

‘All wemen in thar degree shuld to thar men subiectit 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.
2. *The Chronicle of King Henry VIII. Of England. Being a contemporary record of some of the principal events of the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI written in Spanish by an unknown hand*, trans. and ed. Martin A. Sharp Hume, (London: George Bell and Sons, 1889) pp. 137-139. [ref. 1543].
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.
12. CPR I, Edward VI pt. 1 [roll 799] vol. 1, 19 April 1547.
13. CPR I, Edward VI pt. 1 [roll. 799] vol. 1 [July 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.
16. CP 150/122, The Deposition of William Parr, marquess of Northampton relating to Thomas Seymour, Lord Sudeley, ? February 1549.
17. CPR I, Edward VI pt. 1 [roll 799] vol. 3 [1549-1551]. 6 March 1550.
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?]
21. Thomas Hoby, *The Life and Travails of Sir Thomas Hoby, Kt of Bisham Abbey, written by himself: 1547-1564*, ed. by Edgar Powell, Camden, Third Series, vol. IV, (London: Royal Historical Society, 1902) [ref. 1551/2].
22. STC 4778, Balthazar Castiglione, *The Courtier of Covnt Baldessar Castilio*, trans. by Thomas Hoby (London: William Seres, 1561) [ref. 1551/2].
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

28. William Cavendish to John Thynne, December 1551 printed in Arthur C. Collins, *Historical Collections of the Noble Families of Cavendish* (Withers, 1752).
29. *The Diary of Henry Machyn* ed. John Gough Nichols (London: Camden Society, 1848).
30. SP 10/14 f.82 John, duke of Northumberland to William Cecil, 31 May 1552.
31. TNA E101/520/9, *Money received and desrayed by occasion of the affairs of the Marquiss of Northampton.*
32. *CPR I Edward VI pt. 1* [roll 799] vol. V [1553] 18 March 1553, p. 272.
33. BL Royal MS 8 C XXIV, ff. 340v, 363v, Warrant for apparel for the Whitsun Weddings, April 1553.
34. *CSP Span. 1553, Jehan Schenfye to Charles V, 12 May 1553.*
35. *The chronicle of Queen Jane and the first two years of Queen Mary*, ed. John Gough Nichols, [ref. 1553/4].
36. *CSP Span., 1553*, the Ambassadors to Emperor Charles V, 24 July 1553.
37. *CSP Span., 1553*, the Ambassadors to Emperor Charles V, 27 July 1553.
38. *CSP Span., 1553*, the Ambassadors to Emperor Charles V, 27 August 1553.
39. 1. Mar. Session 2, Private Act of Parliament ref. the Marquess of Northampton's marriage confirmation, repealed, c. 12, 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.
47. Aff. Etr., XIII, f. 193, François de Noailles to Montmorency, 28 April 1557, *Dispatches of Antoine, François, and Gilles de Noailles, 1553-1561, Archives du ministère des affaires étrangères, Paris, France. Correspondance politique, Angleterre, Vols. IX-XX.*
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.
50. *The Hever Manuscript Hours*, f. 37v (and f. 39v).
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, Debtes owing by *the* Quene, 27 February 1561.
59. *CSP Span. 1558-1567*, p. 214, Bishop de Quadra to Phillip II of Spain, 13 September 1561.
60. *CPR 3 Elizabeth Part II*, 973, p. 172, License to George Bowes, 17 September 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 Quenes 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 Gyllenstierna to William Cecil, 9 November 1562.
82. SP 70/44 f. 113 (stamped 106), Nils Gyllenstierna 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, MCXIX, 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 recommandation 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.
93. *Autobiographical Tracts of Dr. John Dee, Warden of the College of Manchester*, ed. James Crossley (London: The Cheethan Society, 1851) pp. 10, 12, 22 [ref. 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].
99. CP 3/69-71, Inventory and bequests of Elisabeth Parr, marchioness of Northampton, 31 March 1565.
100. CP 163/136, Gifts by the Eliz. Brooke, Lady Norten, [1585?] (a miscatalogued fair copy of the above).
101. SP 12/36 f. ? (stamped 58-60), Funeral accounts of Elisabeth Parr, marchioness of Northampton, 31 March 1565.
102. SP 12/36 f. ? (stamped 62-3), Accounts of the debts at death of Elisabeth Parr, marchioness of Northampton, 31 March 1565.
103. SP 12/36 f. ? (stamped 144-145), The note of Sutche Jewells as were sent in to Flaunders 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.
105. SP 12/37 f. ? (stamped 145), Elisabeth Parr, marchioness of Northampton's land income at death ref. lands in Essex, York, Westmorland and Lancashire, 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).
107. STC 12597, sig. Kiii, *Poematum Gualteri Haddoni, Legum Doctoris, Sparsim Collectorum, Libri Duo*, ed. Thomas Hatcher (London: William Seres, 1576).
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 Northampton¹

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 Albart, 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] gouvernent 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 aucung sieurs en eut xxvi, et en une autre [table] la auprex xxxv...Elle est belle jesusne fille et a assez experit pour si elle lentreprenoit 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* maystres elisabeth at the courte one thursday last I talked *wit 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 mystres elisebeth doynge that was to be mysse liked.

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* excellent Majestie *your* true obediente subiecte and servaunte William Parr Markquasse of Northampton that whearas *your* said servaunte once to the greate decaye of his prosperose fortune married to the Ladie Anne Bowsar for her hainoswe abhominacion of frequente and vile adulterie as well evidentlie knowen <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 inquisition provid testified and recordid by one acte of *parliament* statued 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 bye an other solepnized perfecte Judgement in the enclesiasticall 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* ffirst howe conveniente and reuisite it were for the honore of god to be entreated and angraveted in *your* said servaunte in *whom* as in all other his childern he requirethe a pure and undefiled liffe and for the succession and maintenauce of the blood and name of *your* said servaunte wheareof at this presente nowe is in live of any proximatee in that *your* said servante might have the godlie remedye of mariage bothe to the highe pleasure of god the tenderinge and performance where *your servaunte* moste [busane] sekethe Anne to the [...] *your servante* whilste he livethe might have sende naturalle 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 kinges highnesse *your* moste prudent and godlie father worthieste of fame and memorie / Partlie upon a lowlie sute made to his grace by *your servante* not Longe before his departure and upon his petteifulle consideracion of *your servantes* estate made so unfortunate by the unsatiabie adulterie of the said Layde, But most of all upon his highe proudente consideracion that if she sholde againe be ioyned in mariage *with* him her manyfolde vile adulteries alredie committid and consequentlie the contamination therein sholde decaye *your servantes* honour whose deservation *your* said servante in his soveraigne Lordes [soerms] Dailie ~~desaith~~ <desarethe> and that ~~his~~ <her> Longe fastrated obstinatie, not *withstandinge* sondrie har dissimulations / hadalienated altered yea uprooted all inclinacion of *your servantes* favor *without* the expectation of any motion towarde her againe / Was purposed intended and gracifelye promised bothe for the consederacions above said and diverse mane other to depute appointe and ordaine by his highnes comission diverse godlye lerned man to deride debate and sufficiently in charitie determine whether *your* said servante upon all and everie the circumstances of his onely particular cause the maner state forme qualite and condition of bothe the particular parties onelie pondered and considered / *without* determination of any generall cause / might ~~from~~ *without* the offence of god for thadvoydinge of unlawfull lyve wheraunto all fleshe as prove and the procreation of childerne *which* he necessarelye requirethe take to his wiffe in the liffe of the said Lady thadventeresse anye other Ladie or gentilwoman unmarried and lefull to take husbände / And for as miche as it pleased almightie god by the misterie of his wisdom after the gloriose godlye and famose artes of ovr soveraigne Lorde and Kinge *your* highnes dere beloved father marvelouslye bye fame in truthe dispersed, to call his hignes to the *participacion* of his eternall glorie whearebye the in tente and graciose purpose of the same Kinge in this *your* servants cawse 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 cownsellors and *personages* nowe of *your* graces honorable *counsell* *your* said most humble servante further suppliethe and besechethe *your* excellent grace in the consideracion of all the *promisses* and for thaccomplishinge of *your* dere werdie beloved father Kinge henry theightes *gracius* r[.]eld perpose and erneste intente towardes this *your servantes* cawse that in likewise *your* grace will as in honor and royall dignite succede *your* highnesse father so also in charitable favour and honorable benifettinge *your servante* havinge greate nede of the same and grawnte *your* highnesse *lettres* of comission to siche nombre of persons lerned in the lawe and worde of god as *your* highnesse by advise of *your* honorable cownsell shall thinke meate for the examination debatinge *and* decidinge of the *your* servants onely one particular private cuase then therebye authorisinge after hearinge of the parties and delayberatenge debatinge of the whole wyll [... ..]itnelye to determine whate the law of god will and *permitteth* [... ..] *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 wisdom 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 whome *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 subiectes *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

... Upon sundry *informacions* brought to the *lord Protectors* gr[ace] 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 aggreved 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 obiected 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 cuntroverted 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 Marquis 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 ciphared]

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 Majesty's 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 mucche as to lend m x l pond, as spedely as yow kan, and you shallbe repayed at ester at the furdest, deny me not thys my request as you frynd me, and I shall not only hereby pay you but be mucche thankefull <to you> for dooyng me so good and great plesur, scrybell hastely

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 Mares grasse from Saynt [John's] and through Flettstrett unto the kyng at Westmynster, with a grett nombur of lords and knyghtes, and alle the [great] women lades, the duches of Suffoke and Northumberland, my lade marqwes of Northamptun, and lade marqwes of Wynchester, and the contes of Bedfford, and the contes of Shrowsbere, and the contes of Arundelle, my lade Clynton, my lade Browne and Browne [sic], and many mo lades and gentyllwomen; and at the oter gatt ther mett her my lord of Suffoke and my lord of Northumberland, my lord of Wynchester, 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 gentyllmen, and so up unto the chambur of pressens, and ther the Kynges grace mett her and salutyd her.³

