‘All wemen in that degree shuld to their men subjectit be’:
The controversial court career of Elisabeth Parr,
marchioness of Northampton, c. 1547-1565

Volume II:
Appendices and bibliography
Appendix A: Primary documents relating to Elisabeth Parr, marchioness of Northampton

This list includes documents that directly refer to Elisabeth or her activity, so includes official documents that relate to her or make mention of her, her correspondence, and correspondence - personal and diplomatic - that mentions her, and that relating to activity directly applicable to her. This list is approximately chronological and corresponds to the narrative of Elisabeth’s activity presented in chapter 2.

Where I have inferred the connection the ambiguity is represented by underlining. Documents or volumes that contain multiple references are only listed once, at the earliest relevant date.

1. *LP, Henry VIII*, 1542, 6, Eustace Chapuys to Emperor Charles V, late January 1542.
3. TNA E179/69/41, f. 1, Subsidy list for the household of KP, 1543-4.
4. TNA E179/69/48, Subsidy list for the household of KP, 1544-5.
5. BL Harley MS 283, f. 176, John Wilkins to George Brooke, Lord Cobham, 30 November 1545.
6. TNA E179/69/47, f. 62, Subsidy list for the household of KP, 1545-6.
7. TNA E179/69/55, D1, Subsidy list for the household of KP, 1545-6.
8. TNA E179/69/44, Subsidy list for the household of KP, 1546-7.
9. TNA LC 2/2 f. 44, Ordinance for Henry VIII’s funeral, 1547.
10. TNA E101/426/2 ff. 1, 5, Wage list for Katherine Parr’s household as dowager Queen, 1547.
11. SP 10/2 f. 32 (stamped 106), William Parr, marquess of Northampton to King Edward VI, [March] 1547.
14. PC2/2 f. 274, Commission to investigate the marriage of William Parr and Elisabeth Cobham, 31 January 1548.
15. CSP Span. 1547-1549, p. 254, Van der Delft to Charles V, 23 February 1548.
18. CSP Span. 1550-1552, Jehan Schefve to Emperor Charles V, 17 June 1550, p. 110.
19. SHC Z/407/Lb.559; Folger Loseley MS, Elisabeth Parr, marchioness of Northampton to William More, [1551?]
20. SHC Z/407/Lb.455; Folger Loseley MS, Elisabeth Parr, marchioness of Northampton to William More, [1551?]
23. CSP Span. 1550-1552, Jehan Schefve to Charles V, 26 October 1551.
24. APC, Edward VI, October 1551 [p. 397].
25. CSP Foreign Edward VI, 477, the privy council to William Pickering, 5 November 1551.
26. The Chronicle of Edward VI, pp. 92, 94.
27. APC, 2 November 1551, p. 406
30. SP 10/14 f.82 John, duke of Northumberland to William Cecil, 31 May 1552.
31. TNA E101/520/9, *Money received and destroyed by occasion of the affairs of the Marquess of Northampton*.  
35. *The chronicle of Queen Jane and the first two years of Queen Mary*, ed. John Gough Nichols, [ref. 1553/4].
38. *CSP Span., 1553*, the Ambassadors to Emperor Charles V, 27 August 1553.
40. TNA E154/2/40, *Inventory from Westmorland*, 1553.
41. TNA E154/2/45, *Inventory of the Parrs’ household and belongings taken from Essex, 1553-4.*
42. TNA E154/2/39, *Fair copy of the Parrs’ household and belongings taken from Essex, 1553-4.*
43. TNA LR2/18, *Accounts of the Parrs’ goods, chattels and landholdings confiscated by the crown, 1553-4.*
44. SP 11/4 f. 28 (stamped 25), *Warrant to pay Elisabeth Parr, marchioness of Northampton, 25 June 1554.*
45. TNA PROB 11/37/0 f. 274, *Will of Jane Dudley, duchess of Northumberland, c. 1554/5.*
46. SP 11/5 f. 132 (stamped 36), *Edward Courtenay, earl of Devon to George Brooke, Lord Cobham, 20 July 1555.*
48. SP 11/12 f. 47 (stamped 100), *Queen Mary to Edward Waldegrave and others, 5 March 1558.*
49. CP 198/110, *The Will of Lady Anne Cobham, 7 October 1558.*
51. Count de Feria to Phillips II, 25 November 1558, RP, I.
52. SP 12/2 (stamped 80), *Minute for a warrant for William Parr, marquess of Northampton, January 1559.*
53. SP 12/7 [f. 31] (stamped 46), *Queen Elizabeth to William Paulet, marquess of Winchester, 1 November 1559.*
54. SP 12/7 f. 52 (stamped 92), *Funeral arrangements for Frances Grey, duchess of Suffolk, December 1559.*
55. DLONSL5/2/11/1, Court rolls of Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland relating to Grasmere, Westmorland, 5 July 1560.
56. SP 70/19 f. 94 (stamped 46), *Henry Killigrew to Nicholas Throckmorton, 15 October 1560.*
57. SP 70/19 ff. 206-7 (stamped 132-133), *Nicholas Throckmorton to Thomas Chamberlain, 29 October 1560.*
58. BL Lansdowne MS 5, f. 120, *Debres owing by the Queene, 27 February 1561.*
61. SP 70/30 f. 118 (stamped 100), Thomas Henneage to Nicholas Throckmorton, 24 September 1561.
62. SP 70/33 ff. 69-70 (stamped 99-100), Nicholas Throckmorton to Thomas Chaloner, 20 December 1561.
63. SP 70/34 ff. 62-5 (stamped 54-6), Thomas Chaloner to Nicholas Throckmorton, 15 January 1562.
64. BL Lansdowne MS 104, f. 7, Dettes Dew by *the Queene Majestie*, 20 January 1562.
65. BL Lansdowne MS 105, f. 124, Plan of the 1562 summer progress, [Spring 1562].
66. SP 70/38 f. 262 (stamped 219), Thomas Chaloner to Elisabeth Parr, marchioness of Northampton, 26 June 1562.
67. SP 70/39 [f. ?] (stamped 21-22), Anne Throckmorton to Nicholas Throckmorton, 10 July 1562.
68. SP 70/40 f. 91 (stamped 83), William Brooke, Lord Cobham to Thomas Chaloner, 7 August 1562.
69. SP 70/40 f. 92 (stamped 84), Elisabeth Parr, marchioness of Northampton to Thomas Chaloner, 7 August 1562.
70. SP 70/40 ff. 72-6 (stamped 65-7), Dymock’s statement, 6 August 1562.
71. SP 70/40 ff. 215-8 (stamped 190-193), Thomas Chaloner to Elisabeth Parr, marchioness of Northampton, 20 August 1562.
72. Bishop Aquila de Quadra to the Margaret, duchess of Parma, 20 August 1562, RP, III, DCCCCXXVIII, 108.
73. SP 70/40 f. 269 (stamped 239), William Cecil to Nicholas Throckmorton, 29 August 1562.
74. SP 70/40 f.271 (stamped 241), John Somers to Nicholas Throckmorton, 29 August 1562.
75. SP 70/41 f. 127 (stamped 122), Nils Gyllenstierna to Queen Elizabeth, 14 September 1562.
76. SP 70/41 f.184 (stamped 178), Anne Throckmorton to Nicholas Throckmorton, 20 September 1562.
77. SP 70/42 f.183 (stamped 189), William Honnyng to Thomas Chaloner, 12 October 1562.
78. SP 70/42 f.205 (stamped 208), Thomas Chaloner to William Brooke, Lord Cobham, 14 October 1562.
79. BL Additional MS 35832 ff. 82-4, Thomas Chaloner to Elisabeth Parr, marchioness of Northampton, 14 October 1562.
80. SP 70/43 f.76 (stamped 76), Erik of Sweden to Queen Elizabeth, 20 October 1562.
81. SP 70/44 f.111 (stamped 104), Nils Gylenstierna to William Cecil, 9 November 1562.
82. SP 70/44 f. 113 (stamped 106), Nils Gylenstierna to Sir Ambrose Cave, 9 November 1562.
83. SP 70/47 f.75 (stamped 76), Thomas Chaloner to Henry Cobham, 20 December 1562.
84. Secret note by Christopher D’Assonleville, 23 May 1563, RP, III, MCCLXIX, 630.
85. APC, pp. 185, 188-189, Doctor Julio and Griffiths versus the marquess and marchioness of Northampton, January 1564.
86. SP 70/70 f. 9 (stamped 5), Queen Elizabeth to Margaret, duchess of Parma, 4 April 1564 [also la reine d’Angleterre à la duchesse de Parme (Lettres de recommendation en faveur de lad marquise de Northampton, RP, IV, MCCLXX)].
87. SP 12/33 [f. 61] (stamped 128), William Brooke, Lord Cobham to William Cecil, 12 April 1564.
88. SP 12/33 [f. ?] (stamped 140), William Brooke, Lord Cobham to William Cecil, 22 April 1564.
89. APC, p. 142, land dispute with Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland, 22 April 1564.
90. SP 70/71 ff. 3-4 (stamped 5-6), Richard Clough to Thomas Chaloner, 4 May 1564.
91. CP 3/38, 296, Henry Cobham to Thomas Middleton, 11 May 1564.
92. BL Royal MS 13 B 1, f. 1, Queen Elizabeth to Maximilliam II, King of Bohemia, May 1564.
94. Guzman de Silva to Margaret, duchess of Parma, 17 July 1564, RP, IV, MCCC.
95. Guzman de Silva to Margaret, duchess of Parma, 31 July 1564, RP, IV, MCCCVI.
96. Guzman de Silva to Margaret, duchess of Parma, 23 September 1564, RP, IV, MCCLXX [Also CSP Foreign, 1564-1565, 287].
97. Calendar of Clarendon State Papers, Queen Elizabeth to Maximillian II, King of Bohemia, 27 November 1564.
98. BL Lansdowne MS 104, f. 10, Estimation for the order of precedence, 1558-1564, [1564].
100. CP 163/136, Gifts by the Eliz. Brooke, Lady Norten, [1585?] (a miscatalogued fair copy of the above).
103. SP 12/36 f. ? (stamped 144-145), The note of Sutche Jewells as were sent in to Flainders vnto my brother Pasquelo Spinola and by hyme solde as herafter Followythe, May 1565.
104. SP 12/37 f. 45? (stamped 143), Elisabeth Parr, marchioness of Northampton’s land income at death ref. lands in Essex, c. 1565.
106. STC 7562, W. M. Elderton, A proper new balad in praise of my Ladie Marques, Whose death is bewailed, To the tune of a new lusty gallant (London: Thomas Colwell, 1569).
108. BL Additional MS 37666, f. 39, Francis Thynne’s Chronicle of the Cobham Family, c. 1597.
109. CP 225/1, The Cobham family genealogy, Robert Glover c. 1587 and Joseph Holland, 3 September 1601.
110. BL Harley MS 6157, ff. 8-12, Francis Thynne’s pedigree of the Cobham Family, 1589.
Appendix B: Elisabeth Parr - a source book

