fluidity between the court and their homes.

Scholarship on elite female religious influence often focuses on their efforts in the domestic space. Especially in works on dissenting women, including recusants in the Elizabethan period, the household is treated as a space of

[71] H. Matheson-Pollock, 'Counselloresses and Court Politics: Mary Tudor, Queen of France and Female Counsel in European Politics, 1509–15', in H. Matheson-Pollock, J. Paul, and C. Fletcher (eds), *Queenship and Counsel in Early Modern Europe* (Cham, 2018), pp. 59–82; Beer, *Queenship*, pp. 2–3, 24–25, 154–55; R. Warnicke, 'Queenship: Politics and Gender in Tudor England', *History Compass*, 4/2 (2006), pp. 221–22; L.G. Barrow, '"The Kynge Sent to the Qwene, by a Gentylman, a Grett Tame Hart" Marriage, Gift Exchange, and Politics: Margaret Tudor and James IV, 1502–1513', *Parergon*, 21/1 (2004), pp. 69–71.
[72] R.M. Warnicke, 'The Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond: A Noblewoman of Independent Wealth and Status', *Fifteenth Century Studies*, 9 (1984), pp. 215–48; S. Fisher, '"Margaret R": Lady Margaret Beaufort's Self-fashioning and Female Ambition', in C. Fleiner and E. Woodacre (eds), *Virtuous or Villainess? The Image of the Royal Mother from the Early Medieval to the Early Modern Era* (New York, 2016), pp. 151–72; McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, pp. 2–5, 18–19, 198–99.
[73] Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', abstract, pp. 10–11, 409–10.

privacy and protection for beliefs and priests.[74] This thesis examines how women also used their households to display their religious views, especially with Mary Tudor centring her public opposition to the Edwardian church reforms on her household and affinity. Other studies have recognised latitude for women to hold authority in the local religious community, offering support and patronage to clergy, including through advowsons, which illustrate the importance of landownership.[75] However, an examination of the women studied here suggests that they identified more with local than religious loyalty. At the royal court, Culling has noted that women could have indirect influence on court piety by their godly examples.[76] Katherine Parr's key role in encouraging other women at court to convert to Protestantism, by offering evangelically based activities in her household, is often overlooked. Much of the existing scholarship focuses more on Katherine's own conversion and the extent of her religious influence on policy. Meanwhile, studies which consider the evangelical culture of her household do not usually explicitly make a connection between this atmosphere and the developing Protestantism amongst Katherine's attendants.[77] This thesis advances this literature by emphasising Katherine's influence on the evangelical conversions of the women in her household at court.

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[74] Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance*, pp. 167–71; Warnicke, 'Private and Public', pp. 136–40; Rowlands, 'Recusant Women', pp. 149, 152–55, 157, 160, 166, 171–74; Culling, 'Tudor Royal Household', pp. 22–24, 93–94, 174, 179–81; Charlton, 'Mothers as Educative Agents', pp. 129, 132–38, 142–44, 155–56.

[75] Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance*, pp. 167–71; P. Collinson, 'The Role of Women in the English Reformation Illustrated by the Life and Friendships of Anne Locke', in P. Collinson (ed.), *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London, 1983), pp. 279–82; J.N. King, 'Patronage and Piety: The Influence of Catherine Parr', in M.P. Hannay (ed.), *Silent But for the Word* (Kent, Ohio, 1985), pp. 53–54, 56–57; G. Allen, *The Cooke Sisters: Education, Piety and Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2013), pp. 9, 167; M.F. Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community in Early Modern England: Katherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk, and Lincolnshire's Godly Aristocracy, 1519–1580* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 86–91, 125–26; A. Whitelock and D. MacCulloch, 'Princess Mary's Household and the Succession Crisis, July 1553', *The Historical Journal*, 50/2 (2007), pp. 275–81.

[76] Culling, 'Tudor Royal Household', pp. 22–24, 93–94, 174, 179–81.

[77] Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', pp. 7, 276–77, 284–87, 294–98, 321–26, 387–88, 291; S.A. Kujana-Holbrook, 'Katherine Parr and Reformed Religion', *Anglican and Episcopal History*, 72/1 (2003), pp. 60–68; S. James, *Catherine Parr: Henry VIII's Last Love* (Stroud, 2009), pp. 157–99; King, 'Patronage and Piety', pp. 45–47; M. Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII* (London, 1986), pp. 66–68, 236–37; M. Dowling, 'A Woman's Place? Learning and the Wives of Henry VIII', *History Today*, 41 (1991), pp. 41–42; Culling, 'Tudor Royal Household', pp. 179–81, 190, 333–34.

Many studies acknowledge the close relationship between religion and books; Culling has claimed that the Reformation shifted the actions of piety from prayer to reading and patronising printed Scripture.[78] Helen Smith has shown that women were actively involved in the writing, patronising, printing, circulating, and reading of books, while the secondary literature on book dedications further views female dedicatees as contributing to books by commissioning, financially supporting, rewarding, reading, or disseminating them.[79] Furthermore, although early modern women have long been regarded as patronesses of books, recent works have widened meanings of authorship to recognise active patronage as co-authorship and book production as 'co-labours'. This challenges the idea that patronage was a lesser alternative to writing, allowing patronesses' efforts to be appreciated in male-authored texts.[80] This thesis corroborates this trend using examples of eight women, and confirms the valuable role of alliances and networks in enabling female engagement in scholarly production.[81] It then advances this scholarship by assessing the women's motivations for participating, which extended beyond the academic to the devotional, and also to personal and status-based interests.

Scholarship emphasises the importance of informal networks of personal contacts and collective female alliances in enabling early modern women to gain assistance or tap into patronage networks.[82] Although social relationships could involve affection, at the time, friendships were based on 'active support',

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[78] Culling, 'Tudor Royal Household', p. 181; J.K. McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics Under Henry VIII and Edward VI* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 6–8; Dowling, *Humanism*, pp. 3–5, 44, 55–57; Dowling, 'A Woman's Place', p. 38.

[79] H. Smith, *'Grossly Material Things': Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 6–7, 9–10, 15, 55, 62–64, 66–68; F.B. Williams, 'The Literary Patronesses of Renaissance England', *Notes and Queries*, 9 (1962), p. 365; V. Schutte, '"To the Illustrious Queen": Katherine of Aragon and Early Modern Book Dedications', in J.A. Chappell and K.A. Kramer (eds), *Women During the English Reformations: Renegotiating Gender and Religious Identity* (New York, 2014), p. 17; V. Schutte, *Mary I and the Art of Book Dedications: Royal Women, Power, and Persuasion* (New York, 2015), pp. 1, 6.

[80] P. Pender and A. Day, 'Introduction: Gender, Authorship, and Early Modern Women's Collaboration', in P. Pender (ed.) *Gender, Authorship, and Early Modern Women's Collaboration* (Basingstoke, 2017), pp. 1–2, 9–10; P. Pender, 'Patterns of Print: Women's Textual Patronage in the "Early" Early Modern Period', in K.A. Coles and E. Keller (eds), *The Routledge Companion to Women, Sex, and Gender in the Early British Colonial World* (London, 2019), pp. 89–90; Smith, *Grossly Material Things*, p. 6; Crawford, *Mediatrix*, pp. 1–3; Smith, 'Paratextual Economies', pp. 207–08.

[81] Crawford, *Mediatrix*, pp. 1–9; Pender and Day, 'Introduction', p. 8.

[82] Hanawalt, 'Lady Honor Lisle's Networks', pp. 188–89; Frye and Robertson, 'Afterword', pp. 250–51; Harris, 'Aristocratic and Gentry Women', pp. 675–76; Harris, 'Sisterhood', pp. 21–22.

entailing mutuality and collaboration, especially socially inequitable relationships, which involved an element of patronage.[83] Women have been recognised as confident participants in such political alliances and within the Tudor patronage system.[84] They drew on networks of kin, friends, nobles, and neighbours for political, career, religious, literary, or emotional support.[85] Hanawalt has claimed that Honor Grenville, Lady Lisle, developed strong ties with her natal and marital kin, lawyers, female courtiers and nobles, and merchants, and that they helped her to advance her children's interests and support her husband's career.[86] Household resources have been regarded as valuable in forging and developing personal connections, enabling the exchange of hospitality and gifts.[87] The large historiography on early modern gift exchange has emphasised its reciprocity and links to the political, showing that gifts worked to curry goodwill and create obligations.[88] Other studies have stressed needlework and letter exchange as further means of fostering and maintaining connections.[89]

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[83] Wrightson, 'Mutualities and Obligations', pp. 163–66, 168; L. O'Neill, *The Opened Letter: Networking in the Early Modern British World* (Philadelphia, 2015), pp. 93–98; Labreche, 'Patronage, Friendship, and Sincerity', pp. 83–88; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, p. 372; S. Mendelson, 'Neighbourhood as Female Community in the Life of Anne Dormer', in S. Tarbin and S. Broomhall (eds), *Women, Identities and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, (London, 2016), pp. 157–58.

[84] Luckyj and O'Leary, 'Editors' Introduction', pp. 2–7; K. Robertson, 'Tracing Women's Connections from a Letter of Elizabeth Lady Ralegh', in Frye and Robertson (eds), *Maids and Mistresses*, pp. 149–50, 153, 156–60; Daybell, *Women Letters Writers*, pp. 258–59, 263; L. Magnusson, 'A Rhetoric of Requests: Genre and Linguistic Scripts in Elizabethan Women's Suitors' Letters', in Daybell (ed.), *Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, pp. 51–52, 55–56.

[85] Harris, 'Aristocratic and Gentry Women', pp. 675–76; Harris, 'Sisterhood', pp. 21–22; Merton, 'Women, Friendship, and Memory', pp. 240, 243–44; Hufton, 'Reflections on the Role of Women', pp. 1, 5–9.

[86] Hanawalt, 'Lady Honor Lisle's Networks', pp. 194–203.

[87] Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 185, 187, 201, 204–05; Harris, 'Women and Politics', pp. 262, 267; Heal, *Hospitality*, pp. 1–3, 19–20, 192–93; Thorstad, 'There and Back Again', pp. 360, 369, 374–75; Herbert, *Female Alliances*, pp. 18–19.

[88] N.Z. Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison, 2000), pp. 3–5, 9, 13, 42; Heal, *The Power of Gifts*, pp. 6–14, 100–02, 109–15, 187–90; Harris, 'Women and Politics', pp. 265–67; I.K. Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving: Informal Support and Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 205; Daybell, *Women Letters Writers*, p. 163; K. Newman, 'Sundry Letters, Worldly Goods: The Lisle Letters and Renaissance Studies', *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 26/1 (1996), p. 142.

[89] S. Frye, 'Sewing Connections: Elizabeth Tudor, Mary Stuart, Elizabeth Talbot, and Seventeenth-Century Anonymous Needleworkers', in Frye and Robertson (eds), *Maids and Mistresses*, pp. 165, 168, 170, 173, 179–80; L.M. Klein, 'Your Humble Handmaid: Elizabethan Gifts of Needlework', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 50/2 (1997), pp. 462, 465–69; Daybell, *Women Letter Writers*, pp. 151–55, 160–61, 164–65; Mann, 'Displeasure, Duty and Devotion', pp. 119–20, 131; Herbert, *Female Alliances*, pp. 21–50.

This thesis especially relates to the scholarship on kinship and female networks. The family was a 'key political unit amongst the aristocracy', according to Harris.[90] Gunn regarded the family as the smallest and most cohesive or stable of social relationships in Henrician politics, while Warnicke claimed that bilateral kinship connections and not factions were the key political grouping at court, also emphasising their permanence.[91] Drawing on the importance of the family as a political unit, Bundesen has mapped kinship networks onto political structures in her study of the Carey family under Elizabeth I.[92] Also linking the family to politics, Payne has claimed that the women in the Cecil family were significant in making the marriages and court connections which allowed their family to establish its noble status.[93] Furthermore, alliances amongst women have recently been recognised as 'political', working for mutual benefit in court, local, godly, and social circles rather than functioning as merely private friendships.[94] Capp has also demonstrated the 'negotiative element' of social relationships, and the way that women could use renegotiation and manoeuvring between relationships, and rely on female support networks, to exert agency and circumvent some of the restrictions of patriarchal structures.[95] Meanwhile, Luckyj and O'Leary's edited collection of works on female alliances challenged notions of patriarchal dominance by showing that there was interaction between informal female networks and male hierarchies, which produced social order.[96] Harris has also asserted the importance of female ties for aristocratic women, claiming that other women not only supported their efforts to prefer their families, but also offered material and emotional assistance.[97] Several studies of Tudor aristocratic women have highlighted how they used female connections and

[90] Harris, 'The View from My Lady's Chamber', pp. 221–22.
[91] S. Gunn, 'The Structures of Politics in Early Tudor England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5 (1995), pp. 59–60, 77–81; Warnicke, 'Family and Kinship Relations', pp. 32–34, 38, 40–41, 51–52.
[92] K. Bundesen, '"No Other Faction But My Own": Dynastic Politics and Elizabeth I's Carey Cousins' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Nottingham, 2009), pp. 8–23, 198.
[93] Payne, 'The Cecil Women at Court', pp. 265–82.
[94] Luckyj and O'Leary, 'Editors' Introduction', pp. 2–7; Herbert, *Female Alliances*, pp. 4–5, 7–8, 16; Harris, 'Sisterhood', pp. 21–22.
[95] Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, pp. 1–2, 50–55, 375–76.
[96] Luckyj and O'Leary (eds), *The Politics of Female Alliance*.
[97] Harris, 'Sisterhood', pp. 21–22.

cooperation, especially at court and often at times of vulnerability or crisis, to exert power, petition the crown, and claim emotional support.[98]

Scholarship on female connections focuses more on genial relationships, as support networks gave the best results when they involved cooperation, but there have been fewer studies which consider conflict. Tadmor has also called for more studies of negative relationships amongst kin, which she claimed were a result of frustrated expectations and unmet obligations.[99] Demonstrating their malleability, Capp regarded disputes as a natural part of early modern female social relationships, yet dismissed them as being easy to 'patch up … once tempers had cooled'.[100] In acknowledging conflict in female alliances, Frye and Robertson viewed it as evidence of ongoing relationships.[101] Tarbin and Broomhall also emphasised the presence of female solidarity and supportive networks despite differences or hostilities when defining communities, while Herbert, asserting the 'meaningfulness' of supportive and cohesive alliances, has argued that a lack of female friendships placed women in danger of hostility and ostracism.[102] However, Pullin and Wood have discussed exclusion in more depth, as an element of identifying communities. They claimed that it was not only obvious 'outsiders' who were excluded, and that membership of multiple communities was negotiated 'when different types of community allegiance came into conflict'. Chapters from their edited collection demonstrate how social activities were used to include or exclude others, and examine the tension between 'outward courtesy and genuine intimacy'.[103] Further works have also acknowledged that there was potential for further

[98] Graham-Matheson, 'All wemen in thar degree', pp. 34, 98, 107, 111, 131; H.L. Crumme, 'Jane Dormer's Recipe for Politics: A Refuge Household in Spain for Mary Tudor's Ladies-in-waiting', in Akkerman and Houben (eds), *The Politics of Female Households,* p. 51; Robertson, 'Tracing Women's Connections', pp. 149–50, 153, 156–60; Mendelson, 'Neighbourhood as Female Community'; Earenfight, 'A Precarious Household', pp. 339, 345–46, 348–54.
[99] Tadmor, 'Early Modern English Kinship', p. 27.
[100] Capp, *When Gossips Meet,* pp. 380–81.
[101] Frye and Robertson, 'Introduction', p. 5.
[102] S. Tarbin and S. Broomhall, 'Introduction', in Tarbin and Broomhall (eds), *Women, Identities and Communities,* pp. 1, 5–7; Herbert, *Female Alliances,* pp. 1–5, 20, 168–85.
[103] N. Pullin and K. Woods, 'Introduction: Approaching Early Modern Exclusion and Inclusion', in N. Pullin and K. Woods (eds), *Negotiating Exclusion in Early Modern England, 1550–1800* (New York, 2021), pp. 1–3, 12–13; N. Pullin, 'Failed Friendship and the Negotiation of Exclusion in Eighteenth-Century Polite Society', in *ibid.*, pp. 88–114; T. Rose, 'Hunting, Sociability, and the Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion in Early Seventeenth-Century England', in *ibid*., pp. 161–78.

conflict when obligations or membership clashed; scholars are divided on whether loyalty to family and communities outweighed differences such as political allegiances, professional identity, local ties, and religious beliefs.[104]

This thesis builds on and enhances existing works on the importance of support networks. It underscores similarities between women's connections to men and to other women, all being based on mutual support and needing to be well maintained. This corroborates existing literature on the significance of reciprocity and on the nature of political friendships. However, this thesis challenges the optimism of some of this scholarship. It illustrates the limitations of elite social and political networks by showing that this was a closed elite which offered limited assistance. It also demonstrates that personal connections did not necessarily involve, or require, emotional attachment. By examining the failures in networking by the women studied here, as well as their successes, this thesis contributes to the small but growing scholarship on negative sociability. It nuances understanding of personal ties by highlighting their flexibility. It also advances existing works on the making of personal connections by corroborating the significance of the household and of letters, but additionally discusses the role of oral messages and proxies. Lastly, it contextualises elite Tudor women's domestic, religious, scholarly, social, and political involvement within the literature on the importance of support networks, by comparing these women's networking efforts in different spaces.

Scope of the thesis

This thesis is mostly confined to the mid-Tudor period, considering the case studies of these eight elite women between the mid-1530s and the late 1550s. This was a period of volatility, as each change in the reigning monarch heralded changes to the state religion at a time of growing evangelicalism,

[104] Gunn, 'The Structures of Politics', pp. 82–84; Warnicke, 'Family and Kinship Relations', pp. 32–34, 38, 40–41, 46–53; J.E. Kelly, 'Counties without Borders? Religious Politics, Kinship Networks and the Formation of Catholic Communities', *Historical Research*, 91/251 (2018), pp. 22–23, 27–32, 37–38; Bundesen, 'No Other Faction But My Own', pp. 27–28; Mendelson, 'Neighbourhood as Female Community', pp. 161–63; C. Walker, 'Recusants, Daughters and Sisters in Christ: English Nuns and their Communities in the Seventeenth Century', in Tarbin and Broomhall (eds), *Women, Identities and Communities*, pp. 61–76.

often placing these women and their families out of step with official doctrine. Patterns of court attendance altered for noblewomen who traditionally served in the queen consort's household as Henry VIII moved between wives before being succeeded by his underage son, Edward VI, and then the first female queen regnant, Mary I; their successive reigns altered the makeup of the royal court. The instability of the mid-Tudor period reflects the dangers facing the nobility, and allows for a study of elite women to determine how they navigated the uncertainty, danger, and rises and falls. This thesis seeks to contextualise their agency and support networks within wider mid-Tudor politics. It also coincides with the height of their 'familial careers' managing their houses and families, attending court, engaging in religious conversions, and participating in high politics during this period.[105] They mostly arrived at court in the 1530s and reached the zenith of their political influence in the following two decades, while five were dead by 1560. Accordingly, to focus on the mid-Tudor period is to examine these women at their most successful and influential, against a backdrop of considerable instability, precarity, and vulnerability. As shown in the family tree,[106] the eight women studied here were all distantly related to each other and were members of the nobility, with many also connected to the royal family. They were born within ten years of each other (c.1509–19) and underwent similar experiences together in the mid-Tudor period.

Queen Mary Tudor (1516–1558) was Henry VIII's eldest surviving daughter, made financially independent by his death in 1547 when she was granted lands in East Anglia. She became increasingly at odds with her brother Edward VI's Protestant regime, and she claimed the throne on his death by mobilising an army to challenge Lady Jane Grey in July 1553. Many works focus on Mary's time as queen, where she has traditionally been viewed as an unpopular, bigoted ruler lacking in political acumen, although more recent studies have recognised Mary's achievements as the first queen regnant and revised her

[105] Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, p. 6.
[106] See p. 10.

political reputation.[107] Fewer scholars have critically examined her reputation as an overly emotional woman suffering from psychologically caused 'chronic ill-health'.[108] Recent academic biographies by Loades, Edwards, and Richards also consider her earlier life, while McIntosh has studied Mary's and her sister Elizabeth's pre-accession households, emphasising their domestic and local authority.[109] The existing scholarship has recognised the highly academic education provided for Mary, although debating its extent and whether the initiative came from her father or mother.[110] There is agreement that her household and regional affinity were crucial resources of power in enabling Mary to take the throne in 1553.[111] Several scholars have noted Mary's connections to other aristocratic women, especially through gift exchange, and across the religious spectrum; both Hamilton and Richards attributed female courtiers' cultivation of Mary's friendship to her dynastic importance.[112]

Queen Katherine Parr (1512–1548) was Henry VIII's sixth wife, who acted as regent in 1544 when he fought in France, and she produced several devotional books, converting to evangelicalism. Lacking any role in Edward VI's regency,

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[107] J. Edwards, *Mary I: England's Catholic Queen* (New Haven, 2011), pp. 345–49; J.M. Richards, *Mary Tudor* (Abingdon, 2008), pp. 1–7, 232, 237, 239–40, 242; E. Russell, 'Mary Tudor and Mr. Jorkins', *Historical Research*, 63/162 (1990), pp. 264, 272; Weikel, 'The Marian Council Revisited', pp. 52–54, 70–72; D. Hoak, 'Two Revolutions in Tudor Government: The Formation and Organization of Mary I's Privy Council', in C. Coleman and D. Starkey (eds), *Revolution Reassessed: Revisions in the History of Tudor Government and Administration* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 90–91, 100–07; D. Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 317.

[108] A. Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. 6 (Philadelphia, 1902), pp. 9, 12, 26, 57; H.F.M. Prescott, *Mary Tudor* (London, 1953), p. 56; Loades, *Mary Tudor*, pp. 91, 320; E.L. Furdell, *The Royal Doctors 1485–1714: Medical Personnel at the Tudor and Stuart Courts* (New York, 2001), pp. 52, 56–57; J. Guy, *The Children of Henry VIII* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 92–93, 150; A. Whitelock, *Mary Tudor: England's First Queen* (London, 2010), pp. 4, 48, 260; J.M. Richards, 'Reassessing Mary Tudor: Some Concluding Points', in S. Doran and T.S. Freedman (eds), *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives* (Basingstoke, 2011), pp. 213–15, 224; Richards, *Mary Tudor*, pp. 63–64, 69, 73, 224–26.

[109] Edwards, *Mary I*; Loades, *Mary Tudor*; Richards, *Mary Tudor*; McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*.

[110] Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance*, pp. 33–34, 205–06; Dowling, *Humanism*, pp. 178–86, 219–43, 223–27; Edwards, *Mary I*, pp. 8–9; A. Pollnitz, 'Christian Women or Sovereign Queens? The Schooling of Mary and Elizabeth', in Hunt and Whitelock (eds), *Tudor Queenship*, pp. 130–32; Guy, *The Children of Henry VIII*, pp. 58–59; Loades, *Mary Tudor*, p. 33; K. Vosevich, 'The Education of a Prince(ss): Tutoring the Tudors', in M.E. Burke et al. (eds), *Women, Writing, and the Reproduction of Culture in Tudor and Stuart Britain* (Syracuse, 2000), pp. 61–65, 69–72; Edwards, *Mary I*, p. 13.

[111] Whitelock and MacCulloch, 'Princess Mary's Household', pp. 268, 271–72, 277; McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, pp. 11–12, 194–99.

[112] Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', pp. 247–48, 268–71; Richards, *Mary Tudor*, pp. 75, 235–38; Strickland, *Queens*, vol. 6, p. 57; Prescott, *Mary Tudor*, pp. 98, 179–80.

she married Sir Thomas Seymour in 1547 and died in childbirth the following year. James has produced Katherine's most recent scholarly biography, emphasising her political, religious, scholarly, and artistic involvement, and claiming that she held influence from her relationship with Henry, until she alienated him with her outspoken evangelicalism.[113] The existing scholarship has plotted out Katherine's spiritual journey, noting the key influences on her conversion such as her regency, and debating the extent of her public conformity.[114] Her influence on religious policy has been downplayed by both Dowling and Hamilton, although the latter argued in her thesis on Katherine's household that the queen held influence through religious patronage rather than high politics.[115] Katherine's scholarly efforts have also been noted, especially her written output, her labours to manage the project to translate Erasmus's *Paraphrases on the New Testament*, and her leadership of the evangelical and academic circle of her ladies at court.[116] Katherine's role in overseeing her stepdaughter Elizabeth Tudor's education has been emphasised, although it seems that Katherine was less significant in directing Prince Edward's studies.[117]

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[113] James, *Catherine Parr*.

[114] J. Mueller, 'Katherine Parr and Her Circle', in M. Pincombe and C. Shrank (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature, 1485–1603* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 222–37; Kujana-Holbrook, 'Katherine Parr'.

[115] Dowling, *Humanism*, pp. 66–68, 236–37; Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr'; King, 'Patronage and Piety', pp. 45–46; James, *Catherine Parr*, pp. 227–50; T.S. Freeman, 'One Survived: The Account of Katherine Parr in Foxe's "Book of Martyrs"', in T. Betteridge and S. Lipscomb (eds.), *Henry VIII and the Tudor Court: Art, Politics and Performance* (Farnham, 2013), pp. 245–47, 249.

[116] J. Mueller, 'On Editing Queen Katherine Parr', in W.S. Hill (ed.), *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts II: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1992–1996* (Tempe, 1998), p. 44; James, *Catherine Parr*, pp. 168–70, 187–96, 200–19; E.J. Devereux, 'The Publication of the English Paraphrases of Erasmus', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 51/2 (1969), pp. 351–54; P. Pender, 'Dispensing Quails, Mincemeat, Leaven: Katherine Parr's Patronage of the Paraphrases of Erasmus', in P. Pender and R. Smith (eds), *Material Cultures of Early Modern Women's Writing* (London, 2014), pp. 36–37, 40, 42; King, 'Patronage and Piety', pp. 44, 47–50; Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', pp. 326, 334–35; Smith, *Grossly Material Things*, p. 79; Mazzola, 'Schooling Shrews', pp. 3–4, 16–18; M. White, 'Katherine Parr, Henry VIII, and Royal Literary Collaboration', in Pender (ed.), *Gender, Authorship, and Early Modern Women's Collaboration*, pp. 23–46; D. Skinner, '"Deliuer me from my deceytful enemies": A Tallis Contrafactum in Time of War', *Early Music*, 44/2 (2016), pp. 233–50.

[117] McConica, *English Humanists*, pp. 215–17; Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance*, pp. 94–95; Dowling, 'A Woman's Place', p. 42; Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', pp. 315–19; Kujana-Holbrook, 'Katherine Parr', pp. 68–74; James, *Catherine Parr*, pp. 115–16.

Mary Howard, Duchess of Richmond (c.1519–1555) was married to the king's illegitimate son Henry Fitzroy but was widowed young in 1536, and moved between her father's household and court service. Escaping harm when Norfolk and her brother Surrey were arrested in 1546, she became guardian of Surrey's children and patronised evangelical priests under Edward VI. In her thesis on the political involvement and dynastic identities of the women of the Howard family, Clark claimed that Mary was a patron of the arts and emphasised her female friendships at court.[118] Although she has traditionally been regarded as deliberately incriminating Surrey with her testimony against him in 1546, her contribution has been downplayed by recent scholars, who have laid stress on her efforts to exonerate their father.[119] Mary is also discussed in works on the Devonshire circle, as discussed in Chapter 3, and her religious and literary involvement is examined by Clark, Brigden, and King, placing her within circles of court evangelicals and female domestic reformers and noting the wider opportunities available to her under the evangelical Edwardian regime and with her headship of the household while her father was imprisoned.[120] Both Williams and Aston have noted Mary's evangelical influence on Surrey's children through her engagement of John Foxe as their tutor, despite the Howard family's reputation for Catholicism.[121]

Katherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk (1519–1580) was a Lincolnshire heiress who became a staunch Protestant at court. After her sons by the Duke of Suffolk died in 1551, she remarried to her gentleman usher, Richard Bertie, and their family went into religious exile in Germany and Lithuania between

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[118] Clark, 'Dynastic Politics', pp. 10, 38–39, 57–59, 84–87, 89–90, 218, 298–300.
[119] *Ibid*., pp. 289–93; E. Casady, *Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey* (New York, 1938), p. 198; B.A. Murphy, 'Fitzroy [*née* Howard], Mary, duchess of Richmond', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2008); S. Brigden, 'Howard, Henry, earl of Surrey', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2008).
[120] R. Southall, 'Mary Fitzroy and "O Happy Dames" in the Devonshire Manuscript', *The Review of English Studies*, 45/179 (1994), pp. 316–17; H. Baron, 'Mary (Howard) Fitzroy's Hand in the Devonshire Manuscript', *The Review of English Studies*, 45/179 (1994), pp. 318–35; P.G. Remley, 'Mary Shelton and Her Tudor Literary Milieu', in P.C. Herman (ed.), *Rethinking the Henrician Era: Essays on Early Tudor Texts and Contexts* (Urbana, 1994), pp. 40–77; N. Clark, 'A "Conservative" Family? The Howard Women and Responses to Religious Change During the Early Reformation, c.1530–1558', *Historical Research*, 90/248 (2017), pp. 321–27, 340; S. Brigden, 'Epic Romance: How the Duchess of Richmond Read her Ariosto', *The Review of English Studies*, 69/291 (2018), pp. 646, 651; King, 'Patronage and Piety', pp. 44, 47–50.
[121] N. Williams, *Thomas Howard, Fourth Duke of Norfolk* (London, 1964), pp. 24–27, 29; M. Aston, *The King's Bedpost: Reformation and Iconography in a Tudor Portrait Group* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 192.

1555 and 1559. Also the subject of several popular or romantic biographies, within the academic literature Katherine has mainly been studied in terms of her religion, although Mackin's thesis on her life presented Katherine as a determined woman unconfined by social expectations who built a supportive second marriage.[122] Harkrider's in-depth examination of Katherine's religious patronage in Lincolnshire argued that her status as landowner and widow empowered her to foster the spread of Protestantism in her local community.[123] There is no doubt in the existing scholarship as to her genuine commitment to evangelicalism.[124] Katherine's religious influence is usually connected to her support of vernacular devotional books and her connections with Edwardian evangelical nobles, scholars, and printers, including William Cecil and John Day.[125] Covington has also considered Katherine alongside other Marian exiles in Europe, claiming that they formed a tight-knit and supportive community, and showing how Katherine's family and other exiles rebuffed attempts to deliver legal orders for their return to England in 1556.[126]

Anne Stanhope, Duchess of Somerset (c.1510–1587) attended several queens consort at court and, alongside her husband Edward Seymour, converted to Protestantism in the mid-1540s. Somerset acted as regent for his nephew Edward VI, but fell from power in 1549 and 1551, when he was executed. Released from the Tower by Mary I, Anne married her steward Francis

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[122] G. Bertie, *Five Generations of a Loyal House*, vol. 1 (London, 1845), pp. xxviii, 1–2, 12; E. Read, *My Lady Suffolk: A Portrait of Catherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk* (New York, 1963); C. Goff, *A Woman of the Tudor Age* (London, 1930); D. Baldwin, *Henry VIII's Last Love: The Extraordinary Life of Katherine Willoughby, Lady-in-Waiting to the Tudors* (Stroud, 2015); J.E. Mackin, 'The Life of Katherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Utah State University, 2000), pp. 1–2, 7–10.
[123] Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*, pp. 8–10, 13, 15, 21.
[124] D. MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors: Politics and Religion in an English County 1500–1600* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 48, 93; Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*, pp. 37–44, 47–50, 54, 56–57; S.J. Gunn, *Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, c. 1484–1545* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 161–62, 198–200.
[125] Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', pp. 299–301, 349, 357–59, 361, 373; S. Alford, *Kingship and Politics in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 80, 119–26; E. Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage: John Day and the Tudor Book Trade* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 17–18, 22–23; J.N. King, 'John Day: Master Printer of the English Reformation', in P. Marshall and A. Ryrie (eds), *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 188–91, 208; King, 'Patronage and Piety', pp. 44, 47–50; L. Horton, 'The Clerics and the Learned Lady: Intertextuality in the Religious Writings of Lady Jane Grey', in Pender (ed.), *Gender, Authorship, and Early Modern Women's Collaboration*, pp. 152–53, 164–65; M. White, 'The Perils and Possibilities of the Book Dedication: Anne Lock, John Knox, John Calvin, Queen Elizabeth, and the Duchess of Suffolk', *Parergon*, 29/2 (2012), pp. 11, 20–27.
[126] S. Covington, 'Heretic Hunting beyond the Seas: John Brett and His Encounter with the Marian Exiles', *Albion*, 36/3 (2004), p. 407.

Newdigate and oversaw her children's court careers as family matriarch. There is no monograph-length study of Anne, and most of the existing scholarship focuses on her reputation as a proud, greedy, and ambitious woman, which has been largely refuted by Nichols and Warnicke.[127] However, while Warnicke emphasised Anne's role as intermediary to her husband, James has argued that Anne was a strong influence on her husband, challenging attempts to rehabilitate Anne's character as diminishing her political agency, and claiming that she was indeed vindictive and arrogant.[128] Although Hamilton has claimed that Anne's favour for religious reform was strategically motivated to support her husband politically, others have emphasised her commitment to evangelicalism.[129]

Jane Guildford, Duchess of Northumberland (c.1509–1555) attended court with her husband John Dudley, who rose under Edward VI to become leader of the privy council. The couple married their offspring into other noble families, but fell from power due to their support of Jane Grey in 1553. Her husband and one son executed, Jane worked to have her other sons released from the Tower. Jane is usually a footnote in studies of her husband, although Beer acknowledged her role in reconciling the Dudley and Seymour families in 1549–50, while Hamilton challenged her commitment to religious reform in her study of Katherine Parr's ladies, suggesting that Jane only supported evangelicalism to advance her husband.[130] Her efforts for her family have been noted by several scholars, usually in the context of her approaches to Spanish courtiers for the release of her sons after 1553, while Gunn has situated her

[127] J.G. Nichols, 'Female Biographies of English History. III. Anne Duchess of Somerset', *Gentleman's Magazine*, new ser., 23 (1845), pp. 371–81; Warnicke, *Wicked Women*; Warnicke, 'Inventing the Wicked Women'; L.B. Smith, *Treason in Tudor England* (London, 1986), pp. 21–23.
[128] Warnicke, *Wicked Women*, pp. 1, 12, 91–92, 96–97, 181–88; Warnicke, 'Inventing the Wicked Women', pp. 11–30; S.E. James, 'Reputation and Appropriation at the Tudor Court: Queen Kateryn Parr and Anne Stanhope, Duchess of Somerset', *Cogent Arts and Humanities*, 6/1 (2019), article 1664863, pp. 2–3, 18–21, 24–26.
[129] Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', pp. 226–29, 253, 271–72, 302–04; P. Demers, 'The Seymour Sisters: Elegizing Female Attachment', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 30/2 (1999), pp. 345–46; Warnicke, 'Inventing the Wicked Women', p. 30; King, 'Patronage and Piety', pp. 44, 47–50.
[130] D. Loades, *John Dudley: Duke of Northumberland 1504–1553* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 224–26, 272–73, 274–79; Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', pp. 302–04, 355–59; B.L. Beer, *Northumberland: The Political Career of John Dudley, Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland* (Kent, Ohio, 1973), pp. 95, 103, 165.

petition for help to Lady Paget within the context of female connections and mediation at court.[131] Recently, Medici-Thiemann has examined Jane's political involvement, claiming that her court attendance enabled this, and that after July 1553 she worked for her family's restoration by relying on prior connections to Spanish diplomats and by fighting a legal battle for her own inheritance.[132]

Frances Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk (1517–1559) attended her uncle Henry VIII's court, and saw her husband Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, rise as a supporter of John Dudley from 1549. Their daughter Jane Grey was named Edward VI's successor, but lost the throne to Mary Tudor. Frances's kinship with Mary ensured she remained in favour after her husband and daughter were executed. Existing studies usually focus on her reputation; Frances has been vilified as a cruel mother who placed her political ambitions ahead of her family before cutting her losses and remarrying for lust, although recent work including that by Ives has revised this.[133] My own master's thesis worked to overcome the lack of scholarship on Frances's life and wider significance by examining her personal connections and domestic influence.[134]

Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox (1515–1578) attended the Tudor court until her 1544 marriage to Scottish exile Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox. The couple moved to Yorkshire, where their support of Catholicism later placed them under the suspicion of the Elizabethan regime. Margaret enjoyed family

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[131] Loades, *John Dudley*, p. 272; R.C. McCoy, 'From the Tower to the Tiltyard: Robert Dudley's Return to Glory', *The Historical Journal*, 27/2 (1984), pp. 425–26; Richards, 'Reassessing Mary Tudor', p. 223; S. Adams, 'The Dudley Clientele, 1553–1563', in G.W. Bernard (ed.), *The Tudor Nobility* (Manchester, 1992), pp. 248–49; S.J. Gunn, 'A Letter of Jane, Duchess of Northumberland, in 1553', *The English Historical Review*, 114/459 (1999), pp. 1267–71.

[132] C. Medici-Thiemann, '"She Governs the Queen": Jane Dudley, Mary Dudley Sidney, and Katherine Dudley Hastings' Political Actions, Agency, and Networks in Tudor England' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Nebraska–Lincoln, 2016), p. 13; Medici, 'More Than a Wife and Mother'.

[133] A. Strickland, *Lives of the Tudor Princesses* (London, 1868), pp. 183–85; R. Davey, *The Nine Days' Queen: Lady Jane Grey, and Her Times* (New York, 1909), p. 12; Chapman, *Lady Jane Grey*, pp. 18–21; A. Plowden, *Lady Jane Grey: Nine Days Queen* (Stroud, 2003), pp. 26, 35–36, 128, 153; Ives, *Lady Jane Grey*, pp. 2–3, 38–39, 51; R.M. Warnicke, 'Grey [other married name Stokes], Frances [*née* Lady Frances Brandon], duchess of Suffolk', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2008); Schutte, 'Marrying Out', pp. 9–11. See also the less scholarly: L. De Lisle, *The Sisters Who Would Be Queen: The Tragedy of Mary, Katherine & Lady Jane Grey* (London, 2008).

[134] E. Chambers, 'The Life and Influence of Frances Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk (1517–1559)' (unpublished master's dissertation, University of Leeds, 2018).

ties to both English and Scottish royalty, and with her husband engineered their son Darnley's marriage to Mary Queen of Scots. She has been the focus of two biographies, by Kimberly Schutte and Morgan Ring, both of which emphasise her political significance, especially within the context of Anglo-Scottish relations. Meanwhile, Marshall's entry on her in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* presented her as an inveterate, but largely unsuccessful, schemer.[135] Her reputation as an unnaturally power-hungry woman was challenged by both Ring and Marshall, who each claimed that Margaret's ambitious efforts for her family conformed to contemporary expectations for noblewomen.[136] Macauley's article on the Lennox crises of 1558 to 1563 has examined the extensive network of agents and allies which Margaret and her husband developed across Yorkshire and Catholic Europe, who helped to connect them with the wider political world.[137] Margaret is also considered in studies on the Devonshire circle, which call attention to her key role in the Devonshire manuscript, and draw on it for insight into her secret relationship with Lord Thomas Howard.[138]

Sources and methodology

This thesis offers a comparative study of these eight women. Although their experiences illustrate the value of support networks and how elite mid-Tudor women had agency, their lives were not necessarily typical of early modern English women. Their high social status gave them wealth, control over great houses and estates, and entrée to the royal court, in addition to scope for personal connections to other powerful men and women. This made them exceptional compared to lower-class, middling, or even gentry and lower

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[135] 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, 2002), pp. 1–2, 235–38; Ring, *So High a Blood*, pp. xvii, xv, 93, 109, 137–38, 149–50, 155–59, 211–12, 273; Marshall, 'Douglas, Lady Margaret', in *ODNB*.
[136] Ring, *So High a Blood*, pp. 94, 98–99, 137–38, 155; Marshall, 'Douglas, Lady Margaret', in *ODNB*.
[137] S. Macauley, 'The Lennox Crisis, 1558–1563', *Northern History*, 41/2 (2004), pp. 267–87.
[138] B.J. Irish, 'Gender and Politics in the Henrician Court: The Douglas–Howard Lyrics in the Devonshire Manuscript (BL Add 17492)', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 64/1 (2011), pp. 79–114; Siemens et al., 'Drawing Networks', 2.1, 3.2; M. Murray, 'The Prisoner, the Lover, and the Poet: The Devonshire Manuscript and Early Tudor Carcerality', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 35/1 (2012), pp. 35–36.

aristocratic women. Nevertheless, their experiences as wives and mothers working for their families' advancement and managing a household were typical of aristocratic Tudor women, albeit on a grander scale. Furthermore, most also had royal connections, which elevated them above the nobility: Mary Tudor was born royal, and Katherine Parr married Henry VIII, while Margaret Douglas and Frances Brandon were his nieces, Mary Howard married his illegitimate son, and Anne Stanhope was aunt to Edward VI. This mix of royal and noble allows for comparisons to be made, including the similarities in experiences between the upper aristocracy and the extended royal family. However, as noted, Mary Tudor can be considered distinctive in controlling her own household as an unmarried woman. For all of these eight women, it was their closer connections to high politics which increased the risks for themselves and their families. Three saw their husbands executed for treason, and Anne Stanhope, Jane Guildford, and Margaret Douglas were each imprisoned during their lives. Additionally, their connections to power led to Anne, Margaret, and Frances gaining reputations as power-hungry and domineering women.[139] These women faced danger almost paradoxically, as their high rank did not protect them, but instead increased the risks. A princess by birth, Mary Tudor experienced great changes in her fate as she lost and regained her father's favour, and then set herself up in opposition to her brother's religious changes, before finally rising to take the throne herself. This very danger and transformation creates opportunities to study how these women navigated vulnerability and risk at this time.

This thesis is limited to eight women by reasons of scale. The group offers scope for a comparative study, while its small size allows for primary sources on them to be studied in depth. Previous studies of Tudor aristocratic women's political, religious, scholarly, and social involvement and influence have often focused on individuals, or considered groupings by family or shared attendance at court.[140] This thesis offers comparison based on their comparable ages and

[139] Recent scholarship, especially by Warnicke, has challenged the accuracy of Tudor women's bad reputations, attributing them to polemical attacks on their politically significant husbands. Warnicke, *Wicked Women*, pp. 1, 12, 181–84.
[140] Clark, 'Dynastic Politics'; Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr'; Mueller, 'Katherine Parr and her Circle'; Graham-Matheson, 'All wemen in thar degree'; James,

elite statues, and overlapping lives. Although a larger group might also give opportunities for prosopography, this thesis does not offer a biographical study; instead, it uses these eight women as case studies for examining the nature of elite female agency in relation to their personal connections and support networks. They are not necessarily representative of Tudor aristocratic women, but instead they offer insight into the opportunities – and risks – open to elite and royal women with exceptional access to financial resources and political power. By using a group and not just one or two case studies, this thesis reveals that all eight women used their personal connections to navigate the instability of the period, suggesting that such mobilisation of support networks was widespread amongst elite Tudor women and not confined to exceptional cases. Furthermore, this thesis brings together the spaces of the domestic and country with that of the court, unlike works which only focus on noblewomen's work in the household and estates or as courtiers.[141] It does not rely on social network analysis; although a useful methodology to visualise networks and suggest possible social links, social network analysis focuses on identifying and measuring personal connections, whereas this thesis is interested in the qualities and significance of these connections, and so this methodology would not have offered sufficient value for time input.[142]

The focus has instead been on archival research, and this thesis draws on a range of manuscript and printed sources from across repositories in England. Household accounts and correspondence are the main primary sources used, while further material includes state papers and letters, calendared ambassadorial reports, wills, estate and property documents and inventories, print and manuscript books, documents relating to court suits, depositions and questionings recorded by the privy council, accounts of court events and funerals, and chronicles and other contemporary descriptions. These are drawn

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Catherine Parr; Ring, *So High a Blood*; Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*; Medici-Thiemann, 'She Governs the Queen'; Warnicke, *Wicked Women of Tudor England*.

[141] McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*; Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*; Medici-Thiemann, 'She Governs the Queen'; Mears, 'Politics in the Elizabethan Privy Chamber'; Merton, 'The Women Who Served'; Payne, 'The Cecil Women at Court'.

[142] C. Lemercier, 'Formal Network Methods in History: Why and How?', *Social Networks, Political Institutions, and Rural Societies* (2015), pp. 281–310; K. Davison, 'Early Modern Social Networks: Antecedents, Opportunities, and Challenges', *American Historical Review*, 124/2 (2019), pp. 456–82; R. Ahnert and S.E. Ahnert, 'Protestant Letter Networks in the Reign of Mary I: A Quantitative Approach', *ELH*, 82/1 (2015), pp. 1–33.

from a range of archives, libraries, and country record offices, especially the British Library and The National Archives. Manuscripts were usually consulted, including in microform or digitised forms, most notably from the invaluable State Papers Online collection, although some reliance on printed transcriptions was necessary. The use of original documents was especially significant for household accounts, which are often greatly truncated in printed collections. As the focus was on written sources, any in-depth consideration of visual materials or material culture such as paintings, tombs, clothing, and seals was beyond the scope of this thesis. However, the materiality of written sources has been examined, being informed by Daybell's methodology of studying Tudor women's letters for insight into their education and letter-writing practices.[143]

This thesis employs a range of methodologies, centred around archival-based empiricism. It collects together primary material on the domestic, local, religious, scholarly, social, and political involvement of these women, and contextualises them through comparison and by placing them within the wider landscape of early modern aristocratic women. Rather than strictly adhering to traditional empiricism, this thesis is informed by the cultural turn, through a wide reading of recent scholarship. Studies on women and gender have looked for female agency by reading for contested or omitted meanings, including by considering contradictions and opportunities in patriarchal authority. Political culture has expanded beyond works on formal institutions of power to examine informal and indirect political influence. Historical letters have been studied as material items and for insight into gendered epistolary strategies and agency, and wider networks and communication technologies. Although not explicitly applying theoretical frameworks to manuscript sources, this thesis is nonetheless shaped by them, and by the range of methodologies used by scholars who write about early modern elite women.[144]

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[143] Daybell, *Women Letter Writers*.

[144] For studies on gender and agency, see: Luckyj and O'Leary (eds), *The Politics of Female Alliance*; Broomhall (ed.), *Emotions in the Household*; J.L. Malay, 'Like a Queen: The Influence of the Elizabethan Court on the Structure of Women-Centered Households in the Early Modern Period', in T. Betteridge and A. Riehl (eds), *Tudor Court Culture* (Selinsgrove, 2010), pp. 93–113; Walker, 'Recusants, Daughters and Sisters in Christ'; S. Fisher, 'Queens

The nature of the primary sources used in this thesis is limited and fragmented. Although all women left at least one surviving letter, Katherine Willoughby, Katherine Parr, and Mary Tudor left considerable correspondence. These three, together with Anne Stanhope, have the most surviving material, including household accounts. The scarcity of material was partially overcome by the comparative nature of this study – the gaps in sources can be compensated for by drawing on surviving material from other women. Inference and extrapolation were necessary when dealing with fragmented and finite material. Using as many different written sources from a range of repositories further mitigated the paucity of the primary material. The breadth of different source types also helped to overcome biases and limitations of each source, as did a close reading with an awareness of such limitations. Furthermore, close reading between the lines was required to shed light on these women's voices and experiences, as most of the sources used were not authored by them. Even their letters were usually mediated by scribes, although recent scholarship has emphasised that such joint composition still partially reflected female writers' views.[145] When read for new meanings, household accounts can offer useful insight not only into purchases and expenditure, but also into the activities, movements, and social connections of these women, their financial management, and their relationships with household officers.

Consort, Gender and Diplomacy: Catherine of Aragon, Claude of France and the Field of Cloth of Gold', *Gender & History,* 35/2 (2023), pp. 387–407; Crumme, 'Jane Dormer's Recipe for Politics'; Thomas, *If I Lose Mine Honour*; O. O'Sullivan, 'Women's Place: Gender, Obedience, and Authority in the Sixteenth Century', *Reformation,* 3/1 (1998), 225–58. For works on epistolary networks, see: Daybell, *Women Letter Writers*; J. Daybell, 'Gender, Obedience, and Authority in Sixteenth-Century Women's Letters', *The Sixteenth Century Journal,* 41/1 (2010), pp. 49–67; D. Watt, '"No Writing for Writing's Sake": The Language of Service and Household Rhetoric in the Letters of the Paston Women', in K. Cherewatuk and U. Wiethaus (eds), *Dear Sister: Medieval Women and the Epistolary Genre* (Philadelphia, 1993), pp. 122–38; V. Larminie, 'Fighting for Family in a Patronage Society: The Epistolary Armoury of Anne Newdigate (1574–1618)', in Daybell (ed.), *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing,* pp. 94–108. For an overview of the new Tudor political history and studies on political culture, see: S. Alford, 'Politics and Political History in the Tudor Century', *The Historical Journal,* 42/2 (1999), pp. 535–48; Mears, 'Courts, Courtiers, and Culture'; N. Jones, 'Mid-Tudor Politics and Political Culture', *History Compass,* 3/1 (2005), pp. 1–7.

[145] Daybell, *Women Letters Writers,* pp. 61–63, 72–90.

Thesis structure

This thesis consists of five main chapters, each of which examines these women's personal connections within a different space: the domestic, local and religious, scholarly, elite social, and the court and political. It follows a trajectory of outwards expansion from the proximate to the distant, showing that these women were not confined to the regions. It also moves upwards from vertical relationships with servants, retainers, and clergy in the first two chapters, to higher-status connections with other members of the Tudor aristocracy in the final two chapters; Chapter 3 on scholarly patronage functions as a turning point by encompassing relationships with both clients and the elite, and it situates them within domestic, court, and national spaces.

Chapter 1 assesses the nature of these women's relationships with their servants, underscoring the inequality within the household and arguing that mutual obligations and shared identity formed the core of good working relationships, which were imperative for household cohesion. These relationships were often strong and sometimes emotionally close, and reflect the fluidity of domestic membership where servants were incorporated into the household space. The second chapter claims that personal connections within the local area were substantial resources for these women, who could mobilise support from and the loyalty of their retainers, provided they had previously fostered sufficient goodwill. This chapter also demonstrates that the obligations attached to local and religious identities could clash, underscoring a potentially negative aspect to personal connections. In the third chapter, the influence of these eight women is centred on their financial agency and use of support networks to access, patronise, and shape scholarly and religious production, often motivated by non-academic interests. The scholarly space was neither physical nor geographically bounded, spanning the country and including the household and royal court. Chapter 4 turns to the women's relationships with other members of the Tudor elite, gauging the parameters of these relationships and the potential restrictions which they placed on these women's agency by encouraging female reliance on male relatives and husbands. This chapter also emphasises the imperative of studying hostile and weak connections. The fifth chapter continues to examine the role of connections within the aristocracy, but

evaluates their significance in politics and space by showing how relationships connected these women over geographical distance to royal patronage and the court. They were vital means for these women to participate in high politics and to advance themselves and their families. Together, these five chapters demonstrate the substantial role of personal connections and support networks as tools for these eight elite women to negotiate distance, exert influence in multiple spaces, benefit their families, and enhance their own prestige in mid-Tudor England, while also articulating their limits and failures.

Chapter 1: Domestic Servants and the Household

Introduction

The household was a physical space of strong and important personal ties for Tudor noblewomen, albeit based on unequal balances of power. The women studied here shared the domestic space with their husbands, offspring, outplaced children of others, guests, and servants. All of these relationships were predicated on inequality; the household structure was hierarchical.[1] Although the household was a physical space, servants would remain in employ when they left to attend to errands, and could find themselves staying in a different house to their employers, especially when the latter attended court, while gentry servants also spent time residing in their own houses. As discussed in the Introduction, noble wives deputised for their husbands and acted as their junior partner in leading the household, working closely with household officials and other senior servants to manage the large staff employed in a great household. Mistresses directly supervised servants and took responsibility for their welfare.[2] This chapter analyses the nature of these women's relationships with their domestic servants. The eight women studied in this thesis all enjoyed times as mistress of their household, either alongside a husband or as an independent head. Following the typical lifecycle, they grew into the role of household head, usually taking up the role on marriage and further developing their expertise and confidence as widows.[3] Although there has been considerable secondary literature on servants' agency, this chapter primarily focuses on the experiences of their mistresses.[4] It uses individual case

[1] Amussen, 'Gender, Family and the Social Order'; Richardson, *Household Servants*, p. 146.
[2] Richardson, *Household Servants*, pp. 146–48, 150, 162–63; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 65–66.
[3] Harris, 'Space, Time', pp. 246, 250–54, 260–63; Hannay, 'High Housewifery', p. 20; Thomas, *If I Lose Mine Honour*, pp. 145–46. See further details in the Literature Review, pp. 21–22, especially n.36 and n.40.
[4] Mertes, *The English Noble Household*; Mann, 'Displeasure, Duty and Devotion'; McIntosh, 'Servants and the Household Unit'; C. Dunn, '"If There Be Any Goodly Young Woman": Experiences of Elite Female Servants in Great Households', in Woolgar (ed.), *The Elite Household in England*, pp. 317–35; Maxwell, 'Household Words'; Richardson, *Household Servants*; Cooper, 'Service to Servitude'; Flather, 'Gender, Space, and Place'; P. Maddern, '"In myn own house": The Troubled Connections between Servant Marriages, Late-Medieval English Household Communities and Early Modern Historiography', in Tarbin and Broomhall (eds), *Women, Identities and Communities*, pp. 45–59.

studies but is shaped by the availability of existing primary source material to focus especially on Mary Tudor and Anne Stanhope.

This chapter argues that all eight women formed cohesive working relationships with their household servants, based on mutual obligations. The relationships were often strong and positive, and had the potential to be close and affectionate. Despite the unequal balance of power where these mistresses had higher status than and authority over their staff, reciprocity underpinned these relationships, creating both obligations and reliance on both sides. Servants offered loyalty and a shared identity, while their employers were expected to care for and give patronage to their staff. Although enjoying the balance of power, these mistresses were bound by their obligations, and were dependent on their servants for the smooth running of the household. Good working relationships were vital for a functioning house by creating cohesion. An understanding of and conformity to the reciprocity that characterised the relationships between these women and their domestic servants were vital in creating a cohesive space into which servants were incorporated as fellow members, even if they lacked loving or emotionally intimate elements. This also sheds light on the flexibility of ties or fluidity of membership within the domestic space, where servants could be accepted as staff, confidantes, friends, kin, and spouses, and where ties could be affective, instrumental, or both.

These women had duties or obligations towards their staff, demonstrated by their provision for servant welfare. Servants further expected to be offered rewards for their good service. Examples from Anne Stanhope's house show that her staff placed a value on their attendance, but expected loyalty and provisions in return, holding Anne responsible for upholding the reciprocal nature of their service. She and the other women studied here worked to fulfil their obligations by rewarding staff with gifts and patronage for their suits. Officers and senior servants, as lifetime servants, were most likely to be long-standing members of the household and were also likely to be rewarded. Their mistresses entrusted officers with many duties, and became reliant on them for their knowledge and experience. Mary Tudor depended not only on her comptroller's financial abilities but also his advice and support as she clashed against the privy council. Anne Stanhope continued her connection with her

steward John Thynne even after he left the house, relying on his goodwill to continue serving her family unofficially.

Close ties based on such support or reliance, and even affection, could be forged, as indicated by Frances Brandon, Anne Stanhope, and Katherine Willoughby each making a marriage with a senior servant. There was also potential for emotional attachment in the reciprocal connections enjoyed with female attendants, who were accorded trust and responsibilities in the household. Furthermore, servants enjoyed ties to each other, not just to their employers. McIntosh has described these common or shared identities amongst servants as forming a 'corporate' household. Their intermarriage, continuing friendships, and bequests to each other suggest that good working relationships were a feature of noble households and not only confined to the mistress and her senior staff, although these women encouraged such intra-servant ties. Case studies of Mary Tudor and Anne Stanhope show that both women exercised their authority over staff, but also cared for them. It was only when the bonds of mutual obligations were broken that conflict arose. Despite the differences in their reputations as mistresses, there are similarities in their mastery of household management; both worked to follow the rules of reciprocity and rewards, although Mary developed stronger emotional ties to, and reliance on, her household members.

Obligations and duty

Mistresses felt obligations towards their servants which, as shown below, were reciprocated by their servants. As employers, their duties were largely based upon concern for the servants' welfare, and included providing education and religious training, medical aid, and annuities or financial provisions in their wills. Although some parts of these 'benefits packages' would only apply to longer-serving senior servants, the closeness and mutuality of good working relationships also underpinned even the short-term lifecycle servants' experiences.[5] The unequal relationship between these women and their servants

[5] McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, p. 70. See further discussion in the Literature Review, pp. 24–26.

meant that these women assumed a paternalistic role in providing and controlling their staffs' education and religious training. However, their actions also reflect their real interest in their servants' welfare, as well as mutual benefits in supporting them. Mabel Fortescue joined Margaret Douglas's household and wrote in 1560 that she hoped her service to 'my very gentil and gracyous ladye' at Settrington would 'bring me to the k[now]ledge of such thinges as paraduenture I had not seene in my mothers house', widening her knowledge and skills, and thus training her.[6]

Katherine Willoughby paid for the schooling of several of her servants' children. It seems that eight boys and one girl, mostly offspring of her servants, including officers and keepers, were co-opted as learning companions and playmates to her two Bertie children at Grimsthorpe after the family's return from exile in 1559, and together were termed the 'children of honour' in her 1560–62 household accounts. Katherine paid for the children's clothing and various schooling equipment such as books and quills, as well as pins for sewing, while her own children received more luxury items such as a lute, chess set, and puppets. Several of the boys were sent out to board with a tutor, Mr Worthington, although Katherine also employed a tutor in the household.[7] She offered this care and education to her servants' offspring as a type of employee benefit for the more senior and trusted servants, while the companionship benefited her own children. Mary Tudor similarly took on some financial responsibility for her laundress Beatrice ap Rice's children. She outlaid £2 15s for the son to board and study with a priest at Windsor and then start an apprenticeship. Beatrice's daughter, who was also Mary's goddaughter, was boarded out and given clothes.[8] This was mutually beneficial, freeing the laundress to work while her children were provided for. Likewise, at Grimsthorpe, the servants saw their offspring apparelled and schooled, which

[6] TNA SP12/14, fo. 100r. She owed her place to her 'good gouernor' and Margaret's agent Francis Yaxley, who also placed several other 'charges', including his cousin Mary Silles, with Margaret. TNA SP12/12, fo. 6r; SP12/14, fo. 100r; SP12/16, fo. 38r; BL Cotton MS Caligula B/VIII, fo. 167r. See also: A. Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of Scotland and English Princesses*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, 1851), pp. 369, 372–73.
[7] *HMC Ancaster*, pp. 459–62; LAO 1-ANC/7/A/2, fos 27–36, 96v, 105r, 107v; 2-ANC/14/4r.
[8] *PPE*, pp. 4, 17, 38, 40, 55, 67, 89.

provided them with suitable training for administrative roles in the Berties' service, while giving company for the Bertie children.