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 Somersete as appeareth by the same etc ... A warr. to Andrew Dudley knight to deliver to the lady Fraunces Duches 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 doughter 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 welbelovid we grete you well. And wheras the late marques of Northampton made a graunte unto Elizabeth Cobham of certeyn landes which upon tatteyder 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 *servauntes* 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 indempnitie of our sayd *servauntes* to will and requyre <you> to call the sayde Elizabeth before you to compoude *with* her for assuraunce to be made unto them of their severall grauntes thus *proceeding* from us as aforsayd; appoynteng unto her therefore such reasonable *pencion* as by *your* discrecion 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 embiar á Vuestra Magestad á Milord Cobam que es hijo del otro Milord Cobham que Vuestra Magestad conocio, el qual murio poco ha, no me dixerón nada hasta que me embio á dezir el Secretario Sisel que iba este y que le avian mandado que viniessse primero á darne cuenta de su ida, y assi lo hizo ayer tarde, que no es de mas sustancia que visitor á Vuestra Magestad y dale razon de lo sucedido en forma ordinaria. Este no tiene officio 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 embiar 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 welbiloved 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 thonour he is now of sones called unto./ We have resolved to allot unto him for some relief / towards his charge certeyn landes of the ~~value~~ < > of fyve hundreth poundes by yere in forme as / hereafter followeth, that is to say Two hundreth poundes of suche landes as were before tyme/ assured by him to the Ladie Marques by the name of Elizabeth Cobham dawghter to the Lord / Cobham, <now deceased> and Three hundreth poundes of suche other landes as were ~~formelie~~ <before tyme> the said <lord> marquesses / in the time of myne said <dear> brother, To have hold and enioye ffower hundreth poundes Wherof ~~to~~< > him and the / heires masles of his bodie lawfullie begotten, and the ~~tyme~~ One hundreth / poundes <> residence of the said ffyce hundreth poundes 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.

owt, *fayre* / written in *parchment* conteyning a graunt from vs of the *promisses* and
adresse / the same vnto us / vnder *your* handes, to thintent we may procede to the
signature therof for thassurance of it to *our* / said Cosen accordingle And thes our *lettres*
shalbe *your* sufficient warrant and discharge in / this behalf. Yeven vnder our Signet at our
Palace of westminster the ffirst day of / Novembre in the first yere of our Reyne.⁴

**66. SP70/38 f. 262 (stamped 219), Thomas Chaloner to Elisabeth Parr, Marchioness
of Northampton, 26 June 1562**

I do confesse my self Madame muche blame wourthie for that I of all this while I have
written nothing unto *you*. Nowe when I wourst may, being syke of an Ague Terцианд I
shall pray youwre Ladiship to accepte theis rude lynes in good *parte*. Considering howe the
last *lettres* that I received from my brother Frauncis Chaloner declaring amongst other
matters what honorable demonstracion it pleased *your* Ladiship to make of *your* good
opinion of me / hathe moved me of duety to yeld *you* my bounden thanks for the same -
I do *perceive* that my said brother upon a litle score that I gave him to fele thinclynacion of
a certayne gentilwoman now I here saye alady, in acertaine case nat unknowen 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~~ 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 connsail from one to an other of the Connsaileresses at last some oone
or other telle~~s~~ tales owte of the Counseil chambre with alwayes apece 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 Cobbhame at his retorne canne
tell *you* for I told it him and wrote it in aboke ymmediatly, I did almost divine afore the
lettres came what the event shuld be. For me thought I sawe the *partye* going from the
privey Chamber towards the Chapell very *fayre* trymmed with a grete number of ladies
following her. And that I also was very trymme 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
~~rehent~~<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 tawnye garmentes pleased 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 lykinges as mens also or but private to them selves where xxtie to oone *perchance*
wold nat chose the like. So god spede the plowghe and send the likers lyking 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 tyme. I wold ~~to god~~ it wold please
the Quenis *Majestie* 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 thoughe
therewas no cawse but that I ~~might~~ also <might> thinke she was no gyrlle, but this *lettre* is
to longe all of tryfles So good Madame withe my humblest comendacions to *your* Ladiship
and by *you* to my very good .L. my L. *marques* my L. Cobbhame 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 *yowr* handes; but also through *yowr* meanes diviers atherways. I geve yow moost hartlie thankses for it. Praing yow to contynue 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 allwayes find me redy. So to that ende, upon occasion, ye may be bold temploye mee thus *with* my very hartly commendacions I bidd yow fare Well From Grenewich 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 thankses by thes lynes of my vnlegebell hand, as one that wyshyng I could make sune requytans for the great fryndshyp my goodly brother harry hathe founde in you, whych beyng showeyd in asstrange land ys more worthy thankses 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 doynge merretyng. Thys requestyng you to bear *with* 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 connote of thankses~~ in the <last> packett sent me by my servaunt I found <resevid> a ~~lettre to me~~ wrytten with *yowr* Ladishippes owne hand conteyning matters of thankses for that which in respect of my bond of ~~duety~~ towards *yowr* honour I cannot but <my> duetye and <of> the good will <that alwayes> I have ~~alwayes~~ borne to *Master* henry Cobbham *yowr* brother nomore but offere of Friendship and benevolence of oon frende 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 feyre peece of grounde> ~~euntrey~~, ~~that~~ which nowe can rightly proye ~~which~~ <that> hath nat comparid others *with* it, to be visited with so curteyes a letter from suche a Ladyes 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 shortleye unto Flaunders I am lyke to remayne here for wright and fashon sing few well take pity of a ~~wyl~~ wyvelesse 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 lyving god hath sent me, it were tyme for me now to widde and lose no more tyme where on thother 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 sould the same with ~~stockes~~ of cattall of myne owne I dare well affirme

As of late it hath fallen furth by your Lordshippes cuntrey woman the mother now of so many children the furst 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 aboute 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 then continew it still as a frende that wissheth all contentacion and good adventure yf it lyke her so to thinke of me, howsoever others told her I wold be so crabbed an husbände. But I trust my next wyef shall aunswer for me that I was slawndered wrongfully. I long sore to be at home./ This country as your .L. knoweth is not the pleasantest. then agayne myne absence from home at this present puttes me to extreme hinderaunce. I shall crave of your .L. the ayde ye may further for my revocacion. And so for this present wth my duest commendacions to the same and my good ladie Cobbham I make an ende committing you both to god and good fortune. From Madryd the xiiijth 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> ~~sooner~~ then a good / What greif the reoport hither written of *your* dangerous sycknes did minister here to me and *Master* Henry Cobbham your brother I shall nat nede to enlarge' / 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 tydings, It needeth nat to recite our thanks to god and gladness ~~natural~~ <congratulations> whereupon ~~by myne~~ 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, ~~ep~~ ~~as~~ <as might> have fallen further in any other cuntrey then Spayne, I trust it hath wrought this good vnto hym by tryall of hardnesse 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* freendship 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 whome I committed those order thereof in myne absence ~~is~~ as left utterly at large, to myne undoing, if the Quenes Maiestie 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 monthes to putt a staye in my thinges~~ / come easter next it shall just a yere and a haulf sins i last departed fourth of England whereunto adding other vx monethes resumed in flanders, it ~~is~~ <willbe> two yeres and a haulf—the tyme spent in this *Servyce* <last> putt *servyce*—<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 aswell 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 am fayne to leve unfurnished / the damages whereof I ~~do~~ hath-been greater to me, then ~~More~~ ~~loke~~ ~~that~~ ~~any~~ <a greate> reward will recompense But of this 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 commendacions 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 Madrid the xiiij of October 1562

83. SP 70/47 f.75 (stamped 76), Thomas Chaloner to Henry Cobham, 20 December 1562

Sir albeit for aunswer ~~of~~ <to> *yor lettre* of the xxviiith 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 iuste excuse ~~So~~ <yet> having sithens percevid <by *yor lettre* of the xth of November belonging to> (~~as I allwayes conceivid of *yor good nature*~~) that *yor* said *lettre* proceded but of a freendly franknes as freendes ought eache to use to others, ~~that~~ I have thought mete now with my herty commendacions nat only to send *yow* ~~the~~ <my> former *lettre* (which hitherto for fault of a sure Messenger I did retayne) but also this *present* for a witnes of my freendly disposicion alwayes constant atfer oon sort vnto yo wourdes. Assurring *yow* that ~~my~~ <the> reasons alleged in myne excuses ar true and nat coulored / And where you then concevid nat so well of my good will who pressed *yow* to haste home, and take the See passage, I trust by this time *your* owne experiences hath towght *yow* to confesse my foresight more then *yor* owne / For if *yow* had goone ~~with~~ Almeda *yow* had been well dressed whose Mr dyed dae ever he arrivid, and nowe as I here saye resideth himself in ti oblie / And on thother part the late narowe skape of my lady *your* Suster and in the [neck] therof ~~of~~ the Quenes *Majestie* <passed ~~last~~ dangerous ~~syeknes~~> whose lief is the Raye of all our fuetues, may now at last enduce *yow* to redite an old beaten freend who counseilled *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 Kiligrew who which I am sory for as I vnderstand 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 faict plussieres practivyes pleines de malices pour divertir ledit Roy de ce mariage 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 samblant de chercher après luy en sa maison, et cependent estoit en Court en la chambre de ladicte marquise. Et l'a-on faict sortire du pays, non-seullement par congrié, mais aussi on lui a donné une licence de XV^c libvres. Ledit secrétaire s'en est allé comme désespéré, voyant que l'on avoit esté circumvenu, disant tous les maulx du monde de ces gens. Qui plus est, quant un nommé le docteur Martin, médecin, son beau-frère, le faisoit chercher 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 deffendirent de le faire, et, sur ce que l'autre répliqua qu'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 1564⁵

Treshaulte et tresexcellente Princesse. Treschere et tresaimée cousine affectueusement a vous nous recommandons. Combien que ne sommes ignorante de l'honorable consideration et esgard que par *vostre* naturelle inclination avez envers *chaune* personne selon sa qualite et degré, et que ne doubtons point que si *nostre* treschere cousine la Marquise de Northampton ~~dame digne pour plussime respectes d'estre aimée~~ qui avec *nostre* licence se transporte en ce pays bas, auroit occasion vouc requerir de *vostre* faveur,

⁵ I believe this is a working draft in the hand of Roger Ascham. A revised version is printed as Printed in RP, IV, MCCLXX, 4-5.