Original language quotations and transcriptions of documents relating directly to Elisabeth Parr, marchioness of Northampton

The following quotations appear or are referenced in the text in the order that they are presented here.

1. LP, Henry VIII, 1542, 6, Eustace Chapuys to Charles V, January 1542
By his last, of the 29th ult., advertised the condemnation by Parliament of the Queen and ladies Norfolk, her daughter and Rochford. Until then this King had never, since he detected the Queen’s conduct, show joy; as he has done since, especially on the said 29th, when he gave a supper and banquet to the ladies, 26 of whom were at his table, with certain lords, and 35 at an adjoining table. She to whom, for the time, he showed most favour and affection was the sister of Lord Coban and of the wife whom Mr. Huyet repudiated for adultery. She is a beautiful girl, with wit enough, if she tried, to do as badly as the others. It is also said that the King has a fancy for the daughter of Madame Albat, niece of the Grand Esquire, Mr. Anthony Brun. Likewise there is a bruit of a daughter [Anne Bassett] of the wife of Mons. Lyt, formerly deputy of Calais by his first marriage; and this is presumed partly because the said deputy, who has been nearly two years in close prison in the Tower, goes at liberty within it, and his arms, which were removed from the chapel of the Order, are ordered to be restored.

A translation of:
CSP Span. 1538-41, 230, 468, Eustace Chapuys to Charles V, January 1542
…Jusques a la quelle condempnation ce roy dois quil setoit apperçu du [mauvais] gouvernece de la dite yone, navoit monstre allegrie ne joyssance comme yl a faict depuis, et mesmes au dit xxix, quil donnast le soupper et banquet aux dames done en sa table parmy aucungs sieurs en eut xxvi, et en une autre [table] la auprex xxxv...Elle est belle jeuanse fille et a assez experit pour si elle lentrepregnoit faire aussy mal que les autres.2

5. BL Harley MS 283, f. 176, John Wilkins to George Brooke, Lord Cobham, 30 November 1545
… I was with maystress elesabeth at the courte one thursday last I talked with her but a well for she wit hother of the queens mades wayted a pon my ladye marye to my ladye of suffockes howsse to the cressenyng of my lord hamberall child and there […] was a nother and my lady of suffocke the thurde as I hard say / I talked with mystres stoner the mother of the mades and she sured me that wass nothyng in mystress elisebeth doynges that was to be mysse lilked.

11. SP 10/2 f. 32 (stamped 106), William Parr, marquess of Northampton to King Edward VI, [March] 1547
Most humble with all Lordliness in an [unfained] weightie cause besecheth your excellente Majestie your true obediente subiecte and servaunte William Parr Markquasse of Northampton that whereas your said servaunte once to the greate decaye of his prospere fortune married to the Ladie Anne Bowser for her hainoswe abomination of frequente and vile adulterie as well evidenlie knowner <by> her owne confession in writinge and worde of mouthe and the conceavinge and <beringe> of one basterde childe begotten by a base vile v…ordie adulteror / as also upon examination and due upright inquisation provid testified and recordid by one acte of parliament statuted onely to illegimate the said basterd

1 Unless otherwise indicated translated texts are taken from the printed volume in which they appear.
2 The Calendar does not include a full transcription of the original letter in French. All that is printed in the volume is reproduced here.
and by an other solepnsized perfecte Judgement in the ecclesiasticall Lawes for the Divorse of the said Ladie Anne / It maye please your highnes of your abundante grace to have in ponderinge and consideracion the state of your servante first howe conveniente and reusite it were for the honore of god to be entreated and angravet in your said servaunte in whom as in all other his children he requirethe a pure and undefiled liffe and for the succession and maintenaunce of the blood and name of your said servaunte wheareof at this presente nowe is in live of any proximitie in that your said servaunte might have the godlie remeedye of marriage bothe to the highe pleasure of god the tenderinge and performance where your servaunte moste [busane] sekethe Anne to the [...] your servaunte whilst he livethe might have sende naturelle comforte of his succession / And after his dethe your grace might have one of his name and estate to serve your highenes with like humblenesse and hortines in service / nexte to this that your majestie of your excellent gentille grace and favor wille witsave to understande that the kings highnesse your moste prudent and godlie father worthieste of fame and memorie / Partlie upon a lowlie sute made to his grace by your servaunte not Longe before his departure and upon his pettiefulle consideracion of your servantes estate made so unfortunite by the unsatiable adulterie of the said Layde, But most of all upon his highe proumente consideracion that if she sholde againe be ioyned in mariage with him he manyfolde vile adulteries alredie committed and consequentlie the contaminacion therein sholde decaye your servantes honour whose deservation your said servaunte in his soveraigne Lordes [soeme] Dalie desairethe <desarethe> and that his <her>Longe fastrated obstinatie, not withstandinge sondrie har dissimulations / hadalienated altered yea uprooted all inclinacion of your servantes favor without theesperation of any motion toward her againe / Was purposed intended and gracifelye promised bothe for the consederacions above said and discrete mane other to depute appointe and ordaine by his highnes comission discrete godlye lerned man to deride debate and sufficiently in charitie determine whether your said servaunte upon all and everie the circumstances of his onely particular cause the manner state forme qualtie and condition of bothe the particular partes onelie pondered and considered / without determination of any generall cause / might from without the offence of god for thadvoydinge of unlawefull lyve whearaunto all fleshe as prove and the procreation of childerne which he necessarelye requirethe take to his wiffe in the liffe of the said Lady thadvyntersesse anye other Ladie or gentilwoman unmaried and lefull to take husbande / And for as miche as it pleased almightie god by the mistere of his wisdome after the gloriose godlye and famose artes of our soveraigne Lorde and Kinge your highnes dere beloved father marveloselye bye fame in truth dispered, to call his hignes to the participacion of his eternall glorie wheareby the in tente and gracioso purpose of the same Kinge in this your servants cause toke no further procedinge but onely to will and minde the remedie of your servante the knowledge whearof remanethe in sondre honorable and moste faithfull counsellors and personages nowe of your gracees honorable counsell your said most humble servante further suppleiethe and bescchethe your excellent grace in the consideracion of all the promisses and for the accomplishinge of your dere werdie beloved father Kinge henry theightes gracius r[..]eld perpose and erneste intente towarde this your servantes cause that in likewise your grace will as in honor and royll dignite succede your hignesse father so also in charitable favour and honorable benifettinge your servante havinge greate ned of the same and grawnte your highnesse letters of commissioun to siche nombre of persons lerned in the lawe and worde of god as your hignesse by advise of your honorable counsell shall thinke meate for the examination debatinge and decilding of the your servants onlye one particular private cuase then thereby authorisinge after hearinge of the parties and delayberatenge debatinge of the whole wyll [...] [...]tinliney to determine whate the law of god will and permiteth [...] and the same to certifie your highnes in suche wise as your Majestie followinge the trewe pathe and example of your moste noble father allowid by the favor whole wisdome fame and consente of all Christendome maye provide for your moste humble subiecte and
servante soche resonable redresse and godlye remedie as the will of god declared by his moste holie worde requirethe of whom e your highenes shall undoubtedly receyve <afterall> rewarde / for the wise and longe preservacion of your highenesse in his fame and service emongethe us your humble and naturall subjectes your servante shall nene casse to praye.

