



Scott, Jade (2017) *The letters of Lady Anne Percy, countess of Northumberland (1536-91): gender, exile and early modern cultures of correspondence*. PhD thesis.

<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/8463/>

Copyright and moral rights for this work are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge

This work cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission from the author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Enlighten: Theses

<https://theses.gla.ac.uk>

research-enlighten@glasgow.ac.uk

**THE LETTERS OF LADY ANNE PERCY, COUNTESS OF NORTHUMBERLAND
(1536–91): GENDER, EXILE AND EARLY MODERN CULTURES OF
CORRESPONDENCE**

Jade Scott

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
English Language

September 2017

School of Critical Studies

College of Arts

University of Glasgow

© Jade Scott, September 2017

ABSTRACT

This is a study of the letters of Anne, countess of Northumberland (1536–91) throughout her exile in the Low Countries from August 1570 until her death on 9 September 1591. The thesis draws on archival research and analysis of several hundred letters and associated documents, in English, Latin, Scots, French and cipher, spread across six British and European archives, to, from and about Anne and her contemporaries. The thesis includes an edition of the twenty-four extant letters written to and from Anne, in English and Latin, and images of these, as well as a newly published *ODNB* entry. Anne's letters offer evidence of an early modern woman directing and commanding the production and rhetorical construction of her correspondence and the gendered nature of her epistolary world. The thesis argues that she successfully represented herself and developed her agency despite (or in the context of) epistolary practices shaped heavily by men: male secretaries penned her letters, male addressees and male intelligencers intercepted and assessed the value of her correspondence. This thesis illuminates the physical ways that Anne authorised her letters as well as the rhetorical and linguistic strategies that she employed to assert her own power and negotiate her position in epistolary exchanges.

After the introduction, which includes a biography of Anne, an overview of her letters and an outline of the theoretical framework of the thesis, there are three analytical chapters. Chapter One situates the letters in their socio-historical contexts to highlight how Anne negotiated the extreme circumstances of her exile to her own advantage: to access traditional reward-based patronage; to deploy informal shared experiences to sustain service and client bonds; and to establish a central position within the English exile community and the political network surrounding Mary, Queen of Scots. Chapter Two draws on techniques from manuscript studies and examines Anne's letters and the evidence they offer for their own composition, sending, reception and afterlife. This chapter reveals the benefits of close scrutiny of the physical and linguistic features of letters, adding detail to our understanding of women's use of letter-writing practices in the period. Chapter Three applies techniques from the field of historical pragmatics to analyse the rhetorical and linguistic strategies used in Anne's letters to bolster her own position by appropriating gender expectations to her own advantage while navigating social and interpersonal relationships embedded in epistolary exchanges. The thesis therefore, by drawing on different disciplinary techniques, offers us layers of insights into the letters. The picture that emerges is one that depicts not only Anne's agency but the processes through which her agency was constructed and enacted, according to the opportunities and limitations of her own culture and the extreme and exceptional circumstances of her own life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of tables	p. 5
List of figures	pp. 5 - 7
Acknowledgements	p. 8
Abbreviations	pp. 9 - 10
Naming Conventions	p. 11
Editorial Note	p. 11
Introduction:	pp. 12 - 19
- I. I. Methodology	pp. 19 - 26
- I. II. Biography of Anne, countess of Northumberland	pp. 26 - 33
- I. III. Chapter Synopsis	pp. 33 - 40
Chapter One:	
Reconstructing Anne, countess of Northumberland's Political and Religious Networks	
- 1.1. Introduction	pp. 41 - 47
- 1.2. The Primary Network, 1569 - 1572	pp. 47 - 56
- 1.3. The Scottish Network, 1569 - 1577	pp. 57 - 61
- 1.3.I. Mary, Queen of Scots and The Scottish Network, 1568 - 1577	pp. 61 - 66
- 1.4. The Exile Network, 1570 - 1591	pp. 66 - 78
- 1.5. Conclusions	pp. 78 - 79
Chapter Two:	
Epistolary Production and Reception	
- 2.1. Introduction	pp. 80 - 82
- 2.2. Methods and Definitions	pp. 82 - 85
- 2.3. Delivery Status, Physical Forms and Material Features	pp. 86 - 87
- 2.3. I. Seals and Folds	pp. 88 - 102
- 2.3. II. Superscriptions and Endorsements	pp. 103 - 110
- 2.4. Handwriting and Signatures	pp. 110 - 117
- 2.4. I. Signatures: Form and Function	pp. 118 - 123
- 2.5. Latin Letters Copied by John Fenn	pp. 123 - 128
- 2.6. English Letters Copied by Robert Heighington	pp. 128 - 130
- 2.6. I. Spelling	pp. 130 - 135
- 2.6. II. Vocabulary	pp. 135 - 139

- 2.6. III. Punctuation pp. 139 - 141
- 2.6. IV. Abbreviations pp. 141 - 142
- 2.6. V. Identifying Robert Heighington as Anne's English Secretary pp. 143 - 145
- 2.7. Letter Bearers pp. 145 - 148
- 2.8. Conclusions pp. 149 - 150

**Chapter Three:
Rhetorical and Linguistic Strategies in
Anne, countess of Northumberland's
Exile Letters in English**

- 3.1. Introduction pp. 151 - 153
- 3.2. Early Modern Epistolary Petitions pp. 153 - 156
- 3.2. I. Case Study 1: Anne's Petitions p. 156
- 3.2. II. The Construction of Authority pp. 156 - 165
- 3.2. III. Mitigating Offence pp. 165 - 167
- 3.3. Early Modern Marriage Letters pp. 168 - 169
- 3.3. I. Case Study 2: Anne's Marital Letters p. 170
- 3.3. II. The Posture of Female Inferiority pp. 171 - 174
- 3.3. III. Idealised Marital Roles pp. 174 - 178
- 3.4. Early Modern Newsletters pp. 178 - 180
- 3.4. I. Case Study 3: Anne's Newsletters pp. 180 - 182
- 3.4. II. News and Intelligence pp. 182 - 184
- 3.4. III. Symbols and Ciphers pp. 185 - 189
- 3.5. Conclusions pp. 190 - 192

Conclusion and Directions for Further Research pp. 193 - 199

**Appendix I: An Edition of the
Manuscript Letters of Anne, countess of
Northumberland (7 January 1570 – 25
December 1577)**

- Transcription and Editorial Policy pp. 200 - 209
- Edition of the Letters (24 letters to and from Anne, countess of Northumberland, 1570 – 1577) pp. 210 - 345

Appendix II: pp. 346 - 350

- Full text: Jade Scott, 'Percy [née Somerset], Anne, countess of Northumberland (1536–1591), rebel and Roman Catholic exile', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*

Bibliography

- Manuscript Sources	pp. 351 - 353
- Early Printed Books and Editions	pp. 353 - 354
- Catalogues and Reference Works	pp. 354 - 355
- Published Secondary Sources	pp. 356 - 365
- Unpublished Theses	p. 365

LIST OF TABLES

1. Spelling of common words in Anne's English letters	p. 131
2. Contractions and divisions in the spelling practice of Anne's English letters	p. 132
3. Compound forms in Anne's English letters	p. 136
4. Expanded abbreviations	p. 204
5. Anne's ciphers	p. 207

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1.1. CP 159/21 (31/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Douglas, Lord Lochleven. Detail of wax seal and traces of paper lock.	p. 88
Fig. 1.2. CP 5/94 (31/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband, Thomas Percy, the earl of Northumberland. Detail of wax seal with traces of paper lock.	p. 89
Fig. 1.3. CP 157/96 (27/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to the earl of Northumberland. Detail of wax seal with traces of paper lock.	p. 89
Fig. 1.4. National Trust Images, CMS_486489. Petworth House window featuring Somerset arms impaled with Percy arms.	p. 90
Fig. 1.5. TNA, SP 12/108/171 (16/08/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton. Detail of wax seal traces over dispatch slit.	p. 90
Fig. 1.6. TNA, SP 12/108/165 (08/08/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton. Detail	p. 91

of wax seal traces over dispatch slit.	
Fig. 1.7. TNA, SP 12/107/75 (11/02/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton. Detail of wax seal traces over dispatch slit.	p. 91
Fig. 1.8. TNA, SP 12/108/89: Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton. Detail showing wax seal traces.	p. 92
Fig. 1.9. CP 157/96 (27/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to the earl of Northumberland. Slit and band fold.	p. 93
Fig. 1.10. CP 5/76 (28/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to the earl of Northumberland. Evidence of accordion folding.	p. 94
Fig. 1.11. CP 159/21 (31/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to the earl of Northumberland. Evidence of accordion folding.	p. 95
Fig. 1.12. BL, Cott. MSS. Caligula. C. III. f. 186 (21/06/1571): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Sir Thomas Stucely. Superscription. Endorsement in Burghley's hand.	p. 103
Fig. 1.13. TNA, SP 12/107/60 (21/01/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton. Cipher superscription. Endorsement in Burghley's hand.	p. 103
Fig. 1.14. TNA, SP 12/108/103 (26/06/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton. Cipher superscription. Endorsement in Burghley's hand.	p. 104
Fig. 1.15. TNA, SP 12/108/89 (09/06/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton. Close up of marginalia in Burghley's hand.	p. 104
Fig. 1.16. CP 5/94 (31/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to James Douglas, the earl of Morton. Close up of superscription featuring decorative knot and text erased on opening.	p. 105
Fig. 1.17. CP 157/97 (27/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Lord Lochleven. Superscription with decorative knot and text erased on opening.	p. 105
Fig. 1.18. CP 157/96 (27/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to the earl of Northumberland. Text removed on opening.	p. 105
Fig. 1.19. TNA, SP 12/109/96 (15/06/1576): Anne, countess of	p. 106

- Northumberland to Peter Kirke. Detail showing superscription.
- Fig. 1.20. CP 157/97 (27/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Lord Lochleven. Anne's characteristic italic signature. p. 110
- Fig. 1.21. TNA, SP 12/108/96 (15/06/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Peter Kirke. Anne's elaborate large signature. p. 111
- Fig. 1.22. TNA, SP 12/108/103 (26/06/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton. Cipher mark with identifying expansion in Burghley's hand. p. 111
- Fig. 1.23. TNA, SP 12/108/89 (09/06/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton. Cipher mark without identifying expansion. p. 112
- Fig. 1.24. CP 159/21 (31/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to the earl of Northumberland. No signature or cipher. p. 112
- Fig. 1.25. TNA, SP 12/66/09 (07/01/1570): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon. Contemporary copy. Signature and body text in hand of Hunsdon's secretary. p. 113
- Fig. 1.26. CP 157/97 (27/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Lord Lochleven. Detail showing date. p. 129

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to extend my sincere thanks to my supervisors Dr Alison Wiggins and Professor Alexandra Shepard for their encouragement and support of this thesis. They have offered patient support along the way, directions for improvements and a warm environment that has continued to shape my research. Both the thesis and I have benefited from their insight and enthusiasm.

This work was supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council [grant number AH/K503046/1] and I am most grateful for the funding which made it possible for me to pursue my doctoral research. I would also like to thank the Arts and Humanities Research Council, the School of Critical Studies and the College of Arts at the University of Glasgow for generous support of archival research trips and conference attendance.

My archival trips were made much easier and enjoyable thanks to the efforts of the curators and staff of numerous public and private collections. I offer my thanks to Dr Katy Mair at The National Archives who ensured that my brief visit was especially fruitful. To Vicki Perry and Sarah Whale, and all the staff at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, I also extend my thanks for a wonderful visit, made easier by your efforts to locate Anne's letters in advance. Thank you for including me in your lunch-time celebrations. I also would like to thank Christopher Hunwick, archivist at Alnwick Castle, for his help in setting the research in the right direction way back at the beginning of this project by helping me find what little material survives in family Percy collections.

Others have contributed to this thesis in a myriad of ways and I hope I can repay your efforts in some way. To Professor Jamie Goodrich I offer grateful thanks for offering material relating to Anne's daughter Lady Mary Percy. To Bob Lawson, for his help in finding out more about Ferniehurst Castle and Dr Francis Young for his knowledge of John Fenn as well as his friendly support at my first 'serious' academic conference. To everyone at the Catholic Record Society who supported my attendance and presentation last year, especially Dr Liesbeth Corens, I offer my friendship and thanks. I would also like to extend thanks to those here at the University of Glasgow who have made this experience all the more enjoyable. To Dr Diane Scott for being a friendly face when things felt never-ending and Dr Fraser Dallachy for offering his Latin skills to a poor student who left Latin behind at Higher. And to everyone in the department including Alison Bennett who can always be relied upon to make sure everything is running smoothly. Thanks too to Professor Marc Alexander for giving me the opportunity to experience tutoring undergraduates. Finally, I offer huge thanks to Peter Dunne, my former Latin teacher for his help in translating Anne's Latin letters, without which I would have been lost in the wilderness.