elle ne la trouveroit preste: Toutesfois d'autant que sa personne et mesmore la cause de son voyage vous sont incogneues. Il nous a semble bon vous advertir [.....] <par ces partes que pour lavoire des long temps congneue *pour* tresont [vertueuse dame] nous layons estimee digne de *nostre* singuliere amour et *faveur* et la tenir en premier rang entre autres dames *et*> nous nous reputerons pour tant plus tenue avous, si oultre la faveur dont vous usez envers personnaiges de sa qualite et degree. Veuillez pour l'amour de nous [....], avoir durant le temps qu'elle se trouvera par dela, tant sa personne que tous ceulx qui seront de sa suite en *vostre* protection especialle. La vraye cause de sone aller pardela s'est fondée sure une opinion qu'elle a conceue de ne se pouvoir jamais guerir d'une griefve et longue maladie qui de longue main luy est venue dans une de ses mammelles, en aultre lieu qu'en ces pays la. Et combien que ne voudrions (ayant consideration tant de sa qualite que de la foiblesse de sa personne) qu'elle se deust absenter de *nostre* presence et se hazarder en si long et dur voyage, comme est le passage de la mer, et que ayons use de toutes le persuasion a nous possible *pour* la destourner de son opinion et desir, et mesmes envoye pardela *pour* gens experts en medicine qui la pourroient guerir: Toutteffois elle persiste tellement en *sadicte* opinion, que a la fin nous, vaineue par sa continuelle instance a nous faicte, avons este contente deluy consentir sondict desir et donner *nostre* licence de se transporter jusques la, En soublaitant qu'elle y puist recevoir autant de confort et bien au guerissement de sa maladie, comme elle espere d'y trouver / Et pour ce que jusques a ce qu'elle se trouvera pardela l'on ne scait en quelle ville ou lieu ses mediciens luy conseilleront de resider: Nous vous prions affectueusement (treschere et tresaymee Cousine) que la vuelliez avour tellement *pour* recommandee, que en quelque lieu ou elle fera sa demeure, elle y puist, avecques sa commodite, trouver *faveur* et bon et honneste traitement. En quoy nous ferez tresgrand plaisir que voulous tresvoluntiers recognoistre quand occasion se presentera Comme scait le *Createur* auquel. (treshaulte et tresexcellente Princesse treschere et tresamée cousine) prions quil vous ait toujours en sa tresdigne et sainte garde. Escript a *nostre* chasteau de Wyndsor le *quartriesme* jour D'avril 1564

87. SP 12/33 [f. 61] (stamped 128), WBLC to WC, 12 April 1564

We aryvyd heare on wensdaye Laste, wher by the way they depvtye of [our natyon] dyde myet my Ladye marquys accompenyd *with* thoes ffew marchayntes that wer heare. Then cam also a nomber of Italianes of owr aquaynttaynnes *with* dyvers others to bryng us into they toone. Seynces owr beyng heare my Ladye marquys has had the phecytyanes and Sorgeynes *with* herre of thys town, as yet they agre not of the curyng of her breste. *With* yn thyes too dayes, they wyll delver up ther opinionones in wrytyng et modum curandi.

88. SP 12/33 [f. ?] (stamped 140), WBLC to WC, 22 April 1564

Now of latte wheyne verye commplynttes be mayde at brusselles they Lordes mack small accomte of yt, wylllyng theym, that yf they lesse let theym trafficke no more / wyche ys done to this effect to aggravate they pepell[es] myndes ageynste us, that wheyn tyme shayll sarve they maye fynde them redye for ther purpose,/ so that now they Inglysshe name begynes to be odios unto theym, whyche was wont to be in most honor / now whether yt be necessarye that marchaynttes causys a shaylte amonge them [...] be endyd [so] for oone member of they *common* welthe to towche they halle be ye, I leave yt to yow to Juge.

91. CP3/38, 296, Henry Cobham to Thomas Middleton, 11 May 1564

Thomas midleton wheresoby <my> Ladis Commaundement yow write to me that she perceves by my letters that I have made a graunt 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 shooulde receve so much losse by the sorjaune, I woolde be sory that may be my meanes his L. should have disavauntage 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 was enformed by her where I might borowe money for yt purpose, her saving to me was that she woolde [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 covlde have made her lesse to have loved me and being in extremitie to write un to me in this sort. Furder where ~~writ~~yow wryte that if I had sould the woodd well, (you make me woold to writte to me of a whooddly sale, I think I shallbe ~~persuaded~~ ~~the~~ to that I have never knowne;) she shooulde have had to a paide her dettes, and have ~~have~~ a bowrroed money to have purchased the londe, ~~ex~~if as she should purchesse yt for me, I woulde she thougth better of my for she gave me any thinge / yow say that there as <is> no ale ~~camme~~ thether I sent of late a tonne of ale by Aryan Capell shipper of andwarpe my lady yow sayd is discontented that she had so mutch bere sent, the coste of the carriage was more then they profitted she might have had lesse if it had pleased <her>; but if she ment <for> that lord went ~~with~~ hers, I have taken order that ~~francis barthe~~ garsias shall <pay> fourtye shillings, by this you can testifye ~~with~~ me that my lady useth me not so nor meneth not to dooe for me, as men saye, and the woordle thinkth, My lady forgettes that ~~which~~ I doo, is for love as a brother, and not bounden by duety as a Servant As for anthony I send a letter to him if he deny it, I am able to prove it / Iff my lady your mistriss caused yow to write that letter of the vth of maye then yow may shoe her this my answer , <kepe> yow this my letter for I keep yours to show againe when time shall serve from London the xith of maye 1564

Henry Cobham

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 encarecido la Reyna esto, que me ha obligando a visitarla, y assi lo he hecho, de que ha mostrado gran contentamiento: yo le dixi quanto le avia pesado a V. A. de que no uviese traydo entera 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 mañana 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 paresciere.

96. RP, IV, MCCCXXIII, 110-113, Guzman de Silva to Margaret, duchess of Parma, 23 September 1564; a partial transcription of Archives de Simancas, Secreto de Estado. Leg. 817, f. 104

...La marques de Noranthon es muy favorita 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 so 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 vezes de que el lugar de milort Roberto no sea tan desordenado como muchos publican, no siendo cosa nueva oyr mal los principes, aun sin dar ocasion.

Antes que viniessse esta Reyna, fui a visitor a la Marquesa, y me dixo despiendome della que tenia un negocio de importancia que hablarme, que quedaria para otro dia, y, por la buelta aqui de la Reyna, lo diferi por seis o siete dias, y assi a los xx deste, embie a saber de la indisposicion de la marquesa y si podria visitarla aquella tarde: embiome a dezir que rescribira 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 quando embie a saber de la Marquesa, como despues entendi, y quisieron hazerme esta burla, teniendo secreto hasta que yo me vi con la Reyna de que ella rio mucho. Estuvo casi hasta la noche alli 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 dixi 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^t-Jaymes, pore el parquet a pie, aunque le tenien alli en coche. Llevome assi en rato diziendome que un loco simple que yva alli le aconsejava siempre que no se casase en Alemaña, 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 algunas 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, pidiendole me lo avisase con persona de quien el se fiase much, dandome harta esperança, 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 incosideracion mia, especialmente sin orden, ni saber en que estado tiene Carlos su negocio. Paresciome 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 ocasion, no se perdiese, o que es lo que devo hazer conforme a lo que desto entiende Su Magestad, pues antes de agora, como digo, se ha tratado.

107. Poematum Gualteri Haddoni, Legum Doctoris, Sparsim Collectorum, Libri Duo, ed. Thomas Hatcher (London: William Seres, 1576) sig. Kiii

In obitum dominae Elisabethae, Marchionessae Northamptiniensis

Elisabetha fuit natura jure Cobama,
Coniugis et proprio nomine Parra fuit.
Forma, pudor, pietas, facunde gratia lingue,
Ingenium, virtus, inviolata fides,
Cum gravitate lepos, cum simplicitate venustas,
Larga manus, pectus nobile, firmus amor,
Denique quicquid habet natura quod addere possit,
Addere quod possit, gratia quicquid habet,
Omnia viventem Parram comitata fuerunt,
Omnia mors atrox obruit ista simul.
Obruiat ista licet tristi mors saeva sepuchro:
Attamen illorum fama superstes erit.