Medical care was another key responsibility of these women. Household accounts show that Anne Stanhope and Mary Tudor paid for medicines and sent for physicians and apothecaries when their servants were unwell. It seems that Anne took primary responsibility for medical care in the Seymour house. She owned and purchased medicines and probably treated the staff herself in addition to calling in professionals when needed, while she and her husband also paid their servants' expenses when they were unwell. For themselves, the family used the services of royal apothecaries and the king's physician Doctor Walter Cromer.[9] In November 1540, two of Anne's women were unwell, and so Doctor Cromer, a surgeon, and an apothecary were summoned to Sheen, where they stayed for four days, at a cost of £3 12s 6d. The same month, a Thomas Pice died in the house, and those closest to him were sent away for several weeks, for fear of infection, but the Hertfords ensured that they were still paid their board wages. Likewise, that year a servant hurt his hand and the Hertfords paid for him to stay in London for thirty-four days, 'at surgerye'.[10] Anne was the one who authorised the payment of expenses for her man, Walter Skinner, when he was taken ill while travelling in 1536 and needed to stay on at East Hampsted.[11] Mary Tudor also paid for her servants when they were sick, usually sending between ten shillings and a pound, perhaps to cover their expenses or care. Showing her sense of responsibility and care, when she was unwell herself in November 1550, she was pleased to report that 'I have not at thys present (thankes be to god) any of my howseholde sycke'.[12]

The wills of several of these women show their desire to continue to provide for their servants and especially to reward the loyalty of senior long-standing servants by leaving bequests to their households. Margaret Douglas named her servant John Fowler to be one of her executors, and left him all of her sheep 'for his good and faithfull s*er*uice done to me and myne maynye yeares paste',

[9] Longleat Seymour MS X, fo. 63v; MS XIV, fos 13r, 24r, 42v; MS XVI, fo. 36v; MS XVII, fos 28r, 30v, 54r; MS XIX, fos 5r, 24v, 27r. For Cromer, see: *L&P* XIX, i, 1036 (5), p. 644.
[10] Longleat Seymour MS X, fo. 62r–v; MS XIX, fos 1v, 24v.
[11] Longleat Seymour MS XIII, fo. 26v.
[12] *PPE*, pp. 58, 135–36, 138, 168; TNA SP10/11, fo. 20r.

and all of her clocks. Her reliance on him had extended to credit, as she owed him £778 15s, which she wanted to repay. She made bequests to three other servants, while the remainder were to be paid a year's wages.[13] Jane Guildford also felt responsible for her servants, anticipating that they would be 'discharged that hath in my howse served me honestly sence my lord departed'. She left each of them two year's wages and a black coat. Additional sums were left to three women, one 'for s*er*uing bothe of doughter Katheryn and me', while other servants were given annuities or household stuff, although one maid's generous bequest was contingent on her marriage to another servant.[14] Frances Brandon had assigned annuities before her death to four men and four women in her household, ranging from £2 13s 4d for Mistress Wray, to £20 for steward Edmund Hall. Her will was then witnessed by three of her officers.[15] Mary Tudor sought pensions for her staff in 1547, highlighting her obligations to reward their service and financially provide for them, when she reminded Somerset that they 'have served me very long tyme, and have no kynde of lyvyng certayne'.[16]

Servants' expectations

Their own words and actions show that these women's servants also characterised their employment as reciprocal and expected their employers to acknowledge and reward good service. Several of her long-standing servants left bequests to Mary Tudor in recognition of their relationship. Robert Rochester left her £100 'as a pore witnes of myne humble harte, duetie and service'. Mary Kempe, Mrs Finch, went further in considering herself beholden to Mary. She bequeathed her mistress a gold and diamond ring 'as a significacon of my thanckefull mynde to her grace for her greate benefite done to me'.[17] Similarly, in his 1570 will, Richard Catterton of Well left a horse to

[13] TNA PROB11/60/174.
[14] TNA PROB11/37/342, pp. 1A–3A.
[15] TNA SP12/7, fo. 50v; PROB11/42B/688.
[16] TNA SP10/2, fo. 84ar.
[17] TNA PROB11/35/123; PROB11/36/374; PROB11/42A/105; TNA PROB11/40/32, pr. 'Mary Fynche, Will 19 June 1557', transc. L.L. Duncan, *Kent Archaeological Society*, https://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/Research/Libr/Wills/Bk47+48/page%20091.htm, accessed 09.04.2020.

'my good ladie and m*istr*es', Katherine Willoughby, both in remembrance and to place an obligation on her to care for his family, 'trustinge that she and my m*aster* wilbe good vnto my wief and my childerne'.[18] However, sometimes servants felt that their efforts were not compensated, and so could accuse their employers of breaking their two-way relationship.

Anne Stanhope's servants acknowledged their responsibilities to serve their employers, even when it was not convenient. In 1549, Thomas Smith intended his wife to remain with him at court instead of moving to new lodgings at Syon, but also recognised her duty to attend Anne, noting to steward Thynne that 'Yf my wief can do my Ladies grace eny service, she shall wait as hir dutie is'.[19] The following year, Anne's gentlewoman Winifred was unwell and her husband Thomas Fisher, the duke's secretary, planned to take her home to Warwickshire to recover. In a letter on 16 August, he informed William Cecil of his hopes 'that after som tyme of recou*er*ye she may be ther better hable to gyve attendance if my ladies grace woll so com*m*aund her', showing Winifred's expectation of continued service. Fisher also felt that in-person attendance was necessary, noting that his own duties for the duke in Reading 'occasyoneth me to be more absent from my lordes grace then I desyre to be'. However, he also complained to Cecil in this letter about his ill-treatment by the Somersets, whom he claimed had spoken badly of him in their house. Fisher believed that, after his 'diligent true and paynefull s*er*uice', this broke the unspoken contract of reciprocity between him and his employers. He no longer felt obliged to serve them, and so intended to tarry at home instead of returning to their house.[20]

Another servant who expressed a sense of obligation in the Somerset household was Mildred Cooke, Cecil's wife. With her husband acting as the duke's other secretary, she seems to have joined Anne's train. In his 1551 letter to William Cecil, Sir Richard Morison asked for Mildred to 'kneel for him and

[18] LAO LCC WILLS/1571/ii, fo. 71r.
[19] Letter T. Smith to J. Thynne, 29 April 1549, pr. J.E. Jackson, 'Longleat Papers, No. 4', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 18/54 (1879), pp. 260–61.
[20] TNA SP10/10, fo. 58r.

present his compliments to the Duchess'.[21] Around 1550, Mildred had presented her manuscript translation of a homily of Basil the Great to Anne, 'hir ryght good Lady & Mystres'. Using the language of service and indebtedness, Mildred claimed that she was keen to repay Anne's goodness with her service, and that her written work was 'some small parte' thereof, signing herself as 'your Graces in service Mildred Cicill'.[22] As a gift which combined the intimacy of a handmade item and the shared scholarly interests of Anne and Mildred, this served to emphasise the personal nature of their relationship and was doubtless well received, as Anne continued to rely on her connection with William Cecil as her intercessor to the queen under Elizabeth I.[23] Mildred would attend Anne's funeral in 1587, carrying the train of the chief mourner.[24]

Rewards

In addition to a duty to care for their staff, these women felt obliged to reward them. Most servants were waged, but rewards were given in the form of presents, money, or patronage.[25] Mary Tudor offered jewellery as rewards for her female attendants. A popular gift amongst women, jewels encompassed material and emotional value.[26] Mary's jewel inventory shows that she gave a considerable portion of her jewels to her gentlewomen or to ladies at court who temporarily joined her service. About ten of her women received jewellery, including Ladies Kingston, Kempe, and Mordaunt, nurse Mrs Brooke, and her clerk comptroller's wife. Mary rewarded several women with jewellery on their marriages: Neville, who was clearly a favourite as she had already received four other pieces, gained a brooch and necklace when she married. Mary's

[21] *CSPF Edward VI*, 331, p. 97. Alford has claimed that the members of the Somerset household and the protectorate regime overlapped. Mildred could see herself as in service to Anne, as Cecil was part of the Somerset house-regime. Alford, *Kingship and Politics*, pp. 77–78.
[22] BL Royal MS 17/B/XVIII, fos 1–2.
[23] TNA SP12/16, fos 130–31r; PROB11/70/369; BL Lansd. MS 8, fo. 133r; MS 9, fo. 147r; MS 22, fos 202r–03v; MS 33, fo. 6r; MS 36, fo. 21r. Elizabeth Cooke, Lady Russell, reminded her nephew Robert Cecil, the Cecils' son, of his family's obligation to the Seymour family in 1599. Hatfield MS 59, fo. 168r. For the intimacy of the handmade or handwritten, see: Klein, 'Your Humble Handmaid', pp. 462, 474–76; Daybell, *Women Letters Writers*, pp. 108–13.
[24] Bodleian Ashmolean MS 818, fo. 42r.
[25] Dunn, 'If There Be Any Goodly Young Woman', pp. 321–25.
[26] Harris, 'Sisterhood', p. 24.

cousin Margaret Douglas and Elizabeth Fitzgerald, both members of her household in the 1530s, were given an item on their marriages a decade later, while male servants would receive cash rewards.[27] During the period of September 1542 to July 1543, Mary stayed at court in a role akin to acting consort, heading the queen's household and thus preventing it from being dissolved, as discussed further in Chapter 5. McIntosh has claimed that Mary's gifts of jewellery to noblewomen (including the Duchess of Norfolk, Lady Anne Paget, and the Countess of Rutland) at this time were rewards for their attendance on her at court.[28]

Katherine Willoughby was happy to prefer suits of servants, even when she was not sure what they were about. In 1550, she passed on her Jersey gardener's case to Somerset, although the man's 'elve [evil] englyshe' meant that she did not understand what he wanted! She was a strong believer in using personal connections for political ends, as she insisted to William Cecil that she could not use his preferment too much, and pressed him to value their friendship over 'iustice'.[29] Both Frances Brandon and Anne Stanhope presented suits to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey on behalf of their servants. Frances sought a lease of tenements in Tothill Street for 'oone Richarde Wyllyams my seruaunte and a very honest man' in late 1547, to which the abbey readily acquiesced.[30] However, Anne's efforts to secure the post of collector of lands in Westminster for her 'trustie and welbelovide s*eruan*te Thomas Maria Wingfielde' around 1550 were not readily accomplished. Although the chapter agreed that he would be given the post next, including the fees it customarily encompassed, the present incumbent tried to prefer someone else as his successor, and the chapter 'subtillye delaiede'. This led Anne to lambaste them, taking Wingfield's side by claiming

[27] BL Royal MS 17/B/XXVIII, especially fos 112r, 113r–v, 121r–24r, pr. *PPE*, pp. 175, 177–78, 192–98. For Mary's household members, see: *L&P* VI, 1199, p. 498; X, 1187 (1–2), p. 494; TNA E179/69/47, /48, /55; *PPE*, pp. 25, 59, 61, 68, 72, 167, 133.
[28] McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, pp. 79–82; M. Hayward, 'Shaped by Their Father? The Households of Henry VIII's Children, 1516–58', in Woolgar (ed.), *The Elite Household in England*, p. 427; BL Royal MS 17/B/XXVIII, fos 112r, 113r–v, 115v, 116v, 117r, 121v, 123v, pr. *PPE*, pp. 175, 177–78, 182, 184–85, 193, 197. Clark has also linked gifts of jewellery from royal ladies to Howard family women to these Howard women's regular attendance at court. Clark, 'Dynastic Politics', p. 61.
[29] TNA SP10/10, fos 9r, 82r; SP10/14, fo. 71r.
[30] WAM 18085, fo. 1r; WAM 36405.

that she had been ‘vanielye deluded and o*ur* saide s*er*u*a*nte vtterlye deceyuede’ by the chapter, forcefully requesting that they fulfil their agreement. However, it is unclear whether she was triumphant.[31]

Anne also tried to prefer her household comptroller Richard Fulmerston for the marshalship of the King’s Bench in 1550, against his rival for the post William Naunton, who was backed by Katherine Willoughby. Fulmerston was the Somersets’ comptroller from 1547, and seems to have enjoyed a good working relationship with Anne, as, when he took an inventory of the imprisoned Sir William Sharington’s goods in February 1549, he brought some of the jewels, hangings, and furniture to Anne.[32] William Naunton was Katherine Willoughby’s cousin and former servant. By 1547, Fulmerston and Naunton both tried to claim the office of Marshal of the King’s Bench, and Somerset arbitrated ‘at the special request and desire of our very well beloved friend the duchess of Suffolk’, Katherine Willoughby. The duke arranged for the two men to jointly share the office, but it seems that they did not coexist harmoniously, and the duke’s fall in 1549 led to further contention, especially over Naunton’s costs, which Fulmerston refused to recompense. Katherine again sued to Somerset for Naunton, but her letters to Cecil became increasingly barbed when Somerset did not reply to her.[33] By October 1550, she suggested that there had been a pearled biliament of diamonds involved – an item of women’s apparel which would indicate a bribe to Anne. Katherine also noted that Anne especially favoured Naunton, but she also doubted that Somerset accorded Anne any influence at this time, as ‘I cold fynd in my hartt to blame my lade [Anne] for my lords [Somerset’s] favlt but that my thinketh he hathe ben to laytt warend [warned] to fale [fall] ageyn in to that elve’.[34] Ultimately, Katherine and Naunton were victorious, and Katherine rescinded her ‘haste letter’ of ‘folyshe colere [foolish choler]’ to Cecil in November, and the following year Naunton was named Marshal of the King’s Bench.[35] Ultimately,

[31] WAM 9753, fos 1–2.
[32] Longleat Seymour MS X, fo. 167r; *HMC Bath*, IV, pp. 109, 112, 130; R.J.W. Swales, ‘Fulmerston, Richard (by 1516–67), of Ipswich, Suff. and Thetford, Norf.’, in S.T. Bindoff (ed.), *HoP*.
[33] Norfolk Record Office Hare MS 6247, 228X6; TNA SP10/10, fos 9r, 60r, 72r, 92r.
[34] TNA SP10/10, fo. 92r–v.
[35] TNA SP10/11, fos 6r, 14r; *CPR Edward VI*, III, p. 164.

Katherine's efforts seem to have been more successful than Anne's in this clash over preferring their servants to the office and its fees.

Long-standing service

Loyalty and good service could lead to lengthy employment in the same household, and long-standing service to multiple generations of a family was a marker of good working relationships. Long tenures also suggest that these women felt a duty to retain servants. It seems that such attendants could be incorporated into the broader family, especially when their relatives were also employed, while some of these servants were also related to their employers, where obligations of employment and kinship overlapped. Richard Whalley was chamberlain to his relative Anne Stanhope, and one of the men who helped her remove goods from the royal stores in October 1549 to hide in their own houses. After the duke was arrested, Somerset sent Whalley to comfort Anne. The Northumberlands also engaged Jane Guildford's cousin Thomas Blount as comptroller, while Frances Brandon and Katherine Willoughby employed their cousin Edmund Hall as an officer.[36]

Edmund Hall was left an annuity by Charles Suffolk and continued in service to Katherine Willoughby as a long-standing officer and her trustworthy 'Cosin Hall'. They remained in contact when Katherine was in exile, and in 1557 he was named as one of the three men to replace Walter Herenden as Katherine's general attorney, remaining in her service despite Katherine's absence overseas.[37] However, Edmund also seems to have transferred to the household of Katherine's stepdaughter Frances Brandon at this time. Probably after her household was reduced following her husband's execution in 1554, he became Frances's steward. She would grant him an annuity of £20, and he witnessed

[36] A. Bryson, 'Whalley, Richard', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2008); *HMC Bath*, IV, p. 338; C.J. Black and R.J.W. Swales, 'Whalley, Richard (1498/99–1583), of Kirton, Welbeck and Sibthorpe, Notts. and Wimbledon, Surr.', in S.T. Bindoff (ed.), *HoP*; S.T. Hofmann, 'Hall, Edmund (by 1519–92), of Greatford, Lincs.', in *ibid*.; P. Hyde, 'Blount, Thomas (d.1568), of Kidderminster, Worcs.', in P.W. Hasler (ed.), *HoP*; S. Adams (ed.), *Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 1558–1561, 1584–1586* (London, 1995), p. 464; Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*, pp. 51, 122; TNA SP12/7, fo. 50v; *HMC Ancaster*, p. 6.

[37] *APC* V, 385, p. 284; LAO 2-ANC/3/B/25; 3-ANC/8/1/3, pp. 1, 14, 43; TNA SP10/10, fos 19r–v; Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*, p. 51.

her will in 1559. Her daughter Mary Grey would go on to name Edmund an executor of her own will, and bequeath a set of bowls to her 'verie good cosen' his wife.[38] On the Berties' return from exile, it seems that Edmund Hall did not re-enter Katherine's household, but remained in her service by handling property disputes and acting as an intermediary with Cecil. Edmund dined at Grimsthorpe, and he and his wife sent gifts of game to the Berties. Both attended Katherine's funeral in 1580 at Spilsby. Their son Richard Hall was one of the servants' children educated alongside Peregrine and Susan Bertie, and Richard remained in service at Grimsthorpe as an adult.[39]

A further example of long-standing service is the Duport family's relationship with the Dorsets. A local Leicestershire man with legal training, Thomas Duport had entered Henry Dorset's service by the mid-1540s as receiver of his western lands. After Dorset's execution, Frances Brandon retained Thomas as her treasurer, and his wife Cornelia also served in her household. A Grey family connection, Sir John Arundell, secured Duport's seat in parliament in 1554, where he possibly worked to protect the family's interests such as by trying to delay the attainder against Suffolk.[40] Frances rewarded him with the lease of her Groby park in 1554.[41] Thomas and Cornelia attended her funeral in 1559, and Cornelia was then amongst the mourners at Katherine Grey's funeral in 1568.[42] Duport was still in the family's employ in 1573, was involved in Mary Grey's land dealings, and was named one of the executors of her will, where his wife received a bequest, while a Katherine Duport also served in Mary's household. Mary Grey was keen to fulfil her obligations to employ long-standing family retainers, asking her brother-in-law Hertford in 1573 to allow her late sister's man, Henry Parker, to join her service.[43]

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[38] TNA SP12/7, fos 50v, 92–95; PROB11/42B/688; Mary Grey, Will, pr. W.L. Rutton, 'Lady Mary Grey, Alias Keys', *Notes and Queries*, ser. 8, 6/147 (1894), pp. 301–03.
[39] LAO 1-ANC/7/A/2, fos 51v–52r, 54v, 60v, 64r; 1-ANC/7/A/3; MON/27/3/1, pp. 312–13; TNA PROB11/82/74; Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*, p. 122; *HMC Ancaster*, pp. 457, 462.
[40] S.M. Thorpe, 'Dupport (Duppa), Thomas (1513/14–92), of Shepshed and Queniborough, Leics.', in S.T. Bindoff (ed.), *HoP*; College of Arms Arundel MS 35, fo. 8v; TNA SP12/7, fos 92–95.
[41] *CPR Mary*, I, p. 316.
[42] College of Arms Arundel MS 35, fos 8v, 108v.
[43] *HMC Bath*, IV, pp. 138–39; Mary Grey, Will, pr. Rutton, 'Lady Mary Grey', p. 303.

Household officers

Household officers like Hall and Duport were particularly important figures, to whom many tasks were delegated. In leading the household, especially as stewards, they worked closely with their mistresses, and these women became dependent on them, especially in times of crisis. Their relationships can be characterised as having elements of trust on one side, and loyalty on the other. Their gentry status also enabled these men to enjoy closer relationships with their employers.[44]

Mary Tudor relied on her trusted comptroller, Robert Rochester, for his financial management and advice. Although Rochester seems to have been selected or approved by the privy council when he joined Mary's household by 1547, he served her loyally, at times against the council, and she took him into her confidence and rewarded him.[45] He was not readily replaced, as when he was sent to the Fleet in 1551, Mary undertook the 'wery task' of keeping the household accounts herself rather than delegate them to another officer.[46] She had earlier claimed that Rochester could not leave her, as 'the chief charge of my house resteth only vpon the trauails of my said Controller', without whom 'my litle portion would not haue stretched so far'. This little portion was actually the better part of £4000 per annum, but exaggeration aside, Mary valued and depended on Rochester.[47] She took him into her confidence over her planned flight into exile in 1550, sending him to communicate with the imperial agent. When Mary had second thoughts, she discussed her plans with him and her gentlewoman Susan White, Mrs Clarencius, and allowed herself to be persuaded by Rochester to abort her flight abroad.[48] He was also firmly involved in her combat with the privy council over Mary's right to hear Latin Mass, as outlined in the next chapter. In August 1551, he was one of three of

[44] See further details in the Literature Review, pp. 24–25, especially n.46 and nn.53–54. Household accounts demonstrate the high levels of authority and responsibility allocated to them, and their high status amongst servants. TNA E315/340, fo. 49r; Longleat Seymour MS X, fos 133r–v, 167r.
[45] *CSPS* X, p. 364.
[46] *APC* III, 290, p. 352.
[47] *TAMO* (1563), book 4, pp. 944, 946.
[48] *CSPS* X, pp. 125–26, 132–34.

her officers summoned to appear before the privy council and charged with prohibiting Mary's chaplains from saying the Latin Mass in her household. The men were wary of undertaking this task, as they respected Mary's authority and religion in her own house, and Rochester feared that she would dismiss them for interfering. Mary refused to allow them to command her chaplains, and they obliged, pretending to the privy council that she was too unwell to be reasoned with. They faced the council's rebuke, and were sent to the Fleet for their disobedience.[49] Mary and the imperial ambassador continued to petition for their release, although this did not happen until March 1552.[50] Rochester then helped to organise her coup for the crown in 1553, and Mary rewarded him after her accession with a seat on the privy council and elevation to the comptrollership of the royal household.[51]

Sir John Thynne's ongoing relationship with Anne Stanhope and her family's finances even after he resigned as their steward shows that, for the experienced and capable officer, their service was never finished while their mistress continued to rely on them. Anne was long familiar with Thynne, who had been the Seymour family's steward since 1536.[52] The Seymours delegated much financial management to their officers, and Thynne was responsible for making routine or domestic payments and handling much of the money collected by Hertford's receiver, Berwick. Thynne was also sent on high-status errands, including to speak to Chancellor Audley in 1537 and to collect Somerset's coronation apparel in 1547.[53] Somerset supported his parliamentary career and acquisition of Longleat priory, and Anne later continued as his patron.[54] Others approached Thynne as an intermediary to the family, showing his scope for influence.[55] His position meant that he was arrested in October 1549, and on

[49] *APC* III, 281, p. 333, 285, p. 337; 287, p. 340.
[50] *APC* III, 290, p. 352; 426, p. 508; IV, 18, p. 20; Edward VI, *The Chronicle and Political Papers of King Edward VI*, ed. W.K. Jordan (London, 1966), p. 80.
[51] J. Hughes, 'Rochester, Sir Robert', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2008).
[52] M. Girouard, 'Thynne, Sir John', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2010).
[53] Longleat Seymour MS X, fos 145r, 188r; MS XIII fo. 7r; MS XIV, fos 38r, 41r; MS XVII, fos 2r–7v, 15v, 72r–74v; MS XIX, fos 5v, 50v.
[54] T.F.T. Baker, 'Thynne, John (1512/13–80), of London and Longleat, Wilts.', in S.T. Bindoff (ed.), *HoP*; Alford, *Kingship and Politics*, pp. 78–79.
[55] *HMC Bath*, IV, p. 115; TNA SP10/10, fo. 7r; Smith to Thynne, 29 April 1549, and Letter T. Smith to J. Thynne, 14 June 1549, pr. Jackson, 'Longleat Papers', pp. 260–61.

his release from the Tower seems to have retired to Longleat.[56] He wrote to Cecil in September the following year about 'my late sute … to leve myn ofice of Stewardship'. Thynne claimed that the role of steward 'soundeth me muche vpon for many causes', although he intended to remain in the family's service in some other, less onerous, role. Thynne seems to have left the household after 1551, but the family still relied on his vast knowledge of the duke's finances to help secure Edward Seymour's inheritance.[57] Anne asked Thynne to use his 'more perfect [knowledge of Somerset's lands] then any others his officers' in 1553 to establish exactly what lands had been held by her husband in 1547. She wrote in a tone of assured request, although Thynne was no longer her steward, but added a friendly message about his recent visit to London and commendations to his wife. The following year, she asked to borrow money from him, out of 'friendship', in order to purchase lands for her son.[58] Her son, Hertford, then entered into correspondence with Thynne himself, who acted as his unofficial advisor and agent in Wiltshire. In 1573, Anne's daughter Lady Mary Seymour relied on Thynne's 'credit' with Anne to make a request. When Elizabeth I stayed at Longleat the following year, she praised it to Anne, who had Hertford pass this news on to Thynne himself.[59] Showing an expectation of reciprocity, Thynne was then indignant when Hertford did not support his case for some land in 1579, although the two men still intended to broker a marriage between their families.[60]

Marrying servants

In addition to the mutual obligations, several women studied here also enjoyed close personal relationships with their senior servants, which could eventuate in marriage. Frances Brandon, Anne Stanhope, and Katherine Willoughby each

[56] *CSPD Edward VI*, 418, p. 153; 424, p. 156; *APC* II, 578, p. 342; Alford, *Kingship and Politics*, p. 79.
[57] TNA SP10/10, fo. 68r–69v; J.E. Jackson, 'Wulfhall and the Seymours', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 15/44 (1875), p. 189.
[58] Letter A. Stanhope to J. Thynne, 11 November 1553, and Letter A. Stanhope to J. Thynne, 24 July 1554, pr. Jackson, 'Wulfhall and the Seymours', pp. 187–88.
[59] Jackson, 'Wulfhall and the Seymours', pp. 194–98; *HMC Bath*, IV, pp. 135, 140–41; TH/VOL/I, fo. 111, pr. The National Archives, unpublished catalogue of the Thynne Papers, Longleat House.
[60] *HMC Bath*, IV, p. 144.

married their servants. As noted in the Introduction, existing scholarship has emphasised the practical benefits of such remarriages to subordinate men who had already proved their loyalty.[61] Kimberly Schutte has also argued that Frances and Anne were motivated by a desire for stability and assistance to rehabilitate their families after the crises of seeing their first husbands executed for treason, turning to men they already knew and trusted in the household. However, Archer has noted that late medieval aristocratic women who married their servants must have enjoyed considerably good relations with and personal reliance on their senior staff to consider marriage.[62] The three women's examples here show that their marriages continued in their reciprocity; their husbands benefited from their patronage, while continuing to provide loyalty. Despite their servants' lack of status or riches, marriage to them had its advantages for these women, including enhanced agency within marriage. But although the advantages were substantial, so too was the bedrock of positive relationships based on reliance and service, fostering friendship and affection. These matches then altered their husbands' statuses from servant to kinsman, suggesting the malleability of ties and that such changes were possible within the confines of the domestic space, where these men had already been accepted members of the household.

Frances Brandon married her master of the horse, Adrian Stokes, in 1554 or 1555. They were close in age and shared reformist views. The match has been considered 'happy, but brief', producing a daughter who died young.[63] In addition to the personal reasons for marrying Adrian, Frances was probably also motivated to avoid a diplomatic match, while taking on a lower status husband marked the end of her high political ambitions and thus diminished

[61] See p. 23, nn.42–43.
[62] Schutte, 'Marrying Out', p. 11; Archer, 'Women as Landholders and Administrators', p. 170.
[63] Warnicke, 'Grey, Frances', in *ODNB*; R.J. Fynmore, 'Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, and Adrian Stokes', *Notes and Queries*, ser. 11, 5/107 (1912), p. 26; C.T. Berkhout, 'Adrian Stokes, 1519–1585', *Notes and Queries*, 47/1 (2000), p. 28; S.M. Thorpe and P.W. Hasler, 'Stokes, Adrian (c.1533–85), of Beaumanor, Leics.', in P.W. Hasler (ed.), *HoP*; *CSPD Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth*, Elz CXVII, 19, p. 561; Elz CXVIII, 34, p. 567; *CSPD Elizabeth and James I, Addenda*, XXXIV, 27, p. 404.

her perceived threat to Mary I.[64] She would remain on good terms with Mary.[65] Frances may also have considered the example of her stepmother Katherine Willoughby, then married happily for several years to her gentleman usher and able to maintain her rank as dowager duchess.[66] Frances maintained her role as head of the family, with her daughter Katherine Grey and Edward Hertford seeking her permission to marry in October 1559. She approved, and turned to Adrian for advice on how to gain the queen's permission for what would be a very dangerous match. Adrian was entrusted to advise Hertford on approaching the council and to draft Frances's letter of request to the queen.[67] He benefited from the marriage by becoming a member of parliament for Leicestershire, and enjoyed Frances's inheritance lands and Beaumanor house for life.[68] She had sold off some land before her death to pay his debts, and named him her sole inheritor and executor in her will.[69] Adrian then erected her a costly monument at Westminster, and did not remarry for twelve years, suggesting that he mourned their marriage.[70]

Similarly, Anne Stanhope's 1558 marriage to her steward Francis Newdigate appears to have been on good terms. She maintained power over her family, but was reliant on Francis's administrative efforts, balanced by his gratitude for her preferment of his career. From Middlesex gentry, Francis seems to have become steward after Thynne resigned from the post. He was arrested as one of Somerset's supporters in October 1551, and was amongst those who loyally tried to testify 'as favorably to the Duke as they could swear to'. Francis was

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[64] Ives, *Lady Jane Grey*, pp. 38–39; Plowden, *Lady Jane Grey*, p. 153; *CSPS* XIII, 178, pp. 165–66; W. Camden (ed.), *The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth* (London, 1688), pp. 69–70.
[65] Schutte, 'Marrying Out', pp. 6, 8, 10; Warnicke, 'Grey, Frances', in *ODNB*; D.N. Durant, *Bess of Hardwick: Portrait of an Elizabethan Dynast* (London, 1977), p. 30.
[66] Schutte, 'Marrying Out', pp. 6, 8, 10; Baldwin, *Henry VIII's Last Love*, pp. 172–73, 183.
[67] *CSP Venice*, VI, ii, 884, p. 1077; BL Add. MS 33749, fos 47v, 56v–57r; Harley MS 6286, fos 36v–37v; Daybell, *Women Letters Writers*, p. 76.
[68] Thorpe and Hasler, 'Stokes, Adrian', *HoP*; G.F. Farnham, 'Charnwood Forest: The Charnwood Manors', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, 15 (1927–28), p. 155; Longleat Devereux MS I, fo. 58r; *CSPD Elizabeth and James I, Addenda*, XXXIV, 27, p. 404; *CSPD Mary*, 147, p. 74; *CPR Elizabeth*, I, pp. 4, 141; *HMC Bath*, V, p. 155.
[69] TNA PROB11/42B/688; SP12/7, fo. 48r.
[70] Warnicke, 'Grey, Frances', in *ODNB*; A. White, 'Cure family', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2004); Ives, *Lady Jane Grey*, p. 38; 'Frances Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk & Family', *Westminster Abbey*, https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/commemorations/frances-brandon-duchess-of-suffolk, accessed 08.07.2021.

later released and managed the Seymour lands while Anne was in the Tower.[71] She was freed and retired to Hanworth in 1553, and married Francis five years later, when they had known each other for some time and Anne's eldest son was almost of age.[72] Like Frances Brandon, Anne continued in her role as family matriarch, and directed efforts to mitigate royal displeasure at her son's secret marriage to Katherine Grey in 1561. Like Adrian Stokes, Francis Newdigate was returned to parliament in a seat over which Anne had influence.[73] Anne trusted her husband to manage a land dealing with William Cecil in 1571, and he wrote to Cecil including commendations from himself and Anne, before Anne added her own greeting asking for Rhenish wine; their joint letter suggests a close awareness of each other's actions.[74] In his 1580 will, Francis showed his gratitude and affection to Anne when he named her his sole executor and left her all of his goods, as well as entrusting his old servants and niece to her, 'as I have receyved all my p*re*ferment by the duchesse mariadge'.[75]

The experiences of Frances and Anne compare closely to that of Katherine Willoughby, who married her gentleman usher, Richard Bertie, around 1552. All three women enjoyed the balance of power in their marriages and remained in their roles as elite women, retiring from court service but continuing to visit court and rule their own houses and children.[76] Although wives were expected to be subordinate to their husbands, there were contradictions from the structures of power which placed female householders above their servants and where their superior social status, wealth, and patronage power meant that they

[71] Edward VI, *Chronicle*, pp. 88, 97; *HMC Bath*, IV, p. 188; BL Royal MS 18/C/XXIV, fo. 258v; Schutte, 'Marrying Out', p. 10; Girouard, 'Thynne, Sir John', in *ODNB*; TNA SP10/10, fo. 68r.
[72] *APC* IV, 340, p. 355; TNA E154/2/39, fo. 36r; SP10/14, fos 14r, 64r; SP15/4, fo. 44r; *CPR Mary*, III, pp. 199–200, IV, p. 298; *CPR Elizabeth*, I, p. 420; Robinson, H. (ed.), *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1846/47), pp. 339–40; Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre 1300/164; R.M. Warnicke, 'Seymour [*née* Stanhope], Anne, duchess of Somerset', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2004).
[73] TNA SP12/16, fo. 130r–v; SP12/19, fo. 64r–v; SP12/33, fos 66r, 68r; *HMC Pepys*, p. 73; BL Add. MS 33749, fos 46v–47r, 56v; Lansd. MS 8, fo. 133r; MS 9, fo. 147r; Schutte, 'Marrying Out', pp. 4, 10; M. Booth, 'Newdigate, Francis (1519–82), of Hanworth, Mdx.', in P.W. Hasler (ed.), *HoP*.
[74] BL Lansd. MS 13, fo. 90r.
[75] TNA PROB11/65/321, pr. BL Lansd. MS 33, fo. 181r–v.
[76] LAO 1-ANC/5/A/1, fo. 3bv; 1-ANC/5/B/8k, p. 2; 3-ANC/8/1/3, pp. 41, 67, 81; TNA SP12/47, fo. 142r.

retained power over these men as their husbands. These women also seem to have prioritised working for their children over remarriage, as Anne initially worked to rehabilitate her family before she remarried, while Katherine was guardian to her sons until their untimely deaths in 1551, and then intended to 'dyscharge the trost wher in my lord [Suffolk] ded lyve my' as his executor, before she did 'any thing else'.[77] Frances did make a hasty marriage to Adrian, but one which appeared politically expedient in reducing her family's risk to the crown. She, Anne, and Katherine all remarried men who were their senior servants and with whom they had already forged good and strong working relationships, probably even friendships.

Female attendants

Gentlewomen attendants were comparable to other servants in becoming close to their mistresses through relationships of reward and trust, leading to positive or even affectionate ties. However, most works on female servants usually focus on maids in middling houses, while much of the scholarship on servants in noble houses, beyond studies of individual women, deals primarily with the larger number of male servants and officers.[78] In this section, household accounts of the Somersets and Mary Tudor give insight into the role of their gentlewomen in the household as responsible senior staff, while close reading of limited primary source material suggests that Mary Howard's good relationships with her attendants led to her considerable trust in them. The example of Mary Tudor's gentlewoman Susan Clarencius illustrates the strong emotional closeness that could develop between these women and their staff, and the extent of financial and political influence that a female attendant could hold.

Anne Stanhope's gentlewomen were treated and trusted as senior servants. She had about six female attendants, in addition to nurses and laundresses, and they were paid between £1 and £2 per annum, and provided with livery gowns of

[77] TNA SP10/14, fo. 103v.
[78] Mertes, *The English Noble Household*; McIntosh, 'Servants and the Household Unit'; Maxwell, 'Household Words'; Richardson, *Household Servants*; Earenfight, 'A Precarious Household'; Dunn, 'If There Be Any Goodly Young Woman'. See also: Frye and Robertson (eds), *Maids and Mistresses*.

red and blue. These gentlewomen ran fewer errands than male servants, usually only for higher-status visits to the embroiderer, priest, or physician, suggesting that they were higher-status representatives of their employer.[79] Both Anne and Mary Tudor entrusted their women to handle their money, and reimbursed their costs for any travel or purchases. Mary Tudor also exchanged New Year's gifts with her women, and gave monetary rewards to their own servants.[80] In the Somerset household, Winifred Fisher benefited from her connection with her employers during the seizure of Norfolk's and Surrey's goods in 1547, many of which were delivered to Somerset; she had a black velvet robe and hose from Surrey's apparel.[81] Elizabeth Sabcotes not only attended Anne and handled money for her, but also supplied lace and fabrics. When Anne and her brother Sir Michael Stanhope plundered material and soft furnishings from the royal goods at Westminster and the silk house in 1548, they took it to Mrs Sabcotes's house.[82] It seems that she had a business of sewing or supplying luxury fabrics and decorations, which she was able to continue while serving Anne. Barbara Delaroche held a position of responsibility in the household by taking custody of some household plate by 1540, later signing it over to steward Thynne in 1546. She and her husband looked after some household goods when the house moved in early 1540.[83] When Somerset and then Anne were taken to the Tower in October 1551, Barbara had safekeeping of jewels, purses of money, and gold spoons, and worked to hide them for the use of the Seymour children. She entered into a conspiracy with three other senior servants and the two eldest Seymour daughters, initially locking the goods in Margaret Seymour's coffer at Syon, and then wrapping them in Barbara's old nightgown and hiding them in the jakes. Only one man was involved in the plot, the servant Christopher Dunn, who was then accused by the women of stealing the gear after it went missing.[84] Dunn was sent to the Tower soon after for stealing these goods.[85]

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[79] Longleat Seymour MS XIV, fos 12r, 40r–42v, 56r–57r; MS XVI, fos 52v, 55r; MS XVII, fos 15v, 17v, 39r–v; MS XIX, fos 12r, 25r, 36v, 57v–59v.
[80] Longleat Seymour MS X, fo. 73v; MS XVI, fos 1r, 2r, 7r; MS XIX, fo. 34r; MS XX, fos 4r–6r; *PPE*, pp. 50, 53, 99, 111, 117, 144–46.
[81] G.F. Nott (ed.), *The Works of Henry Howard Earl of Surrey and of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder*, vol. 1 (London, 1815), app. XLIII, p. cxv.
[82] Longleat Seymour MS XIV, fo. 61v; MS XVI, fos 65v–66r; MS XVII, fos 30v, 67r; MS XIX, fos 51r–53v; *CSPD Edward VI*, 204, p. 94.
[83] *HMC Bath*, IV, pp. 121–22.
[84] BL Add. MS 5498, fos 25–27.
[85] Bryson, 'The Speciall Men', p. 211.

The gentlewomen's priority appears to have been the financial wellbeing of the Seymour children, with their parents imprisoned, and they were willing to hide money and items of value when the household goods were seized by the crown.[86]

Her father's relationship with his household attendant, the gentlewoman Elizabeth Holland, saw Mary Howard accept her as a cohabitor at Kenninghall. Mary's mother complained to Cromwell that her 'vng*rac*cyus' offspring Mary and Surrey lived amenably in the house with Norfolk's mistress, whom Mary had already known from Anne Boleyn's household at court.[87] When councillors came to take Kenninghall in December 1546, Mary and Elizabeth Holland were equally treated as knowledgeable about the household, while Surrey's wife Frances, perhaps because of her pregnancy, was scarcely mentioned in the councillors' report. In her deposition, Elizabeth professed to like Mary, although claiming that neither of them liked Surrey.[88] However, while Elizabeth had been showered with buttons and rings from Norfolk, who also gave her a 'well furnished' house in Suffolk, Mary owned only a little amount of mostly functional furniture and soft furnishings, and her coffers were 'so bare' because she had sold or pawned her jewels to pay her debts. Nonetheless, this does not appear to have bred animosity between the two women. The councillors' report also showed that Mary placed trust in her female attendants. She had one gentlewoman of her own, who was entrusted with the keys to her coffers to assist the councillors in their search, and several maidens who were all aware of her financial straits.[89] This combination of responsibility and trust, extending to financial matters, suggests both a confidence in her attendants and a reliance on them.

Similar confidence and reliance are shown in Mary Tudor's household. Susan White, Mrs Clarencius, was one of Mary's gentlewomen, and was not just a

[86] For the seizure of Somerset goods, see: TNA SP46/163/1, fo. 55r; BL Harley MS 611, fos 10r–14r.
[87] BL Cotton MS Titus B/I, fo. 388v, pr. M.A.E. Wood (ed.), *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies of Great Britain*, vol. 2 (London, 1846), CL, pp. 369–72; S.S. Zupanec, 'An Overlooked Connection of Anne Boleyn's Maid of Honour, Elizabeth Holland, with BL, King's MS. 9', *Electronic British Library Journal* (2017), article 7, pp. 3–5; Nott. (ed.), *The Works of Henry Howard Earl of Surrey and of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, vol. 1, app. XLV, p. cxvii.
[88] E. Herbert, *The Life and Reign of King Henry the Eighth* (London, 1672), p. 627.
[89] TNA SP1/227, fo. 82r–v; LR2/115, fos 37r–39r, 80v; LR2/116, fo. 34r.

central member of her household, but was also emotionally close to Mary as her long-standing confidante.[90] Susan was one of three women whom Mary specifically requested to join or rejoin her service when her household was expanded in 1536. She would purchase items for Mary, who relied on her to help buy New Year's gifts.[91] Susan and another gentlewoman, Frideswide Knight, were granted annuities by the crown in 1543 for their service to Mary, which they later exchanged for land grants.[92] In instances of reciprocated loyalty, Frideswide's husband Sir Robert Strelley supported Mary at Framlingham, and when he died in 1554, Mary regranted to Frideswide those of his lands which should have reverted to the crown.[93] Susan was privy to Mary's secret affairs, including her aborted escape in 1550, probably guarding the door while she deliberated over whether to flee.[94] On her accession, Susan was elevated to the role of mistress of the robes, and her promotion and role as Mary's friend accorded her political influence, interceding with the queen for the Duke of Northumberland in 1553. Mary accepted her ladies' intercessions, as both Mary Finch and Anne Cooke successfully petitioned her for their relatives who had supported Queen Jane.[95] The imperial ambassador and Susan Clarencius were the only witnesses to Mary I's secret promise to marry Philip of Spain in 1554. Susan also benefited personally from her position in Mary's service, accumulating considerable lands in Essex during Mary's reign. After the queen's death, Susan joined the household of Jane Dormer, Countess of Feria, and accompanied her into exile.[96] Jane Dormer had been another of Mary's gentlewomen and companions, entrusted by Mary on her deathbed in 1558 to deliver her jewels to Elizabeth Tudor. Although the queen's favour had bolstered Jane's court career and brought her marriage offers, it also meant that

[90] Born Susan White, she was the widow of Thomas Tonge, Clarenceux king of arms. D. Loades, 'Tonge [*née* White], Susan [known as Susan Clarencius]', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2006).
[91] *L&P* X, 1186, p. 494; *PPE*, pp. 100, 159.
[92] *L&P* XVIII, i, 982 (126b), p. 548; XIX, i, 368, p. 240; 1036 (5b), p. 644; XX, i, 557, p. 266; XXI, i, 643, p. 311; ii, 775, p. 444; *CPR Edward VI*, II, pp. 126–27.
[93] S.M. Thorpe, 'Strelley, Robert (by 1518–54), of Great Bowden, Leics.', in S.T. Bindoff (ed.), *HoP*.
[94] *CSPS* X, pp. 131–32.
[95] Rowley-Williams, 'Image and Reality', pp. 220–230, 233; Keele Paget Box C; TNA PROB11/37/342, p. 3A; *Vita Mariae*, p. 270; A. Weikel, 'Mary I', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2008).
[96] Loades, 'Tonge, Susan', in *ODNB*; BL Royal MS 18/C/XXIV, fo. 360v.

Mary was unwilling to allow Jane's marriage; Jane only wed the Count of Feria after Mary's death.[97] Crumme has noted that, being allowed to bring roughly sixty members of the Marian court to Zafra in 1559, Jane partially 'reassemble[d]' Mary's household in Spain, ensuring its continuity into Elizabeth's reign.[98]

Shared or 'corporate' identity

This cohesion in Mary's household, even past her death, hints at the significance of intra-household relationships, independent of their employers. There were attachments amongst servants in the same household, sharing a common identity and enacting it through gifts and favours to their fellows, and sometimes marriage. McIntosh has argued that the household was a 'corporate body' of members living and working together and sharing an identity not only with their employer, but also with the 'interests of the household itself', over which they could exercise some agency.[99] Loyalty and emotional attachment linked not only the mistress to her servants, but also the servants to each other, creating a cohesive work environment. However, it is necessary to remember that, despite their own ties, servants' common identity was based on their service to a common head, and that these mistresses worked to shape the tenor of their household environment and to foster good working ties within it. This created a bedrock of belonging, especially when servants married each other. These women promoted the domestic space as a community in which their family and servants were all members.

Mary Tudor relied on the idea of a corporate identity to encourage Anne Stanhope to prefer the suit of a Richard Wood to Somerset in 1547. Wood had previously been in Katherine of Aragon's service, and Mary noted that this was

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[97] M.J. Rodriguez-Salgado, 'Suárez de Figueroa [*née* Dormer], Jane, duchess of Feria in the Spanish nobility', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2006); Merton, 'The Women Who Served', pp. 254–58; H. Clifford, *The Life of Jane Dormer, Countess of Feria*, transc. E.E. Estcourt, ed. J. Stevenson (London, 1887), pp. 63–70.

[98] Crumme, 'Jane Dormer's Recipe for Politics', pp. 58–59, 71.

[99] McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, pp. 6–9, 69. Mertes has also argued that the household was a place of 'strong personal identification' with the householder and that servants felt a sense of shared identity and loyalty to their employer, in addition to a sense of community in the house. Mertes, *The English Noble Household*, pp. 1, 59–62, 124, 139, 147–48, 165–67, 175–77.

'when you [Anne] were one of her graces mayds'. She hoped that Anne would feel loyalty towards a fellow staff member, as well as to Katherine's daughter.[100] In addition to the servants feeling a common identity with each other and with Mary, Mary also felt obligations towards them; this loyalty led Mary to employ former servants of her late mother and of her aunt Mary, the French queen.[101] In transferring between royal households, these men and women would have identified as royal servants. After Katherine of Aragon's death, her attendant Bess Harvey sought to join Mary Tudor's household, while another woman, Bess Darrell, claimed that 'she saw no hope in the lady Mary', and hoped to continue instead in royal service with Queen Jane Seymour.[102] Mary also reached across royal households in the 1540s by sharing servants with Katherine Parr, employing her brother's apothecary, and exchanging New Year's gifts with her siblings' lady mistresses.[103] McIntosh has noted that Mary regarded her own servants as 'part of her persona', or as extensions of herself, such as in thanking others for their good treatment of her staff as 'done to my self'.[104] Later in 1551, Mary claimed that the council's promise for her to hear Mass covered her chaplains, and likewise any wrongdoing on their part was to be turned to her. As shown in the next chapter, she protected her chaplains by refusing to hand them over to the sheriff of Essex.[105] Although their loyalty to Mary could be dangerous when she was in opposition to the crown, sometimes her servants actively encouraged this opposition, such as in backing up her defence of her status as princess in 1533. Her governess Lady Salisbury refused to hand over Mary's jewels and plate, and offered to pay for additional

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[100] TNA SP10/1, fo. 122r.
[101] *L&P* I, ii, 2656.1 (6), pp. 1161–62; IV, i, 1577, p. 711; VI, 1199, p. 498; 1542, p. 622; 1543, p. 623.
[102] *L&P* X, 1134, pp. 475–76.
[103] *PPE*, pp. 51, 53–54, 65, 78, 101. Mary Kempe, Mrs Finch, was one of Mary's women then awarded with an annuity for serving Katherine in 1547, before returning to Mary's queenly household. TNA E179/69/47–48; PROB11/40/32; *CPR Edward VI*, I, p. 208; *CPR Mary*, IV, pp. 163–64; Merton, 'The Women Who Served', pp. 254–58. A Mrs Barbara was probably preferred by Mary to Katherine Parr's service, as she was given a parting gift of money from Mary in 1543 on being 'swoorne to the quenes woman'. *PPE*, p. 123. Royal fool Jane seems to have transferred to Mary's house for a time before returning to the queen's service, suggesting that Mary took in Jane in the absence of a queen consort. *PPE*, pp. 111, 113–14, 116, 119, 123, 129, 130–31, 150, 159–60; *L&P* XIX, ii, 688, p. 406.
[104] McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, pp. 77, 79; BL Cotton MS Otho C/X, fos 266v, 269r; T. Hearne (ed.), *Sylloge Epistolarum, a Variis Angliæ Principibus Scriptarum* (Oxford, 1716), pp. 123, 134–35.
[105] *CSPS* X, p. 288; *TAMO* (1563), book 4, pp. 948–49.

servants when Mary was moved into the joint household with her sister Elizabeth. The imperial ambassador reported that Henry VIII intended to dissolve Mary's household because 'her people ... put notions into her head, and stop her from obeying him'. Furthermore, their service paid off when Mary's fortunes rose, most notably when she became queen and her princely household translated into the royal household.[106]

Several of Mary Tudor's servants left wills which show their strong sense of connection to their fellow servants. Some testators identified themselves by their membership to her household and service. Her lady Margaret Pennington, Mrs Cooke, bequeathed one angel each to thirteen women in Mary's household, 'my fellowes in s*er*vice', in her 1551 will. She also named Mary's comptroller Rochester as one of her executors.[107] Mary Kempe, Mrs Finch, ordered mourning rings to be distributed to ten men and fifteen women at court, many of whom had been in the queen's household before her accession.[108] Mary's chamberer Cecily Barnes was also remembered in the wills of fellow servants Mary Scrope, Mrs Kingston, in 1546, Margaret Pennington in 1551, and Eleanor Browne, Lady Kempe, in 1558.[109] In 1557, comptroller Robert Rochester left a gold ring to each of her women 'myne olde fellowes w*hich* served her grace before she came to this estate and being yet attending in her maiesties s*er*vice'.[110] Another will hints at comparable good ties in another household. In 1551, Katherine Willoughby's keeper of Grimsthorpe, John Hastings, left a ring to her servant and former nurse Margaret Blackborne.[111] Bequests to fellow servants show a shared identity and suggest a cohesive working environment where it was possible to forge friendly ties.

Similar good ties are seen in Anne Stanhope's house. Steward Thynne seems to have developed a reciprocal friendship with Somerset's secretary of state,

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[106] *L&P* VI, 849, 1009, 1041, 1139, 1392, 1528, pp. 375, 432, 442, 477, 556, 617–18; *Vita Mariae*, p. 295, nn.9–10; Whitelock and MacCulloch, 'Princess Mary's Household', pp. 286–87.
[107] TNA PROB11/35/123.
[108] TNA PROB11/40/32, pr. 'Mary Fynche', transc. Duncan.
[109] TNA PROB11/32/320; PROB11/35/123; PROB11/40/32; PROB11/43/638.
[110] TNA PROB11/42A/105.
[111] TNA PROB11/37/169.

Thomas Smith, who joined the Seymour household around 1547, although being officially in the duke's service at court. Each would ask the other to pass on requests to Somerset. The friendship continued after their time in service together, as they exchanged gifts and letters, and Smith was godfather to Thynne's son John in the mid- or late 1550s. Thynne relied on 'yo*ur* old Freende' Smith to prefer his suits to the queen.[112] A common identity was also fostered in the Somerset household when servants were married to each other. Maddern has shown that there were some marriages amongst early modern servants, noting that they challenged the stability of a household based on one married couple, and that householders sought to control their servants' relationships, including by insisting on regularising them through marriage. She considered employers' anxieties over their own authority when their female staff were beholden to both husbands and householders.[113] However, the Somersets appear to have accepted several marriages between their servants, retaining both husbands and wives after they were married, suggesting some favour towards them. Anne's two senior gentlewomen both married fellow Seymour servants: Winifred Holt to secretary Thomas Fisher by 1547, and Barbara Delaroche to tutor John Crane by 1546.[114] With Barbara having hidden the jewels and money at Syon in October 1551 at the duke's downfall, the Cranes were sent to the Tower as Somerset connections. John testified to the council that he had been used as a go-between for Somerset, Anne, and her brother Sir Michael Stanhope, suggesting that he was a trusted staff member to be involved in their political discussions. Barbara was not released from the Tower until June 1552, and John later, although the council returned his goods to him.[115]

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[112] Jackson, 'Longleat Papers', pp. 260–68.
[113] Maddern, 'In myn own house', pp. 45–50, 54–56.
[114] Longleat Seymour MS X, fo. 167; XIX, fo. 34r; XX, fos 4r, 5r; *HMC Bath*, IV, pp. 121–22; S.M. Thorpe, 'Fisher, Thomas (1515/16–77), of Warwick.', in S.T. Bindoff (ed.), *HoP*; TNA SP10/4, fo. 69r. John Crane was described by Denisot as the Seymour daughters' former tutor. A. Seymour et al., *Annae, Margaritae, Ianae, sororum virginum, heroidum Anglarum, in mortem Diuae Margaritae Valesiae, Nauarrorum Reginae, Hecatodistichon*, ed. N. Denisot (Paris, 1550). The Cranes may have been related to the Edward Crane who dedicated his 1570 translation of Bodonius to Anne, his 'singuler good Lady and mystres'. S. Bodonius, *The Fortresse of Fayth defended both by the Scripture, and doctors,* trans. E. Crane (London, 1570) STC 3195, sigs A2r, A4v.
[115] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, II, p. 57; *CSPD Edward VI*, 567, p. 211; *APC* IV, 66, p. 90.

Positive and negative relationships

Not all relationships between these noblewomen and their servants were very friendly or affectionate. Many were more akin to working relationships, which were nonetheless strong with some goodwill. However, existing scholarship has emphasised that unequal relations and living in close quarters could exacerbate clashes in the household. Herzog has claimed that conflict was an everyday reality in the household, as hierarchical structures, good practice, and good principles of service did not always fit together.[116] A comparison of Mary Tudor and Anne Stanhope shows that both women acted with authority, which did not necessarily alienate their staff; it was only when they transgressed their reciprocal obligations of trust and reward that relationships with their staff soured. Their personalities differed, affecting their personal ties with household members, as Mary seems to have inspired loyalty and respect or love in her household, while Anne was more emotionally detached. Although long viewed as overbearingly abrasive, Anne does not appear to have been as harsh as some sources have portrayed her, nor did it considerably damage her ties with her staff.[117]

Mary Tudor was capable of asserting her authority when necessary. As shown, three of her officers were charged by the privy council with enforcing a ban of the Latin Mass in her house in August 1551, but Mary was 'marvelously offended with theim' for what she considered a lack of loyalty, 'utterly forbydding them' to command her chaplains on pain of dismissal. The men were unwilling to push her further, instead accepting a lambasting from the council and imprisonment.[118] Three privy councillors then visited her, and Mary tartly commented that 'it was not the wysest counsell to appoint her servantes to comptrolle her in her owne howse'. Not only did she expect to

[116] Herzog, *Household Politics*, pp. 152, 173–76, 182–83, 192–93; Weil, *Service and Dependency*, pp. 75–76; Gowing, 'The Haunting of Susan Lay', pp. 187–89; Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, pp. 143–44, 155; Richardson, *Household Servants*, p. 152.
[117] Nichols, 'Anne Duchess of Somerset', p. 372; James, 'Reputation and Appropriation'; Warnicke, *Wicked Women*, pp. 91–92, 96–97, 181–82; Warnicke, 'Inventing the Wicked Women', pp. 11–30.
[118] *APC* III, 281, 285, 290, 426, pp. 333, 337, 352, 508; IV, 18, p. 20; BL Harley MS 6986, fo. 25; Wood (ed.), *Letters*, III, 98, pp. 216–17.

control the actions of her staff, but she also believed that this control trumped the authority of the council. She further asserted herself by declining the services of a replacement comptroller, while Rochester was held by the council, as 'she had yeres sufficyent' to 'appointe her owne officers', and instead preferred to 'take thaccoumpt myself of my expenses'.[119]

Despite this authoritarian side, Mary forged strong ties with her servants and won their loyalty through her interactions, rewards, and gifts.[120] Although possessing a regal bearing from a young age, she took a personal interest in her household staff. She gave them rewards at New Year and Easter and on their marriages, and also seems to have provided them with a buck to eat every year. She participated in the household's culture of recreation by playing valentines and by gambling and betting with her servants.[121] Before her accession, Mary gifted a manuscript book to one of her ladies, inscribed with a heartfelt message advising her to cultivate virtues instead of riches. Her 'lovying mystres' hoped that her attendant would 'for my sake, remembre thys'.[122] Mary was also godmother to several of her servants' offspring; around a third of her forty known godchildren in the period from 1536 to 1544 were the children of her servants and tenants, including laundress Beatrice ap Rice, former nurse Mary Brooke, servants Richard and Mary Tomyowe, auditor Mr Overton, and apothecary John de Sodo.[123] As shown in the next chapter, her household members actively supported her claim to the throne in 1553, and Mary retained them while queen, resulting in their promotions to service in the royal court.[124]

Mary also enjoyed ongoing relations with her former governesses, Ladies Shelton, Kingston, and Baynton, despite the fact that she had not chosen them, as they were appointed by the king. Weikel has suggested that Mary lacked 'trusted family members' and so turned to her household for these

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[119] *APC* III, 290, pp. 350–51.
[120] Richards, *Mary Tudor*, pp. 236–38.
[121] *PPE*, pp. 5, 8–9, 21, 25, 37, 52–53, 55, 59, 66, 77, 84, 88, 126; Edwards, *Mary I*, p. 16; Richards, *Mary Tudor*, p. 104; *CSP Venice*, VI, ii, 884, pp. 1054–55; McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, p. 79.
[122] Bodleian MS Auct. D. inf. 2.13, fo. 198v, pr. Schutte, *Mary I and the Art of Book Dedications*, p. 132.
[123] *PPE*, pp. 4, 8, 19, 26, 36, 41, 44, 45, 78–79, 109, 111–12, 127, 137; BL Royal MS 17/B/XXVIII, fo. 116v, pr. *PPE*, p. 184.
[124] Weikel, 'Mary I', in *ODNB*.

relationships.[125] Anne Boleyn had placed her aunt and uncle, Lady Anne and Sir John Shelton, to head Mary and Elizabeth's joint household in 1533, in order to secure Mary's recognition of Anne's queenship. However, Lady Shelton developed respect for Mary and was not harsh towards her. When she was replaced as governess, her daughter remained in the household, and Mary continued to exchange New Year's gifts with her former governess. Mary also may have stood godmother to a Shelton grandchild in 1537, and Lady Shelton's eldest son would later join Mary's side at Kenninghall in July 1553.[126] Her next governess, Mary Scrope, Lady Kingston, had previously served Katherine of Aragon and had visited Mary before she joined her household by October 1537. She, too, continued to exchange gifts with Mary after she was replaced by Sir Edward and Isabel Baynton in 1539. They also did not last long, but Lady Baynton was still sending New Year's presents to Mary by 1543.[127]

Anne Stanhope likewise exercised her authority over her servants, creating some discontent. She reprimanded staff who did not fully uphold her household's status, which could create clashes. Her reputation as a haughty, arrogant, and overbearing woman has been largely re-evaluated by Warnicke, suggesting that Anne probably did not create disgruntled servants and friends wherever she went.[128] Furthermore, as noted above, conflict was not unusual in the household.[129] Instead, it seems that a breakdown in the reciprocity of their relationship was a larger issue. As shown, Thomas Fisher lost respect for Anne and her husband after he perceived their actions to constitute a failure in their obligations towards him and his wife. Although firm, Anne seems to have been viewed largely as fair and tolerable by her staff, and she developed lengthy working relationships with some of them.

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[125] *Ibid*.
[126] *L&P* addenda, I, ii, 1294, p. 443; *PPE*, pp. 7, 42, 52, 54, 82, 97; J.S. Block, 'Shelton Family', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2006).
[127] Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, p. 216; S. Lehmberg, 'Kingston, Sir William', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2015); *L&P* VI, 1540, p. 621; X, 968, p. 402; XII, ii, 911, 1060, pp. 318, 372; *PPE*, pp. 31, 46, 91, 96, 107.
[128] Warnicke, *Wicked Women of Tudor England*, pp. 91–92, 96–97, 181–82. See further details in the Introduction, p. 40, n.28.
[129] Herzog, *Household Politics*, pp. 152, 173–74, 176, 182–83, 192–93.