I would also like to thank Kirsty Chatburn and Debbie McLay, true friends who have stayed with me through this whole thesis, and who have encouraged me through the dark moments. My parents, who have never wavered in their support, deserve a special thanks. They have always encouraged my interest in history and continuing study, and indeed have supported my decisions always. To them I offer my love and heartfelt thanks. Finally, I wish to thank Stewart McLay who has supported me without question and has encouraged me to stick with this thesis to the end. In appreciation of your support and encouragement I dedicate this thesis to you, and hope it makes up for the last few months of stress.

ABBREVIATIONS

ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Rome
Bedfords. RO	Bedfordshire and Luton Archives and Record Office
BL	British Library
BL, Addit.	British Library, Additional MSS
BL, Cott.	British Library, Cotton MSS
BL, Lansd.	British Library, Lansdowne MSS
BnF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
Cal. Salisbury	<i>Calendar of Salisbury Manuscripts, Cecil Papers, Hatfield House, Hertfordshire</i>
CP	Cecil Papers, Hatfield House, Hertfordshire
CSP Dom.	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic,</i>
CSP Dom. Add.	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Addenda,</i>
CSP For.	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Foreign</i>
CSP Rome.	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Rome</i>
CSP Scot.	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Scotland</i>
CSP Spain.	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Spain</i>
Folger	Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC
HMC	<i>Historical Manuscripts Commission</i>
Huntington	Huntington Library, San Marino, California
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
<i>Lisle Letters</i>	Muriel St. Clare Byrne (ed.), <i>The Lisle Letters</i> , 6 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981)
<i>MED</i>	<i>Middle English Dictionary</i>
MSS	Manuscripts
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>

OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
PHA	Petworth House Archives, Sussex
PRO	Public Record Office
PROB 11	Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury: Will Registers
<i>Registrum Honoris</i>	<i>Registrum Honoris de Morton: Original Letters and Papers in the Archives of the Earls of Morton, 1529 – 1608, Vol. I</i> (Edinburgh: T. Constable, 1853)
<i>Relations politiques</i>	Joseph Kervyn de Lettenhove, <i>Relations politiques des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre sous le règne de Philippe II</i> 11 vols. (Brussels: F. Hayez, 1888 – 1902)
RO	Record Office
SP	State Papers
TNA	The National Archives, Kew, London
TNA, SP 1	The National Archives, Kew, State Papers, Henry VIII, General
TNA, SP 12	The National Archives, Kew, State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth
TNA, SP 15	The National Archives, Kew, State Papers, Domestic, Addenda
TNA, SP 46	The National Archives, Kew, State Papers, Domestic, Supplementary
TNA, SP 52	The National Archives, Kew, State Papers, Scotland, Elizabeth
TNA, SP 53	The National Archives, Kew, State Papers, Scotland, Queen of Scots
TNA, SP 70	The National Archives, Kew, State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth

NAMING CONVENTIONS

Throughout this thesis Lady Anne Percy, countess of Northumberland, is routinely referred to using her full title in headings and captions to the letters. She is referred to as Anne, countess of Northumberland, throughout the text in the first instance (in each new section) and subsequently as Anne to avoid excessive repetition. This naming practice recognises that during Anne's exile from December 1569 she was still referred to as both the 'countess of Northumberland' and 'Lady Percy' despite the succession of Henry Percy, to the title of 8th earl of Northumberland and his wife Catherine Percy, to the title of countess of Northumberland. Contemporaries did not refer to Anne as the dowager countess throughout her exile. Anne herself signed her name as <A. Northumberland>, when not employing cipher marks, reflecting her continued identification with the title and rank of that estate. All other persons that feature in the thesis are referred to using their full title in the first instance (in each section) and subsequently only by their title. For example, Thomas Percy, 7th earl of Northumberland, is given his full title at the start of each section and referred to as Northumberland subsequently. Servants and other untitled correspondents and contacts are referred to using their full name in the first instance and using their family name in subsequent inclusions.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Throughout the thesis quotations from Anne's correspondence are presented as semi-diplomatic transcriptions. Original spelling has been maintained, including interchangeable use of 'u/v' and 'i/j'. Expansions are indicated by *italics*. In longer excerpts from the letters, line spacing is maintained. Semi-diplomatic transcriptions of a selection of full letter texts are also presented in chapter three. However, in these examples the line spacing has been modernised with the inclusion of line numbers so that references to the text can be more easily located. Dates are given throughout in the New Style.¹

¹ See the Appendix for full diplomatic transcriptions of all of Anne's letters alongside the transcription policy.

INTRODUCTION

During the brief and ill-fated Northern Rebellion of 1569, Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon assessed the leadership of Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland frankly, arguing that his wife, Anne Percy, countess of Northumberland, was the driving force behind the earl's rising. He suggested that 'the gray mare ys the better horse'.¹ Anne was later attainted independently from her husband for her own commitment to the rebellion, riding with the rebel forces, intercepting post and choosing exile, first in Scotland and later in the Hapsburg ruled Low Countries, rather than suing for clemency. Her activities in exile warranted surveillance by English intelligencers under William Cecil, Lord Burghley's authority, while her correspondence was routinely intercepted between 1570 and 1577. During these years, she was implicated in minor Counter-Reformation plots including the failed papal-backed invasion of Ireland in 1578 and the campaign to restore Mary, Queen of Scots. Her position amongst the English exile community was such throughout the 1570s that Queen Elizabeth I 'raged marvously' against Anne and according to one contemporary intelligence report, desired to see Anne burned for the support she continued to receive on the continent.² Despite this dramatic biography and featuring regularly in diplomatic and intelligence reports of the 1570s, and despite the flourishing study of early modern women's political agency, Anne remains largely overlooked in histories of the period.

This thesis is at the forefront of broad epistolary studies and succeeds in applying a rounded form of analysis to a discrete corpus of texts. The thesis draws upon methods from epistolary studies, social history and historical pragmatics to examine the linguistic and material features of Anne's letters in the context of early modern letter-writing practices, in order to appreciate how meaning was constructed, how it was adapted to navigate social and interpersonal relations and how Anne directed the production and rhetoric of her letters to benefit her interests during her exile. Anne's exile letters offer a new dimension to the field of women's letter-writing. Her letters offer evidence of a noblewoman representing herself and her communities in an assured style, even in the extreme circumstances of exile, removed from the institutions of political, patronage and economic power. Certainly, we know that she made the circumstances of her letters work in her favour: by appropriating gender expectations and the benefits of her social rank to secure a position of influence amongst the English exiles and to pursue her personal and political interests. For

¹ Sir Cuthbert Sharp, *Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569* (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1841), p. 77: Lord Hunsdon to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, 26 November 1569.

² CSP Scot. 1569 – 1571 (27/06/1570), pp. 235 – 237: John Leslie, Bishop of Ross to unknown.

the first time therefore, this thesis reveals Anne's success as a patron of male servants, her political support of and communication with Mary, Queen of Scots and her leadership, albeit briefly, of the gentlemen fugitives in exile throughout the 1570s. Close scrutiny of the linguistic and material features of Anne's letters within the wider context of epistolary culture adds welcome detail to our understanding of early modern letter-writing practices. Moreover, analysis of the production process of letter-writing and the rhetorical strategies used by Anne in her correspondence offers evidence of women enacting epistolary agency to pursue their interests and to their own advantage, not merely on behalf of men, while navigating social and interpersonal relations embedded in correspondence.

The advantage of bringing together these different methods is to express the meaning of Anne's letters and to appreciate the processes of epistolary culture. First, the reconstruction of Anne's networks reveals how a woman could operate socially and politically, navigating patronage culture and activating epistolary networks. The collaborative and multi-agent nature of the processes of letter-writing is then revealed in chapter two of the thesis where a materialist approach demonstrates how Anne directed and controlled her letters.³ The thesis therefore offers new evidence of early modern women's epistolary understanding and agency, even in cases where the material production and reception of their letters was shaped by men. In Anne's case, her navigation of epistolary culture was dominated by men: all her extant letters were penned by one of two male secretaries, her surviving letters were addressed only to men and they were intercepted and assessed for value by male intelligencers and statesmen. Anne's epistolary agency is expanded in the final chapter where a historical pragmatic approach reveals the rhetorical and linguistic strategies of Anne's letters which she used to further her own interests, to maintain her high perception of her position and power and to engage diplomatically with correspondents of differing social status. Overall, examining Anne's letters and letter-writing as a process of collaborative production and intense effort, offers greater scope to appreciate the varied layers of her political and epistolary agency throughout her exile years.

It is true that bringing to bear methods and perspectives from across disciplines has prompted new questions about epistolary culture in the early modern period. The approach offered by this thesis, moving from the reconstruction of Anne's networks, to the analysis of the material features and physical processes of letter-writing and concluding with historical pragmatic readings of Anne's letters, offers evidence of the social and cultural

³ James Daybell and Andrew Gordon, 'The Early Modern Letter Opener', in *Cultures of Correspondence in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by, James Daybell and Andrew Gordon (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), pp. 1 – 26 (p.6).

practices of letter-writing and expands our understanding of the contexts in which they were produced and shared. Yet the thesis does not seek to simply illuminate the benefits of interdisciplinary study of letters through a case study of one woman and her letters. Instead, the study of Anne's letters contributes to the field of women's letter-writing in multiple ways.

First, this novel methodology, combining materialist and pragmatic approaches, offers new evidence of women letter-writers as the independent creators of epistolary networks, accessing and directing networks in the pursuit of their own goals. Anne's exile networks, understood through her letters and letters written about her by contemporary intelligencers, contribute to our understanding of women's political agency, demonstrating how women negotiated early modern patronage and diplomatic culture. This approach does not simply highlight Anne's centrality to the transnational networks surrounding her, but highlights how those networks interacted through epistolary exchanges which included the sharing of news, the employment of communal ciphers, and relationships with institutions such as the Vatican and the English state. While Anne's personal successes are revealed for the first time, it is also the case that her networks offer evidence of the techniques and strategies employed by women to navigate the structures of political culture. In Anne's case, these successes are more remarkable for the extreme circumstances of their creation, exile distancing her from familiar avenues of support and disrupting epistolary agency further. Therefore, studying Anne's networks, understood through her letters, offers a new dimension to the study of correspondence networks and contributes to projects such as Early Modern Letters Online (EMLO) which seek to record networks of correspondence across Europe in the early modern period.⁴ Projects like EMLO make visible the links between people, locations and crucially, ideas. Anne's letters contribute to this understanding of epistolary networks, since they do not offer evidence of kinship or familial networks, but indicate that her networks grew out of necessity in exile and expanded around shared politico-religious ideals.

Moreover, Anne's exile offers a new perspective that highlights the epistolary strategies women letter-writers employed, including the appropriation of gender assumptions, navigation of prescriptive ideals, and the advantages of social status and religious convictions. Her exile offers the opportunity to expand our knowledge of constructed linguistic scripts by questioning whether the circumstances of exile altered the construction

⁴ *Early Modern Letters Online*, Cultures of Knowledge, <http://emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/home> [accessed 08/08/2016].

of letters.⁵ This thesis offers evidence that exile impacted letter-writing processes and modified the linguistic construction of letters, primarily as a response to interception of correspondence. Yet, it also offers evidence of a noblewoman who did not, even in times of crisis, represent herself as disempowered or weak. Instead, the analysis of Anne's letters offered in this thesis, demonstrates the linguistic strategies that were used by women letter-writers even when removed from familiar expressions of influence and power. Taking a historical pragmatic approach to Anne's petitions, marriage correspondence and newsletters highlights that overarching her correspondence was an assured representation of her superior social status and her personal epistolary and political agency.

Finally, this thesis contributes to the study of politics and political culture in the early modern period, by examining the gendered nature of letter-writing and of patronage and diplomatic activities. Anne's exile experience offers new evidence of women's sophisticated performance as 'informal conduits of information', fostering beneficial relationships through the exchange of news and intelligence.⁶ This study of her letters also expands on the recent reconceptualization of diplomatic and patronage culture, by offering evidence of a woman who accessed networks, shared news and supported service relationships independently of powerful male relatives. The circumstances of Anne's exile are therefore shown to have supported her political agency, separated as she was from her husband by his imprisonment and his execution. Instead, as her letters demonstrate, she expertly galvanised the gentlemen fugitives' petitionary claims, and became a central figure in transnational Catholic networks. Anne's letters also offer evidence of the complex motivations and layers of women's letters. For example, this thesis demonstrates that even letters traditionally considered to have been written by women on behalf of, or in the interests of, male relatives, had the additional purpose of assuring women (and their male audiences) of their epistolary and political accomplishments. Historical pragmatic readings of Anne's petitions and letters of advice demonstrate how Anne negotiated her high perception of her power and influence while engaging diplomatically with social relations. This approach builds upon recent studies of women's letters of counsel and affront, to

⁵ Lynne Magnusson, *Shakespeare and Social Dialogue: Dramatic Language and Elizabethan Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); see also James Daybell, 'Scripting a Female Voice: Women's Epistolary Rhetoric in Sixteenth-Century Petitions', *Women's Writing*, 13.1 (2006), pp. 3-22; Magnusson 'A Rhetoric of Requests: Genre and Linguistic Scripts in Elizabethan Women's Suitors' Letters', in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by James Daybell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 51 – 67; Alison Thorne, 'Women's Petitionary Letter and Early Seventeenth-Century Treason Trials', in *Women's Writing*, 13.1 (2006), pp. 23- 43.