[On the death of Lady Elisabeth, Marchioness of Northampton⁶

*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.]*

⁶ My thanks to Kate Maltby 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

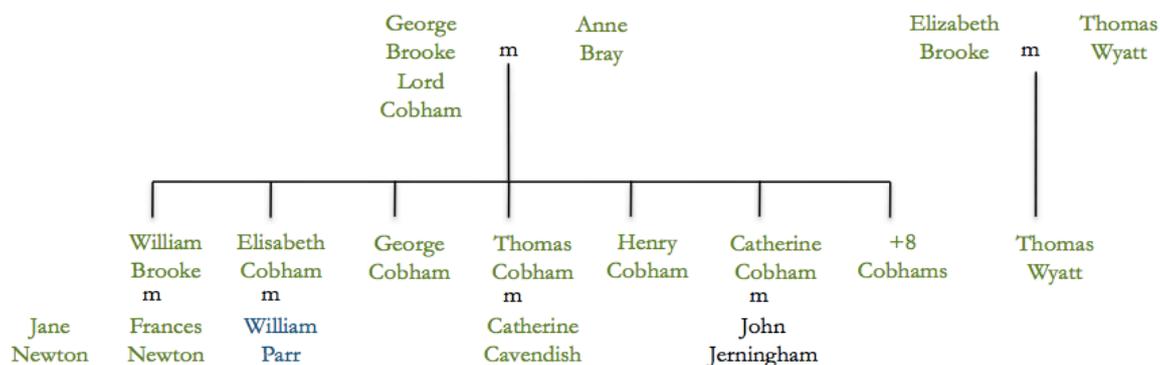


fig. b - the Parr family

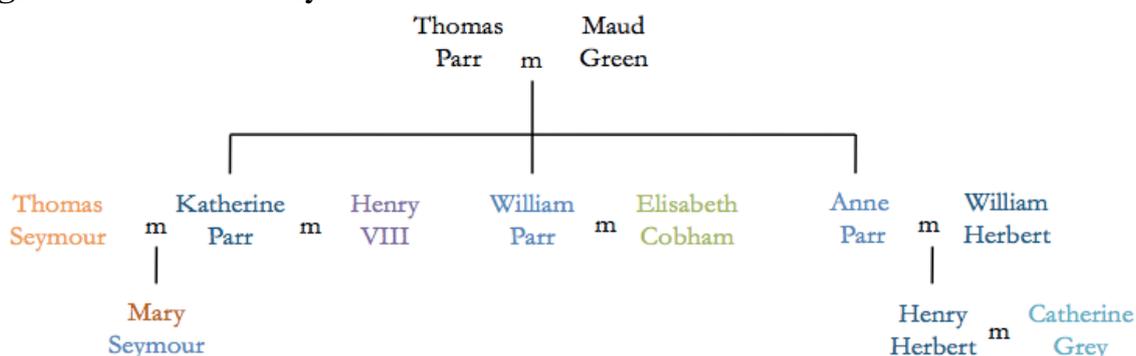


fig. c - The Dudley Family

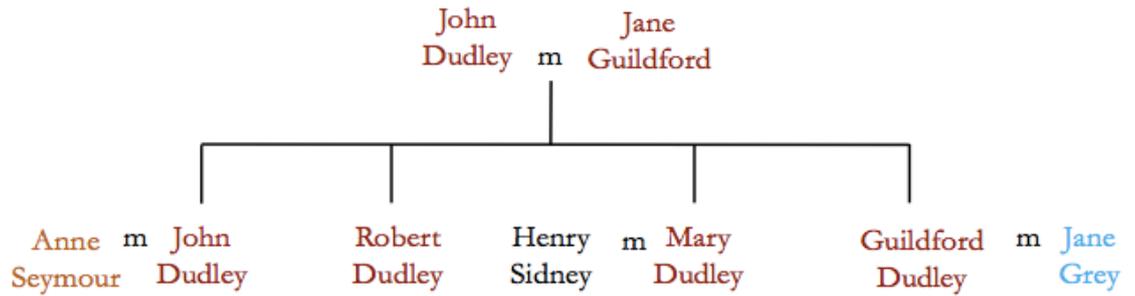


fig. d - The Seymour family

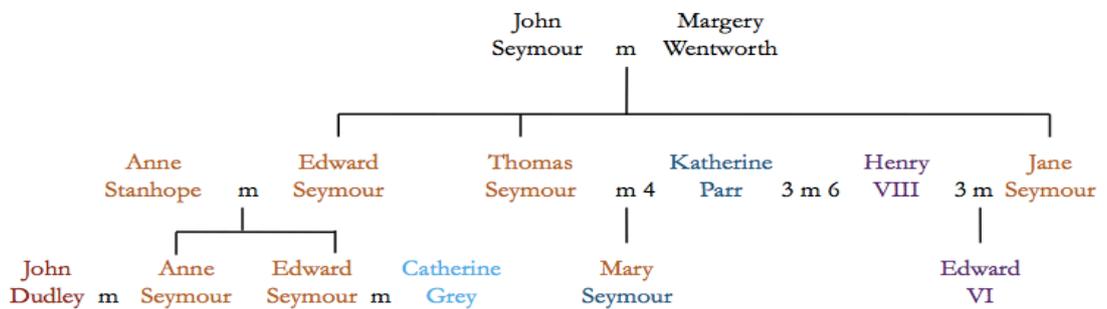


fig. e - the Grey-Brandon family

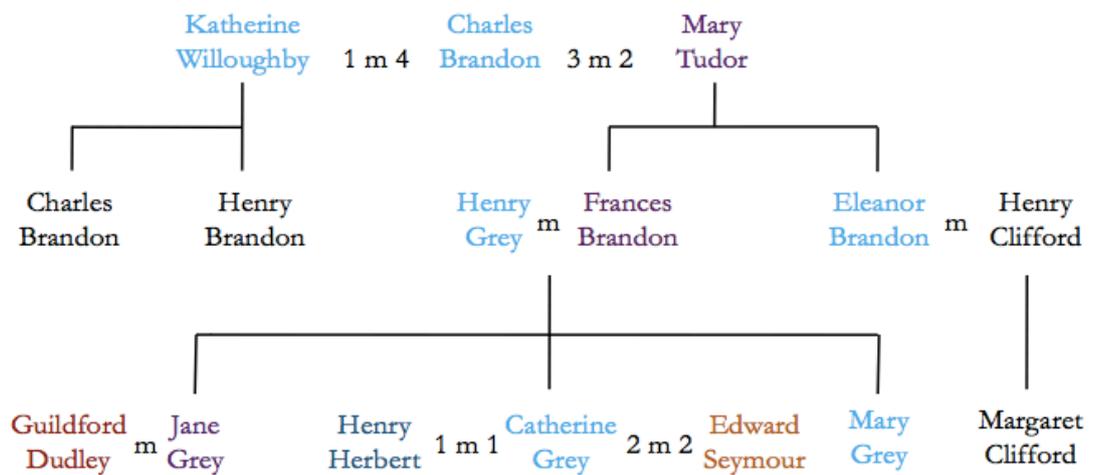


fig. f - the Cobham-Cavendish kinship connection

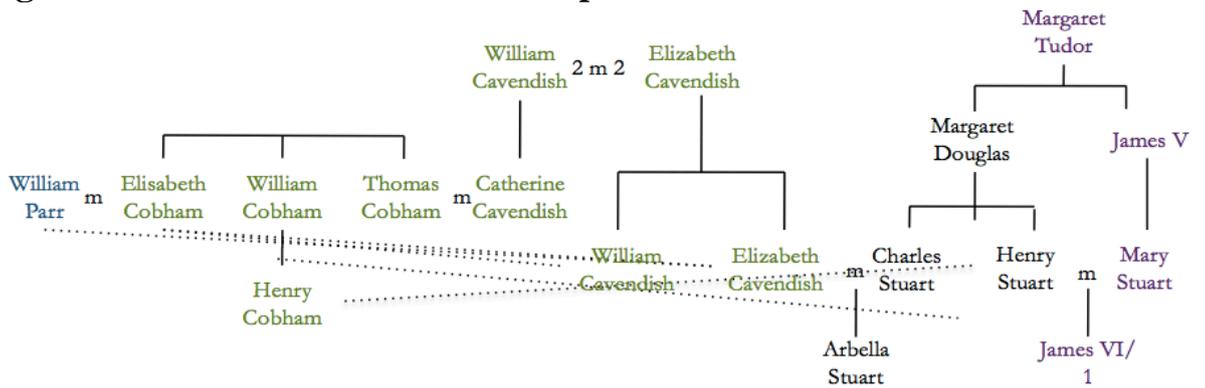


fig. g - the Whitsun Weddings

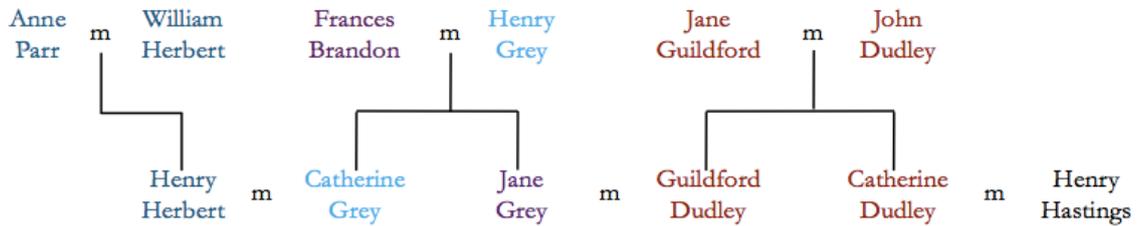


fig. h - the Wyatt Rebellion

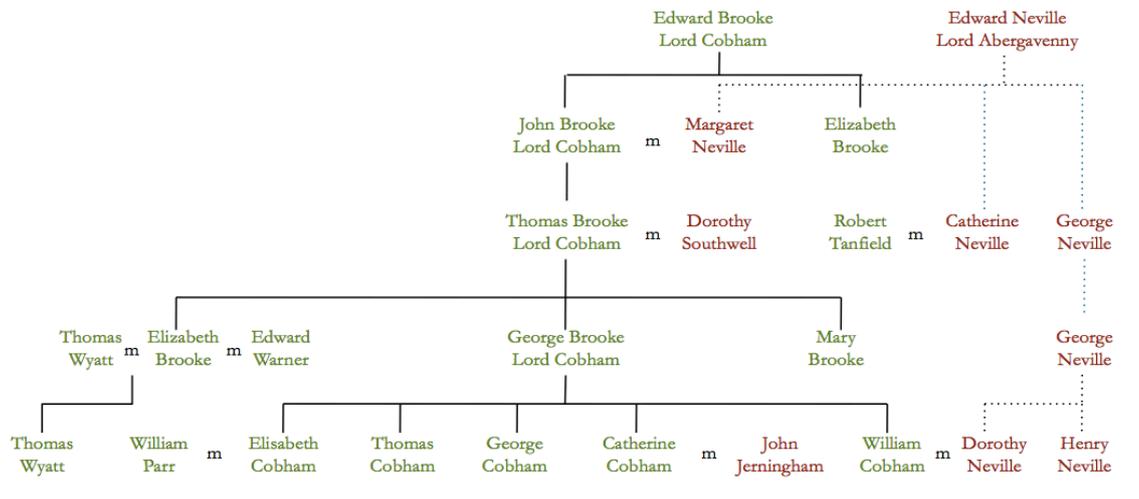
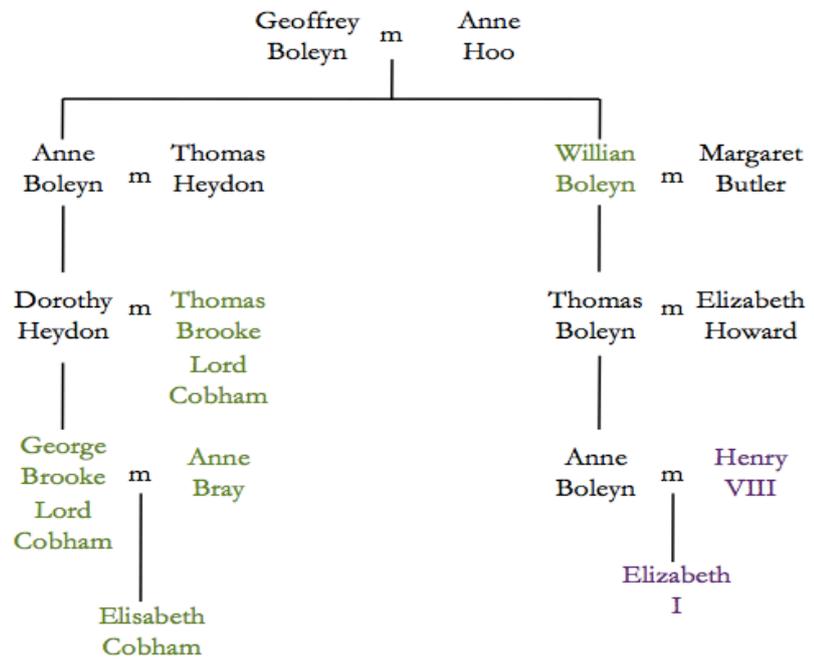


fig. i - the kinship connection between Elisabeth Parr and Elizabeth Tudor



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 Willoughby 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.

⁷ <http://global.oup.com/oxforddnb/info/>.

Brooke, Elizabeth (1564-1615) Daughter of William Brooke, Lord Cobham and Frances Brooke, née Newton, niece and namesake of Elisabeth Parr. She married Robert Cecil, later earl of Salisbury, son of William Cecil, Lord Burghley and Mildred née Cooke.