Anne was regarded as distant and did not accept poor standards, knowing that her staff would represent herself. In April 1539, Katherine Basset informed her mother that Anne was not very familiar with her female attendants and that she would prefer to remain in the Countess of Rutland's household instead. Katherine claimed that, if placed with Anne, she 'should be taken but as her woman; for my Lady Rutland doth not so take her'. Indeed, Lady Rutland claimed to treat Katherine as a daughter.[130] Anne also chastised her staff when necessary, taking offence at Mary Hill, Mrs Cheke, for visiting Thomas Seymour in late 1548; early the following year, John Cheke wrote for Anne's forgiveness for his young wife. However, this does not seem to have hurt their relationship, as Cheke also stated his assurance of Anne's support for him during Seymour's fall.[131] Anne took Elizabeth Tudor's governess Katherine Champernowne, Mrs Ashley, to task around this time, rebuking her for allowing her charge to go on the Thames at night.[132]

However, as shown in this chapter, Anne did not suffer from negative relationships with most of her servants. She offered patronage to Richard Fulmerston and received book dedications from several members of the Somerset household. Several officers and other staff helped her to move household goods into their own homes for safekeeping during the turmoil of October 1549.[133] Around mid-1549, Thomas Smith wrote to Anne in defence of his reputation, against common accusations of financial and personal misconduct. Smith was keen to lay the whole thing before Anne, 'your grace so to be judge'. Warnicke has emphasised that it was not Anne who made these complaints or spread the rumours. Instead, Smith wrote to her believing that she would judge him impartially and combat the rumours against him. The previous year, when she had half-believed stories of his faults, Smith had set the record straight with her, and 'had lefte your grace my good ladie, of whose goodnes I coulde never despaire'. His letter shows his high regard of Anne's

[130] *LL* V, 1393, 1396a, pp. 448, 453.
[131] BL Lansd. MS 2, fo. 85r; *HMC Salisbury* XIII, p. 24; Warnicke, *Wicked Women*, pp. 92–93.
[132] *Collection of State Papers*, 106, p. 100.
[133] With her husband away at Windsor, Anne was probably the one to oversee the removals. TNA SP10/9, fo. 100r; *CSPD Edward VI*, 423, pp. 155–56.

good opinion, and his assurance in ‘my good Ladie and Mistres’ to protect and defend him against ‘whisperers and tale-tellers’.[134]

Conclusion

The elite women studied in this chapter and their staff created and enjoyed strong and positive relationships based on mutual obligations. This was good for the household, increasing its cohesion for smooth running. Although many of the ties were not necessarily affectionate, they did not need to be emotionally intimate to be good working relationships. These women followed obligations to care for their staff, physically, spiritually, and financially, and to offer rewards and patronage. Servants held expectations that their mistresses would fulfil their duties, and they enjoyed reciprocal relationships of mutual responsibilities, whereby, in return for care and pay, staff offered their good service, including attendance and responsible work. The ensuing feelings of loyalty and trust produced cohesive personal relationships, which could lead to long tenures of service by senior servants and their families, sometimes to more than one generation of employers. Household officers were entrusted with both authority and responsibility in the house. The examples of Robert Rochester and John Thynne illustrate the reliance of Mary Tudor and Anne Stanhope, respectively, on their officers, continuing to depend on their knowledge and advice even after they left the household. Similar themes of trust and responsibility appear in the roles of female attendants. Sometimes the mistress–servant ties studied here were emotionally close and affectionate, leading to marriages with senior staff or friendships with female attendants, but not all were so intimate. Nonetheless, they were largely good-natured and strong working relationships. The household, and the women here who led their houses, benefited from such cohesion. A shared identity and friendships amongst servants further fostered cohesion, creating a good working environment. Mary Tudor often appears beloved by her staff, suggesting that she employed a good personality and efforts to reward and care for her

[134] BL Harley MS 6989, fos 141–47, pr. J.G. Nichols, ‘Some Additions to the Biographies of Sir John Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith’, *Archaeologia*, 38 (1860), pp. 120–27; Warnicke, *Wicked Women*, pp. 95–96.

servants. This led her to command their loyalty and exercise her authority over them, such as when her officers put her religious dictates above those of the privy council. Anne Stanhope's experiences show the significance of women's responsibilities to abide by the rules of reciprocity, as when she did not, it led to clashes with her staff. However, their relationships were far from wholly negative, and Anne built up good ties with her officer Thynne.

Comparing all eight women here sheds light on the nature of their domestic relationships. Based on a hierarchy which accorded these women power over their staff, domestic relationships combined loyalty, responsibility, trust, and rewards, rather than necessarily emotional attachment, to foster positive ties. These benefited both staff and their employers, while each relied on the other and placed expectations on them, in a balance of mutual dependence. Mary Howard's women knew about her financial state, reflecting her trust in them, while Katherine Willoughby managed to benefit both her children and her staff by educating their offspring as companions to her own children. By incorporating the next generation into her household service from a young age, she helped to create long-standing ties. Financial rewards expressed both responsibility for care and a continuation of employment, with Margaret Douglas and Jane Guildford making provisions in their wills to provide for and reward their servants. Meanwhile, the marriages of Frances Brandon, Anne Stanhope, and Katherine Willoughby to their servants illustrate the closeness which could form between them, and the flexibility of ties of service to become ties of family or marriage. Similarly, extended kin could act as servants, while fellow staff could shift from colleagues to friends or spouses. This echoes the fluidity of the physical domestic space, which could also incorporate those not present in the household as ongoing household members. This chapter has underscored the mutual benefits and obligations of these eight women's relationships with their household servants. The next chapter shifts beyond the household to the locality, to consider how these women negotiated competing obligations to clients and retainers, and assess the limitations on their agency to maintain networks of local and religious support.

Chapter 2: Local and Religious Affinities

Introduction

Local and religious-based affinities were valuable to the women studied here in allowing them opportunities to further their interests and by functioning as a support base. The nature of the relationships between the women and members of their affinities was that of patrons and clients, especially by being reciprocal. Much like with servants, rewards were offered for service, and financial reward was especially important, as was career preferment or patronage. Patronage created retainers, who together formed a local affinity. The focus of this chapter is on the locality, a physical space which extended beyond, although closely connected to, the domestic.[1] The local affinity could extend beyond the area proximate to their main country house, as these women moved between different houses, and sometimes even overseas. This chapter also examines religious patronage in both household and local spaces, where clergy were supported and religious ideas were promoted.[2]

This chapter articulates the significance of personal connections within the locality, showing that they were a resource which could be mobilised for support, assistance, or loyalty, but that first these ties needed to be built up as active ties. These patronage-based local connections were not always positive, as clashes could happen when women lost control of their retainers. They could also face clashes between multiple obligations, and this chapter demonstrates the need to balance their different loyalties such as religion, employment, and kinship, while suggesting that the eight women studied here gave primacy to their locality over their faith. Their networks of connections existed across religious divides, underscoring the importance of patronage and shared locality. Nonetheless, these women's religious agendas were still substantial. They used their estate resources and local affinities to display their noble or royal statuses, as well as their religious identities. Although existing scholarship has

[1] Harris calls this space the 'neighborhood'. Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, p. 175.
[2] As discussed in the Literature Review, p. 26, n.58, elite women could form local affinities of retainers, using financial rewards from their houses and estates. They could also exert religious influence in the locality through their patronage of clergy.

emphasised the household as not only a space of elite female religious agency, but also a space of privacy, this chapter sheds light on how these women used their households for public displays.[3] This self-fashioning stretched beyond the house to the estates and locality, showing the overlap in the domestic and local spheres, where both the household and estates were resources which these women, with husbands or independently, owned and led. This financial power was crucial, as Mary Tudor and Katherine Willoughby emerge as women who successfully built up large and supportive local affinities, enabled by their independent ownership of large estates. Other women considered here were restricted by their dependence on their husbands or lack of their own property.

The first section of this chapter argues that ties to the estate officials, tenants, and retainers based on these women's landholdings were based on reciprocity, where both the retainers and the women worked to build up goodwill through traditional means of gift-giving, rewards, and hospitality. The trust placed on administrators by Anne Stanhope and Katherine Willoughby gave these men the potential to lay claim to these lands, in examples where negative relationships ensued. Mary Tudor and her tenants enjoyed goodwill towards each other, with Mary acting as a visible and charitable landowner, while her tenants sent her customary gifts of food. This reciprocity is also marked in Katherine Willoughby's Lincolnshire affinity. The next section examines retainers based on kinship or foreign ties, arguing that distant kin were nonetheless connected to the house and estates as clients. Katherine Willoughby's pre-existing ties to European reformers and her reputation for evangelical patronage allowed her to join a network of English exiles and European Protestants while in exile. This network was crucial as a support base, protecting and housing Katherine and her family. The third section claims that gentry neighbours were also local clients, whose relationships were strengthened by land appointments and methods of sociability like gifting and visiting. These ties were marked primarily by their shared locality, which appears to have trumped religious sympathies. Their higher standing made

[3] Culling, 'Tudor Royal Household', pp. 22–24, 93–94, 174, 179–81; Warnicke, 'Private and Public', pp. 136–40; Rowlands, 'Recusant Women'. Canavan and Smith have examined how early modern women could use their embroidery for display in the household to encourage religious contemplation and transformation. Canavan and Smith, 'The needle may convert more than the pen', pp. 116–21.

gentry clients powerful supporters, and Mary Tudor's mobilisation of her East Anglian neighbours in 1553 greatly contributed to her victory in the succession crisis.

The next section argues that patronage both of religious ideas and men was important in forming wider networks of connections amongst women and religious figures. Favouring these networks, not just the individual clients within them, was another interest or obligation for these women. Clients were supported by presentations to benefices, employment, and hospitality. By studying religious patronage, this section also demonstrates the overlap of domestic, local, scholarly, and court spaces, especially where clients were supported with resources from both the household and locality. The final section then argues that the household was not always a space for religious privacy and protection, but often one of public display. Margaret Douglas, Katherine Willoughby, and Mary Tudor used their houses and local affinities to proclaim their religious tastes, showing their agency over these spaces, as well as the role of these spaces as status markers. Mary Tudor's performance of Henrician observances against the Edwardian regime's evangelicalism was a public statement of her beliefs and her opposition to the new regime's reforms. At court, Katherine Parr's evangelical influence on many of her women's conversions to Protestantism is emphasised. Their religious influence also worked two ways, as her women's ideas encouraged Katherine to hold evangelical activities or practices, which promoted the evangelical thoughts that gradually took hold in both Katherine and her ladies.

Locality

Estate affinities

Connections with estate administrators, tenants, and retainers were based on these women's landholdings. They are marked by reciprocity and the efforts of both sides to build up active ties of goodwill and loyalty, although not all relationships were positive. Estate officials, being in positions of trust and with the opportunity to interfere in management and ownership of lands, could seize additional power. These local affinities were centred on specific counties,

where the women's estates and main houses were located: Mary Tudor and Mary Howard in East Anglia, Katherine Willoughby in Lincolnshire, Anne Stanhope in Wiltshire and Middlesex, Katherine Parr in London and Middlesex, Frances Brandon in Leicestershire, Jane Guildford in Warwickshire, and Margaret Douglas in Yorkshire. This section shows how Katherine Willoughby and Anne Stanhope formed ties with their estate officials, some marked by loyalty, trust, sociability, and rewards. Not all were positive, as both women ended up in a court case against an administrator who claimed ownership over their land. This suggests that the high levels of trust and responsibility in their positions gave estate officials the capacity to do this. These women depended on these men to do their jobs, and could face negative consequences if they did not.

Katherine Willoughby formed strong and useful ties with her estate officials, which she then drew on to maintain her lands while in exile. As a widowed heiress from 1545, she controlled appointments to her lands, and used these to reward her servants for their service and secure their loyalty. She made several appointments in 1546, the year after Suffolk's death, including park keeper, bailiffs, and councillors, in addition to leases of a manor and pasture to servants. These probably reflect her assumption of control and efforts to place her favourites into positions of trust.[4] Her 'trustie and wellblouyd s*er*uant' Archibald Bernard was made keeper of Erebsy park and manor 'in consideracion of the trewe dylygence and faythfull s*er*uvyce that he haith to hus done and that herafter duryng his natural lyffe he entendith to do', showing an assumption of his continued loyalty. Barnard was also leased land in late 1546, and was probably the Archibald still in service in the 1560s who had Katherine and Peregrine stand godparents to his child.[5] Likewise, William Lions was granted the keepership of Toynton park and bailiwick of the manor in reward for his 'good and ffaythfull s*er*uys'.[6] Katherine also brought in her friend William Cecil by making him steward of her Gosberton and Toft manors, and he was seen to serve her well.[7] She then mobilised her

[4] LAO 3-ANC/8/1/3, pp. 37–38, 43–48, 52–54, 87–88, 95–96, 103.
[5] LAO 3-ANC/8/1/3, pp. 27–28, 46–48; 1-ANC/7/A/2, fos 58v, 109v.
[6] LAO 3-ANC/8/1/3, pp. 95–96.
[7] Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre 9/29/84; TNA SP10/11, fo. 1r; SP10/13, fo. 30r.

Lincolnshire affinity of administrators to continue their oversight of her lands and, vitally, collection of her revenues, when she went into religious exile in 1555. She and her husband seem to have been making plans by March 1554, and Bertie went ahead to mainland Europe in June, meaning that Katherine made many arrangements before following him in January 1555.[8] Further officials were appointed to the estates and pensions were granted to servants in 1554, buying their future good service. Servant David Bennett was made bailiff and park keeper of Grimsthorpe, again both for his good service done and intending to do. Cuthbert Brereton, probably a relation of the Berties' advisor and 'very ffrend' John Brereton, was named the lawyer with the authority to look after all of their lawsuits.[9] Katherine also relied on pre-existing contacts by leasing her Lincolnshire lands to Bertie's parents and his distant relation called Walter Herenden. Herenden had been granted a pension of thirty pounds from Katherine's lands several years earlier. In 1554, he was appointed her general attorney, and was granted Katherine's lands in East Anglia in 'secret truste' that he would use the revenues 'to the vse and behouf' of Richard and Katherine.[10] This trust was ultimately misplaced, as the Berties grew irritated at his handling, and in 1557, they revoked his power of attorney. He was replaced with three long-standing retainers, 'ou*r* welbeloued ffrendes': advisors Walter Bowland and John Brereton, and household officer Edmund Hall.[11] Later, on their return to England, Herenden refused to surrender Katherine's East Anglian lands, resulting in a prolonged court case. However, while in exile, Katherine's arrangements ensured that she initially received money from her lands, and her council and officers, led by lawyer Cuthbert Brereton, successfully challenged Lord Willoughby of Parnham's claims to some of her manors in parliament.[12] By placing responsibilities in the hands of trusted administrators, Katherine rewarded their efforts and secured their future

[8] LAO 2-ANC/3/C/6; *TAMO* (1570), book 12, p. 2324.
[9] LAO 3-ANC/8/1/3, pp. 57–58, 66–69, 77–80, 85–86, 93–95.
[10] LAO 2-ANC/1/43/5; 3-ANC/8/1/3, pp. 24–25, 76–77; TNA C78/17/7.
[11] LAO 2-ANC/14/3r; 3-ANC/8/1/3, p. 14.
[12] LAO 3-ANC/8/1/3, p. 68; A. Davidson, 'Willoughby, Sir William (c.1515–70), of Minting, Lincs. and Parham, Suff.', in S.T. Bindoff (ed.), *HoP*; Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*, pp. 109–10.

loyalty, which helped to ensure the smooth running of her estates when she was abroad.

Anne Stanhope enjoyed a good working relationship with the Seymour family's receiver-general John Berwick, but not with his successor, Gabriel Pleydell; like Katherine Willoughby, Anne faced court cases against an errant administrator. Berwick was a Wiltshire local employed by the Seymours by 1535.[13] When remaining in London to deal with business in 1544 when Hertford was in Scotland, Berwick considered it his duty to report that 'My Lady, my Lord Beauchamp, my Lady your mother and the rest are well' in his letters to the earl. He and Anne also discussed business matters and patronage dealings together, and he took her advice.[14] Anne stood godmother to his and his wife Dorothy's child in August 1539, and Berwick sometimes dined with the family.[15] He was amongst those trusted to seize the 'papers and valuables' of Sir William Sharington in early 1549, in which Anne had a large hand. Berwick then escaped arrest later that year when Somerset fell; Baker has suggested that this was because his service to the duke was administrative rather than political. He continued to administer Somerset's lands until they were seized by attainder in April 1552. But when Anne recovered these lands under Mary I, she chose to employ another Wiltshire man, Gabriel Pleydell, as receiver-general. She also replaced Berwick as chief ranger of Savernake forest with Pleydell in 1554.[16] Anne used her influence to secure Pleydell's seat in parliament the following year, and he enjoyed the political patronage of her former steward John Thynne. Although Berwick, Pleydell, and Thynne were together accused of expelling a Somerset tenant from East Grafton in 1553, when Pleydell claimed that he was working for Anne's interests and under her orders, Pleydell and Berwick soon became embroiled in court cases over the Savernake rangership. Pleydell's relationship with Anne also soured, as by 1563 they were in conflict over her Wiltshire manor of Monkton Farleigh, or Chippenham and Monkton. Pleydell had secured a lease of some of the land, but then forged deeds to claim more of the manor, and started to lease out some

[13] T.F.T. Baker, 'Berwick, John (by 1508–72), of Wilcot, Wilts.', in S.T. Bindoff (ed.), *HoP*.
[14] *HMC Bath*, IV, pp. 90–92, 96–97, 100–03.
[15] Longleat Seymour MS XV; MS XVII, fo. 55v; MS XVIII; TNA PROB11/55/258.
[16] Baker, 'Berwick, John', *HoP*.

tenements. The case went to Chancery, which confirmed Anne's right to the manor, excepting Pleydell's smaller original lease, in 1564.[17] Anne had relied on Pleydell's administrative skills, but in doing so had granted him the power to challenge her landownership. These examples illustrate the responsibility and trust placed onto senior officials like receivers-general, but also how this trust could be misplaced. When working relationships with administrators broke down, they could have a larger impact on landholdings.

Mary Tudor worked to gain goodwill from her tenants and local neighbours, who demonstrated their loyalty to her. Their relationships were reciprocal, with Mary giving attention and charity, and her tenants offering foods and loyalty. Mary made the effort to travel around her estates and visit most of her manors, to acquaint herself with her lands and cultivate her tenants, planning her first trip in April 1547 before she even took formal possession of the lands. McIntosh has argued that her visibility ensured that Mary's affinity knew her and felt more bound to her than to an absentee landlord. A similar tour in 1548 saw Mary 'much welcomed and well received' by her people. Many of Mary's properties were former Howard possessions, and the tenants formerly linked together under the dukes of Norfolk, which aided the cohesiveness of her affinity.[18] Her local neighbours had long delivered numerous gifts of fresh produce, especially at Christmas and New Year. In January 1537 alone there were eleven gifts of eggs, meat, capons, and especially apples, mostly from women.[19] Katherine Willoughby and her family received similar gifts from tenants, especially at Christmas, while in exchange she stood godparent to their children: by 1562, she had three godchildren at Boston, and between 1561 and 1562 her husband and their two children were godparents on five occasions to neighbours or retainers.[20] Scholars have emphasised the importance of

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[17] T.F.T. Baker, 'Pleydell Gabriel (by 1519–90/91), of MidgeHall in Lydiard Tregoze, Wilts.', in S.T. Bindoff (ed.), *HoP*; M. Booth, 'Pleydell, Gabriel (by 1519–90/1), of Midgehall in Lydiard Tregoze, Wilts.', in P.W. Hasler (ed.), *HoP*.
[18] McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, pp. 135–36; *CSPS* IX, p. 298; Loades, *Mary Tudor*, pp. 139–41. Beer has also claimed that Mary also enjoyed loyalty from East Anglia because it had formerly been part of her mother's dower. However, it does not seem that Mary was granted in 1547 any of the manors that her mother had held, although in April 1553 she does seem to have been given Walsingham, while her mother had had Walsingham Magna and Parva in her jointure. Beer, 'A Queenly Affinity', pp. 441–45; *L&P* I, i, 94, pp. 48–50; *CPR Edward VI*, II, p. 22; V, pp. 176–77.
[19] *PPE*, pp. 10–15, 17, 20, 22, 36, 44–45.
[20] LAO 1-ANC/7/A/2, fos 51–66.

hospitality and food gifts in local politics and in the noble–retainer relationship.[21] As household mistresses, the women studied here were responsible for managing provisioning, feasting, and accommodation, and for contributing to charitable giving.[22] Mary Tudor gave alms in the areas where she stayed. Mother Annes and several orders of friars were favourites for receiving Mary's charity, suggesting that she felt a special obligation to these poor, who would have felt more bounden to her as a result of her continued generosity.[23] The visits, charity, and gifts exchanged between Mary and her local affinity would have resulted in their connections becoming active ties, instead of passive ones based solely on her land ownership. Good feeling towards Mary is then suggested by her treatment during the 1549 Kett's rebellion in Norfolk. The extent of damage to her lands was limited to part of the enclosure to her park being pulled down, while the rebels did not attack her house and indeed 'asserted that she was kept too poor for one of her rank'. Mary's own actions during the uprisings hint at favour shown to the rebels. She did nothing to quell them, and was accused by the privy council of sending servants to join the rebels, a claim which MacCulloch convincingly suggests was a means for Mary to 'test … the waters'.[24] As shown below, Mary's efforts to build goodwill on her lands were then essential in ensuring loyalty from her affinity in 1553.

Katherine Willoughby's affinity demonstrates the necessity of two-way relationships between Katherine and her retainers. Her affinity was based in Lincolnshire, with Katherine's lands in the East Lindsey and South Kesteven areas, which she held independently from 1545. Katherine was given licence to retain forty men in May 1546, probably a lesser continuation of her late husband's licence to retain one hundred men in his livery beside his household

[21] Heal, *Hospitality*, pp. 86–87; Heal, 'Food Gifts', pp. 45, 52; Thorstad, 'There and Back Again'; Ross, 'The Noble Household'. See further discussion in the Literature Review, p. 32, nn.87–89.
[22] C. de Pisan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, trans. S. Lawson (Harmondsworth, 1985), pp. 35, 53, 78, 84; James, *Women's Voices*, pp. 41–42, 46–49, 55–57.
[23] *PPE*, pp. 3, 11–12, 32, 40, 45, 58, 63–64, 99, 111.
[24] *CSPS* IX, p. 405; Richards, *Mary Tudor*, p. 95; MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors*, pp. 300–01. A journal probably authored by John Hales reported that 'yt was supposed that the Lady Marie and her counsell were pryvey to' this rebellion. 'A "Journal" of Matters of State', ed. S. Adams, I.W. Archer, and G.W. Bernard, in I.W. Archer et al. (eds), *Religion, Politics, and Society in Sixteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 58.

of May 1545.[25] She and her family provided money, acted as godparents, and worked as intermediaries for their tenants and neighbours, who in turn offered gifts of food, hospitality, and deference. This enabled her to attract retainers to her livery. In 1547, the Earl of Rutland's servant told his master that Katherine had 'the rule' in Lincolnshire, dominating the county.[26] She was relied upon as a local mediator. Katherine became involved in a dispute between the villages of Spalding and Market Deeping in 1550 over the ownership of a waste marsh and common. Spalding 'shewed [sued] vnto' Katherine, who took their side rather than acting as a neutral party. She forwarded the suit to Cecil, asking that the Protector establish a commission to enquire into the land ownership. She then mediated in a dispute between her Jersey gardener and his brother, again passing the suit onto Somerset via Cecil. Katherine was amenable to being used by her petitioners, and in 1552 defended her role as intermediary to Cecil when Northumberland claimed that she did 'youse my powr over you [Cecil]' too much.[27] Katherine Parr also took on this role of mediator, as seen when two of her tenants were in a disagreement over a lease in Essex. She sent a letter making a final decision, thus ending the dispute.[28]

Wider affinities

Not all retainers were based in the locality. Scholars view nobles' distant kin as akin to clients. They were offered financial support and employment, and usually provided services based on the noble household and estates.[29] Katherine Parr had previously relied on the employment and preferment of her kinswoman Katherine Neville, Lady Strickland, probably using their connection to secure a place in the Strickland household at Sizergh Castle after she was first widowed. The Stricklands then assisted Katherine in arranging her

[25] Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*, p. 36; TNA SP4/1, fo. 87, no. 96; *L&P* XX, i, 846 (92), p. 426.
[26] *HMC Rutland*, I, p. 32; A. Bryson, 'Edward VI's "Speciall Men": Crown and Locality in Mid Tudor England', *Historical Research*, 82/216 (2009), p. 232.
[27] TNA SP10/10, fo. 82r; SP10/14, fo. 71r.
[28] TNA E101/426/3, no. 13.
[29] Cressy, 'Kinship and Kin Interaction'; Hurwich, 'Lineage and Kin', pp. 39–40, 51–53; Warnicke, 'Family and Kinship Relations', pp. 33–34, 40–41; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 176–87, 192–200.

second marriage to John Latimer.[30] Later, as queen, Katherine used her extensive queenly jointure to favour her relations, arranging for her cousins Lady Matilda Lane and Maurice and Bridget Walshe to purchase the reversions of several manors, and leasing another manor to cousin Kenelm Throckmorton, while his kinsman John Throckmorton received the next vacant prebend at Exeter Cathedral by Katherine's preferment.[31] Other women's ties to distant relatives are seen by their employment in the household. As shown in the previous chapter, the Dorsets employed Hall and Dupont family members as officers, and the Hertfords had an Edward Seymour and a Thomas Stanhope in their service by 1545, while another relation, John Seymour, was their solicitor.[32] The Northumberlands employed Jane's kinsman Thomas Blount as comptroller, and a Dudley cousin, Thomas Dudley, remained in Jane's service before later joining her son Leicester's affinity.[33]

Being born into royalty gave wider opportunities for Mary Tudor and Margaret Douglas to enjoy links to Wales and Scotland, respectively, while exile on the European mainland led Katherine Willoughby to develop a support base of English and German Protestants. Mary Tudor's position as nominal Princess of Wales led her to develop a Welsh affinity after she was sent to head a viceregal household at Ludlow between 1525 and 1528. Although she never returned to Wales, Mary continued to enjoy connections there. It became a tradition for her to receive a leek from the yeomen of the king's guard on St David's Day, 1 March.[34] Her former French and music tutor Giles Duwes celebrated Mary's position as Princess of Wales in his 1533 French instruction book, despite her demotion following the annulment of her parents' marriage. Duwes wrote

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[30] Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. 5, pp. 189–91.
[31] *L&P* XVIII, i, 981 (88), p. 541; XX, i, 318, 1081 (4), pp. 144, 518; Shakespeare Birthplace Trust DR18/3/6/1.
[32] Thorpe, 'Dupport (Duppa), Thomas', *HoP*; Hofmann, 'Hall, Edmund', *HoP*; *CPR Philip and Mary*, I, p. 316; College of Arms Arundel MS 35, fo. 8v; TNA SP12/7, fos 50v, 92–95; PROB11/42B/688; Mary Grey, Will, pr. Rutton, 'Lady Mary Grey', p. 303; Longleat Seymour MS X, fo. 133r–v; MS XVI, fo. 49r; *HMC Bath*, IV, p. 125.
[33] P. Hyde, 'Blount, Thomas (d.1568), of Kidderminster, Worcs.', in S.T. Bindoff (ed.), *HoP*; M.K. Dale, 'Verney, Edmund (1528–58), of Pendley in Tring, Herts.', in *ibid*.; M.K. Dale, 'Verney, Francis (1531/34–59), of Salden in Mursley, Bucks. and London.', in *ibid*.; TNA LR2/118, pr. Loades, *John Dudley*, p. 305; Loades, *John Dudley*, pp. 274–75; Adams, *Household Accounts*, p. 128, n.252.
[34] McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, p. 31; *PPE*, pp. 19, 61.

dialogues set in her Welsh household.[35] She employed a Welshman, John Conwey, as yeoman of her chamber between at least 1536 to 1544, and gave him 15s 'when he went into his cuntry', Denbighshire, in 1543.[36] It was also a Welsh innkeeper in East Anglia, loyal to Mary, who informed her officer Jerningham of the ships docked nearby on the verge of mutiny in July 1553; in a great coup for Mary's cause, Jerningham won them over to her side, with their munitions.[37] Amongst her gentry retainers, Mary patronised Welshman Sir Rice Mansel after he married her gentlewoman Cecily Dabridgecourt in 1527. Mary preferred Sir Rice's suit to Cromwell in the early 1530s, claiming that 'for her [Cecily's] long and acceptable s*er*uice to me done I myche esteme and favu*our* [Rice]'. On her accession, Mary promoted Rice to chamberlain and chancellor for south Wales, while Cecily became one of her ladies.[38] Another Welshman, Sir Richard Morgan, joined Mary's affinity and in 1551 heard Mass in her London house, which earned him a spell in the Fleet. He joined Mary's forces at Kenninghall in 1553 and was rewarded with a seat on the privy council and the chief justiceship of the common pleas.[39] Mary also enjoyed ties with the imperial court through her relationship with Emperor Charles V, mostly through contact with his ambassadors, as will be discussed in Chapter 5.[40] Margaret Douglas's Scottish ties were with her Douglas kin. She remained in contact with her father Angus, who asked her to support several relatives in coming to England after their house at Dalkeith was destroyed. Margaret and her husband forwarded Angus's letter to Protector Somerset, with Lennox dryly noting that, since he and Margaret 'haue receyuid no suche benyffyte at nother of theyre handes', they felt little obligation to assist them, showing the

[35] S. Hamrick, '"His Wel Beloved Doughter Lady Mary": Representing Mary Tudor in 1534', *Renaissance Studies*, 31/4 (2017), pp. 499–501.
[36] *L&P* X, 1187 (2), p. 494; XVIII, i, 981 (103), p. 543; TNA C/1/969/38; C1/1176/56; *PPE*, p. 130.
[37] *Vita Mariae*, pp. 258–59.
[38] BL Cotton MS Vesp. F/III, fo. 42r; F.G. Cowley, 'Mansel, Sir Rice', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2007); Merton, 'The Women Who Served', pp. 254–58.
[39] *APC* III, 199, p. 239; J.H. Baker, 'Morgan, Sir Richard', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2008).
[40] *CSPS* V, i, 218, pp. 559–60; VI, ii, 94, p. 219; VIII, 2, 51, pp. 2–3, 103–04; IX, pp. 88, 123–24, 328, 344, 350–51, 360–61, 445, 450; X, pp. 5, 391, 570–73, 594; XI, pp. 9–10, 14–15.

necessity of reciprocity even with distant relations – kinship alone did not create an active connection.[41]

In exile between 1555 and 1559, Katherine Willoughby and her family drew on connections to European evangelicals and other English exiles for support; pre-existing ties became of extreme importance. Covington has shown that the English evangelical exile community was strong and self-sustaining, albeit fearful for itself, situating Katherine within a larger context of community.[42] After following Richard Bertie to the European mainland in early 1555, accompanied by her infant daughter and seven servants, Katherine's family initially settled in the free town of Wesel in the duchy of Cleves. The minister, François Perussel, already knew Katherine from several years before when he had been minister of the French Stranger Church in London.[43] When the Stranger community had petitioned the privy council for a building in London to use as their church in 1550, Katherine, Anthony Cooke, and John Cheke supported this petition, and the council granted them Austin Friars. This meant that Perussel was willing to assist the Berties in 1555, by securing them permission to settle in Wesel.[44] Katherine's connections to Englishmen on the mainland meant that the English ambassador to the Low Countries, Sir John Mason, sent warning in early 1556 that the Marian government planned to intercept the Berties. Miles Coverdale, chaplain to the English community at Wesel, went to the Elector Palatine on Katherine's behalf for protection. On his return to England in 1559, Katherine would offer Coverdale hospitality, and he became her household preacher and children's tutor.[45] Coverdale secured the Elector's promise of protection, and an offer of a castle from a local lord, Christopher Landschad von Steinach. He was motivated by Katherine's reputation, not just for piety but for active patronage of Protestants, especially foreign exiles. The Berties settled into his castle of Weinheim but forged a

[41] Ring, *So High a Blood*, pp. 21–23, 27; *APC* IV, 234, pp. 250–51; BL Royal MS 18/C/XXIV, fo. 330r; TNA SP50/4, no. 43 and I. Margaret also employed a Scotsman, John Elder, as tutor to her sons. M. Merriman, 'Elder, John', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2005).
[42] Covington, 'Heretic Hunting beyond the Seas', p. 407.
[43] *TAMO* (1570), book 12, p. 2324; A. Spicer, 'Perussel, Francois', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2004).
[44] A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford, 1986), p. 31; Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*, p. 101; *TAMO* (1570), book 12, p. 2325.
[45] *TAMO* (1570), book 12, p. 2325; D. Daniell, 'Coverdale, Miles', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2009); Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*, p. 110; *HMC Ancaster*, p. 459.

connection to Christopher which outlived their stay. He loaned them money at various times, probably amounting to £1000. After they left Weinheim, Christopher remained in touch with Katherine and later saw one of his grandchildren placed in her household.[46] The Berties left Weinheim for Lithuania in 1557, relying on another member of the London Strangers' Church, John à Lasco, and on fellow exile William Barlow, to mediate an offer of protection from King Sigismund II Augustus of Poland.[47]

Other exiles joined Katherine's service and affinity at Wesel and Weinheim, some remaining in her service after returning to England. Harkrider has claimed that Katherine's household attracted exiles, who in turn formed her display of power.[48] Her affinity at Weinheim also helped to repulse an agent from the Marian government in 1556. John Brett was commissioned to deliver letters of summons to nine high-status exiles in Europe, including the Berties, but the network of exiles meant that all addressees were forewarned and thus forearmed, and he failed to deliver any letters.[49] When he rode up to Weinheim in July 1556, he was pelted with stones by Bertie retainers, who then followed him into the town. They shouted to the townspeople that Brett and his servant were 'thevys and papistes commed into those partyes with purpose to cary awey the Duches'. A local official placed Brett under house arrest and referred the matter to the Elector Palatine to determine whether Brett had the right to deliver letters from the Queen of England overseas. The Berties refused to accept the letters, correctly fearing them to be legal summons. The Elector refused to allow Brett to deliver them, claiming that the Berties had 'submytted themselves to hym' and were under his protection. Their reliance on the support of their local ruler had ensured that the summons against them were not delivered, while their expanding entourage had physically repulsed Brett.[50] Harkrider has claimed that Brett's defeat by the Bertie entourage was

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[46] Lambeth Palace Library MS 2523, fo. 15r; LAO 3-ANC/8/1/3, p. 68; *HMC Ancaster*, pp. 1, 5.
[47] In Lithuania, they rented the manor of Kražiai (rendered by Katherine as 'Crossen') in Samogitia from the crown. *TAMO* (1570), book 12, p. 2325; D.W. Rodgers, 'À Lasco [Laski], John', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2004); *CSPF Elizabeth*, I, 379, p. 160.
[48] Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*, pp. 101–02, 107, 121.
[49] J. Brett, 'A Narrative of the Pursuit of English Refugees in Germany under Queen Mary', ed. I.S. Leadam, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 11 (1987), pp. 114–21, 129–31; Covington, 'Heretic Hunting', p. 419.
[50] Brett, 'Narrative', pp. 121–28.

representative of both Katherine's authority and the 'solidarity of her household'.[51] English exiles and European reformers alike had supported Katherine and her family during their exile, joining her affinity by means of pre-existing connections or shared religious ties. Their loyalty ensured that the Berties were able to enjoy accommodation and protection. Katherine's example highlights her mobility, and also the mobility of her affinity.

Gentry neighbours

Scholars have shown that gentry clients were often favoured using the noble estates, either with appointments to official positions or by grants of reversionary rights. The local gentry affinity was a potentially powerful resource which could also be mobilised for military aid.[52] Mary Tudor's position as a landed magnate saw her forge connections to a network of gentry neighbours in East Anglia from 1547, and also effectively rally them during the 1553 succession crisis. McIntosh has argued that Mary's success in 1553 reflected not just her abilities and those of her household officers, but the importance of her independent estate holdings.[53] Katherine Willoughby developed a comparable network in Lincolnshire, but never needed to mobilise it in the same way as Mary. Her relationships with gentry neighbours were marked by a combination of elite sociability and land appointments. For both women, gentry clients often shared their religious sympathies, but this was by no means exclusive. Their shared locality was weightier than religious views in these relationships.

Although she earlier enjoyed the support of the Pole-Courtenay families, their executions and imprisonment as potential claimants to the throne meant that Mary could not build her affinity around them.[54] Instead, her grant of lands centred on East Anglia in 1547 saw an affinity develop there. As noted, Mary made concerted efforts to tour her estates. She increased her household to around one hundred members, employing many locals, including men from

[51] Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*, p. 108.
[52] Beer, 'A Queenly Affinity', pp. 433–34, 441–42; McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, pp. 120–22.
[53] McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, pp. 164–77.
[54] Edwards, *Mary I*, pp. 67–68; Loades, *Mary Tudor*, p. 141.

minor gentry, as officers.[55] Her East Anglian officers included comptroller Robert Rochester and his cousin Edward Waldegrave, whose wife also seems to have served Mary. Henry Jerningham was probably from East Anglia, and his mother Mary Scrope, Lady Kingston, had previously been in Mary's service, as was his wife Frances Baynham. The three were later noted as recusants in Suffolk.[56] Henry's niece Anne Jerningham was married to Sir Thomas Cornwallis, of a Suffolk family, and joined Mary's queenly household.[57] Both Margaret Pennington, from Essex, and her stepgranddaughter Anne Cooke, served in Mary's household. Anne was an evangelical, showing that Mary's household was not exclusively conservative.[58] However, Mary invited gentry neighbours, including Serjeant Richard Morgan, Sir Anthony Browne, and Sir Clement Smith, to hear Latin Masses at her houses in London and Essex, which suggests that they favoured the old divine service.[59]

Her affinity supported Mary when she claimed the throne in 1553. Existing scholarship agrees on the importance of her affinity in July 1553, with McIntosh demonstrating how her household staff, tenants, and retainers were central in planning and organising her actions and mobilising as a military force to enforce her claim.[60] Mary fled to Kenninghall and then Framlingham on her estates upon hearing of Edward VI's death, and summoned her affinity with pre-drafted proclamations. Beer has suggested that, by choosing to call on her affinity, Mary had learnt from her mother's mistake in not mobilising on her affinity for military support when Henry VIII divorced Katherine.[61] On her

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[55] McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, pp. 132, 135–36; Loades, *Mary Tudor*, pp. 138–39, 142.
[56] Hughes, 'Rochester, Sir Robert', in *ODNB*; A. Weikel, 'Waldegrave, Sir Edward', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2008); TNA PROB11/35/123; *L&P*, XIV, ii, 595, p. 210; *PPE*, pp. 146, 166; *HMC Salisbury*, I, p. 165.
[57] Merton, 'The Women Who Served', pp. 254–58; *Vita Mariae*, p. 256.
[58] TNA PROB11/35/123; L. Magnusson, 'Bacon [*née* Cooke], Anne, Lady Bacon', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2004); Whitelock and MacCulloch, 'Princess Mary's Household', pp. 273–74.
[59] *APC* III, 199–200, p. 239; Edward VI, *Chronicle*, p. 56.
[60] R. Tittler and S.L. Battley, 'The Local Community and the Crown in 1553: The Accession of Mary Tudor Revisited', *Historical Research*, 57/136 (1984), pp. 131, 134–39; Whitelock and MacCulloch, 'Princess Mary's Household', pp. 268, 271–72, 277; Loades, *Mary Tudor*, pp. 137–43, 170; McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, p. 164.
[61] Ives, *Lady Jane Grey*, pp. 172, 175, 180; D. Hoak, 'The Succession Crisis of 1553 and Mary's Rise to Power', in E. Evenden and V. Westbrook (eds), *Catholic Renewal and Protestant Resistance in Marian England* (Farnham, 2015), pp. 38–39; *CSPS* XI, pp. 72–73;

journey to her houses, Mary stayed in her neighbours' homes overnight, which marked them as her supporters; the privy council burnt Huddlestone's house in retaliation for sheltering her. Her household officers acted as messengers and advisors, and called in obligations from tenant and gentry retainers to provide men, money, and arms for Mary.[62] Her agents secured the Earl of Sussex by kidnapping and detaining his son as a hostage for his father's cooperation; it was Huddlestone who initially came across Sussex's son. Cornwallis was pressured by Colby to proclaim Mary queen at Ipswich, and Lord Wentworth may also have been pressured by threats of Mary's military might so close to his own lands. Meanwhile, her servant Sir Edmund Peckham and Sir Edward Hastings led a second uprising in Northamptonshire, which forced Northumberland to split his forces.[63] Mobilised, her neighbours brought their forces to Mary to support her claim to the throne. The existing scholarship has emphasised the East Anglian nature of those who first came out to support Mary, although initial supporters were mainly Catholics, suggesting that pre-existing ties of personal or religious allegiance to Mary were crucial, but that she also enjoyed wider local support.[64]

Katherine Willoughby, while facing no succession crisis, enjoyed positive relations with Lincolnshire gentry, as each cultivated active ties with the other using gifts, hospitality, preferment, and sociability. Katherine invited 'the worshipfule of the shere', to hunt in her deer park at Grimsthorpe. No great huntress herself, she preferred to see the local worthies use her park, securing their goodwill.[65] Neighbours sent any number of gifts of fresh produce. George Metham of Hanby also dined with the Berties and played cards with them. He and his wife attended Katherine's funeral in 1580, and in his 1589 will,

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Loades, *John Dudley*, p. 258–59; Beer, 'A Queenly Affinity', pp. 444–45. Mary was probably aware of Edward's devise for the succession; the Venetian ambassador knew of its contents, while McIntosh has claimed that Mary had known since mid-April 1553, with a favourable land exchange with the crown being an attempt by the regime to buy her support. *CSP Venice*, XI, 934, p. 937; McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, pp. 176–77.

[62] McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, pp. 166–74; *Vita Mariae*, pp. 251, 262; Whitelock and MacCulloch, 'Princess Mary's Household', pp. 277–79. Mary rewarded her steward of Framlingham with an annuity that November, for his services in July. Suffolk Archives HD1538/225/18.

[63] *Vita Mariae*, pp. 251, 255–58, 260–61; McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, pp. 173–74.

[64] Richards, *Mary Tudor*, pp. 116, 118; Whitelock and MacCulloch, 'Princess Mary's Household', pp. 268–69, 277–79; Tittler and Battley, 'The Local Community'; McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, pp. 174–77.

[65] TNA SP10/14, fo. 103r.

Metham left his best ox to her son Peregrine, affirming that 'I haue alwaies founde the right honorable the lord willoughby Lo. of willughbyie and Earsby my singuler good lord and m*aste*r'.[66] The Skipwiths were also connected to Katherine; she was godmother to their child in 1562, and the previous year her husband had received a present from Lyon Skipwith. Sir William Skipwith carried the great banner at Katherine's funeral.[67] The 1560–62 Grimsthorpe accounts show that Katherine and her family moved around Lincolnshire and exchanged visits with various neighbours. In 1567, Sir Edward and Anne Dymock planned to stop at Katherine's house at Edenham after seeing a physician at Oxford.[68] Katherine was friendly with the Dymocks, and the couple's letters used a rhetoric of loyalty and service which reflected their position as her clients. The Dymocks were based at Scrivelsby, close to Spilsby, and were members of the county's religiously conservative but conformist gentry.[69] When Katherine sent Anne a gift in 1566, Anne thanked her, marvelling that it 'pleasethe the L katerene suffolke to exsteme poor annie dymocke so derly'. She promised that her own 'herte and servyce' were even greater. Sir Edward regarded himself as Katherine's client, signing himself 'your gracys to commawnde', and offering an advowson in his gift to her son Peregrine when the latter sought a benefice for a clergyman. Katherine promoted a match between Edward's cousin Mary and a son of Lord Willoughby of Parnham, which nonetheless did not occur, offering advice to Edward on Lord Willoughby's letters and being asked to persuade Lord Willoughby. The Dymocks were grateful for her help and supported the match; Edward considered himself obliged to 'stand w*ith* your grace to further it as your poore ffrende'.[70] This correspondence was deferential to Katherine, recognising her higher status, but it was also sociable, stretching across their religious differences.

[66] LAO 1-ANC/7/A/2, fos 51–66; 1-ANC/7/A/3; MON/27/3/1, pp. 312–13; Gunn, *Charles Brandon*, p. 212; LAO LCC WILLS/1589, fo. 31v.
[67] LAO 1-ANC/7/A/2, fos 57v, 65v; MON/27/3/1, pp. 312–13.
[68] LAO 1-ANC/7/A/2, fos 56v–57r, 65v; 2-ANC/14/7r.
[69] Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*, p. 125; A. Davidson, 'Dymoke, Sir Edward (by 1508–67), of Scrivelsby, Lincs.', in S.T. Bindoff (ed.), *HoP*.
[70] LAO 2-ANC/14/5r–8r.

Katherine used her land and appointments to favour men amongst the county elite. As noted, she rewarded her friend William Cecil with the stewardship of two manors, which brought him annual fees of four marks.[71] By appointing men she knew and trusted, Katherine's lands would fare better under their dedicated care than under that of strangers with no connection to their employer. Cecil then supported Katherine when she prepared for exile, seemingly purchasing some hangings when she held 'a great mart' at Grimsthorpe to raise cash by selling off household goods. The Spanish ambassador reported that Katherine had 'sold as much of her property as she could', which is confirmed by the sparseness of her main Lincolnshire houses in inventories made around 1556.[72] Her neighbours were the main candidates to buy up her property, and it seems that they willingly came and spent money. Katherine and Richard also borrowed money from her cousin Francis Guevara, who had previously been given a pension of £30 from her Spilsby manor in 1551.[73]

Both Katherine Willoughby's and Mary Tudor's ties with gentry clients affirm the value of shared locality, as each woman forged good links to their neighbours despite their religious differences. These relationships were instrumental and reciprocal, and gentry friends could offer service and hospitality whereas tenants were only in a position to give food and loyalty. Both women cultivated a gentry affinity using employment, gifts, and land appointments, and they enjoyed goodwill and support as a result. Goodwill for Mary Tudor can be seen in the turning out of gentry support for her claim to the throne in July 1553 in East Anglia, while Katherine Willoughby received a rhetoric of friendship and clientage from her neighbours, although she did not need to mobilise them in the same way. Their examples show their reliance on assistance from their neighbours; their local-based affinities were effective support bases, based on reciprocity and spanning across religious differences.

[71] Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre 9/29/84; TNA SP10/11, fo. 1r; SP10/13, fo. 30r.
[72] TNA SP11/4, fos 83v–84r; *CSPD Mary*, 738, p. 324; *CSPS*, XIII, 137, p. 133; LAO 2-ANC/2/24, Book 1, p. 18.
[73] LAO 3-ANC/8/1/3, pp. 51–52, 58.

Religious Influence

Local religious patronage

Religious patronage encompassed the scholarly, local, domestic, and court spheres. By studying the patronage of both clerical clients and religious ideas, this section reveals how these spaces interlink. Networks of support were very important, as illustrated by the multiple ties between these women and the religious figures they assisted, underpinned by individual patron–client relationships. Like the balancing of local and religious interests above, these women showed loyalty not only to those sharing their religious views, but to those with other common ties. Considerations of patronage and strategy were significant; not all religious patronage was performed out of piety. Furthermore, religious support reflected the extent of patronage power available to women at a given time, and they could dissimulate when vulnerable, or deliberately display their opposition from a position of strength. Katherine Willoughby, Anne Stanhope, Frances Brandon, Jane Guildford, Katherine Parr, and Mary Howard tended towards evangelicalism, and Mary Tudor and Margaret Douglas were religious conservatives. Crucially, with the exception of Katherine Parr, all of these women appear to have shared their religious beliefs with their husbands, which would have increased their scope to follow and promote their faith, although Mary Howard and Katherine Willoughby only converted to evangelicalism as widows.

Several means of patronising clergy were open to these women, including employment, presentations to advowsons, and preferment. Advowsons were a very accessible means of patronage available to elite women, both as part of a married couple and as a widow, as shown by so many of the women here being involved in presenting priests and ministers. The house and locality are linked, as chaplains were often favoured with presentations to advowsons, and religious clients offered houseroom or employment. Crucially, it was not just religious sympathies but local, domestic, or familial ties and obligations that led to patronage. Presentations to advowsons sometimes went against these women's religious sympathies, and were based on their duties towards their clients regardless of their own views.

Most noblewomen made presentations to advowsons, either in partnership with their husbands or independently as widows. That married women made presentations with their husbands suggests a potential limit on their selections, as they needed to negotiate their choice of priest or minister together. No presentation records can be found for Mary Howard, but the other seven women studied here made some seventy-three presentations, around half of which were by Katherine Willoughby, who exercised considerable evangelical patronage in Lincolnshire. It is often difficult to determine the religious bent of their chosen clergymen, but it seems that the Somersets, Dorsets, Northumberlands, and Katherine Willoughby favoured evangelicals, and the Lennoxes, Mary Tudor, and Katherine Parr favoured conservatives.[74] Roughly thirty-five, or almost half, of the recorded presentations were done independently as widows or while married to a former servant, which offered greater freedom in their choice of clergyman.[75] Grants of the right to the next presentation were also a useful resource, often given to clients and household servants as rewards.

At least half of Katherine Willoughby's presentees to advowsons were evangelicals. She especially favoured those who would be resident in their parishes to foster local reform. Many were married and several were also licensed preachers.[76] Some remained in their posts for considerable lengths of time; two notched up more than forty years each.[77] However, others resigned for promotions elsewhere, while Katherine's long life meant that she sometimes presented more than one client to the same advowson.[78] She is an

[74] *CCEd*, 29313, 25046, 27301, 58547, 64312, 66843, 66589, 74808, 92263, 92824, 93589, 97739, 99109, 103161, 103490, 104047, 119705, 119707, 121884, 122285, 142335, 144863, 176032, Location 22456; LAO Unpublished Catalogue of Presentation Deeds (PD), ser. 1, vol. 2, pp. 24, 36, 38 (LAO DIOC/PD/1548/2, /1552/29, /1553/16); TNA SP10/10, fo. 7r; *L&P* XXI, ii, 181 (ii), p. 75.
[75] Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*, p. 126.
[76] C.W. Foster (ed.), *Lincoln Episcopal Records in the Time of Thomas Cooper* (Lincoln, 1912), pp. 168, 174, 176, 181–84, 187, 190–91, 193; *CCEd*, 69893, 139235.
[77] Foster (ed.), *Lincoln Episcopal Records*, pp. 168, 174, 176, 181–82, 187, 190–91, 193, 311; *CCEd*, 90334, 90417, 139235, 139404, 139771, 143260, 144371, 146793, 148944, 153465, 153800, 153921, 153923, 175163, 231354, Locations 7973, 8097, 8445, 8613.
[78] *CCEd*, 39640, 90334, 90622, 139359, 139771, 143260, 144371, 145677, 147059, 147255, 148944, 151067, 151432, 153465, 153800, 154155, 154366, 154368, 153603, 154368, 175163, Locations 7973, 8538, 8613; Foster (ed.), *Lincoln Episcopal Records*, pp. 14–15, 21, 174, 190, 311; LAO DIOC/PD/1546/34; S. Lucas, '"An Auncient Zelous Gospeller […] Desirous to Do Any Thing to Common Good": Edward Whitchurch and the Reformist Cause in Marian and Elizabethan England', *Reformation*, 21/1 (2016), pp. 52–53.

example of what influence was available, although her position as an heiress and long-standing landowner meant that she was able to make considerably more presentations than the other women studied here. There were three conservatives jointly presented with her first husband, and another two independently, mostly ex-monks from religious houses favoured by the Brandon or Willoughby families. Others were Protestants: Edmund Warter was deprived of his post under Mary I only to be restored under Elizabeth, while Anthony Gilby and John Maydwell went into Marian exile. Maydwell was a former monk and, showing her obligations to family retainers, Katherine presented another monk from the Blackfriars religious house which her parents had patronised.[79] Katherine also granted rights to the next presentation to five men. One was a household officer while two more held Lincolnshire or affinity connections, suggesting that locality could be more important than shared religious beliefs.[80]

During her first widowhood, Katherine Parr presented John Lyngfield, the prior of the local priory of St James, and presumably a conservative, to her advowson of Tandridge in Surrey, in one of her Borough jointure manors. She may have favoured him more for his local role than any religious considerations.[81] As queen, she presented four men to her queenly jointure manors; at least two were conservatives. One, William Harper, was her clerk of the closet, and he seems to have later joined the Devonshire rebels in 1549, near to his Sampford Courtenay parish.[82] Katherine also allowed the king to present one of his chaplains to another of her advowsons, Chelsea parish church, in 1544.[83] Her grants of the right of next presentation were to three clerks in 1545, and to humanist Richard Morison, Richard Strengthfellow, and evangelical client Nicholas Udall in 1546.[84]

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[79] *CCEd*, 39640, 153603; C.H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge, 1938), pp. 161, 227; Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*, pp. 86, 88, n.66.
[80] *CCEd*, 90454, 144789, 146730, Location 21497; Foster (ed.), *Lincoln Episcopal Records*, p. 243.
[81] *L&P* VII, 761 (19), pp. 292–93; XII, ii, 187 (6, ii), p. 77; *CCEd*, 107274, 155042; H.E. Malden, *A History of the County of Surrey*, vol. 2 (London, 1967), pp. 112–13.
[82] *CCEd*, 62727, 63570, 97796, 147391; *L&P* XIX, i, 141 (65), pp. 82–83; *CSPD Edward VI*, 327, p. 126.
[83] *L&P* XIX, i, 278 (66), 1036 (32), pp. 175, 644.
[84] *CPR Edward VI*, I, p. 192; Society of Antiquaries MS 617.

Chaplains and household members were commonly presented by these elite women because a benefice would provide them an additional income and could be used as a reward.[85] Before her accession, Mary Tudor presented one of her household chaplains, Edward Barker, a conservative, to an advowson in Hertfordshire. When she was queen, another of her chaplains was made rector of Great Massingham in Norfolk.[86] One of Anne Stanhope's presentations was that of her chaplain John Longland to Ashtead in 1557. She may have also preferred him to the queen, as two years later he was presented to another living by Elizabeth I.[87] These examples show that these women negotiated multiple obligations to prefer priests or ministers based on both religious sympathies and non-religious household ties.

Religious clients

Other means to gain and reward religious clients were through hospitality, gifts, preferment, and financial support, and their work was patronised by these women. They formed part of larger networks of overlapping religious and scholarly patronage. This section analyses evangelical networks of clients for Mary Howard, Katherine Willoughby, and female connections to Anne Askew; these examples especially show the importance of giving houseroom. Mary Howard formed an evangelical affinity of scholars and clerics after stepping up as head of the family house in 1547. She gave houseroom to John Bale, an evangelical minister, on his return from exile the following year. King has suggested that Mary supplied Elizabeth Tudor's manuscript translation of the *Mirror of the Sinful Soul* to Bale in 1548, which he had printed on the European mainland.[88] Bale then introduced Mary to another client, the printer John Day. By 1548, John Foxe also joined her house as tutor to her brother's children, a position which allowed him to work on a grammar text and to share ideas and books with Bale. While at Reigate with Mary's family, Foxe locally promoted evangelicalism by suppressing the cult of the Virgin at nearby

[85] *CCEd*, 58547, 97796; *CSPD Edward VI*, 327, p. 126; TNA SP10/10, fo. 7r.
[86] *CCEd*, 28398, 74779; *APC* III, 200, p. 240.
[87] *CCEd*, 107432, 109112, 171423, Record 140562.
[88] Clark, 'A "Conservative" Family', pp. 326–27; J.N. King, 'Bale, John', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2009); King, 'Patronage and Piety', p. 51.

Ouldsworth, and worked on his *Commentarii*.[89] Through Mary's court connections, Foxe also met other reformers and patrons, including William Cecil and Katherine Willoughby, and he stayed at Katherine's house in 1550.[90] Mary's other evangelical retainers included three ministers who sought licences to preach in 1549. She wrote to Secretary Smith on their behalf, urging him to accept them despite their radical beliefs.[91] Mary only had the opportunity to offer such patronage after her father was arrested, ending his conservative control over the household in which she was his dependent, and after Henry VIII died and the new Edwardian regime made Protestantism more openly permittable. Unlike other widows, Mary had not gained financial independence on her husband's death, instead returning to the guidance of her father, illustrating the value of access to a jointure and household leadership in enabling Mary's agency.[92]

Katherine Willoughby's closest evangelical client was probably Hugh Latimer. The Edwardian preacher has been described as Katherine's 'chief protégé'. He had links to many elite pious women, apparently serving in Katherine Parr's household. Anne Askew asked to speak to Latimer when she was in prison.[93] Latimer was not afraid to criticise the elite in his sermons, including Katherine Willoughby and her women for their extravagant dress. In 1550, he retired from court life to move between his niece Mary Glover's house in Warwickshire and Katherine's Grimsthorpe. At Grimsthorpe, he preached to Katherine's household.[94] Katherine sought to send a buck to Mary Glover for her churching in mid-1552, but none could be found.[95] Katherine was the

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[89] Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage*, pp. 24, 52; *TAMO* (1570), book 6, p. 851; book 8, p. 1237; E. Evenden and T.S. Freeman, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: The Making of Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 39–43, 52; Clark, 'A "Conservative" Family', p. 325; T.S. Freeman, 'Foxe, John', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2008).
[90] J.S. Wade, 'John Foxe's Latin Writings: Their Intellectual and Social Context, with Special Reference to the Period of his Exile, 1554–1559' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sheffield, 2008), pp. 71, 282–83; Evenden and Freeman, *Religion and the Book*, pp. 54–55; Freeman, 'Foxe, John', in *ODNB*; *CCEd*, 12736; Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*, p. 78.
[91] TNA SP10/7, fos 3v, 5r.
[92] Clark, 'A "Conservative" Family', pp. 326–27; Schutte, 'Marrying Out', pp. 6–7, 13; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, pp. 174–84; James, *Women's Voices*, pp. 157–62, 179–81, 204–05; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 127–29.
[93] King, 'Patronage and Piety', pp. 57–56.
[94] S. Wabuda, 'Latimer, Hugh', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2009).
[95] TNA SP10/14, fo. 103r.

dedicatee of three printed books of Latimer's sermons, including those made on the Lord's Prayer before her and her house in 1552. The dedication by his servant Augustine Bernher called Katherine 'a comfort vnto the comfortles, and an instrumente by the whiche hys holy name should be praysed'. They were printed by the evangelical John Day, and the 1548 book of Latimer's sermons on the plough included Katherine's coat of arms, indicating her financial patronage.[96] Although she patronised men like Latimer who shared her evangelical beliefs, as noted, Katherine also followed family obligations, such as presenting former monks, from monasteries which her family had patronised, to advowsons. In 1546 she preferred one Cuthbert Horsely, priest, to the king for the sacristary or mastership of the Holy Sepulchre's chapel beside York Cathedral. This was because her late husband, granted the next presentation of this advowson by the king, had before his death intended to present Horsley. Katherine felt obliged to carry out his wishes. Interestingly, within two years, there was a horse called Horsley in Katherine's stables, probably named for or by this man.[97]

Several of these noblewomen had connections to Anne Askew, the Protestant martyr. She was sent money in prison by Anne Stanhope and Joan Champernowne. These women were unable to protect Anne from prosecution, but they did attempt to alleviate her suffering in prison. When questioned in the Tower in June 1546, Anne was asked to name fellow heretics, including Katherine Willoughby; Anne Calthorpe, Countess of Sussex; Anne Stanhope; Joan Champernowne, Lady Denny; and Lady Fitzwilliam (probably Jane Ormond).[98] Katherine Willoughby may have been the one to introduce Anne Askew to the female court group in 1546, as Anne's sister was married to Charles Suffolk's administrator George St Poll. Anne entered court and spoke

[96] H. Latimer, *The First Sermon of Mayster Hughe Latimer*, ed. T. Some (London, 1549) STC 15270.7; H. Latimer, *27 Sermons Preached by the ryght Reuerende father in God and constant matir [sic] of Iesus Christe, Maister Hugh Latimer*, ed. A. Bernher (London, 1562) STC 15276, sig. A8r–v; H. Latimer, *Frutefull sermons preached by the right reuerend father, and constant martyr of Iesus Christ M. Hugh Latymer newly imprinted*, ed. A. Bernher (London, 1572) STC 15277; Evenden and Freeman, *Religion and the Book*, p. 65.
[97] TNA SP4/1, fo. 87, no. 41; *L&P* XXI, i, 970 (34), p. 485; Gunn, *Charles Brandon*, p. 222.
[98] J. Bale, 'The lattre examinacyon of Anne Askewe' (Wesel, 1547) STC 850, pr. *The Select Works of John Bale*, ed. H. Christmas (Cambridge, 1849), pp. 220, 222.

with Katherine Parr and Frances and Eleanor Brandon.[99] Katherine Parr's cousin Sir Nicholas Throckmorton visited Anne in prison and attended her burning. Anne asked to speak to Hugh Latimer, soon to be Katherine Willoughby's client, when she was in prison.[100] Askew is a key example of the networks of connections amongst elite women and their religious clients. Interconnected networks were important in enabling preferment and in linking religious patronage beyond the household or locality.