14. PC2/2 f. 273, Commission to investigate the marriage of William Parr and Elisabeth Cobham, 31 January 1548

… Uppon sundry informacions brought to the lord Protectors grace and counsail that the L. Marques of Northampton hi[s] first wif living had maried one named mistres Elisabeth Cobham which informacions were so set forthe and agreved as being the thing straunge [...] and against the lawe … The same Marques was commanded this daye to present them him selfe before their grace and lordships being assembled in counsele at Somerset place besides the strand And after the thing by them objected to him and by him confessed to be doon accordingly excusing nevertheles the fact for that as the said the same shod with the word of god his first wif being proved an adulteresse / when in any wordes and argumentes had bene controverted on the behalfe of their grace and lordships and of the same Marquess. …

15. CSP Span. 1547-1549, 254, VdD to CV, 23 February 1548

The two Italians are preaching, one in Latin at the University of Oxford, and the other, Friar Bernardin, in Italian in this city of London. As this Friar Bernardin had already gained renown in Italy by his preaching all the Italians resident here have been anxious to hear him. But those who had already heard him preach in Italy say that he has lost all the grace and eloquence that he formerly possessed, and they recognise that God has deprived him of his gifts now that he has begun to misuse them. He thus grows daily less and less esteemed, and I sincerely hope that at last he will have no auditors at all, unless it be the Duchess of Suffolk and the Marquiss of Northampton the brother of the Queen Dowager. With regard to the said Marquis I have been told in strict confidence that by means of his sister the Queen and of the Duchess of Suffolk [Parr] recently took for his wife the daughter of the Deputy of Calais, and that eight or nine days afterwards he was obliged by the command of the Council to put her away and never speak to her again on pain of death, in consequence of his having already a wife living, although he has long since been separated from her. He is only spoken of secretly and does not show himself at Court, although during this Lent there are here many pastimes.

18. CSP Span. 1550-1552, 110, JS to CV, 17 June 1550 [original in French and ciphered]

My Lord the Vidame’s banquet was a brave and rich sight. Many lords of the Council and noblemen were present; among others the Duke of Somerset, once Protector, and the Marquess of Northampton. All those who were present show great respect to the said Somerset. He seems to have recovered his health and to be reinstated in honour and pre-eminence. He showed me a good countenance and received me well; and enquired after your Majestys health and your recent departure. My Lord Paget was not present, nor Warwick either, because of his indisposition, which they say prevents him from going often to the Council. The said Northampton’s Marchioness received at table a present from the Vidame, an enamelled chain worth about two hundred crowns. All the other ladies present, and the three daughters of the said Somerset, one of whom was the bride, received a present, each one according to her station. My Lord the Vidame took part in a masque, with fifteen or sixteen of the first noblemen, several being dressed in gold and silver cloth. The Duke of Suffolk was among them, dressed up as a nun. There were games too, such as fireworks and throwing dolls. The whole entertainment is said to have cost him three or
four thousand crowns. The other foreigners were not present at the banquet. It was said
that they were attending some entertainment out of town, and that my Lord the Vidame
was displeased because the King had shown so much favour to M. de Chatillon. The
Vidame did not take particular notice of anyone except of the Duke of Somerset and the
Marchioness. He showed himself often in their company, and talked to the said
Marchioness through an interpreter, who was mostly my Lord Grey, once captain of
Boulogne.

19. SHC S/407/Lb.559; Folger Loseley MS EPMoN to WM, [1551?]
My nedful stayt causythe me at thys tyme to desyar of you to plesuer me so muche as to
lend m 1 pond, as spedely as yow kan, and you shallbe repayed at ester at the furdest,
deny me not thys my request as you fyrd me, and I shall not only hereby pay you but be
muche thankefull <to you> for dooyng me so good and great plesur, scrybell hastily
by your frynd
E Northampton.

20. SHC S/407/Lb.455; Folger Loseley MS, EPMoN to WM, [c.1551?]
good more as I have great caus to thanke you for the fryndshyp you have showed to this
bearer my brother, so am requyared by hym to make a request to you, to show <your>
forder fryndshyp and that hath as you have granted hym part of a house in the blake fryars,
so you <wyl> frend hym so much. As that he may have the holle house <to hym selfe>
and use rather at my request <and> as I shall take thys plesuer as done to my selfe thys I
commend me to you as
your assured
frynd E Northampton

29. BL Cotton Vitellius F V, ff. 15-16, The diary of Henry Machyn, 1553
The x day of [February] rod my lade Mars grasse from Saynt [John's] and thurgh
Flettstrett unto the kyng at Westmynyster, with a grett nombur of lords and knyghtes, and
alle the [great] women lades, the duches of Suffoke and Northumberland, my lade marqwes
of Northampton, and lade marqwes of Wynchestere, and the contes of Bedfford, and the
contes of Shrowsbere, and the contes of Arundelle, my lade Clynton, my lade Browne and
Browe [sic], and many mo lades and gentillywomen; and at the oter gatt ther mett her my
lord of Suffoke and my lord of Northumberland, my lord of Wychnester, my lord of
Bedfford, and therle of Shrusbery, the therle of Arundell, my lord Chamburlayn, my lord
Admerolle, and a gret number of knyghtes and gentillymen, and so up unto the chambur of
pressens, and ther the Kynges grace mett her and salutyd her.

34. BL Royal MS 8 C XXIV, ff. 340v, 363v
Item. Warrant to deliver for the furniture of the wedding apparell of the L. Guilford sonne
to the Duke of Northumberland and to the lady Janne doughter to the Duke of Suff.
certaine parcelles of tissues and clothes of gold and silver of the late duke and duches of
Somerset as appeareth by the same etc … A warr. to Andrew Dudley knight to deliver to
the lady Fraunces Duchi of Suff. to the Duches of northumberland to the Lady Marques
of North. to the Lady Jane Doughter to the Duke of Suff and the L. Guilford Dudle for
wedding apparell and to the Lady Katharyne daughter to the sayd Duke of Suff. and the L.
harber for wedding apparell and to the Lord hastinges and lady katharyne doughter to the
Duke of Northumb. for the wedding apparell certain parcelles of stufe and juelles being
[taken] the from Grenewich the xxiiij of Aprill Ano Rex E. Vi vij.

3 See also J. G. Nichols ed., The Diary of Henry Machyn (London: Camden Society, 1848), 95.
48. SP 11/12 f. 47 (stamped 100), QM to Edward Waldegrave and others, 5 March 1558

By the Quene

Trusty and right welbeloved we grete you well. And wheras the late marques of Northampton made a graunte unto Elizabeth Cobham of certeyn landes which upon tattedyder of the sayd marques cam unto our handes. And ther upon we dispersed the keeping or possession of sundry parcelles ther of to certeyn of our servasntes understanding nowe that the sayd Elizabeth pretendeth some right and tytel to the same landes by order and construction of our lawes / We have thought good a wyell for determyneng of right and Justice in the cause as also for thassuraunce and indemnitie of our sayd servauntes to will and requyre <you> to call the sayde Elizabeth before you to compounde with her for assuraunce to be made unto them of their several grauntes thus proceeding from us as afsayd; appoynteng unto her therefore such reasonable pence/on as by your discrecione and consideraciones shall appere requisyte which we requyre you to do with asmuch spede as may be / And thus our lead shalbe your suffycyent warrant and discharge in this behalf. Geven under our Signet at our Palace of westminster this vth of Marche the fourth and fifthe yeres of our Regnes.

51. RP, I, 306-7, Count de Feria to Phillip II of Spain, 25 November 1558; a partial transcription of Archives de Simancas, Secreto de Estado, Leg. 811

Tres dias ha que determine la Reyna de emiar á Vuestra Magestad á Milord Cobam que es hijo del otro Milord Cobham que Vuesta Magestad conocio, el qual murio poco ha, no me dixerond nada hasta que me embio á dezir el Secretario Sisel que iba este y que le avian mandado que viniesse primero á darme cuenta de su ida, y assi lo hizo ayer tarde, que no es de mas sustancia que visitor á Vuestra Magestad y dale raz온 de lo sucedido en forma ordinaria. Este no tiene office en casa de la Reyna, ni han tenido aqui Buena fama el y sus hermanos, pero siempre han sido servidores declarados de la nueva Reyna, y ella le quiere bien. [ ... ] Tambien me han dicho que quieren emiar otra personal al Emperador y que aun no se sabe quien sera.