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 Elizabeth, 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.

Brooke, William, Lord Cobham (1527-1597) eldest son of George Brooke, MP for Hythe and later Rochester, member of the French embassy with William Parr and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. Married to Frances Newton.

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 and William 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.

Herbert, William, Earl of Pembroke (1501-1570) married to Anne Parr, so brother-in-law of William and Elisabeth Parr, and Katherine Parr and Thomas Seymour. Godfather to William Cavendish in 1551.

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 Courtier*. 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, Katherine, Queen consort of Henry VIII (1512-1548) wife of Thomas Seymour and mother of Lady Mary Seymour. Sister of Anne Parr, countess of Pembroke and William Parr, earl of Essex and marquess of Northampton. Sister-in-law of William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, Anne and Edward Seymour, duke and duchess of Somerset and Elisabeth Parr, marchioness of Northampton. Stepmother of Mary, Edward and Elizabeth Tudor.

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, Anne *née Stanhope*, countess of Hertford and duchess of Somerset (c. 1510-1587) first lady of England, c.1547-1550. Mother-in-law of Catherine Grey through her marriage to Anne's son, Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford. Sister-in-law and rival of Katherine Parr, dowager Queen of England.

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.

Bibliography

Manuscript material

The British Library

Additional MSS 5841; 35832; 37666.
Cotton MSS Caligula D VI; Nero B I; Vitellius F V.
Egerton MS 2148.
Harley MSS 283; 284; 374; 2134; 6157; 6353.
Harley Roll AA.23.
Kings MS 9.
Lansdowne MSS 2; 3; 104.
Royal MSS 8 C XXIV; 13 B I.

The National Archives

C66/772; C66/799; C66/886.
E101/426/2; 101/520/9; 154/2/39; 154/2/40; 154/2/45; 179/69/41; 179/69/41;
179/69/44; 179/69/47; 179/69/48; 179/69/55.
LC 2/2; 2/4/3.
LM/COR/3/1.
LR2/118.
PC2/2.
PROB 11/37/0.
PRO Royal Wills, E. 23v.
SP1/58; 1/230; 3/4; 3/11; 3/17; 10/1; 10/2; 10/4; 10/8; 10/10; 10/14; 11/2; 11/3; 11/4;
11/5; 11/12; 12/3; 12/7; 12/33; 12/36; 12/37; 52/12; 52/27; 70/8; 70/19; 70/30; 70/33;
70/34; 70/38; 70/39; 70/40; 70/41; 70/42; 70/43; 70/44; 70/47; 70/56; 70/70; 70/71.

The Cecil Papers

CP 3/6-7; 3/38; 3/69-71; 3/336; 86/104; 150/68; 150/121; 150/122; 198/110; 225/1.

Folger Shakespeare Library

Z/407/Lb.559; Z/407/Lb.455; L.b 273.

Cumbria County Archive

DLONSL5/2/11/1

National Archives of France

Dispatches of Antoine, François, and Gilles de Noailles, 1553-1561, Archives du ministère des affaires étrangères, Paris, France. Correspondance politique, Angleterre, Vol. XIII.

Other

Hever Manuscript Hours
Sheffield Record Office, Stafford Papers MS 33.

Printed primary sources

Aylmer, J., *An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subiect, against the late blowne Blaste, concerninge the Government of Wemen* (London, 1559).

Brewer, J. S., Gardiner, J., and Brodie, R. H., eds., *Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII, 1509-1547* (23 vols. London, 1862-1932).

Brooke, A., *Brooke's 'Romeus and Juliet' being the original of Shakespeare's 'Romeo and Juliet' newly*

edited by J. J. Munro, ed. Munro, J. J. (New York: Duffield and Company; London: Chatto and Windus, 1908).

Bryan, F., *A dispraise of the life of a courtier, and a commendacion of the life of the labouryng man* (London, 1548).

Burke, J. B., *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire* (London: Colburn, 1852).

Camden, W., *Annales: The True and Royall History of the famous Empresse Elizabeth ...* (London, 1625).

Castiglione, Balthazar, *The Covrtyer of Covnt Baldessar Castilio*, trans. by Hoby, Thomas (London, 1561).

Collins, A. C., *Historical Collections of the Noble Families of Cavendish* (Withers, 1752)
- *Letters and Memorials of State* (London, 1746).

Autobiographical Tracts of Dr. John Dee, Warden of the College of Manchester, ed. Crossley, James (London: The Cheethan Society, 1851)

Dasent, J. R., et al. eds., *Acts of the Privy Council of England* (n.s., 36 vols.; London, 1890-1964).

Elderton, W. M., *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).

Elyot, T., *The Defence of Good Women* (London, 1540).

Fénélon, B. S. M., *Correspondence diplomatique de Bertrand de Salignac de la Mothe Fénélon...*, ed. Teulet, A., x. vols (Paris and London: 1838-1840)

Gosynghill, E., *The Prayse of all women* (London, 1542).

Haddon, W., *Poematum Gualteri Haddoni, Legum Doctoris, Sparsim Collectorum, Libri Duo*, ed. Hatcher, T. (London, 1576).

Hall, E., *The Vnion of the two noble and illustrate famelies of Lancastre and York* (London, 1548).

Hayward, J., *The Life and Reign of King Edward VI* (London 1630).

Heywood, J., *Iohn Heywoodes woorkes A dialogue conteynyng the number of the effectuall prouerbes in the Englishe tounge, compact in a matter concernyng two maner of maryages...* (London: Thomas Powell, 1562).

Hoby, T., *A Book of the Travaile and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby, Kt of Bisham Abbey, written by himself: 1547-1564*, ed. Powell, E., Camden, Third Series, vol. IV (London: Royal Historical Society, 1902).

Howard, L., ed., *A Collection of Letters* (London, 1753).

- Hume, M. A. S., *et al*, eds., *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs, Preserved Principally in the Archives of Simancas, Elizabeth* (London, 1916-26).
 - ed. and trans., *The Chronicle of King Henry VIII of England being a contemporary record of some of the principal events of the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI written in Spanish by an unknown hand* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1889).
- Hyrde, R., *A very frutefull and pleasant booke, called the instruction of a Christien woman* trans. from Vives, J. V. (London, 1541).
- The Chronicle of Political Papers of King Edward VI* ed. Jordan, W. K. (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1966).
- Kervyn de Lettenhove, J. M. B. C., *Relations Politiques des Pays Bas et de l'Angleterre, sous le règne de Phillippe II.* 11 vols (Brussels, 1888-1900).
- Knighton, C. S. ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series of the reign of Edward VI* (London: HMSO, 1992).
- Knox, J., *The First Blast of the Turmpe Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (Geneva, 1558)
- Lemon, R. ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic (Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I)* (London, 1856)
- Lyndsay, D., *The Monarche, or ane Dialog betwixt Experience and an Courteour* (Edinburgh, 1554).
- Nichols, J. G. ed., *The Chronicle of Queen Jane and of Two Years of Queen Mary* (London: The Camden Society, 1801).
 - ed., *The Diary of Henry Machyn* (London: Camden Society, 1848).
 - ed. and restored, *The Legend of Nicholas Throckmorton* (London: Roxburghe Club, 1848).
 - ed., *Literary Remains of King Edward VI* (London: Roxburghe Club, 1857).
 - ed., *Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth, Volume V - Appendices, Bibliographies, and Index* eds. Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Clarke, Elizabeth Goldring (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- Parkhurst, J., *Ludicra sive epigrammata iuvenilia* (London, 1573).
- Parr, K., *The lamentacion of a sinner, made by the most virtuous Ladie, Quene Caterin* (London: Edward Whitchurd, 1547).
- Royall Tyler *et al*. eds., *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish* (London, 1862-1964).
 - eds., *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian* (London, 1862-1964)
- Salter, T., *A Mirrhor mete for all Mothers, Matrones and Maidens, intituled the Mirrhor of Modestie* (London, 1579).
- Scargill-Bird, S. R. ed., *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, 24 vols., Vol. 1: 1306-1571 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1883).
 - *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward VI* (London: 1924-9); *Philip and Mary* (London: 1936-9); *Elizabeth* (London: HMSO, 1939-)

Stevenson, J., Crosby, A. J., Butler, A. J., Lomas, S. C., Hinds, A. B., Wernham, R. B. eds., *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth, 1558-1589*, 23 vols. (London, 1863-1950)

Stow, J., *A Survey of London written in the year 1598* (London, 1598).
- *The Annales of England ... continued ... vntill this present year 1601* (London, 1601).

Strype, J., *Ecclesiastical memorials, relating chiefly to religion, and the reformation of it, and the emergencies of the Church of England under King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary I* (London, 1822).
- *Annals of the reformation and establishment of religion, and other various occurrences in the Church of England* (Oxford, 1824).

Thomas, W., *An argument wherin the appaiaile of women is both reprinted and defended*, Imprinted at London in Fletestrete: In the house of Thomas Berthelet (London, 1551).

Turnbull, W. B. eds., *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Edward VI, 1547-1553* (London, 1861).
- ed., *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Mary, 1553-1558* (London, 1861)

Udall, N., *The Paraphrases on the Gospels of John* (London, 1548).

Vaughn, R., *A Dyalogue defensive for women against malycious detractoures* (London, 1542).

Vives, J. L., *De institutione feminae Christianae, Liber primus* (Antwerp: Michael Hillen, 1524).
- *The Education of a Christian Woman: a sixteenth century manual* ed. and trans. Fantazzi, C., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

Wyatt, T., 'How to vse the court and him selfe therin, written to syr Fraunces Bryan' in *Songes and sonettes, written by the right honorable Lorde Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey, and other*. Apud Richardum Tottel. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum (London, 1557).

Secondary scholarship

Adams, S., *Leicester and the Court* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).
- 'Dudley, Amy, Lady Dudley (1532–1560)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Matthew, H. C. G. and Harrison, B. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Adams, R. and Cox, R. eds., *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

Ahnert, R., *The Rise of Prison Literature in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Ahnert, R., and Ahnert, S., 'Protestant Letter Networks in the Reign of Mary I: A Quantitative Approach', *English Literary History*, Vol. 82, No. 1 (Spring 2015) 1-33.