The household and beyond

The religious influence exercised by these women was centred on the household and the locality. Domestic agency is often seen as a private form of patronage, and secondary literature on female religious influence, especially on recusants, situates women's agency in religious education and practices in the household, which was a place of protection for beliefs and priests.[101] However, Crawford has emphasised that noble houses were not private 'safe houses' for the elite women who managed them, but the 'bases of their operations', including as spaces of political opposition. She claimed that the lack of boundaries between the public and private, the domestic and the political, made the country house 'politically charged', where courtiers could display their opposition to policy by withdrawing from court to their own houses.[102] This chapter enhances this by also considering the household as religiously 'charged'. This highlights an interesting juxtaposition between using the privacy of the household to hide their religious practices, and using their elite position and affinity to display them. The women examined here went beyond the household to display their religious beliefs at times, performing public identities even if they placed them in opposition to the regime. Mary Tudor and

[99] Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*, pp. 52–53; D. Watt, 'Askew [married name Kyme], Anne', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2004); R. Parsons, 'Examen of I. Foxe his Calendar-Saints. The moneth of June', in *The Third Part of a Treatise intituled: of Three Conversions of England. By N.D. 1604* (Saint-Omer, 1604), pr. J.G. Nichols (ed.), *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation* (London, 1859), p. 308.
[100] S. Lehmberg, 'Throckmorton, Sir Nicholas', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2008); King, 'Patronage and Piety', p. 57.
[101] Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance*, pp. 167–71; Rowlands, 'Recusant Women'. See further details in the Literature Review, pp. 27, 29–30, especially n.61 and n.74.
[102] Crawford, *Mediatrix*, pp. 15–24.

Margaret Douglas made their homes places for the promotion of conservative beliefs and protection of fellow Catholics. However, their actions were not secret, and Mary gave her household and affinity a reputation for conservative practices. Katherine Willoughby emphasised her evangelical identity in public during Edward VI's reign, but, unlike Mary, was able to do this without fear of prosecution, as her views aligned with the current regime. At court, Katherine Parr had promoted evangelical practices and people as part of her gradual conversion to evangelicalism, which took place in the context of her queenly apartments. As noted, existing scholarship considers her religious efforts to have been directed at writing, patronage, and her household rather than at policy. However, her informal influence on her ladies was a crucial contribution to their growing Protestantism.[103]

Margaret Douglas made her northern household a haven for Catholics.[104] In his May 1562 deposition against her, Thomas Bishop claimed that Margaret openly supported Catholicism in her household; although a hostile source and a spy for the privy council in the Lennox house, Bishop had been secretary to Matthew Lennox, and seems to have been reasonably loyal to the earl, but jealous of Margaret's influence over her husband, thus targeting his accusations at her.[105] Bishop and another spy in the household, Forbes, both claimed that Margaret openly declared her Catholicism to secure papist support for her claims to the throne. She pinned 'ydoles and ymages' inside her bed hangings and those of her son, and a priest said Mass in Margaret's bedchamber with the family present, and took her confession. They also claimed that she spoke with witches and soothsayers, including taking an interest in Nostradamus's predictions, on which her sons' tutor wrote a commentary 'to the plesor of my lady'. Margaret paid particular attention to the promise that 'the heghest schowld hawe declynid', unsure if it referred to the lightning strike of the spire at St Paul's cathedral in 1561, or to Elizabeth I.[106] She was not the only woman to be interested in prophecies and, like them, seems to have been motivated a

[103] Dowling, 'A Woman's Place?', pp. 41–42; Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', pp. 294–98. See further details in the Literature Review, p. 30, n.77.
[104] Ring, *So High a Blood*, pp. 116, 120–22.
[105] Macauley, 'The Lennox Crisis', pp. 277–79, 282.
[106] TNA SP12/23, fos 13v, 31r–v.

desire for knowledge of her family's fate.[107] The Lennoxes also worked to keep a godly household by reporting one of their servants, one John Hume, to Cranmer in 1547. They viewed his denial of transubstantiation as heretical and dispatched him to the archbishop for conversion.[108] Together, Matthew and Margaret Lennox formed a network of conservatives in Yorkshire and the north of England, which gained a more political dimension under Elizabeth I. In 1561, the Spanish ambassador claimed that such was the favour which Margaret showed to Catholics, that the bishop there 'dares not visit his diocese or punish any papist'. Margaret held Masses at Temple Newsam for local gentry, and was watched by the Duke of Norfolk for suspect activity.[109] Her connections to Catholic neighbours in the north allowed Margaret to gain support for her son Darnley's marriage to Mary Stuart, also corresponding with mostly Catholic nobles in Scotland for the match.[110] However, the Lennoxes' conservative networks did not prevent Margaret keeping friendships with the evangelical Anne Stanhope and Mary Howard.[111]

Mary Tudor also publicly proclaimed her conservative beliefs by using her household to display her pious tastes.[112] Existing scholarship mostly agrees that Mary was a Henrician moderate before her accession, focused on the centrality of the Mass, and that her determination to maintain the Henrician church, enacted through display and with support from the imperial ambassador, brought her into opposition with the evangelical Edwardian regime. Richards and Loades have each claimed that Mary deliberately set herself up as a Catholic figure as a political statement, but that her aim was to ensure her own celebration of the Latin Mass, rather than cause wider religious change in

[107] In 1550, Lady Paulet confessed to having had the fortunes told of her husband and other councillors, 'out of curiosity'. Around that year, Katherine Willoughby showed a copy of a written prophecy to Anne Calthorpe, Countess of Sussex, who took her own copy which she later showed to Mary Howard, who hoped that it might offer guidance about her father's 'deluerie' from the Tower. Anne Calthorpe claimed that she was interested in sorcery only for knowledge and not 'ill entent'. *CSPS* X, p. 121; BL Add. MS 5498, fo. 37r–v.
[108] *TAMO* (1570), book 9, pp. 1524–25; Ring, *So High a Blood*, p. 112.
[109] *CSP Simancas*, I, 120, 144, 198, pp. 176, 220, 273; Marshall, 'Douglas, Lady Margaret', in *ODNB*; Schutte, *Margaret Douglas*, pp. 143, 160–61.
[110] Ring, *So High a Blood*, pp. 155–56; Macauley, 'The Lennox Crisis', pp. 270–72.
[111] Schutte, *Margaret Douglas*, p. 114.
[112] Whitelock and MacCulloch, 'Princess Mary's Household', pp. 271–72.

England.[113] However, her efforts to publicly celebrate the Latin Mass suggest a performed statement of her opposition to policy, which is matched by Mary's defence of her father's religious settlement and her claims that Edward lacked the maturity to make changes.[114] Mary was described as hearing between two and four Masses daily in 1547, and continued this when she toured her estates in Norfolk in 1548. As a political statement, she increased her observances of the Latin Mass as the privy council pushed forward with reforms, taking care to hold Mass in grand style after the new Book of Common Prayer was released in June 1549.[115] The council noted that she continued to have the Latin Mass 'sayd openly in her hows', which they feared would send a public message of her disapproval of the new religious settlement. Soon after, Somerset told the imperial ambassador that, while Mary was not forbidden to hear the old Mass privately, she was pushing her luck in holding more daily services and 'with greater show' than before.[116] Her use of the household space reflects its adaptable nature. Mary seems to have used markers of her faith such as Masses and rosaries which were readily altered; services could be changed or rosaries pocketed, if necessary. Much like a recusant, Mary supported her religion within the household, but unlike a recusant she also publicly promoted it beyond the house. Her reputation went before her: in August 1550, she was referred to, although not by name, as a 'gret woman within the realme that was a gret supporter and mayntayner of popery and superstycione' in a St Paul's Cross sermon by Stephen Castor.[117] In March 1551, with the council's criticisms increasing once more, Mary rode into London with a large train all openly carrying rosaries. This was a clear public marker of her conservative faith, and of the might and support of her affinity. It was probably on this

[113] Loades, *Mary Tudor*, pp. 118–19, 137–43, 146–47, 170; D. Loades, 'The Personal Religion of Mary I', in E. Duffy and D. Loades (eds), *The Church of Mary Tudor* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 14, 17–19; Edwards, *Mary I*, pp. 62, 66, 68–70; Richards, *Mary Tudor*, pp. 65–66, 92, 106; A. Pollnitz, 'Religion and Translation at the Court of Henry VIII: Princess Mary, Katherine Parr and the Paraphrases of Erasmus', in Doran and Freeman (eds), *Mary Tudor*, pp. 124–25, 131–32, 136.
[114] *TAMO* (1563), book 4, p. 944. Early in Edward's reign, she claimed that her father's religious settlement had left the country in 'a godly ordre and quietnes', which should not be altered as it offered stability and unity. BL Cotton MS Faust. C/II, fo. 66r–v.
[115] *CSPS* IX, pp. 101, 298; Loades, *Mary Tudor*, p. 143; Edwards, *Mary I*, pp. 69–70. This can be compared to her late mother's use of public acts of piety, mainly pilgrimages and almsgiving. Beer, *Queenship*, pp. 125–27, 147–48.
[116] *APC* II, 494, pp. 291–92; *CSPS* IX, pp. 407–08.
[117] J.G. Nichols (ed.), *Chronicle of the Grey Friars* (London, 1852), p. 67.

occasion that Mary was also greeted at London by several hundred common people, who accompanied her to show their support, in contrast to a lack of noble supporters.[118] Scholars have emphasised this act as a statement of religious defiance against the privy council, also noting it as a display of strength using her retinue, while Whitelock has claimed that Mary enjoyed popular support and loyalty from the people, because they joined her.[119]

Mary secured verbal permission from the privy council to continue hearing the old Latin Mass in private, but pushed the boundaries of 'private', by hearing it in great style and choosing to define her permission as applying to herself and her whole household indefinitely, suggesting that she did not merely seek personal concessions. As a result, in 1550, the council attempted to restrict her companions' hearing of Mass to two or three attendants in her chamber, rather than for 'all and sundry' as before.[120] Controlling the content of sermons preached at her house, Mary refused Nicholas Ridley's offer to preach a sermon in 1552 at Hunsdon.[121] The opportunities for conservatives in her household attracted people to her service; in 1549, the privy council claimed that Mary had only taken on the services of two gentlemen because they wished for Catholic immunity in her household.[122] Around the start of 1551, Charles V advised Mary to not push the council too far, and accept that she might not be able to admit local gentry to hear Masses on Sundays and feast days. Yet she continued to welcome conservative neighbours, including Serjeant Richard Morgan, Sir Anthony Browne, and Sir Clement Smith, to her services. However, Morgan and Browne were sent to the Fleet in 1551 'as a notable ill example' after hearing Mass at Mary's houses of St John's and Beaulieu.[123] Mary did work to protect her chaplains; when the Sheriff of Essex accused her almoner Mallet and chaplain Barker of breaking the statute governing divine service by saying Latin Mass before Mary's household at

[118] Machyn, *Diary*, pp. 4–5; *CSPS* X, pp. 258, 264; *Chronicle of King Henry VIII of England*, trans. M.A.S. Hume (London, 1889), p. 173.
[119] Richards, *Mary Tudor*, p. 100; Loades, *Mary Tudor*, p. 57; Whitelock and MacCulloch, 'Princess Mary's Household', p. 272; Whitelock, *Mary Tudor*, p. 120.
[120] *CSPS* IX, p. 407; X, p. 68; Loades, *Mary Tudor*, p. 143; Edwards, *Mary I*, pp. 69–70; Richards, *Mary Tudor*, p. 94; *TAMO* (1563), book 4, pp. 949–52.
[121] *TAMO* (1570), book 9, p. 1604.
[122] Loades, *Mary Tudor*, p. 142; *TAMO* (1563), book 4, p. 945.
[123] *CSPS* X, p. 248; *APC* III, 199–200, p. 239; Edward VI, *Chronicle*, p. 56.

Beaulieu when she was not there, in mid-1550, Mary spoke to Chancellor Rich on their behalf, asking for them to be granted the immunity that she enjoyed. She was determined to oppose their indictments, refusing to hand over Mallet to the sheriff and turning the focus away from her chaplains, whom she conveniently claimed to be absent from her house, onto herself and her permission to hear the old Mass.[124] The council were aware of Mary's public role, noting that her high rank made her a prominent figure whose actions would be observed and copied by the public; they claimed that her obedience would serve 'in stede of a good preacher'. Mallet was finally sent to the Tower in April 1551, and Mary still tried to protect him by claiming to the council that he had only said the Masses 'by my commaundement', and that it would be a personal favour to her if they released him, although this probably did not happen until her accession.[125] Mary's use of her household to promote her conservative religious identity is akin to her domestic self-fashioning as a royal, as will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Katherine Willoughby's employment of reformist chaplains and tutors enabled her to convert some members of her household and contributed to her Protestant reputation, using her house to reflect her faith. As shown, she invited her client Hugh Latimer to preach to her servants, and sponsored the printing of his sermons, spreading these ideas. Her chaplains included preachers William Whitehead and John Pullen, who became part of underground Protestant circles under Mary I.[126] Katherine's domestic influence continued into her second marriage, where, supported by her evangelical husband Bertie, Protestant music and artwork were used at Grimsthorpe to impress these views on servants and visitors.[127] Katherine seems to have owned evangelical books deemed heretical under Mary I, leaving some at Grimsthorpe when she went into exile. Later, the house's 1560–62 accounts show that psalm books were bought for the household, and a French preacher, one Mr Sall, was given a

[124] *CSPS* X, pp. 150–51; *APC* III, 137, p. 171; *TAMO* (1563), book 4, pp. 948–52.
[125] Edward VI, *Chronicle*, pp. 50, 60; *TAMO* (1563), book 4, pp. 949–53; *CSPS* X, pp. 286–88.
[126] Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*, pp. 77–82; King, 'Patronage and Piety', pp. 56–57; *TAMO* (1563), book 5, p. 1687; L.M. Higgs, *Godliness and Governance in Tudor Colchester* (Ann Arbor, 1998), pp. 262–63.
[127] Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*, pp. 119–20.

monetary reward, perhaps for preaching.[128] Katherine also mocked Catholic practices and the conservative Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. Foxe reported that Katherine dressed a dog in a rochet and called it Gardiner, and when he was in the Tower, she jested that 'it was mery with the Lambes [Protestants], now the Wolfe was shut vp'. She also owned a horse called Pope, while her eldest son Henry Brandon seems to have copied her mockery, as at a 1550 masque he dressed as a nun.[129] Katherine was then among the Protestants who were more radical than the Elizabethan church, especially opposing its ceremonialism, saints' images and vestments. She patronised puritan preachers and sought to protect others from the authorities.[130] However, her household was not austere, still entertaining a 'lorde of good order' at Christmas 1560 and being visited by musicians and players throughout the year. The Berties also played cards and dice, and did not observe the Lenten fast too strictly at their own table, enjoying several meat dishes amongst the fish dishes.[131]

At court, women were both exposed to and acted as promoters of religious ideas. Katherine Parr led a mainly female circle of religious study in her chambers. They heard sermons, said prayers, and read Scripture and devotional works.[132] Katherine was not the court evangelical leader, but leader of the circle in her chambers; her space of influence was her apartments, not the court at large.[133] Although her circle was mostly female, in May 1546, Lord Thomas Howard was charged with discussing Scripture and Lenten sermons in the queen's chambers at court, showing that members of the wider court were also welcome.[134] In Katherine's space, evangelical ideas were promoted and religious conversions effected. Although scholars emphasise the influence of her ladies in encouraging Katherine's adoption of evangelical beliefs, their

[128] LAO 1-ANC/7/A/2, fos 61v, 97r; 2-ANC/2/24, Book 1, p. 17; *APC* V, 393, pp. 294–95.
[129] *TAMO* (1570), book 12, p. 2323; *HMC Ancaster*, p. 456; *CSPS* X, pp. 109–10.
[130] Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*, pp. 97–103, 115–16; S. Wabuda, 'Bertie [*née* Willoughby; other married name Brandon], Katherine, duchess of Suffolk', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2008); Inner Temple Petyt MS 538 vol. 47, fo. 507r; J. Parkhurst, *The Letter Book of John Parkhurst*, ed. R.A. Houlbrooke (Norwich, 1975), 228, pp. 243–44.
[131] LAO 1-ANC/7/A/2, fo. 52r–v; *HMC Ancaster*, pp. 463, 468–69, 473.
[132] King, 'Patronage and Piety', p. 46.
[133] As discussed in the Introduction above, p. 38, n.115, the extent of Katherine Parr's religious influence on policy and court factions was small. King, 'Patronage and Piety', pp. 46–47; Dowling, *Humanism*, pp. 66–68, 236–37; Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', pp. abstract, 7, 276–77, 284–87, 321–26, 387–88, 391.
[134] *APC* I, 601, p. 408.

shared religious activities under Katherine's guidance in her apartments were also vital in fostering Protestantism in these ladies in turn.[135] As Hamilton has noted, most of these women, including Katherine Willoughby; Anne Stanhope; Joan Champernowne, Lady Denny; Anne Parr, Lady Herbert; and Elizabeth Oxenbridge, Lady Tyrwhitt, only gradually converted to evangelicalism themselves during the 1540s. Although they encouraged Katherine Parr in her beliefs, her activities also encouraged all of them to move towards evangelicalism.[136] Katherine especially found herself influenced by studying the Bible, while Udall claimed that her studies were also 'the most godly example and instruction of others'.[137] Katherine became an early follower of the reformist shift from hearing Masses to hearing sermons, and her brother Northampton and her lady Katherine Willoughby were noted supporters of the Italian reformist Bernardino Ochino's preaching.[138] Harkrider has claimed that Katherine Willoughby's exposure to theological reading and schooling at court encouraged her reformist beliefs.[139] These activities were encouraged by budding reformers and by a desire for theological study and learning. In turn, these activities encouraged the queen and her ladies to not only consider evangelical views but to embrace them. They exercised religious agency through their ability to influence conversions in others.[140]

Although Katherine Parr was significant in circulating ideas and trends, there were limitations on her activities. She was dependent on Henry VIII's tacit approval, and he had limited tolerance for the queen's evangelicalism, which

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[135] Kujana-Holbrook, 'Katherine Parr and Reformed Religion', pp. 57–58, 60–68; James, *Catherine Parr*, pp. 35–36, 189–91, 196; Mueller, 'Katherine Parr and her Circle', pp. 222–26, 230, 235–36; Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', pp. 279, 294–98.
[136] Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', pp. 297, 355; Clark, 'A "Conservative" Family'; Murphy, 'Fitzroy, Mary', in *ODNB*; Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*, pp. 8–10, 13, 15, 21, 37–44, 47–58; Gunn, *Charles Brandon*, pp. 161–62, 198–200; MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors*, p. 48, 93; Ives, *Lady Jane Grey*, pp. 39, 69–72; Schutte, *Margaret Douglas*, pp. 40, 100, 131–32, 143; Ring, *So High a Blood*, pp. 40, 96–97, 109, 112–15, 122, 143–44.
[137] *KP Works*, pp. 92, 94–95; K. Parr, *Lamentacion of a Sinner* (London, 1547) STC 4827, sig. π5r; Kujana-Holbrook, 'Katherine Parr and Reformed Religion', pp. 57–58.
[138] Culling, 'Tudor Royal Household', pp. 333–34; Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', p. 324; *CSPS* IX, p. 253.
[139] Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*, pp. 49–50.
[140] Canavan and Smith, 'The needle may convert more than the pen', pp. 105–113.

restricted the extent of her activities.[141] Recent scholarship has recognised Katherine's efforts to hide her intelligence and evangelical leanings from her husband behind claims of female weakness and subordination.[142] Katherine made further shifts to evangelicalism after Henry's death. She continued to lead by example by hearing sermons from her chaplain John Parkhurst. The imperial ambassador reported in December 1547 that Katherine, like the Somersets and Warwicks, no longer celebrated Mass in her chapel, together marking the shift of the regime to further evangelicalism. No longer under Henry's eye, she also appointed Miles Coverdale to her household and published her evangelical *Lamentation of a Sinner*.[143] Katherine had more freedom away from court and the king's disapproval. Similarly, Margaret Douglas and Mary Tudor were better able to practise their nonconformity away from court; their nonconformity was no secret, and although it could still have negative consequences, these women were protected by their status and the power of their estates and local affinities. Even Mary Tudor, as the king's sister and heir presumptive to the throne, found it harder to display her opposition at court, perhaps partly why she preferred to remain on her lands in East Anglia and not visit London so often.[144]

Conclusion

These women built up local affinities based on reciprocal relationships with estate officials, tenants, neighbours, kin, and clients. These were important sources of support for their display of status and religious self-fashioning. The patron–client nature of these relationships again emphasises the significance of rewards and reciprocity. Affinities were essential in allowing the women studied here latitude to promote their interests, favouring themselves, their families, and religious views, by working with retainers who shared these

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[141] King, 'Patronage and Piety', pp. 46–47; Dowling, *Humanism*, pp. 66–68, 236–37; Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', pp. abstract, 7, 276–77, 284–87, 321–26, 387–88, 391.
[142] O'Sullivan, 'Women's Place', pp. 225, 244–46; C. Levin, 'John Foxe and the Responsibilities of Queenship', in M.B. Rose (ed.), *Women in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Syracuse, 1986), p. 125; Freeman, 'One Survived', pp. 246–47, 251.
[143] Culling, 'Tudor Royal Household', p. 190; Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', p. 327; *CSPS* IX, p. 221.
[144] For further details, see Chapter 5, pp. 203–06.

interests. However, shared interests did not always intersect but could instead clash, and these women worked to balance obligations to their houses, locality, faith, and networks of contacts. Their agency was also limited by their very dependence on these affinities' goodwill, and especially in needing to build up active and positive ties with them, which were not always guaranteed. The married women were also limited by the need to negotiate the direction of their patronage with their husbands; widows and the single Mary Tudor did not necessarily face such confines. Nonetheless, these eight women were able to participate in larger local and religious networks. This chapter demonstrates how ties were malleable as they could shift from passive connections of geography or kinship to active ties based on maintaining reciprocal support.

Although much focus on local affinities has been on neighbours, this chapter also adds nuance to the idea of the local area as a physical space by suggesting that the locality was not necessarily proximate to the house, but could be proximate to the person, as Katherine Willoughby developed a foreign affinities when overseas, much as Mary Tudor's Welsh affinity coalesced around her presence at Ludlow. Networks of religious patronage extended beyond the local space, and these women used household and estate resources and court contacts to exert influence and promote not only clients but also religious identities. These performed identities could enhance their political or social standing, but also reflect genuine beliefs.

Estate management could be tricky when delegating administrative power to officials who did not always put their employer first. However, it also allowed Katherine Willoughby to have good control of her lands and revenues and enjoy a support base – these were valuable resources when she entered exile. Likewise, Mary Tudor's cultivated relations with her tenants led to active, instrumental connections, and to good feeling on both sides. An affinity was based on shared interests including kinship, nationality, religion, and locality, but could cut across these markers. Mary Tudor's affinity shows the importance of shared locality over religion, and their effective mobilisation in 1553. Although with lower stakes than the crown, Katherine Willoughby likewise effectively mobilised supporters in Europe when facing danger in exile, often relying on pre-existing connections. Katherine's later relationship

with the Dymocks also spanned a religious divide, based instead on local ties between patron and client. However, there were also religious clients, mostly priests and ministers, whose patronage straddled the domestic and local through the offering of employment and hospitality in the home and benefices on the estates. The importance of the domestic space, not only for privacy, but as a space of display of religious beliefs, even for public opposition, is emphasised here. Katherine Willoughby and Margaret Douglas developed their households to reflect their godly views, while Mary Tudor used her private devotional services as well as her affinity's support to proclaim her defiance in the public sphere to the Edwardian privy council's religious changes. However, piety sometimes was tempered by other considerations, shown by the evangelical Katherine Parr's and Katherine Willoughby's presentations of local monastic figures to advowsons.

Examining the use of the household for public display shows the fluidity of the boundaries of domestic and religious space, corroborating scholarship which challenges the household as solely private. This chapter demonstrates the significant scope for elite women's religious patronage in the house and proximate areas using domestic resources such as employment, houseroom, and advowsons, which underscores the significance of these areas for these women. This chapter has also shown the significance of the royal court as a space of religious influence – although court did not promote the patronage of clergy in the same way that the resources available in the household and estates did, it did allow influence over others' conversions to evangelicalism, producing female religious agency. Importantly, this influence worked both ways, between Katherine Parr and her ladies, with each encouraging the others towards evangelical ideas and practices. As such, this chapter has demonstrated that the space of religious support and patronage was partly abstract, as although much of this patronage was performed in the physical household and local spaces, it also linked to the court, and the next chapter shows connections between religious influence and the abstract space of scholarly patronage. The religious and the scholarly were often closely linked, as discussed in the following chapter, which demonstrates the value of networks of personal

connections in linking these eight elite women to scholarly production and the promotion of both academic and religious ideas.

Chapter 3: Scholarly Networks and Patronage

Introduction

This chapter marks a shift from the domestic and proximate to the court and national, and even international, spaces by considering the scholarly sphere. This was an abstract space which connected to several physical spaces, spanning the local and the distant, as the women studied here participated in scholarly networks in both the household and the royal court. Their efforts in the academic sphere encompassed patronage and production. They offered financial patronage to scholars and their books and projects, although this support could be limited or unsolicited and not always based on close personal and reciprocal relationships. Where there were multiple repeated connections with scholars suggests that there were active ties, and their instrumentality is demonstrated by their reciprocal usefulness in helping to access and produce scholarly output. In addition to supporting scholars, these women enjoyed academic ties with other members of the aristocracy, with whom they collaborated in court circles. This chapter takes a broad view of production and collaboration, corroborating recent scholarship which expands academic output beyond original writing to consider women's commissions, financial support, project management, rewards, and dissemination as valid contributions.[1] These wider meanings allow this chapter to illustrate how the eight women studied here contributed to or became leading figures in scholarly and literary projects or trends. In their endeavours, the academic is often linked with the religious, flowing on from the previous chapter in considering the religious ideas and patronage of these women. This chapter also advances the themes of this thesis in showing the value of networks of personal connections and highlighting economic power as crucial for enabling agency.

This chapter argues that elite mid-Tudor women were actively involved in the scholarly sphere by utilising their financial power and personal networks, working for their own advantage as they sought to spread ideas and texts,

[1] Pender and Day, 'Introduction', pp. 9–10; Smith, *Grossly Material Things*, p. 6; Smith, 'Paratextual Economies', pp. 207–08. See further details in the Literature Review, p. 31, nn.79–80.

influencing the direction of scholarship. It shows that their personal connections were not confined to individual clients, as these women contributed to networks of scholars, printers, and other clients and patrons, revealing the importance of these larger networks of academic production and collaboration. Situating these links within the larger context of female alliances and relationships also reveals how the academic sphere was connected to other spaces. While their networks of clients and production spanned the London book trade and connected internationally to scholars on the European mainland, these women's efforts were often centred on domestic financial support. Furthermore, at court, they disseminated ideas and books to other elite women and men through academic and religious circles. The scholarly sphere was not a defined physical space, nor was it self-contained, but instead it spread across Europe from the domestic to the international. Also, the non-academic interests of its participants often intruded. The women studied in this thesis were motivated to participate in and support scholarship by a combination of personal interest, patronage-based obligation, religious sympathy, and public assertion of wealth, rank, and prestige. These women collaborated for the benefit of others and themselves, but ultimately to stamp their mark on scholarship and religion, and to influence them in favour of their own preferences. This chapter emphasises their agency in shaping scholarly and religious trends in England, and in creating scholarly outputs regardless of the extent of their own academic training or abilities. It shows that academic training, which not all of them had, was not necessarily required to engage in scholarly projects. This chapter demonstrates that these women were willing and active supporters, but it also assesses the boundaries of their engagement or agency. They were reliant on their wealth, rank, and personal connections to participate in the academic sphere. They negotiated the scope and direction of their involvement with their husbands, often relying on their approval or working together in partnership. That much of these women's efforts appear to follow existing trends set by the royal family suggests that they were also restricted by the need for social acceptability or approval.

This chapter begins by considering their financial support and patronage of scholars and book production. Although not all book dedications were well-

received, others marked pre-existing and active relationships with clients, or these women's efforts to commission and promote evangelical print books, working with both printers and writers or translators. Patronage of scholarly clients could be based in the household, where financial support was offered in return for access to wider networks of scholars and other patrons. This chapter then looks more closely at these networks of elite collaboration, showing that these women extended their influence by circulating books and by joining scholarly interest groups at court. The circle based in Katherine Parr's household were influenced by Katherine's promotion of female academic learning to offer such educations for their own daughters. This chapter shows how Katherine was part of the larger royal trend in supporting female learning. Illustrating how the scholarly sphere straddled the domestic and wider spaces, the women studied here also promoted education outside of their families through their patronage of universities. This chapter ends by considering the range of motivations for their collaboration and influence in the scholarly world. Their support of books extended to ownership, where they valued books not only for their scholarly content but also as items of display. A case study of the Erasmian *Paraphrases* translation project demonstrates how personal and wider interests could combine, and how participation in existing royal traditions was necessary in making women's scholarly involvement acceptable.

Patronage of books and scholars

A key means of participation in the scholarly sphere for these women was patronage, by offering financial support both to scholarly clients and towards their books and studies. Insight into this academic patronage can be gained through considering book dedications made to the women studied here, although their support went beyond merely appearing as dedicatees. They were involved in the process of book production through their efforts to support scholars to write texts, sponsor printers, and buy and circulate books. Their relationships with some scholars were based on household or other pre-existing connections, while others were limited to speculative and generic book dedications which were not necessarily positively received. Furthermore, these women were not confined to supporting single scholars, as they were also able

to participate in networks of academic and book production. Their financial support connected them with multiple scholars, printers, and other patrons.[2] Although their patronage often relates to print texts, these women also owned, disseminated, and were presented with manuscript books. Their motivations for offering scholarly patronage extended beyond academic reasons such as intellectual enjoyment, altruistic support of scholars, or promotion of literary and religious texts to disseminate their messages. The vernacular is a key theme in this chapter, as, with or without language skills, these women tended to focus their efforts on, and receive dedications in, English texts and translations.[3] They were also interested in supporting scholarship for their own prestige. Furthermore, there was a religious element to most of the texts which they supported and received, which tended to match their own pious beliefs. The existing secondary literature has noted the close link between religion and learning, especially for evangelicalism.[4]

This section begins by considering book dedications made to these women, and their reception, showing that these women favoured printed religious texts from dedicators with a prior connection. The household was a space for scholarly patronage, as illustrated by the Somerset household's support for Thomas Becon, and Becon's role in connecting the Seymour family to other patrons and clients. The patronage relationships between several women and printers John Day and Richard Grafton were also part of larger networks of scholarly production. Like the religious patronage considered in the previous chapter, the scholarly sphere was not confined to the household and instead spread across the domestic, court, elite social spaces, and places of book publication in London. Although some relationships between dedicators and dedicatees appear to have been based on financial patronage or the household, there was also a small circle motivated by shared interest in disseminating evangelical vernacular texts through print. This section concludes by demonstrating the positive nature of collaboration by Katherine Willoughby,

[2] Dowling, *Humanism*, pp. 3–5.
[3] Smith, *Grossly Material Things*, p. 68.
[4] Clark, 'A "Conservative" Family', pp. 325–26; Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community*, pp. 83–84, 92, 133.

Anne Stanhope, and Mary Howard within this evangelical circle of scholars, printers, and elite male and female backers.

Book dedications offer insight into the scholarly patronage and clients supported by these women, in addition to their interests or motivations. Although some dedications were perfunctory and formulaic, reflecting their opportunistic nature or efforts to capitalise on the name of their dedicatees, others acknowledged the ongoing patronage of these women. The existing scholarship has recognised the pragmatic use of book dedications by authors to increase sales or to secure patronage through writing opportunistic dedications. However, recent scholars have also noted that some dedications were closely targeted and effective, or represented an existing relationship between author and dedicatee, usually based on the latter's efforts to patronise or commission the work.[5] Hamilton has demonstrated the significance of domestic scholarly patronage by showing that most book dedications to women in Katherine Parr's circle were written by authors with a prior connection to the dedicatee through the latter's household.[6] In addition to pre-existing household links, multiple dedications to the same woman can also suggest a stronger connection or ongoing patronage. In evaluating their strength, is essential to consider not only the making of dedications but also their reception.

A total of forty-nine dedications were made to these women, when not including those to Mary Tudor after her accession. Only Frances Brandon received none; the rest had between two and nineteen each, with Mary Tudor, Anne Stanhope, and Katherine Willoughby the most admired.[7] This does not necessarily only reflect their great interest in books, as Anne and Katherine had long lifespans, while Mary had been born royal and was thus a target for book

[5] Williams, 'Literary Patronesses', p. 365; Schutte, 'To the Illustrious Queen', p. 17; Smith, *Grossly Material Things,* pp. 62–63, 66–68.
[6] Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', pp. 334–59.
[7] For full details of printed works, see Bibliography. STC 84, 166.5, 777, 920, 1712, 1719.5, 1908, 2045, 2854, 3195, 3383, 4186, 4450, 5276, 5717, 7377, 13556, 14651.5, 15178, 15270.7, 15276, 15319, 15636, 17117, 17119, 19494.7, 19870, 20406, 21288, 21690.2, 24223.5, 25388; J.L. Vives, *Introductio ad Sapientiam; Satellitium sive Symbola; Epistolae duae de Ratione Studii Puerilis* (Louvain, 1524); J. Dee, *The Autobiographical Tracts of Dr. John Dee*, ed. J. Crossley (Manchester, 1851), p. 75; Paleario, 'The Benefit of Christ's Death', trans. Courtenay; BL Royal MS 2/D/XXVIII; MS 17/A/VI; MS 17/A/XXX; MS 17/A/XLVI; 17/B/XVIII; MS 17/C/XII; MS 17/C/XVI; MS 18/A/XV; MS 18/A/LX; Sloane MS 72, fos 213r–215v; Harley MS 1703, fos 108–09; MS 1860; Cherry MS 36.

dedications from childhood. Mary Tudor's book dedications have been studied by Valerie Schutte, who examined both print and manuscript dedications to Mary throughout her life, claiming that she 'negotiated patronage, politics, religion, and gender roles' around the book dedications.[8] Williams has noted Katherine Willoughby as receiving a large number of dedications for a woman in this period, while Hamilton has used dedications to show the high level of patronage of religious books made by women in Katherine Parr's household, which she claimed reflected their development of evangelical ideas, although attributing some dedications and patronage to political pragmatism.[9] Of the seven women's dedications, roughly two thirds were print and one third were manuscript books. Dedications tended to be written by the author or translator. Almost three quarters of the texts were devotional or religious, especially those for evangelicals Anne Stanhope, Katherine Willoughby, and Mary Howard. The religious sympathies of texts appear to match the leanings of the dedicatees, which suggests that shared religious views were usually essential and were a motivating factor for both the patrons and clients. Twenty-eight texts, or over just over half, were translations, which were often religious in nature. Evangelical works were often vernacular translations, intended for popular readership. Three books dedicated to Mary Tudor were in Latin, reflecting her erudition, while the seven manuscript translations from Latin to English by Lord Morley gifted to Mary before her accession, usually as New Year's gifts, explicitly acknowledged her interest in learning.[10] The books dedicated to Jane Guildford and Margaret Douglas reflected other interests such as science and medicine.[11] Just over forty per cent of dedicators had a

[8] Schutte, *Mary I and the Art of Book Dedications*, p. 1.
[9] Williams, 'Literary Patronesses', p. 366; Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', pp. 334–76.
[10] Vives, *Introductio ad Sapientiam*; T. Linacre, *Rudimenta Grammatices Thomæ Linacri diligenter castigata denuo* (London, 1525) STC 15636; J. White, *Diacosio-martyrion. id est ducentorum virorum testimonium, de veritate corporis, et sanguinis Christi, in eucharistia, ante triennium* (London, 1553) STC 25388; BL Royal MS 2/D/XXVIII; MS 17/A/XXX; MS 17/A/XLVI; MS 17/C/XII; MS 17/C/XVI; MS 18/A/XV; MS 18/A/LX.
[11] Pope John XXI, *The Treasury of Healthe*, trans. H. Lloyd (London, 1550) STC 14651.5; Dee, *The Autobiographical Tracts*, p. 75; BL Sloane MS 72, fos 213r–215v; A. Villanova, *Here is a Newe Boke, called The Defence of Age, and Recouery of Youth*, trans. J. Drummond (London, 1540) STC 777; R. Robinson, *A Record of Auncient Histories, Entituled in Latin: Gesta Romanorum* (London, 1595) STC 21288.

prior or continuing connection with their addressee, such as serving in their household or dedicating more than one book to them.[12]

The dedications to these women vary from unsolicited and generic, to targeted and fulsome. The latter tend to reflect patronage relationships between these women and the dedicators. Mary Tudor received some dedications positively. Henry Parker, Lord Morley, used his classical training to produce translations out of Latin and Italian to give to his court patrons as New Year's gifts. He presented at least eight such manuscripts to Mary, seven before her accession. Valerie Schutte has noted that, although Morley kept his options open by gifting his work to the king, Anne Boleyn, and Cromwell, too, he sought to make these gifts personal by offering his own labours and using the more intimate manuscript form instead of printed books. He must have felt encouraged to continue these gifts to Mary, with Schutte suggesting that she received his manuscripts well because he did not seek to instruct her in the dedications, but merely to encourage her virtue and Catholicism. The two also knew each other personally, as Morley visited Mary at Hunsdon in 1536, and his daughter Margaret married John Shelton, the son of Mary's comptroller and governess. Mary stood godmother to the Sheltons' son in 1537, and John later joined her forces at Kenninghall in 1553.[13] Mary also favoured John Heywood, a Catholic playwright and court musician, who had written a poem, 'Geve Place, ye Ladyes', for her in 1534, in which he praised her beauty, chasteness, and steadfastness. As queen, Mary increased his royal pension and employed him to devise a pageant for her coronation in 1553 and write a ballad for her marriage the following year.[14] Mary Roper, Mrs Basset, used the classicist education provided by her mother, Margaret More, to produce a manuscript translation of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* out of Greek, which she dedicated to Mary Tudor during Edward VI's reign. She hoped that Mary's

[12] Such as Nicholas Lesse for Mary Howard, Walter Lynne and William Samuel for Anne Stanhope, Hugh Latimer for Katherine Willoughby, and Sir Anthony Cope for Katherine Parr. See also p. 125, n.19.
[13] J.P. Carley, 'Parker, Henry, tenth Baron Morley', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2004); Block, 'Shelton Family', in *ODNB*; *PPE*, pp. 7, 42, 51, 82, 97, 143; BL Royal MS 2/D/XXVIII; MS 17/A/XXX; MS 17/A/XLVI; MS 17/C/XII; MS 17/C/XVI; MS 18/A/XV; MS 18/A/LX; Schutte, *Mary I and the Art of Book Dedications*, pp. 81–90.
[14] BL Harley MS 1703, fos 108r–109r, pr. 'A Praise of his Ladye', in R. Tottel (ed.), *Tottel's Miscellany* (Westminster, 1897), p. 163; P. Happé, 'Heywood, John', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2008).

approval would further its circulation and make it 'a greate deale the better accepted'. It was probably well-received, as Mary Roper later secured a place in Mary's queenly household.[15] By contrast, the authors of more perfunctory dedications made to Mary, capitalising on her membership of the royal family and seeking opportunities for patronage without attempting to appeal to her interests, lack any subsequent connections to her.[16]

As shown in the previous two chapters, the household was a useful space of elite female patronage through its financial resources. It was used to support scholars, who were offered employment as tutors or chaplains, giving them an income and space for their academic pursuits. William Turner was able to produce his herbal during his employment as physician by the Somersets, after dedicating a previous book to the duke asking for 'such libertie & leasure with a co*n*uenie*n*t place' to finish his larger work.[17] Shared residence and close working in the household can be expected to strengthen connections between these women and those scholars who worked within their houses. The unequal relationships of employment and patronage fitted together to encourage service for rewards, which demonstrates the instrumental nature of these relationships. In 1550, Roger Ascham intended to call upon Katherine Willoughby for cash after her she offered 'large and generous promises' in return for him teaching handwriting to her sons the previous year.[18] Nine of the forty-nine book dedications made to these women were by members of their households, in which the authors usually emphasised the book as a gift or reflection of their service.[19] Their existing connection and service could improve the likelihood of a positive reception. The domestic space can be regarded as a place of

[15] BL Harley MS 1860, fos 1r–4r; Schutte, *Mary I and the Art of Book Dedications*, pp. 93–95; C.M.K. Bowden, 'Bassett [*née* Roper], Mary', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2008).
[16] P. Bush, *The Extripacion of Ignorancy* (London, 1526) STC 4186; A. Borde, *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge* (London, 1555) STC 3383.
[17] W. Turner, *The Names of Herbes in Greke, Latin, Englishe, Duche [and] Frenche* (London, 1548) STC 24359; W. Turner, *A New Herbal* (London, 1551) STC 24365.
[18] R. Ascham, *Letters of Roger Ascham*, trans. M. Hatch and A. Vos, ed. A. Vos (New York, 1989), 34, pp. 137–38.
[19] BL Royal MS 17/B/XVIII; Harley MS 1860; Dee, *The Autobiographical Tracts*, p. 75; T. Becon, *The Flour of Godly Praiers* (London, 1551) STC 1719.5; W. Samuel, *The Abridgemente of Goddes Statutes in Myter* (London, 1551) STC 21690.2; Linacre, *Rudimenta Grammatices*, STC 15636; G. Duwes, *An Introductorie for to Lerne to Rede, to Pronounce, and to Speake Frenche Trewly* (London, 1533) STC 7377; A. Cope, *A Godly Meditacion vpon. xx. Select and Chosen Psalmes* (London, 1547) STC 5717. See the discussion of Mildred Cooke's manuscript translation to Anne Stanhope in Chapter 1, pp. 56–57.

academic collaboration, especially as household clients connected their employers to wider networks of other scholars. As discussed in the previous chapter, Mary Howard employed John Foxe as tutor to her brother's children by 1548. Her patronage opened him to connections with John Bale, a substantial influence on Foxe who encouraged him to produce the *Commentarii* and lent him manuscripts and notebooks. Mary contributed to Foxe's work by giving him information on Anne Boleyn's household, which he used in his *Acts and Monuments*.[20] Meanwhile, the Somerset household employed French evangelical Nicolas Denisot as tutor to their daughters between 1547 and 1549. Under his guidance, the eldest three composed their *Hecatodistichon*, a collection of one hundred Latin verses on the death of Marguerite de Navarre in 1550. Denisot was the one to secure its publication in Paris that year.[21]

Evangelical writer and teacher Thomas Becon joined the Somerset household after 1547 as the duke's chaplain.[22] He dedicated his 1551 *The Flour of Godly Praiers* to Anne Stanhope, offering this collection of prayers suitable for women to the duchess as 'patrones boothe of the godlye and godlynesse, boothe of the learned and of learninge'. As a member of her household, he used the language of service to present the book as an unworthy gift and claimed that it was his 'bounden dutye' to dedicate it to her. He also anticipated that her patronage was not confined to supporting the making of the book, as he hoped that she would circulate and promote it so that it would reach many hands.[23] He later dedicated an improved and corrected edition of his *The Governaunce of Vertue* to Anne's daughter Jane, again as a 'poore gifte' representing 'some parte of my good wil'. Probably written around late 1551, shortly after seeing his *Godly Praiers* printed and at a time of 'miseries' for the Seymour family, Becon praised both Somerset and Anne for educating their children, and ended the dedication with wishes of good health for their whole family.[24] Further

[20] Evenden and Freeman, *Religion and the Book*, pp. 39–43; *TAMO* (1570), book 8, p. 1237.
[21] J.D. Campbell, 'Crossing International Borders: Tutors and the Transmission of Young Women's Writing', in J.D. Campbell and A.R. Larsen (eds), *Early Modern Women and Transnational Communities of Letters* (Farnham, 2009), p. 216; M.L. Kekewich, 'Denisot, Nicolas', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2004); 'A "Journall" of Matters of State', p. 87; Seymour et al., *Hecatodistichon*.
[22] S.B. House, 'Becon, Thomas', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2009).
[23] Becon, *The Flour of Godly Praiers*, sigs A6v–A7r.
[24] T. Becon, *The Governaunce of Vertue* (London, 1544) STC 1726, sigs A7r–A8v.

showing his membership of the household, Becon had earlier composed a prayer 'practysed in the commune prayer of the whole famylye at Shene, during the trouble of their Lord and mayster the duke of Somerset' in the October 1549 crisis, which was included in a translated work by Miles Coverdale commissioned the next year by the duke.[25] Becon also served as a link between the Somersets and other clients and noble families. When keeping a low profile as a recanted heretic, he had been sheltered in Staffordshire by John Old, whom he introduced to Hugh Latimer. Latimer then preferred Old to Anne's patronage by 1549, and she secured his presentation to Cubbington vicarage in Warwickshire in March that year. Old joined the *Paraphrases* project for the second volume and included his thanks to Anne in the preface to his translation of the Pauline letters. Becon himself had also enjoyed the protection of Henry and Frances Dorset when he stayed at their house around 1546–47, where he was able to meet with their chaplain and tutor John Aylmer.[26]

Recent scholarship has accentuated the importance of printers in networks of book production, as part of the collaborative process of writing, patronising, publishing, and circulating a book. Elite women were integrated into these networks, through their support not only of authors or books but of printers, too.[27] Mary Howard and Katherine Willoughby patronised printer John Day, while Katherine Parr patronised printer Richard Grafton. They were members of larger networks of production, as shown by the linkages between these women, printers, scholars like John Foxe, and other patrons such as William Cecil. John Day has been the subject of several studies which have brought together his personal background, his printing skills and labours, especially in producing Foxe's *Acts*, and his evangelical ideas, including noting the elite female patronage of Mary Howard and Katherine Willoughby.[28] Printed books

[25] O. Werdmüller, *A Spyrytuall and Moost Precyouse Pearle*, trans. M. Coverdale (London, 1550), STC 25255.
[26] C. Bradshaw, 'Old, John', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2006); B. Usher, 'Aylmer, John', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2008).
[27] Smith, *Grossly Material Things*, pp. 59, 77; Pender, 'Patterns of Print', p. 90; Pender, 'Dispensing Quails', pp. 37, 42.
[28] Evenden and Freeman, *Religion and the Book*; Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage*; King, 'John Day'.

were seen by evangelicals as a vital means of spreading religious ideas and writings in the vernacular.[29]

John Day was an evangelical printer in London by 1546, and worked in partnership with another evangelical, William Seres, between 1547 and 1550. They benefited from the increased printing permitted by the Edwardian regime, and its religious reforms, and worked to promote the spread of Protestant messages by printing religious texts which were accessible to the masses by being small, cheap, and in the vernacular. Day enjoyed connections to Edwardian reformers including Somerset, Cecil, Katherine Willoughby, and Mary Howard.[30] Lesse described Day in 1550 as Mary Howard's printer, claiming that she often 'com*m*oned wyth youre Printer therein' to support the publication of religious texts. Mary may have also been the link between Day and Foxe, who worked in her household, although they could also have been introduced by William Cecil.[31] In addition to printing works dedicated to Mary and to Katherine Willoughby, Day and Seres also printed eight evangelical books with Katherine's coat of arms between 1547 and 1549, including Tyndale's New Testament and two books of Hugh Latimer's sermons. This probably represents Katherine's financial support to the printers, especially given the repeated use of her arms, and as one of the texts, Latimer's first sermon before Edward VI, was also dedicated to her by its editor, Thomas Some.[32] Showing once again his centrality in this female-dominated evangelical circle, scholars have noted William Cecil's role in connecting Katherine with Day and Seres, as well as the link that Katherine forged between him and Katherine Parr.[33]

Both Cecil and Katherine Willoughby were involved in the publication of Katherine Parr's *Lamentation of a Sinner*. An evangelical conversion narrative in which she asserted justification through grace by faith alone and proclaimed

[29] Culling, 'Tudor Royal Household', p. 181; Smith, *Grossly Material Things*, p. 67; King, 'John Day', p. 190.
[30] Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage*, pp. 17–18; King, 'John Day', pp. 184–85, 196.
[31] St Augustine, *The Twelve Steppes of Abuses*, trans. N. Lesse (London, 1550) STC 84, sig. A3r–v; Evenden and Freeman, *Religion and the Book*, p. 101.
[32] See full details in bibliography: STC 1544, 2087.5, 2853, 13214, 15270.7 and 15272.5, 15291, 24441a, 24784.
[33] Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage*, pp. 17–18; Alford, *Kingship and Politics*, p. 122.

the value of reading Scripture in the vernacular, this was Katherine's first original work after publishing several translations. She was the only one of the eight women studied here to publish her own writing. Deferred printing in Henry VIII's lifetime, it was 'put in print at the instaunt desire of the righte gracious ladie Caterin duchesse of Suffolke, [and] the earnest requeste of the right honourable Lord, William Parre, Marquesse of North Hampton', in 1547. It has been suggested that Katherine Willoughby provided the copy text for the printers. William Cecil wrote the preface to the reader, in which he defended and praised the work.[34] Musician and evangelical John Marbeck had approached Katherine Parr to prefer his *Concordance* to the king, 'that his Maiestie would commaunde it to be published'. However, as he later wrote, Henry VIII died 'before the quenes grace could haue tyme conuenient to moue [him]'. His *Concordance* was not printed until 1550, when he dedicated it to Edward VI. Interestingly, it was printed by Richard Grafton, who had been Katherine's preferred printer.[35] Her patronage probably secured Grafton's promotion as Prince Edward's printer, and he and Edward Whitchurch printed both her *Lamentation* and the *Paraphrases*.[36]

There appears to have been a small circle of interconnected scholars, printers, and elite female backers who collaborated together in producing accessible evangelical texts in the vernacular. Key members were Nicholas Lesse, Walter Lynne, Thomas Becon, John Day, William Seres, Anne Stanhope and Somerset, Katherine Willoughby, and Mary Howard. Their books tend to contain the most fulsome dedications to the women studied here. Motivated by their shared desire to spread evangelical ideas through vernacular print, these women offered financial patronage and collaboration within a larger network of book production. Although some of their clients were employed in the household,

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[34] Parr, *Lamentacion*, sigs 2Ar, π4r–π6v; King, 'Patronage and Piety', p. 50; James, *Catherine Parr*, pp. 132–33; Devereux, 'English Paraphrases of Erasmus', pp. 353–54. Katherine Parr and Thomas Seymour secured Cecil's seat for Marlborough in 1547, probably at the request of Thomas Smith, and the next year John Thynne and the Marquess of Northampton encouraged Cecil to join Smith in buying up some of Katherine's land in Somerset, on her death. Alford, *Kingship and Politics*, p. 85.

[35] J. Merbecke, *A Concordance* (London, 1550) STC 17300, sig. aiii; D. Mateer, 'Marbeck, John', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2004); James, 'Reputation and Appropriation', p. 6.

[36] M.G. Ferguson, 'Grafton, Richard', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2015); A. Ryrie, 'Whitchurch, Edward', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2008); James, *Catherine Parr*, pp. 132–33, 203–04; Devereux, 'English Paraphrases of Erasmus', pp. 353–54.

this network spread wider than the domestic space. King has claimed that elite evangelical women were able to extend their religious patronage from the household to print works after 1547 due to the increased scope and state support for printed Protestant works under Edward VI.[37] Between 1548 and 1550, Lesse dedicated two translations to Mary Howard, who offered to help arrange the printing of the first by John Day, a further two to Anne Stanhope, one to her husband Somerset, and one to Katherine Willoughby. Most were printed by Day. Lesse translated mainly evangelical works and had Calvinist sympathies, working in the printing boom in the early Edwardian period. John Bale had acted as the intermediary between Lesse and Mary Howard.[38] Walter Lynne translated or compiled and then printed three evangelical works which he dedicated to Anne in 1549 and 1550, in addition to outsourcing the printing of Lesse's translation for her.[39] Lynne also printed two books dedicated to Somerset, one of which was translated and dedicated by Lynne himself, and a third book which was commissioned by the duke. While Katherine and Mary were widowed at this time and acted independently, Anne was married, and both she and her husband participated in this circle.[40] John Day, usually with his partner William Seres, printed eight of the books which were dedicated to Mary, Anne, and Katherine. This included two devotional works by Thomas Becon in the Somerset household.[41] As discussed above, Day and Seres also

[37] King, 'Patronage and Piety', pp. 44, 47–50.
[38] Augustine, *The Twelve Steppes*; St Augustine, *A Worke of the Predestination of Saints*, trans. N. Lesse (London, 1550) STC 920; F. Lambert, *The Minde and Iudgement of Maister Fraunces Lambert of Auenna of the Wyll of Man*, trans. N. Lesse (London, 1548) STC 15178; P. Melanchthon, *The Justification of Man by Faith Only*, trans. N. Lesse (London, 1548) STC 17792; J. l'Espine, *A Very Fruitful & Godly Exposition vpon the xv. Psalme of Dauid*, trans. N. Lesse (London, 1548) STC 166.5; Gibbs, 'Lesse, Nicholas', in *ODNB*; Clark, 'A "Conservative" Family', p. 326. King has argued that Lesse sought to develop his career as a translator by using noble female patronage, and that this led him to translate Erasmus's work on women's choice in marriage partners and divorce, printed as *The Censure and Judgement of Erasmus*, in 1550. King, 'Patronage and Piety', p. 53.
[39] W. Lynne, *A Briefe Collection of all such Textes of the Scripture as do declare ye happie estate of the[m] that be vyseted wyth syckness* (London, 1549) STC 17119; W. Capito, *The True Beliefe in Christ and his Sacramentes*, trans. W. Lynne (London, 1550) STC 24223.5; H. Bullinger, *A Briefe and Compendiouse Table*, trans. W. Lynne (London, 1550) STC 17117; Augustine, *A Worke of the Predestination of Saints*.
[40] Joachim of Fiore, *The Beginning and Endynge of all Popery, or popishe kyngedome*, trans. W. Lynne (London, 1548) STC 17115; P.M. Vermigli, *Epistle unto the Right Honorable and Christian Prince, the Duke of Somerset*, trans. T. Norton (London, 1550) STC 24666; Werdmüller, *A Spyrytuall and Moost Precyouse Pearle*.
[41] Augustine, *The Twelve Steppes*; T. Becon, *The Castell of Comforte* (London, 1549) STC 1712; Lambert, *The Minde and Iudgement*; Becon, *The Flour of Godly Praiers*; H. Latimer,

printed eight evangelical books with Katherine's coat of arms after the title page.[42]

The dedications recognised the role played by Mary, Anne, and Katherine in supporting or promoting publication. Lesse acknowledged Anne as 'a mooste Godly mother & setter forth of this worcke vnder whose name it cometh abrode into the handes of the people'.[43] His sentiments echo those of Lynne, who claimed that he was motivated to dedicate works to her because of her reputation as 'the most graciousse patronesse & supportar both of good learnynge and also of godly men lerned'. This was both a learned and evangelically pious reputation, as Anne's 'chiefe and daylye study is in the holy Byble', and her desire 'to se Goddes trueth both preached & set forth in writtinges' made her suitable, according to Lynne, to receive an evangelical text.[44] Lesse had chosen to dedicate a 1548 translation of a tract on the Psalms to Katherine Willoughby, despite no seeming prior connection, because he considered her to be 'a goodly & a bright spectacle to womanhod: and no small reproch to a great meany of men', in addition to her track record of spreading evangelical teachings to the common people through vernacular texts.[45] Her reputation for patronising evangelical scholars encouraged further dedications and requests for her patronage; in his 1580 translation of Theodore de Bèze, John Field emphasised the benefits, presumably financial, which he and others 'haue receiued at your graces hand'.[46] The translations by Lesse and Lynne, dedicated to Mary, Anne, and Katherine, appear to have been well-received. Neither man was deterred from dedicating a subsequent work to the same woman. Lesse considered Mary Howard to have been receptive of his desire to publish his translation of Luther's exposition on St Peter's epistles, despite it never making it to print, as he then dedicated a second translation to her in

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The First Sermon of Mayster Hughe Latimer, ed. T. Some (London, 1549) STC 15270.7; J. Calvin, *Sermons of John Calvin*, trans. A. Lok (London, 1560) STC 4450; l'Espine, *A Very Fruitful & Godly Exposition*; H. Latimer, *27 Sermons Preached by the ryght Reuerende father in God and constant matir [sic] of Iesus Christe, Maister Hugh Latimer*, ed. A. Bernher (London, 1562) STC 15276.

[42] STC 1544, 2087.5, 2853, 13214, 15270.7, 15291, 24441a, 24784.

[43] Lambert, *The Minde and Iudgement*, sig. [8Ar].

[44] Lynne, *A Briefe Collection*, sigs A4v–A5r; Bullinger, *A Briefe and Compendiouse Table*, sig. A2r; Capito, *The True Beliefe*, sig. A2r.

[45] l'Espine, *A Very Fruitful & Godly Exposition*, sigs A4v–A6r.

[46] T. de Bèze, *The Other Parte of Christian Questions and Answeares, which is concerning the sacraments*, trans. J. Fielde (London, 1580) STC 2045, sig. *2r–v.

1550. He suggested that she was motivated by a desire to see vernacular religious texts to 'come in to the handes of the people'.[47] The motivations of spreading popular access to religious texts, promoting evangelicalism, and supporting scholarship were accorded to these three women. Such targeted dedications, which shared their religious viewpoints, were unlikely to be badly received. The dedicators themselves probably engaged in some degree of pragmatism, especially as dedications were made after 1547 when these women gained power with the Somerset regime, although this also coincided with the explosion of evangelical printing in London. However, Lesse and Lynne continued to dedicate works to Anne in 1550 and 1551, after her husband's fall, reflecting perhaps recognition of her patronage and interest.[48]

Collaborative circles

In addition to these networks of scholarly production focused on supporting scholars and printers, the women studied here also joined networks formed of other elite women and men to enjoy and share both books and scholarly ideas or interests including courtly verse, religious study, and evangelical piety. In circulating and promoting these ideas and texts, these groups can be seen as efforts of collaboration. Although neither producing original scholarship nor offering it financial patronage, these circles contributed to the dissemination of scholarly ideas. These networks were amongst the elite, with books given and circulated amongst friends and families, and the interest groups of the Devonshire circle and Katherine Parr's household both located at court. The women studied here were able to participate, and sometimes take a leading role, in these collaborative circles, working to promote their ideas and influence others. Physical books were shared and borrowed, gifted and bequeathed, circulating amongst social circles of the elite. Their use as gifts suggests that they were also valued as markers or status symbols rather than purely academic objects. The Devonshire circle of courtiers, including Margaret Douglas and Mary Howard, collected and annotated courtly love

[47] Augustine, *The Twelve Steppes*, sig. A3r–v.
[48] Capito, *The True Beliefe*; Bullinger, *A Briefe and Compendiouse Table*; Augustine, *A Worke of the Predestination of Saints*.

poetry in a manuscript volume in the early 1530s, using the volume to participate in courtly culture, and to enjoy, encourage and critique English verse. The circle of women based in Katherine Parr's household, as discussed in the previous chapter, shared in scholarly and devotional activities, which fostered Protestant conversions amongst several women in addition to promoting an evangelical atmosphere at court.