⁶ James Daybell and Svante Norrhem, 'Rethinking gender and political culture in Early Modern Europe', in *Gender and Political Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by, James Daybell and Svante Norrhem (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 3 -24 (p.4).

highlight the linguistic and rhetorical strategies that women letter-writers used to mitigate offence and navigate politeness and emotional displays of frustration and even anger.⁷

Overall, Anne's letters contribute new evidence of women's understanding of epistolary culture, demonstrating the strategies they used to sophisticatedly represent themselves and negotiate social and interpersonal relations. This thesis, with the new perspective of Anne's exile experience, and a novel interdisciplinary approach, also contributes to our understanding of women's political agency in the early modern period, as shown through an assessment of Anne's diplomatic and patronage activities.

The field of women's letter-writing has grown considerably over the past decade, prompted by the archival recovery and reassessment of the range of women's letters offered throughout the 1990s by Ann Crabb, Jane Couchman, James Daybell and Barbara J. Harris.⁸ Accomplished editions of individual women's correspondence and large-scale studies of letters have extended our knowledge of women's letter-writing by drawing upon multiple disciplines.⁹ More recently, the emergence of digital resources, including Women's Early Modern Letters Online (WEMLO) and the Bess of Hardwick collection, has stimulated new insights as letters become central sources for scholars across multiple and varied disciplines.¹⁰ While digital resources make locating materials immensely easier for modern researchers, they risk overlooking material or physical features which are either not recorded or are difficult to determine via digital images. The continued improvement of digital collections, which recognise the significance of material features, as well as offering multiple search options (geographical location, gender, social status etc.) serves to make

⁷ Gemma Allen, *The Cooke Sisters: Education, Piety and Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Gemma Allen, 'Women as Counsellors in Sixteenth-Century England: The Letters of Lady Anne Bacon and Lady Elizabeth Russell', in *Women and Epistolary Agency in Early Modern Culture*, ed. by James Daybell and Andrew Gordon (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 81-95; Nadine Akkerman, 'Enigmatic Cultures of Correspondence', in *Women and Epistolary Agency in Early Modern Culture*, ed. by James Daybell and Andrew Gordon (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 69-84; Michelle O'Callaghan, 'An Uncivill Scurrilous Letter: Women's Brabb[les] and the Letter of Affront', in *Women and Epistolary Agency in Early Modern Culture*, ed. by James Daybell and Andrew Gordon (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 169-185; Lynne Magnusson, 'Widowhood and Linguistic Capital: The Rhetoric and Reception of Anne Bacon's Epistolary Advice', in *English Literary Renaissance*, 31 (2001), pp. 3-33.

⁸ Jane Couchman and Ann Crabb, eds., *Womens Letters Across Europe, 1400 – 1700* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); James Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers in Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Barbara J. Harris, *English Aristocratic Women, 1450 – 1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

⁹ Gary Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity: Vernacular Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern England, 1500- 1700* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005); Susan Fitzmaurice, *The Familiar Letter in Early Modern English: A Pragmatic Approach* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2002); Lynne Magnusson, *Shakespeare and Social Dialogue*; Alan Stewart, *Shakespeare's Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

¹⁰ *Early Modern Letters Online*, Cultures of Knowledge, <http://emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/home> [accessed 08/08/2016]; *Bess of Hardwick's Letters: The Complete Correspondence c.1550 – 1608*, <https://www.bessofhardwick.org/> [accessed 08/08/2016].

letters ever more helpful sources for scholars from across disciplines. Indeed, digital collections continue to combat the archival tendency to preserve letters as individual documents, in isolation. Highlighting the connections between letters and between correspondents (as EMLO and WEMLO attempt), permits a wider opportunity to understand both individual correspondence and the patterns which become visible over large corpuses.

As Alan Stewart explains, critical approaches to letters tended to fall into two categories in the past; those that were concerned with the contents of letters and those which focussed on the materiality of letters.¹¹ Thankfully, Stewart notes 'that most scholarship today employs elements of both'. Thus, historians have long turned to letters as sources which, often uniquely, offer evidence of events, empirical facts, or for individual biographical insights. Alternatively, the rhetorical and linguistic formation of letters, has increasingly supported the work of historical pragmatics, which with its insistence in understanding the specific socio-cultural contexts of letters' production, has in turn led to the flourishing study of the socially constructed interactions embedded in correspondence.

More recently, contributions from scholars in digital humanities have fuelled a new materialist approach which aims to recreate letter-writing processes in an attempt to offer new insight into the functions of physical and material features of letters, including how these features helped to construct meaning and how this meaning was understood in the social and interpersonal relationships of correspondents. The Letterlocking project, steered by Jana Dambrogio and Dan Starza-Smith, makes models of distinct letter forms, highlighting devices employed in the production of letters which served as security measures or social cues, such as markers of intimacy or deference.¹² This project lends itself to studies of intercepted letters, like Anne's, whereby material features can add to our understanding of the anxiety surrounding privacy and security. A materialist approach permits a novel understanding of the physical features of letters. Moreover, exile letters can themselves extend the reaches of this technique, expanding our understanding of material features within a distinct corpus and in a less abstract fashion than perhaps the materialist approach tends towards.¹³ Analyses such as that offered here, offer evidence of the practical function of material features by examining how they were utilised by an

¹¹ Alan Stewart, 'Familiar Letters and State Papers: The Afterlives of Early Modern Correspondence', in *Cultures of Correspondence in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by, James Daybell and Andrew Gordon (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), pp. 237-252 (p. 237).

¹² Letterlocking, <http://letterlocking.org/about> [08/08/2016].

¹³ Nadine Akkerman, ed. *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia*, Vol. II (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); see also Wolfe, ed., *Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland*; Lois Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature, 1641 – 1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

individual within their specific socio-cultural context. As such, the inclusion of security features in Anne's intercepted correspondence demonstrates that attempts were made to secure letters, not necessarily that such features were effective. Additionally, when changes occurred in the physical production and material features of Anne's letters, this prompts new questions about their function. Accordion folds are therefore shown, in chapter two of the thesis, to have acted as a social cue in Anne's marriage letters, possibly indicating intimacy during the couple's enforced separation, or more likely, as a visible signal that Anne was representing herself as a dutiful and obedient wife through a physically diminutive letter, which replicated the content of her letters, framed as they were by strategies of idealised wifely behaviour.

Large-scale studies have shaped the techniques which scholars continue to utilise in the study of early modern women's letters. Stewart's landmark study shows how the physical production of letters and the disruption of their creation, delivery and reception, overcame recommended practices.¹⁴ His approach to the reality of letter-writing processes bolstered our understanding of letters as collaborative texts, which were both public and personal. Recent work on correspondence has continued to emphasise the multi-agent processes of letter-writing, leading to a growing acceptance of letters penned by secretaries as texts that, though collaborative in nature and indeed in some cases directly mediated, are representative of the sender's language and intentions.¹⁵ The letters of women are especially aided by this reconceptualization of epistolary texts, since in many cases only secretarial letters survive, or indeed women were unable to write. The recognition of letters penned by secretaries as representations of women's language and intentions, has grown out of the reconceptualization of early modern politics and political culture in which gender is now considered a legitimate and valuable category of analysis. The field of women's letter-writing has benefited enormously from the reconceptualization of political culture to include what has been termed the 'soft cultural and economic power' which women negotiated, demonstrating their political agency.¹⁶

¹⁴ Stewart, *Shakespeare's Letters*.

¹⁵ Melanie Evans, 'By the queen: Collaborative Authorship in the Scribal Correspondence of Queen Elizabeth I', in *Women and Epistolary Agency in Early Modern Culture, 1450-1690*, ed. by, James Daybell and Andrew Gordon (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 36-54; Emily Ross, 'Whose letter is it anyway?: an assessment of secretarial involvement in Lady Elizabeth Hatton's correspondence', *Etudes Epistémè*, 21 (Spring 2012) <<https://episteme.revues.org/398>> [accessed 1 December 2016].

¹⁶ Daybell and Norrhem, 'Rethinking gender and political culture', p. 3; Nadine Akkerman, and Birjit Houben, eds., *The Politics of Female Household: Ladies-in-Waiting Across Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2014); Barbara J. Harris, 'Women and Politics in Early Tudor England', *Historical Journal*, 33 (1990), 259–81.

Letters are a primary source of evidence for women's diplomatic and patronage activities. The understanding of the informal channels of communication which women fostered, through gathering and sharing news, supporting familial and kinship relations through petitions on their behalf and offering counsel, are all evident in women's correspondence.¹⁷ The range of their epistolary agency in representing themselves and their communities has been highlighted in editions of individual women's letters and across broad categories of letters, including specific geographical studies. Gender studies of letters help to reveal the differentiated roles that men and women performed, roles which were often specific and yet complementary. The study of women's diplomatic activities for example, highlights that women were especially adept at creating and directing relationships in which they acted as intermediaries or informal conduits of information, often on behalf of a male relative.¹⁸ Their role, though distanced from the formal institutions of diplomacy, served to supplement the activities performed by male ambassadors, since women by their very nature excluded from formal avenues of diplomacy were also subject to less censure than their male counterparts.

I. Methodology

The framework for this thesis brings together insights and methods from manuscript studies, epistolary culture and historical pragmatics, with each chapter offering findings connected by wider questions of Anne's epistolary habits and negotiation of patronage and political culture. In particular a historical pragmatic reading of Anne's letters is offered in order to demonstrate how she constructed meaning and how she negotiated social and interpersonal relations embedded in her epistolary exchanges. In its broadest sense, historical pragmatics is the study of language use in the past, and the value of a historical pragmatic approach in the study of letters is that it focuses on the specific socio-cultural contexts of language use. As Susan Fitzmaurice and Irma Taavitsainen explain, historical pragmatics views language as a 'communicative instrument that responds to and is shaped by the pressures of actual situations' recognising that 'meanings are not fixed but different

¹⁷ Daybell and Norrhem, 'Rethinking gender and political culture', p.4; see also Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*; Marie-Louise Coolahan, *Women, Writing and Language in Early Modern Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); James Daybell, 'Gender, Politics and Diplomacy: Women, News and Intelligence Networks in Elizabethan England', in *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011), pp. 101–119; James Daybell, 'Suche newes as the Quenes hye wayes we haue mett: The Intelligence Networks of Elizabeth Talbot', in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England* ed. by James Daybell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 114–131.

¹⁸ Daybell and Norrhem, 'Rethinking gender and political culture', p.4; Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*, p.142.

audiences make different meaning'.¹⁹ The commonly cited examples are jokes and insults: unless the reader (or hearer) is familiar with the culture and context in which 'insults mean insults and jokes mean jokes' they might not be able to respond to the offence or appreciate the humour. Letters produced by writers from across the social spectrum of early modern England have been subject to exemplary historical pragmatic studies including Graham Williams' analysis of the Thynne women, Mel Evan's comparison of Queen Elizabeth I's secretarial and autograph letters and Felicity Maxwell's examination of the correspondence between Elizabeth, countess of Shrewsbury and her servants.²⁰ Recent historical pragmatic studies of letters build upon the seminal work of Lynne Magnuson who has shown how social relations were encoded in letters and how these relationships were navigated using linguistic and rhetorical strategies.²¹ The rigid social hierarchy of early modern England was embedded in epistolary exchanges, making letters particularly suited to historical pragmatic study.

Historical pragmatics has also expanded the field of women's letter-writing by facilitating greater understanding of the various genres of letters, including petitionary correspondence and familiar or intimate letters which each relied upon different linguistic and rhetorical forms that served specific functions. Forms refer to the particular variant that a writer selects from the other possibilities available in that context, which in letters can be expanded from speech acts, and vocabulary, to include salutations, signatures, benedictions and other epistolary formulae. The function of these chosen variants is how both the writer and the reader construct meaning from the chosen variants.²² More recently, the range of women's letters has grown to include letters of advice, secret or ciphered correspondence and insightful studies of offence and vituperation in women's letters.²³ All of these studies

¹⁹ Susan Fitzmaurice and Irma Taavitsainen, 'Historical pragmatics: what is it and how to do it', in *Methods in Historical Pragmatics*, ed. by Susan Fitzmaurice and Irma Taavitsainen (The Hague: Mouton de Gruyter, 2007), pp. 11 – 36 (pp. 13, 26).