53. SP12/7 f.31 (stamped 46), Queen Elizabeth to William Paulet, marquess of Winchester, 1 November 1559

By the Quene

Right trustie and welbelived Cosen we grete you well; And where we have latelie […] restored our right trustie and right welbeloved Cosen the Marquis of Northampton to his former estate / and dignitie of a marques, for the maytenaunce and supportacion wherof he remaneth destitute of / that estate of landes and lyvelyhode whiche hertofore he enjoyed in the time of the regne of our dearest brother Edward the Sixt: We late yow witt that having regarde ther unto in consideracion / of thono(ur) he is now of sones called unto./ We have resolved to alott unto him for some relief / towards his charge certeyn landes of the value <> of fyve hundreth pounds by yere in forme as / herafter followeth, that is to say Two hundreth pounds of suche landes as were before tyme/ assured by him to the Ladie Marques by the name of Elizabeth Cobham dwghter to the Lord / Cobham, <now deceased> and Three hundreth pounds of suche other landes as were formerlie <before tyme> the said <lord> marquesses / in the time of myne said <dear> brother, To have hold and enioye flower hundreth pounds Wherof to<> him and the / heires masles of his bodie lawfullie begotten, and the tyme one hundreth / pounds <> residence of the said ffyce hundreth pounds to him and his heires for ever. With / thissues and prffett from the feast of Michaelmas <next before his vestiment to his[…]>/ wherefore one pleasure is that vpon receipt herof ye shall cause a boke to be made.
66, SP70/38 f. 262 (stamped 219), Thomas Chaloner to Elisabeth Parr, Marchioness of Northampton, 26 June 1562

I do confess my self Madame muche blame wourthie for that I of all this while I have written nothing unto you. Nowe when I wourest may, being syke of an Ague Tercian I shall pray youwere Ladiship to accepte theis rude lynes in good parte. Considering howe the last lettres that I received from my brother Francis Chaloner declaring amongst other matters what honorable demonstration it pleased your Ladship to make of your good opinion of me / hathe moved me of duety to yeld you my bounden thankes for the same - I do perceive that my said brother upon alittle score that I gave him to fele thinclynacion of a certayne gentilwoman now I here saye alady, in acertaine case nat knownen to yow, and therefore nat repeted here, went further as apperithe then either needid or I ment until I saw some more likelyhode of Speding, I am offended with my brother for the rashe handlyng of it vnless perchance there is no cause for me to thinke But ye revealing of it came to passe as comenly al secretes do that fall into womens custodye namely of that qualitie, where in consell from one to an other of the Conneilleresses at last some oone or other tales owte of the Counseil chambre with alwayes apec anytly more putt to - So I dowbte nat but my sute hathe been well flamed - And sorye I am that herein this Treeles Cuntrey I can gett no green wyllow to make me a garland of. But in stede thereof In advance the xiith of Maye last as your brother mister Henry Cobbbame at his retourne canne tell you for I told it him and wrote it in aboke ymmeadiatly, I did almost divine the letters came what the event shuld be. For me thought I sawe the partye going from the privie Chamber towards the Chapell very fayre tymbred with a grete number of ladys following her. And that I also was very tryymm appareled but all in Tawnye, and that Sir Jacquez branado and oone or two more of my frendes now dead told me that they never sawe garmentes better become me, where at I reioysed and thought nomore of her that recketh <went> to churche. This dreame I write for that it was so notable, and write it to you Madame to thende ye maye See howe well my tawne garmentes pleassed me / and now to tell you my fantasie in all suche woiong cases perchance I have more often refused, then been be refused and being refused I comit my haalfpeny never the wourse Silver for womens lykings as mens also or but private to them selves where xxtie to oone perchance wold nat chose the like. So god spede the plowgh and send the likers lykying vii yeres hence. your brother I thinke will make homewardes abowte thend of September nexte his company hathe been to me a grette good passing of my tyne. I wold to god it wold please the Quenis Majestic to sette some churche man to this office so as I were at whome to wowe for my self ere ever my berd waxe graye for then fayre women that ar younge will but have awaye the old man / as be like the last I sued to did thincke of me though therewas no cause but that I might also <might> thinke she was no gyrlre, but this lettre is to longe all of tryfles So good Madame with her humblest comendacions to your Ladship and by you to my very good L. my L. marques my L. Cobbbame and my Lady his wife, I wishe vnto yowe in honor all good fortune and well to fare from Madrid the xxvith of June 1562.

4 The ammendments made in the hand of Sir William Cecil as insertions at this time mostly unreadable.
68. SP 70/40 f. 91 (stamped 83), William Brooke, Lord Cobham to Thomas Chaloner, 7 August 1562

Sir. Understanding by my brother Henry; How great courteousnes and frendshipp he hath and doth receave there dalye not only at your handes; but also through your meanes diviers atherwayes. I geve yow most hartlie thankes for it. Praing yow to contynuen ce the same towards him the rather for my sake. And if I may with the like pleasure yow here or ani of yore frendes: ye shall allways find me redy. So to that ende, upon occasion, ye may be bold temploye mee thus wi with my very harty commendacionss I bidd yow fare Well From Gremewich this viith of August 1562.

Yowr lovyng frynde
W. Cobham

69. SP 70/40 f. 92 (stamped 84), Elisabeth Parr, Marchioness of Northampton to Thomas Chaloner, 7 August 1562

Master Chellyner I do vnderstande by my brother how much he is be holldyng to you, ther for I can not but as some show and part of thankfulnes send you my thankes by thes lynes of my vnlegebell hand, as one that wyshyng I could make sume requytans for the great fryndshyp my goodly brother harry hathe founde in you, whych beynge showeyd in asstrange land ys more worthy thankes than in a nother plase, and as I do exsept this done to my brother, as done to my selfe, so shall I requyt, and be as thankfull for yt as your doyngs merretyng. Thys requestyng you to bear witti thys vnlegebyll lynys wrytten in hast by caus the ar wrytten by your assured frynd E Northampton

71. SP 70/40 ff. 215-8 (stamped 190-193), Thomas Chaloner to Elisabeth Parr, Marchioness of Northampton, 20 August 1562 [draft]

after my humblest commendacions [ … ] Good madame <> where by the last Lettre which commote of thankes in the <last> packett sent me by my servaunt I found <receivid> a lettre to me wrytten with your Ladishippes owne hand conteyning matters of thankes for that which in respect of my bond of duetye towards your honour I cannot but <my> duetye and <of> the good will <that always> I have always borne to Master henry Cobham your brother nomore but offere of Friendship and benevolence of oon freende to my other, Although the sent lettre served but as the spurre to a runnyng horse, yet it was in an other respect a singular <great> comefort unto me, in theis solytary partes so farre removid from that swete natyve <my> <owne> <that> fyrse peec of grounde <clymce> that which nowe can rightly proyve which <that> hath nat comparid others wih it, to be visited with so curteyes a letter from suche a Ladies hand, to whome <which> therefore though I can be nomore hers than already I am of services I am, yet by suche new accesse <in affection> for remembrance and exempla of howmuch I ambownden to the same I will kepe and rede as of it <amonges my deerest> papers I wotte nat which wayes I may shifte my self home so shortly is well I made attempt I might, in case oon who I ment to have said unto wold {[…]} have lyked so my {s…} <self> is I have full for my revocation / Now unlesse the King or prince of Spayne resort then shorleye unto Flaunders I am lyke to remayne here for wright and fashion sing few well take pity of a wyvl wyvellese wanderer / But if it be well wayd how my case standeth, it might rather to be considered the more and grate of revocation the sooner graunted and Seeng my yeres now ar suche as having no chyld to [duher] lie that lving god hath sent me, it were tyme for me now to widde and lose no more tyme where on tho theer part my next brothers children ar nat such as he or I make grete accompt upon / And Then againe my growndes which I lett for rentto others If I sorld the same with stockes of cattall of myne owne I dare well affirme
...I trust you wilbe at home longe ere your to take order your self in your behalf / I have had muche ado here to get this harere master Smythe forwarde. and yet I beleive his abode shall not be longe thare / for wee doe send from hence out of handes xvij hundred men / And there is like to goe a greate juieaney moe shortly ye same way yt is to saye into France / I pray you make as great speede home as you may, for I fear this wilbe some Dawng to you/ We have none other newes heere, but the good amendement of my Lady Marques, who was gyven over by the physicians / having a contyunnal burning fever, and ye Jawndise withall / Burcotte hathe brought her to this passe she is at, which is as he saythe paste all Downger / but I doe not thinke so ffor she is yet verrey fowle of lyffe, and also other newes heere, but the good amendement of my Lady M. / In Spayne> where every monthe here spent is lenger then a yere in an other place / god knoweth whether I speke as I think / The rest your brother at his retourne shall better declare unto you then d[...] lynes can enlarge So wishing in honour all things prosperous to your good Ladyship I make my ende from Madrid the xxth of August 1562.

76. SP70/41 f.184 (stamped 178), Anne Throckmorton to Nicholas Throckmorton, 20 September 1562

...I trust you wilbe at home longe ere your to take order your self in your behalf / I have had muche ado here to get this harere master Smythe forwarde. and yet I beleive his abode shall not be longe thare / for wee doe send from hence out of handes xvij hundred men / And there is like to goe a greate juieaney moe shortly ye same way yt is to saye into France / I pray you make as great speede home as you may, for I fear this wilbe some Dawng to you/ We have none other newes heere, but the good amendement of my Lady Marques, who was gyven over by the physicians / having a contyunnal burning fever, and ye Jawndise withall / Burcotte hathe brought her to this passe she is at, which is as he saythe paste all Downger / but I doe not thinke so ffor she is yet verrey fowle of lyffe, and also other newes heere, but the good amendement of my Lady M. / In Spayne> where every monthe here spent is lenger then a yere in an other place / god knoweth whether I speke as I think / The rest your brother at his retourne shall better declare unto you then d[...] lynes can enlarge So wishing in honour all things prosperous to your good Ladyship I make my ende from Madrid the xxth of August 1562.