The sharing of books entailed the sharing and promoting of the ideas contained within them. These women circulated ideas and books by presenting them as gifts, bequeathing them, lending them to friends, and using them to inscribe or pass on messages.[49] These inscriptions contributed to the content of the books, as a form of collaborative authorship, while also forming evidence of circulation, being written in books when they were shared or read together, or when gifted.[50] The women studied here shared books in household, family, and court spaces, and within networks of family, friends, and attendants. These networks show how these women collaborated with other noble men and women to share their ideas.[51] Their circulation of books, like their ownership studied below, also reveals how they were valued in both academic and non-academic contexts. This reflects the larger mix of scholarly, personal, and social interests for these women's participation within the scholarly sphere.[52]

Books were given as gifts, especially for New Year. As noted above, Mary Tudor was given several New Year's manuscript translations from Lord Morley. As queen, for New Year 1557 she received sixteen books, including two from her royal printer John Cawood. Earlier, she gave a bound book 'lymmed w*ith* golde' to her brother Edward for New Year 1543.[53] As noted below, she also gave and received jewelled girdle books with other women. One of these was to her attendant Mrs Rider on her marriage. Another female attendant received a fifteenth-century Latin book of hours as a gift from Mary,

[49] *PPE*, p. 144; TNA E101/424/12, fo. 171r; Queen's College MS 349, fo. 32r.
[50] Schutte, *Mary I and the Art of Book Dedications*, pp. 131–33.
[51] *Ibid*., p. 132; Southall, 'The Devonshire Manuscript'; King, 'Patronage and Piety', p. 46.
[52] F. Rose-Troup, 'Two Book Bills of Katherine Parr', *The Library*, ser. 3, 2/5 (1911), pp. 40–48; Schutte, *Mary I and the Art of Book Dedications*, pp. 128–29; James, *The Feminine Dynamic*, pp. 84–85. See also below pp. 135–36, n.62 and n.64.
[53] BL Add. MS 62525; Schutte, *Mary I and the Art of Book Dedications*, p. 129; *PPE*, pp. 97, 106, 108, 143.

with an inscription urging the receiver to seek virtue over material gains.[54] Mary inscribed messages in others' books, too. She asked Katherine Parr to accept her 'harte and seuyce' in Katherine's copy of Cranmer's Litany, *An exhortation vnto prayer*, around 1545. Katherine probably later gave this book to her husband Henry VIII, and it was bound with the king's copy of Katherine's *Psalms or Prayers*.[55] Mary, Katherine, and Margaret Douglas were amongst the women who inscribed messages of friendship in Jane Cheyne, Lady Wriothesley's, prayerbook. Katherine also owned a printed prayerbook in English, containing sermons of St Chrysostom and St Cyprian, in which the king inscribed a poem, 'Respect', while Katherine copied in verses from Ecclesiastes. In the theme of circulating and sharing, Katherine seems to have borrowed an Italian book from the Earl of Derby in 1546.[56] Valerie Schutte has suggested that Mary Tudor had several non-controversial religious texts bound in order to circulate them within her household. Katherine Parr ordered 'gorgiously' leather-bound and gilt presentation copies of her own books to be distributed as gifts amongst her friends, relatives, and attendants.[57] Books were also bequeathed or inherited. Martin Bucer bequeathed books from his library to his friend and patron Katherine Willoughby in 1551, although she probably did not receive them.[58] Frances Brandon was given a manuscript book of hours by her mother, and later passed it onto her relation by marriage Florence Pudsey, Lady Clifford. It was perhaps during Frances's ownership that the image of Catholic saint Thomas Becket was effaced.[59]

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[54] *PPE*, p. 144; S.E. James, *The Feminine Dynamic in English Art, 1485–1603: Women as Consumers, Patrons and Painters* (Farnham, 2009), p. 85; BL Royal MS 17/B/XXVIII, fos 113v, 117r, 122r, pr. *PPE*, pp. 178, 185, 194; Bodleian Auct. MS D inf. 2. 13, fos 198v, 231v, pr. Schutte, *Mary I and the Art of Book Dedications*, p. 132.
[55] Schutte, *Mary I and the Art of Book Dedications*, pp. 131–33; *KP Works*, pp. 621–22.
[56] Bodleian Laud. MS Misc. 1, fos 2r, 8v, 45v, pr. *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues II: Laudian Manuscripts*, ed. H.O. Coxe (Oxford, 1973), p. 55; E. Charlton, 'Devotional Tracts Belonging to Queen Katherine Parr', *Notes and Queries*, ser. 1, 11/44 (1850), p. 212; *KP Works*, pp. 39, 47; TNA E101/424/12, fo. 171r.
[57] Schutte, *Mary I and the Art of Book Dedications*, pp. 120, 124–25, 127; Rose-Troup, 'Two Book Bills', pp. 40–48; Mueller, 'Katherine Parr and her Circle', p. 224.
[58] N.S. Amos, 'Bucer, Martin', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2007).
[59] Florence was married to Richard Grey, son of the first Marquess of Dorset. Queen's College MS 349, fo. 32r; Oxford, The Queen's College Library, unpublished catalogue of Medieval Manuscripts, entry MS 349, www.queens.ox.ac.uk/sites/www.queens.ox.ac.uk/files/349.pdf, accessed 30.05.2022.

Several women also belonged to scholarly court circles, namely the Devonshire circle of courtly verse in Anne Boleyn's household in the early 1530s, and the circle of women sharing devotional activities based in Katherine Parr's queenly household. Both groups involved connections with other elite women and men, and were centred on the court space, showing the collaborative opportunities available amongst the aristocracy. With shared interests in poetry or in scholarly and evangelical discussions, these communities enabled the exchange of words and ideas, influencing each other. These examples show the centrality of women in scholarly interest groups at court, as women dominated Katherine Parr's circle, and took a leading role in the Devonshire circle.

Mary Howard and Margaret Douglas were key members of a small circle of young courtiers exchanging and compiling English verse in the early 1530s. The Devonshire manuscript is the product of this collaborative group, a manuscript collection of some 184 courtly love poems by Wyatt, medieval authors, and other courtiers. The book was owned by Mary Howard, and the Devonshire circle included her, Margaret Douglas, Mary Shelton, Thomas Howard, Edmund Knyvet, and John Hall.[60] The group transcribed, circulated, appropriated, and commented on courtly verse in Anne Boleyn's household. Scholarship has noted women's crucial roles in this circle, as they undertook much of the transcription; furthermore, Siemens et al.'s network analysis has shown that Margaret Douglas was a highly central figure as the project manager.[61] The existing scholarship has also emphasised the 1530s Henrician court context of the circle, noting the women's involvement in and challenges to misogynistic courtly love games.[62] The Devonshire circle provided an outlet

[60] BL Add. MS 17492, pr. *The Devonshire Manuscript: A Women's Book of Courtly Poetry*, ed. E. Heale (Toronto, 2012); Southall, 'The Devonshire Manuscript', pp. 142–50; Baron, 'Mary (Howard) Fitzroy's Hand'.
[61] Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance*, pp. 37–39; Brigden, 'Epic Romance', pp. 642–46; E. Heale, 'Women and the Courtly Love Lyric: The Devonshire MS (BL Additional 17492)', *The Modern Language Review*, 90/2 (1995), pp. 296–313; Siemens et al., 'Drawing Networks', 2.1, 3.2. The group were centred on Anne Boleyn's household, despite Anne's efforts to moderate her household and ban 'wanton' or 'ydill poeses'; at one point, the queen rebuked Mary Shelton for inscribing poems into a book of prayers. W. Latymer, 'William Latymer's Chronickille of Anne Bulleyne', ed. M. Dowling, *Camden Miscellany*, vol. 30 (London, 1990), pp. 63–63; Southall, 'The Devonshire Manuscript', p. 143.
[62] Although much scholarship has situated the Devonshire manuscript in the context of courtly love games and noted that the women deliberately challenged misogyny in their choice of poems, more recently Shirley has claimed that Margaret Douglas, Mary Shelton, and Mary

for female patronage of Tudor literature. Although not all members of the group had the academic education to undertake projects such as translations or original writing, they could participate in the Devonshire manuscript as a form of informal collaboration.[63] The manuscript also allowed for the flourishing of female friendships and as a private space for the small group at court. Margaret Douglas and Thomas Howard used the privacy of the volume to express their love or to reflect on their secret relationship, which saw them incarcerated in the Tower in 1536 for secretly contracting to marry without royal permission.[64]

As discussed in the previous chapter, a circle of female scholarly interest grew up around Katherine Parr's household at court in the 1540s. The ladies shared activities encompassing both the scholarly and the religious, such as reading and discussing devotional texts and hearing sermons, which helped to foster evangelical sympathies in its members.[65] The circle was collaborative by sharing scholarly and religious ideas, rather than working together to produce or patronise written outputs. This included ideas regarding female education, which these women applied to their own daughters, as shown below. The group also patronised scholars, participating in learning and scholarship through this collaboration. Katherine Parr, Katherine Willoughby, Anne Stanhope, Jane Guildford, Mary Tudor, and Margaret Douglas, as noted above, received print

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Howard did not wholly reject misogyny but instead performed it by constructing identities of betrayed courtly lovers which allowed them to participate in the Henrician court culture of cynicism. Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance*, pp. 37–39; Brigden, 'Epic Romance', pp. 642–46; Heale, 'Women and the Courtly Love Lyric', pp. 296–313; Siemens et al., 'Drawing Networks', 2.1, 3.2; C. Shirley, 'The Devonshire Manuscript: Reading Gender in the Henrician Court', *English Literary Renaissance*, 45/1 (2015), pp. 34, 42–46, 58.

[63] Ring, *So High a Blood*, p. 41; Remley, 'Mary Shelton', p. 61; E. Heale, 'Introduction', in Heale (ed.), *The Devonshire Manuscript*, p. 23; Siemens et al., 'Drawing Networks', 3.4.

[64] Heale, 'Introduction', pp. 29–30; Heale, 'Women and the Courtly Love Lyric', pp. 296–313; Siemens et al., 'Drawing Networks', 2.1–2, 3.1, 3.3; Baron, 'Mary (Howard) Fitzroy's Hand', pp. 326–27; Irish, 'Gender and Politics', pp. 80–81, 88, 91–96, 101–02; Murray, 'The Prisoner'. Margaret and Thomas fell in love at court by the end of 1535, meeting in secret with the assistance of Mary Howard. They contracted to marry, which was discovered in early July 1536, at a time when the royal succession was uncertain after the king had just ended his marriage to Anne Boleyn. Henry VIII had the couple sent the Tower, where Lord Thomas died the following year, while Margaret was removed to Sion and was released and pardoned following his death. M. Riordan, 'Howard, Lord Thomas', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2004); Clark, 'Dynastic Politics', pp. 85, 235–36; *State Papers Published under the Authority of his Majesty's Commission: King Henry the Eighth*, vol. 4 (London, 1836), CCCIV, p. 58; D.M. Head, '"Being Ledde and Seduced by the Devyll": The Attainder of Lord Thomas Howard and the Tudor Law of Treason', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 13/4 (1982), p. 8; *L&P* XI, 48, p. 28; XIV, ii, 782, p. 332; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, I, p. 70.

[65] Richards, *Mary Tudor*, p. 80; Mazzola, 'Schooling Shrews', pp. 16–18; Baldwin, *Henry VIII's Last Love*, p. 61.

and manuscript dedications, especially in religious texts. Joan Champernowne, Anne Parr, and Elizabeth Oxenbridge were also members of the circle who received a dedication each, while Elizabeth would go on to write a Protestant devotional book.[66] Sir Robert Tyrwhitt, Elizabeth's husband, noted to Thomas Seymour in Katherine's household in 1548 that, although his wife was 'not seyne [seen (skilled)] in Devynnete, but she was halff a Scrypture Woman'.[67] Further combining the scholarly and the evangelical, several women in the circle supported Anne Askew, as discussed in Chapter 2. Their activities provided a sense of community and companionship, in addition to a means of sharing their ideas and working to spread and promote them.[68]

Educational influence

The women studied in this thesis acted as patrons of learning and overseers of education in their own houses. Education has long been recognised in the existing scholarship as an outlet for women to exert influence by teaching or directing the educations of their children and other children within their households. Elite women delegated much of the actual teaching, but worked in partnership with their husbands to determine the direction and scope of their children's educations, and appointed tutors to fit their visions.[69] Early modern educations included both academic training and wider socialisation; girls' studies had traditionally focused on socialisation and moral training, but the rise of humanism saw academic and even classical learning offered to some women, encompassing Latin, modern languages, history, mathematics, medicine, and potentially political philosophy, theology, rhetoric, and Greek. Mary Tudor was an early example of such female learning, especially as the secondary literature suggests that her education was not as restrictive as Juan Luis Vives's proscriptions imply, with academic subjects included in order to

[66] Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', pp. New Information, 334–35, 337–40, 348–56; Culling, 'Tudor Royal Household', p. 189.
[67] Hatfield MS 201, fo. 75r. My thanks to Bruce McClintock for this gloss.
[68] Mazzola, 'Schooling Shrews', pp. 17–18.
[69] *Ibid*., pp. 3–4, 8–11, 18; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, p. 32; Charlton, 'Mothers as Educative Agents', pp. 129–31, 144–47, 152–56; S.D. Michalove, 'Equal in Opportunity? The Education of Aristocratic Women 1450–1540', in B.J. Whitehead (ed.), *Women's Education in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1999), p. 69.

better prepare her for rulership.[70] Warnicke has shown that there was a trend in the Tudor royal family of promoting humanist learning for both boys and girls, including Mary Tudor and her siblings; Katherine of Aragon had commissioned Vives to produce a humanist curriculum of classical and rhetorical learning suitable for Mary, while earlier Margaret Beaufort had begun the trend of royal female scholarly patronage by supporting printed devotional books. Noble families, seeking to promote their offspring, emulated the royal example.[71] Katherine Parr then followed this tradition, having influence on women of her generation, especially in her household, as a role model by promoting academic learning.[72] The eldest children of Anne Stanhope, Frances Brandon, Katherine Willoughby, and Margaret Douglas reached the age of seven and started formal education around the time that Katherine Parr became queen. Existing scholarship often emphasises or even overstates Katherine's significance, especially on the direction of her stepchildren's studies, but does not always contextualise her efforts within the larger tradition of royal interest in education.[73] This section demonstrates her influence while situating it within this established trend. This trend was crucial, as it suggests that royally sanctioned directions confined the extent for women's educational involvement.

This section shows that Katherine Parr's influence on her royal stepchildren's studies was in the form of encouragement and the prompting of several of Elizabeth Tudor's translations. She promoted female academic training to several of the women studied here, some of whom were also motivated by their

[70] Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance*, pp. 34–35; Pollnitz, 'Christian Women'; Pollnitz, 'Religion and Translation', p. 134; E. McCutcheon, 'Margaret More Roper: The Learned Woman in Tudor England', *Moreana*, 52/201–02 (2015), p. 274; A.T. Friedman, 'The Influence of Humanism on the Education of Girls and Boys in Tudor England', *History of Education Quarterly*, 25/1–2 (1985), p. 65; Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*, pp. 21, 39–41; T.G. Elston, 'Transformation or Continuity? Sixteenth-Century Education and the Legacy of Catherine of Aragon, Mary I, and Juan Luis Vives', in C. Levin, J.E. Carney, and D. Barrett-Graves (eds.), *'High and Mighty Queens' of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations* (New York, 2003), pp. 11, 21–22; Vosevich, 'The Education of a Prince(ss)'.
[71] Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance*, pp. 36–39.
[72] *Ibid*., p. 94; Dowling, *Humanism*, pp. 235–36; C.F. Hoffman, 'Catherine Parr as a Woman of Letters', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 23/4 (1960), pp. 350–51; Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', pp. 311–12, 326; James, *Catherine Parr*, pp. 25–28, 31, 128–29; King, 'Patronage and Piety', pp. 44, 47–50; Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*, pp. 24–26.
[73] James, *Catherine Parr*, pp. 128–29; Mazzola, 'Schooling Shrews', pp. 3–4, 14–18; Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*, pp. 24–26; King, 'Patronage and Piety', pp. 44, 47–50.

own learning. Although not all had received educations comparable to Mary Tudor's, they were still able to encourage academic learning in others. A recent shift in the scholarship has regarded academic studies as offering wide opportunities to early modern women, rather than being of limited value.[74] However, this chapter demonstrates that women did not necessarily require such learning to participate in wider projects and promote scholarly ideas and outputs to others. They often worked with their husbands to produce educated daughters, who elevated their families' reputations. Depending on the approval of husbands could limit the extent of independent female influence. Beyond the family, Anne Stanhope and Mary Tudor made provisions for financially supporting university learning for poor boys, while Katherine Willoughby's patronage of St John's College, Cambridge, encompassed her friendship with Martin Bucer and her grant of scholarships designed to benefit both poor scholars and her own children.

Katherine Parr encouraged her royal stepchildren in their Latin studies, and influenced Elizabeth Tudor to undertake religious translations. Although there has been debate over the extent of Katherine's education, it seems that she and her sister Anne enjoyed studies as adults, and Katherine was certainly educated enough to take an interest in her royal stepchildren's learning.[75] Existing scholarship on a supposed 'anti-intellectual streak' in Katherine suggests that she probably valued the pious above the academic, not that she did not value scholarship at all.[76] There is considerable debate in the secondary literature as to the extent of her influence over Prince Edward's education: although Warnicke and Dowling have downplayed her role, more recently Culling, Kujana-Holbrook, and James have suggested that Henry VIII accorded her

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[74] H.N. Parker, 'Women and Humanism: Nine Factors for the Woman Learning', *Viator*, 35 (2004), pp. 582–83, 586–98; M.E. Lamb, 'The Cooke Sisters: Attitudes toward Learned Women in the Renaissance', in Hannay (ed.), *Silent But for the Word*, pp. 107, 116, 124; Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*, pp. 7, 86; J. Goodrich, *Faithful Translators: Authorship, Gender, and Religion in Early Modern England* (Evanston, 2014), pp. 5–9, 27.

[75] As Mazzola has noted, she did not need to be their intellectual equal in order to influence their learning. Mazzola, 'Schooling Shrews', p. 16; James, *Catherine Parr*, pp. 24–28; BL C.28.f.3, R. Estienne, *Les mots francois selon lordre des lettres, ainsi que les fault escrire: tourner en latin, pour les enfans* (Paris, 1544); *Letters of Roger Ascham*, 14, p. 75; Kujana-Holbrook, 'Katherine Parr and Reformed Religion', pp. 68–74.

[76] Hoffman, 'Catherine Parr', pp. 352, 359–61; Dowling, *Humanism*, pp. 235–36; Dowling, 'A Woman's Place?', pp. 41–42; Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance*, p. 94; James, *Catherine Parr*, pp. 35–36, 223; Parker Library MS 106, no. 200, p. 508.

some influence, such as the appointment of his tutor Cheke.[77] Nonetheless, Katherine played a role in motivating Edward; her influence on him and Elizabeth was that of a role model rather than a tutor, leading by the example of her own studies and scholarly projects. She welcomed Edward's Latin schoolroom exercise letters, and entered into light competition over their scholarly progress, as Katherine was also studying Latin and improving her handwriting at this time. Around late 1545 or early 1546, Edward claimed that he was disheartened to reply to her last letter, as her writing and composition were 'surpassing greatly my invention'. Katherine, meanwhile, praised Edward's efforts, claiming in January 1547 that Edward outshone her.[78] She also encouraged her royal stepdaughters' translation efforts, urging Mary Tudor to contribute to her *Paraphrases*, as discussed below, and to put her own name to the work.[79] Katherine's example of running the *Paraphrases* project and translating Fisher's *Psalms or Prayers* in 1544 was probably the imperative for Elizabeth Tudor to produce several translations for her family, which she gave as New Year's gifts. This included translating Katherine's own *Prayers and Meditations* into Italian, Latin, and French for Henry VIII in 1546. Elizabeth's first translation was probably suggested by Katherine: Marguerite de Navarre's French *Mirror for the Sinful Soul*, which Elizabeth completed and gave to Katherine for New Year 1545.[80] Elizabeth joined Katherine's household after Henry VIII's death, where the dowager queen oversaw her studies. Katherine

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[77] McConica, *English Humanists*, pp. 215–17; Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance*, pp. 94–95; Dowling, 'A Woman's Place?', p. 42; Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', pp. 315–19; Culling, 'Tudor Royal Household', p. 385; Kujana-Holbrook, 'Katherine Parr and Reformed Religion', pp. 68–74; James, *Catherine Parr*, pp. 115–16.
[78] BL Cotton MS Nero C/X, fos 6r, 8r; Edward VI, *Literary Remains*, I, pp. 13, 16–17, 22–23, 26, 33–34, 49, 51–52; J.O. Halliwell (ed.), *Letters of the Kings of England*, vol. 2 (London, 1848), pp. 12–13, 15–16, 22–23, 33; *KP Works*, pp. 113, 121, 125–27, 148; Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance*, p. 95.
[79] *KP Works*, p. 160; BL Cotton MS Vesp. F/III, fo. 37.
[80] S. Frye, 'Elizabeth When a Princess: Early Self-Representations in a Portrait and a Letter', in R. Schulte (ed.), *The Body of the Queen: Gender and Rule in the Courtly World, 1500–2000* (New York, 2006), p. 47; F. Teague, 'Princess Elizabeth's Hand in *The Glass of the Sinful Soul*', in P. Beal and M.J.M. Ezell (eds), *Writings by Early Modern Women* (London, 2000), p. 36; Culling, 'Tudor Royal Household', pp. 193–94; Kujana-Holbrook, 'Katherine Parr and Reformed Religion', pp. 68–74; Wood (ed.), *Letters*, III, 83, pp. 177–79; Mueller, 'Katherine Parr and her Circle', pp. 225–26. For New Year 1546, Elizabeth gave Katherine an English translation of Calvin's *Institutions*. Elizabeth also gave her father a now-lost translation of Erasmus's *Dialogus Fidei*, and later in 1547 she gave her brother her translation of Ochino's *De Christo Sermo* into Latin. Teague, 'Princess Elizabeth's Hand', p. 36; R. Ellis, 'The Juvenile Translations of Elizabeth Tudor', *Translation and Literature*, 18/2 (2009), pp. 158–59; BL Royal MS 7/D/X.

has been viewed as an 'intellectual mentor' to Elizabeth. When Elizabeth's tutor William Grindal died in 1548, Katherine tried to appoint her attorney Francis Goldsmith to the position, although Elizabeth preferred Roger Ascham instead.[81]

The women studied here embraced the trend of providing academic, and sometimes even classical humanist educations, not only to their sons but also their daughters. They usually worked jointly with their husbands, requiring wealth and status to provide such educations, and saw their families benefit from the prestige of having learned daughters. It seems that Anne Stanhope and Frances Brandon, in partnership with their husbands, provided classical training for their daughters, while the children of Jane Guildford, Margaret Douglas, and Katherine Willoughby had academic educations.[82] Mary Howard had guardianship of her brother Surrey's children for several years, using her own learning to oversee their classical educations, to which she added an evangelical bent.[83] Although probably only Mary Tudor, Frances Brandon, and Mary Howard were given classical training as children, those without it were able to promote it for their own children.[84] Katherine Parr continued to promote the royal example of female classical education, both by her encouragement of her stepchildren and her own scholarly activities at court. Nicholas Udall praised Katherine's household for training young women in 'good letters'. Katherine's example has been noted by existing scholars as contributing to an intellectual and well-educated next generation of noblewomen, and increasing the opportunities for women to play a vital role in higher learning.[85] However, it is necessary not to overstate Katherine's initiative, as she was following and propagating an existing royal trend.

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[81] Culling, 'Tudor Royal Household', pp. 190, 193–94; Kujana-Holbrook, 'Katherine Parr and Reformed Religion', pp. 68–74; Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance*, pp. 94–95; Dowling, 'A Woman's Place?', p. 42; Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', pp. 315–19; *Letters of Roger Ascham*, 29, p. 115.
[82] Loades, *John Dudley*, pp. 224–26; Ring, *So High a Blood*, p. 94; *Letters of Roger Ascham*, 34, pp. 137–38; J. Parkhurst, *Ludicra siue Epigrammata iuuenilia* (London, 1573) STC 19299, pp. 11–12; LAO 1-ANC/7/A/2, fos 30v, 33v, 96v.
[83] *TAMO* (1570), book 6, p. 851; Clark, 'A "Conservative" Family', p. 325; Aston, *The King's Bedpost*, p. 192; Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance*, pp. 101, 107–08; *CPR Edward VI*, IV, p. 237.
[84] Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance*, pp. 36–39.
[85] J.P. Carley, *The Books of King Henry VIII and His Wives* (London, 2004), p. 140; King, 'Patronage and Piety', pp. 59–60.

Frances Brandon and Mary Howard were probably also motivated by their own training, which their parents had provided by copying Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon's example for Mary Tudor. Nonetheless, Katherine Parr's example in studying, writing, and sponsoring others' works encouraged the women in her household to promote scholarship in their own homes and provide academic learning to their own daughters. This included the Dudley, Denny, Seymour, Grey, and Bertie offspring.[86]

The Dorsets and Somersets gave fine classical educations, including Latin, Greek, and French, to their sons and daughters alike. Their formal educations would have begun around 1541 for the Seymour children and 1544 for the Greys, able to copy the royal example and then follow Katherine Parr's influence.[87] Anne and Edward Seymour worked together to arrange their children's educations. Thomas Becon claimed that they both trained their sons and daughters 'euen from your cradels … in good literature, and in the knowledge of goddes most holye lawes'.[88] Although they followed similar humanist curricula, the Somersets seem to have employed separate tutors for their sons and daughters. As noted, the eldest girls, Anne, Margaret, and Jane, produced the *Hecatodistichon*. This contributed to their reputation for erudition, which bolstered the Seymour family, opening communications with Continental reformers Calvin, Bucer, and Fagius.[89] Jane Grey, the Dorsets' eldest daughter, was also praised for her exceptional learning and corresponded with European reformist scholars such as Bullinger, who recognised her abilities and accepted her into their circles.[90] Jane also benefited from time spent in Thomas Seymour and Katherine Parr's household, where the dowager queen would have overseen her studies personally. When her parents sought her return to Bradgate after Katherine's death in 1548, they emphasised

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[86] Mazzola, 'Schooling Shrews', pp. 3–4, 16–18; James, *Catherine Parr*, pp. 128–29.
[87] Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance*, pp. 98–100, 107–08; Demers, 'The Seymour Sisters', pp. 349–52; B.M. Hosington, 'England's First Female-Authored Encomium: The Seymour Sisters' "Hecatodistichon" (1550) to Marguerite de Navarre. Text, Translation, Notes, and Commentary', *Studies in Philology*, 93/2 (1996), pp. 155–56, 162; Campbell, 'Crossing International Borders', p. 213; Robinson (ed.), *Original Letters*, I, p. 341.
[88] Becon, *The Governaunce of Vertue*, sigs A2r, A7r–A8v.
[89] Seymour et al., *Hecatodistichon*; Hosington, 'England's First Female-Authored Encomium', p. 120; Robinson (ed.), *Original Letters*, I, 2, 165, pp. 2, 339–42; II, 334–35, pp. 702–07.
[90] Ives, *Lady Jane Grey*, pp. 64–67; Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance*, p. 99; *Letters of Roger Ascham*, 37, 41, 44, pp. 145–47, 182–83, 192; Parkhurst, *Ludicra*, pp. 50–51.

Frances's suitability to take Katherine's place in acting as 'a guide' under whose 'gov*er*n*au*nce' Jane would cultivate not only academic learning, but also virtuous behaviour.[91] It seems that the family's fall from power in 1553 and the executions of Dorset and Jane in 1554 led Frances to abandon the classical training of her remaining daughters. Katherine lost the tuition of John Aylmer, which she had previously shared with Jane, and the younger Mary appears to have only been educated in English and French, although her later book ownership suggests an interest in humanism, as well as Protestant and puritan writers.[92] Equally, the younger Seymour children may have missed out on classical learning after the family's fall in 1551, when their mother was imprisoned for almost two years and the children dispersed, although the sons' tutor Norton remained with them.[93]

Interest in and support for education also extended beyond the family or household. Several of the women studied here offered financial aid to universities and their students, usually specifically designated for 'poor scholars'. Their efforts to make university learning accessible to poor students can be seen as charitable and an acknowledgement of the value of education, but Katherine Willoughby's patronage was also marked by self-interest for her offspring. Anne Stanhope left a bequest of £20 to poor students of the two universities, and Mary Tudor gave 15s to a poor scholar of Cambridge in 1537. As queen, she gave further finances to both universities, including a new chapel and choir for Trinity College, before bequeathing £500 to each university to support poor students in her will.[94]

Katherine Willoughby enjoyed a long-standing relationship with St John's College, Cambridge. She may have been influenced by William Cecil, who had studied there, to send her Brandon sons there.[95] Katherine moved to nearby

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[91] Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', pp. 304–05; Hatfield MS 150, fos 173r, 177r. Claims that the Dorsets, and especially Frances, were cruel parents are based only on Ascham's much later book which argued for the kindness of teachers. Ives, *Lady Jane Grey*, p. 53.
[92] Usher, 'Aylmer, John', in *ODNB*; Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance*, p. 99; TNA SP12/124, fo. 86r. Mary's italic hand was also not of the same calibre as those of her older sisters, while the formation of her 'd's is reminiscent of Frances's own hand, possibly suggesting that her mother instructed her in handwriting. BL Lansd. MS 8, fo. 181r.
[93] Robinson (ed.), *Original Letters*, I, 165, pp. 339–42.
[94] Nichols, 'Anne Duchess of Somerset', p. 376; *PPE*, p. 44; Richards, *Mary Tudor*, p. 191.
[95] Baldwin, *Henry VIII's Last Love*, p. 97.

Kingston to be close to them, and befriended their teacher Martin Bucer. As friend and patron, she sent him gifts and they exchanged visits.[96] By May 1549, Katherine and Bucer were close enough for his colleague Fagius to joke that Bucer's wife should hasten to follow her husband to England, or else he might be remarried to the widowed Katherine.[97] Bucer died at Cambridge in February 1551, nursed by Katherine. He bequeathed the duchess half of his printed books, although they were kept at Cambridge by Matthew Parker. Bucer's death, to be followed soon by those of her sons, must have been a severe blow to Katherine.[98] Her sons had died suddenly of sweating sickness in July 1551. The universities then rallied behind them, with their old tutor Thomas Wilson compiling a collection of eulogies and praise for the boys from leading scholars, published as *Vita et obitus* that year.[99] Katherine maintained a connection to St John's College, establishing an annuity of £6 13s 4d in May 1553 to pay for four poor scholars each year with no other means of supporting themselves. It seems that she chose the men herself. Her gift was a partly selfish endeavour, as the 'profett of the skolership to be in mye and me ayers [heirs]' by providing her with a pool of scholars who could teach in her household. In 1560 she wrote to the master asking for one of her current scholars to act as tutor to her children, and the four men wrote back claiming they were too busy with their studies, but offered to find another at the college to take on the position. In 1577, Katherine threatened to take away her money if the students and college did not perform their covenants to her.[100]

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[96] Charlton, 'Mothers as Educative Agents', pp. 144–47; BL Lansd. MS 2, fo. 58r; TNA SP10/9, fo. 115r; SP10/10, fos 3r, 9r, 10v; C. Hopf, *Martin Bucer and the English Reformation* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 21–24; Amos, 'Bucer, Martin', in *ODNB*.
[97] Hopf, *Bucer*, p. 22.
[98] TNA SP10/13, fo. 13r; Hopf, *Bucer*, p. 23; Amos, 'Bucer, Martin', in *ODNB*; *Letters of Roger Ascham*, 43, p. 191; Edward VI, *Chronicle*, p. 53; B. Pohl and L. Tether, 'Books Fit for a King: The Presentation Copies of Martin Bucer's De regno Christi (London, British Library, Royal MS. 8 B. VII) and Johannes Sturm's De periodis (Cambridge, Trinity College, II.12.21 and London, British Library, C.24.e.5)', *The Electronic British Library Journal* (2015), article 7, p. 34.
[99] King, 'Patronage and Piety', p. 56; Robinson (ed.), *Original Letters*, II, 233, p. 496; T. Wilson, *Vita et Obitus* (London, 1551) STC 25816.
[100] Letter K. Willoughby to J. Hatcher, 28 November [no year], Letter K. Willoughby to St John's College, 28 August 1571, Letter K. Willoughby to J. Hatcher, 17 May [no year], pr. R.F. Scott, 'Notes from the College Records', *The Eagle*, 24/131 (1903), pp. 291–93; LAO 2-ANC/14/4r.

Motivations for academic participation

The mix of altruism and self-interest in Katherine's financial patronage of St John's College and its poor scholars reflects the range of motivations for these women in participating in and supporting scholarship. They combined academic and religious promotion, personal intellectual interest, and the benefits of the power accorded by dispensing patronage. This section shows how, in addition to promoting learning in others, some also displayed a love of learning for themselves. They purchased and collected books, from printed academic works to jewelled manuscripts, which revealed their religious and yet also non-academic interests. Jane Guildford took an interest in medical and scientific knowledge, while Mary Tudor enjoyed studying and playing music. Katherine Parr's, Mary Tudor's, and Anne Stanhope's involvements in the project to translate Erasmus's *Paraphrases* of the New Testament form a useful case study of the mix of evangelical and humanist motivations within a project for different members. It was begun by Katherine in the trend of royal women's involvement in devotional translation projects, making it highly acceptable and in the humanist tradition. This can account for Mary Tudor's involvement in a project which was later seen as evangelical. The collaborative nature of the project meant that these women did not hold complete power over the shaping and interpretations of their outputs. The *Paraphrases* project is also an example of how elite women collaborated with translators, editors, and printers in the production of written texts, bringing together the trends of elite female patronage with their involvement in larger networks. This section ends with an overall summary of the interests and motivations of these women in participating in scholarly production and patronage.

Studying their book ownership can be difficult, due to the lack of comprehensive inventories. However, it seems that, similar to the dedications they received, they favoured religious texts, while those with polyglot skills also owned books in languages other than English.[101] They owned and commissioned both print and manuscript works, including jewelled books, and sometimes were presented or purchased books dedicated to them. Despite their

[101] Schutte, *Mary I and the Art of Book Dedications*, pp. 124–25, 127, 133–34, 141; Carley, *The Books of King Henry VIII*, p. 138.

collaborative support of book production through patronising scholars and printers, the books themselves functioned not only as works of scholarship but also as conspicuous status symbols, as discussion on their circulation has already shown above. Carley has claimed that book ownership links the patronage of scholars, involvement in gift-giving, displays of wealth and learning, and support of evangelicalism.[102] Considering these women's book ownership therefore reflects not only their literary and religious interests but also less academic interests.

Katherine Parr owned mostly devotional works, including three New Testaments. Although the majority were in the vernacular, she also had an interest in languages, as suggested by a textbook for learning French and an Italian copy of Petrarch's work, which she had bound in purple and silver velvet embroidered with her arms. An inventory of books left at Sudeley shows that such lavish bindings were not uncommon, with religious books covered variously in purple, crimson, green, and black velvet, marking their role as status symbols for displays of wealth. Likewise, Valerie Schutte has argued that Mary Tudor valued books for their beautiful appearance, keeping them in good condition, in addition to their value as markers of her learning.[103] Katherine Willoughby left 'a great coffer w*ith* bookes' at Grimsthorpe when she went into exile in 1555; the books were inspected and sealed up in their coffer by Bishop White of Lincoln the following year on the suspicion that they might be 'noughtie books' of Protestantism.[104] Meanwhile, showing a positive reception of a 'speculative' book dedication by Richard Robinson of his 1557 *Record of Auncient Histories*, which had been motivated by her reputation for generosity, Margaret Douglas not only rewarded Robinson with one mark, but also purchased twenty-five copies of the book, presumably to circulate amongst her friends.[105] Several of the women here also owned girdle books, miniature

[102] Carley, *The Books of King Henry VIII*, pp. 13–14, 53, 108, 138–40.
[103] *Ibid*., pp. 138, 140; Society of Antiquaries MS 129, pr. D. Starkey (ed.), *The Inventory of Henry VIII: Society of Antiquities MS 129 and British Library MS Harley 1419: The Transcript*, transc. P. Ward, indexed A. Hawkyard (London, 1998), pp. 95–96; BL, C.27.e.19, F. Petrarca, *Il Petrarcha con l'espositione d'A. Vellutello* (Venice, 1544); C.28.f.3, Estienne, *Les mots francois selon lordre des lettres*; Schutte, *Mary I and the Art of Book Dedications*, p. 128.
[104] LAO 2-ANC/2/24, Book 1, p. 17; *APC* V, 393, pp. 294–95.
[105] Smith, *Grossly Material Things*, p. 71.

manuscript prayerbooks which overlapped the realms of the devotional, literary, and jewellery. A wearable religious object without the Catholic connotations of rosary beads, girdle books were usually listed in inventories amongst items of jewellery, without their titles. Both Katherine Parr and her sister Anne, Lady Herbert, gave girdle books to Mary Tudor for New Year in 1543 or 1544.[106] Anne Stanhope commissioned a prayerbook just seven centimetres high, with a selection of prayers in English from Taverner's 1539 translation of Capito's *Precationes Christianæ ad imitationem*. It included her and her husband's arms on the frontispiece, and their initials 'A' and 'E' on two pages in the decorative borders. Anne had two girdle books, one covered with black velvet and the other garnished with golden acorns, seized by the royal wardrobe around 1551, and an inventory of her goods at her death in 1587 lists two other books 'of golde', one decorated with artichokes.[107] Their value as items of display or luxury meant that books could be circulated and gifted, as shown above.

These women also had interests in the broader intellectual field beyond the literary or devotional, seeking enjoyment in addition to literary or religious production or patronage. Jane Guildford appears to have had an interest in medicine and sciences, shown by her patronage of scholarship in these fields. She commissioned two manuscript tracts from her sons' tutor John Dee in 1552, on astronomy and geography. In 1550, Jane had also received a dedication from Humphrey Lloyd of his translation of Pope John XXI's *The treasury of healthe*. Henry, Lord Stafford, had commissioned the work and ordered Lloyd to dedicate it to Jane, 'at whose handes he [Stafford] and hys haue heretofore receyued manyfolde benefytes'.[108] Mary Tudor seems to have enjoyed playing and listening to music. The Venetian ambassador reported in 1554 that she had taught her maids of honour to play the lute and spinnet. In 1548, Thomas Seymour remarked at 'at my late being at St Jons [Mary's

[106] James, *The Feminine Dynamic*, pp. 84–85; *PPE*, p. 144. Mary's jewel inventory shows that she owned several jewelled books. BL Royal MS 17/B/XXVIII, fos 113, 117r, 122r, pr. *PPE*, pp. 178, 185, 194.
[107] BL Add. MS 88991; Harley MS 611, fo. 13r; Lansd. MS 50, fo. 203r–v.
[108] R.J. Roberts, 'Dee, John', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2006); Dee, *The Autobiographical Tracts*, p. 75; Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', pp. 355–56; John XXI, *The Treasury of Healthe*, sig. [A6r].

London house] I sawe neu*er* a payer of virginalles stirring in all thole house'. He sent her a letter carried by a musician, whom he hoped would resume her lessons. As queen, Mary patronised Thomas Tallis and used the example of her Chapel Royal to restore church music.[109]

A large scholarly project which Katherine Parr, Mary Tudor, and Anne Stanhope contributed to and patronised was the translation of Erasmus's *Paraphrases* of the New Testament in the 1540s. These three women worked to initiate and manage, translate for, or sponsor the translation project, collaborating in a larger network of male translators, editors, and printers, where Katherine took the leading role. This is a valuable case study not only of the opportunities available for these women to collaborate in the production of a humanist text, but also of their wide-ranging interests in giving patronage, supporting humanism, and negotiating evangelical interpretations of the project. However, similarly to their educational influence, they followed an existing royal trend of female scholarly involvement, showing that they relied on precedent to make this project acceptable and uncontroversial.

Katherine Parr was founder, funder, and organiser for the first volume, arranging for translators to work on the paraphrases of the four Gospels and Acts. Pender suggests that Katherine began the project during her regency in 1544, at a time when she was under Cranmer's religious influence. The general editor, Nicholas Udall, became Katherine's client, and she rewarded him with a share in the right to the next presentation to a living in 1546, suggesting her approval of his efforts. Katherine encouraged Mary Tudor to contribute by translating the Gospel of John with the assistance of Katherine's chaplain Francis Mallet, who then entered Mary's own employ. As noted above, Katherine prepared for the book's publication by patronising printer Richard Grafton, and it was printed in 1547.[110] Although the overall tome was dedicated to Edward VI, four individual sections were dedicated to Katherine, mostly by

[109] *L&P* XVI, 1253, p. 586; *CSP Venice*, V, 934, p. 533; Hatfield MS 150, fo. 183r–v; Richards, *Mary Tudor*, p. 183.
[110] Devereux, 'English Paraphrases of Erasmus', pp. 351–54; James, *Catherine Parr*, pp. 132–33, 203–05; *KP Works*, pp. 152–53, 160; Pender, 'Dispensing Quails', p. 38; Mueller, 'Katherine Parr and her Circle', p. 226; Society of Antiquaries MS 617. Udall also dedicated a translation of Peter Martyr to Katherine's brother Northampton in 1549. Alford, *Kingship and Politics*, p. 123.

Udall, who noted her efforts in initiating the project and hiring translators 'at your exceding great costes and charges'. The dedications praised Katherine's efforts in spreading knowledge of Scripture through the vernacular. This frames the work as evangelical, although Katherine's and Mary's motivations also appear to be humanist.[111]

The project fitted within the trend of royal women translating religious works for the spiritual benefit of the public, made acceptable by Margaret Beaufort. Mary Tudor had already followed in this tradition as a child with her translation of a prayer by Aquinas, while her sister Elizabeth and Katherine Parr both produced translations in the 1540s.[112] Recent scholarship has challenged whether the *Paraphrases* project was evangelical before 1547, by instead noting its acceptability.[113] In this humanist context, it is unsurprising that the more conservative Mary participated in the project. Pollnitz has convincingly challenged the notion that Mary expediently withdrew from the project by feigning illness in order to avoid involvement with an evangelical work; although Mallet needed to step in to finish the translation when Mary became unwell, it seems that she had completed most of John by this time. The royal female tradition of translation work and the inclusion of Erasmus's *Paraphrases* in humanist studies meant that Mary was a willing participant. Later, as queen, she did not lead a 'serious campaign' against the *Paraphrases* beyond some recalls, and favoured the editor Udall as a court playwright.[114]

Although Mary did not regard her participation as controversial, the finished printed work and especially the second volume, were reframed by others as being more Protestant than the project was initially intended.[115] A second volume of *Paraphrases*, with translations of the epistles and Revelation, was

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[111] *KP Works*, pp. 97, 110, 151, 163. Scholars have tended to view the *Paraphrases* as more humanist than evangelical, although too religiously radical to be printed in Henry VIII's lifetime. Pollnitz, 'Religion and Translation', pp. 125–27; Goodrich, *Faithful Translators*, pp. 70–74, 82–87; Devereux, 'English Paraphrases of Erasmus', pp. 350–53.
[112] James, *Catherine Parr*, pp. 212–14; Pollnitz, 'Religion and Translation', pp. 124–25, 129–31, 136; Teague, 'Princess Elizabeth's Hand', p. 36.
[113] Pollnitz, 'Religion and Translation', pp. 124–27, 136; Goodrich, *Faithful Translators*, pp. 70–74, 82–87.
[114] Mueller, 'Katherine Parr and her Circle', p. 226; Pollnitz, 'Religion and Translation', pp. 124–27, 132, 136; Pender, 'Patterns of Print', p. 96; Goodrich, *Faithful Translators*, pp. 69–74, 81–87; Devereux, 'English Paraphrases of Erasmus', p. 365.
[115] Goodrich, *Faithful Translators*, pp. 69–74, 81–87.

produced under the patronage of Anne Stanhope after Katherine's death, and was more evangelical in tone. As noted above, Anne included her client John Old, who dedicated his translation to her. Anne probably capitalised on her position as Protector's wife to take on this role, with James viewing this as an attempt to appropriate the prestige and status of the late queen. Although James regards Anne as unqualified for the task, lacking any Latin herself and relegating much of the project management to the printer Whitchurch and general editor Coverdale, she fails to consider Anne's intellectual interests; as shown in this chapter, Anne was keen to promote evangelical and classical learning for her children, despite lacking such rigorous training herself. Her financial patronage to scholars and her involvement with the *Paraphrases* probably combined her scholarly and religious interests with her efforts to seek status as a literary patroness.[116]

This combination of interests appears to have been similar for all eight of these women. They were motivated to promote scholarship through a mix of academic interest, altruistic support for the literary and religious, and personal benefits of financial patronage within the scholarly sphere. They had intellectual interests in literary or scholarly work, such as Mary Tudor's studies in Latin and translations, or Jane Guildford's interests in medicine and science. Religion was also a strong factor, as these women tended to favour books and scholars who shared their religious sympathies. Scholarly patronage allowed women like Mary Howard, Katherine Willoughby, and Anne Stanhope to promote evangelicalism and vernacular Scripture. This chapter has shown that the scholarly and the devotional were often closely linked, corroborating existing scholarship on this relationship.[117] Print books and education were means of supporting both at the same time, and book dedications reflect the close connection between evangelical piety and academic labours and output.[118] There appears to have been a desire amongst these women to shape the direction of scholarly and religious change in England towards their own

[116] Devereux, 'English Paraphrases of Erasmus', pp. 360–61; Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', pp. 340–41; Bradshaw, 'Old, John', in *ODNB*; King, 'Patronage and Piety', p. 49; James, 'Reputation and Appropriation', pp. 6–7.
[117] McConica, *English Humanists*, pp. 6–8; Dowling, *Humanism*, pp. 3–5, 44, 55–57, 235–36; Hoffman, 'Catherine Parr', pp. 352, 359–61.
[118] Culling, 'Tudor Royal Household', pp. 89–90, 92–93.

preferences. As noted, the evangelical dedications to Mary Howard, Katherine Willoughby, and Anne Stanhope accorded them the motivations of increasing vernacular access to devotional works, promoting evangelicalism, and fostering scholarship and learning. In addition, female patronage had less pious or academic elements. By preferring clients, especially those with an existing connection or members of their household, these women acted upon an obligation to support their clients, usually financially. Despite the scholarly setting, Katherine Parr was approached by the University of Cambridge for assistance in early 1546 as a broker to the king, not for her connection to learning.[119] Patronage was an exercising of financial power, and it also allowed these women to boost their own and their families' status or renown, developing a reputation for largesse or for learning or piety. Overall, their efforts were motivated by a combination of duty, interest, and power, allowing them to satisfy their academic interests and act as conventional patrons in promoting both their own clients and their own ideas. Their patronage of scholars and scholarship was a display of their power and status, both financial or political, and scholarly or devout.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that these women used their financial resources and membership of networks of scholarly production to encourage and disseminate their favoured academic texts and ideas. It has shed light on their motivations for scholarly participation and the limits on their agency within the academic sphere, showing that this space was not isolated from political and social realms, nor from the physical spaces of the household, family, and court. Their reliance on personal connections with others, with the backing of their own wealth and status, meant that these women did not necessarily require formal academic learning and could contribute to scholarly production through patronage and collaboration, rather than through traditional written outputs, illustrating the range of their academic labours. Restricted by their reliance on

[119] Dowling, *Humanism*, pp. 104–05; Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', pp. 233–36; Mueller, 'Katherine Parr and her Circle', pp. 233–35; James, *Catherine Parr*, pp. 117, 224–25.

their husbands and scholarly networks, and conformity to established royal trends in education and translations, these women nonetheless worked to promote scholarship which corresponded with their own interests and beliefs, and to enhance their own power and standing in the process. This chapter marks the turning point in this thesis from the proximate spaces of the household and locality to the more distant spaces of the court and nation. The academic sphere combined the near and far, in addition to the physical and abstract, as the scholarly networks of these women spanned the household and court, London and mainland Europe. Together with the previous chapter, it demonstrates the centrality of religious beliefs to these women, shaping the direction of their labours and patronage.

Networks of production encompassed not only writers but translators and printers. The eight women studied here participated in these networks through offering financial support for both books and scholars, which could sometimes foster patron–client relationships of an instrumental nature. Their efforts to support books are shown by both their ownership and circulation of print and manuscript texts. Books were not only valued as academic objects but for display and gift-giving, showing their significance in social spheres as markers of piety, status, and wealth. These women further disseminated ideas at court through their collaboration in the Devonshire manuscript and membership of Katherine Parr's study circle. In the latter, both evangelicalism and female learning were promoted, as the women influenced each other. Katherine followed the Tudor family's tradition of encouraging academic educations for girls, which these women, like some of their parents before them, copied. Showing once again the permeable boundaries of scholarly involvement, these women supported education beyond their families by giving financial support to university students. Their efforts in offering money, patronage, production, and dissemination were motivated by a mix of personal and selfish interests and wider obligations. This combination of the academic and the practical is illustrated in their view of books as both items to display status or connections and academic tools. Their various outputs and contributions can be regarded as part of a broader drive for influence. The next chapter continues to demonstrate the necessity of networks of support by moving geographically outward

beyond the domestic and local, and socially upward from patronage relationships to relationships with other members of the Tudor elite, in examining the nature and extent of aristocratic social connections.

Chapter 4: Elite Social Ties

Introduction

This chapter examines the nature of the elite social connections held by these eight women. They worked to make and maintain ties with other members of the Tudor aristocracy. This chapter takes a broad meaning of 'elite', not limiting it to the titled nobility. Connections were based on mutual benefit and political alliance, rather than necessarily emotional intimacy, and were forged and performed through practices of elite sociability which focused on shared connections, including standing godparent, fostering children, offering hospitality, and giving gifts. They also had an element of patronage, as elite social relationships were primarily understood as utilitarian friendships of mutual obligation rather than affective friendships, although they did not preclude emotional attachment.[1] This flexibility of ties to incorporate the instrumental and the affective is also demonstrated in their ability to switch between the positive and hostile. This chapter measures the strength of elite connections and assesses their limits, before turning in the following chapter to how they worked across multiple spaces and were mobilised. Together, the two chapters show that the most fruitful mobilisations of social networks occurred with active ties, when contacts had already been well-maintained. Like scholarly relationships, elite social connections were not bound to a particular physical space, but existed across the household, family, and court, and amongst individuals and families across the country. This chapter continues to demonstrate the value of reciprocity, as demanded by the conventions of patronage, which formed a component of elite sociability. As with those relationships with servants in Chapter 2, these elite social connections are considered as good instrumental or working relationships rather than primarily emotionally charged intimate friendships.

This chapter argues that Tudor women's elite social relationships, although significant, were limited and potentially limiting. Aristocratic sociability was

[1] Wrightson, 'Mutualities and Obligations', pp. 163–66, 168; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, p. 372; Labreche, 'Patronage, Friendship, and Sincerity', pp. 83–88.

conservative in prioritising existing relationships over new connections, reinforcing prevailing circles. Relatives and other women were predominant in these circles. Women were limited by their reliance on these existing friends but also by their dependent relationships with male relatives and husbands. Patriarchal authority and the hierarchical nature of the family placed these women in a subordinate position to their husbands and fathers, although they worked to negotiate these relationships through expectations of mutual obligations and their membership of multiple families. Social and kinship relationships could be strong and, as shown in the next chapter, substantial means of support. However, the reliance on these relationships could be restrictive. Furthermore, not all relationships were positive, supportive, or cohesive, as some were negative, weak, or exacerbated by clashes. This chapter pushes beyond predominant understandings of friendships and female alliances as consistently positive and cohesive by examining both constructive and hostile connections, contributing to the small scholarship on negative relationships by arguing that shared qualities were not always necessary for strong ties, and that hostility changed over time.[2] Personality also influenced the quality and strength of relationships, showing how the personal or social interlinked with the political element of these patronage-based relationships. This chapter argues for the value of female friends to the eight women studied here, who often enjoyed the most frequent or strongest connections to other women. The household and family were places of maintaining and strengthening their relationships, suggesting their significance as spaces of elite female sociability. Kin were also key players in elite social networks, where family were regarded as useful contacts and maintained with the same means of sociability as other friends, although probably with an element of emotional affection. This suggests the importance or even primacy of sociability-based connections, with elements of mutuality and patronage, rather than solely affective kinship.

The first section of this chapter examines the means of making, maintaining, and strengthening ties. These were practices of elite sociability, which created

[2] Pullin and Woods (eds), *Negotiating Exclusion*; Tarbin and Broomhall, 'Introduction'; Herbert, *Female Alliances*, pp. 168–85. See further details in the Literature Review, pp. 34–35, especially nn.99–103.

goodwill and reciprocity: standing godparent, outplacing and fostering children, giving hospitality, and exchanging gifts. Each of these is examined in turn, which shows their primary use or focus on strengthening ties with existing contacts instead of forging new ones, although relationships with others' offspring were developed through godparentage and outplacement; children were key connectors between parents and godparents or foster parents, while their parents' sociability also incorporated them into social networks. There was a high prevalence of relatives and other women amongst these women's social networks. The use of domestic spaces and resources to foster female relationships suggests a connection between the household or family and female sociability.

The second part of this chapter builds on this understanding of how sociability practices were used to cultivate social ties, to measure the nature of sociability by considering its limits and its alterability. Elite relationships could be negative, limited, or involve conflict or clashes. Katherine Willoughby's example shows that there was a mix of positive and hostile friendships, although clashes were usually not permanent but instead caused by specific events or changes. Some relationships were built on shared political or religious sympathies, and others were stronger than their differences, while clashes in personality also impacted the strength of political friendships. This complexity is also seen in connections with family members, where kinship ties were negotiated through, and using, multiple families, obligations to assist and reciprocate, and expectations of conformity to familial roles like the obedient daughter or the subordinate wife. This section shows these women's dependency on male relatives, demonstrating the significance of family relationships as factors which could limit the extent of women's influence or power. Overall, this chapter offers insights into elite mid-Tudor female sociability and qualifies the nature of the practices and ties of elite sociability by examining networks of elite connections and their strength, limits, and exclusions.

Making connections

Practices of elite sociability reveal social conservativism amongst the female mid-Tudor elite, as these women focused on maintaining and strengthening their existing connections with other members of the aristocracy and gentry to produce active ties, rather than seeking new connections. This suggests that this was not an open elite, but a closed one. Four sociability practices are considered here. Standing godparent, placing out children, offering hospitality, and exchanging gifts were methods of making ties, and means of identifying or measuring them. Although these four means of connection were social obligations, they also created, strengthened, and performed positive social relationships. They gave opportunities to turn good working relationships into firmer affective friendships. Efforts to maintain relationships are regarded here as markers of especially strong or valued ties.

Connections were made with the next generation by standing godparent or accepting another's child into the household. The data and case studies examined here show that the parents and coparents usually already knew each other, sometimes by kinship, and their ties were strengthened through these new relationships with each other's offspring. Outplacement shows that these relationships were a mix of patronage and the personal or affective. A study of the Hertfords' hospitality offerings to dinner guests and houseguests reveals their membership of, and focus on entertaining, a tight-knit circle of courtly allies and family. By contrast, the patterns in Mary Tudor's gift exchange show that gift-giving drew in less regular contacts, although still mostly with a prior connection. This section ends with a brief outline of the connections which existed amongst the eight women studied here. The predominance of women in networks shaped by both hospitality and gift-giving suggests that female friends were central for elite women. The use of domestic resources illustrates the importance of the household as a space of female sociability. Connections were made through the family, welcoming children or entertaining adults in the household, and sharing gifts drawn from the fruits of the estates or produced individually in the house. This domestic tenor emphasises that, while these elite women forged connections across different physical and more abstract

social spaces, from the locality to the court, they relied on the household, as a sphere of female activity, to do so.

Godparentage

One means of measuring elite social ties is by considering bonds of godparentage. These bonds were usually made with pre-existing contacts and kin, strengthening their connections, and were particularly weighty when made multiple times with the same family or when followed up with gifts or visits. Infants were usually baptised within days of birth, and had three godparents: two of the same sex as the child, and one of the other. The godparents undertook spiritual promises for the child, and gave them gifts of plate or jewellery, in addition to monetary rewards to their nurse. The senior godparent usually gave the child their own name.[3] Godparentage can be easier to measure for senior godmothers with unusual names, such as Margaret Douglas with her goddaughters Douglas Denny, Douglas Howard, and Douglas Fitzgerald.[4] Children were more likely to have a stronger relationship with their senior godparent, partly because they shared a name.[5] Not all godparents attended baptisms personally; royals usually sent proxies to deputise for them.[6] Godparentage was a form of patronage, and spanned spaces and social statuses: the women studied here were godmothers to offspring of servants and tenants, gentry, and aristocracy, some in their house or on their estates, others across the

[3] Harris, 'Sisterhood', p. 23; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, p. 105; W. Coster, *Baptism and Spiritual Kinship in Early Modern England* (London, 2002), pp. 175–76; Heal, *The Power of Gifts*, pp. 63–65. As the child was usually named for the senior of their godparents, this allows godparentage to be traced, in part, through the spread of names. Naming practices meant that families could have more than one child with the same name. R.A. Houlbrooke, *The English Family 1450–1700* (Harlow, 1984), p. 131. Coster has claimed that names were more likely to move down the social structure, as patrons passed them onto godchildren. Coster, *Baptism*, p. 189. Merton has shown that Blanche Parry, Frances Brandon, and Margaret Douglas each spread their unusual name amongst the Tudor nobility. Merton, 'Women, Friendship, and Memory', pp. 242–43.

[4] TNA PROB11/32/514; PROB11/36/157; S. Adams, 'Sheffield [*née* Howard], Douglas, Lady Sheffield', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2008); C. Burrow, 'Gorges, Sir Arthur', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2008); J.E.M, 'Aungier, Francis (1558–1632), of Gray's Inn, London and East Clandon, Surr.; later of Longford and Dublin, Ireland.', in P.W. Hasler (ed.), *HoP*.

[5] Coster, *Baptism*, pp. 175–76.

[6] *L&P* XX, ii, 900, p. 438; *CSPS* VIII, 174, p. 280; IX, p. 88; *LL* V, 1133, p. 85; *PPE*, p. 28; TNA SP10/4, fo. 61r.

country.[7] Pisan regarded godchildren as a substantive means of connecting noblewomen to their lands by strengthening ties to their local gentry, townspeople, and commons, while Merton has viewed the godparents as the beginnings of a child's network of contacts.[8] Scholars have debated whether godparents were more likely to be chosen from within the family's existing network of contacts, or were new connections. Furthermore, although Cressy has claimed that the primary ties were between the parents and godparents, Bossy has claimed that the most significant connections were between the child and their godparents.[9] This chapter advances the existing scholarship on godparentage by showing the prevalence of former over new contacts for these mid-Tudor noblewomen as godparents.