²⁰ Graham Williams, *Women's Epistolary Utterance: A Study of the Letters of Joan and Maria Thynne, 1575 – 1611* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2014); Mel Evans, *The Language of Elizabeth I: a Sociolinguistic Perspective on Royal Style and Identity* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013); Felicity Lyn Maxwell, 'Household Words: Textualising Social Relations in the Correspondence of Bess of Hardwick's Servants, c. 1550 – 1590', (Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Glasgow, 2014).

²¹ Lynne Magnusson, *Shakespeare and Social Dialogue*; see also Magnusson 'A Rhetoric of Requests: Genre and Linguistic Scripts in Elizabethan Women's Suitors' Letters', in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by James Daybell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 51 – 67.

²² For a concise definition of *form and function* in historical pragmatics see Fitzmaurice and Taavitsainen, 'Historical Pragmatics', p. 25.

²³ Gemma Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*; Gemma Allen, 'Women as Counsellors in Sixteenth-Century England'; Nadine Akkerman, 'Enigmatic Cultures of Correspondence'; Michelle O'Callaghan, 'An Uncivill Scurrilous Letter: Women's Brabb[l]es and the Letter of Affront'; James Daybell 'Secret Letters in Elizabethan England', in *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture: Texts and Social Practices, 1580 – 1730*, ed. by James Daybell and Peter Hinds (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010), pp. 47– 64; Lynne Magnusson, 'Widowhood and Linguistic Capital'; Lois Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature, 1641–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

of specific styles or genres of women's letter-writing rely upon the work of historical pragmatics, either directly by adapting current theories of language to language use in the past, such as the continuing influence of Penelope Brown and Stephen C. Levinson's politeness theories which have had a profound impact on epistolary studies, or through an approach which focuses on the socio-cultural contexts of letter production and the specific conventions and forms which women employed.²⁴

Studies of individual women letter-writers offers evidence of the scope of women's epistolary agency and the range of linguistic strategies and rhetorical devices that women employed to represent themselves and their families and communities through letters. While the extensive corpuses of some noblewomen, including Elizabeth, countess of Shrewsbury and Lady Anne Bacon, permit both broad analyses and specific studies, even a smaller corpus such as that offered by Anne, countess of Northumberland demonstrates the breadth of women's epistolary activities.²⁵ Anne's letters contribute further to our understanding of how women negotiated social and interpersonal relations through letters, and how they enacted wider political agency, through patronage and diplomatic activities, since the unique circumstances of her exile made the physical processes of letter-writing more visible. Crucially, exile removed Anne from the familiar avenues of epistolary exchange and distanced her, even more so than contemporary women who were, by virtue of their sex, excluded from the institutions and formal channels of influence.

From the historical pragmatic perspective, exile offers the opportunity to examine how these challenging circumstances impacted the construction of meaning in women's letters. Anne's letters offer little evidence of her manipulating her precarious situation in order to move potential supporters to pity, or indeed rarely did she represent herself as vulnerable, weak or disempowered by her circumstances. In this respect her letters can be offer a new perspective for understanding women's letters during period of crisis. Unlike contemporary women who were required to navigate the political failures of their husbands or male

²⁴ Penelope Brown and Stephen C. Levinson, *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); James Daybell, 'Gender, Obedience and Authority in Sixteenth-Century Women's Letters', *The Sixteenth-Century Journal*, 41.1 (Spring 2010), pp. 49-67; Jonathan Goldberg, *Desiring Women Writing: English Renaissance Examples* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011); Alan Stewart, 'The Voices of Anne Cooke, Lady Anne and Lady Bacon', in *This Double Voice: Gendered Writing in Early Modern England*, ed. by Danielle Clarke and Elizabeth Clarke (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), pp. 88 - 102; Alison Thorne, 'Women's Petitionary Letter and Early Seventeenth-Century Treason Trials', in *Women's Writing*, 13.1 (2006), pp. 23- 43.

²⁵ Gemma Allen, ed., *The Letters of Lady Anne Bacon*, Camden 5th Series, Vol. 44 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Nadine Akkerman, ed., *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia*, Vol.II (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Sara Jayne Steen, ed., *The Letters of Lady Arabella Stuart* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Heather Wolfe, ed., *Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland: Life and Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); Alison Wiggins, *Bess of Hardwick's Letters: Language, Materiality and Early Modern Epistolary Culture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017).

relatives, in rebellions or insurrections, Anne did not employ the trope of the vulnerable widow or mother, nor did she frame her petitions in the language of humble submission and ignorance.²⁶ Instead, as this thesis demonstrates, she remained assured of her position and influence, motivated in large part by her social status and religious convictions which fuelled her political agency in exile. Her letters in this respect have more in common with Irish women's letters in this period. Marie-Louis 'Coolahan has demonstrated that Irish noblewomen were at the centre of exiled communities and that they expertly represented themselves and their kin during periods of rebellion and insurrection by negotiating the reception of their English audiences, agitating for support and presenting their efforts as service which was already assumed and worthy of reward when seeking foreign aid.²⁷ Coolahan reveals that for Irish women directly implicated or indirectly caught up in insurrections, letter writing was a 'means of public self-vindication'. Anne's letters contribute to the study of women's letters by offering evidence of an English noblewoman navigating her exiled circumstances to her own advantage, linked in similar ways to other women on the margins of the English state.

Historical pragmatics also offers an opportunity to examine how exile altered the forms and functions of epistolary language. Exiles who clung onto the linguistic scripts of their contemporaries at home in England were identifying themselves as part of that community despite their physical distance. At the same time, the contents of letters addressed to fellow exiles, strengthened social ties around a common religious or political ideal, what Mark Greengrass identifies as 'ideological affinities'.²⁸ Thus, as this thesis demonstrates through an analysis of Anne's newsletters and through reconstruction of her exile networks, sharing news was a more inclusive and less rigidly hierarchal exchange that affirmed intimacy and community bonds. At the same time, appropriating a shared cipher or code acted in a similar way to bolster social ties and accommodate the efforts of correspondents to participate in epistolary exchanges.²⁹

A historical pragmatic study of Anne's petitions, marriage correspondence and newsletters offers evidence of the rhetorical devices and linguistic strategies that she

²⁶ Magnusson 'A Rhetoric of Requests', p. 57; James Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p. 255; James Daybell, 'Scripting a Female Voice', p. 15; Thorne, 'Women's Petitionary Letters', p. 29.

²⁷ Marie-Louise Coolahan, *Women, Writing and Language*, pp. 107 – 112, 138 – 139; Marie-Louise Coolahan, 'Irish Women's Letters, 1641 – 1653,' in *Women and Epistolary Agency in Early Modern Culture, 1450-1690*, ed. James Daybell and Andrew Gordon (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 167 – 181 (p. 167).

²⁸ Mark Greengrass, 'Noble Affinities in Early Modern France: The Case of Henri I de Montmercy, Constable of France', *European History Quarterly*, 16.3 (July, 1986), pp. 275-311 (p.276).

²⁹ Akkerman, 'Enigmatic Cultures of Correspondence', pp. 83-84; Hannah Crawforth, 'Court Hieroglyphics: The Idea of the Cipher in Ben Jonson's Masques', in *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011), pp. 138 -154 (p. 144).

utilised to represent herself in exchanges with men. Rather than representing herself as disempowered by her exile circumstances, she continued to represent herself in an assured style, relying upon her high perception of her influence and power. This confidence was based in large part upon her social status which, even in the less formally hierarchical communities of exile, continued to impact how she constructed her letters and, crucially, how she negotiated interpersonal relationships through her correspondence. As has been revealed in recent studies, social status and the structures of social hierarchy, served in some cases to overcome the prescripts of patriarchal thought which constrained female action.³⁰ In other words, superior social status often encouraged women to write, confident as they were in the trappings of their status, including access to a humanist education, economic power, and connections to influential men. Anne's exile experience offers a new dimension to our understanding of social status and epistolary construction. She expertly navigated her connection to her husband, during his imprisonment and after his execution, as a means to promote both his own suit and her personal goals. At the same time, she experienced a new freedom to act independently, a direct result of her separation from her husband and children, as a patron and later in a diplomatic role in the campaigns to restore Mary, Queen of Scots and the wider preservation of the Catholic faith. Exile, as Katy Gibbons has shown offered Catholic women a greater public role in their communities, where they were at less risk of censure or punishment from the church or state authorities.³¹ Anne's status as a noble widow can also be traced through her networks and letters, offering further evidence of the overarching importance of status in the construction of her epistolary and political agency. The impact of widowhood upon women's agency in the early modern period remains hotly contested, although it is generally accepted that it permitted greater freedom to manoeuvre, especially in financial matters, for noblewomen.³²

Before interpreting Anne's correspondence, it was necessary to identify, transcribe and annotate her letters. These materials are presented in full in the Appendix alongside a detailed transcription and editorial policy. This thesis offers an editorial policy which serves to illustrate the value of diplomatic transcriptions and examination of the original manuscript letters (wherever possible). The gendered nature of archives continues to offer potential challenges for scholars seeking to locate women's letters. Letters by women were

³⁰ Daybell and Norrhem, 'Rethinking gender and political culture', p.4.

³¹ Katy Gibbons, 'An Unquiet Estate Abroad: The Religious Exile of Catholic Noblewomen and Gentlewomen Under Elizabeth I', in *Women on the Move*, ed. by Fiona Reid and Katherine Holden (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2010), pp. 43–58, (p.43).

³² Stewart, 'The Voices of Anne Cooke, Lady Anne and Lady Bacon', p.97.

often destroyed or miscatalogued during the subsequent preservation by public and private institutions. And even when women's letters were carefully preserved, often in family collections, the nature of archival conservation often means that letters are isolated from their responses or separated into corpuses which highlight the prominence of the recipient rather than the sender. In Anne's case, her Latin petitions are, like most papal correspondence, preserved in this fashion. Recent developments in digital humanities offers a way to counter the difficulties of archival recovery. Digital collections like the Bess of Hardwick one, bring together all the known letters written by and sent to Elizabeth, countess of Shrewsbury, and permitting the user to search data through distinct fields including archival repository and location from where letters were sent. Large-scale projects such as EMLO seek to record the networks of correspondence across Europe in the early modern period, making visible the links between people, locations and crucially, ideas. Thus, it is possible to search based on theme such as 'astronomy' and discover letters by multiple figures linked by topics. Recognising the gendered nature of archives and the difficulties in locating women's letters, WEMLO offers the opportunity to locate and utilise women's texts.

While these projects continue to support the flourishing of epistolary studies, the necessity of examining manuscript letters in their original form cannot be overstated. It was imperative that diplomatic transcriptions of Anne's correspondence were produced as part of the primary research of this thesis. Reliance upon printed editions can result in errors of understanding, either of content, or more frequently of meaning. Anne's letters are included in nineteenth-century calendar entries which routinely summarise and paraphrase texts. These entries omit material features with their embedded social cues and rhetorical and linguistic strategies used to construct social scripts of deference or authority. The debate surrounding editorial policy is especially evident in the publication of Elizabeth I's letters and other texts. Originally published as an accomplished modernised edition, the work was supplemented by an edition of Elizabeth's autograph compositions, maintaining the original textual and physical features.³³ This thesis therefore demonstrates the value of careful transcription of early modern letters, maintaining, as far as possible, material features and original language. Such an approach facilitates and supports the analysis offered in this thesis of the layers of epistolary production, complementing our understanding of the collaborative and multi-agent nature of letter-writing by moving from

³³ *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. by, Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose (London: University of Chicago Press, 2000); *Elizabeth I: Autograph Compositions and Foreign Language Originals*, ed. by, Leah S. Marcus and Janel Mueller (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2002).

a broad historical analysis of Anne's networks, understood through her letters, to offering evidence of the secretarial contribution to Anne's letters alongside evidence of how she authorised her letters, and finally to a historical pragmatic reading of her linguistic strategies of assured self-representation.