78. SP 70/42 f. 208 Thomas Chaloner to William Brooke, Lord Cobham, 14 October 1562

My very good Lord. Your late lettre of thanks for my usage of your brother Mr Henry Cobham was no more but a token of your good will and demonstracion how gratefully a noble mynde can accepte every small endeavour of a poore frend. Though my power be small this I pray your.L. taccompt that in good will to your hose and bludde I will give place to none As I trust your.L. by former prooff knoweth./ When other respectes then mere good will and bounden affection cam not in place to allure me./ Now that your Lordshippes frendshiph and my Ladie Marques your Syster may stande me in steede I were thirse madde yt I wold not crave the continuance of the good will and opinion it pleaseth youw to have me in,/ And to require youw both to helpe forwarde my request which in my letter written presentlie to her honore I have experssed at large. It hath ben my chance two or three tymes by meanes of theis services abrode to lose my marrige adventures at homes.
As of late it hath fallen furth by your Lordshippes cuntrye woman the mother now of so many children the first day./ I desired your brother henry notwithstanding that he returneth clad in greene to were about his hatt a garlande of greene willowe and an other abowte his arme for me./ But he sayeth he can not sighe for that he never had, no more cann I./ And yet for good will ones ment can no lesse than continew it still as a frende that wissheth all contentacion and good adventure ye it lyke her so to thinke of me, howsoever others told her I wold be so crabbed an husbande. But I trust my next wyef shall ansuer for me that I was slawndered wrongfully. I long sore to be at home./ This crountry as your L. knoweth is not the pleasantest. then agayne myne absence from home at this present puttes me to extreme hiderance. I shall crave of your L. the ayde ye may further for my revocation. And so for this present with my deuest commendations to the same and my good ladie Cobbham I make an ende committing you both to god and good fortune. From Madryd the xxijj of October 1562.

79. BL Additional MS 35831 ff. 82-4, Thomas Chaloner to Elisabeth Parr, marchioness of Northampton, 14 October 1562 [draft]

Good Madame’ it is dayly said that an yll newes paineth sooner then a good / What greif the rea福特 hither written of your dangerous sycknes did minister here to me and Master Henry Cobbham your brother I shall nat nede to enlarg’/ I mourned for the losse of so good a lady and freend / he with feares and extreme passions cryed owte on his hard fortune to be prived of so dear and wourthily beloved Saster whose <supposed> funerals with feares. I assure you Madame he did celebrate with teares at large / But after all this Sorowe, when the next lettres brought us better tydinges, It needeth nat to recite our thanks to god and gladness naturally <congratulations> whereupon by mynde he thought mete to putt hym self in [y...] order to retourne, and see I trust with his eyes your desyred [amendences], which after by his lettres I loke he will participate vnto me that I may reioyse the more fully. Now / <as> for this tyme that he hath here taken pacience and borne his crosse in my company, if he hath nat formed his thoughts here to hiscountenances, <as might> have fallen furth in any other cuntrye then Spayne, I trust it hath wrought this good vnlo hym by tрайll of hardnes to know thee better what pleaseth of some is wourthie, for my part if in respect of the vowed good will that I have always borne towards your ladyship I could have declared extended farther, I wold have been and wilbe glad at all tymes to shew so muche I am yours / Requiring the same for that special confidence that <which> I putt in your friendship at nedes to help with your good wourd that I may have leave to name howe this next Spring to putt order in my disordered things as howe which by the death of my brother Thomas [fformesh] to whom I committed those order thereof in myne absence is as left utterly at large, to myne undoing, if the Quenes Majestie do nat graciously so consider it as I may be dispared withall to retorne for a tyme to putt a staye in my things at leeste for a two or three monethes to put a staye in my things / come easter next it shall just a yere and a haulf sins i last departed fourth of Ingland whereunto adding other vx monethes resumed in flanders, it is <willbe> two yeres and a haulf-the tyme spent in this Service <last> putt Servicec <We ambassades> besides so many yeres spent in former services as of very reason considering my case as it standith her highness ought to take <graunte me> leave to retourne aweswell to take a wife for children as to <pay my dettes and> sore my groundes and <which> p—to my grete losse for want of money afore hand, confirmed [...] in service of the prince, I amayne to leve unfurnished / the damages whereof I do hath beene greater to me, then More I tolke that any <a greate> reward will recompense But of theis matters it were such <silines> here to entreate further / moste humbly recommending my self and my case to your honores friendship, beseeching the same to meke my derest commendations and excuses to my good Lord Marquis / And wishing to your brother all glad and good things, for me with eyes to see and reioyse at home / From Madryd the xiiij of October 1562. 

14
83. SP 70/47 f.75 (stamped 76), Thomas Chaloner to Henry Cobham, 20 December 1562
Sir albeit for answer of <to> yor lettre of the xxvijth of october last which as apperith ye wrote sumwhat movid with myne unkyndness (as ye <thet> worried) I then wrote vnto yow the lettre enclosed to crave yow tunderstand my juste excuse So <yet> having sithens percevید by yor lettre of the xth of November belonging to> (as I allayes concevید of yor good nature) that yor said lettre proceded but of a freendly franknes as frendes ought eache to use to others, that I have thought mete now with my herty commendacions nat only to sendyow the <my> former lettre (which hitherto for fault of a sure Messenger I did retayne) but also this present for a wittnes of my freendly disposicion aways constant after oon sort vnto yo wourdes. Assuring yow that my <the> reasons alleged in myne excuses ar true and nat coulored / And where yow then concevید nat so well of my good will who pressed yow to haste home, and take the See passage, I trust by this time yowr owne experiences hath toght yow to confesse my foresight more then yor owne / For if yow had goone with Almeda yow had beene well dressed whose Mr dyed dae ever he arrived, and nowe as I here saye resethimself in ti oblie / And on another part the late narowe skape of my lady you Suster and in the [neck] therof of the Quenes Majestie <passed last dangerous sycknes> whose lief is the Raye of all our fuetues, may now at last endure yowr torde an old beaten freend who counselleth yow to plye the market whiles it lastid. But thus muche for this suffisith / I hertily praye yow to make my duest comendacions to my lord and lady Marquesse and to my lord and lady Cobbham, and to all the rest of your brethren, and Mr Kilgrew who which I am sory for as I understand hath broken his arme. If it please yow to write vnto me I woll acquite it every letter with an other. Thus at all tymes fare ye well. From Madred the xxth of December 1562.

84. RP, III, MCXIX, 630, Secret note by Christopher D’Assonleville, 23 May 1563
…[Bertie] est homme fort astuce, fin, double, avare et malicieux s’il y en a point un au monde. …Mesmement a voit tel, crédit que c’est luy qui a imposé ainsi à l’ambassadeur de Suède a l’induction de millord Robert et qui a fait plusieres pravtyves pleines de malices pour divertir ledit Roy de ce mariaige d’Angleterre, après que les despenses ont esté faictes…. la marquise de Nortanton, première dame d’honneur de la Royne aussi femme astuce…. Et fit-on simulant de chercer après luy en sa maison, et cependent estoit en Court en la chambre de ladite marquise. Et l’aon faict sortire du pays, non-seullement par congréi, mais aussi on lui a donné une licence de XV° libvres. Ledict secrétaire s’en est allé comme désespéré, voyant que l’on avoit esté circumvenu, disant tous les mauals du monde de ces gens. Qui plus est, quant un nommé le docteur Martin, médecin, son beau-frère, le faisoit chercer et demandoit en court d’arrest ses biens pour le droit de son crime, le duc de Nortfolck et le marquis de Nortanton, qui sont du Conseil privé, lui defendirent de le faire, et, sur ce que l’autre réplicqu’en il estoit fugitif, luy fut respondu que non et possible qu’il alloit par delà pour le service de la Royne et qu’il n’en dit mot. …

86. SP 70/70 f. 9 (stamped 5), Queen Elizabeth to Margaret, duchess of Parma, 4 April 1564
Treshaulte et tresexcellente Princesse. Treschere et tresaimée cousine affectueusement a vous nous recommandons. Combien que ne sommes ignorant de l’honorable consideration et esgard que par votre naturelle inclination avez envers chaque personne selon sa qualité et degré, et que nous doublons poinct que si notre treschere cousine la Marquise de Northampton dame digne pour pluomte respects d’estre aymée qui avec notre licence se transporte en ce pays bas, auront occasion vouc requerir de votre faveur,

3 I believe this is a working draft in the hand of Roger Ascham. A revised version is printed as Printed in RP, IV, MCCCLXX, 4-5.
my lady (my) Ladis Commandement yow write to me that she perceives by my letters that I have made a grant to my L. of Lowghborow, perhaps she was weke and could not take paynes to rede it, and her reder did make a lye of my letter and ment to doo me no good, for in dede I did write no sutch matter, nor I have made no sutch compacte as my lord yr master can tell, and where yow make a longe discourse for my ladis [parfitte], no man had or shall have more respecte for her than I, but perhaps they
may have more care to there private commodities then I have had. I am plesed the should have so I [rather] I praye desier my lady that she will not be so sorofull that my L. Cobham shoolde receive so much losse by the sorjaune, I woulde be sory that may be my meanes his L. should have disavantage in the parke. As for the purchasinge of the lande I have used yet, no bodis named mee will j medle any furder in yt, and where she saith that she toulde me that I might borowe money for yt purpose, her saving to me was that she woulde [gonge] the packe to whome I nede not write./ let not my lady be sory that I have delte so in <her> busines, but I have cause to crye ovte to her that she useth me so unjustly and if she dye I may saye that she hath doonne no body worse but me, and that [God] end my dayes a fore hers if any sai the wordle hath loved her better then I and hath had a more earnest will to please her, my ladis inconstancy to me hath disproved the common proverb of women, I was of opinion that nothing coulde have made her lesse to have loved me and being in extremitie to write un to me in this sort. Furder where write yow wryte that if I had soulde the woodd well, (you make me wookd to writte to me of a whooddly sale, I think I shallbe persuaded the to that I have never knowne;) she shoulde have had to a paide her dettes, and have have a bowrroed money to have purchased the londe, even if as she should purchesse yt for me, I woulde she thouwght better of my for she gave me any thinge / yow say that there as <is> no ale ca