Godchildren can be identified for seven of the eight women studied here; none are recorded for Mary Howard. Numbers range from two godchildren of Jane Guildford, three of Anne Stanhope, five of Margaret Douglas, eight each of Katherine Willoughby and Frances Brandon, eighteen of Katherine Parr, and up to fifty-eight of Mary Tudor.[10] Mary Tudor's *Privy Purse Expenses* record a great deal of her godchildren, making her a particularly useful case study. Most of the documented godchildren for all of the women were from the aristocracy, which probably reflects the survival of these sources more than patterns in their godparentage. Likewise, there are more recorded goddaughters than godsons, and for baptisms where the woman in question was senior godmother. For Mary Tudor, just under half were aristocratic and a third were from the gentry, four out of fifty-eight were children of her household servants, and the rest were mostly probably tenants and others living in the locality.[11]

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[7] D. Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 156, 158; Mertes, *The English Noble Household*, p. 155; McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, pp. 77–88.
[8] Pisan, *Treasure*, p. 84; Merton, 'Women, Friendship, and Memory', pp. 242–43.
[9] Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, pp. 154, 156, 159; Coster, *Baptism*, pp. 8–9, 232–33, 238–39; J. Bossy, 'Blood and Baptism: Kinship, Community and Christianity in Western Europe from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries', in D. Baker (ed.), *Sanctity and Society: The Church and the World* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 133–34; Merton, 'Women, Friendship, and Memory', pp. 242–43.
[10] These numbers reflect a degree of probability, and are limited by surviving records.
[11] *PPE*; *LL* IV, 868, 868a, pp. 121–22; V, 1133, 1427, 1432, 1495, pp. 85, 493, 508, 596; Longleat Seymour MS XVI, fo. 30r; MS XVII, fos 51r, 54r, 55v; MS XIX, fo. 57v; D. MacCulloch, *Thomas Cromwell: A Life* (London, 2018), p. 222; TNA PROB11/32/514;

Examining the reconstructed godparentage networks of this group of women allows us to determine whether godparents were more often prior connections or new acquisitions to their contact networks. Here, considering only aristocratic godchildren, from the same social class, they were more likely to be the offspring of pre-existing contacts, whom these women knew from court or were neighbours, exchanged gifts or visits, or were relatives. Out of fifty-four aristocratic baptisms, thirty-seven sets of parents, or just over two-thirds, already had connections with these godmothers. Eleven of these were relatives.[12] Mary Tudor usually knew her godchildren's parents or even grandparents from her household or from court: coparent Lord John Dudley's father had been her chamberlain in the 1520s.[13] Her friendship with Thomas Cromwell probably led Mary to stand godmother to his grandson Edward in 1538.[14] The same trend of relying on prior connections holds true when considering these eight women and the godparents they chose for their own offspring. Godparents can be identified for children of Frances Brandon, Margaret Douglas, Jane Guildford, and Anne Stanhope: out of the twenty-one chosen godparents, seventeen had pre-existing connections. In just over half of these cases, the connection was kinship. Frances Brandon used her membership of the royal family to gain royal godparents for her children, probably including Queen Jane Seymour, Queen Katherine Howard, and Mary Tudor as godmothers to her Grey daughters Jane, Katherine, and Mary, and later perhaps

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PROB11/33/450; E101/424/12, fos 4r, 22r, 37r, 122r; E314/22, nos 31, 45; E315/161, nos 67, 72, 81, 105, 133; E315/340, fos 32r, 41r; SP10/4, fo. 61r; BL Royal MS 17/B/XXVIII; LAO 1-ANC/7/A/2, fos 64v, 65v; 66r; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, I, pp. 67, 154; *HMC Rutland*, IV, pp. 291, 368; *L&P* XIX, ii, 688, pp. 404–06; XX, ii, 900, p. 438; *CSPD Elizabeth and James I, Addenda*, XXXIV, 27, p. 404; *CSPS* VIII, 174, p. 280; X, pp. 570–73, 594; Adams, 'Sheffield, Douglas', in *ODNB*; E.F. Grieg, 'Stewart, Henry, duke of Albany', in ODNB (online edn, 2008); R.S. Smith, 'Willoughby, Sir Francis', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2014); C. Cross, 'Matthew [née Barlow; other married name Parker], Frances', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2015); J. Lock, 'Radcliffe, Egremont', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2008); Burrow, 'Gorges, Sir Arthur', in *ODNB*; W.J.J., 'Brydges, Giles (1548–94), of Sudeley, Glos.', in P.W. Hasler (ed.), *HoP*; De Lisle, *The Sisters Who Would Be Queen*, pp. 320–21; Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', p. 269; Durant, *Bess of Hardwick*, pp. 15–18, 26–28; Merton, 'Women, Friendship, and Memory', p. 243; M. Brennan, *The Sidneys of Penshurst and the Monarchy, 1500–1700* (Aldershot, 2006), p. 26; W.J. Monson, *Lincolnshire Church Notes Made by William John Monson, F.S.A.*, ed. J. Monson (1936), p. 343; M.E. Colthorpe, '1964', *The Elizabethan Court Day by Day* (online edn, Folger Library, 2017), 6 July, p. 24.

[12] *Ibid*.

[13] *PPE*, p. 11; S. Adams, 'Sutton, Edward, fourth Baron Dudley', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2015).

[14] *PPE*, pp. 66, 69. For more on their friendship, see: MacCulloch, *Thomas Cromwell*, pp. 70, 180–81.

also named her daughter Elizabeth Stokes after Elizabeth Tudor.[15] In turn, Frances was godmother to the daughter of her relation Sir William Sidney in 1531, her niece Frances Grey around 1537, and her nephew Francis Willoughby around 1546 or 1547.[16] This pattern promotes the view that godparents usually already enjoyed ties with their godchildren's families, especially kinship, which would be strengthened by baptism.

This pattern of using established contacts as godparents also suggests a limit to the bounds of elite sociability, showing the social conservativism or closed nature of the Tudor elite. When there was no prior direct link between godmother and godparents, there was often an indirect link instead. Of Mary Tudor's new godchildren, it is likely that Katherine Parr secured Mary as her co-godmother to the child of Cuthbert Hutton and Elizabeth Bellingham in September 1544 because Elizabeth was a childhood friend and courtly attendant of the queen.[17] As discussed in the following chapter, it was probably another stepmother queen, Jane Seymour, who acted as the link between her brother and Mary, when both Jane and Mary were godmothers to Edward and Anne Seymour's daughter Jane in 1537.[18] After Henry and Frances Dorset supported Sir William Cavendish and Elizabeth Hardwick's marriage in 1547, Frances was godmother to their first child Frances Cavendish, and brought in her stepmother Katherine Willoughby and her son Henry Suffolk as the co-godparents.[19]

Finally, there are several markers of a particularly strong connection through godparentage. Some of these women were godmothers to multiple children from the same family; their parents' decision to repeatedly link them by godparentage suggests close and positive ties. The Dorsets' connections to the Cavendishes continued with Henry Dorset and his daughters Jane and Katherine Grey standing godparents to a further four Cavendish children

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[15] Ives, *Lady Jane Grey*, p. 299, n.22; *CSPD Elizabeth and James I, Addenda*, XXXIV, 27, p. 404; De Lisle, *The Sisters Who Would Be Queen*, p. 8.
[16] M. Prior, 'Radcliffe [*née* Sidney], Frances, countess of Sussex', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2008); W.T. MacCaffrey, 'Sidney, Sir Henry', in *ODNB* online edn, (2008); G.E. Cockayne, *Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland and Great Britain*, vol. 6 (London, 1926), p. 135; Smith, 'Willoughy, Sir Francis', in *ODNB*.
[17] *L&P* XIX, ii, 688, p. 406; *PPE*, p. 165.
[18] Longleat Seymour MS XIV, fo. 22r; *LL* IV, 868, p. 121.
[19] Durant, *Bess of Hardwick*, p. 15.

between 1549 and 1555.[20] Mary Tudor was godmother to one of the Dudleys' sons in 1538, possibly to another child that decade, and later to their daughter Katherine in 1545.[21] Both Mary and Thomas Cromwell were godparents to two Seymour children in 1537 and 1538.[22] Another marker of strong ties forged by baptism is a record of godmothers following up their connection with their godchild. Mary Tudor usually did this by gifts of jewellery to children several years after their birth.[23] She seems to have visited some mothers, including both Elizabeth Bryan, Lady Carew, and Jane Guildford, the latter probably for her churching, the religious ceremony of purification and thanksgiving roughly one month after childbirth, in 1538.[24] Katherine Parr's gift of a stag to Anne Stanhope a month after the latter's daughter was baptised in 1544 was probably also for the occasion of her churching. The queen had seemingly attended the baptism in person at Richmond rather than sending a proxy, which was a mark of favour or friendship.[25] Spaniard Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza was godfather to John and Jane Dudley's son Guildford while on a mission to England around 1537–38. He sent Guildford a horse in April 1553. When Guildford was briefly king consort in July that year, Don Diego spoke to the English ambassadors at Brussels and emphasised his 'good wille' to England, and his sense of loyalty towards his godson, claiming that 'I was his godfather and wole as willingly spend my bloode in his service as any subiecte that he hathe, as long as I shall see the Emperor my master so willinge to imbrace his ma*jes*tie'. Interestingly, the Dudleys also secured another Spanish ambassador, Van der Delft, as godfather to their daughter Katherine in 1545.[26]

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[20] *Ibid*., pp. 15, 17–18, 20, 27–28.
[21] *PPE*, pp. 21, 65, 69; BL Royal MS 17/B/XXVIII, fo. 110v, pr. *PPE*, p. 172; *L&P* XX, ii, 900, p. 438; *CSPS* VIII, 174, p. 280. Mary also had three godchildren amongst the offspring of Thomas Wriothesley and Jane Cheyney, baptised in 1537, 1544, and 1545. *PPE*, pp. 43, 150; BL Royal MS 17/B/XXVIII, fo. 116r, pr. *PPE*, p. 183; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, I, p. 154.
[22] Longleat Seymour MS XIV, fo. 22r; MS XVI, fo. 30r; *LL* IV, 868, 868a, pp. 121–22.
[23] *PPE*, pp. 11, 28; *CSPS* X, pp. 570–73, 594; BL Royal MS 17/B/XXVIII, fos 112r, 114r, 115v–116v, 124r, pr. *PPE*, pp. 175, 179, 182–84, 198.
[24] *PPE*, pp. 11, 27, 65, 69. For a description of childbed rituals, see: Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, p. 106.
[25] *L&P* XIX, ii, 688, pp. 405–06.
[26] Hatfield MS 1, fo. 215r; *L&P* XX, ii, 900, p. 438; *CSPS* VIII, 174, p. 280; BL Cotton MS Galba B/XII, fo. 253v–254r; Medici, 'More Than a Wife and Mother', p. 262. Don Diego was in England on a diplomatic mission between roughly June 1537 and September 1538. *L&P* XII, i, 41, p. 14; ii, 226, 349, pp. 85, 146.

Outplacing children

The nobility placed out their children into others' houses for training and socialisation, which allowed for both emotive and patronage ties to form with the foster parents. This usually occurred between families with prior connections, but it allowed these connections to be extended into the next generation. Adolescents were afforded a mix of education, preferment, and upbringing, thus both incorporating them into the family life and also offering career advancement, especially with foster parents who could bring them to court. Outplacement was a long-standing social convention, and it did not reflect a lack of parental love; recent scholarship shows that affection existed in the early modern family, and that sending children away was deemed necessary for their education and character development. Houlbrooke noted that too much affection was believed to spoil children, and so placing them out allowed loving parents to avoid meting out discipline to their own offspring.[27] Foster parents became overseers and patrons to outplaced children, but the examples shown here suggest that some also developed affective ties. This reflects the flexibility of the early modern noble household, which could also emotionally incorporate servants, as shown in Chapter 1. All of the eight women studied here experienced outplacing, either as children themselves, or as adults placing out their own offspring or taking in those of other nobles. Some of these placements were at court; both Anne Stanhope and Mary Howard entered court service in their teens, under the tutelage of queens consort.[28] Anne Stanhope then became a friend of Honor Grenville, Lady Lisle, by assisting the placements of her daughters, and working with her to reconcile their two families. Mary Howard was guardian of her brother Surrey's children after

[27] Houlbrooke, *The English Family*, pp. 133–37, 140–41, 150–53. Although earlier scholars like Stone have viewed early modern families as lacking in parental love, Houlbrooke has emphasised their affection. Furthermore, scholarship has viewed outplacement as a means of socialisation and training in court behaviour and conciliation, and an opportunity for forming patronage-based relationships for children. L. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500–1800* (London, 1979), pp. 70–84; Houlbrooke, *The English Family*, pp. 133–37, 140–41; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 107, 125–26; Pollock, 'Teach Her to Live', pp. 235–36, 244–46; G. McCracken, 'The Exchange of Children in Tudor England: An Anthropological Phenomenon in Historical Context', *Journal of Family History*, 8/4 (1983), pp. 303–04, 308–10; Merton, 'Women, Friendship, and Memory', pp. 240, 243–44; Michalove, 'Equal in Opportunity', pp. 48–49, 53–55; T. Adams, 'Fostering Girls in Early Modern France', in Broomhall (ed.), *Emotions in the Household*, pp. 107–10.

[28] Merton, 'Women, Friendship, and Memory', p. 244; Warnicke, *Wicked Women*, p. 87; Murphy, 'Fitzroy, Mary', in *ODNB*.

1546, and Frances Brandon acted as patroness to her niece Margaret Willoughby when fostering her at court in 1554–55. These examples show the necessity of pre-existing relationships, as Anne and Honor built up their families' friendships before Honor sought to place her daughter with Anne, while Mary and Frances both took in their relatives. Like the ties created by godparentage, this suggests that elite sociability was primarily a means of strengthening social relationships within the elite and linking in the next generation, rather than forging new ties.

Honor Grenville considered placing her daughter Katherine Basset into the houses of both Katherine Willoughby and Anne Stanhope in the 1530s. Her example gives insight into the process of outplacement, especially showing the role of the mother in approaching foster parents and relying on intermediaries and gift-giving to secure their goodwill, in addition to the agency of the child in vetoing proffered placements. In 1537, Honor tried to place one of her two daughters, Anne and Katherine Basset, into Queen Jane Seymour's household, using the assistance of her court friends. The Countesses of Sussex and Rutland secured Anne's placement in the queen's service, and Katherine was taken in by Lady Rutland, Eleanor Paston.[29] Honor then considered placing her with Katherine Willoughby, but needed convincing that the Duchess of Suffolk would be suitable, showing her care for her daughter's wellbeing. Although reassured that the duchess was 'both virtuous, wise and discreet', Honor decided to leave Katherine with Eleanor Paston, who promised to treat Katherine Bassett as 'her own'.[30]

Two years later in March 1539, when Edward Hertford visited Calais and stayed with the Lisles, Honor asked him to accept her daughter Katherine into his household. Bush and Byrne have each claimed that the Lisles and Hertfords were undergoing a reconciliation at this time, after disputes between the families over land from 1533. Bush dated the reconciliation from 1539, when Hertford visited Calais, and Byrne from November 1538, when Honor went to court and met with the Hertfords there.[31] However, Anne Stanhope and Honor

[29] *LL* IV, 887, p. 151.
[30] *LL* IV, 854a, 872, 895, 896, 901, 903, pp. 68, 133, 165, 167, 178, 182.
[31] *LL* V, 1379, pp. 430, 432–34; M.L. Bush, 'The Lisle–Seymour Land Disputes: A Study of Power and Influence in the 1530s', *The Historical Journal*, 9/3 (1966), pp. 255–74.

Grenville had already been amenably working together by 1537. The two women shared childbed linen loaned from the Countess of Sussex that year, used first by Anne for her February confinement, and then to be passed onto Honor. Honor sent a cask of wine to Hertford in the first half of March 1537, possibly on the occasion of Anne's churching.[32] Honor's agent Husee convinced her that her nightwear was fashionable because it was 'even in every point made as my Lady Beauchamp's [Anne]'; it is unlikely he would have referred to Anne as the standard for childbed fashion if there was hostility between the women.[33] At the same time, Anne was considered a useful 'friend' when Honor sought to place her daughters in the queen's household that year. In May 1537, Husee told Honor that Lady Rutland and Anne would work to prefer one of her daughters to the next vacancy at court. Although it was Ladies Rutland and Sussex who secured the queen's promise to receive one of the girls, Husee advised Honor to thank Anne for her help.[34] Honor and Anne had therefore already been working together for a year when their husbands sought to build better relations from 1538.

Honor then mobilised this positive connection when Hertford visited in March 1539, by approaching him and Anne as foster parents for her daughter Katherine Basset. She presented this as a means of further uniting their two families. Honor followed up her request with presents of a bird and stool to the Hertfords, although neither travelled well across the Channel. Hertford referred the matter to his wife, who would take on most of the oversight for Katherine. Anne agreed, being very 'desirous to have her here'. However, the placement did not happen, because Katherine herself preferred to stay with Eleanor Paston. Her mother respected this, showing both that children could have a say in their placements, and that their parents considered their happiness. Affective ties had formed between Katherine and the Rutlands, as she was glad that Eleanor did not treat her as a servant. The Hertfords had also offered to treat Katherine 'as welcome both to me and my wife as any of our own daughters'.[35] This affection towards foster children appears to have been expected, as they

[32] *LL* IV, 868a, 870, 871, pp. 122, 126, 128.
[33] *LL* IV, 872, p. 133.
[34] *LL* IV, 867, 875, 887, 895, pp. 119, 139, 151, 163.
[35] *LL* V, 1379, 1396a, 1405, 1432, pp. 431, 453, 465–66, 508.

were incorporated into the family; when offering to keep their daughter Jane Grey in his house in September 1548, Thomas Seymour promised the Dorsets that 'my Mother, shall and wooll, I doubte not, be as deare unto hir, as though she weare hir owne Doughter. And for my owne Parte, I shall contynewe her haulf Father and more'.[36]

Mary Howard took guardianship of her brother Surrey's children after his execution in 1546. It seems that the Edwardian government placed the children in Mary's care. Although their kinship was likely a key factor, Mary's evangelical piety and intellect probably also affected this decision, as the children were not left with their mother, Frances de Vere, Countess of Surrey. Mary was entrusted with 'ther vertuous education' by the council. She was assisted by her uncle Lord William Howard, who allowed her to stay in his house at Reigate, and also placed his son Charles in her care. Mary took on considerable responsibility, as she petitioned the privy council for funds and spent some of her own money raising the children, as her father recognised in his will. She also chose their tutor, John Foxe, thus setting the evangelical tone of their education.[37] The oversight expected of foster parents is suggested by Henry Dorset's letter of 1548 to Thomas Seymour, where he described the need for a 'waking eye' to inculcate 'vertue … humylytye, sobrenes, and obedience' in his daughter.[38]

Frances Brandon also took on responsibility for supporting her niece Margaret Willoughby's entree to court service.[39] The orphaned Margaret and her younger brother had been placed in the care of their uncle George Medley, Dorset's half-brother, while Dorset held the wardship for the eldest Willoughby son. By 1554, with her husband dead, Frances agreed with Medley to have Margaret stay with her at court when 'commanded to attend the Queen', and hoped to find her a place there. Margaret was 'commended … for good behavior' and Frances hoped 'soon to place her about the Queen'. Here, Frances was acting as her niece's patron. It was probably her efforts which saw Margaret join

[36] Hatfield MS 150, fo. 176r.
[37] TNA PROB11/37/191; SP10/14, fo. 99r; BL Royal MS 18/C/XXIV, fo. 234r; *CPR Edward VI*, IV, p. 237; Aston, *The King's Bedpost*, p. 192; Clark, 'Dynastic Politics', p. 90; Williams, *Thomas Howard*, pp. 24–27.
[38] Hatfield MS 150, fo. 173r–v.
[39] Harris, 'Women and Politics', p. 263.

Elizabeth Tudor's household in late 1555, possibly by preferring her to Queen Mary, who was not averse to interfering with her sister's staffing.[40]

Hospitality

Hospitality by offering meals and houseroom to visitors was not only a social obligation but a means of asserting and strengthening social ties through conviviality.[41] The Hertfords entertained a tight-knit group whom they already knew: a regular circle of mostly court friends and family. Their most frequent guests were women, who were often received by Anne alone, suggesting the use of the domestic space as a space for female sociability. The Hertfords' books of diets for February to May 1537 and September 1539 to September 1540 are valuable sources in listing the guests at their meals. They show who was offered hospitality at dinner and supper at their Beauchamp Place in London on the Strand and suburban house at Sheen. Regular guests suggest close personal connections. The most common guests were women, mostly those connected to Anne through court attendance. In 1539–40, Anne can be seen as a hostess in a social circle of courtly women, as they moved between serving the queens consort and socialising at Sheen during this period when the queen's household was formed, dissolved, and reformed as the king changed wives. Anne was especially close to fellow courtiers Anne Parr and Mary Howard, and to her own mother. Interestingly, the 1539–40 accounts also give insight into the Hertfords' marriage and their mobility. The accounts show that Anne and her husband were not always present together at meals. Hertford spent more time at court, leaving Anne to preside over many meals in his absence: he missed eighteen meals in November and twenty-one in December 1539. Anne spent more time at home than her husband did, but both were often at court after January 1540, and then each hosted dinner parties alone at Sheen in June.[42]

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[40] C. Willoughby, *An Account of an Elizabethan Family: The Willoughbys of Wollaton by Cassandra Willoughby (1670–1735)*, ed. J.A.H. Moran Cruz (Cambridge, 2018), pp. 77–80, n.46; Goldsmith, 'All the Queen's Women', pp. 46–47.
[41] Heal, *Hospitality*; Thorstad, 'There and Back Again'; Ross, 'The Noble Household', pp. 83–90.
[42] Longleat Seymour MSS XV, XVIII.

The most frequent meal guests were women; at the top for the 1539–40 year was Anne Parr, Mrs Herbert, at 107 meals. Her husband William Herbert dined two-thirds less frequently than his wife. Next was Anne Stanhope's mother, Elizabeth Bourchier, Lady Page, at ninety-three meals.[43] Lady Page was also the most frequent guest for February to May 1537, seemingly residing with the family at times and joining just over half of all meals, probably supporting Anne through her confinement after she had given birth to a daughter around 19 February.[44] Although several Seymours dined once or twice, Anne's natal relatives visited for more meals at this time.[45] In 1539–40, Anne's family continued to visit often, especially her mother, and Hertford's siblings and mother also dined occasionally. That year, Lady Page and Anne Parr each spent around sixty-one nights staying at the Hertfords' home, while Mary Howard spent forty-four.[46] Mary Howard, possibly enjoying a reprieve from her father's oversight, stayed with the Hertfords between 23 and 28 October 1539, and then 24 November to 2 January 1540, while sharing eighty-two meals with them.[47] Other common guests were Mrs Zouche, Mrs Stourton, William Lord Stourton, and Mrs Fitzherbert. They were mostly connected to the Hertfords through court: Anne Parr, Mary Zouche, and Mrs Fitzherbert had been attendants to Queen Jane Seymour, and Anne Stanhope had also spent time in her sister-in-law's household.[48] Mrs Fitzherbert had been chief chamberer to Jane Seymour and subsequently seems to have temporarily joined the Hertfords as a gentlewoman around 1538. She stayed with them throughout December 1539, and then returned to royal service the following month when there was a new queen consort, showing the mobility between nobles' London houses and the

[43] Longleat Seymour MS XVIII.
[44] Longleat Seymour MS XV. Baby Jane Seymour was baptised at Chester (Beauchamp) Place on 22 February. Seymour MS XIV, fo. 22r. The other most regular diners in 1537 were probably courtier Mrs Norris, a priest from Jersey who was staying in May, Hertford's receiver-general John Berwick, and an unknown Mr Staunton. Seymour MS XV, fos 56v–65r.
[45] Longleat Seymour MS XV, fos 6r, 10r, 16r, 22v, 27r, 28r, 29r, 34v, 35r–v, 39r, 40v, 49v, 56r, 60v, 62v.
[46] Longleat Seymour MS XVIII.
[47] *Ibid*., fos 2r–19r, 35v–62r. For further details of her relationship with her father, see the discussion in Chapter 4, pp. 181–83.
[48] BL Add. MS 45716A, fos 91–92; *L&P* XII, ii, 1060, pp. 372–73; A. Kenny, 'Mary Zouche (b. 1512)', in C. Levin, A.R. Bertolet, and J.E. Carney (eds), *A Biographical Encyclopedia of Early Modern English Women* (Abingdon, 2017), pp. 490–91; Longleat Seymour MS XIII, fos 24r, 27v; MS XIV, fos 19r, 29r; MS XVIII.

royal court.[49] Likewise, another favoured guest in 1537 was Mrs Norris, probably the Mary Norris who was one of Jane Seymour's maids and would reprise the role in Anne of Cleves's household.[50]

Anne Stanhope held five supper parties for court ladies, and the occasional man, between 30 June and 30 July 1540.[51] Those in attendance were mainly members of Anne of Cleves's household, including Anne Stanhope. They probably took advantage of the queen's removal to Richmond and fall from favour to meet up, before resuming their roles in Katherine Howard's service in August. The meals suggest that Anne Stanhope had formed a circle of friends at court and repeatedly invited them to her house; she seems to have taken the initiative, as Anne, not her husband, was present at all five suppers. The core group of friends in the queen's household appear to have been Margaret Douglas; Mary Howard; Jane Parker, Lady Rochford; Mary Arundell, Lady Sussex; Jane Guildford; Isabel Leigh, Lady Baynton; Mary Norris; and Anne Basset. They were mostly court career women who had also previously served Jane Seymour.[52] They enjoyed suppers made with capons, pullets, quails, rabbits, and dairy.[53]

The Hertfords used hospitality to connect with other nobles. Most of the other guests in 1537 were male courtiers, most notably Richard Long, Sir Nicholas Carew, Sir Francis Bryan, and Thomas Culpepper. On Sunday 6 May, twenty-two guests, mostly courtiers and including Ladies Hastings and Kildare, joined the Seymours for supper.[54] At this time, Edward Seymour moved almost daily between their London house and the court at Westminster, where his sister was queen, although Anne was confined during in her lying-in.[55] Most of the Seymour guests appear to have been known to them, with many repeat diners suggesting a close or even closed circle of friends and relatives.[56] Later, they

[49] *L&P* XII, ii, 1060, pp. 372–73; BL Royal MS 7/C/XVI, fos 18–31; Longleat Seymour MS X, fo. 15v; MS XVIII, fos 46–62; TNA SP1/155, fo. 36v.
[50] Longleat Seymour MS XV, fos 59r–65v; BL Add. MS 45716A, fo. 92r; TNA SP1/155, fo. 36v.
[51] Longleat Seymour MS XVIII, fos 167r, 172r, 179r, 180r, 185r.
[52] *L&P* XII, ii, 1060, pp. 372–73; BL Royal MS 7/C/XVI, fos 18–31; TNA SP1/155, fo. 36r–v; SP1/157, fos 14r, 15r.
[53] Longleat Seymour MS XVIII, fos 167r, 172r, 179r, 180r, 185r.
[54] Longleat Seymour MS XV, fo. 58r.
[55] Longleat Seymour MS XIV, fos 23r, 24r, 38r, 41r, 42r, 44v, 45r.
[56] Longleat Seymour MS XV.

had a large house party over Christmastide 1539 with nine guests, including Anne's mother Lady Page. The house party was broken up when they moved to court on 2 January to attend on Anne of Cleves.[57] The Hertfords also held several large supper parties for over twenty visitors, including a grand one for the king and forty-four others on 7 December 1539. Here, houseguests Mary Howard and Mrs Zouche were present, alongside Norfolk, Suffolk, Surrey, Sir Anthony Browne, and gentlemen of the privy chamber including Sir John Dudley with his wife Jane Guildford. The feast included mutton, capons, chicken, pheasants, pullets, and larks, totalling £7 8d, whereas the food for the supper with seven guests two nights earlier had cost 8s 4d.[58] Later royal visits were from Elizabeth Tudor on 19 June and Anne of Cleves on 27 June 1540.[59] The Hertfords also enjoyed visits from prominent nobles such as Sussex and Lord John Russell, and male courtiers like Robert Tyrwhitt. The Howards were popular guests; in addition to Mary's frequent visits, her brother Surrey, father Norfolk, and his brother Lord William Howard attended more than a dozen meals each.[60] Another was Mr Charles Howard, possibly the brother of Queen Katherine Howard, with whom Margaret Douglas fell in love in 1541. Charles and Margaret both attended two of Anne's supper parties in mid-1540, possibly affording them opportunities to socialise together.[61]

Gift exchange

Gift-giving was also a means of making or strengthening connections.[62] Associated with lifestyle or calendar events, the gift exchange enjoyed by the eight women studied here usually linked them with existing contacts, but not necessarily in repeated or regular exchanges. Again, there was a pattern of the most frequent connections being with other women, showing the significance of female friendships and the importance of gift-giving and hospitality in

[57] Longleat Seymour MS XVIII, fos 22r–62r.
[58] *Ibid*., fos 43r, 44r.
[59] *Ibid*., fos 161r, 165v.
[60] *Ibid*.
[61] *Ibid*., fos 167r, 172r.
[62] Gifts created an obligation to reciprocate, and could act as assertions of an alliance. Gifts both reinforced social hierarchy and connected people across it. See further discussion of the scholarship on the significance of early modern gift exchange in the Literature Review, p. 32, nn.87–89.

maintaining or performing these friendships. Gift exchange usually used resources from the household or estates, and connected with contacts in the household or court, suggesting these spaces as key areas for female sociability. Household accounts document gifts, usually marked by rewards given to the bearers. Analysing a total of 303 connections between these women and others who gave or received gifts, the majority recorded are for Mary Tudor (207), thanks to her extensive *Privy Purse Expenses* which cover 1537–39 and 1543–44. As some contacts exchanged gifts with more than one woman, there are 250 separate people recorded, not including the eight women, who also exchanged gifts amongst themselves. The most common gifts were food or produce, venison, and then jewellery, while other gifts included apparel, books or manuscripts, wine, apothecary items, money, and animals.[63] New Year was the most popular occasion for gift exchange; in addition, major life events such as childbirth were particularly suitable times for gift-giving.[64] Anne Stanhope received a glut of gifts of food around January and February 1537, which coincides with her advanced pregnancy and delivery; her daughter Jane was baptised on 22 February. Anne had marmalade, larks, and puddings from the Marchioness of Exeter, a doe from the Earl of Oxford, butter from the Countess of Kildare, and pears from Lady Russell. Her sister-in-law Jane Seymour loaned hangings from court to decorate the chapel at Chester Place for the baptism.[65] Mary Tudor's jewellery inventories show her generosity in gifting her jewellery, mostly to women at court and in her household. Of the roughly 127 items listed, she gave away 65, or just over one half. Some became New Year's gifts, wedding gifts or dowries to women in her household, or presents to godchildren. The most common recipients were aristocratic women, while others were members of her household and royal relatives, also usually female.[66]

Mary Tudor's greatest gift exchanges were with elite women and men: the ten most frequent were Anne Stanhope; Lord Morley; Jane Guildford; Katherine Willoughby; Mary Scrope, Lady Kingston; and Dorothy Howard, Countess of

[63] Key sources include: *PPE*; Longleat Seymour MSS X–XX; LAO 1-ANC/7/A/2; *LL* IV–V.
[64] Heal, *The Power of Gifts*, pp. 60–69.
[65] Longleat Seymour MS XIV, fos 21v–22r, 36v.
[66] BL Royal MS 17/B/XXVIII, pr. *PPE*.

Derby, alongside her royal father and siblings. Also significant were Somerset; Cromwell; Lady Weston; Margaret Douglas; Gertrude Blount, Marchioness of Exeter; Anne Sapcote, Lady Russell; Margaret Pennington, Mrs Cooke; George Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon; William Paulet; Jane Parker, Lady Rochford; and Blanche Herbert, Lady Troy. Notably, these connections are overwhelmingly female. Overall, just under three-fifths of Mary's measured gift connections were women. Due to efforts to identify gift exchange pertaining to the eight women studied here, this means that they are probably over-represented. Of those people Mary exchanged gifts with, fifty-seven per cent of them only gave to or received a gift from her once, showing that while there was an inner circle of regular givers, probably denoting active friends, gift exchange was heavily used by a wider range of people for one-off connections. Nonetheless, Mary knew most of her givers and receivers from the court or her own household: out of 207, thirty-four had positions in the royal household, twenty-seven in her house such as Mary Scrope and Margaret Pennington, and seven in her siblings' houses, such as Lady Troy. As many were mostly nobles or gentry, she would have known more from court. A further fifteen were kin, including more distant Pole-Courtenay relations such as Gertrude Blount; Edwards and Loades have claimed that these relations formed Mary's White Rose affinity in her early years.[67] Some of Mary's gift connections were also interconnected: Jane Parker was Lord Morley's daughter, while her sister Margaret married John Shelton, son of Mary's former household governors Sir John and Lady Anne Shelton. Mary exchanged gifts with Jane Parker, Lord Morley, and the Sheltons, and was also godmother to John and Margaret's child.[68]

Connections among these women

There were also interconnections among these eight women. As noted, Mary Tudor was godmother to offspring of Jane Guildford, Anne Stanhope, Frances Brandon, and Margaret Douglas. Her own mother, Katherine of Aragon, was godmother to Katherine Willoughby, while Katherine Willoughby in turn

[67] *PPE*; Edwards, *Mary I*, pp. 67–68; Loades, *Mary Tudor*, p. 141.
[68] *PPE*, pp. 7, 13, 17, 25, 42, 49, 51–52, 54, 64, 82, 97, 143.

became godmother to Jane Guildford's daughter.[69] Margaret Douglas and Mary Howard were friends at court who collaborated on the Devonshire manuscript.[70] Mary Howard was a common guest at Anne Stanhope's Beauchamp Place. The Hertfords also entertained Margaret Douglas and Jane Guildford at several meals in 1539–40.[71] Katherine Willoughby encouraged Katherine Parr to print *Lamentation* and supported her marriage to Thomas Seymour, while the queen gave one of her miniatures to Katherine Willoughby and quoted one of her favourite sayings in a 1547 letter to Seymour. The two women also urged the queen's brother William Parr to remarry to Elisabeth Brooke in 1547.[72] Frances Brandon visited her cousin Mary Tudor at Beaulieu in 1549 and 1552, the two women exchanged gifts, and Mary later granted Frances a personal audience in July 1553 and rehabilitated her and her younger daughters, despite Frances's support for her daughter Jane Grey as queen.[73] Mary was also close to her other cousin Margaret Douglas, who spent time in her household and also shared gifts, as discussed in the next chapter.[74] As will also be noted in Chapter 5, Mary Tudor developed a friendship with Anne Stanhope. Later, the children of Frances Brandon, Jane Guildford, and Anne Stanhope would intermarry.[75] There were also negative ties between Katherine Willoughby and Anne Stanhope, and between Anne and Katherine Parr, which will be explored later in this chapter.

These case studies of measuring elite connections through godparentage, outplacing children, hospitality, and gift-giving show the primacy of prior connections, especially kin. Elite sociability was largely limited to existing noble and gentry contacts for these eight women, who focused more on

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[69] LAO 2-ANC/3/A/41; *L&P* XX, ii, 900, p. 438.
[70] TNA SP1/181, fo. 124r; Southall, 'The Devonshire Manuscript', p. 143.
[71] Longleat Seymour MS XVIII.
[72] Parr, *Lamentacion*, sig. π1r; Letter K. Parr to T. Seymour, 1547, pr. E. Dent, *Annals of Winchcombe and Sudeley* (London, 1877), p. 162; Bodleian Rawlinson MS D/1070, fos 4–5; TNA SP10/1, fos 128v, 132v; *CSPS* IX, pp. 253–54.
[73] *PPE*, pp. 96, 143; Durant, *Bess of Hardwick*, p. 15; *HMC Middleton*, pp. 520–21; Ives, *Lady Jane Grey*, p. 37; BL Royal MS 17/B/XXVIII, fos 123v, 124v; *TAMO* (1563), book 5, p. 1815; A. Plowden, 'Grey [married name Dudley], Lady Jane', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2014); Warnicke, 'Grey, Frances', in *ODNB*. For more on Frances and Mary's relationship, see: Chambers, 'Frances Brandon'.
[74] BL Royal MS 17/B/XXVIII; Marshall, 'Douglas, Lady Margaret', in *ODNB*.
[75] Anne Seymour married John Dudley in June 1550. Jane Grey married Guildford Dudley in May 1553. Katherine Grey later secretly married Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, in 1560. Beer, *Northumberland*, p. 104; Ives, *Lady Jane Grey*, p. 185; BL Add. MS 33749, fos 39–57.

strengthening old ties than forging new friendships. Their examples also shed light on the value of domestic spaces for female sociability, where the household, dining room, family, and queen's apartments supported peer connections with other women, which seem to have outweighed connections to men. The pattern of female-centred friendships suggests that men might have performed their friendships with these women in different ways, or were less significant as friends, despite their utility in having access to a patriarchal system of power.

Measuring connections: strength of ties and clashes

Although sociability is often seen in a positive light, a more fruitful study also investigates negative aspects or clashes. Personal relationships had a potential for conflict or divisions. Examining a range of friendly and hostile social relationships allows their strength to be measured, showing that some relationships were limited while others surmounted great barriers. Shared ties like religious or political sympathies and kinship were no guarantee for a positive or strong relationship, but nor did their lack necessary hinder one, while personality was also a key factor. Elite women had loyalties to various people and causes, based on multiple shared identities or duties, which could come into conflict with each other.[76] Relationships with natal and marital kin could also vary, and were often complex as women negotiated familial obligations and expectations of assistance. However, these women's position of subordination and dependency on male relatives such as fathers and husbands limited the extent of their agency: they relied on good working relationships with male authority figures to access patronage, support, and domestic or political power, demonstrating the value of such relationships.

A case study of four of Katherine Willoughby's connections shows that the same person could have both positive and negative relationships with others: her good relationships with Richard Morison and Anne of Cleves included shared ties like religious sympathies and court attendance, while her hostilities with Stephen Gardiner and Anne Stanhope were not permanent but instead

[76] See further details in the Literature Review, p. 35, n.104.

changed over time. Her enmity with Gardiner grew after their religious views differed, whereas she shared evangelicalism with Anne Stanhope, but clashed with her over seeking patronage and over Anne's perceived unwillingness to prefer Katherine's suits to the Protectorate. That relationships could vary in quality or over time demonstrates their malleability. Katherine's example also sheds light on the role of personality, which could make or break a friendship, despite the existence or not of other shared ties. For others, good working friendships could span the gap of political or religious differences, showing that shared ties were not necessary for strong relationships.

Another shared tie was kinship; as shown above, many contacts were also relatives. Katherine Parr maintained mostly good ties with her natal and successive marital families as she married and remarried, producing a blended family. By contrast, Mary Howard enjoyed a less positive or fruitful relationship with her father, Norfolk, on whom she remained dependent after her marriage and widowhood, with no marital household to live in. However, her efforts to take control of her suit for her jointure demonstrate not only her frustration at her father's perceived lack of assistance, but also her agency to petition for herself. When circumstance saw Norfolk arrested, family obligation led Mary to work to assist him, despite the freedom she enjoyed as acting head of the household in his absence. Her relationship with her brother seems to have been rockier, which might account for her comparative lack of effort on his behalf. Her example shows that, not only did the quality of personal relationships affect the strength of obligations to assist, but also that family ties could create dependence. A similar dependence on male authority is also seen in the marriages of Katherine Parr and Anne Stanhope. Strong, if not affective, relationships were needed between spouses for wives to participate in dispensing patronage or making policy. Katherine and Anne were able to exert influence in these political matters only because they could access them through their husbands. This dependence on their husbands illustrates a limit to their authority, while the examples of Margaret Douglas and Anne Stanhope show the risk that wives who accessed power as married partners could be labelled overbearing; their influence or authority was expected to remain

second to that of their husband. Once again, female agency was limited by the relationships which made women dependent on male relatives.

Katherine Willoughby

Katherine Willoughby is a useful example of how personality, religion, and patronage could lead to both friendships and clashes. She enjoyed good ties with Sir Richard Morison and Anne of Cleves, while enduring more negative relationships with Anne Stanhope and Stephen Gardiner. Positive relationships could be based on shared ties like religion, utility, and good personality, or despite a lack of them, while differences or clashes could mar them. Katherine's hostility with Anne and Gardiner was not constant: it grew over time or could change as circumstances altered.

Sir Richard Morison was a humanist, Cromwellian, diplomat, and evangelical.[77] Provisions in his 1550 will, in preparation for leaving England on an embassy, asked that Katherine sue for his son Charles's wardship and oversee his two illegitimate daughters, putting them 'wheare they may well be brought vppe and reqyyring theym to followe her graces appointment in their m*ar*ages'. He also named her an overseer of his will.[78] Morison felt comfortable commenting on Katherine's temper the following year in a letter to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, marvelling 'at my lady of Suffolkes heates, they haue offe cu*m*bered me', as 'so goodlye a witte / wayteth vpon so froward a wyl'. Katherine herself accepted and acknowledged her 'shrowdnes [shrewdness]' and 'folyshe colere'.[79] Morison entered into Marian exile, like Katherine, and died in 1556. His death in Strasbourg, while Katherine was in Weinheim, made it unlikely that his children entered her care. His wife returned to England after 1558 and claimed probate with Morison's friend and co-executor John Hales, while no Morisons were mentioned in Katherine's

[77] J. Woolfson, 'Morison, Sir Richard', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2015). See also Morison's biography: T.A. Sowerby, *Renaissance and Reform in Tudor England: The Careers of Sir Richard Morison, c.1513–1556* (Oxford, 2010).
[78] TNA PROB11/39/330.
[79] TNA SP68/7, fo. 7r; SP10/11, fos 6r, 14r.

1560–62 household.[80] Meanwhile, Katherine appears to have made a positive impression on Anne of Cleves, as she was one of only three English nobles left a ring by Anne in her 1557 will, alongside the Countess of Arundel and Lord Paget. Both Katherine and Lady Arundel had been in Anne's household in 1540. Anne also preferred a suit concerning Katherine to the king in 1542, soon after Katherine had sent her a cramp ring.[81]

Katherine was less friendly with Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. As noted in Chapter 2, in his tale of the Berties' exile, Foxe recounted incidents where Katherine publicly mocked Gardiner and the Catholic faith. Earlier, during her first husband's lifetime, Katherine used a dinner party to label Gardiner as the man 'whom she loued worst'. The bishop took offence at her conversion to evangelicalism, and considered her attempts to antagonise him to be attacks on the Catholic church. According to Foxe, he noted that Katherine had earlier 'made me her Gossyp', presumably godfather to one of her Brandon sons, which suggests that their enmity only emerged as a religious gap grew between them. The tables turned in 1554 when Gardiner summoned Richard Bertie to charge him with ensuring Katherine's conformity to the now-Catholic English church, resulting in the Berties' flight into exile.[82]

Katherine also clashed at times with Anne Stanhope, although the two women also worked together. They knew each other from court, having both served in several queens' households. Once Anne became wife to the Lord Protector and a potential conduit to his patronage, Katherine expected that Anne and Somerset would favour her suits. Animosity only developed when the couple did not deliver on these expectations. Anne promised to secure a pension for the infant Lady Mary Seymour, then in Katherine's care, in June 1549, but it was not granted, reflecting either a lack of effort on Anne's part or unwillingness on Somerset's. Anne seems to have taken offence at Katherine's continual petitioning, causing Katherine to turn to William Cecil instead, while

[80] Woolfson, 'Morison, Sir Richard', in *ODNB*; TNA PROB11/39/330; LAO 1-ANC/7/A/2. John Hales, another Marian exile, later published a defence of Lady Katherine Grey's claim to the succession. M.K. Dale, 'Hales, John II (by 1516–72), of Coventry, Warws. and London.', in S.T. Bindoff (ed.), *HoP*; B. Lower, 'Hales, John', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2008).
[81] TNA PROB11/39/368; SP1/155, fo. 36r; SP1/244, fo. 86r.
[82] *TAMO* (1570), book 12, pp. 2323–24.

Katherine was irritated by her lack of success.[83] However, she still appears to have sided with Cecil and the Somersets after their fall later that year, fearing that 'wyked toungs' would foster animosity against the duke in the privy council. Katherine was later willing for her son to marry a Seymour daughter, and wrote warmly of her friendship with Somerset.[84] Equally, she raged against the duke when he did not support her cousin Naunton's cause in 1550, as discussed in Chapter 1, but when he changed his mind, she praised his goodness and repented of her former 'shrowdnes'. Katherine noted in October that year that it was unlikely that Anne had been able to sway her husband in Naunton's dispute, although she would have liked to blame her.[85] This suggests a certain mistrust of Anne, brought about by her failures to adequately prefer Katherine's suits to Somerset. Warnicke has claimed that contemporaries perceived Anne's influence over her husband to be greater than it actually was, which drew criticism from disgruntled petitioners. Although her reputation has been partly revised, Anne does appear to have had an abrasive personality, much as her husband was arrogant.[86] While Somerset's arrogance served to alienate the privy council, Anne alienated Katherine Willoughby, whose self-acknowledged choleric temper probably also played a part in building tensions between the two women. Yet Katherine nonetheless remained on professional terms with Anne and continued to support her husband politically.[87]

Friendship across political and religious divides

In measuring the limits of sociability, some personal connections appear strong despite apparent political or religious differences. Shared sympathies were not always necessary for good friendships, while Katherine Willoughby's example, however, shows that they were sometimes not enough to prevent a clash. As Katherine's case study illustrates, personal relationships had their limits, and

[83] BL Lansd. MS 2, fo. 46r; TNA SP10/8, fo. 61r.
[84] TNA SP10/10, fos 3v, 10r–v.
[85] *Ibid*., fo. 92r–v; SP10/11, fo. 14r.
[86] Warnicke, *Wicked Women*, pp. 77–82, 91–92; Warnicke, 'Inventing the Wicked Women', pp. 26–27; James, 'Reputation and Appropriation', pp. 2–3, 18–21, 24–26; Bryson, 'The Speciall Men', p. 47.
[87] And, as shown in Chapter 5 with Mary Tudor, Anne was perfectly able to build warmer relationships with others.

could lead to enmities. Sometimes these hostilities were the result of more personal animosities where personalities clashed, and sometimes the result of political or religious differences, as seen with Gardiner and Anne Stanhope. However, other friendships were able to remain strong and span across such divides.[88] As shown in the next chapter, Mary Tudor remained friendly with Anne Stanhope after 1547, when Anne's evangelicalism and identification with the reformist Somerset regime could have placed her in opposition to Mary's determination to publicly paint herself as a conservative and oppose the regime's religious policies. Likewise, after 1553, despite Anne's continued evangelical beliefs, she continued on good terms with Mary.[89] Mary's propensity for making friends has been noted by other scholars; Richards has claimed that Mary greatly 'maintained and made use of her female friends', including those married to Edwardian privy councillors, and was used by them in turn after her accession.[90] She also enjoyed good personal relationships with John Dudley and Jane Guildford during Edward's reign, having stood godmother to several Dudley children and receiving presents of food and drink from Jane in the 1540s.[91] After 1547, the couple continued to exchange New Year's gifts with Mary, despite John's membership and then leadership of the privy council in its continued aggression towards Mary's Latin Masses. When the sheriff of Essex attempted to prosecute her chaplain Mallet in 1550, Mary wrote of her disappointment that the council had not reciprocated her 'good wyl & frendship' by supporting her against the sheriff.[92] Northumberland nonetheless accepted a routine suit from Mary in late 1551 or 1552, replying with conventional deference. Mary's decision to send it via Jane echoes her use of Anne Stanhope to prefer suits to Somerset, suggesting that, in time, a similar

[88] Harris has shown that partisans of Katherine of Aragon in the early 1530s, like Ladies Exeter, Salisbury, Suffolk, and Norfolk, openly supported her because of their friendship, despite the advantages to be gained from transitioning to Anne Boleyn's queenly household, and despite their husbands supporting the king. Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 237–38.
[89] Warnicke, 'Inventing the Wicked Women', p. 24.
[90] Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. 6, p. 57; Prescott, *Mary Tudor*, pp. 98, 179–80; Richards, *Mary Tudor*, pp. 75, 235–38.
[91] *PPE*, pp. 67, 121, 137, 143, 149, 160, 170.
[92] *CSPS* X, pp. 150–51, 436–37; *APC* III, 137, p. 171; *TAMO* (1563), book 4, pp. 948–52; Edward VI, *Chronicle*, p. 104.

working relationship of instrumentality and sociability could have been formed with the Northumberlands.[93]

Natal and marital kin

As shown above, vital social contacts, especially other women, were often relatives, just as more distant relations could be part of a wider affinity or incorporated into the household as officers or attendants. Recent scholarship has acknowledged the importance of family in social networks, showing the role of extended relatives as potential means of support, and the inclusion of bilateral and both natal and marital kin in these networks.[94] This thesis advances the literature by showing how relationships with kin could be as complex, malleable, and negotiable as those friendships of Katherine Willoughby's considered above, changing over time: Mary Howard dismissed her father's help as insufficient and sought to end her dependence on him, before shifting to give him assistance when he needed it. Mary and her father both felt obligations to support each other, but also frustration when they did not believe the other was fulfilling their expectations. Cannon has shown that the balance of authority in family relationships was renegotiated and changed over time, as children gained in independence and reciprocal support but remained subordinate to their parents. She claimed that age, gender, and family role influenced an individual's authority within the family, leaving independence harder to attain for women and children.[95] Mary's position in the family structure as daughter left her chafing at her dependence. Her example displays the limit of her power, being dependent on her father due to her continued presence in his household despite being a widow with independent means. Katherine Parr maintained more positive ties with her multiple families as she remarried; her friendship with Mary Tudor was strong enough to overcome Mary's disappointment at Katherine's final secret marriage to

[93] L. Howard (ed.), *A Collection of Letters*, vol. 1 (London, 1753), pp. 160–61.
[94] Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 10, 78, 181–82; Clark, 'Dynastic Politics', pp. 15–19, 202; Warnicke, 'Family and Kinship Relations'. See further details in the Literature Review, p. 33, nn.90–93.
[95] Cannon, 'Families in Crisis', pp. 1–4, 14–17.

Thomas Seymour in 1547. It was only disputes over her property and political position which saw her clash with her Seymour kin.

Although Mary Howard did not always enjoy good personal connections with her father, she nonetheless worked to support him when he was arrested and imprisoned. Their relationship was neither wholly positive nor hostile, and was renegotiated and changed over time. As noted in Chapter 1, she accepted the presence of his mistress, Elizabeth Holland, at the family home of Kenninghall, where Mary also lived.[96] Mary's relationship with her father was strained by their efforts to claim Mary's jointure from the king in the late 1530s, after her husband Richmond's death in 1536.[97] Norfolk relied on his connection with Cromwell to bring the suit to the king and to secure a favourable judgement; each of his letters to Cromwell from mid-1536 included a reminder to 'help to bryng my doghters cause to A gode ende'.[98] Mary, left out from the negotiations and growing impatient with the lack of progress, decided that her father had been lacking in his duty to her. From late 1537, she sought his permission to visit court and sue to the king herself, suggesting that Norfolk had been remiss and had not 'assartayned' the king 'of my holl widowefwll & rygth theren'.[99] Manoeuvring to bypass her father's refusal of permission, Mary wrote to Cromwell directly, bewailing that 'ther hath no good afecte come to me nor I feare me by his [Norfolk's] menes', and that 'I am more then hallf in desspare to obteynge [the jointure] by his [Norfolk's] sewte'. Her initiative greatly surprised Norfolk, who confessed that 'in all my lif I never com*m*oned w*ith* her in any seriouse cause or nowe'.[100] Despite Mary's distrust in his efforts or abilities, she was still reliant on her father for permission to go to court, which she did from May to July 1538.[101] Perhaps as a result of this visit, Mary sent her written claims to the judges before the summer progress,

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[96] BL Cotton MS Titus B/I, fos 388v, 389r, 391r, 392v, pr. Wood (ed.), *Letters*, II, CXLIX–CL, pp. 367, 369–72.
[97] Anne Boleyn had secured a promise of £1000 jointure for her cousin despite Mary bringing no dowry to the match, but in 1536 the king was unwilling to honour this. BL Cotton MS Titus B/I, fo. 390v.
[98] TNA SP1/105, fo. 8r; SP1/111, fo. 204r; SP1/115, fos 80v, 190r, 240r; SP1/120, fo. 6r.
[99] BL Cotton MS Vesp. F/XIII, fo. 144r.
[100] TNA SP1/114, fo. 48r; SP1/128, fo. 11r.
[101] TNA SP1/131, fos 24r, 67r; SP1/134, fo. 159r–v, pr. *State Papers Published under the Authority of his Majesty's Commission: King Henry the Eighth*, vol. 1, part 2 (London, 1830), pp. 567–77; *L&P* XIII, i, 989, p. 366.

and Cromwell secured some money from the king for her. She was promised her jointure in August, and received her land grant the following March 1539.[102] Mary's decision to circumvent her father is reflected in her later financial management at Kenninghall in 1546, where she kept and managed her own money, despite living under her father's roof. She had partly moved away from paternal care to exercise agency over her own suits and lands, when she felt that Norfolk was failing to adequately help her, but did not completely break away, as she remained in his house.[103]

Mary nonetheless then worked to defend her father after his arrest at the end of 1546. In her deposition, she denied that Norfolk had ever used the king's arms.[104] However, she was seemingly less impressed with her brother Surrey. She had been insulted by his earlier suggestion that she become the king's mistress, 'wherby in processe she shuld beare as great a stroke aboute him' to benefit her and her friends.[105] Another possible bone of contention was that Surrey had apparently 'disswaded' Mary from 'going too far in reading the Scripture'. Elizabeth Holland deposed that Mary did not like Surrey. Maybe personal animosity shaded her testimony concerning her brother, as Mary testified that Surrey spoke against the 'new men', used the king's arms and with a crown rather than ducal coronet in them, and claimed that the king was displeased with him. However, there has long been suggestion that Mary worked to frame her answers as such that, while they were 'little for his [Surrey's] advantage; yet so, as they seemed much to clear her Father'.[106] Clark has also noted the emotional pressure that Mary would have been under while questioned, seeking not only to exonerate her father, who was the main target of the accusations, but also protect herself.[107] While hostility to Surrey may have played some part, it is important to remember Mary's reciprocal duty to her father, as she worked to assist him. Surrey was executed and Norfolk remained in the Tower, while Mary, Elizabeth Holland, and the Countess of

[102] TNA SP1/131, fo. 192r; SP1/135, fos 74r, 76r.
[103] TNA SP1/227, fo. 82r–v; SP1/131, fo. 192r; *L&P* XXI, ii, 554, p. 283. See also: Clark, 'A "Conservative" Family', pp. 321–27, 440.
[104] Herbert, *The Life and Reign of King Henry the Eighth*, p. 628.
[105] TNA SP1/227, fos 104v–105r, pr. *L&P* XXI, ii, 555 (4–5), p. 285.
[106] Herbert, *The Life and Reign of King Henry the Eighth*, pp. 627–28; Brigden, 'Howard, Henry', in *ODNB*; Murphy, 'Fitzroy, Mary', in *ODNB*.
[107] Clark, 'Dynastic Politics', pp. 289–93.

Surrey stayed free. Mary then sought to secure Norfolk's release. She petitioned the privy council and in December 1549 was given licence to visit her father in the Tower, also securing improvements to his lodgings. Richard Scudamore claimed to Philip Hoby that her suits for his release were made 'so dylygently' that 'ther be many aferde lest at length she shall obteynge'. Norfolk recognised Mary's efforts on his behalf by leaving her £500 in his will, in return for her 'greate costes and charges in making sute for my delyueraunce out of my ymprosement', in addition to her efforts in taking in her brother Surrey's children, as discussed above.[108]

Katherine Parr retained connections both to her natal Parrs and her second husband's Neville family after she became queen, while also forging good ties to her royal stepchildren. These relationships were more positive than those of Mary Howard, created through shared living spaces, letters, gifts, and schooling. Katherine's example illustrates the multiple families which women could acquire through remarrying, and their blended nature, as she had natal and Latimer relatives living together in her queenly household. Lord Latimer entrusted her with the money 'for the fyndyng and bringing vpp of my said doughter' Margaret Neville, who then resided at court with Katherine after 1543. Margaret died in 1545 or 1546, both leaving Katherine her estate and naming her executrix, in a will which professed gratitude to her stepmother for her 'godlye Educaten and tender loue and bountifull goodnes'.[109] Katherine also continued to identify with the Parrs as queen, using the family crest as her devise, the same as her brother William's seal. Their sister Anne, Lady Herbert, became Katherine's chief gentlewoman. William, along with Katherine Willoughby, urged Katherine to print her *Lamentation of a Sinner* in 1547.[110] Early that same year, her siblings and cousin Throckmorton had knowledge of Katherine's secret relationship with Thomas Seymour.[111] As for her royal stepchildren, Katherine sent gifts to Prince Edward, who reciprocated with

[108] S. Brigden (ed.), 'The Letters of Richard Scudamore to Sir Philip Hoby, September 1549–March 1555', *Camden Miscellany*, vol. 30 (London, 1990), 6–8, pp. 97, 102–04; TNA PROB11/37/191.
[109] TNA PROB11/29/303; PROB11/31/94; SP1/217, fo. 54r; James, *Catherine Parr*, pp. 123, 127.
[110] BL Add. Ch. 5700; *TAMO* (1570), book 8, p. 1462; BL Royal App. MS 89, fo. 104v; James, *Catherine Parr*, p. 107; Parr, *Lamentacion*, sig. π1r.
[111] TNA SP10/1, fo. 128r; SP46/1, fo. 14r; Bodleian Rawlinson MS D/1070, fos 4–5.

schoolboy letters in which the two of them, as discussed above, competed to show off their scholarly improvements. He also turned to Katherine for advice on how to greet the French Admiral at court in 1546. However, their relationship shifted once Edward became king, and refashioned himself as the head of the family. He then wrote, not to his 'beloved mother', but to his political friend to whom he offered 'kindness', reflecting his increased authority and new sense of responsibility for his female relatives.[112]

Katherine had enjoyed a good relationship with Mary Tudor even before they became stepmother and stepdaughter, by joining her attendants in 1542. As discussed in the following chapter, Mary mostly lived at court during Katherine's marriage, allowing them to spend considerable time together. The queen was responsible for encouraging Mary to translate Erasmus's paraphrase of John; editor Udall noted that Mary did this 'at your highness's special contemplation'.[113] Although Mary did not initially approve of Katherine's speedy remarriage to Seymour in 1547, regarding it as a 'degradation' to marry so low, she seems to have mellowed by August the following year, when she wrote to Katherine. Mary hoped 'to hear good success of your Grace's great belly', and signed herself affectionately as Katherine's 'humble and assured loving daughter', even including her commendations 'to my Lord Admiral' Seymour.[114] Katherine Parr's biggest conflict with marital kin was with Seymour's brother and sister-in-law, the Somersets. Although Seymour initially hoped that the couple would support his marriage to the dowager queen, they were unwilling to be tarnished by association to such an indecently hasty match. Somerset's actions in granting reversions to Katherine's lands and withholding her jewels angered her such that, by May 1547, she claimed that 'I schuld haue bytten hym' if she saw him. She was also bitter against Anne for failing to prefer her suits to Somerset, noting that 'yt ys her coustome to promys many comynges to her frendes and to perfourme none'. These disputes were exacerbated by Seymour's grievance against his brother for being denied

[112] TNA E315/161, no. 89; Edward VI, *Literary Remains*, I, pp. 9, 12, 16–17, 22–23, 26, 29–30, 33–34, 38–44, 49; Halliwell (ed.), *Letters of the Kings*, II, pp. 8–9, 12–13, 15–16, 19–20, 22–26, 33; *KP Works*, pp. 113, 121, 125–27; BL Cotton MS Nero C/X, fos 6r, 8r.
[113] James, *Catherine Parr*, pp. 77, 96; BL Cotton MS Vesp. F/III, fo. 37r; *KP Works*, pp. 86–88, 160.
[114] *CSPS* IX, pp. 123–24; Hearne (ed.), *Sylloge*, pp. 151–52.

a greater role in the regency government, creating hostility between the two couples.[115]

Marital partnerships

As queen, Katherine Parr participated in the exercising of royal patronage, a role which was then inherited by Anne Stanhope during the Protectorate. They held this influence by virtue of their husbands' positions, showing the role that marital relationships could play. Both Margaret Douglas and Anne Stanhope were regarded as overbearing wives who ruled their husbands, although scholars have worked to correct inaccuracies purporting their negative reputations. However, as James has noted, efforts to rehabilitate wives' reputations can diminish their agency.[116] Instead, by accepting that relationships could be limited or negative, this section examines marriages as partnerships which were negotiated within patriarchal structures. It corroborates scholarship which claims that good marriages enabled wives to advise or influence their husbands, by using the examples of Margaret Douglas, Katherine Parr, and Anne Stanhope, and by comparing their reliance on their husbands with the dependency of Mary Howard on her father, as discussed above.[117] These examples show that female influence was limited by their dependence on male relatives.

For Katherine and Anne, their husbands' leadership of the government afforded them political access. Katherine's political role, especially as regent in 1544,

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[115] TNA SP10/1, fos 128r–129r, 132r–v; SP10/4, fo. 35r–v; SP10/6, fo. 23r; SP46/1, fo. 14r–v; Bodleian Ashmolean MS 1729, fo. 5r; Rawlinson MS D/1070, fos 4–5; Hatfield MS 133, fos 4r, 6r; MS 150, fo. 139v; Letter Parr to Seymour, 1547, pr. Dent, *Annals of Winchcombe and Sudeley*, p. 162; *APC* II, 417, p. 252; Edward VI, *Chronicle*, p. 6; *Collection of State Papers*, 69, 70, 71, 72, 82, 85, 94, 98, pp. 72–74, 80, 84, 90, 93; *TAMO* (1570), book 9, p. 1583; 'A "Journall" of Matters of State', pp. 54–57. There have also been suggestions that Katherine and Anne were embroiled in a quarrel over precedence at court, although Warnicke has quashed this idea. *Chronicle of King Henry VIII of England*, pp. 156; *Collection of State Papers*, 66, p. 69; Warnicke, *Wicked Women*, pp. 89–91.

[116] Nichols, 'Anne Duchess of Somerset', pp. 371–81; Warnicke, *Wicked Women*, pp. 1, 12, 181–88; Warnicke, 'Inventing the Wicked Women', pp. 27–30; James, 'Reputation and Appropriation'; Ring, *So High a Blood*, pp. 94, 98–99, 137–38, 155; Marshall, 'Douglas, Lady Margaret', in *ODNB*.