Consideration of Anne's letters has focused on the letters that survive from her exile years following the rebellion of 1569. Anne's extant letters are all preserved in state collections in Britain and on the Continent reflecting the intereption of her surviving letters in English and the official status of the papal agents to whom her Latin petitions were addressed. Detailed searches of family archives relating to both the Percies and Anne's paternal and maternal relatives has not added to the collection of Anne's letters since much of the materials relating to Northumberland and his wife, the countess Anne, were destroyed by subsequent generations following their rebellion of 1569. It has not been possible to locate at this stage estate records such as inventories or account books nor have personal autobiographical compositions been traced, for example diaries or manuscript miscellanies, which bear Anne's writing, or indeed even her signature. Instead, this thesis identifies 138 contemporary letters written about Anne, primarily by intelligencers and diplomats, from the outbreak of the rebellion in November 1569 until her death in on 9 September 1591.³⁴ Between 1569 and 1577 there were 133 examples written about Anne or that mention her. A survey of the same materials only found 5 such examples from 1578 until her death in 1591. The letters written about Anne offer evidence of her activities and contacts throughout her exile years and strengthen our understanding of her epistolary habits. Key examples of these letters about Anne were located as originals in the archives to verify content, while the remainder were examined in printed calendars of state papers.

Those letters preserved in British archives are held in official state collections or in the collections of government officials reflecting the value of the intelligence contained within them. To clarify, six of Anne's sent letters from exile, in English, are preserved in the Cecil Papers at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire. These letters include marital correspondence to her husband during his incarceration at Lochleven Castle, Perthshire and letters to Scottish nobles including James Douglas, earl of Morton and William Douglas, Lord of Lochleven, negotiating Northumberland's release prior to his execution on 22 August 1572. Eight

³⁴ The database materials are taken from the following sources: CSP. Dom. 1547 – 1580; CSP. Dom. Add. 1566 – 1579; CSP. Dom. 1581 – 1590; CSP. Dom. 1591 – 1594; CSP. For. 1569 – 1571; CSP. For. 1572 – 1574; CSP. For. 1575 – 1577; CSP. Spain. 1568 – 1579; CSP. Scot. 1569 – 1571; CSP. Scot. 1571 – 1574; CSP. Rome. 1572 – 1578; Cal. Salisbury MSS, Cecil Papers, Vol. I, 1306 – 1571; *Wills and Inventories of the Northern Counties of England*, Vol. 1. Archival sources include: TNA: SP12, SP15, SP46, SP52, SP53, SP70; BL Cotton MS Caligula C.II.; Cotton MS Caligula B/IX/2; Cecil Papers at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire; LPL, Shrewsbury MSS.

letters, including the copy by Hunsdon's clerk, are held in the State Papers at The National Archives, London. These letters are addressed mostly to the Catholic English exile William Cotton discussing the affairs of the exile community and minor Catholic intrigues. Finally, an early example of Anne's exile correspondence is preserved in the British Library, London, as part of the Cotton collection. Dated 21 June 1571 this letter was addressed to Sir Thomas Stucley and offered support for his planned invasion of Ireland.

Having searched for every surviving letter of Anne's, the second stage of the primary research was editing the letters. The thesis relies upon images and transcriptions of the manuscripts rather than printed editions (where they exist). Images of Anne's English letters, preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, The National Archives, London and The British Library, London, have all been examined in-situ and information about material features recorded in the edited transcripts of the letters. Images included throughout this thesis are either my own or high-quality reproductions from the Cecil Papers Online or State Papers Online databases. Transcriptions of the letters in English were made from colour digital images and confirmed by examining the manuscript letters in the archives. The six Latin petitions were transcribed only from digital images. Five Latin petitions, preserved at the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, were transcribed from high quality colour digital images, alongside high-quality, full size printed reproductions provided by the archives. Finally, one example of Latin petitionary correspondence was transcribed from a black-and-white digital image provided by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, in Paris.³⁵

I. Biography of Anne, countess of Northumberland

Anne, countess of Northumberland, was born and baptised sometime before Michaelmas 1536, the third daughter of Henry Somerset, second earl of Worcester and his second wife Elizabeth Browne, countess of Worcester.³⁶ Relatively little is known about her early life, although she spent much of her childhood at her father's principal seat of Chepstow Castle,

³⁵ Images of the Latin letters are not included in the thesis due to licensing and reproduction rights.

³⁶ W. R. B. Robinson, 'The Lands of Henry, Earl of Worcester in the 1530s, Part 3: Monmouthshire and Herefordshire', *Bulletin for the Board of Celtic Studies*, 25.4 (May, 1974), 454 - 500 (p. 492). Robinson transcribed PRO, Augmentations Miscellaneous Books, E. 315, no. 448, fol. 68, item 16, which listed the fees of Worcester's Monmouth bailiff George ap Thomas. Thomas detailed fees relating to the baptism of Anne for the year ending Michaelmas (29 September) 1536. He received 8s., for remaining in London to receive Worcester's servants in attendance at Anne's baptism.

Monmouthshire under the care of her nurse and with her siblings for company.³⁷ Anne succeeded in achieving a position in the royal household of Mary I. She was a maid of honour to Mary in 1556/7 as shown by the New Year's Gift Rolls for that year, but she may have been at court from as early as 1554.³⁸ A Royal Grant was issued to 'Lady Anne Somerset, Mistress Mary Hawarde, Mistress Marie and Mistress Cicely Arrundell' by Queen Mary and Philip after the royal marriage in 1554.³⁹

In 1558 she married Thomas Percy, seventh earl of Northumberland. Northumberland had been recently restored to the titles and lands which were forfeited by his father upon execution for his involvement in the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536. The marriage produced five daughters: Elizabeth (*b.* 1559, *d.* c. 1604), Mary (*baptised.* 1560, *d.* c. 1565), Lucy (*b.* c. 1564/5, *d.* c. 1601), Jane (*b.* c. 1565, *d.* c. 1591) and Mary (*b.* 1570, *d.* 1642). Their only son, Thomas Percy, died in infancy in 1560. Following their marriage, Anne and her husband resided predominantly at their Yorkshire estate of Topcliffe rather than the ancient seat of the Percy family, Alnwick Castle in Northumberland, due to the estate being stripped during Northumberland's disinheritance and later disputes in 1559 with the new Warden of the East March, Baron Grey of Wilton, over its use.⁴⁰

Anne's Catholic convictions remained with her throughout her life and motivated her politico-religious aims. Unlike some noblewomen who disguised their religious fervour behind a pragmatism that permitted them to negotiate the ever-changing dynamic of the Court, Anne did not return regularly to the Court upon Queen Elizabeth's succession in 1558. Instead, she remained for the most part at the Percy estates in the northern counties. Northumberland's personal correspondence from June 1559 noted that if he were to come to London he wished it to be for three or four months at least otherwise he could not convince Anne to come with him.⁴¹ Certainly, we know that she raised her daughters in the Catholic faith. After arriving in exile, she was concerned that the young ladies should

³⁷ Robinson, 'The Lands of Henry, Earl of Worcester', p. 492, doc. 68, item 16: states that 15s., was paid to George ap Thomas for travelling to London with his wife and back to Chepstow where his wife would be nurse to Anne. This same document details that Anne's elder brother Francis was also being cared for at Chepstow Castle at this time.

³⁸ Charlotte Elizabeth Merton, 'The Women Who Served Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth: Ladies, Gentlewomen and Maids of the Privy Chamber 1553 - 1603', (PhD thesis: University of Cambridge, 1991), p. 257.

³⁹ Bedfords. RO, P16/1/11: General Register 1560 – 1612. The Royal Grant issued to these unmarried ladies who became maids of the privy chamber was used to bind the general register of baptisms, marriages and burials and as such the vellum was partially destroyed.

⁴⁰ Hugh Aveling, *Northern Catholics: The Catholic Recusants of the North Riding of Yorkshire 1558 - 1790* (London: Chapman, 1966), pp.62 – 63; Julian Lock, 'Thomas Percy, seventh earl of Northumberland (1528–1572)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn, Sept 2015 <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/21956> [accessed 1 December 2016].

⁴¹ TNA, SP 59/1/207 (15/06/1559): Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland to Burghley.

travel to the Low Countries, especially her eldest daughter Elizabeth who was of an age that she could 'receaue instruction' and 'take knowledge now of the vertuous exemples whiche here she should see and learne'.⁴² Although her daughters did not visit their mother in the Low Countries they continued to hold fast to their faith. Elizabeth married Richard Woodroffe of Yorkshire and Lucy married Sir Edward Stanley of Eynsham, Oxfordshire: both Woodroffe and Stanley showed recusant leanings.⁴³ The youngest daughter Mary was born at Old Aberdeen in June 1570 and was taken abroad by Anne for a short period. She returned to England later in life and was sheltered in Percy family property in Blackfriars, London. She returned to the Low Countries upon Anne's death from smallpox on 9 September 1591 to collect her mother's property.⁴⁴ The value of this property helped Mary to establish the Convent of the Assumption of Our Blessed Lady in Brussels.

The limited evidence that survives from before the rebellion of 1569 offers a glimpse of Anne's life as the mistress of northern estates and the wife of one of the most prominent men in the region. Northumberland's 'foreign accounts' from 1563 to 1564 suggest that their household was one of high literacy which befitted their noble status. Northumberland's clerk, Edward Bone, recorded payments for '4 little song books, 3s 6d' and a book titled '*Chronica Francorum*, 3s 4d'.⁴⁵ Crucially, the accounts noted that payment was made to a 'goldsmith mending my Lord's casting counters and his seal, 30s' highlighting the importance of this object in the production of letters and other documents within the household. This was further substantiated by Bone's order of '1lb of sealing wax'.⁴⁶ Certainly, we know that Northumberland wished to keep in contact with a variety of circles: from examination of his correspondence, which shows that he was in frequent communication with the Court, notably with William Cecil, Lord Burghley and at times with Queen Elizabeth. Northumberland also routinely corresponded with several northern nobles including George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury.⁴⁷ Although the accounts did not specify whether these texts or writing materials were made available to Anne as well as her

⁴² CP 5/76 (28/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland.

⁴³ Lock, 'Thomas Percy,' *ODNB*.

⁴⁴ M. H. Dodds, 'The Daughters of Thomas Percy, Seventh Earl of Northumberland', *Notes and Queries*, 169 (September, 1935), 165 – 166 (p.166); TNA, SP 12/240/36 (03/10/1591): Charles Paget to Giles Martin including news of Anne's death and her property to be passed to her daughters.

⁴⁵ HMC, *Sixth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts: Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1877), p. 226.

⁴⁶ HMC, *Sixth Report*, p. 226.

⁴⁷ Northumberland's letters have not been collected in an edition. Most of his correspondence is preserved at The National Archives, Kew, in the State Papers: TNA, SP 59/1/25 (13/05/1559): Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland to Sir James Croft; SP 59/1/108 (24/02/1559); SP 59/1/110 (24/02/1559); SP 59/1/127 (07/03/1559); all Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland to Queen Elizabeth I; SP 59/1/207 (15/06/1559): Northumberland to Burghley. Other locations include LPL, MS 695, Shrewsbury Papers, f. 103 (06/1558): George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury to Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland.

husband, we can at least appreciate the literate culture of her household. Moreover, it was clear that she was familiar with the materials of letter-writing if at least in the vicinity of her husband.

Much of what is known about Anne's life survives from reports and newsletters by contemporary intelligencers, diplomats and on occasion, supporters of Anne. She featured in the letters of English diplomats and intelligencers from as early as 1568 when suspicion began to circulate in court correspondence about the possibility of rebellion by the northern earls. During the course of the rebellion she routinely featured in the correspondence of figures including Thomas Radcliffe, earl of Sussex, Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, Sir John Forster and Sir Ralph Sadler as they reported on the progression of the rebellion and the subsequent flight of the rebels into Scotland. Her early exile was also subject to surveillance by the intelligencer John Lee who was in the employ of Lord Burghley and who ingratiated himself into the rebels' community by pretending to be a Catholic exile himself while reporting back to Burghley. Later Anne's movements and activities were reported by the diplomat Dr Thomas Wilson and his agents.

Following the failed rebellion of 1569, Anne travelled with her husband and other gentlemen followers into the Scottish borders. Northumberland was quickly captured and taken to Edinburgh. On the other hand, Anne was sheltered by Ferniehurst and Alexander, 5th Lord Hume at their properties in the borders for much of her stay in Scotland. She later stayed at Strathbogie, the highland property of George, 7th Lord Seton, with whom she travelled from Aberdeen to the Low Countries in August 1570. In exile Anne became a prominent member of the English Catholic community, becoming leader of the gentlemen fugitives for a short time. She was involved in minor Counter-Reformation plots including the invasion of Ireland, backed by Pope Gregory XIII. Her support for Mary, Queen of Scots, expanded from a personal desire to see the Catholic queen restored to her throne into a means of destabilising the English Protestant regime. Thus, Anne began to pass intelligence to the Spanish regarding the Scots Queen's location in England. She also supported the marriage negotiations between the Scots Queen and the governor of the Low Countries, Don John of Austria. Her faith also motivated her to use her epistolary networks to urge greater action for the restoration of the Catholic faith in England. In petitions to papal authorities throughout 1572 and 1573 she requested, in collaboration with fellow gentlemen exiles, that Dr Nicholas Sanders be appointed the English exiles' representative in Rome and criticised the lack of action in restoring the faith in England. Her personal

correspondence with William Cotton, a fellow English exile, also showed her religious concerns.