Akkerman, N., and Houben, B., 'Introduction', 1-30 in Akkerman, N., and Houben, B., ed., *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies in Waiting Across Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

Alford, S., *Kingship and Politics in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- *The Early Elizabethan Polity: William Cecil and the British Succession Crisis, 1558-1569* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

- *Burghley: William Cecil at the Court of Elizabeth I* (London: Yale University Press, 2011).
- Allen, G., *The Cooke Sisters* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).
 - ed. *The Letters of Lady Anne Bacon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
- Beer, B. L., *Northumberland* (Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1973).
 - *Rebellion and Riot: Popular Disorder in England during the Reign of Edward VI* (Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1982).
- Begent, P. J., Chesshyre, H., Chesshyre, D. H. B., and Jefferson, L., *The most noble Order of the Garter: 650 years* (London: Spink, 1999).
- Bell, G. M., 'Hoby, Sir Philip (1504/5–1558)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004).
- Beltz, G. F., *Memorials of the Order of the Garter: From Its Foundation to the Present Time; with Biographical Notices of the Knights in the Reigns of Edward III and Richard II* (London: William Pickering, 1841).
- Bennett, J. M., 'Feminism and History', *Gender and History*, I (1989), 251-72.
- Bernard, G. W., 'The fall of Anne Boleyn', in *English Historical Journal*, Vol. 106 (1991), 584-601.
 - 'The fall of Anne Boleyn: a rejoinder', in *English Historical Review*, Vol. 108 (1992), 665-74.
 - *The King's Reformation* (London: Yale, University Press, 2007).
 - *Anne Boleyn: Fatal Attractions* (London: Yale University Press, 2010).
- Betteridge, T. and Riehl, A. eds., *Tudor Court Culture* (Sinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2010).
- Bicks, C., and Summit, J. eds., *The History of British Women's Writing, 1500-1610* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
- Borman, T., *Elizabeth's Women* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2009).
- Bradford, C. A., *Helena, Marchioness of Northampton* (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1936).
- Bradford, G., *Elizabethan Women* (Cambridge: The Riverside Press Cambridge, 1936).
- Brennan, M. G., *The Sidneys of Penshurst and the Monarchy* (London: Ashgate, 2006).
- Brigden, S., *Thomas Wyatt: The Heart's Forest* (London: Faber and Faber, 2013).
- Brown, E. A., "Companion me with my mistress": Cleopatra, Elizabeth I and their waiting women', 131-14 in *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens: Women's Alliances in Early Modern England: Women's Alliances in Early Modern England* eds. Frye, S., and Robertson, K., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
- Bucholz, R. O., and Ward, J. P., *London: A Social and Cultural History, 1550-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

- Burke, P., *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano* (Philadelphia: Penn State Press, 1995).
- Bush, M. L., *The Government Policy of Protector Somerset* (London: Edward Arnold, 1975).
- Camden, C., *The Elizabethan Woman* (London: Cleaver-Hume Press, 1952).
- Canning, K., *Gender History in Practice: Historical Perspectives on Bodies, Class and Citizenship* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2006).
- Capern, A., *The Historical Study of Women in England, 1500-1700* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
- Capp, B. S., *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- Carley, J. P., *The Books of Kings Henry VIII and his Wives* (London: British Library, 2004).
- Carlson, A.J., 'Mundus Mulieribus: The World of Women Reviled and Defended ca. 195 B.C. and 151 A.D. and Other Things...', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (Autumn, 1993), 541-560.
- Chapman, H. W., *The Last Tudor King: A Study of Edward VI* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1958).
- Chauncey, H., *Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire* (London, 1826).
- Collinson, P., *Archbishop Grindal, 1519-1583: The Struggle for a Reformed Church* (California: University of California Press, 1979).
- *The Birth Pangs of Protestant England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
- *Elizabethans* (London: Bloomsbury, 2003).
- Cordy Jeaffreson, J., *Brides and Bridals*, 2 Vols (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1872).
- Cowan, K., *Women in British Politics, c. 1689-1979* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
- Cressy, D., 'Kinship and Kin Interaction in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, No. 113 (Nov., 1986), 38-69.
- *Dangerous Talk: Scandalous, Seditious, and Treasonable Speech in Pre-Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- Crummé, H. L., 'Jane Dormer's Recipe for Politics: A Refuge Household in Spain for Mary Tudor's Ladies-in-Waiting', 51-76 in *The Politics of Female Households* eds. Akkerman, N., and Houben, B., (Leiden: Brill, 2013).
- de Cruz Medina, V., "In service to my Lady, the Empress, as I have done every other day of my life": Margarita of Cardona, Baroness of Dietrichstein and Lady-in-Waiting of Maria of Austria', 99-119 in Akkerman, N., and Houben, B., *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies in Waiting Across Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).
- Darby, G., ed. *The Origins and Development of the Dutch Revolt* (London: Routledge, 2003).

Davis, N. Z., “‘Women’s history’ in Transition: The European Case’, *Feminist Studies* 3, (1976), 83-103.
- ‘Women on Top’, *Feminism and Renaissance Studies*, ed. Hutson, L., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 156-185.

Davis, N. Z., and Farge, A., eds., *A History of Women in the West III. Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).
- Davis, N. Z., and Farge, A., ‘Women as Historical Actors’, in *A History of Women in the West III. Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes*, eds., Davis, N. Z., and Farge, A., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 1-8.

Daybell, J., ed., *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700* (Burlington and Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).
- *Women Letter-Writers in Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- ‘Women’s letters of recommendation and the rhetoric of friendship in sixteenth-century England’ 172-190 in *Rhetoric, Women and Politics in Early Modern England* eds. Richards, J. and Thorne, A., (London: Routledge, 2007).
- ‘Gender, Politics and Diplomacy: Women, News and Intelligence Networks in Elizabethan England’, *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture* eds. Adams, R., and Cox, R. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 101-119.
- *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing, 1512-1635* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

Doran, S., ‘Religion and Politics at the Court of Elizabeth I: The Habsburg Marriage Negotiations of 1559-1567’, *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 4, No. 413 (Oct., 1989), 908-928.
- *Monarchy and Matrimony: the Courtships of Elizabeth I* (London: Routledge, 1996).
- *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy, 1558-1603* (London: Routledge, 2000).
- *The Tudor Chronicles* (London: Quercus, 2008).

Doran, S., and Freeman, T. S. eds., *The Myth of Elizabeth* (London: Palgrave, 2003).

Van Dorsten, J., ‘Steven Van Herwyck’s Elizabeth (1565) - a Franco-Flemish Political Medal’, *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 111, No. 792 (March, 1969), 143-147.

Duffy, E., *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).
- *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers, 1240-1570* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).
- ‘Introduction’ to J. A. Froude’s *The Reign of Mary Tudor, Introduced and Selected by Eamon Duffy* (London: Continuum, 2009).

Duke, A., *The Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries* (London: A C Black, 2003).

Durant, D. N., *Bess of Harwick: Portrait of an Elizabethan Dynast* (London: Peter Owen, 1999).

Edwards, J., *Mary I England’s Catholic Queen* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

Eales, J., *Women in Early Modern England, 1500-1700* (London: UCL Press, 1998).

Elzinga, J. G., ‘Wriothesley, Henry, second earl of Southampton (bap. 1545, d. 1581)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004).

- Elton, G. R., *The Tudor Revolution in Government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953).
- *England under the Tudors* (London: Longman, 1955).
 - 'Introduction' to A.F. Pollard, *Wolsey* (London: Longman, 1965).
 - *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government, Vol. 3 Papers and Reviews 1973-1981* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
- Erickson, A. L., *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1993).
- Everitt, A., *Change in the Provinces: The Seventeenth Century* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1969).
- Fairchilds, C., *Women in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700* (London: Pearson Longman, 2007).
- Fell Smith, C., *Qabalab - John Dee, 1527-1608* (Glastonbury: Glastonbury, 2008).
- Fletcher, A., *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800* (London: Yale University Press, 1995).
- Ford, L. L., 'Paulet, William, first marquess of Winchester (1474/5?-1572)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004).
- Franklin-Harkrider, M., *Women, Reform and Community in Early Modern England: Katherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk, and Lincolnshire's Godly Aristocracy, 1519-1580* (London: Boydell, 2008).
- Fraser, A., *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (London: Random House, 2007).
- Fry, C., 'Perceptions of Influence: The Catholic Diplomacy of Queen Anna and Her Ladies, 1601-4?', 267-85 in Akkerman, N., and Houben, B., *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies in Waiting Across Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).
- Frye, S., *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).
- Frye, S., and Robertson, K., eds. *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens: Women's Alliances in Early Modern England: Women's Alliances in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
- Graham-Matheson, H., 'Elisabeth Parr's Renaissance at the Mid-Tudor Court', *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 8 (2013) 289-300.
- 'Petticoats and Politics: Female Agency at the Early Elizabethan Court', in *Politics of Female Households: Ladies in Waiting Across Early Modern Europe*, eds. Akkerman, N. and Houben, B. (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 31-50.
 - 'In Kent and Christendom ... where I read and rhyme': Mapping the Religio-political Culture of Aristocratic Kent through the *Hever Manuscript Hours*' in *Book Culture in Provincial Society: Authors, Readers and Communities in Kent c. 1400-1700* ed. Bartram, C., (London: Ashgate, 2015).
- Grey, J., and Gunn, S. J., 'A letter of Jane, Duchess of Northumberland, in 1553', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 114, No. 459 (Nov., 1999), 1267-1271.

- Gristwood, S., *Elizabeth and Leicester* (London: Random House, 2008).
- Gunn, S. J., 'Brandon, Charles, first duke of Suffolk (c.1484–1545)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004).
- Guy, J., *Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).
 - 'Introduction' in ed. Guy, J., *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
 - *A Daughter's Love: Thomas and Margaret More* (London: Fourth Estate, 2008).
- Haigh, C., *Elizabeth I* (New York: Longman, 1988).
 - *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).
- Hammer, P. E. J., 'Sex and the Virgin Queen: Aristocratic Concupiscence and the Court of Elizabeth I', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 31, No. 1, Special Edition: Gender in Early Modern Europe (Spring, 2000), 77-97.
- Harbison, E. H., *Rival Ambassadors at the Court of Queen Mary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940).
- Hare, C., *The Most Illustrious Ladies of the Italian Renaissance* (London: Cosimo, 2008).
- Harris, B. J., 'Women and Politics in Early Tudor England', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (Jun., 1990), 259-281.
 - 'The View from My Lady's Chamber: New Perspectives on the Early Tudor Monarchy', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 60, No. 3, (1997), 215-247.
 - *English Aristocratic Women 1450-1550* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
 - 'Defining Themselves: English Aristocratic Women, 1450-1550', *Journal of British Studies*, 49 (October 2010), 734-752.
- Hart, K., *The Mistresses of Henry VIII* (Stroud: The History Press, 2009).
- Harthan, J., *Books of Hours and Their Owners* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977).
- Hattaway, M. ed., *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000),
- Haugaard, W. P., 'Elizabeth Tudor's Book of Devotions: A Neglected Clue to the Queen's Life and Character', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (Summer, 1981), 79-106.
- Haynes, A., *The Elizabethan Secret Services* (London: The History Press, 2009).
- Hayward, M., *Rich Apparel: Clothing and the Law in Henry VIII's England* (Ashgate, 2009).
- Heal, F., *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).
 - *The Power of Gifts: Gift Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
- Hill, G. F., 'Stephen H., Medalist and Painter', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 12, No. 60 (Mar., 1908), 355-357 and 360-363.