[117] Hanawalt, 'Lady Honor Lisle's Networks', p. 191; Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', pp. 251–53, 260; Beer, *Queenship*, pp. 2–3, 98–103; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 5–6, 62, 72–77; Hannay, 'O Daughter Heare', pp. 35–39.

has been thoroughly studied by James and Hamilton.[118] In the following reign, Anne then acted as partner and advisor to her husband Somerset. Their roles were dependent on their husbands' authority and on maintaining good marital relationships. Although the Lennoxes and Somersets enjoyed effective partnerships, Margaret and Anne were regarded by hostile sources as domineering wives, showing that even in such good relationships, women were expected to remain the junior or subordinate partner.

Margaret Douglas and her husband Matthew Lennox enjoyed a loving marriage. From the start, it appeared that they were both keen to marry, despite theirs being an arranged diplomatic match.[119] Lennox spent much of the early years of their marriage serving in the north, and Margaret left court to be closer to him, staying at Wressel in 1548.[120] Lennox wrote to 'My gude meg', in June 1571 from Stirling when serving as regent in Scotland. The letter contained no matters of import, but he had taken advantage of a messenger going south to send word to his wife. He signed himself 'yo*ur* own mathew & most lovyng husband / Regent'.[121] The charges against Lennox's servant Thomas Bishop and his replies around 1565–66 give insight into the earliest years of the Lennoxes' marriage and their personalities. Bishop claimed loyalty to the earl, but seems to have loathed Margaret. He claimed that Margaret was an authoritative woman who ruled her husband and sought to remove Bishop from the position of trust he enjoyed with the earl. Henry VIII rebuked her for this and for 'seiking the rule of hir housbande as she haitht euer sence had'. Bishop's very hostility to Margaret seems to accord her agency over her husband as a domineering wife.[122] Perhaps this was similar to when Sir William Paget sought to remove blame from Somerset by claiming that he had

[118] James, *Catherine Parr*, pp. 135–54; Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', pp. 179–211. See also: White, 'Katherine Parr', pp. 25–26; Skinner, 'Deliuer me from my deceytful enemies'.
[119] *L&P* XVIII, i, 810, p. 459; ii, 202, pp. 104–05.
[120] BL Cotton MS Caligula E/IV, fo. 56v; TNA SP50/1, fo. 124r; SP50/5, fo. 3r–v; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of Elizabeth, 1601–1603; with Addenda 1547–1565*, ed. M.A.E. Green (London, 1870), Addenda, II, 22, pp. 363–64; III, 5, p. 388.
[121] TNA SP52/20, fo. 119r.
[122] BL Cotton MS Caligula B/VIII, fos 165v, 184r, 185r.

a ‘bad wife’ in Anne Stanhope, as discussed below; overbearing wives could be useful scapegoats.[123]

Several royal grants were made by Henry VIII at Katherine Parr’s suit, usually for relatives or members of the royal household, while she also supported the suits of several men to be pardoned for manslaughter or murder.[124] When Katherine spoke to the king in March 1544 in favour of Hertford against Privy Seal Russell or another man who had complained about the earl, then in Scotland, Henry accepted her interference and only ‘marvelled’ that she was supporting Hertford, having expected her to back the other side. Katherine covered herself by claiming that she spoke ‘at the request and labour of my Lord Privy Seal [Russell]’, who then had to lie and agree with her.[125] Two months later, Katherine used her access to the king to reassure Anne Stanhope that her husband Hertford’s return from the north was not delayed. Katherine then enquired into retaining her powers as regent from 1544 when Henry died, seeking legal advice over whether the oath sworn to her by the king’s servants remained valid.[126]

In the following reign, as the Protector’s wife, Anne became a target for petitioners wanting her to act as ‘a meane vnto my Lord Protectors grace’. Thomas Smith asked Cecil, as the duke’s master of quests, in 1548 to promote a friend to the deanery of Peterborough, noting that Cecil may ‘thynk mete as I do to req[ui]re my Ladies grace help herin’.[127] Others regarded the Somersets as a partnership to be curried and thanked together.[128] Anne used her position to help her clients with preferments, as shown in Chapter 1 with Thomas Maria Wingfield and Richard Fulmerston.[129] In January 1549, Sir Ralph Fane reported that Anne claimed that ‘she had litle cause to be my frende’ because Fane had apparently told Somerset that Anne spoke about ‘secretes’ to several

[123] *CSPS* IX, p. 429.
[124] *L&P* XIX, i, 840, p. 526; XX, i, 318, p. 144; XX, ii, 910 (45), p. 450; XXI, i, 650 (17), p. 323; TNA SP4/1, fo. 66, no. 15; fo. 49, no. 40; fo. 72, no. 102; Parker Library MS 114A, nos 3, 126, pp. 7, 392b.
[125] *HMC Bath*, IV, pp. 96–97.
[126] Hatfield MS 147, fo. 6r; MS 150, fo. 50r.
[127] TNA SP10/2, fo. 87r; SP10/4, fo. 59r–v; BL Royal MS 17/A/VI, fo. 1v.
[128] TNA SP10/6, fo. 82r–v; *CSPD Edward VI*, 234, p. 103.
[129] WAM 9753, fo. 1r–v; Norfolk Record Office Hare MS 6247, 228X6; TNA SP10/10, fos 9r, 60r, 72r, 92r–v; SP10/11, fos 6r, 14r.

other ladies, although Fane denied this. This nonetheless caused Somerset to feel 'so muche displeasure' towards Anne that she bore a grudge against Fane, to which he attributed the lack of success in his suits to Somerset. Here, Fane accorded Anne the power to block suits or influence her husband's favour negatively.[130]

Anne worked closely with her husband, forging a political partnership where she acted as his advisor in policy matters. Sir William Paget's letters to Somerset in March 1549 show that Paget, Anne, and Somerset had been discussing the financing of the wars in Boulogne and Scotland. Paget mistakenly thought Anne had advised Somerset against him, which 'went to my harte like a dagger', until Paget learnt the truth and was much relieved.[131] Bryson has claimed that Anne was one of Somerset's 'most important advisors'.[132] Paget shifted blame from the duke onto Anne by claiming that 'He has a bad wife', when defending the council's treatment of Mary Tudor to Van der Delft in August 1549. The ambassador did not doubt Anne's influence, and the following month attributed Somerset's religious policy to Anne – a thought which seems to have been echoed by the emperor.[133] Similarly, an anonymous tract of c.1549 railing against Somerset included the claim that he refused wise counsel and was instead 'ruled by that imperious & Insolent woman his wif … even allso in the weighty Affaires and gouermen*ts* of the Realme'.[134] In the lead up to his arrest in 1551, Anne's brother Sir Michael Stanhope acted as the messenger between Somerset and Arundel, but when Somerset wanted to withdraw from their plotting he asked Anne to pass on his message about his change of mind to her brother.[135] Her active roles show that Anne was not only an intercessor to her husband but also his advisor, which reflected his trust in her. His willingness to accord her this role meant that they formed a political partnership.

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[130] Hatfield MS 231, fo. 68r.
[131] Keele Paget Box 2, fos 3–4; B.L. Beer and S.M. Jack (eds), 'The Letters of William, Lord Paget of Beaudesert, 1547–63', *Camden Miscellany*, vol. 25 (1974), 20, pp. 28–29.
[132] Bryson, 'The Speciall Men', pp. 46–47.
[133] *CSPS* IX, pp. 429, 447, 449. When Somerset fell in October 1551, the new ambassador Scheyfve claimed that both the duke and Anne were being punished by God for their evangelical changes. *CSPS* X, p. 388.
[134] Surrey History Centre Loseley MS 1865.
[135] *CSPD Edward VI*, 567, p. 211.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued for the cruciality of elite social relationships as means of support, yet it has also demonstrated their limitations. It qualifies the nature of elite sociability, which was limited by reliance on existing friends, family, and husbands. The next chapter assesses the extent of support offered by these connections. The nature of these relationships was partly political, with an underpinning of patronage which created an expectation of mutual obligation. They needed to be continually maintained and mobilised: these were active political friendships. They offered the potential for political and familial assistance or benefit, and extended into an abstract space, across the household, family, country, and court, but they often remained within pre-existing ties. They were also flexible in being altered or renegotiated over time. This chapter has considered the practices of sociability which allowed ties to be fostered and strengthened, before studying their strength and quality.

Elite social connections were usually limited to existing circles of kin and friends. This chapter has advanced the secondary literature on godparenting by showing this conservativism of opting to strengthen current ties instead of forging new ones. Godparentage and outplacement shed light on the role of children as a means of connecting families and enabling their connections to extend into the next generation. While the Hertfords' hospitality tended to be offered to a smaller circle of regulars, Mary Tudor's gift-giving was used with a wider and less frequently recurring network. These four practices or means of sociability show the high prevalence of family members and other women in these elite women's networks. This chapter contributes to the existing works on female friendships and alliances by showing that female connections were valuable for the women studied here, and that these women used domestic spaces and resources for female sociability.

Personal relationships were further limited by negative or weak connections. Studying these exclusions and clashes advances the existing scholarship on elite sociability, pushing beyond the predominance of positive alliances. It shows that negative relationships were negotiated and complex and not usually

wholly or permanently hostile; such ties were flexible and resilient, as their nature could alter but the tie remained. Katherine Willoughby clashed with Anne Stanhope based on her support for Katherine's suits at any particular time, while Katherine's friendship with Gardiner soured as religious differences arose. Yet, other friendships remained cohesive and strong, such as Mary Tudor's maintenance of good personal relationships with John and Jane Dudley despite the political tensions between them. This hints at the value of long-standing and well-maintained personal ties in allowing political benefit, which is discussed at length in the following chapter. Mary Howard's, Katherine Parr's, and Anne Stanhope's examples show their restrictive relationships with male kin. Patriarchal authority was not wholly circumvented by elite women, due to their positions of dependence on their fathers or husbands. This chapter has advanced the secondary literature beyond studies which link marital relationships and women's bad reputations as wives by considering the power balance or imbalance in these partnerships and by showing the agency of wives even as they were limited by their expected subordination to their husbands. Studying the extent of their participation in royal patronage and policy not only demonstrates how the family was an essential space for female political engagement, but it also offers insights into how these women operated within the patriarchal constraints of early modern society. By considering elite women's social relationships we can more fully perceive the limits on their activity and agency. The next chapter will consider how their personal connections with the Tudor elite worked over geographical distance, and how these women drew on or mobilised their connections to offer familial assistance and exert political influence or economic agency.

Chapter 5: Political Networks and The Court

Introduction

This chapter demonstrates the significance of these women's personal relationships with members of the Tudor elite. It examines how these connections worked over distances and how they were mobilised. The royal court is recognised as a physical space of power, politics, and favour, and this chapter takes a broad view of the court as encompassing the monarch, royal household, privy council, and decision-making of government, which were all reasonably proximate and had overlaps in membership, such as between privy chamber and council. However, this chapter also extends the meaning of the court space beyond the physical to consider how these women enjoyed a presence in this space without being resident there. Similarly, the spaces of scholarly patronage and elite sociability were abstract rather than geographically bounded spaces, albeit connected to physical or geographic areas. Considering women's mobility across spaces shows that their networks of elite personal connections spanned the domestic, local, national, and courtly or political. This chapter follows on from the previous one by linking together the development of elite social relationships, through sociability practices, with their use or mobilisation. They worked over geographical distance and could provide assistance and support for both family advantage and political engagement. These two chapters together reveal the weight and instrumentality of such active personal connections. This chapter continues to note that, although crucial, elite relationships also had limitations, as these women were not always successful in drawing on assistance from political friends to achieve their goals.

This chapter investigates how personal relationships with other members of the Tudor aristocracy were useful in connecting these women over geographical distance and in offering political assistance, albeit potentially limited. This assistance was usually used for the benefit of themselves and their families, but also to promote their clients; as shown in previous chapters, they preferred the suits and careers of servants, retainers, clergymen, and scholars. These women

drew on the support of these personal networks for career advancement, financial benefit, or patronage, to engage in court and high politics, and to save and rehabilitate their families. Examining the nature of these connections reveals the centrality of the royal court as a locus of power, both political and of patronage, and the need for these women to retain proximity or access to the Tudor court. However, this chapter challenges existing ideas of the court space as only physically delineated and instead argues that, despite physical absence, court access could be maintained through personal connections with others at court. Letters, messages, and third-party proxies linked them to these intercessors and allowed them to draw on these brokers to royal or state patronage. This shows that engagement with central power was not always contingent on court attendance. The existing scholarship on elite women's influence at the Tudor court often focuses on female courtiers with positions in the queen's household, especially under queen regnant Elizabeth I, although Graham-Matheson has called for an expansion beyond female courtiers to those without official posts in the royal household.[1] This chapter pushes beyond those women officially in attendance at court to consider those connected through visiting, by demonstrating their mobility between their own houses and the royal court, in addition to those connected through their husbands, kin, and friends. These personal networks served as alternative channels of contact, and relied on strong and positive personal relationships; the women studied here needed to foster and maintain goodwill by using practices of elite sociability to produce networks of active ties which could be drawn on successfully. Nonetheless, this chapter claims that such support networks had limitations, not only depending on the potential power or influence of members at any given time, which could change, but also demonstrating that their assistance was not always enough to allow these women to achieve their goals. They did not find complete success when seeking the release and restoration of their families after political crises. Nevertheless, they were able to mitigate their falls from power by drawing on

[1] Merton, 'The Women Who Served', pp. 3–8; Mears, 'Politics in the Elizabethan Privy Chamber', pp. 67, 70–75; Payne, 'The Cecil Women at Court'; Taffe, 'Pleasaunt Pastime'; Hufton, 'Reflections on the Role of Women', p. 7; Graham-Matheson, 'All wemen in thar degree', pp. 22–24.

their connections with others, because their networks were substantial means of connecting them to assistance.

This chapter begins by considering the movements of these women between the royal court, London, and the country, and their connections to the broader court space. They were highly mobile and used short visits, messages, and their husbands to connect themselves to the court from their own homes, showing the flexibility of residence. Married women worked in partnership with their husbands despite not always living in the same house. Examining Mary Tudor's increased court attendance after 1536 demonstrates the correlation between court attendance, her father's favour, and her royal status. Time at court allowed her to gain diplomatic training and underscore her membership of the royal family. Despite shifting to residence in her own houses after 1547, Mary retained links to court and to the policies of the privy council. A comparison of the opportunities for women's attendance at court under Edward VI with the previous reign shows that, while a consort or consort-like figure was needed to allow their residence at court, the privy councillors' wives under Edward used their links with their husbands and the permeability of the regime into their own houses to retain connections to central power. Once again, their husbands were crucial in shaping their court access. William Cecil is an example of another intercessor connecting these women to state power; Katherine Willoughby drew on her good relationship with him for help in preferring her suits to the Somerset regime. The second part of this chapter shows how these women mobilised their personal connections for familial and political advantage. Case studies of Mary Tudor's relationships with Anne Stanhope and Margaret Douglas illustrate the necessity of pre-existing and well-maintained connections as resources for securing patronage and assistance for their kin. As relative patronage power altered over time, the patron–client dynamic of their relationships altered, but the tie and its basis of mutual assistance remained. Lastly, Anne Stanhope and Jane Guildford each drew on their prior relationships with courtiers and councillors in efforts to save their husbands and politically rehabilitate their families after their husbands' respective falls from power in 1549 and 1553. In the face of these political crises, they achieved partial success in these endeavours. Overall, this chapter

argues for the significance, albeit limited, of such personal relationships with members of the Tudor elite in providing assistance and connecting these women to court politics and patronage. It qualifies and expands the nature of court access in the Tudor political system: it was essential but could be mobilised through personal connections rather than necessarily requiring physical attendance.

Mobility

A link to the royal court was highly valuable – even if not there in person, the court was the space of state power and royal favour. This created a need to retain proximity or closeness to the court and monarch or government. Letters and personal contacts were used by these women to span geographical distances and link them to the central power. Husbands were especially valuable as connectors, such as Edwardian privy councillors whose wives acted as court hostesses, and women's movements were shaped by their husband's court positions. This shows once again their dependence on their husbands and the key role of husbands in the patriarchal society. Other allies included intercessors such as Sir William Cecil in the Somerset regime and the imperial ambassadors who acted as proxies for Mary Tudor by representing her interests. Correspondence was also used by these women to remain in contact with their brokers. Furthermore, these women were highly mobile, moving between their own houses and the court. This created permeability between domestic and court spaces; this fluidity of space is illustrated by Somerset bringing some of the workings of government into his London home. For women, court attendance was usually achieved through having a place in the queen consort's household, but was not necessarily contingent on it. Mary Tudor, Anne Stanhope, and Jane Guildford stepped up as acting consorts or hostesses at court in the absence of a consort. Women also had opportunities to visit or interact with the monarch or court, even when not formally in residence. Messages, correspondence, and visits with court contacts connected them when they were not physically or officially present. This chapter connects together scholarship on the visit and female mobility with that on letters, to examine the full range of communications in creating a semblance of proximity

over distances.[2] The role of personal ties, as demonstrated by Katherine Willoughby and William Cecil's example, also highlights the need for good social relationships in order to draw on these contacts or intercessors successfully, which is discussed in more detail in the second part of this chapter.

These women were mobile and travelled between their houses and to court. Their husbands' careers shaped their movements, but they were not always resident together, although residence was very flexible as wives shifted and sent messages and letters between different geographical spaces, serving to connect them with their husbands. Mary Tudor's example shows the centrality of court attendance, as her attendance was linked to her royal status. Her proximity to Henry VIII not only proclaimed his favour and underscored her membership of the royal family, but also gave Mary hands-on experience in dealing with court politics and diplomacy. She continued to stay connected to the regime after Henry's death, despite physical absence from court, as her royal kinship and status as heiress presumptive accorded her a politically significant role. She used correspondence, temporary visits, and the imperial ambassadors to connect her to the privy council. Mary's residence away from court and only short visits under Edward VI reflect the change for female courtiers with a lack of a queen consort to attend. While Mary had previously stepped into the role of acting head of female courtiers while her father was unmarried in 1542–43, leading councillors' wives acted as court hostesses under Edward VI. However, their role was only temporary, and female presence was diminished at court. Instead, councillors' wives accessed the Edwardian regime through their husbands. Meanwhile, Katherine Willoughby used her relationship with William Cecil to connect herself to the regime. Cecil acted as a broker for Katherine and other ladies between their suits and central power. Katherine's example displays the need for good personal relationships with court contacts.

[2] Daybell, *Women Letter Writers*; Mann, 'Displeasure, Duty and Devotion'; Harris, 'Women and Politics', pp. 262, 267; Heal, *Hospitality*; Mendelson, 'Neighbourhood as Female Community'; Whyman, *Sociability and Power*, pp. 87, 90–94, 99, 105, 108; S.M. Cogan, 'Catholic Englishwomen's Mobilities in an Age of Persecution', *Early Modern Women*, 14/1 (2019), pp. 109–18. See further details in the Literature Review, p. 32.

Court and country

Examining the movements of these women reveals their mobility between court and their own houses in both city and country, in addition to the fluidity of their residence across these spaces. This movements were often independent of their husbands, but these couples continued to maintain a connection. The Suffolks used their absence from each other as a tool to better gather and share information between country and court. Letters and messages became essential in narrowing the gap between separated couples.

A study of these women's mobility between their own houses in London or the country, the royal court, and as guests in others' homes, for the period of approximately 1530–1560, shows that these women spent roughly a quarter of their time at court, and on average a third each in London and in the country; suburban houses such as Sheen, Syon, Chelsea, and Richmond, although outside of the city, are considered part of London here. However, experiences greatly differed based on the individual woman: as queen consort, Katherine Parr was continually at court, and then as queen dowager she left and was mostly at Chelsea in suburban London, but also spent time in the country at Hanworth and Sudeley. Frances Brandon was not often recorded as resident at court, but often lived in or around London.[3] Interestingly, these women did not make many lengthy stays in others' houses. Although hospitality by sharing meals and visits was significant, these women very rarely spent extended periods as houseguests. Outside of court service, the largest time spent in other's houses was as attendants to other women and as prisoners.[4] An exception is Mary Howard's almost two-month stay with the Hertfords in 1539, as described in the previous chapter. She and Margaret Douglas also visited

[3] For key sources on these women's movements, see: *L&P*; TNA SP; E101/424/12; E314/22; *PPE*; Longleat Seymour MSS X–XX; *CSPS* IX–XI.

[4] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, I, p. 48; Longleat Seymour MS XVI, fos 7r, 35r; MS XVII, fo. 25r; MS XVIII, fos 2r–19r, 35v–62r; Jackson, 'Longleat Papers', pp. 260–61; TNA E101/426/3, nos 16, 21, 25, 27; E314/22, no. 33; E315/340, fo. 28v; SP10/7, fos 3v, 5r; SP10/9, fo. 115r; SP10/11, fo. 20r; BL Lansd. MS 1236, fo. 26r; Royal MS 18/C/XXIV, fo. 330r; WAM 18085, fo. 1r; Hatfield MS 150, fo. 183r; Folger MS X.d.486, fo. 13r; Durham Cathedral Archive Misc. Ch. 2520r; *L&P* XVI, 1331, p. 613; *CSPS* IX, p. 298; *APC* IV, 66, pp. 90–91.

each other's houses, after having spent time together at court under several queens.[5]

Wives moved independently of their husbands, but their residence was nonetheless influenced by their husband's careers. The widowed Katherine Willoughby ended court service and moved to her house of Grimsthorpe in Lincolnshire after 1547, and the married Jane Guildford appears to have remained in London with her husband from 1547 in their Holborn house, before retiring to Chelsea on the fringes of the city after his death in 1553.[6] This suggests that a husband's court career influenced where his wife lived, but wives did not necessarily follow their husbands. Katherine Willoughby had initially remained in the country after marrying Suffolk, who was at court, while Margaret Douglas was unable to follow Lennox to the borders but moved to Yorkshire to be closer to him.[7] Anne Stanhope and her husband did not always live together in the 1530s, but still spent time together. Anne usually resided in the family home in suburban London, while Hertford moved between the court and their country houses. However, both Anne and Hertford moved back and forth between court and their Beauchamp Place on the Strand, and later also their house at Sheen, allowing them to spend considerable time together despite apparently living separately.[8] The couple went to court for Anne of Cleves's reception and marriage in January 1540, but while Anne returned to their home at the end of February, Hertford continued to alternate several days at court and then several at home in London. Anne visited court to sup with her husband several times in March, and returned to stay in court lodgings between 27 April and 12 May 1540.[9]

Anne Stanhope used messages, correspondence, and visits to connect her to her friends, the court, and her husband. While in her London houses, Anne relied

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[5] Longleat Seymour MS XVIII, fos 2r–19r, 35v–62r; *L&P* XVI, 1331, p. 613; VIII, 1028, p. 406; X, 913, p. 383; TNA SP10/7, fos 3v, 5r; SP1/103, fo. 324r; SP1/155, fo. 36r; SP1/157, fo. 14r; J. Bain (ed.), *The Hamilton Papers*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1890), pp. 253–54.
[6] BL Lansd. MS 2, fo. 46r; TNA SP10/10, fos 9r, 10v, 19v, 55r, 60r, 62r, 72r, 80r; SP1/157, fo. 15r; Brigden (ed.), 'The Letters of Richard Scudamore', 7, 10, pp. 101, 108, n.104; Loades, *John Dudley*, p. 43; Graham-Matheson, 'All wemen in thar degree', p. 108.
[7] *L&P* XI, 650, 1267, pp. 255, 517; *LL* IV, 871, 875, pp. 128, 138–39; Schutte, *Margaret Douglas*, pp. 104–05.
[8] Longleat Seymour MSS XIII, XIV, XVI, XVII, XVIII.
[9] Longleat Seymour MS XVIII, fos 93–112, 114r–138r.

on servants to carry messages across the city and to court.[10] Between 1537 and 1538, they linked her to her husband and Lady Rochford at court, Ladies Howard and Russell at Lambeth, Ladies Sussex and Oughtred at Mortlake, and to Ladies Fitzherbert and Dudley and Mrs Denny.[11] Anne used both messengers and letters to communicate with her mother, who, as noted in the previous chapter, also stayed in Anne's marital house and dined with her. Items were also moved between the Seymour house and court: when their son Edward was christened at Beauchamp Place on 14 March 1538, the king's wardrobe master lent some hangings for the chapel, and the font was borrowed from St Pauls.[12] Anne travelled across London to pay visits, such as visiting Katherine Willoughby twice in 1538, and also sending her daughter Margaret Seymour to Suffolk house in St Martin in the Fields that year. On 3 December 1538, Anne attended Westminster Hall to see the Marquess of Exeter arraigned.[13]

Her correspondence with her husband shows the couple's efforts to maintain contact and share information and advice across distances. Wriothesley forwarded Anne's letters to Hertford in November 1542 during the latter's brief tenure as warden of the Scottish marches, adding news of Anne's health and general wellbeing when Hertford was concerned that she was ill. Wriothesley urged Hertford 'to make her spedy answer / for I p*er*ceve she shal not be mery tyl she her from yo*u*'. He also defended himself against any complaints of laxness in passing on their mail, as Anne was fearful that not all of her letters were getting through after Hertford noted 'that her ladiship war slak in writing'. Showing that Hertford kept Anne's missives, Wriothesley suggested he bring them with him on his imminent return to London, to prove that he had received them all. This theme of anxiety over the reliability of mail, including a need to write and reply continually, would continue.[14] When serving in the north in 1544, Hertford corresponded with both his receiver-general Berwick and Anne. As shown in Chapter 2, Berwick and Anne discussed the earl's business dealings, and Anne was not only kept abreast of these matters, but she

[10] Longleat Seymour MS X, fos 60v, 61v, 64v; MS XIV, fo. 46v; MS XVI, fo. 41v.
[11] Longleat Seymour MS XIV, fos 43r, 55r; MS XVI fos 35r, 36v–37r, 39v, 45r, 48r, 49r, 53v.
[12] Longleat Seymour MS XVI, fos 41r, 42v, 32v, 52v–53r
[13] *Ibid*., fos 30v, 41v, 43v, 45r; MS XVII, fo. 51r–v.
[14] Hatfield MS 231, fos 14–16, 28–29; Bain (ed.), *The Hamilton Papers*, I, 239, 243, pp. 306–07, 310–11.

seems to have acted in her husband's stead as the decision-maker during his absence.[15] She was keen for him to return home, asking Mary Tudor and Katherine Parr to check with the king that Hertford's return 'is not altered'.[16] Interestingly, given the reminder by Wriothesley two years earlier, Hertford did not take well to being reminded by Paget to write to Anne in 1545. In return, he threatened to 'telle mi ladi [Paget's wife, Anne Preston] sich talles of you as you will repent'.[17]

Katherine Willoughby seems to have worked in partnership with her first husband when they were split between court and country. In October 1536, she was in Lincolnshire and kept her husband, then at court, updated with local news and intelligence, which he was then able to pass onto Cromwell. She remained in the country for Christmas while the duke was at court.[18] In 1543, Suffolk was serving as the king's lord lieutenant of the north. When Katherine had a letter for him to be sent via Wriothesley, Wriothesley had it forwarded at speed, as he was unsure how urgent it was. They were able to use correspondence to overcome the great physical distance between them, with such letters prioritised.[19] The couple also shared their correspondence when in residence together; when Suffolk wrote to Lord Deputy Cobham in July 1545, Katherine added into the letter a postscript of greetings.[20]

The period when these women were most often at court was between 1540 and 1547, when most of them served in at least one queen's household.[21] Opportunities for court service then dwindled with a lack of a queen consort; as discussed below, with the probable exception of Anne Stanhope, these women no longer lived at court but in London or the country from 1547.[22] Anne's example illustrates the fluidity of court service. She spent a large portion of her time, about sixty-seven per cent, in London, mostly in the 1530s when she was

[15] *HMC Bath*, IV, pp. 90–91, 100, 103.
[16] Hatfield MS 147, fo. 6r.
[17] TNA SP1/202, fo. 49r.
[18] *L&P* XI, 650, 1267, pp. 255, 517.
[19] *L&P* XVIII, i, 894, p. 490.
[20] BL Harley MS 283, fo. 151r–v.
[21] TNA SP1/155, fo. 36r–v; SP1/157, fos 12–15; Hamilton, *The Household of Queen Katherine Parr*, pp. 123–26; BL Cotton MS Vesp. C/XIV, fos 106r–107v; Royal App. MS 89, fos 104v–105r.
[22] Medici, 'More Than a Wife and Mother', p. 259; Graham-Matheson, 'All wemen in thar degree', p. 108; Merton, 'The Women Who Served', pp. 50–51.

not resident at court but still visited often. Even when serving in a queen's household, Anne moved between court and her own houses, rather than remaining fully resident at court.[23] Widows did not always retire to the country. While Mary Howard initially moved to Kenninghall after Richmond's death, she later attended several queens at court, and rented a house in London.[24] Katherine Willoughby remained in Katherine Parr's household after her first husband died, until there was no queen consort to serve after Henry VIII's death, and both Frances Brandon and Anne Stanhope appear to have initially lived in London when widowed, before moving to Leicestershire and Middlesex, respectively, after they remarried servants.[25] Jane Guildford likewise stayed at court when in the queen's household but then moved to the Dudleys' London house in Holborn after 1547.[26] However, Graham-Matheson has noted that 'even women outside the court engaged in political activity in their own right, and on behalf of others'. She used the example of Katherine Willoughby, who ended court service and 'retired to the country' after Suffolk's death, yet remained 'involved in court affairs', as shown by her correspondence with William Cecil, which included Katherine offering him advice on policy, which is discussed below in further detail.[27] This use of letters to connect to men at court is a recurring theme, showing the value of correspondence.

Mary Tudor and court proximity

Mary Tudor's increased attendance and residence at court after 1536 reflected her return to royal favour, showing a strong relationship between favour and proximity. Her time at court allowed her to gain diplomatic experience, serving

[23] Longleat Seymour MS XIII, fos 4r–v, 7–11, 15v, 24r, 25r, 27v; MS XIV, fos 6r, 11r–v, 13v, 15r, 16v–17v, 22r, 27r, 28r, 29r, 31r, 32v, 33r–v, 34r, 35r, 36r, 38–39, 44v, 46v, 47v, 51v, 53r, 73v; MS XVI, fos 12v, 30r, 32r–v, 35r, 38v, 44r, 46v, 49r, 50v–53v, 70r, 74r; MS XVII, fos 8–24, 25r, 32r–v, 45v–46v, 51r, 52v, 54r; MS XVIII.
[24] TNA SP1/105, fo. 8r; SP1/111, fo. 204r; SP1/115, fos 80v, 190r, 240r; SP1/155, fo. 36r; SP1/157, fos 12r, 14r; PROB11/30/653; Williams, *Thomas Howard*, p. 24.
[25] BL Cotton MS Vesp. C/XIV, fo. 107v; Lansd. MS 8, fo. 133r; MS 9, fo. 147r; MS 13, fo. 90r; MS 18, fo. 190r; MS 22, fo. 202r; MS 33, fo. 6r; MS 36, fo. 21r; Letter Stanhope to Thynne, 11 November 1553, pr. Jackson, 'Wulfhall and the Seymours', pp. 187–88; *APC* V, 40, p. 29; *CSP Venice*, VI, i, 634, p. 651; Edwards, *Mary I*, p. 166; Warnicke, 'Grey, Frances', in *ODNB*; J. Nichols (ed.), *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, vol. 3, part 1, (London, 1800), pp. 144–46.
[26] Loades, *John Dudley*, p. 43; TNA SP1/157, fo. 15r; Graham-Matheson, 'All wemen in thar degree', p. 108; Brigden (ed.), 'The Letters of Richard Scudamore', 7, 10, pp. 101, 108, n.104.
[27] Graham-Matheson, 'Petticoats and Politics', p. 35.

as a political apprenticeship, in addition to displaying her royal status and familial relationship with the king. Receiving a land grant under Edward VI, her residence changed to her own properties, which were shown in Chapter 2 to be an important space for her authority as she used her staff and retainers to display her status as a member of the royal family. However, Mary retained both political significance and links to the privy council, without needing to remain constantly at court. She used letters, visits, and the imperial ambassadors to keep in contact with the council and king, especially over her refusal to conform to the new regulations for divine service. McIntosh has shown that Mary's household size correlated with her father's favour; in this section, her court attendance is shown to have also followed the same pattern.[28] Hamrick has claimed that Mary was active in maintaining her royal status, working to counter her father's demotion of her by using two printed books in 1534 to represent her as a princess. However, most scholars downplay Mary's political efforts or training between 1536 and 1547, by claiming that she kept out of politics during this time, and much existing scholarship considers Mary's preparation for queenship in terms of her earlier humanist education rather than the practical training she gained at court.[29] This section underscores the impact of Mary's experience at court and outlines her efforts to publicly assert her membership of the royal family.

Mary's favour with her father was reflected in her court attendance in the 1530s. After she was reconciled with the king through the efforts of Thomas Cromwell and Queen Jane Seymour in mid-1536, Mary gained permission to write directly to her father, although it seems that at least some of her letters were sent to Cromwell to be passed on. On 21 July, she expressed a hope to

[28] McIntosh, *From Heads of Household,* pp. 23–49.
[29] Hamrick, 'His Wel Beloved Doughter', pp. 497–98; Edwards, *Mary I*, pp. 8, 16, 55–56; Richards, *Mary Tudor*, p. 70; A. Pollnitz, 'Humanism and Court Culture in the Education of Tudor Royal Children,' in Betteridge and Riehl (eds), *Tudor Court Culture*, pp. 49, 51, 53–56; Vosevich, 'The Education of a Prince(ss)', pp. 61–69; Elston, 'Transformation or Continuity', pp. 19–22; Loades, *Mary Tudor*, p. 33; Guy, *The Children of Henry VIII*, pp. 58–59. Smith has similarly viewed Mary's 1526 translation of an Aquinas prayer in Lady Guildford's book of hours as an effort to assert not only her authorial voice but her place in the royal family and the legitimacy of her parents' marriage, at the time of her parents' divorce. Smith, 'Paratextual Economies', pp. 203–07.

live at court rather than at Hunsdon.[30] Her proximity to the court became a marker of her father's favour towards her. Although she retained her own household, especially staying at Richmond, she visited court, including for Christmas 1536 and for the ceremonies the following year of Prince Edward's baptism, where she was godmother, and then Jane Seymour's funeral, where she was chief mourner.[31] She continued to visit court, and in May 1538 the king dined with her at Richmond on his way to Chelsea.[32] Mary used letters to maintain contact with her father, valuing writing them in her own hand.[33] Their relationship was not always smooth, and needed to be renegotiated, much like the familial relationships considered in the previous chapter. By 1542, she despaired that he would never arrange her marriage, while she also seems to have clashed with Katherine Howard. Chapuys claimed that the new queen tried to have two of Mary's maids removed after feeling slighted by her stepdaughter, although Mary managed to placate her and Henry. Mary was at court by Katherine's fall in November 1541, when the queen's household was disbanded. The privy council arranged for Mary to stay with Prince Edward, bringing some of the queen's servants with her.[34]

Mary then returned to court as a temporary acting consort, and remained there after her father remarried, where she was accepted as a working member of the royal family. She was at court by September 1542, when her father showed his affection with gifts of jewellery. In a good mood after victory against Scotland, Henry wanted Mary and many ladies to attend Hampton Court for Christmas. Mary could act as head of the female courtiers, in the absence of a consort, which would allow the other ladies to be received at court.[35] In addition to her

[30] *CSPS* V, ii, 70, pp. 184–86; BL Cotton MS Otho C/X, fos 267r, 284r–285r; Hearne (ed.), *Sylloge*, pp. 129–32; TNA SP1/104, fo. 204r; *Chronicle of King Henry VIII of England*, pp. 72–73; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, I, p. 51; *L&P* XI, 147, p. 64; *PPE*, p. 1. MacCulloch has emphasised Cromwell's role in securing Mary's acceptance of the royal supremacy and submission to her father, arguing that 'Mary saw Cromwell not as her enemy but as a firm source of support'. MacCulloch, *Cromwell*, pp. 180–81.
[31] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, I, pp. 59–60, 67; *PPE*, pp. 42, 45; *L&P* XI, 1291, p. 522; XII, ii, 1060, pp. 372–73.
[32] *PPE*, p. 64; *L&P* XIII, i, 931, p. 343.
[33] *L&P* XIV, ii, 696–97, p. 257.
[34] *L&P* XVI, 1331, p. 613; XVII, 371, pp. 220–21; *CSPS* IV, i, 143, pp. 295, 306.
[35] *CSPS* VI, ii, 63, 84, 94, 116, pp. 138, 186–87, 223, 279; *HMC Rutland*, I, p. 30; S. Thurley, 'Henry VIII and the Building of Hampton Court: A Reconstruction of the Tudor Palace', *Architectural History*, 31 (1988), p. 39; Bodleian Rawlinson MS D/781, fos 188–93, 202v–

standing in for the consort, Henry also used Mary's presence to show his goodwill towards her cousin the emperor by visiting her twice daily and making her gifts.[36] Katherine Parr joined her household in 1542, and her attendance on Mary at court allowed Katherine to meet the king, who decided to marry her.[37] All three royal children attended their wedding in July 1543 and were staying at court that December, but while the more junior Elizabeth and Edward only made visits to court, Mary remained in residence almost permanently for the next few years.[38] This allowed her to gain experience in court life and, especially, diplomatic events, while her proximity openly displayed the king's approval of her as a member of the royal family. Mary was restored to the succession in a February 1544 act of parliament, showing her father's acceptance of her.[39] Her political career developed as she was present at the receptions of foreign dignitaries: Don Luis de Avila in January and the Duke of Najera in February 1544.[40] Chapuys noted the kindness shown to Mary by both king and queen, while all three royals sang from the same songbook in making 'offers and protestations of friendship' with Spain in mid-April, showing that, in diplomacy, Mary was included in the royal family's united front.[41] She would make use of her political training in the next reign when dealing with the privy council, and after her own accession in 1553.

Mary's court attendance drastically reduced after her father's death, but she remained engaged in politics through her contact with the privy council. An independent landowner from 1547, she mostly lived in her houses in East Anglia.[42] In this regard, she more closely resembled her great-grandmother the Lady Margaret Beaufort, who also received a large land grant from the crown and primarily resided on her lands in the east midlands, where she acted as

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203r; *Chronicle of King Henry VIII of England*, p. 94; McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, pp. 80–82. Merton has emphasised that female court positions were unstable under Henry VIII as the queen's household was disbanded and reformed with each new consort. Merton, 'The Women Who Served', p. 50.

[36] *CSPS* VI, ii, 105, p. 250.

[37] James, *Catherine Parr*, pp. 77, 96; *L&P* XVIII, i, 740, p. 418.

[38] *CSPS* VI, ii, 183, 205, pp. 430, 459; TNA SP1/182, fo. 150r; *L&P* XVIII, ii, 501, p. 269; Guy, *The Children of Henry VIII*, p. 100.

[39] Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. 6, p. 85.

[40] *CSPS* VII, 10, 39, 111, pp. 13–14, 55, 182.

[41] *CSPS* VI, ii, 183, 205, pp. 430, 459; VII, 69, p. 110.

[42] McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, pp. 132–34; TNA SP10/1, fo. 122r; SP10/2, fo. 84ar; Hearne (ed.), *Sylloge*, p. 151; *CSPS* X, pp. 220, 287; *TAMO* (1563), book 4, p. 954; *APC* III, 290, p. 348.

regional magnate and representative of the king. Unlike Margaret, Mary's household and authority were not viceregal, and she was a potential dynastic threat rather than a trusted delegate of the king. However, in addition to their translations and patronage of devotional texts in print as discussed in Chapter 3, the two women's shared *feme sole* status and positions as landowners made them distinct from most royal princesses who lacked independent households and instead resided at court.[43] Under Edward VI, Mary's court visits became grand affairs undertaken several times per year, where she was ceremonially greeted by nobles and escorted to see her brother, but stayed in her London house of St John's rather than in court lodgings.[44] She was wary of being forced to conform to the religious services at court, and used conveniently timed ill health as an excuse to cancel or shorten visits. However, Mary, the king, and the privy council often used her visits to harangue each other over her religious disobedience, and in January 1552 she specifically intended to bring up the matter with Edward on her visit. An earlier disagreement had reduced both of the siblings to tears.[45] Nonetheless, Mary received gifts of jewellery and money from her brother, exchanged New Year's gifts with Protector Somerset, and was invited to stay in Chancellor Rich's houses in Essex.[46]

However, Mary's contact with the privy council was mostly maintained through correspondence, the extent of which is hinted at by the cost of £4 to the council in August 1549 for carrying letters to her. She also wrote back and forth with her brother.[47] Her correspondence with Edward and the council was often over her opposition to their evangelical changes, which she regarded as 'newe fanglenes and fantasie', and she insisted on following the old Latin

[43] M.K. Jones and M.G. Underwood, 'Beaufort, Margaret [known as Lady Margaret Beaufort], countess of Richmond and Derby', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2004); Fisher, 'Margaret R'.
[44] When her sister Elizabeth visited court in March 1552, she was also attended by noble men and women, 'a gret company' according to Machyn. *CSPS* X, pp. 28, 258, 410; Machyn, *Diary*, pp. 4–5, 16, 20–21; Edward VI, *Chronicle*, p. 55; *CSPD Edward VI*, 688, p. 248.
[45] *CSPS* X, pp. 205–06, 222, 236, 258, 260–61, 391, 410; Richards, 'Reassessing Mary Tudor', pp. 213–14; *APC* II, 699, p. 433; Machyn, *Diary*, pp. 4–5; Edward VI, *Chronicle*, p. 55.
[46] Hatfield MS 198, fo. 109r; Inner Temple Petyt MS 538, vol. 46, fo. 9r; *APC* II, 699, p. 433; Longleat Seymour MS X, fos 182r, 183v; *HMC Bath*, IV, p. 338; BL Royal MS 17/B/XXVIII, fo. 122r, pr. *PPE*, p. 194; Lansd. MS 1236, fo. 26r; *CSPS* IX, p. 298; TNA SP10/11, fo. 20r.
[47] *APC* II, 494, 537, pp. 291–92, 312; III, 137, 141, 287, pp. 171, 177, 341–42; BL Cotton MS Faust. C/II, fos 66r–67v; Lansd. MS 1236, fo. 28r; *TAMO* (1563), book 4, pp. 944–55; Inner Temple Petyt MS 538, vol. 46, fo. 4; *CSPD Edward VI*, 327, p. 126; TNA SP10/8, fo. 93r; SP10/11, fo. 20r–v; Wood (ed.), *Letters*, III, 119, pp. 256–57; *CSPS* X, pp. 209–13.

divine services of her late father's church, claiming that Edward, as a minor, was as yet incapable of making judgements on religious policy. The council accepted her right to enter into a discussion on the matter and, as shown in Chapter 2, were initially willing to allow her informal permission to hear 'private' Latin Masses.[48] Furthermore, Mary communicated with the council through the imperial ambassador. She probably enjoyed a closer relationship to the imperial ambassadors than any other noble Englishwoman at this time, due to her kinship tie with Emperor Charles V. He was willing to supply advice and limited support to Mary, in the form of his ambassadors, and he also corresponded with her.[49] Present at court, ambassador Scheyfve pressed the king and council for Mary's religious freedom by reminding them of the emperor's interest in her welfare. Her connections to a foreign power placed her in a potentially more powerful bargaining position, yet she still lost her Latin Masses.[50] Mary identified with Charles, and saw nothing wrong with sometimes passing on information, including an overheard message from her father to the French ambassador in 1541, and 'trustworthy information' on divisions within the privy council in 1549. But although she dutifully asked for the emperor's advice, she usually followed her own plans instead.[51]

In addition to communicating her vocal views on their religious changes, Mary was kept abreast of developments within the privy council. She was aware of some details of her father's will, including that 'all ye executors sworne vpon a boke to fullfil [Henry's laws]'.[52] As discussed in the previous chapter and below, Mary kept up social ties with the families of leading councillors Northumberland and Somerset, and she considered Paget to be a particular ally or instrumental friend to her. Mary was well enough informed of the divisions on the council to tell the imperial ambassador about them in August 1549, believing that the party of Warwick and the conservatives, who sought to

[48] Richards, *Mary Tudor*, p. 92; BL Cotton MS Faust. C/II, fos 66r–67v; *CSPS* IX, pp. 381–82.
[49] *CSPS* IX, pp. 328, 344–61; X, p. 5; Hatfield MS 150, fos 185r–v, 188r–v. When she and Van der Delft were co-godparents to Katherine Dudley in November 1545, they used the opportunity of the baptism to talk together about the current Anglo-Imperial alliance. *CSPS* VIII, 174, p. 280.
[50] *CSPS* X, pp. 360–63, 436–37; *TAMO* (1563), book 4, p. 946; *APC* III, 277, 281, 287, pp. 329, 333, 343–44; Edward VI, *Chronicle*, p. 76.
[51] *CSPS* VI, ii, 94, p. 219; VIII, 51, pp. 103–04; IX, p. 445; XI, pp. 9–10, 14–15.
[52] *TAMO* (1563), book 4, p. 944; BL Lansd. MS 1236, fo. 28r.

'sound her' for support, would triumph over Somerset, but deciding to disclaim interference. She considered men on both sides of this divide to be friendly towards her, showing her lack of involvement in partisan politics.[53] The council took care to keep Mary and her sister Elizabeth informed of Somerset's supposed treachery in October 1549, writing to both women.[54] The council did not necessarily trust Mary, especially keeping a watchful eye on her movements in 1551 when she almost fled into exile overseas.[55] However, they only tried to cut her off from information in 1553 when she became too much of a threat as Edward's potential heir as his fatal illness progressed and he altered the succession. But although they tried to keep Mary in the dark about his Devise, there were leaks, as Mary's political friends informed her of this and later of the king's death, enabling her to flee to her lands.[56] Her royal status and familial ties to both Edward VI and Charles V had accorded Mary the right to communicate with the council and be involved in political developments, while this was enabled by her use of correspondence, occasional short-term visits, and ambassadors as proxies.

Edwardian councillors' wives

Under Edward VI, the traditional female entrée to court by serving in the queen's household was unavailable to elite women while there was no queen consort, but the wives of privy councillors enjoyed access to both court and to the regency government. A consideration of their access and mobility in London sheds light on the nature of the Edwardian court and council, in addition to the wider nature of power and space: political or patronage influence was not always contingent on physical court access, as personal connections also provided scope for influence. These women engaged with court politics because of their proximity to their husbands and the integration of the government with their own houses. Furthermore, it is important to compare the experience of these Edwardian councillors' wives, where there

[53] *CSPS* IX, pp. 388–89, 394, 445–46; X, p. 9; Hearne (ed.), *Sylloge*, p. 151; Hatfield MS 150, fo. 188v.
[54] *APC* II, 577, p. 342.
[55] Hatfield MS 151, fos 114r–115r.
[56] *CSPS* XI, pp. 17, 40–41, 49–50, 52, 55; *CSP Venice*, XI, 934, p. 937.

was no queen consort to serve, with earlier periods when Henry VIII was between consorts. Between 1542 and 1543, Mary Tudor filled the role of acting queen consort. After the widowed Katherine Parr left court in early 1547, there was no consort to act as permanent court hostess. This position was temporarily occupied by Anne Stanhope, Jane Guildford, and Elisabeth Brooke. Although women visited court, they did not usually reside there, leaving the Edwardian court a more masculine space.

Graham-Matheson has argued that women did not access the Edwardian court as members of a queen's household, but as wives of privy councillors, and claimed that the wives of the leaders Somerset and Northumberland were the most central.[57] Although they were able to stay at court under Edward VI, it seems that Anne and Jane continued Anne's previous trend of constantly shifting between court and their London houses. They were now primarily resident in their own homes but frequently moved across the city to visit or stay at court. Interestingly, they were not recorded as going to the country, except for Anne's temporary stay at her brother's Beddington house in Surrey during the October 1549 crisis, after being sent from court by her husband.[58] Scholars have claimed that Anne was able to reside at court, with her husband taking the queen's side for their lodgings; Merton argued that Anne was the only councillor's wife able 'to make herself at home there [at court]', while the other wives lived in London rather than at court.[59] Anne also regarded her position as Protector's wife as allowing her oversight of the underage royal Elizabeth Tudor, criticising her governess Katherine Champernowne for poor conduct, and threatening that 'another shuld have her Place'. Anne felt herself partly responsible for ensuring Elizabeth's good reputation, taking a position of seniority over the teenage royal.[60] Jane Guildford has also been recognised as having a political role at court as the highest-ranking woman present after 1549, such as in accompanying her husband to an informal council meeting at

[57] Graham-Matheson, 'All wemen in thar degree', pp. 24–25; Graham-Matheson, 'Elisabeth Parr's Renaissance', p. 292.
[58] *CSPS* IX, p. 462.
[59] Merton, 'The Women Who Served', pp. 50–51; Bryson, 'The Speciall Men', p. 15; Medici, 'More Than a Wife and Mother', pp. 259–60.
[60] *Collection of State Papers*, 106, pp. 100–02; *CSPD Edward VI*, 198, p. 92.

the Sheriff of London's house in January 1550.[61] However, Bryson and Graham-Matheson have both shown that Jane's shyness or potential ill health limited her willingness to act as primary court hostess. Instead, Elisabeth Brooke, Marchioness of Northampton, took on this role, such as in leading the French ambassador's banquet to celebrate the Seymour–Dudley betrothal in 1549.[62]

Furthermore, the council and government under Edward VI became less centred on the court. Alford has claimed that the regency led to Somerset ruling a 'personal' regime, where the duke's household and members overlapped with the court, and Somerset Place became an 'unofficial court' where government took place. Graham-Matheson also noted the increased importance of the councillors' London homes and increased residence of councillors at home with their families.[63] This meant that their wives, especially Anne, did not necessarily need to visit court to be a part of the regime. They enjoyed direct access to their husbands regardless. Jane Guildford knew enough of the council's dealings to pass on advice to Sir John Thynne around 1548, joining others in recommending that he submit himself to the council, and contributing her understanding that the council was testing his 'courages'.[64] Much as Anne was used by nobles as an intermediary to her husband, Jane was also approached by Mary Tudor to intercede with Northumberland for the release of her imprisoned household officers in November 1551 or 1552. Jane duly passed on Mary's letter to her husband, who in turn promised to prefer her request to the king.[65] Katherine Parr's dower household was also a potential place of power. Although mostly living in nearby Chelsea or sometimes the more central Seymour Place, she does not appear to have spent time at court after April 1547. However, she did visit the Somersets at Sheen on 29 July and Syon in September 1547, perhaps recognising the political value of their house,

[61] Medici, 'More Than a Wife and Mother', pp. 259–61; Brigden (ed.), 'The Letters of Richard Scudamore', 10, p. 108.
[62] Bryson, 'The Speciall Men', pp. 197–99; Graham-Matheson, 'Elisabeth Parr's Renaissance', p. 292; Graham-Matheson, 'All wemen in thar degree', p. 95. Jane later left some apparel and soft furnishings to Elisabeth in her will, suggesting goodwill and practical support towards her deputy. TNA PROB11/37/342, p. 2A.
[63] Alford, *Kingship and Politics*, pp. 75, 77–84, 98; Graham-Matheson, 'All wemen in thar degree', pp. 107–10.
[64] Hatfield MS 231, fo. 76v.
[65] Howard (ed.), *A Collection of Letters*, pp. 160–61.

in addition to acknowledging a kinship tie to Somerset.[66] In addition, Mary Tudor built up her household as an alternative royal court, offering a direct contrast to Edward's court as his successor by emphasising the religiously conservative and female nature of her household, although not seeking to challenge his rule as an alternative monarch.[67] Her maturity, and with it the ability to exercise authority over her house and determine its tenor, differentiated her from her younger siblings, and stood in contrast to Edward's regency. As noted, she also had experience in heading a queen's household during her time at court in 1542–43. Mary was then mooted as a potential regent in 1549.[68] Her efforts to challenge and oppose the Edwardian reforms to divine service served to bolster her status as a public conservative leader. Finally, in contrast to the masculine Edwardian court, Mary's household was notably feminine, in both its leader and larger numbers of female attendants.[69]

A consort figure had been more important under Henry VIII when he was only temporarily between queens and had members of the queen's household waiting to return to their posts. After his death, there was no immediate expectation of a consort for the underage Edward VI, and so the leading female position at court was reduced to hostess on ceremonial or diplomatic occasions, rather than a more permanent figure to head up the vacant consorts' household. This would have resulted in the Edwardian court becoming a more male space, with wives visiting rather than remaining at court permanently. Bryson has further claimed that this was a court dominated in turn by the parties of Somerset and Northumberland, as they placed some of their supporters into the

[66] Graham-Matheson, 'All wemen in thar degree', p. 11; TNA E101/426/3, no. 27; E315/340, fo. 28v.
[67] Mary's household, like that of her sister Elizabeth, and their brother Edward's before his accession, had always been a royal 'satellite' household, and McIntosh has demonstrated that Mary's household staff had long practised a 'culture of reverence' which reflected her royal status, and that Mary deliberately used household goods to display her royal status. Hayward, 'Shaped by Their Father', p. 414; McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, pp. 49–58, 70.
[68] McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, pp. 80–82, 88, 92–93; Loades, *Mary Tudor*, pp. 146–47; Alford, *Kingship and Politics*, pp. 62–64, 157–66, 171–73; 'Certayne brife notes of the controversy betwene the Dukes of Somerset and Duke of Nor[t]humberland', ed. S. Adams, I.W. Archer, and G.W. Bernard, in Archer et al. (eds), *Religion, Politics, and Society*, pp. 128–30, 135; *CSPS* IX, pp. 459, 463–64.
[69] *APC* II, 494, pp. 291–92; *CSPS* IX, p. 407; Machyn, *Diary*, pp. 4–5; Loades, *Mary Tudor*, p. 143; Edwards, *Mary I*, pp. 69–70, 110; Richards, *Mary Tudor*, pp. 94, 129, 136; Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. 6, p. 132.

royal household.[70] Leading noblewomen continued to attend court ceremonies, such as the reception of Mary of Guise in November 1551, and to escort Mary Tudor on her visits.[71] As shown above, when Mary came to London to visit court, she stayed in her own house rather than using court lodgings.[72] Unlike under Henry VIII, when women had opportunities to remain resident at court in the queen's household or in the train of acting consort Mary Tudor, the presence of only temporary court hostesses by leading Edwardian councillors' wives meant that women's attendance at court was never more than short-term. Instead, privy councillors' wives enjoyed proximity to the workings of government through their husbands while based in their own London or suburban houses. Other women were able to rely on their personal ties to men within the Edwardian regime to access patronage, as shown, for example, by Katherine Willoughby's reliance on Sir William Cecil as her court contact.

William Cecil as court intercessor

Sir William Cecil, later Lord Burghley, is an illustrative example of the significance of intermediaries or brokers, who played a role not only in allowing these women access to royal patronage but also in connecting them to the regime across vast distances. He was used as an intercessor by many of the women studied here, who used letters to send their suits to him under both Edward VI and Elizabeth I, writing from their own houses.[73] Seemingly only Mary Howard had no real connection to Cecil, perhaps because she relied instead on Thomas Smith for her suits to the Edwardian council before her early death by 1555.[74] Cecil wrote the preface to Katherine Parr's 1547 *Lamentation*, in which he urged 'all ladies of estate' to follow Katherine's praiseworthy example.[75] He enjoyed kinship ties to Frances Brandon, who sent

[70] Bryson, 'The Speciall Men', pp. 11–13, 22–23.
[71] Edward VI, *Chronicle*, p. 93; Machyn, *Diary*, pp. 4–5; *APC* III, 199, p. 239; *CSPS* XI, pp. 8–9.
[72] Machyn, *Diary*, pp. 4–5, 16, 20–21.
[73] Alford has noted Cecil's role as an intermediary to Somerset, serving as his secretary and master of requests, and Cecil's court connections, especially to Katherine Willoughby, who he claimed was a key link between Cecil and others at court and in the scholarly patronage sphere. Alford, *Kingship and Politics*, pp. 80–86, 122.
[74] TNA SP10/7, fos 3v, 5r.
[75] Parr, *Lamentacion*, sigs π2r–π6v. See also Alford's discussion of Cecil's links with the Parrs: Alford, *Kingship and Politics*, p. 85.

her suits to him in 1559 after he became Elizabeth I's secretary of state.[76] Although Cecil had been the one to collect evidence against the Lennoxes in 1561 and 1562 which led to their imprisonment, Margaret Douglas recognised his power by directing her continuous requests to him for release, before building a relationship with him based on elite sociability, including standing godmother to his daughter, asking to place her son in his house, and bequeathing him a ring in her will.[77] Anne Stanhope, who already knew Cecil from his service in the Protectorate, preferred relatives and neighbours to him for patronage during Elizabeth's reign, and sought his help, alongside that of Robert Dudley, in her 'tedyous sute' to secure the queen's forgiveness and release of her son Hertford for his secret marriage to Lady Katherine Grey. Anne bequeathed Cecil a crystal jug and cover, and an emerald ring in her will – the only bequest to a named individual who was not of her family or household.[78] Even Mary Tudor was familiar enough with Cecil to proclaim, upon reading an unpalatable letter from her brother in 1551, that 'good Master Cecyll tooke muche payne here'.[79] Katherine Willoughby's good relationship with Cecil as her friend and neighbour warrants further attention, as it was invaluable in allowing her to draw on his help to prefer her suits to the Somersets.

Katherine's lengthy correspondence with Cecil reveals a long-standing and personal yet active friendship in addition to her reliance on his position in the Protectorate to pass on her suits. In her letters, Katherine often addressed him informally as 'good cessel' and signed herself his 'assured Frende', while adding commendations to his wife Mildred. Her holograph letters signify a intimate personal friendship that was both affective and instrumental, with a lack of deferential space in her letters confirming their closeness and

[76] TNA SP12/4, fo. 25; SP12/7, fo. 48. For more details, see: Chambers, 'Frances Brandon', p. 45.
[77] Ring, *So High a Blood*, pp. 163–64, 170, 173–75, 250; Colthorpe, '1964', *The Elizabethan Court Day by Day*, 6 July, p. 24; TNA SP12/83, fo. 7r; PROB11/60/174.
[78] Alford, *Kingship and Politics*, pp. 81–83; TNA SP12/16, fos 130r–31r; SP12/46, fo. 163r; PROB11/70/369, transc. BL Lansd. MS 50, fos 201v–202r; BL Lansd. MS 8, fo. 133r; MS 9, fo. 147r; MS 22, fos 202r–203v; MS 33, fo. 6r.
[79] *APC* III, 290, p. 348. Richards has argued that Mary initially retained Cecil in office, as he was part of Cardinal Pole's official escort on the latter's arrival in England. J. Richards, 'Examples and Admonitions: What Mary Demonstrated for Elizabeth', in Hunt and Whitelock (eds), *Tudor Queenship*, p. 40.

informality.[80] She was comfortable in allowing her blunt honesty, humour, and impetuousness to shine through with sharp comments and mock-rebukes, taking pride in speaking 'plain' of 'that truth I fende'.[81] Although Cecil's replies do not survive, it is clear that both were often tardy in their responses but apologised and continued in their tardiness, suggesting that Cecil and Katherine each relied on the other's goodwill to be forgiven and not forgotten.[82] Katherine invited him to hunt in her deer park at Grimsthorpe, going out herself with her keeper to catch a buck when he requested one in June 1552, and the two exchanged visits.[83] Cecil offered Katherine emotional support after her sons died in 1551, as she wrote candidly of her sorrows and gave 'many thankes for yo*ur* lasting frindship'.[84]

Cecil was Katherine's primary contact with the Edwardian government. Her letters show that she mostly wrote from her Lincolnshire houses, although she stayed with the Somersets at Syon in April 1549.[85] Cecil linked her to the regime based at court and in the Somersets' and then Northumberlands' houses, and their correspondence gave her access to state patronage despite geographical distance. She believed that their active tie made him willing or even obligated to perform favours by passing on her suits for herself and others to the Somersets, such as in seeking a pension for the infant Lady Mary Seymour in Katherine's care.[86] By 1552, Northumberland considered that Katherine did 'youse my powr over you [Cecil]' too much for making suits, but Katherine disagreed, believing 'yett I think I do no amyes [amiss]'.[87] She also relied on Cecil to send her news, including from abroad, to deliver a letter for Martin Bucer, and to pass on a message to Cornelius Zifridus in December 1549 despite Cecil being in the Tower at the time.[88] She took a keen interest in

[80] BL Lansd. MS 2, fos 46v, 58r; TNA SP10/8, fo. 61r; SP10/10, fos 3r, 10v, 19v, 83r; SP10/14, fo. 71r. Mildred was amongst the lady mourners at Katherine's funeral in 1580 at Spilsby. LAO MON/27/3/1, p. 312.
[81] TNA SP10/9, fo. 115r; SP10/10, fos 9r, 55r, 92v; SP10/11, fo. 14r.
[82] TNA SP10/10, fos 55r, 60r; SP10/11, fo. 6r; SP10/14, fo. 71r.
[83] TNA SP10/14, fo. 103r; *CSPD Edward VI*, 688, p. 248; HMC *Ancaster*, p. 463.
[84] TNA SP10/13, fo. 107r.
[85] BL Lansd. MS 2, fos 46r, 58r; TNA SP10/8, fo. 61r; SP10/9, fo. 115r; SP10/10, fos 3r, 9r, 10v, 19v, 55r, 60r, 62r, 72r, 80r; SP10/11, fo. 6r; SP10/13, fos 13r, 107r; Hatfield MS 164, fo. 59r; Jackson, 'Longleat Papers', pp. 260–61.
[86] TNA SP10/8, fo. 61r; SP10/10, fos 60r, 80r, 82r; SP10/11, fo. 6r; BL Lansd. MS 2, fo. 46r.
[87] TNA SP10/14, fo. 71r.
[88] TNA SP10/9, fo. 115r; SP10/10, fos 62r, 83r; SP10/13, fo. 13r.

his career, celebrating his elevation to third secretary of state in 1550 and his recoveries from Somerset's falls. Katherine was in less of a position to offer assistance in return but reassured Cecil that she was still his friend in 1549 following his imprisonment, and promised to squash all local rumours about him the following March.[89] His position within the Edwardian regime made Cecil well-placed to assist Katherine and he was willing to support his friend by connecting her to the Somersets and then to Northumberland.