Moreover, Anne maintained communication with prominent figures within the wider Catholic community. She was a close friend of Dr Nicholas Sanders, the Catholic writer and controversialist. Sanders wrote to Anne throughout her exile and supported her financially – offering loans – and emotionally, advising her on how best to pursue her aims and sharing her confidence. While he declared himself her husband's supporter and positioned himself in favour of the rebellion of 1569 and the subsequent excommunication of Queen Elizabeth, it was Anne with whom he shared a close friendship especially after her arrival in exile in the Low Countries. She petitioned on Sanders' behalf in order that he be given the position of cardinal from Pope Gregory XIII after being promised this role by Gregory's predecessor Pope Pius V. Her own letters revealed her despair when he was called to Rome in January 1572: she wrote that she had lost her greatest advisor. To replace Sanders, Anne was keen to secure the counsel of Dr William Allen, founder of the English College at Douai. Anne's husband confessed that it was through reading the works of Sanders including *The Supper of Our Lord* (1566) that had led him to dismiss religious compromise. Anne's close relationship with Sanders following the rebellion, and her efforts to maintain priests at Topcliffe prior to her husband's reaffirmation of the faith, suggest that it was she who introduced Sanders' religious texts into the household.

Anne was aware by the mid-1570s that her correspondence was being read by unwanted third parties and as a result her letters featured codes and ciphers from 1576 to disguise the identities of people and places. These codes remain partially deciphered in this thesis and suggest a complex system intended to frustrate any reader who either did not have access to a separate key for decryption or was not aware of the contextual clues needed to decipher the multiple meanings and red herrings of various symbols. Anne's correspondence was intercepted because the English authorities, in particular Burghley, warranted it valuable for the information and intelligence it contained regarding the activities of the exile community and Counter-Reformation intrigues. Burghley's extrapolations of intelligence from Anne's exile correspondence are visible in the marginal notes, the underlined passages and the attempts to decode ciphers that he left on the letters. He also took care to endorse each of Anne's letters for his own records, noting to whom she was writing, from where she was writing and the date of the letter. While using cipher and code immediately drew attention to the fact that the sender wished to obscure text, it is also the case that the majority of coded correspondence and disguised letters were

successful and the reason we are unaware of their current whereabouts is because they reached their destination.⁴⁸

Every one of Anne's extant letters written in English, and sent from when she was in exile in the Low Countries, was intercepted by English intelligencers during delivery between 7 January 1570 and 25 December 1577. Intercepted letters sent to Anne include correspondence from: Dr Nicholas Sanders, Catholic theologian and writer, on 17 January 1572; Thomas Jeyne, writer and rebel on 18 June 1572; and Thomas Morgan, code-maker to Mary, Queen of Scots on 25 December 1577. Fourteen letters in English were sent from Anne and included formal letters of request addressed to Scots nobles during her husband's imprisonment, as well as intimate marriage letters intended for her husband. Additionally, these included familiar newsletters to members of the English exile community, between 21 June 1571 and 16 August 1576. A further, earlier example was a copy, dated 7 January 1570, made by Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon's clerk, of a letter sent to him from Anne. Hunsdon forwarded the copy to Lord Burghley and probably kept the original sent letter from Anne for his own records, although this letter has not been located. Two further examples of Anne's correspondence can be added to these in the form of later modern editions of now lost manuscript letters. Kervyn de Lettenhove copied an address made by Anne to the Duke of Alva in October 1570 requesting support for her husband's suit and in aid of the Scots Queen.⁴⁹ A letter sent to her husband dated 21 March 1572 was also printed in full in the *Honoris Registrum de Morton*.⁵⁰ No manuscript editions can be traced for either of these letters at present despite extensive searches of the State Archives of Belgium and the National Records of Scotland. Archival research has revealed that no letters from or to Anne are currently known to be preserved in the State Archives of Belgium, despite Anne's lengthy exile in the Hapsburg territories that made up the early modern Low Countries. Furthermore, searches of Spanish archives have also revealed no further examples of her correspondence.

Additionally, six Latin petitions were sent by Anne, in collaboration with gentlemen exiles including Sir Francis Englefield and Leonard Dacres, to papal agents and Charles de Guise, Cardinal de Lorraine, between 20 October 1572 and 7 September 1573. The Latin petitions, in comparison, can be categorised as sent letters that were received by the addressees. Five petitions addressed to papal representatives including Cardinal Giovanni

⁴⁸ James Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing 1512 – 1635* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2012), p.151.

⁴⁹ *Relations Politiques*, Vol. VI, pp. 8- 11.

⁵⁰ *Registrum Honoris de Morton*, Vol. I, pp. 76 – 77.

Morone, Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius and Pope Gregory XIII are preserved in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano at Rome. The inclusion of the petitions in the collections of the Vatican Archives indicates that the letters reached their intended destination. Those petitions addressed to the Cardinals were recently re-catalogued in the Concilio Tridentino collection, a collection which contains materials relating to the Counter-Reformation, reflecting the content of the petitions. The exiles repeatedly requested support towards the restoration of Catholicism in England as well as for their own case as exiles of the faith. The single petition addressed to Pope Gregory is preserved separately in the collection of the Segreto Stato reflecting the status of the recipient. Finally, the sixth Latin petition addressed to Charles, Cardinal de Lorraine, reached Paris and was later collated amongst a collection of original letters addressed to the cardinal. This collection, including Anne's petition to the Cardinal de Lorraine, is preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, in Paris.

We can speculate that there were more letters sent from Anne that reached their destination but which were destroyed by recipients. Anne cautioned her addressees to burn her letters: 'when you haue redd this of myne burne it in any case, or commytte it vnto summe such vse, and acknowledge the receipt of this with my others'⁵¹. This request was not especially remarkable since letter-writers regularly requested that their correspondence be burnt. James Daybell has suggested that this may have actually been a 'euphemism for keeping it close'.⁵² But the potentially seditious or incriminating information contained within Anne's letters to her recipients throughout the 1570s was such that she was willing to use code to disguise the identity of various subjects and it would not be surprising if she genuinely wished for them to destroy the letters to avoid them falling into the wrong hands. Requests to burn the letters also explains the survival pattern of her letters, in which only intercepted letters are extant. She was aware of the risk of letters that contained sensitive information being sabotaged having seen friends' letters be intercepted. For example, she requested that William Cotton help search for letters that were issued to one Laurence Blacknoll on behalf of an unnamed companion in June 1576 and revealed her suspicions that the letters were intentionally intercepted when she informed Cotton that she intended to send a letter to Blacknoll to determine whether 'this way of sending be secure' or whether they were 'misserved' which may in turn have led to further 'extreme preiudice and hindrance'.⁵³

⁵¹ TNA, SP12/108/103 (26/06/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton.

⁵² James Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p.140.

⁵³ TNA, SP12/108/89 (09/06/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton.

In her later years in exile, from 1578 onwards, Anne did not attract such great attention from English intelligencers. She retired to a nunnery in Namur, in modern France, sometime between 1578 and her death on 9 September 1591. Shortly before her death, she was described in a note by Burghley as being 'furiously mad'.⁵⁴ What she did in these intervening years remains unclear. The focus of this thesis is on Anne's active years in exile, from her arrival in the Low Countries in August 1570 until 1577. After this date no further examples of her correspondence have been located, and she became a fleeting mention in the reports of contemporaries.

I. III. Chapter Synopsis

Chapter one reconstructs Anne's political and religious networks using the framework proposed by historian Michael C. Questier in his analysis of Catholic nobleman Anthony Browne, Viscount Montagu and in light of recent research on early modern patronage culture which emphasises the informal and reciprocal nature of support over the previous insistence on quantifiable outcomes of patron/client bonds.⁵⁵ Rather than searching for material evidence of reward-based patronage, it is possible to seek out less tangible aspects of support including a more reciprocal patronage culture which Ilana Ben-Amos emphasises could take non-material forms including 'social contacts and protection, information, emotional support'.⁵⁶ Key too to this non-material analysis is what Mark Greengrass identifies as 'ideological affinities'.⁵⁷ The idea of 'affinity' fits neatly with Ben-Amos' and Questier's framework in its emphasis on the abstract qualities that patronage relied upon: religion, shared support for a political figure, collective experiences of war or exile, or a shared geography such as a local county background. All of these acted as 'affinities' that could facilitate supportive network building when the traditional rewards of patronage were unavailable. The acute challenges of exile made these collective experiences expressly necessary for the fostering of relationships. This more fluid

⁵⁴ CSP. Dom. 1581 – 1590 (07/08/1590): Notes by Burghley.

⁵⁵ Michael C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion 1550 – 1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 2 – 5; Ilana Ben-Amos, 'Gifts and Favours: Informal Support in Early Modern England', *Journal of Modern History*, 72.2 (2002), 295 – 338 (p.297.); Caroline Bowden, 'Women as Intermediaries: an Example of the Use of Literacy in the Late Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Centuries', *History of Education*, 22.3 (1993), 215 – 223 (pp. 215, 219); Sharon Kettering, 'Patronage in Early Modern France', *French Historical Studies*, 17.4 (1992), 839 – 862 (p.839).

⁵⁶ Ben-Amos, 'Informal Support in Early Modern England', p.297.

⁵⁷ Greengrass, 'Noble Affinities', p.276.

understanding of the patronage system offers us greater understanding of Anne's networks and how she was able to establish and maintain them.

This chapter categorises Anne's networks into three distinct groups in order to illustrate fully the various ways that she navigated patronage culture to her own benefit during her exile. These are classified as 1) The Primary Network, 2) The Scottish Network and 3) The Exile Network. Reconstruction of each network using Anne's own correspondence, alongside several hundred letters written about her during her exile by diplomats and intelligencers, highlights that Anne accessed traditional reward-based patron/client bonds as well as less tangible aspects of patronage culture. The Primary Network, which, as this thesis demonstrates, was established predominantly from former servants of her husband who Anne maintained independently after the rebellion of 1569, relied upon traditional outcomes of patron relationships including financial rewards and petitionary support for clients' positions and suits. Yet, analysis of this network also illuminates the informal aspects, proposed by Ben-Amos, Questier and others, such as shared experience of rebellion and shared confessional ties, that Anne deployed for mutual benefits for both herself and her servants and clients.

Continuing to assess Anne's networks in light of the re-assessment of patronage culture also allows for greater understanding of the Scottish Network. Anne was able to secure the protection of Scottish nobles with whom her husband shared a long-standing enmity, because of his border raids as Warden of the East March during the 1550s and 1560s. At first, and in light of their family history, the Scottish nobles' support and shelter of Anne seems unexpected, but re-examining these connections in the context of informal patronage culture facilitates new depths of understanding. Reconstruction of the Scottish Network demonstrates that Anne was able to secure the support of the Scottish nobles through a shared political affinity – in this case a devotion to the restoration of Mary, Queen of Scots. This political affinity was further strengthened by shared religious convictions. Secondly, the Scottish Network is considered here after Anne's journey (with Scottish support) into the Low Countries in August 1570. The second section argues that the Scottish Network became a politicised circle motivated by the Scots Queen's restoration at this point. For the first time, and despite the lack of surviving letters sent between the two women, Anne's contact with the Scots Queen is illustrated through analysis of letters sent by the queen to other supporters in which she related her correspondence with Anne, as well as letters sent through intermediaries including Lord Seton and William Maitland, Lord Lethington. These intermediary letters highlight the ways in which Anne communicated with the Scots

Queen throughout the 1570s and she is revealed to have been a central rather than peripheral figure in the transnational network surrounding the imprisoned Scots Queen.

Finally, the Exile Network is reconstructed in order to demonstrate that Anne became leader of the gentlemen fugitives, albeit briefly, during the 1570s. This chapter demonstrates that Anne extended her network beyond those implicated in the rebellion of 1569 on arrival in the Low Countries in order to cement her position within the wider English Catholic exile community. This chapter highlights how Anne exchanged news and intelligence as a means of fostering beneficial relationships in exile.⁵⁸ Yet, it is also necessary to expand the analysis of her activities as a patron by examining Anne's networks in the light of recent scholarship on women's patronage activities. Questier's focus on a male member of the English nobility, although analysed in light of re-assessments of the informal nature of patronage, remains limited by its subject. Considering Anne's networks in the context of her gender, as well as her social and cultural status illuminates further the nuances of her circles and the means by which she navigated the patronage system to her advantage. Analysing Anne's networks in light of studies of early modern women's political and patronage activities, as well as research on women's experience of exile, reveals that Anne's status as a noble widow, in combination with her religious convictions, was central to her success as an exile.⁵⁹ At the same time, Anne employed strategies that scholars have shown were used particularly effectively by early modern women in the establishment of networks. Anne's networks are also illuminated by Gemma Allen's recent work on the Cooke sisters in which she argues that women used information and news as a means of fostering relationships, acting as 'brokers of information'.⁶⁰ This analysis of Anne's exile network therefore offers evidence of her politico-religious agency as a patron, a campaigner and an intelligencer.