94. RP, IV, MCCC, 58-61, Guzman de Silva to Margaret, duchess of Parma, 17 July 1564; a transcription of Archives de Simancas, Secret. De Estado. Leg. 817, fol. 60

...La marquesa de Noranton es tan faborida de la Reyna, como V. A. sabe, y hame tanto encarcedo la Reyna esto, que me ha obligando a visitarla, y assi lo he hecho, de que ha mostrado gran contentamiento: yo le dixe quanto le avia pesado a V. A. de que no uviese trทยo enteria salud de esa tierra, y de qu uviese estado tan poco que no se le uviese podido hazer mucho regalo, como V. A. avia deseado: ella muestra tanto agradecimiento del que V. A. le mando hazer, que se alaba mucho dello. Tambien me ha dicho que la Reyna escrivio a V. A. pour un cirujano. Toda la merced que se hiziere a la Marquesa merece su persona, y la Reyna lo estimara, en lo que es razon. Estando acavando de escrevir esta mañaña con el hordinario, rescebi las de V. A. de xij del presente, y grandissima merced con ellas, porque con lo que se deve endereçar, con tan Buena resolucion y advertencia: espero que los negocios han de tener muy buen expidiente, y assi se procurara, guardando la horden que V. A. manda. ...

95. RP, IV, MCCCVI, 67-72, Guzman de Silva to Margaret, duchess of Parma, 31 July 1564; a transcription of Archives de Simancas, Secret. De Estado. Leg. 817, f. 64

... La marquesa de Noranton me embio, dos dias ha, un solo grande bivo, que en esta tierra es cosa nueva porque no se toman en ella sino raras vezes. Yo le embie a la Reyna con que holgo mucho, y, con el que le embie, me embio a mandar que fuese oy adonde esta, y assi no escrivo cosa particular a Su Magestad. V. A., si uviere correo, mandara avisar de lo que parescrire.
La marques de Noranthon es muy favorida de esta Reyna, como V. A. sabe; yo he procurado grangear las voluntades de sus privados para tener mas ganada la de su ama, para que los negocios tengan mayor expediente: es persona de gran entendimiento y de quien la Reyna haze tanto caudal que entre Robert y ella no faltan algunas coxquilles, aunque no sigue a la Reyna por su enfermedad, pero entiendo que se osa tener con el de manera que esto y otras cosas que se pueden mas considerer que referir me haze dudar algunas veces de que el lugar de milort Roberto no sea tan desordenado como muchos publican, no siendo cosa nueva oyr mal los principios, aun sin dar occasion.

Antes que viniesse esta Reyna, fui a visitar a la Marquesa, y me dicho despiendome della que tenia un negocio de importancia que hablarme, que quedaria para otro dia, y, por la huella aqui de la Reyna, lo perdi por seis o siete dias, y asi a los xx deste, embie a saber de la indispsicion de la marquesa y si podria visitarla aquella tarde: embiome a dezir que rescribiria much contamiento dello, y fui por el agua a Usmestre adonde posa y halle a esta Reyna que desde la casa de San-Jaymes que ellos llaman, se avia pasado a comer con ella casi sola, y estava alli cuando embie a saber de la Marquesa, como despues entendi, y quisieron hazermene esta burla, teniendo secreto hasta que yo me vi con la Reyna de que ella rio mucho. Estuvo casi hasta la noche alii la Marquesa en su Camilla y la Reyna cabe ella. Lo mas que alli se trato, fueron euentos que la Reyna dixo y conversacion ordinaria, y siempre entremetiendo en platica algunos apuntamientos de casamiento pero leves; yo le dixe que hazia mal en traer subspenso el mundo, que se determinase. Riose y dixome que tenie que hablarme en nuestros negocios, y a la noche se bolvio a S'-Jaymes, por el parquet a pie, aunque le tenien alli en coche. Llevome assi en rato dizinede que un loco simple que yva alli le aconsejava siempre que no se casase en Alemania, porque era malos hombres, y no me hablo en otro negocio; mandome tornar porque bolviese por agua como avia venido. Luego otra dia me embio a dezir un secretario del Thresorero, que es catholico con otro su amigo y uno Ingles que tambien lo es, que la Marquesa le avia dicho que me dixese que ella avia passado con la Reyna muchas platica sobre material de casamiento y que, si yo le apuntase a hablar a la Reyna del Archiduque Carlos, que la parescia que era buena sazon, pidiendo me lo avisase con persona de quien el se fiase much, dandome harta esperanca, pero que era material que se devia tartar con gran secreto. Yo le respondi que tenia en mucho su aviso, mas que avia entendido que esto se avia tratado muy de versa, y que no se havia effectuado por falta de la Reyna y comenzado y dexado, y que, aunque yo uviera de hablar o intentar esto por algun medio, que no lo hiziera sin primero tener entendida alguna certenidad, pues movorse platica dexada sin gran fundamento parescia mucha inconsideracion mia, especialmente sin orden, ni saber en que estado tiene Carlos su negocio. Pareciese me advertir luego a Vuestre Alteza desto assi para que sepa lo que passa porque concierta con lo que tengo escrito en este particular en la mia ultima en que he tratado de la vista que esta Reyna quiere hazer al Emperador, y asi mismo para que, si V.A. tiene entendido algo desta material, memande avisar porque si uviese occasion, no se perdiere, o que es lo que devo hazer conforme a lo que desto entiende Su Magestad, pues antes de agora, como digo, se ha tratado.
Elisabetha fuit natura jure Cobama,
Coniugis et proprio nomine Parra fuit.
Forma, pudor, pietas, facunde gratia lingue,
Ingenuum, virtus, inviolata fides,
Cum gravitate lepos, cum simplicitate venustas,
Larga manus, pectus nobile, firmus amor,
Denihibus quicquid habet natura quod addere posit,
Addere quod posit, gratia quicquid habet,
Omnia vivem Parrem comitata fuerunt,
Omnia mors atrox obruit ista simul.
Obruiat ista licet tristi mors saeva sepuchro:
Attamen illorum fama superstes erst.

[On the death of Lady Elisabeth, Marchioness of Northampton]

Elisabeth was by natural right a Cobham,
She was by marriage and by her proper name a Parr.
Her figure, her modesty, her piety, the grace of her eloquent tongue,
Her charisma, her virtue, her immaculate fidelity,
Her wit matched with gravity, her comeliness with artlessness;
With always an open palm, a noble heart and steadfast love:
May whatever more could be brought to her inherent qualities
Be added by virtue of the grace she has.
All these were companions to the living Parr
Cruel death swept all these away at once.
It is possible that savage death may sweep away a sorry tomb
But the fame of those things will survive.}

---

* My thanks to Kate Malthy for the translation.
Appendix C: Kinship visualisations and historical moment diagrams

These diagrams are intended to be visual aids in keeping track of the complex and intertwined aristocratic and noble kinship networks that operated at the Tudor courts. Families are represented by particular colours and for continuity; individuals retain the colour of their natal family if represented in another diagram. Individuals take the colour of their dominant kin connection unless otherwise explained.

Colours are as follows:
The Cobham family
The Dudley family
The Grey-Brandon family
The Parr family
The Seymour family
Royalty/Tudor bloodline

In the Wyatt Rebellion, the Cobhams and their allies are represented in green and the officers of the Queen and their kin are in red.
In the Cobham-Cavendish kinship, dotted lines represent godchild/parent bonds.

fig. a - the Cobham family

fig. b - the Parr family
**fig. c - The Dudley Family**

![Dudley Family Tree]

- **John Dudley** m
- **Jane Guildford**
- **Anne Seymour** m
- **Edward Dudley**
- **Robert Dudley**
- **Henry Sidney** m
- **Mary Dudley**
- **Guildford Dudley** m
- **Jane Grey**

**fig. d - The Seymour family**

![Seymour Family Tree]

- **John Seymour** m
- **Margery Wentworth**
- **Anne Stanhope** m
- **Edward Seymour**
- **Thomas Seymour** m
- **Katherine Parr** 3 m
- **Henry VIII** 3 m
- **Jane Seymour**
- **Edward VI**

**fig. e - the Grey-Brandon family**

![Grey-Brandon Family Tree]

- **Katherine Willoughby** 1 m
- **Charles Brandon** 3 m
- **Mary Tudor**
- **Charles Brandon**
- **Henry Brandon**
- **Henry Grey** m
- **Frances Brandon**
- **Eleanor Brandon** m
- **Henry Clifford**
- **Guildford Dudley** m
- **Jane Grey**
- **Henry Herbert** 1 m
- **Catherine Grey** m
- **Edward Seymour**
- **Mary Grey**
- **Margaret Clifford**
**fig. f - the Cobham-Cavendish kinship connection**

![Cobham-Cavendish kinship connection diagram]

**fig. g - the Whitsun Weddings**

![Whitsun Weddings diagram]

**fig. h - the Wyatt Rebellion**

![Wyatt Rebellion diagram]
fig. i - the kinship connection between Elisabeth Parr and Elizabeth Tudor

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anne Boleyn</th>
<th>Thomas Heydon</th>
<th>William Boleyn</th>
<th>Margaret Butler</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dorothy Heydon</td>
<td>Thomas Brooke</td>
<td>Thomas Boleyn</td>
<td>Elizabeth Howard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Brooke Lord Cobham</td>
<td>Anne Bray</td>
<td>Anne Boleyn</td>
<td>Henry VIII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabet Cobham</td>
<td></td>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Geoffrey Boleyn m Anne Hoo
Appendix D: Biographies of key figures

This list is designed as a reference guide for key persons mentioned throughout this thesis. Men are listed by surname and cross-referenced by titles. Women are referenced by surname used most commonly within the thesis, be it married or maiden name, and cross-referenced by additional surnames and titles. These biographies are necessarily very brief; for additional information see individuals’ entries in the ODNB.7

Ascham, Roger (1514/15-1568) scholar, former tutor and Latin secretary to Queen Elizabeth.