Hogrefe, P., 'Legal Rights of Tudor Women and the Circumvention by Men and Women', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Apr., 1972), 97-105.

Howarth, D., *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485-1649* (California: University of California Press, 1997).

Hoyle, R. W., 'Hussey, John, Baron Hussey (1465/6–1537)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004).

Hufton, O., *The Prospect Before Her. A History of Women in Western Europe 1500-1800* (London: HarperCollins, 1995).

Hunt, A., and Whitelock, A. eds., *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

Hutson, L., *The Usurer's Daughter Male Friendship and Fictions of Women in Sixteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1994).

- ed., *Feminism and Renaissance Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Ives, E. W., 'The fall of Anne Boleyn reconsidered,' in *English Historical Journal*, Vol. 107 (1992), 651-64.

- 'Henry VIII's will: the protectorate provisions of 1546-7', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Dec., 1994), 901-14.

- *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004).

- *Lady Jane Grey: A Tudor Mystery* (London: Blackwell, 2009).

Jack, S. M., 'Cavendish, Sir William (1508–1557)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004).

James, S. E., 'Parr, William, marquess of Northampton (1513–1571)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. ed. Matthew, H. C. G. and Harrison, B. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

- *Catherine Parr: Henry VIII's Last Love* (Stroud: Tempus, 2008).

- *The Feminine Dynamic in English Art, 1485-1603* (London: Ashgate, 2009).

James, S. E., and van der Stighelen, K., 'New discoveries concerning the portrait of the family of William Brooke 10th Lord Cobham, at Longleat House', *Dutch Crossing*, vol. 23 (Summer, 1999) 66-101.

Jardine, L., *Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* 2nd edn. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989).

Jenkins, E., *Elizabeth the Great* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1958).

Johnson, P., *Elizabeth* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1974).

Jones, P., *The Other Tudors: Henry VIII's Mistresses and Bastards* (London: New Holland, 2009).

Jones, W. R. D., *The Mid-Tudor Crisis, 1539-1563* (London: Macmillan, 1973).

Jordan, C., 'Feminism and the humanists: The Case of Sir Thomas Elyot's Defence of Good Women', *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Summer, 1983), 181-201.

Jordan, W. K., *Edward VI: The Young King: The Protectorship of the Duke of Somerset* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1968).

Keller, K., 'Ladies-in-Waiting at the Imperial Court of Vienna from 1550 to 1700: Structures, Responsibilities and Career Paters', 77-98 in Akkerman, N., and Houben, B., *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies in Waiting Across Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

Kelly, J., 'Did Women Have a Renaissance?', in *Feminism and Renaissance Studies* ed. Hutson, L., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 21-47.

Kelly, L. G., 'Hoby, Sir Thomas (1530–1566)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online, ed. Goldman, L.

Kelsey, H., *Philip of Spain King of England* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012).

Kewes, P., 'Godly Queens: The Royal Iconographies of Mary and Elizabeth', in *Tudor Queenship: the Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth* eds., Hunt, A., and Whitelock, A., (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 47-62 .

King, J. N., 'The Godly Woman in Elizabethan Iconography', *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Spring, 1985), 41-84.

Von Klarwill, V., *Queen Elizabeth and Some Foreigners*, trans. Nash, T. H. (London: John Lane, 1928).

Knighton, C. S., 'Brooke, George, ninth Baron Cobham (c.1497–1558)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Matthew, H. C. G. and Harrison, B. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

- 'The Calendars and their Editors, 1856-2006,' *State Papers Online, 1509-1714* (Reading: Cengage Learning EMEA Ltd, 2007) <http://gale.cengage.co.uk/state-papers-online-15091714.aspx> [accessed 01 September 2012].

Knox, J., and Healey, R. M., 'Waiting for Deborah: John Knox and Four Ruling Queens', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Summer, 1994), 371-386.

Laurence, A., *Women in England 1500-1760* (London: Phoenix Press, 1994).

- Laurence, Anne, "'Begging Pardon for all mistakes and errors in this writing I being a woman and doing it myself': Family Narratives in Some Early Eighteenth-Century Letters", 194-206 in *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450-1700*, ed. Daybell, J., (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).

Levine, M., *The Early Elizabethan Succession Question 1558-1568* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966).

- 'The Place of Women in Tudor Government,' in *Tudor Rule and Revolution: Essays For G. R. Elton From His American Friends*, ed. Guth, D. J., and Mickenna, J. W. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 109-23.

Lindsay, P., *The Queenmaker* (London: William and Norgate, 1951).

Lindstrom P., and Norrhem, S., *Flattering Alliances: Scandinavia, Diplomacy and the Austrian-French Balance of Power, 1648-1740* (Stockholm: Nordic Academic Press, 2013).

de Lisle, L., *The Sisters Who Would Be Queen* (London: Harper Press, 2008)

Loach, J., *Edward VI*, eds., Bernard, G. W., and Williams, P. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

- *Protector Somerset: A Reassessment* (Bangor: Headstart History, 1994).

Loach, J., and Tittler, R., eds. *The Mid-Tudor Polity, c. 1540-1560* (London: Macmillan, 1980).

Loades, D. M., *Two Tudor Conspiracies* (Cambridge University Press, 1965).

- *The Oxford Martyrs* (Batsford, 1970).

- 'The Reign of Mary Tudor: Historiography and Research', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (Winter, 1989), 547-558.

- *The Mid-Tudor Crisis, 1545-1565* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1992).

- *The Tudor Court* (London: Headstart History, 1992).

- *The Reign of King Edward VI* (Dorchester: Henry Ling, 1994).

- *John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland 1504-1553* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

- *Power in Tudor England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997).

- *Tudor Government* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997).

- *Chronicles of the Tudor Queens* (Stroud: Sutton, 2002).

- *Intrigue and Treason: the Tudor Court 1547-1558* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2004).

- *Elizabeth I: A Life* (London: Continuum, 2006).

- *The Cecils: Privilege and Power Behind the Throne* (London: The National Archives, 2007).

- *Mary Tudor: The Tragical History of the First Queen of England* (London: The National Archives, 2006).

- *The Fighting Tudors* (London: The National Archives, 2009).

- *Tudor Queens of England* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2009).

- *Mary Tudor* (Stroud: Amberley, 2012).

Lock, J, 'Brooke, William, tenth Baron Cobham (1527–1597)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Matthew, H. C. G. and Harrison, B. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Lovell, M. S., *Bess of Harwick: First Lady of Chatsworth 1527-1608* (London: Abacus, 2005).

MacCulloch, D., 'Kett's Rebellion in Context (No. 84, August 1979) in *Rebellion, Popular Protest and the Social Order in Early Modern England* ed. Paul Slack (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

- *Thomas Cranmer - A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

- *The Boy King: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

Mackie, J. D., *The Earlier Tudors, 1485-1558* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952).

Magnusson, L., 'A rhetoric of requests: genre and linguistic scripts in Elizabethan women's suitors' letters', 51-66 in Daybell, J., ed., *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700* (Burlington and Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

- Malay, J., 'Like a Queen: The Influence of the Elizabethan Court on the Structure of Women-Centered Households in the Early Modern Period', in *Tudor Court Culture* eds., Betteridge, T. and Riehl, A. (Sinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2010), 93-113.
- Marsden, R. G., 'Thomas Cobham and the Capture of the St. Katherine', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 23, No. 90 (Apr., 1908), 290-291.
- Martienssen, A., *Queen Katherine Parr* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1973).
- McClaren, A., 'The Quest for a King: Gender, Marriage, and Succession in Elizabethan England', *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (July 2002), 259-290.
- McIlvenna, U., "'A Stable of Whores'?: The 'Flying Squadron' of Catherine de Medici", 181-208 in Akkerman, N., and Houben, B. eds., *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies in Waiting Across Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).
- McKeen, D. S., *A Memory of Honour; The Life of William Brooke, Lord Cobham* (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1986).
- Meade, T. A., and Wiesner-Hanks, M. E. eds., *A Companion to Gender History* (London: John Wiley and Sons, 2008).
- Mears, N., 'Court, Courtiers, and Cultures in Tudor England', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (Sep., 2003), 703-722.
- 'Politics in the Elizabethan Privy Chamber: Lady Mary Sidney and Kat Ashley', 67-83 in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700*, ed. Daybell, J. (Burlington and Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).
 - *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- Mendelson, S., and Crawford, P., *Women in Early Modern England 1550-1720* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).
- Merriman, R. B., 'The Spanish Embassy in Tudor England', *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Third Series, Vol. 65 (Oct., 1932-May, 1936), 391-400.
- Merton, C., 'Women, friendship and memory' in *Tudor Queenship the Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth* eds. Hunt, A., and Whitelock, A., (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 239-50.
- Montrose, L., *The Subject of Elizabeth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).
- Mueller, J. ed., *Katherine Parr: Complete Works and Correspondence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).
- Murphy, J., 'The Illusion of Decline: the Privy Chamber, 1547-1558', 119-146 in *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* ed. Starkey, D., (Longman: London, 1987).
- Neale, J. E., *Queen Elizabeth* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1934).
- *The Elizabethan Political Scene* (London, 1948).
 - *The Elizabethan House of Commons* (London, 1949).
 - *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments* (London, 1957).
 - *Essays in Elizabethan History* (London, 1958).