Chapter two of this thesis then presents close scrutiny of the textual and material features of twenty-one letters sent from Anne to various recipients between 7 January 1570 and 16 August 1576 in order to illustrate the evidence that they offer for epistolary composition, the role of secretaries, letter bearers and interceptors, and the reception and afterlives of letters. Chapter two further presents close analysis of the material and linguistic features of Anne's correspondence in order to illustrate the status of the letters. Seals, folds, address leaves and endorsements are considered highlighting that Anne's English letters were sent letters that were intercepted during their delivery. Her Latin

⁵⁸ Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*, p. 158.

⁵⁹ Gibbons, 'An Unquiet Estate Abroad', pp. 44 – 49; Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*, p. 158.

⁶⁰ Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*, p. 158.

petitions by contrast were sent but reached their recipients. This analysis relies on the research of scholars working in the fields of manuscript studies and more recently in digital humanities using novel techniques to reveal previously unseen details of manuscripts. The materialist approach, involving making models of letters, of Jana Dambrogio and Dan Starza-Smith facilitates a greater understanding of folding practices and helps to identify how Anne's letters were transported.⁶¹ Closely related to this study is a consideration of letter-bearers and interceptors and how these figures were involved in Anne's correspondence. The role of interceptors in particular is given close consideration, demonstrating the impact of interception on the reception and afterlives of Anne's letters.

Using scribal profiling this chapter also demonstrates that Anne's fourteen sent English letters were written by one secretary and using contextual evidence this secretary is identified as Robert Heighington, auditor and secretary to Northumberland before the rebellion of 1569 and maintained by Anne in exile. The scribal profiling techniques used here are largely owed to the field of manuscript studies and linguistics including the approaches of Linne R. Mooney and Estelle Stubbs, Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samuels and Michael Benskin and Jeremy J. Smith.⁶² Here scribal profiling focuses on spelling, punctuation, vocabulary and abbreviations, as well as the evidence offered by material features such as significant space. Close analysis indicates a writer familiar with the practical applications of letter-writing and moreover someone with a high degree of training or professional skill. In addition, the Latinate spellings rather than phonetic spellings, as well as clerical vocabulary including compound words such as <thereof> and <aforesaid> and the use of the brevigraph serve to indicate that the person who wrote Anne's English letters had clerical or legal training and was highly literate.⁶³

Similar scribal profiling indicates that Anne's Latin petitions, written in collaboration with gentlemen exiles, were also written in the hand of a secretary. That secretary was

⁶¹ Jana Dambrogio, 'Letterlocking Categories', *janadambrogio.com* <<http://www.janadambrogio.com/letterlock/#letterlocking-format-categories>> [accessed 1 December 2016]; Dan Starza-Smith, 'The Features of Material Letters', *Bess of Hardwick's Letters: The Complete Correspondence c. 1550 – 1608* <https://www.bessofhardwick.org/background.jsp?id=143> [accessed 1 December 2016].

⁶² See Linne R. Mooney and Estelle Stubbs, *Scribes and the city: London Guildhall clerks and the dissemination of Middle English literature 1375 – 1425* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013); Angus McIntosh, M.L. Samuels and Michael Benskin, *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*, Vol. I (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Library, 1986); Jeremy J. Smith, *An Historical Study of English: Function, Form and Change* (London: Routledge, 1996); J. D. Burnley, 'Curial Prose in England', *Speculum*, 16.3 (July, 1986), 593 – 614.

⁶³ Malcolm Richardson, 'The Dictamen and Its Influence on Fifteenth-Century English Prose', *Rhetorica*, 2 (1984), 207 – 226 (pp. 218 – 219); Graham Williams, 'yr scribe can proove no nessecarye consiquence for you': The Social and Linguistic Implications of Joan Thynne's using a Scribe in Letters to Her Son 1607 – 1611', in *Women and Writing c. 1340 – c. 1650: The Domestication of Print Culture*, ed. by Anne Lawrence-Mathers and Phillipa Hardman (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2010), pp. 131 – 145 (p. 138).

John Fenn, a priest and respected Latin translator based in Louvain at the time of the letters' composition. Contextual evidence from Anne's correspondence reveals that he was recommended to Anne by her friend Dr Nicholas Sanders who knew Fenn personally from New College, Oxford and the University of Louvain. The petitions reveal someone familiar with both medieval and contemporary Latin as evidenced by the accents showing sound changes unnecessary in contemporary Latin. These inclusions highlight the writer as someone with a high degree of understanding of the language. The petitions also offer evidence of production by someone familiar with textual production. For example, the careful and consistent lineation and the minimum 4cm margin on the left-hand side of the page indicates someone familiar with the production of epistolary texts. Fenn's experience as a grammar school master and a translator combine to make him a prime fit for the scribal profile of the Latin secretary who penned Anne's Latin petitions. Moreover, once again contextual evidence compounds this finding. Fenn's religious convictions made him a suitable scribe to write on behalf of the English exiles to prominent members of the Catholic hierarchy in support of their case and in support of the restoration of the faith in England. He was himself a committed and practising priest who later served as chaplain for Sir William Stanley while fighting for the Spanish in the Low Countries. In addition, he was in close physical proximity to Anne and had personal contact with her, to the extent that she described him as 'verey eloquent and wittie'.⁶⁴ Dr Sanders also declared that Fenn supported the Percies in their campaign against the English authorities both during the rebellion of 1569 and afterwards.⁶⁵

Anne's own writing ability is linked to the role secretaries played in the composition of her letters. Anne signed six of her English letters and all six of her Latin petitions using an italic script. Six of her English letters were signed by a cipher mark. Two of her English letters were unsigned and featured only the closing remarks 'you know by whom'. Her signatures showed variation including a simple, undecorated style of signing and a more elaborate, careful signature. Anne's signing practices are examined using methods taken from the field of linguistics in order to illustrate both the form and function of her signing devices. This chapter therefore proposes that Anne employed an elaborate signature to mark respect towards the recipient of her correspondence, as in petitions to papal agents, in the common practice of the period to practice one's formal handwriting when writing to

⁶⁴ CP 5/76 (28/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland.

⁶⁵ CP 5/67 (17/01/1572): Dr Nicholas Sanders to Anne, countess of Northumberland.

social superiors or politically influential persons.⁶⁶ At the same time, she used this elaborate signature to emphasise her own high status and influence when addressing letters to servants. Furthermore, by considering Anne's signing practices in light of recent scholarship by Daybell and Jonathan Goldberg who propose that italic signatures, initial marks and the use of ciphers, were all indicators of female literacy and ability, it is possible to highlight the breadth of Anne's writing ability despite the limited material sources available which feature her handwriting.⁶⁷ Overall, analysis of material features, notably seals and signatures, demonstrates that Anne directed and authorised the production and delivery of her letters, despite the collaboration she shared with her male secretaries.

Chapter three, the final chapter in the thesis, explores the rhetorical and linguistic strategies used by Anne to engage diplomatically in epistolary exchanges while maintaining a high perception of her own position and power. Analysis of Anne's petitions, marriage letters and newsletters offers evidence of the varied rhetorical devices that Anne employed to negotiate social relations based on perceived status and power, as well as the specific circumstances surrounding the production of the letters. This chapter brings together methods from historical pragmatics to support our understanding of epistolary rhetoric and socio-cultural readings of correspondence.⁶⁸ Anne's petitions are examined using the historical pragmatic framework proposed by Lynne Magnusson which classifies letters using linguistic scripts of 'humility and entreaty' or 'supposal and assurance' based on understandings of politeness theory and speech act theory.⁶⁹ Magnusson's approach allows Anne's use of the language of solidarity and friendship, non-deferential address terms and imperative instructions to be considered fully.⁷⁰ Analysis of Anne's petitions demonstrates that she, like contemporary high-status men and women letter-writers, used a mixed style of deferential devices that facilitated a persuasive approach while minimal self-humbling scripts prevented her from disempowering herself.

Anne's rhetorical devices are also understood in the context of idealised feminine values and behaviours prescribed by contemporary conduct literature. The trope of the devoted wife and loving mother that Anne employed in both her petitions and her marital

⁶⁶ Sara Jayne Steen, 'Reading Beyond the Words: Material Letters and the Process of Interpretation', *Quidditas*, 22 (2001), 55- 69 (p. 57).

⁶⁷ Goldberg, *Desiring Women Writing*, p. 150; James Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p. 95.

⁶⁸ See Brown and Levinson, *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*; Andreas H. Jucker and Irma Taavitsainen, *English Historical Pragmatics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013); Graham Williams, *Women's Epistolary Utterance*.

⁶⁹ Magnusson, 'A Rhetoric of Requests', pp. 55, 60 – 62; Magnusson, *Shakespeare and Social Dialogue*, pp. 102 - 103.

⁷⁰ Magnusson, *Shakespeare and Social Dialogue*, pp. 17 – 21; see also Coolahan, *Women, Writing and Language*; Daybell, 'Scripting a Female Voice'; Thorne, 'Women's Petitionary Letters'; Williams, *Women's Epistolary Utterance*.

letters as a strategy to legitimise her writing, either as a mediator or as an advice giver, reflects stereotypical gender assumptions of the period that enabled a woman to act outside the domestic sphere.⁷¹ The use of negative gender assumptions, in particular as framing devices for advice on political or financial affairs, also reflects women letter-writers' appropriation of cultural preconceptions to their own advantage. In Anne's case the inclusion of stereotypical female failings, such as female intellectual inferiority, served to authorise the advice she offered to her husband and her intervention in non-domestic affairs. This section argues that Anne's letters of advice can be understood as letters designed to re-affirm and bolster her own position during the crisis of her husband's imprisonment, rather than as merely communication with her husband during a physical separation or indeed not even as letters written in her husband's interests. Conventional strategies of deference and wifely obedience are shown to have been advantageous in maintaining her own influential and high-ranking position by supporting Anne's navigation of her husband's acute reliance upon her at this time. This submissive and deferential position was a legitimising performance of what Linda Pollock terms 'cultural scripts' of idealised wifely behaviour used for effect.⁷² Additionally, the circumstances of production were influential in creating this humble performance since Anne's marriage letters were produced during a period of acute tension in her marriage. The marriage difficulties impacted the way that she framed her advice directly relating to Northumberland's own continued imprisonment, which was a source of frustration between the couple at this point.

Finally, this chapter examines Anne's news and intelligence gathering activities and argues that her newsletters offer evidence of women's exchange of non-domestic news including military and political affairs. Anne's newsletters reveal that she exchanged news as means to establish and secure the support of valuable members of a wide Counter-Reformation network while in exile. Analysis of Anne's news activities is considered in light of recent studies of women's diplomatic activities, highlighting in particular how high-status women deployed news in order to foster beneficial networks rather than for traditional outcomes of favour.⁷³ In Anne's case, news was shared with those of a lower status than her and as part of a mutually beneficial and reciprocal exchange of information. Yet even then, Anne demonstrated her own perception of her worth and position by

⁷¹ Daybell, 'Scripting a Female Voice', p. 16; Thorne, 'Women's Petitionary Letters', pp. 28 – 29.

⁷² Linda Pollock, 'Teach Her to Live Under Obedience: The Making of Women in the Upper Ranks of Early Modern England', *Continuity and Change*, 4 (1989), 231 – 258 (pp. 234, 251).

⁷³ Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*, pp. 136 – 158; Daybell, 'The Intelligence Networks of Elizabeth Talbot', pp. 116 – 122, 127; Daybell, 'Gender, Politics and Diplomacy', pp. 101 – 103.

framing news and information in the language of credibility and value. She did not distance herself from news, as was a common tactic for fear of the information being invalid and the risk of disfavour. Instead, she presented news to her correspondents as correct and worthy of attention. Moreover, she regularly shared her own opinions on items of news. This confident approach emphasised that she considered her own judgement and reasoning to be superior. This chapter further bolsters the discussion of news and intelligence through a detailed examination of Anne's use of cipher and code as a means to disguise her correspondence. While Anne's ciphers have not yet been fully decoded, this chapter establishes that they had multiple meanings intended to make it difficult for unsolicited readers to access the names of people and places within her letters.