Mobilising connections

Katherine's use of Cecil as an intercessor shows the value of personal connections. This next section links together the having or making of useful friends with the mobilising of them. It demonstrates that the people relied on for support were those with pre-existing connections and goodwill; that is, with active connections. It was crucial not only to have a connection such as kinship but to build up and maintain that personal relationship so that it was active. This was done using methods of elite sociability discussed in the previous chapter such as gift-giving, hospitality, and connecting with offspring through godparentage and outplacement. This enabled these women to draw on their friends for support or assistance when needed, using the instrumental element of these friendships. This was usually done for familial advantage, tapping into patronage networks to promote kin or prefer household members, or to access royal favour. These women worked to advance their families but also, in times of political turmoil, to save their lives or win their freedom. Although their efforts met with some success, showing the usefulness of the personal relationships on which they relied, they were not wholly fruitful. Political friends could not offer unlimited assistance, and their help was not always enough for these women to save their families. As emphasised in this thesis, these women needed to rely on their connections to others, but their help had limitations.

Mary Tudor enjoyed positive and productive ties with Anne Stanhope and Margaret Douglas. Recent scholarship has emphasised Mary's female

[89]TNA SP10/10, fos 3r, 72r, 83r; BL Lansd. MS 2, fo. 58r.

friendships and affectionate family ties; her ability to make friends echoes earlier sympathetic portrayals of Mary as charitable and loyal.[90] The two examples examined here reveal that her relationships with Margaret and Anne had an initial and passive basis in kinship and spiritual kinship, respectively, but that they were maintained or activated through social practices. Anne and Mary had a common connection in Jane Seymour, before being linked through godparentage and gifts. Despite their religious differences, they followed traditional expectations of mutual aid by giving support to each other when in power: Anne as the Protector's wife, and then Mary as queen. This change over time illustrates the flexibility of the patronage system, which allowed useful friends to act as patrons and clients, switching roles as the dynamic between their relative positions altered. With Margaret Douglas, shared residence and gifts built on their existing kinship, leading to Mary offering her cousin financial patronage as queen. In both cases, their ties were used not for involvement in high politics, but for familial benefit, usually focused on keeping royal favour, financial advantage, and patronage. In contrast, the case studies of Anne Stanhope and then Jane Guildford mobilising their personal connections in 1549 and 1553 respectively show the role of their networks in high-stakes political situations.[91] After her husband fell from favour with the privy council and was sent to the Tower in 1549, Anne drew on her ties with William Paget, John and Jane Dudley, and court ladies; within the year, Somerset was released and restored to the council. Jane Guildford sought to use her ties to the Pagets to save her husband's life after he was arrested in July 1553 following the failed Janian coup, and then relied on courtiers, especially Spanish nobles, to secure her sons' release and restoration to royal favour. Her example challenges existing scholarship on Anglo-Spanish court hostility under Mary I, by supporting the work of new studies on their collaboration.[92] These

[90] Richards, *Mary Tudor*, pp. 75, 235–38; Richards, 'Examples and Admonitions', p. 40; Guy, *The Children of Henry VIII*, pp. 113, 131–33; Ring, *So High a Blood*, pp. 36–37, 84, 122–23, 126–28; Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. 6, p. 57; Prescott, *Mary Tudor*, pp. 98, 179–80.
[91] Similarly, Frances Brandon drew on her long-standing good ties with her cousin Mary I to secure her husband's release and forgiveness from the queen after July 1553, although her daughter Jane was ultimately executed in 1554. Chambers, 'Frances Brandon', pp. 60–64.
[92] A. Samson, *Mary and Philip: The Marriage of Tudor England and Habsburg Spain* (Manchester, 2020), pp. 137, 139, 140–42, 157; Adams, 'The Dudley Clientele', pp. 248–49;

rehabilitations worked for family benefit, but the goals were freedom and forgiveness rather than advancement. Although their efforts had some success by relying on their friends, Anne and Jane were dependent on the decisions and goodwill of these contacts, whose support could be limited: both ultimately saw their husbands executed.

Mary Tudor's female friendships

Anne Stanhope and Mary Tudor became court friends, probably after Mary became godmother to two of Anne's children in the 1530s. They both shared kinship with Jane Seymour, who acted as the conduit to link them. Mary and Anne then worked to strengthen their connection by exchanging visits and gifts. This enabled their relationship to be one of useful, active, reciprocal, and flexible friendship: from 1547, Mary relied on Anne's intercession with Protector Somerset for her own suits, before the power dynamic flipped on her accession in 1553, after which time she showed favour to her old friend. The existing scholarship usually notes Anne and Mary's friendship as based on elite sociability and allowing political advantage, despite their religious differences. Yet, James has challenged the idea that they enjoyed good relations and instead emphasised their religious divide, in claiming that Anne pushed for harsher treatment of Mary during the Protectorate, seeking her conversion to evangelicalism.[93] However, as shown in the previous chapter, religious differences were not insurmountable, and Mary and Anne enjoyed a strong and useful political friendship. Mary took her role as godmother to Anne's children seriously, and the two women continued on personally good terms, much as Mary did with the rest of the privy council despite their religious clashes. Their

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McCoy, 'From the Tower', pp. 426–30; Richards, *Mary Tudor*, pp. 162–64; S. Duncan, '"He to be Intituled Kinge": King Philip of England and the Anglo-Spanish Court', in C. Beem and M. Taylor (eds), *The Man behind the Queen: Male Consorts in History* (New York, 2014), pp. 55, 57–62, 68–71; A. Santamaría López, '"Great Faith is Necessary to Drink from this Chalice": Philip II in the Court of Mary Tudor, 1554–58', in J.L. Palos and M.S. Sanchez (eds), *Early Modern Dynastic Marriages and Cultural Transfer* (Farnham, 2016.), pp. 124–25; C. Levin and C. Medici, 'Lady Mary Dudley Sidney (*c*. 1531–1586) and Her Siblings', in M.P. Hannay, M.G. Brennan, and M.E. Lamb (eds), *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Sidneys, 1500–1700*, vol. 1 (Farnham, 2015), p. 32.

[93] Bryson, 'The Speciall Men', p. 47; Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', pp. 226–29, 246–48, 253, 268–72, 302–04; Warnicke, *Wicked Women*, pp. 88, 92; James, 'Reputation and Appropriation', pp. 26–27.

efforts to maintain active good ties enabled them to draw on assistance from the other when needed.

Mary and Anne probably knew each other from when Anne served as one of Katherine of Aragon's maids, but their relationship as adults seems to have stemmed from when Mary stood second godmother to Anne's daughter Jane on 22 February 1537, alongside co-godparents Queen Jane Seymour and Thomas Cromwell.[94] Mary engaged with her goddaughter Jane by visiting the Seymour's Chester Place the following month, possibly for Anne's churching, while in November that year, one of Anne's women brought Jane and another Seymour daughter to visit Mary, probably at Richmond or Hampton Court. Mary gave Jane a ruby and probably another piece of jewellery in the 1540s.[95] She was also godmother in March 1538 to Anne's next child, Edward, who seems to have died young.[96] Anne sent cheeses to Mary in 1537 and 1538, and from at least 1537 both Anne and her husband exchanged New Year's gifts with Mary.[97] It is unclear whether the gift exchange started after Jane's 1537 baptism or if Anne and Mary's relationship had already begun. However, it seems likely that Queen Jane had provided the link between her sister-in-law and stepdaughter, by securing Mary's role as godmother in 1537, and this connection allowed a friendship to develop.

Mary relied on her personal connection to Anne after 1547, when she asked the duchess to prefer her suits to Somerset on behalf of her late mother Katherine of Aragon's former servants. Mary's follow-up letter of 24 April 1547 stated her assurance in Anne's goodness 'towards me in all my sewts hytherto', acknowledging that 'thus my good nane I trouble you both w*ith* my selfe & all myn'. Mary emphasised their intimacy by writing the letter in her own hand and highlighted her role as godmother to Anne's children, addressing the duchess as 'My good gossype'.[98] She similarly ended a December 1547 letter

[94] TNA SP10/1, fo. 122r; *LL* IV, 868, 868a, pp. 121–22.
[95] Longleat Seymour MS XIV, fo. 40r; *PPE*, pp. 19, 46; BL Royal MS 17/B/XXVIII, fo. 112r, pr. *PPE*, p. 175.
[96] Again, Cromwell stood godfather. Longleat Seymour MS XVI, fo. 30r; *L&P* XIV, ii, 782, p. 335; *PPE*, p. 65.
[97] *PPE*, pp. 7, 51, 57–58, 82, 97, 113, 143; Longleat Seymour MS X, fos 182r, 183v; MS XVI, fos 28v, 70r; MS XVII, fo. 51v; MS XIX, fos 26v–27r; MS XX, fo. 3v; *HMC Bath*, IV, p. 338; BL Add. MS 5,498, fo. 28r.
[98] TNA SP10/1, fo. 122r.

to Somerset with greetings to 'my gossype your wyef'. Although Somerset made promises to grant her suits, it is unclear whether he delivered.[99] Nonetheless, it seems that Mary felt positively towards the Somersets. She continued their gift exchange, and in October 1551, at Somerset's second fall, Scheyfve advised Mary to 'show no feeling nor liking for the Duke of Somerset', suggesting that she did have such liking for him.[100] Anne was then treated well by Mary once the balance of power was reversed and Mary became queen. Anne was released from the Tower alongside other state prisoners in August 1553, and in the next two months was given livestock and some household stuff. She was granted her dower lands in 1556 and further lands in 1558.[101] Her eldest son was restored to his noble rank in Mary's first parliament, and Anne was permitted by the Court of Wards to enjoy his estates during his minority, suggesting that she was given guardianship of the boy. Her daughter Jane, Mary's goddaughter, joined the queen's household as a maid of honour.[102] Mary and Anne continued their gift exchange.[103] Gift-giving and godparentage had continued to foster good relations between the two women, which they then drew on for intercession and financial support.

Likewise, Mary Tudor's relationship with her cousin Margaret Douglas demonstrates that making and maintaining good personal ties was imperative for drawing on otherwise passive kinship ties for familial advantage. Margaret enjoyed the benefits of a good personal relationship with Mary, which allowed Margaret access to royal favour during Mary's reign. Their relationship was based on their kinship and built up by living together and gift exchange. Margaret joined Mary's household in the 1530s as one of her gentlewomen, and they also spent time together at court during Katherine Parr's tenure as

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[99] TNA SP10/2, fo. 84ar; E.H. Fellowes, *The Military Knights of Windsor, 1352–1944* (Windsor, 1944), p. 14; *APC* III, 104, 124, pp. 137, 155; Wood (ed.), *Letters*, III, 93, pp. 200–01.
[100] BL Royal MS 17/B/XXVIII, fos 122r, 125r, pr. *PPE,* pp. 194, 200; *CSPS* X, pp. 390–91.
[101] J.G. Nichols (ed.), *The Chronicle of Queen Jane, and Two Years of Queen Mary* (London, 1850), pp. 14–16; *Vita Mariae*, p. 272; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, II, p. 97; TNA SP46/163/1, fos 73r–74r; *APC* IV, 340, p. 355; *CPR Mary*, III, pp. 199–200; IV, p. 298; *CSP Venice*, VI, i, 634, p. 651. For issues over Anne's dower and jointure, see: TNA SP12/8, fo. 61r; SP12/42, fo. 130r; SP46/14, fo. 1r.
[102] Parliamentary Archives HL/PO/PB/1/1553/1M1s2n21; Letter Stanhope to Thynne, 11 November 1553, pr. Jackson, 'Wulfhall and the Seymours', p. 187; Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre 1300/164; Merton, 'The Women Who Served', pp. 254–58.
[103] *HMC Seventh Report*, I, Molyneux, p. 612; BL Add. MS 62525.

consort, until Margaret moved to the north of England to be nearer her husband. The cousins exchanged New Year's gifts, and Mary gave Margaret a jewelled balas ruby on her marriage.[104] After her accession, Mary used her increased wealth to send many gifts to Margaret and her family, and favoured them with lucrative licences and grants of land. Her husband Lennox benefited by being made the queen's Master of the Hawks for two years, and Mary backed his efforts to restore his lands in Scotland by granting him permission to travel north and offering financial support for him to claim the regency in Scotland.[105] The Lennoxes encouraged the fostering of good relationships between the crown and their children: their son Henry sent some writing, his 'litle plot' *Utopia Nova*, to Mary, who reciprocated with gifts, while Philip of Spain was probably godfather to their son Philip.[106] Margaret identified as a member of the royal family, acquiring portraits of her relatives Margaret Tudor, Henry VIII, and Mary I, plus one of Philip of Spain. She seems to have preferred Mary and Philip to their successor, as, interestingly, Margaret owned no portrait of Elizabeth I by 1565. In 1559, Lennox wrote to Cecil for Elizabeth's assistance for his family and in his attempts to recover his Scottish lands, hoping that she would 'be my good and graciouse ladie as her progenitors hathe bene to me hertofore', showing the useful aspect of such family ties.[107] In addition to the profitable gifts which Mary had showered on her cousin's family, Margaret and Mary's good relationship also had political ramifications. As early as November 1553, Renard reported that the queen might favour Margaret as her successor. Randolph later wrote to Cecil of the 'stroke' which Margaret 'bore with Queen Mary', believing her to have had influence over the queen.[108] Margaret came to court soon after Mary's accession, where she enjoyed bouche of court, although returning at one point to Yorkshire. Her presence at court would have allowed her personal access to

[104] *PPE*, pp. 72–86, 88, 96, 100, 143; BL Cotton MS Caligula E/IV, fo. 56v; Royal MS 17/B/XXVIII, fos 112r, 113r, 121v, pr. *PPE*, pp. 175, 177, 193.
[105] TNA SP11/13, fo. 86r; SP12/22, fo. 77r–v; *HMC Seventh Report*, I, Molyneux, p. 611; *CPR Mary*, IV, pp. 94–95; *CSPD Mary*, 797, p. 349; *CSPS* XII, p. 204.
[106] BL Cotton MS Vesp. F/III, fo. 37b; TNA SP12/22, fo. 77r–v.
[107] E.W. Crossley (ed.), 'A Temple Newsam Inventory, 1565', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 25 (1920), p. 95; Hatfield MS 152, fo. 120r. Their kinship also meant that Margaret acted as chief mourner at Mary's funeral in December 1558 at Westminster Abbey. TNA LC2/4/2, fo. 8r; Bodleian Ashmolean MS 818, fo. 16r.
[108] *CSPS* XI, p. 393; XIII, 417, p. 372; *CSPF Elizabeth*, VII, 859 (3), pp. 258–59.

Mary. However, it seems that Margaret used her influence primarily for familial advantage, rather than for participation in high politics.[109]

Anne Stanhope and the October 1549 crisis

Anne Stanhope successfully worked towards her husband's political rehabilitation after his fall from the Protectorship in October 1549. She drew upon existing relationships with William Paget and John and Jane Dudley, helping to secure Somerset's release and restoration to the privy council, although these cannot be attributed solely to her efforts. Her efforts also were dependent on Warwick's willingness to listen. Anne's intervention in high politics was nonetheless a contributing factor for her husband's release. Importantly, the strength or success of her involvement was recognised by the council's subsequent unwillingness to allow Anne to remain free after Somerset's second fall in 1551. Somerset had lost the support of the privy council in October 1549, when the conservatives on the council turned against him. A standoff between the duke at court and the council in London resulted in Somerset's surrender. On 13 or 14 October 1549, he and his supporters were sent to the Tower, where the duke agreed to forfeit the Protectorship. Anne had been sent to her brother Michael's Beddington house in early October, to keep the peace after Somerset's forces blamed her for the troubles. From there, she remained in contact with her husband and court through messengers.[110] The existing scholarship on this political crisis focuses more on the role of privy councillors, especially Warwick, although Anne's and Jane's contributions are recognised by Beer in his biography of John Dudley, where he highlighted their collaboration to persuade Warwick to restore Somerset. In her study of Anne, Warnicke emphasised the role of her female friends, including Jane, and

[109] TNA SP12/22, fo. 77r–v. Ring argued that their close relationship was the driving force behind Margaret's restoration to court and royal favour in 1553; however, it seems that Margaret's main benefits were financial, enjoying patronage rather than high political influence. Ring, *So High a Blood*, pp. 36–37, 84, 122–23, 126–28.

[110] *CSPS* IX, pp. 457, 462; *TAMO* (1570), book 9, pp. 1584–87; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, II, pp. 24, 26–27; Edward VI, *Chronicle*, pp. 17, 19; 'Certayne Brife Notes', pp. 128–36; *CSPD Edward VI*, 423, pp. 155–56; TNA SP10/9, fo. 100r; *Ibid*., fo. 82, pr. P.F. Tytler (ed.), *England under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary*, vol. 1 (London, 1839), pp. 241–43; D.E. Hoak, *The King's Council in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 241–43; Bryson, 'The Speciall Men', pp. 4, 128–29, 131–32; Beer and Jack (eds), 'The Letters of William, Lord Paget', app. A, p. 135.

claimed that Anne might have been held in the Tower in 1551 to prevent her mobilising support. James has asserted Anne's agency by noting her personal petitions to Warwick and role in arranging their children's marriage.[111] This section continues to emphasise Anne's significance, and argues that it was her pre-existing active connections to the Dudleys and to Paget which allowed her influence, albeit tempering her success with considerations of the constraints on her agency. This links to the overarching thread in this and the previous chapter, of influence and assistance having limits.

Anne relied on her connections to Sir William Paget and to the Warwicks to work towards securing her husband's release from the Tower. Paget had been an ally and advisor to Somerset, and earlier in 1545 had managed the then-earl's correspondence when he was in the north.[112] As noted in the previous chapter, Paget discussed state finances with Anne in March 1549, when he feared she had opposed his advice, and was greatly relieved when it transpired that she had not, asserting his great friendship with both the duke and duchess. However, Paget was willing to cast blame onto Anne to protect the duke when he excused Somerset's treatment of Mary Tudor by claiming that the duke 'has a bad wife'.[113] In 1549, Anne called on Paget to assist her husband by writing an impassioned letter on 8 October. She begged Paget to 'spare not for payne study and writing as I here yow do' on Somerset's behalf, and sought to retain his loyalty by flattering him as 'a perfyte honest frende to my lord'. Her emotive, urgent language called him to immediate action. Paget did indeed act as a mediator at Somerset's fall, accompanying the duke at Windsor and encouraging him to reconcile with Warwick and the council.[114] By October 1549, the Somersets had also enjoyed connections to the Dudleys, mostly through court attendance. Anne and Jane were in Anne of Cleves's household, where John Dudley was her master of the horse, and the two women then

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[111] Hoak, *The King's Council*, pp. 242–57; Bryson, 'The Speciall Men', pp. 131–32, 140; B.L. Beer, 'Seymour, Edward, duke of Somerset', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2009); M.L. Bush, *The Government Policy of Protector Somerset* (London, 1975), p. 4; Loach, *Edward VI*, pp. 89, 91–93; Loades, *John Dudley*, pp. 129–31, 138–39, 141–45; Beer, *Northumberland*, pp. 95–96, 103–04; Warnicke, *Wicked Women*, pp. 96–98; James, 'Reputation and Appropriation', p. 27.
[112] TNA SP1/202, fo. 49r.
[113] Keele Paget Box 2, fos 3–4; Beer and Jack (eds), 'The Letters of William, Lord Paget', 20, pp. 28–29; *CSPS* IX, p. 429.
[114] Beer and Jack (eds), 'The Letters of William, Lord Paget', app. A, p. 135; S.M. Jack, 'Paget, William, first Baron Paget', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2008).

served together in Katherine Parr's household. Although there is no evidence of a close friendship, the two families exchanged gifts, and the Hertfords hosted the Dudleys at several meals in 1539–40.[115] Anne had recourse to visit the Warwicks in an effort to save her husband when he was in Tower. She went to their London house on 11 December 1549 and spoke with Jane, asking her to persuade her husband to release Somerset. She may also have sought permission to visit Somerset in the Tower.[116] Van der Delft reported the following week the 'common rumour' that Warwick was changing his views towards the duke and would soon release him, because he 'has been won over by the Protector's wife, who is always in his house'.[117] Anne was permitted to visit Somerset that month. She was not forgotten by her court friends, as on 15 December 'dyuers great ladyes' who had gone to court to greet Elizabeth Tudor, returned past Somerset Place where Anne was staying and 'went yn and vysyted hur', in a show of female solidarity. This group may have included Jane Guildford or other councillors' wives.[118]

Anne and Jane worked towards restoring Somerset to favour. The planned marriage between two of their children, Lady Anne Seymour and John Lord Lisle, was not broken off. Van der Delft noted the continued visits and meals which Anne and Jane shared, regarding these as vital in ensuring good relations between their husbands.[119] Somerset was released from the Tower on 6 February 1550, was pardoned ten days later, and was returned to court and the privy council in early April.[120] Although Anne had made efforts to petition for her husband's release, it is vital to avoid overstating her importance, as this was still Warwick's decision, motivated by political calculation.[121] Nonetheless, Anne had worked with Jane to suggest that Somerset was not a threat, and the

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[115] TNA SP1/155, fo. 36r–v; SP1/157, fos 14r–15r; BL Royal App. MS 89, fo. 104v; Cotton MS Vesp. C/XIV, fo. 107v; Gunn, 'A Letter of Jane', p. 1268; Longleat Seymour MS X, fo. 85r; MS XVII, fos 50v, 54v; MS XVIII, fos 44r, 101r, 169r, 181r.
[116] Brigden (ed.), 'The Letters of Richard Scudamore', 7, p. 101; *Chronicle of King Henry VIII of England*, pp. 190–92.
[117] *CSPS* IX, p. 489.
[118] Brigden (ed.), 'The Letters of Richard Scudamore', 7–8, pp. 101, 104.
[119] *CSPS* X, pp. 8, 14.
[120] Brigden (ed.), 'The Letters of Richard Scudamore', 12–14, pp. 112, 116, 118; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, II, pp. 33–34, 36; Bryson, 'The Speciall Men', p. 177.
[121] The historiography suggests that Warwick wanted Somerset returned to the privy council in 1550 as an ally against the conservatives on the council. Hoak, *The King's Council*, pp. 255–58; Guy, *The Children of Henry VIII*, p. 125; Bryson, 'The Speciall Men', p. 178.

two women continued to strive for the unification of their families by arranging the marriage between their offspring, which took place with great extravagance at Sheen on 3 June.[122] Anne's efforts on her husband's behalf were seen at the time as effective; so much so, that when Somerset fell from power a second time in October 1551, Anne was prevented from playing a role in subsequent events by also being sent to the Tower. Warnicke has suggested that this was to prevent her from mobilising support or else to encourage her to implicate her husband. Thomas Norton, who tutored Anne's sons, believed that her imprisonment was preventative rather than punishment.[123] In a pre-emptive strike, Warwick removed Somerset from power, and the duke and four of his supporters, including Sir Michael Stanhope, were executed in January 1552. Rumours that Anne would also be executed circulated as late as March, suggesting that she was viewed in the public eye as an accomplice or political partner to her husband.[124] As noted in the previous chapter, she had indeed been involved in advising him and in passing on messages between Somerset and her brother concerning the Earl of Arundel.[125] However, Anne remained in the Tower for the next year and a half, and was released once Mary Tudor took the throne.[126] It seems likely that Anne's previous role in mustering support from Paget and the great ladies at court, and her personal petitions to the Warwicks, made her a potential risk when her husband was imprisoned again.

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[122] Brigden (ed.), 'The Letters of Richard Scudamore', 24, p. 134; Edward VI, *Chronicle*, p. 32; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, II, p. 41; *CSPS* X, pp. 43, 98; Warnicke, *Wicked Women*, pp. 97–98.

[123] Edward VI, *Chronicle*, p. 89; Machyn, *Diary*, p. 10; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, II, pp. 56–58; Warnicke, *Wicked Women*, p. 98; Robinson (ed.), *Original Letters*, 165, p. 342.

[124] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, II, pp. 56–57; Hoak, *The King's Council*, pp. 75–76; *CSPS* X, pp. 452–53, 468; Edward VI, *Chronicle*, pp. 107–08, n.26.

[125] *CSPD Edward VI*, 567, p. 211.

[126] Warnicke, *Wicked Women*, pp. 99–100; *APC* III, 392, pp. 465–66; BL Royal MS 18/C/XXIV, fo. 324r; Lansd. MS 113, fos 100r, 102r. Even from the Tower, Anne apparently sought to have her voice heard, as in September 1552 two men were committed to prison for slanders against Northumberland; one was the father of Anne's servant Kyrton. The Kyrtons may have spoken out against Northumberland from a sense of loyalty to the Somersets, possibly even with Anne's knowledge or blessing. *APC* IV, 109, pp. 129–30. Anne's former gentlewoman, Elizabeth Gylliott, also made slanders against Northumberland, in August 1552, when she told Sir William and Dorothy Stafford that the duke wanted to marry his son to Margaret Clifford to gain the crown. Longleat Seymour MS X, fo. 167r; BL Harley MS 353, fos 121–24; Lansd. MS 113, fo. 100r.

Jane Guildford and the 1553 succession crisis

After the Dudley family's involvement in the 1553 succession crisis and subsequent imprisonment by Mary I, Jane Guildford relied on her prior good connections with the Paget family to try to save her husband, before developing useful alliances with Spaniards at court for their help to release her sons. Similarly to Anne Stanhope, Jane mobilised court contacts with whom she had existing personal connections, and was not wholly successful: her husband and later one of her sons were executed, while the others were freed and restored to royal favour. Existing scholarship has noted Jane's efforts for her family to secure their release and forgiveness by Mary I, and that she fostered connections with Spanish nobles at court to do so.[127] Studies which focus on Jane give more insight into her role, such as Medici's claim that Jane built on previous family connections to Spaniards in a deliberate and effective strategy of befriending, and Gunn's transcription of Jane's letter of request to Anne Paget which, he argues, reveals Jane's use of female political networks.[128] Other sources place more agency on Philip and Mary in choosing to rehabilitate the Dudley family, especially in emphasising Philip's efforts to foster good ties with the English nobility.[129] By considering Jane as collaborating with Philip and his Spanish courtiers, who helped to prefer her suits for her sons, this chapter challenges the existing scholarship's focus on hostility between the English and Spanish at court, revealing an example of fostering positive relationships and cooperation.

The Dudley family had connections with the Pagets, which Jane used in 1553 to write to Lady Paget for help. Although Sir William Paget was not a supporter or ally of Northumberland, he added 'myn humble comedacons' to Jane in his letters to her husband, and when Dudley was in France in 1546 and wrote to Paget, he had added a postscript to his wife in the letter, trusting Paget to pass the message on to Jane. Bryson has claimed that Jane played a key role 'in smooth relations within the Dudley clientele' and in maintaining active ties

[127] Beer, *Northumberland*, pp. 165, 197; Loades, *John Dudley*, p. 272; McCoy, 'From the Tower', p. 425.
[128] Medici, 'More Than a Wife and Mother', pp. 256, 261–64; Gunn, 'A Letter of Jane', p. 1268.
[129] McCoy, 'From the Tower', p. 426; Loades, *John Dudley*, p. 272; Richards, 'Reassessing Mary Tudor', p. 223.

with those with political difference, including the Pagets.[130] Paget's son Thomas later wrote to Jane's son Robert, recalling 'The great affection w*hich* my Ladyes grace your Lo[rdship's] mother [Jane] did allwaies beare vnto me, and the contynuall favours w*hich* both I and all myne have receaved from your Lo[rdship]'. Thomas may have been placed in the Dudley household as a child, to have developed this relationship with Jane. The family connection continued past Jane's death, as Thomas relied on Robert Dudley as a court patron.[131] After she was unable to secure an audience with Queen Mary when Northumberland and their sons were arrested for their role in the succession crisis of 1553, Jane turned to Anne Preston, Lady Paget, and the power of female alliances. She wrote to Anne around August asking her to secure the assistance of the queen's favoured ladies the Marchioness of Exeter and Susan Clarencius, and of Anne's husband Sir William, 'In spekynge fore my husbondes lyff' with the queen. Her messy holograph letter spoke of her urgency, and tried to win Anne's pity by describing nightly stomach pains and efforts to 'have held vpe my hed for my grett hevynes of hartt'. Jane's primary focus was petitioning for her husband, rather than their five imprisoned sons, probably because she recognised that Northumberland's life was in more danger; the duke was executed on 22 August. Gunn has suggested that, although the Pagets, Lady Exeter, and Mrs Clarencius did not succeed in saving Northumberland's life, they could have considered the duke a lost cause and petitioned the queen for favourable treatment for Jane and her sons instead.[132] Jane certainly bore goodwill to the Pagets as a result, as in her will she bequeathed Anne a wrought velvet gown and Sir William a black enamelled ring, and left a jewel coffer to Susan Clarencius, probably in thanks for their efforts.[133]

After Northumberland's execution, Jane turned her efforts towards securing her sons' release from the Tower, by currying the favour of useful court contacts,

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[130] Jack, 'Paget, William', in *ODNB*; Keele Paget Box 2, fo. 6r; Beer and Jack (eds), 'The Letters of William, Lord Paget', 2, p. 13; TNA SP1/223, fo. 8v; Bryson, 'The Speciall Men', pp. 198–99.
[131] Thomas Paget would have been around ten or eleven years old when Jane died. Keele Paget Box 3, fos 29r, 86r; Box 10, fos 10r, 12r–v, 26r, 57r.
[132] Keele Paget Box C; Gunn, 'A Letter of Jane', pp. 1267–69.
[133] TNA PROB11/37/342, p. 3A.

including Spaniards in Philip's train, and by petitioning the privy council. Her connections can be seen in the numerous bequests made in her 1554–55 will to courtiers, such as Lord Chancellor Gardiner, the Lord High Steward,[134] Lord Paget, Susan Clarencius, and Lady Sandys. Significantly, Jane bequeathed household furniture and items from her house at Chelsea to several Spanish nobles at the English court, whom she specifically recognised for their efforts on behalf of her sons.[135] As noted previously, the family could already rely on one Spaniard, Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, who was Guildford Dudley's godfather and had offered support for Jane Grey's queenship.[136] He was left three dials as thanks for 'making me haue so manye frendes abowte the kinges maiestie as I haue founde', showing his role in linking Jane to other Spaniards. These were Philip's high steward Don Diego de Azeudo; Don Pedro de Cordoba Gutierre Lopez de Padilla; *sumiller de corps* Ruy Gomez de Silva; Maria Enriquez, Duchess of Alba; and the Dukes of Alba and Mathenan. The duchess had Jane's green parrot and was asked 'to contynewe good lady to all my children as she hath begon', while the men of Philip's privy chamber, who 'dyd my sonnes good', were also asked to continue their assistance.[137] Jane's efforts to make friends at court bore fruit, as four of her five sons were released and pardoned by 1555; only Guildford was executed alongside his wife Jane Grey after Wyatt's rebellion. The others were restored to court soon after their mother's death in early 1555.[138]

Although Jane's efforts to work with Philip's attendants is not surprising given her long-standing connections with Spaniards, it was atypical, given the apparent English resentment towards the Spanish courtiers. Her example suggests a pragmatism which overcame any vestigial xenophobia by seeking to mobilise Spanish influence at court. This challenges the dominant view in the existing scholarship of hostility between English and Spanish in London and at

[134] Probably the Earl of Derby, or else the Lord Steward the Earl of Arundel.
[135] TNA PROB11/37/342, p. 3A.
[136] BL Cotton MS Galba B/XII, fos 253v–254r; Medici, 'More Than a Wife and Mother', pp. 261–64.
[137] TNA PROB11/37/342, pp. 2A–3A.
[138] *CSPS* XI, pp. 215–16, 279; Nichols (ed.), *The Chronicle of Queen Jane*, pp. 27, 32–33, 35; Gunn, 'A Letter of Jane', p. 1269; *APC* V, 46, p. 33; Medici, 'More Than a Wife and Mother', p. 263; McCoy, 'From the Tower', p. 425.

the Marian court.[139] Recently, however, Samson has refuted the idea of deeply ingrained xenophobia, suggesting that anti-Spanish sentiment was partly the result of 'mutual cultural illegibility' at court.[140] Furthermore, scholars have long recognised Philip's attempts to cultivate the goodwill of the English nobility, including by working to rehabilitate the Dudley family, although Jane's efforts to cultivate him and his nobles in turn has not always been considered.[141] Duncan has suggested that Philip's efforts to make good ties between the English and Spanish through compromise and court festivities reduced tensions by creating opportunities for collaboration and sociable mingling, emphasising a view of the Marian court as one of growing cooperation rather than only hostility.[142] Jane's example further advances the literature on the positive and collaborative relationships between English noble families and Philip and his Spanish courtiers.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that there were other routes for elite Tudor women to participate in patronage and court politics than attendance at court. These routes relied on networks of active personal connections, especially kin and female friends. The previous chapter studied how the underlying relationships in these networks were forged and maintained, while this chapter sheds light on how they were successfully mobilised to connect women to royal favour and patronage. These women drew on expectations of reciprocity to gain the assistance of their connections, usually for personal and familial advantage. Their efforts illustrate on the limitations of elite support networks: they needed to create strong and actively maintained ties in order to mobilise them effectively, but this assistance was not necessarily complete. Nonetheless, the help given by these contacts demonstrates the necessity of making,

[139] McCoy, 'From the Tower', pp. 426–29; Loades, *Mary Tudor*, pp. 74, 82–83; Richards, *Mary Tudor*, pp. 143, 146, 149, 159–61, 164, 166.
[140] Samson, *Mary and Philip*, pp. 137, 139, 140–42, 157. See also: Santamaría López, 'Great Faith is Necessary', pp. 126–28, 130–36.
[141] Adams, 'The Dudley Clientele', pp. 248–49; McCoy, 'From the Tower', pp. 426–30; Richards, *Mary Tudor*, pp. 162–64; Duncan, 'He to be Intituled Kinge', pp. 55, 57–58, 60–62, 68–69; Santamaría López, 'Great Faith is Necessary', pp. 124–25; Levin and Medici, 'Lady Mary Dudley Sidney', p. 32.
[142] Duncan, 'He to be Intituled Kinge', pp. 59–62, 68–71.

maintaining, and relying upon such personal connections for familial assistance. Using these connections helped these women to operate within the patriarchal constraints of early modern society and politics, shedding light on elite female agency. This chapter also reshapes ideas about power and space in mid-Tudor England by expanding the court space beyond the physical or geographical to show how access could be achieved through relationships with others. Correspondence and messages with court brokers, and the use of contacts as proxies, linked these women to power at court despite their physical distance. Their husbands were especially significant as linkages, showing continued reliance on male authority. However, as intercessors to their husbands, these women were also participants in effective partnerships.

Close connections to court were maintained over geographical distance through personal contacts. They were necessary to connect these women to the political power and patronage opportunities at court. The women studied here were highly mobile and often visited court without being in residence or officially holding a position in the queen's household. This chapter advances beyond the focus on formal female courtiers by considering a wider group of women with informal court connections. When there was no consort for them to serve, Mary Tudor had acted as a stand-in in 1542–43, while the Edwardian court relied on privy councillors' wives as temporary hostesses for events but no longer had many women in residence. Nonetheless, the indirect nature of power allowed marital partnerships to link these wives with the court, accentuating the key role of husbands in connecting women to power, as well as the women's reliance on male kin. William Cecil was another useful intercessor, and Katherine Willoughby relied on their good friendship to gain his help in preferring her suits to the Edwardian regime. Mary Tudor employed a combination of letters, visits, increased residence, and intercessors including Thomas Cromwell and the imperial ambassadors to connect her to court, which was initially the place of royal favour under her father. Although no longer residing there after his death, she continued to be involved in the matters of the privy council.

Mary's friendships with Anne Stanhope and Margaret Douglas show the value of good relationships which were based on pre-existing connections such as

kinship and built up over time. Their instrumental ties relied on active connections being formed, not only passive kinship ties. They were also flexible in changing direction and in the extent of their usefulness, but were relatively robust, as they remained present. When each woman was in a position of power, she was willing to assist her friends. However, this chapter has also emphasised that such assistance was limited and not always successful. Anne Stanhope relied on William Paget and the Dudleys to save her husband in 1549, but was unable to repeat it a second time two years later. Jane Guildford mobilised the Pagets and female courtiers, and forged useful connections with Spaniards in the train of Philip II, but while four of her five sons released from the Tower and restored to court, her husband and youngest son were executed. Both Anne and Jane initially turned to writing letters to their court connections to mobilise assistance during their crises, underscoring the importance of this method of communication when they were not present at court. Jane's example also sheds light on the supposed negative relations between English and Spanish nobles in the Marian court, by highlighting effective collaboration between Jane and Spanish courtiers on her sons' behalf.

By challenging ideas around court space and court attendance as solely physical, this chapter has argued for the vital role that active elite relationships played in connecting Tudor women to central power and patronage opportunities. Often working for their families' advantage, they had the agency to exercise political influence but faced reliance on their personal connections and could be restricted by the nature of elite support networks. Like their relationships in domestic, local, and scholarly spaces, these women's experiences with their court contacts underscore the value of useful and positive personal ties based on mutuality, which operated within the system of patronage.

Conclusion

By 1560, Katherine Parr, Jane Guildford, Mary Howard, Mary Tudor, and Frances Brandon had died. Although the scope of this thesis is the mid-1530s to late 1550s, it has also used some especially illustrative sources from after 1560, including the Grimsthorpe household accounts for 1560–62, Thomas Bishop's claims against the Lennoxes in the 1560s, and later wills. Katherine Willoughby had returned from exile in 1559 and then resided at Grimsthorpe, albeit with visits to London and the royal court, and continued to sponsor Protestants. She and her second husband Richard Bertie worked to secure her lands from Walter Herenden, and then tried to claim her late father's title of Baron Willoughby d'Eresby.[1] Anne Stanhope retired to Hanworth with her second husband Francis Newdigate, and oversaw her offspring's court careers, working to ally the family with Jane Guildford's son Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and to secure her son Hertford's release after his illicit marriage to Frances Brandon's daughter Katherine Grey.[2] Margaret Douglas and her husband were regarded with suspicion by Elizabeth I and William Cecil, and were imprisoned in 1562 for plotting. They machinated their son Darnley's disastrous marriage to Mary Queen of Scots, and took a firm interest in their grandson James VI. Later, Margaret worked to deal with the fallout after her younger son Charles married Elizabeth Hardwick's daughter Elizabeth Cavendish without royal permission.[3] Margaret, Anne, and Katherine each encountered and endured forays into and out of Elizabeth I's favour. Like the rest of the group studied here, their legacies were dynastic, not only in leaving offspring, but also in contributing to their families to keep them surviving and strong into Elizabeth's reign. They also helped to shape the English Reformation prior to the Elizabethan religious settlement, through their patronage of religious practices, persons, and books.

[1] Wabuda, 'Bertie, Katherine', in *ODNB*; S. Wabuda, 'Bertie, Richard', in *ODNB* (online edn, 2004); LAO, 1-ANC/7/A/2.
[2] TNA, SP12/19, fo. 64r–v, SP12/33, fos 66r, 68r, SP12/46, fo. 163r–v; *HMC Pepys*, p. 73; BL, Lansd. MS 8, fo. 133, MS 9, fo. 147r.
[3] Marshall, 'Douglas, Lady Margaret', in *ODNB*.

Despite their similarities, especially in their mobilisation of personal support networks, there are also some interesting differences amongst the group. Mary Howard stands out as having had a different experience in the household and family due to being widowed young and not remarrying. Her continued dependence on her father illustrates the agency which independent landholdings and household headship could bring, as Mary initially lacked either. This meant that she remained in her natal family home of Kenninghall, needing her father's permission to travel to court, and that he initially took responsibility for petitioning the crown for her jointure, although as shown in Chapter 4 she was able to undercut him and approach Cromwell directly when she mistrusted her father's efforts. Norfolk's imprisonment in 1546 was a real turning point for Mary's independence, as she became head of her own household, although she continued to stay in Howard family houses or rented a London house, as she lacked her own home. Mary's example suggests that widowhood was not always a positive opportunity, unless it was backed up with financial stability and relative autonomy from natal kin.

This thesis has also shown that both high-ranking and lower-ranking marriages could be advantageous. Anne Stanhope's and Jane Guildford's married partnerships with leaders of the Edwardian regency gave them increased court access and influence over patronage and, in Anne's case, policy. However, this participation in high politics also led to their downfalls as each of their husbands was attainted and executed. Then, Anne, Katherine Willoughby, and Frances Brandon remarried to senior servants, which largely removed them from high politics but still allowed them authority over their families and households. With less political significance also came increased safety, although determined Protestants Katherine and Richard Bertie felt the need to flee Marian England for religious exile on the mainland. In showing the crucial role which marriages and remarriages played, this thesis has emphasised the potential for political partnerships between spouses but also the continued patriarchal authority of husbands, albeit ameliorated by shared goals and interests or by a class divide between noble wife and gentry servant husband.

By examining these women across several reigns, this thesis has also shown how modes of access to the royal court changed. Neither physical presence nor

formal attendance was necessarily required, as women could use personal contacts as mediators and unofficial visits to court could be made when not in residence there. However, women had more opportunities for formal court attendance under Henry VIII and Mary I, when there was a queen consort or regnant to serve, whereas under Edward VI indirect modes of access were necessary. Married partnerships were important for wives of privy councillors able to connect to royal patronage and the court through their husbands, while in the preceding and subsequent reigns they had opportunities to enjoy court careers independent of their spouses. Additionally, these women's standing in royal favour changed with each successive monarch. Although Margaret Douglas's decline under Edward VI and rise under Mary I reflected both her religious views and close friendship with Mary, religious differences did not guarantee a loss of political favour: Mary herself had maintained good relationships with both Anne Stanhope and Jane Guildford under Edward VI, despite her increased opposition to their husbands' evangelical policies.

Furthermore, there is potential for comparison between the royal and noble women studied in this thesis. Mary Tudor often appears distinctive as the only royal princess by birth, but as shown she was exceptional for a princess because she owned her own estates and houses and remained unmarried. By controlling her own household, she was more similar to noble wives and widows, or to her great-grandmother Margaret Beaufort. However, Mary's familial connections gave her an entrée to court politics, royal policy, and international Habsburg affairs to an extent which was denied to non-royal women. Royal status also led to greater risk. From a young age, Mary's domestic wellbeing hinged on Henry VIII's favour, and during her brother's reign she used her royal status to take a stand against evangelicalism, which placed her and her household on the wrong side of the law. Katherine Parr also relied heavily on Henry VIII's favour, not only for influence and advancement, but also in fear that, if his approval was lost or withdrawn, the court conservatives could successfully bring her down. For royal women, the monarch was the head of their family, and so maintaining their favour was both personally and politically fraught. Royal women also had fewer opportunities to make their own marriages, and ran the risk of disrupting the succession and

angering their king or queen if they did: Margaret Douglas's secret contract with Lord Thomas Howard saw them both incarcerated, while in the next generation Frances Brandon's younger two daughters would both be imprisoned for secret marriages. By contrast, Mary Tudor avoided any entanglements and the ensuing disapproval, but she was similarly denied the opportunity to marry at all by her father or brother. These examples underscore the authority of the crown, especially when monarchs were also family heads. It also concurs with a trend underscored in this thesis: the closer to power, the higher the risks to life and liberty.

Ultimately, some of the women examined here were more successful than others in mobilising their personal ties for domestic, familial, or political protection or advantage. Although playing with high-stakes risks, Mary Tudor was able to publicly support the Latin Mass under Edward VI before boldly seizing the crown on his death. By contrast, despite her power over patronage, as consort Katherine Parr was not overly impactful on royal policy, and her influence was curtailed first by Henry VIII's own authority and then by his death, leaving her without a place in Edward's regency. Instead, her success lay in her shaping of evangelical court culture and in promoting educational trends for the next generation. As royal women, Katherine and Mary were both key role models for the aristocracy, and set trends in the academic, educational, and religious spaces. Overall, each of the eight women here had successes through their dealings with support networks, and they were largely able to keep themselves safe, promote their families and clients, and advance their prestige. Four of them lost husbands and children to execution or assassination, but all kept their own heads and retained their wealth and elite status until the end. Their personal strength was especially marked when fighting for their families, both natal and marital, showing the importance of kinship ties and dynastic identity.

This thesis has used a comparative study of eight royal and aristocratic women in mid-Tudor England to examine the nature of their personal relationships across the domestic, local and religious, academic, elite social, and royal court and high political spaces. The group of women studied here, while exceptional in their elite status or royalty, and their proximity to power, are representative

of the opportunities available to aristocratic Tudor women to foster and draw on personal connections and engage in networks. The political and religious volatility of the 1530s to 1550s offered opportunities for political influence and promotion for those close to power, but also threats of arrest, imprisonment, forfeiture of goods, and execution. Personal connections were crucial for the aristocratic and royal women who needed to navigate the political, religious, and social instability to survive. These connections functioned as a reserve to be drawn upon, although assistance was conditional on the cultivation of goodwill and fulfilment of obligations or expectations on both sides. This mutuality could lead to trust and loyalty, or even affection, although emotional intimacy was not necessary for cordial working relationships or political friendships to function effectively. The examples of these eight women suggest that other elite women in the mid-Tudor period also mobilised and relied on their personal relationships with servants, retainers, neighbours, clergy, clients, scholars, friends, relatives, court contacts, and political allies to engage in networks beyond the home and exert influence. The women studied here worked to benefit themselves and their families, and to disseminate their own views and agendas, by drawing on their supporters for assistance, protection, and promotion. However, these contacts and the assistance which they offered were not necessarily positive, as shown by examples of conflict in relationships, inequality and dependence on male relations, social conservativism in the elite, and limited or conditional support by friends. By contextualising their support networks and agency within mid-Tudor politics, this thesis has shown that although these elite women worked to circumvent patriarchal structures, they were also confident and accepted participants of the existing system of power.

In examining this group of eight women, this thesis contributes not only to works on these individuals but also to larger themes in the scholarly landscape. As discussed, this thesis has challenged the notion of widowhood as a positive and liberating state for elite women, and studied how inequality and collaboration combined in married partnerships to enable some female agency. By examining the contradictions in patriarchal systems where these women negotiated power, such as in marrying their servants, and by examining the

multiple identities held and balanced by these women beyond their sex, including social status, religion, and political loyalties, this thesis offers nuance to understandings of elite female agency in mid-Tudor England. Aristocratic and royal women were able to access considerable informal or indirect power by negotiating the gaps and contradictions between their multiple identities, and by drawing on the support of those around them. The women examined here were not only hindered by the patriarchal system, but worked with it or around it by drawing on different structures of power. They sometimes used the advantages of their sex, such as their control over the household as a seemingly 'private' space, and sometimes used the advantages of their class, such as their access to resources from their landholdings or admittance to the royal court.

Although the patriarchy was not the only structure which limited these women, and was not monolithic, it has been a useful concept to examine some of the restrictions on female agency. By analysing how their social status, support networks, and political and religious change also impacted these women, this thesis advances the notion that multiple systems including the patriarchy restricted and shaped these women, and furthers scholarship on intersectionality in early modern women's agency.[4] It has also shown both the volatility of the mid-Tudor period and how women were able to manage it and seek stability. In addition to ongoing patriarchal control, they also faced changes to the monarch which could lead to changes in royal favour, state religion, and opportunities for court careers. This thesis demonstrated that their primary aims in exerting agency and drawing on support networks to navigate these changeable times were the benefit or protection of their families and themselves. However, by examining the range of motivations for their actions beyond simply advancing or protecting their families, it has also highlighted the significance of religious beliefs, prestige, influence, and multiple obligations to elite women. This deepens understanding of female agency by showing that women were not simply reduced to their family loyalties, but had additional activities and interests beyond the family.[5]

[4] Dialeti, 'Patriarchy', pp. 334–35; Poska, 'The Case for Agentic Gender Norms', p. 361.
[5] Harris, 'The View from My Lady's Chamber'; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, pp. 5–8; Hannay, 'O Daughter Heare'; Payne, 'The Cecil Women at Court'; Gunn, 'The Structures of

This thesis has emphasised the value of personal connections as mutually supportive and politically useful. It has qualified and advanced existing conceptions of ties by underscoring their flexibility, demonstrating that the extent of their positiveness, activeness, or usefulness was adaptable. By contributing a consideration of negative ties, it also advances the small scholarship on negative relationships. Ties could change direction over time between upward and downward patronage. This malleable nature was shown in Chapter 1, where kin, servants, and husbands were accepted into the household and could shift between these roles. This thesis has also emphasised a difference between ties that existed, or passive, and those that were maintained, or active, by arguing that pre-existing relationships needed to be actively maintained in order to be mobilised. This was achieved through sociability practices, service, shared identities, or intercessors. In Chapter 2, Mary Tudor's and her local affinity's efforts to foster each other through gifts and visits transformed their relationship from passive to active. A key element of active friendships was their usefulness and sense of mutual obligation to assist. The instrumental element of Anne Stanhope's and Jane Guildford's court alliances made them politically useful in crises, while their active nature enabled these women to mobilise them. This thesis has also hinted at how ties were gendered, by showing a close connection between female networks and the domestic space. Compared to their husbands, the women studied here often took on active roles in maintaining personal relationships, especially with other women, but also enjoyed closer working relationships with their servants. There is scope for further study and comparison to more fully examine the gendered nature of Tudor personal ties.

But this thesis has shown that some relationships were hostile or limited, revealing the need to study negative and not just positive alliances. In doing so, this thesis has illustrated the ambiguity of personal connections, as their sincerity was often difficult to determine. It has argued that instrumental and active relationships were based on pragmatic alliances and functioned well irrespective of any genuine emotional affection. Many of the ties examined

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Politics'; Warnicke, 'Family and Kinship Relations'; Bundesen, 'No Other Faction But My Own'.

here combined the instrumental with the affective, such as Mary Tudor's emotional reliance on Susan Clarencius in addition to their relationship of service and rewards in Mary's household, or Katherine Willoughby's pragmatic use of William Cecil's court intercession combined with their personal friendship. However, this thesis has focused on the instrumental functions; the sincerity of ties is difficult to measure, but their utility could continue regardless of the presence or absence of genuine affect. There is also debate over the sincerity of these women's religious identities, which could be genuine or could be feigned as outward conformity for either dissimulation or even political advantage. There was certainly scope for pragmatism, but also for genuine religious convictions which led to outward displays of opposition for Mary Tudor, Margaret Douglas, and Katherine Willoughby. Nonetheless, religious affiliations were only one of the many identities which these women held and balanced, as they worked to maintain and negotiate relationships across religious divides. The obligations created by relationships could overlap or come into conflict, and personal ties were malleable enough to allow relationships to be renegotiated, such as in Mary Howard's and her father's efforts to balance expectations for mutual support. The women examined here juggled their duties to others with more selfish interests, including not only promoting their beliefs but also enhancing their own prestige through displays of power. Examining the multiple obligations which shaped them has helped to delineate the range of motivations which drove these women to foster and rely on relationships with others.

This thesis has contributed to understandings of the nature of power in mid-Tudor England as informal, indirect, and interpersonal. Denied formal positions of power, aristocratic and royal women turned to indirect routes to access spaces of power and exert influence, through their ties with others. This thesis has used a conceptualisation of space beyond the physical to demonstrate how personal connections served as links over distance. This has also offered insight into how women engaged with the royal court under the changing Tudor monarchy. Their restrictions from formal power also gave elite women manoeuvrability, such as in Anne Stanhope remaining at liberty to work with her support network to save her husband in 1549 after he was arrested because

she held no official office. Formal associations with power could be a danger, and this thesis has shown how this period of political and religious change was dangerous to those close to power, such as Mary Tudor in her role as Edward VI's heiress presumptive. It has offered a deeper conceptualisation of the period as one of crisis by underscoring its volatility and instability. By examining how elite women navigated that instability to survive and even gain advantage, it has contributed to more nuanced understandings of female agency and the important role of personal ties. By showing how these women used their networks as indirect routes to political power, as they were denied direct power by patriarchal structures, it has advanced the scholarly conversation which highlights collective action and considers networks, especially kinship and female networks, to be important for women's agency.[6] It has also offered insights into how ties were active, flexible, and useful, and how they were gendered, highlighting the role of domestic spaces for elite female sociability and of domestic resources for maintaining and rewarding clients. Their robust and flexible nature meant that personal ties were important, ongoing resources. They offered both benefits and risks, and had limitations, but were nonetheless useful at this time of political and religious precarity.

Contextualising the five spaces studied here through comparison has not only shown the fluidity and overlaps between these physical and abstract spaces, but also their similarities. Using the same concept of 'space' for both the physical and abstract, although potentially limiting insight into their subtle differences, has allowed for comparison to be made. Although relationships and networks are often defined by specific spaces, they frequently overlapped spaces, such as in employing scholars within the household or distant kin as estate administrators. The domestic space was an extremely valuable reserve, with the household and estates providing financial resources, which could be used to build personal connections in other spaces. However, these women were not confined to their houses or the regions, as they also enjoyed careers and influence in London and at the royal court. Furthermore, this thesis has challenged conventional ideas of space by showing that personal connections

[6] Kemp, Powell, and Link, 'Accounting for Early Modern Women'; Luckyj and O'Leary, 'Editors' Introduction'; Frye and Robertson, 'Afterword'; Capp, *When Gossips Meet*; Harris, 'Sisterhood', Herbert, *Female Alliances*.

spanned geographical distances or boundaries. Closeness or access was crucial but did not require physical presence. This has shed light on how women were able to remain court insiders without formal roles in the queen's household, enhancing an understanding of the nature of court attendance under unmarried, underage, and female monarchs. This extends the scholarship on female courtiers by showing the changing role and place of women at the Tudor court, and by qualifying the nature of court attendance.[7]

Although this thesis has considered five key spaces where elite Tudor women lived and engaged, there is the potential for comparative studies which examine other spaces. These could include foreign diplomacy, trade, the local parish, and the arts. There is also further scope to examine other noblewomen in this period, such as Eleanor Manners, Countess of Rutland; Jane Cheney, Countess of Southampton; Anne Calthorpe, Countess of Sussex; Gertrude Blount, Marchioness of Exeter; and Ursula Pole, Lady Stafford. These could provide comparisons with the women examined in this thesis, giving an opportunity to assess the reliance on personal contacts for navigating mid-Tudor instability in a larger group. There are already studies on ladies in Katherine Parr's household, and on Edwardian court hostess Elisabeth Brooke, Marchioness of Northampton.[8] Although there have also been works on Elizabeth I's ladies, there is potential for a comparative study of the mid-Tudor period with the Elizabethan reign, which was different in having a new religious settlement, long-tenured monarch, and stability for favoured female courtiers.[9] Furthermore, as noted above, Margaret Douglas, Katherine Willoughby, and Anne Stanhope can be studied beyond 1560. Meanwhile, substantive, scholarly biographies are still lacking for Jane Guildford, Frances Brandon, Anne Stanhope, and Mary Howard. Several comparative studies of Tudor women have focused on families, and further works could consider the Seymour,

[7] Hufton, 'Reflections on the Role of Women'; Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr'; Graham-Matheson, 'All wemen in thar degree'; Payne, 'The Cecil Women at Court'; Daybell, 'Gender, Politics and Diplomacy'; Merton, 'The Women Who Served'; Mears, 'Politics in the Elizabethan Privy Chamber'; Goldsmith, 'All the Queen's Women'.
[8] Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr'; Graham-Matheson, 'All wemen in thar degree'.
[9] Merton, 'The Women Who Served'; Mears, 'Politics in the Elizabethan Privy Chamber'; Goldsmith, 'All the Queen's Women'; Wright, 'A Change in Direction'.

Brandon, Manners, and Pole family women.[10] Moving beyond female networks to consider connections amongst women and men could offer further comparisons, as suggested in Chapter 4, where means of elite sociability appear gendered.

The close analysis of eight women's lives in this thesis has advanced scholarly knowledge of early modern female agency and networks. It has demonstrated how these women, far from directly challenging formal patriarchal restrictions on their agency, negotiated with and upheld them. They relied on their personal connections and support networks to access power indirectly, through the contradictions within and between structures of power. This enabled them to exercise considerable agency, and illustrated how personal ties shaped elite women's abilities to operate within the constraints and dangers of early modern society and politics. By contributing a more multifaceted and refined conception of the extent and limits of their agency, this thesis extends its relevance beyond the eight women studied here, to comment on the nature of power and the extent of agency for aristocratic women in mid-Tudor England as they circumvented formal patriarchal restrictions to work indirectly through personal ties.

This thesis has revealed that power in mid-Tudor England often relied on the informal and the personal, and that personal relationships were a vital tool in the quest for familial advantage. These relationships were vital forms of support which were effectively mobilised by all eight of the women studied here in order to enhance their prestige, advance their religious beliefs, patronise their clients, and primarily to promote and to protect themselves and their families as their fates rose and fell. However, ties were flexible and at any given time could be actively maintained, positive, and functional, or hostile or less useful, restricting the support offered to elite women or ensuring their dependency on their husbands and male relatives. This thesis has argued that personal connections existed within and across several spaces – the domestic, local, scholarly, elite, and political – and enabled these women to participate in larger networks, even without physical presence. Personal access was essential,

[10] Clark, 'Dynastic Politics'; Payne, 'The Cecil Women at Court'; Bundesen, 'No Other Faction But My Own'; Medici-Thiemann, 'She Governs the Queen'.

but closeness could be gained through interpersonal ties instead of geographical proximity. Women used and relied on this system of informal and interpersonal influence, despite its limitations, as it enabled them to access spaces of power and to negotiate the precarity of the period. This thesis has also examined their motivations for doing so, underscoring the importance of dynastic identity but also the multiple and varied obligations and interests which shaped these women's actions. It has demonstrated how elite mid-Tudor women, far from directly challenging formal restrictions on their agency, negotiated and upheld them. Their collusion enabled them to access indirect or informal power. Ultimately, personal connections could both enhance and restrict female agency, but they were nonetheless highly necessary for elite women to navigate the instability of the mid-Tudor period.

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