Ashley, John (1507-1596) Steward and courtier to Elizabeth, married to Katherine.

Ashley, Katherine, née Champernowne (1502-1565) governess to Princess Elizabeth and later chief gentlewoman of the Queen’s privy chamber.

Bacon, Anne née Cooke (c. 1528-1610) humanist scholar and tutor to Edward VI, second wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon; one of the five celebrated Cooke sisters.

Beale, Robert (1541-1601) clerk of the privy council and diplomat.

Bertie, Francis (?)-aft. 1587) London merchant c. 1559, a contact of Elisabeth Parr and Robert Dudley, and one of Parr’s agents in the Low Countries c. 1564. In 1587 Bertie was working with William Brooke, Lord Cobham and William Cecil importing salt.

Bourchier, Anne, viscountess Bourchier, formerly Lady Parr - adulterous first wife of William Parr, Baron Kendal and earl of Essex. Daughter of Henry Bourchier, earl of Essex, friend and confidante of Mary Tudor.

Brandon, Charles, duke of Suffolk (c. 1484-1545) married Henry VIII’s sister Mary (his third wife), grandfather to the Grey sisters.

Brandon, Frances, see Grey, Frances.

Brandon, Katherine, duchess of Suffolk née Willioughby D’Eresby (1519-1580) Fourth wife of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. Katherine had two sons by Charles Brandon who both died on the same day of the sweat in 1551. She was step-mother of Frances Brandon, marchioness of Dorset and duchess of Suffolk, so step-grandmother of Ladies Jane and Catherine Grey. Close friend of Katherine and Elisabeth Parr, and guardian of Lady Mary Seymour. Katherine was a devout Protestant who left England during Mary’s reign to live in Geneva. Married Robert Bertie c. 1553 and bore him two children.

Bray, Dorothy later Dorothy Brydges, Lady Chandos. Elisabeth’s maternal aunt, mistress of William Parr, c. 1542.

Broadbelte, Dorothy (c. 1530-aft. 1589) female courtier of Elizabeth I.

Brooke, Anne, Lady Cobham née Bray mother of Elisabeth Parr.

Brooke, Elizabeth see Lady Wyatt.


Brooke, Frances, Lady Cobham née Newton (1539-1592) Elisabeth’s sister-in-law, wife of William Brooke, Lord Cobham and mother of six children including Elisabeth, the future wife of Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, Maximillian and Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham. She served in Elizabeth’s privy chamber and was a close friend and confidante of the Queen and Elizabeth Cavendish, later Elizabeth Talbot, countess of Shrewsbury, and was implicated in the Ridolfi plot as a confidante of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots.

Brooke, George, Lord Cobham (c. 1497-1558) eldest surviving son of Thomas Brooke and Dorothy Heydon and father of Elisabeth Cobham (later Parr). He was one of the leaders of Kent society, a JP, Lord Deputy of Calais, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and knight of the garter, amongst other titles. Imprisoned in the Tower for his role in the Wyatt rebellion.


The Carey family, descended from Mary Boleyn and her marriage to Sir William Carey.

Castiglione, Baldassare author of Il Libro del Cortegiano, first printed in Italy in 1528.

Cavendish, Catherine daughter of Sir William Cavendish by his first wife, married Thomas Cobham c. 1551, sister-in-law to Elisabeth.

Cavendish, Elizabeth (1527-1608) also known as Lady St Loe and Bess of Hardwick and Elizabeth Talbot, countess of Shrewsbury. Married four times and gave birth to eight children. The dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire are descended from her sons. Member of Queen Elizabeth’s privy chamber until she was dismissed over the wedding of Catherine Grey and Edward Seymour. Grandmother of Arbella Stuart.

Cavendish, Elizabeth (1555-1582) goddaughter of Elisabeth Parr and Catherine Grey. She married Charles Stuart, earl of Lennox and was the mother of Arbella Stuart.

Cavendish, William (1508-1557) administrator and financial expert. Elizabeth was his third wife. He began the building of Chatsworth House. He was appointed treasurer of the chamber but died in debt, accused of embezzlement. After his death his widow married William St Loe, captain of the Queen’s guard, and they petitioned the Queen over the debts in a famous case of law.

Cavendish, William (1551-1626) godson of Elisabeth Parr, later first earl of Devonshire.

Cecil, Anne (1556-1588) daughter of William and Mildred Cecil, sister of Robert Cecil, later earl of Salisbury so sister-in-law of Elizabeth Brooke. Later married acrimoniously to Edward de Vere, earl of Oxford.
Cecil, Mildred née Cooke (c. 1525-1589) daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, tutor to Edward VI and second wife to William Cecil. She had five children although only one, Robert, outlived her. She was very well educated and known to be influential.

Cecil, William, (1520-1598) was educated at Cambridge and became a privy councilor and secretary of state to Queen Elizabeth. He became Baron Burghley and lord treasurer, initiating many matters of policy.

Chaloner, Thomas (1521-1565) served in the household of Thomas Wyatt. He was educated at Cambridge, became clerk of the privy council and later Elizabeth’s ambassador to Germany, Flanders and Spain. He also served as a JP and MP. He is remembered for his Latin poetry.

Chamberlain, John (1553-1628) is known as a letter writer - thanks to an inheritance from his father and legacies from his brothers he never had to earn a living. He spent a lot of time in St Paul’s Cathedral - the best place to hear the news - and was appointed to a commission concerned with the repair of the Cathedral. 452 of his letters written to friend Dudley Carleton survive, along with 27 others, giving information about Elizabethan and Jacobean life.

Chamberlain, Thomas (c. 1504-1580) was a diplomat, serving as ambassador to the regent of the Netherlands and various other posts. Elisabeth Parr was godmother to one of his sons.

Clinton, Elizabeth née Fitzgerald (formerly Browne) later countess of Lincoln (1528-1589) - friend and confidante of Elisabeth and Elizabeth Tudor c.1548-1565. Correspondent of Nicholas Throckmorton and Thomas Chamberlain. Surrey’s ‘Fair Geraldine’, later a member of Queen Elizabeth’s household. Close friend/associate of Elisabeth Parr.

Cobham, Catherine sister of Elisabeth Parr. Married to John Jerningham, kinsman to Henry Jerningham, master of the horse for Queen Mary.

Cobham, Elisabeth see Parr, Elisabeth.

Cobham, George (1532-c. 1570) third son of George Brooke, Lord Cobham and Anne Bray. He was a rebel and spy. He served as Latin undersecretary to Mary Tudor's privy council and acted as a French intelligencer. Possibly the best educated of the Cobham brothers, he spent time in Germany, Italy and France and served as a gentleman of the privy chamber under Elizabeth. He married and had issue.

Cobham, Henry (1537-1592) preferred to be known as Cobham rather than Brooke. He served as a diplomat in France and Spain becoming resident ambassador in France. He was a JP, MP and deputy lieutenant for Kent but died heavily in debt. His son succeeded to the Baronetcy in default of the line of William Brooke, Lord Cobham. His daughter, Phillippa was the victim of a horrible crime - the murder of her two sons and her attempted murder by her husband. The tragedy was the subject matter of the play, A Yorkshire Tragedy, (1608) attributed to Thomas Middleton.

Cobham, Thomas (1533-1578) criminal and rebel. Married to Catherine Cavendish, Cobham was imprisoned in the Tower of London four times, twice sentenced to death for treason. He committed a murder in Blackfriars in 1557 and was charged with capturing the
Spanish ship, the St. Katherine, in 1564. He was reputed to have sewn 18 Spanish sailors into a sail and thrown them over board.

The Cooke sisters were the highly educated daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke and Anne Fitzwilliam.