- Norton, E., *Catherine Parr* (Stroud: Amberley, 2010).
- Osborne, J., *Urbino: the Story of a Renaissance City* (Frances Lincoln, 2003).
- Parry, G. J. R., *A Protestant Vision: William Harrison and the Reformation of Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- *Arch Conjuror of England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).
- Partridge, M., 'Thomas Hoby's English Translation of Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 50, No. 4 (2007), 769-786.
- Payne, H., 'The Cecil Women at Court', 265-81 in *Patronage, Culture and Power: the Early Cecils 1558-1612*, ed. Croft, P., (London: Yale University Press, 2002).
- 'Aristocratic Women, Power, Patronage and Family Networks at the Jacobean Court, 1603-1625', 164-81 in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700*, ed. Daybell, J, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).
- Pedersen, S., 'The Future of Feminist History' presented at the breakfast meeting of the Committee on Women Historians of the American Historical Association on 8 January 2000. <https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/october-2000/the-future-of-feminist-history>.
- Pender, P., *Early Modern Women's Writing and the Rhetoric of Modesty* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
- Persson, F., 'Living in the House of Power: Women at the Early Modern Swedish Court', 343-63 in Akkerman, N., and Houben, B., eds., *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies in Waiting Across Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).
- Pettegree, A., *Marian Protestantism: Six Studies* (St Andrews: St Andrews Studies in Reformation History, 1995).
- Philips, Jr., J. E., 'The Background of Spenser's Attitude toward Women Rulers', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Oct., 1941), 5-32.
- Phillips, R., *Untying the Knot: A Short History of Divorce* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- Plowden, A., *Tudor Women: Queens and Commoners* (Stroud: Sutton, 2002).
- Pollard, A. F., *England Under Protector Somerset: An Essay* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co, 1900).
- *The History of England from the accession of Edward VI to the death of Elizabeth* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co, 1913).
- Pollintz, A., 'Christian Women or Sovereign Queens? The Schooling of Mary and Elizabeth', 127-44 in Hunt, A., and Whitelock, A., eds. *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
- Porter, L., *Katherine the Queen: The Remarkable Life of Katherine Parr* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2010).

- Prescott, H. M. F., *Mary Tudor: The Spanish Tudor* (London: Phoenix, 2003).
- Pryor, F., *Elizabeth I: Her Life in Letters* (London: The British Library, 2003).
- Read, C., *Mr Secretary Walsingham and the policy of Queen Elizabeth* (London: Archon Books, 1967).
- Rebholz, R. A., ed., *Sir Thomas Wyatt: The Complete Poems* (London: Penguin, 1997).
- Redworth, G., 'Matters Impertinent to Women': Male and Female Monarchy under Philip and Mary', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 112, No. 447 (Jun., 1997), 596-613.
- Richards, J. and Thorne, A., eds., *Rhetoric, Women and Politics in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2007).
- Richards, J. M., "'To Promote a Woman to Beare Rule': Talking of Queens in Mid-Tudor England", *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Spring, 1997), 101-121.
 - 'Mary Tudor as 'Sole Quene?': Gendering Tudor Monarchy', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Dec., 1997), 895-924.
 - 'Love and a Female Monarch: The Case of Elizabeth Tudor', *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Apr., 1999), 133-160.
 - *Mary Tudor* (London: Routledge, 2008).
 - 'Examples and Admonitions: What Mary Demonstrated for Elizabeth', in *Tudor Queenship: the Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth* eds., Hunt, A., and Whitelock, A., (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 31-46.
- Robertson, K., 'Tracing Women's Connections from a Letter by Elizabeth Raleigh', 149-64 in *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens: Women's Alliances in Early Modern England: Women's Alliances in Early Modern England* eds. Frye, S., and Robertson, K., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
- Robison, W. B., 'More, Sir Christopher (b. in or before 1483, d. 1549)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004).
- Rollins, H. E., 'William Elderton: Elizabethan Actor and Ballad-Writer', *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Apr., 1920), 199-245.
- Rowbotham, S., *Hidden From History* (London: Pluto, 1973).
- Rowse, A. L., *The England of Elizabeth* (London: Macmillan, 1950).
- Ryan, L. V., 'Walter Haddon: Elizabethan Latinist', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Feb., 1954), 99-124.
- Samson, A., 'Changing Places: The Marriage and Royal Entry of Philip, Prince of Austria, and Mary Tudor, July-August 1554', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 36 (2005).
- Scarisbrick, J. J., *Henry VIII* (London: Eyre Methuen Ltd, 1968).
 - *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984).

- Scoufos, A. L., 'Nashe, Jonson, and the Oldcastle Problem', *Modern Philology*, Vol. 65, No. 4 (May, 1968) 307-324.
- Sessions, W. A., 'Literature and the court', 119-56 in *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature* eds. Loewenstein, D., and Mueller, J., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
- Shakespeare, W., *The Tragedy of Othello, the Moor of Venice* ed. E. A. J. Honigman, 3rd edn (London: Arden, 2001).
- *Romeo and Juliet* ed. René Weis 3rd edn (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2012).
- Sherman, W. H., *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995).
- Simons, E. N., *The Queen and the Rebel* (London: F. Muller, 1964).
- Skidmore, C., *Edward VI: The Lost King of England* (London: Orion, 2007).
- Smith, H., *'Grossly Material Things': Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- Somerset, A., *Ladies-in-Waiting From the Tudors to the Present Day* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1984).
- Somerville, M. R., *Sex and Subjection: Attitudes to Women in Early-Modern Society* (London: Arnold, 1995).
- Starkey, D., ed., *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (Longman: London, 1987).
- 'Intimacy and innovation: the rise of the Privy Chamber, 1485-1547' in *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* ed., Starkey, D. (London: Longman, 1987).
- *Elizabeth: Apprenticeship* (London: Vintage, 2001).
- *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (London: Random House, 2004).
- Steen, S. J., 'The Cavendish-Talbot women: playing a high-stakes game', 148-61 in Daybell, J., ed., *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700* (Burlington and Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).
- Stewart, A., *Shakespeare's Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- Stewart, A., and Wolfe, H., *Letterwriting in Renaissance England* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004).
- Stone, L., 'The Anatomy of the Elizabethan Aristocracy', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 18, No. 1/2 (1948), 1-53.
- *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967).
- *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (London: Penguin, 1977).
- *Road to Divorce, England 1530-1987* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
- Strickland, A., *Lives of the Queens of England*, Vol. 3 (London: George Bell and Sons, 1890).

- Taylor, G., 'William Shakespeare, Richard James and the House of Cobham', *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, Vol. 38, No. 151 (Aug., 1987), 334-54.
- Thomson, P., *Sir Thomas Wyatt and his Background* (California: Stanford University Press, 1964).
- Turner, E. H., 'Queen Elizabeth I and Her Friends' in *History Today*, X (1965), 619-31.
- Tytler, P. F., *England under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary* (London, 1839).
- Walker, G., 'The Expulsion of the Minions Reconsidered', *Historical Journal*, 2 (1989), 1-16.
- 'Rethinking the fall of Anne Boleyn', *Historical Journal*, Vol. 45 (2002).
- Ward, A. E., *Women and Tudor Tragedy: Feminizing Counsel and Representing Gender* (Madison: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2013)
- Warnicke, R. M., Warnicke, 'Grey, Frances, duchess of Suffolk (1517–1559)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004).
- *Wicked Women of Tudor England: Queens, Aristocrats and Commoners* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
- Warren, C., 'Gender and name recognition' and 'An Entry of One's Own, or Why Are There So Few Women In the Early Modern Social Network?' in sixdegreesoffrancisbacon.com [accessed 10 Jan. 2014].
- Wiesener, L., *La Jeunesse D'Élisabeth D'Angleterre (1533-1558)* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1878).
- *The Youth of Queen Elizabeth 1533-1558*, 2 Vols., ed. and trans. Yonge, C. M. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1879).
- Wiesner, M. E., *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- 'Beyond Women and the Family: Towards a Gender Analysis of the Reformation', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Autumn, 1987) 311-321.
- White, B., 'Three Rare Books about Women', *The Huntington Library Bulletin*, No. 2 (Nov., 1931), 165-172.
- Whitelock, A., 'A woman in a man's world: Mary I and political intimacy, 1553-1558', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (2007), 323-334.
- *Mary Tudor England's First Queen* (London: Bloomsbury, 2009).
- "'Woman, Warrior, Queen?'" Rethinking Mary and Elizabeth', in *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*, eds., Hunt, A., and Whitelock, A. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 173-190.
- *Elizabeth's Bedfellows* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).
- Whitelock, A., and MacCulloch, D., 'Princess Mary's Household and the Succession Crisis, July 1553', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (Jun., 2007), 265-87.
- Wilson, V. A., *Queen Elizabeth's Maids of Honour and Ladies of the Privy Chamber* (London: John Lane, 1922).

Woolfson, J., *Padua and the Tudors: English Students in Italy, 1485-1603* (London: James Clarke, 1998).

- 'Thomas Hoby, William Thomas, and Mid-Tudor Travel to Italy', in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature*, eds., Shrank, C., and Pincombe, M. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Wright, P., 'A Change in Direction,' in *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. Starkey, D. (London: Longman, 1987), 147-72.

Yates, F. A., *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Koutledge and Kegan Paul, 1975).

Unpublished theses

Bryson, A., "'The Speciall Men in Every Shere:': The Edwardian Regime, 1547-1553' (University of St Andrews: Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2001).

Bundesen, K., "'No Other Faction but my Own": Dynastic Politics and Elizabeth I's Carey Cousins' (University of Nottingham: Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2008).

Clark, N., 'Dynastic Politics: Five Women of the Howard Family During the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509-1547' (Royal Holloway, University of London: Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2013).

Edwards, J. S., "'Jane the Quene": A New Consideration of Lady Jane Grey, England's Nine-Day Queen' (University of Colorado at Boulder: Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2007).

Goldsmith, J. B. G., 'All the Queen's women: The Changing Place and Perception of Aristocratic Women in Elizabethan England, 1558-1620' (Northwestern University: Unpublished PhD Thesis, 1987).

Hamilton, D., 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr' (University of Oxford: Unpublished PhD Thesis, 1992).

Howey, C., 'Busy Bodies: Women, Power and Politics at the Court of Elizabeth I, 1558-1603' (State University of New Jersey: Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2007).

Merton, C., 'The Women who Served Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth: Ladies, Gentlewomen and Maids of the Privy Chamber, 1553-1603' (University of Cambridge: Unpublished PhD Thesis, 1991).

Partridge, M., 'Images of the Courtier in Elizabethan England' (University of Birmingham: Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2008).

Payne, H., 'Aristocratic Women and the Jacobean Court, 1603-1625' (Royal Holloway, University of London: Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2001)

Samson, A., 'The Marriage of Philip of Habsburg and Mary Tudor and Anti-Spanish Sentiment in England' (University of London: Unpublished PhD Thesis, 1999).

Starkey, D., 'The King's Privy Chamber, 1485-1547' (University of Cambridge: Unpublished PhD Thesis, 1973).

Wolfson, S., 'Aristocratic Women of the Household and Court of Queen Henrietta Maria, 1625-1659' (University of Durham: Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2010).