Courtenay, Edward, earl of Devon (1526-1556) great grandson of Edward VI, he spent his early years in the household of Mary Tudor, dowager Queen of France. His father was suspected of plotting to marry his son to Princess Mary. In 1538 Edward was imprisoned in the Tower with his parents. His father was executed and Edward remained in the Tower for nearly 15 years, regarded as a serious dynastic threat. Edward was released by Mary when she came to the throne and his fortunes restored - many saw him as the obvious candidate as a husband for Mary. He was imprisoned again in 1554 but then sent overseas. His death was suspected of being caused by poison.

Cranmer, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury (1489-1556) graduated BA and MA from Cambridge and had to resign his fellowship of Jesus in order to marry for the second time. His wife and child died in childbirth - had they not, he would not have been able to be ordained. He is perhaps best known for negotiating ‘the King’s great matter’ - the annulment of Henry VIII’s marriage so that he could marry Anne Boleyn. He wrote and compiled the Book of Common Prayer. Elisabeth’s uncle, Thomas Brooke was a page in the Archbishop’s household and married his niece, Susan. They had a son named Cranmer Brooke.

Dee, John (1527-1608/9) was a mathematician, theologian and astronomer, as well as tutor and adviser to Queen Elizabeth. He was an associate of Elisabeth Parr and Robert Dudley. After Elisabeth’s death he continued to associate with her family through Frances Brooke, Lady Cobham, who was godmother to one of his children.

Denny, Anthony (1501-1549) was a confidant of Henry VIII and the most prominent member of the privy chamber in Henry’s last years.

Denny, Joan née Champernowne (d. 1553) was sister to Katherine Ashley and close friend of Katherine Parr. Married Anthony Denny.

Dudley, Guildford (ex. 1554) consort of Queen Jane. Fourth son of the duke and duchess of Northumberland.

Dudley, Jane née Guildford, countess of Warwick and duchess of Northumberland (1508/9-1555) served as lady-in-waiting at the court of Henry VIII’s court and was a close friend of Katherine Parr. She was the mother-in-law of Lady Jane Grey.

Dudley, John, earl of Warwick and duke of Northumberland (1504-ex. 1553) was at one time the most powerful man in England, leading the government of Edward VI. He was behind the plot to put Lady Jane Grey on the throne.

Dudley, Mary see Sidney, Mary

Dudley, Robert, earl of Leicester (1532/3-1588) was close friend and confidant of Queen Elizabeth I and long time suitor for her hand in marriage.

Edward VI, King of England (1537-1553, acc. 1547).
Elderton, William (pre./c.1530-1592) prolific English ballad writer.

Elizabeth I, Queen of England (1533-1603, acc. 1558).

Erik XIV, King of Sweden (1533-1577).

Ferdinand I, Holy Roman Emperor (1503-1564).

Grey, Catherine (1540-1568) younger sister to Lady Jane and a potential claimant to the throne. Married to Henry Herbert in 1553, but that marriage was annulled. She angered the Queen by her secret marriage to Edward Seymour and was imprisoned in the Tower, where she bore two sons, until her death.

Grey, Frances née Brandon, marchioness of Dorset and duchess of Suffolk (1517-1559) was the daughter of Henry VIII’s sister Mary and Charles Brandon. She renounced her claim to the throne in favour of her daughter, Jane.

Grey, Henry, marquess of Dorset and duke of Suffolk (1517-1554) was a prominent nobleman who conspired to have his daughter Jane marry Edward VI. He was executed for treason for his part in Sir Thomas Wyatt’s plot to overthrow Mary I and replace her with his daughter, Jane.

Grey, Jane, Queen of England (1537-ex. 1554) - eldest daughter and heiress of the Greys, duke and duchess of Suffolk, wife of Guildford Dudley so sister-in-law of Mary Sidney and Robert Dudley and daughter-in-law of the duke and duchess of Northumberland. Nominated by Edward VI as heiress of England through his Device for the Succession, acceded to the throne and reigned for nine days in July 1553. Executed by Mary I following the Wyatt Rebellion in February 1554.

Gyllenstierna, Nils (1526-1601) chancellor of Sweden and resident Swedish ambassador to the English court, c. 1561-1562.

Haddon, Walter (1515-1572) English civil lawyer, humanist and reformer.

Henry VIII, King of England, Wales and Ireland (1491-1547).

Herbert, Anne née Parr, countess of Pembroke (1515-1552) was the younger sister of Katherine Parr and lady-in-waiting to each of Henry VIII’s wives. Sister of William Parr, so sister-in-law of Elisabeth. Married to William Herbert, later earl of Pembroke and ancestress of the present earls of Pembroke.

Herbert, Henry, earl of Pembroke (1539-1601) eldest son and heir of Anne Parr and William Herbert, nephew of Elisabeth Parr. Married to Catherine Grey in the Whitsun Weddings of 1553 although this was later annulled.


Hoby, Philip (1505-1558) English ambassador to the Holy Roman Empire and Flanders.
Hoby, Thomas (1530-1566) courtier and diplomat. Translator of The Book of the Courtyer. Married Elizabeth née Cooke, sister of Mildred and Anne. Died on embassy in Paris in 1566 while Elizabeth was pregnant with a son, named Thomas Posthumous Hoby.

The Howard family is a British noble family which has played a prominent role in much of British history. The line includes the dukedom of Norfolk as well as the earldoms of Norfolk, Arundel and Surrey. Catherine Howard became Henry VIII’s fifth wife and her uncle Thomas Howard was prominent in Henrician politics. Anne Boleyn was also a Howard, and through her mother the Howards were kin to the Cobhams.

Jane, Queen of England, see Grey, Jane.

John III, Duke of Finland, later King of Sweden (1556-1563) godfather to John Chamberlain in 1559 when Elisabeth Parr was godmother.

Knollys, Catherine née Carey (1524-1569) first cousin of Queen Elizabeth through Mary Boleyn and kin to Elisabeth Parr. Beneficiary of Parr’s bequests c. 1565.

Knollys, Elizabeth (1549-1605) daughter of Catherine and Francis Knollys, maid of honour to Queen Elizabeth and beneficiary of Elisabeth Parr’s bequests, c. 1565.

Knollys, Francis (1514-1596) Elizabethan privy councilor, married to Catherine née Carey.

Margaret, duchess of Parma (1522-1587) governor of the Netherlands.

Mary, Queen of England (1516-1558).

Newton, Frances see Brooke, Frances, Lady Cobham.

Newton, Jane, sister of Frances, Lady Cobham, sister-in-law and long serving attendant of Elisabeth Parr.

Northampton, marquess and marchioness of, see Parr, Elisabeth and Parr, William.

Parr, Anne see Herbert, Anne.

Parr, Elisabeth née Cobham, countess of Essex and marchioness of Northampton (1526-1565).


Parr, William, earl of Essex and marquess of Northampton (1513-1571) Privy councillor to Henry VIII, Edward VI and Elizabeth I. Husband of Elisabeth.

Pembroke, Earl and Countess, see Herbert, Anne and Herbert, William.
Philip II, King of Spain and consort of England (1527-1598).

Seres, William (d. 1579?) an English printer specialising in religious works. Established in partnership with John Day and served in the household of William Cecil in the 1550s/1560s.


Seymour, Edward, earl of Hertford and duke of Somerset (c. 1500-ex. 1552) brother-in-law of Henry VIII through his marriage to Jane Seymour, Lord Protector of England 1547-1549. Executed for treason.

Seymour, Mary (1548-c. 1550?) daughter of Katherine Parr and Thomas Seymour, so niece of the Northamptons, the Pembrokes and the Somersets. Ward of Katherine Brandon, duchess of Suffolk, and cousin of Edward VI.

Seymour, Thomas, Baron Seymour of Sudeley (1509-1549) brother to Jane Seymour and husband of Katherine Parr. He was executed for treason leaving a daughter, Mary.

Sidney, Mary née Dudley (1561-1621) eldest daughter of the duke and duchess of Northumberland, sister of Queen Elizabeth’s favourite, Robert Dudley and one of Elizabeth’s female agents in her early marriage negotiations. Married to Sir Henry Sidney, mother of the poets Mary Herbert née Sidney, countess of Pembroke and Sir Philip Sidney. One of the first English women to have a reputation for her literary works and patronage.

Sudeley, Baron Seymour of, see Seymour, Thomas.

Suffolk, duchess of, see Brandon, Katherine.

Suffolk, duke of, see Brandon, Charles.

Throckmorton, Anne née Carew (1520-1587) wife of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton so cousin by marriage of the Parrs. Friend and confidante and beneficiary of Elisabeth Parr. Contact of Mary, Queen of Scots (when also Queen of France).

Throckmorton, Nicholas (1515-1571) privy councilor and resident Elizabethan ambassador in Paris, c. 1559-1565. Cousin and correspondent of William and Katherine Parr. His daughter, Elizabeth (Bess) became a favourite of Queen Elizabeth and married Walter Raleigh.

Udall, Nicholas (1504-1556) English playwright and cleric.

Willoughby, Katherine see Brandon, Katherine.

Wyatt, Thomas (1503-1542) courtier, poet and diplomat. Rumoured lover of Anne Boleyn, Queen consort of Henry VIII. Uncle of Elisabeth Parr through his marriage to Elizabeth née Brooke, sister of George Brooke, Lord Cobham.
Wyatt, Thomas (the younger) (1521-ex. 1554) son of the poet Sir Thomas Wyatt and Elizabeth Brooke, cousin of Elisabeth Parr and the Cobham sons.
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