These findings, in chapter three, are captured through analytic readings of letters from Anne's petitionary correspondence, her marriage letters and her newsletters. The rhetorical and linguistic features of Anne's letters are examined to demonstrate how Anne created meaning within the specific historical and social moment of her letters' production. Close analysis of Anne's letters using methods from historical pragmatics offers evidence of Anne enacting epistolary agency through rhetorical and linguistic strategies intended to further her goals. First, this chapter demonstrates the sophisticated negotiation of prescriptive gender assumptions which Anne used to her advantage either by moving addressees to her favour, or as legitimising strategies for her epistolary and practical efforts on behalf of her husband during his imprisonment. More generally, this chapter argues that we can read Anne's letters of advice, petitions and newsletters as designed to further her own interests, rather than simply as letters designed to support her husband's suit, as they might first appear.

Overall, this multi-disciplinary approach offers insight into the layers of Anne's letters from the socio-historical context of their production to the significance of the physical and linguistic forms and features. Drawing on different disciplinary approaches highlights the processes through which Anne directed her epistolary exchanges and enacted her own agency, even when collaborating with and working on behalf of men and during the extreme circumstances of her exile.

CHAPTER ONE

Reconstructing Anne, countess of Northumberland's Political and Religious Networks

1.1. Introduction

Despite Anne, countess of Northumberland's political activities and her extensive Catholic network being subject to substantial surveillance and scrutiny by contemporary English authorities she has been largely overlooked in the historiography of early modern exile. Robert Lechat's early analysis, in French, of the English exiles in the Low Countries is one of the few considerations of the laity rather than an examination of religious institutions on the continent.¹ He is also one of the few twentieth-century historians to devote any attention to Anne, explaining that she was 'quite as important, if not more so [than the earl of Westmorland], for her activities and intrigues at the centre of the exiles'.² His examination of the English exiles provides useful evidence of Anne's activities, especially of her correspondence with the Duke of Alva, although at present this correspondence has been traced in print only and not in its original manuscript form.³ His inclusion of Anne is in direct contrast to later English historical studies such as A. J. Loomie's *The Spanish Elizabethans* in which Anne received very little attention.⁴ Indeed, whilst Loomie's work is useful in reminding researchers of the complexities of the exiled community, at times Loomie appears to have wilfully omitted Anne's involvement in events of significance. For example, he records that Sir Francis Englefield was one of the very few exiles accorded a papal recommendation to live in the nearby bishopric of Liège in 1575 following an order of expulsion from Spanish territory.⁵ He neglects to indicate however that Anne was one of the few other English exiles afforded this privilege and indeed that the Bishop of Liège, Gerard of Groesbeeck, refused to banish her from his territory, despite a personal letter of

¹ Robert Lechat, *Les réfugiés anglais dans les Pays-Bas espagnols durant le règne d'Élisabeth 1558 – 1603* (Louvain: Bureaux du Recueil, 1914).

² Lechat, *Les réfugiés anglais*, p.42: 'Tout aussi importante, si pas plus, par son activité et ses intrigues au centre des émigrés, nous apparaît la comtesse de Northumberland, Anne de Somerset'. All French translations are my own.

³ Lechat relies heavily upon Kervyn de Lettenhove's multi-volume printed compilation of documents relating to the diplomatic tensions between England and Spain during the reign of Philip II for many of his sources. Thus it is relatively straightforward to trace Lechat's references, but unfortunately many of those cited by Lettenhove have proved more difficult to trace in their original manuscript form. See Kervyn de Lettenhove *Relations politiques*, Vol I – XI.

⁴ A. J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans: The English exiles at the court of Philip II* (London: Burns & Oates, 1963).

⁵ Loomie, *Spanish Elizabethans*, p. 21.

request from Queen Elizabeth I encouraging him to expel her, having received recommendations from Pope Gregory XIII on behalf of Anne.⁶

While interest in early modern exile has continued to prove fruitful, historical studies remain unfavourably balanced toward male exiles.⁷ Claire Walker has tempered the focus on the English Colleges by illuminating exile convent communities in France and the Low Countries, being one of the first specifically to explore gender issues in the context of early modern exile.⁸ Once again, it is only more recently that lay exile communities have been subject to detailed scholarly examination and Katy Gibbons demonstrates that 'women's role in Catholic exile is perhaps even more neglected than their Protestant counterparts' since Marian exiles at least have been recognised as examples of the virtuous, reformist woman.⁹ Gibbons has argued that the study of female exiles can not only expand our understanding of exile but also broaden arguments about 'the role of women in the English Catholic community'.¹⁰ She uses Anne, countess of Northumberland, to illustrate her argument that female exiles were public members of the Catholic community, as opposed to the private, household base of recusants in England. Whilst this public role came with obvious risk, she argues that exile also afforded Catholic women opportunities which they were unlikely to access in England. Although much of her information relating to Anne is biographical in nature her arguments on female exiles are a highlight in a field dominated by literature on male exiles and clerical institutions.

Beyond the historiography of exile, Anne achieves slightly more recognition in other spheres of scholarly interest although in ways which are now outdated. The popular mode of historical research of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, the genealogical study, has produced two detailed tomes on the history of the Percy family. The first, de Fonblanque's *Annals of the House of Percy* highlights Anne's correspondence with Mary, Queen of Scots and credits her, alongside Sir Francis Englefield, as one of the advisors in

⁶ CSP Rome, Vol.II (15/04/1575), p.202: Pope Gregory XIII to Gerard de Groesbeeck, Bishop of Liège; TNA, SP 70/144/82 (18/03/1577): Queen Elizabeth I to Gerard de Groesbeeck, Bishop of Liège. He agreed to all other requests to remove fugitive exiles from his territory from 1575 onwards but would not agree to removing Anne.

⁷ See John Bossy, 'Elizabethan Catholicism: The Link with France', (PhD thesis: University of Cambridge, 1960) and more recently Willem Frijhoff, 'Shifting identities in hostile settings: towards a comparison of the Catholic communities in early modern Britain and the Northern Netherlands', in *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands c.1570 – 1720* ed. by Benjamin Kaplan, Bob Moore, Henk von Nierop and Judith Pollman (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), pp. 1 - 18.

⁸ Claire Walker, *Gender and Politics in Early Modern Europe: English Convents in France and the Low Countries* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003).

⁹ Gibbons, 'An Unquiet Estate Abroad', p. 43.

¹⁰ Gibbons, 'An Unquiet Estate Abroad', p. 43.

the marriage negotiations between Don John of Austria and the Scottish Queen.¹¹ Fonblanque's work, though stylised and heavily narrative, is nonetheless well referenced and makes use of Anne's own correspondence, albeit taken from printed calendar editions. He recognises her involvement in Catholic causes during her exile and does not undervalue her links to prominent figures of the period such as the Scots Queen.¹² His work was followed by Gerald Brenan's *A History of the House of Percy* in 1902 which again features Anne to a greater degree than the early histories of the exiles.¹³ Brenan's history fills out Fonblanque's study in greater detail, although he has a tendency to lean toward the dramatic and frustratingly does not always reference his sources (although careful consideration of other sources alongside his work, however, can often ascertain his evidence). Both these genealogical histories are narratives and do not offer any analysis of Anne's personal networks, nor do they consider gender. Yet, with limited historiography available that includes Anne either explicitly or implicitly, they offer a helpful starting point for evidence of Anne's activities, despite being over a century old.

It is now the moment to take a fresh look at Anne's life, to move beyond the narrative approach favoured by the genealogists of the nineteenth century and to engage with the more inclusive study of exile proposed by contemporary scholars such as Gibbons and Walker. While Anne has attracted little attention from scholars, her surviving correspondence offers scope to analyse her from multiple perspectives.¹⁴ This chapter will firstly reconstruct Anne's political and religious networks, using her extant correspondence in conjunction with a variety of contemporary sources. Later in the chapter, other primary sources will provide further evidence to strengthen the reconstruction of these networks. In particular, the newsletters and reports of contemporary letter-writers who wrote about Anne following the rebellion of 1569, and her activities during her exile are examined. It is possible to highlight several distinct networks to which Anne had access and which she activated at differing points in her life. These networks were overlapping and interlocking,

¹¹ Edward Barrington de Fonblanque, *Annals of the House of Percy: from the conquest to the opening of the nineteenth century*, Vol. II (London: Richard Clay & Sons, 1887), p.122-123.

¹² Socio-economic interpretations of the Northern Rebellion of 1569 have tended to undervalue the significance of the religious motivations of the earls and barely even consider the involvement of their wives. The involvement of Mary, Queen of Scots has also been contested which has led to any consideration of Mary's continuing alliance with the exiled Catholics being diminished. See Laurence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558 – 1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965) for the most comprehensive socio-economic consideration of the rebellion and Krista J. Kesselring, 'Mary, Queen of Scots and the Northern Rebellion of 1569', in *Leadership and Elizabethan Culture*, ed. by Peter Iver Kaufman (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2013), pp. 51 - 67, for the Scottish Queen's involvement in the rising.

¹³ Gerald Brenan, *A History of the House of Percy: from the earliest times down to the present century*, Vol. I (London: Freemantle, 1902).

¹⁴ Daybell briefly illuminated aspects of Anne's letters in the course of his seminal study of Tudor women's letters; *Women Letter-Writers*, pp. 34- 35, 90, 140. See also Daybell, 'Gender, Politics and Diplomacy', p. 113.

as will be shown. My intention is to trace each network and their interconnections and for the sake of clarity I have classified these three distinct networks as: (1) the Primary Network, (2) the Scottish Network and (3) the Exile Network.

First, reconstruction of the Primary Network shows that this was a network of mostly male servants, clients and supporters, many of whom were known to Anne having served her husband the earl of Northumberland prior to the rebellion of 1569 or as fellow rebels during the uprising. The Primary Network was based on the patronage system of reward, or mutual benefit, of the early modern period, that Anne negotiated following the failed rebellion in order to ensure the continued service of these men independent of her husband during his imprisonment and after his execution in 1572. Close scrutiny of figures from Anne's Primary Network shows that Anne navigated the patronage system by offering financial or petitionary support on behalf of those who continued to perform services including letter-bearing, and procurement of objects and news. Reconstruction of the Primary Network also highlights the more unconventional ways that Anne negotiated cultures of exchange in order to become a patron of these servants in her own right. In particular, the collective experience of the rebellion of 1569 and shared confessional ties explains the continued service of several figures for whom financial payment may have been intermittent due to the precarious circumstances of Anne's early years in exile. These more informal, and less explicitly reward-based, aspects of the patron/client bonds that Anne accessed can be highlighted using the framework of the patronage system proposed by Sharon Kettering and Questier, which moves away from the emphasis on official appointments, household positions, or financial support that conventionally has provided much of the evidence for successful patronage.¹⁵ Kettering explains that patronage, especially in early modern England, was often inherently based upon a 'system of personal ties and networks'.¹⁶ This looser understanding permits the inclusion of less concrete mutual benefits such as shared experiences of the rebellion of 1569, while confessional ties, as Questier demonstrates in his analysis of the Catholic networks of Viscount Montague, could also contribute to the fostering of service bonds in the absence of traditional rewards.¹⁷

Secondly, this chapter shows that it is impossible to consider Anne's networks without examining her Scottish Network. Initially the Scottish Network was a personal circle of sympathisers upon whom she relied for protection during her residence there until August

¹⁵ Kettering, 'Patronage in Early Modern France', p. 839; Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, pp. 4 – 5.

¹⁶ Kettering, 'Patronage in Early Modern France', p. 839.

¹⁷ See Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, p.4.

1570. Once Anne became an exile and following the death of her husband however, it changed dynamic and became a politicised network based around the captive Scots Queen. Anne utilised her intimate Scottish Network to further campaigns on the Scots Queen's behalf. There is also evidence that the Scots Queen accessed this network in order to support Anne, contacting various religious and political leaders via Scottish contacts to recommend Anne's position. Careful consideration of various sources in this chapter has also unearthed evidence that Anne and the Scots Queen were in communication with one another. Their correspondence establishes Anne's links with the political campaigns to free the captive queen and demonstrates her position within the web of supporters around the Scots Queen, suggesting that Anne was not simply a peripheral figure but someone whose role was worthy of direct attention from the queen herself. While Anne's Primary Network was based in the patronage culture of exchange, the Scottish Network was bound, not necessarily by reward, but by what Greengrass has characterised as an 'ideological affinity'.¹⁸ The Scots Queen was the prevalent basis of this affinity within Anne's Scottish Network and their shared Catholic faith further cemented their network of co-operation. Thus, the Scottish Network deserves careful attention to its nuances and complexities since it deviated from conventional relationships of exchange and instead highlighted the powerful motivations of shared experience or mutual affinities that became acutely important when one was removed from the familiar institutions of patronage culture, notably the Court and the noble household. Anne's Scottish Network reveals further the more abstract elements that her networks relied upon and which she continued to exploit during her establishment within the English exile community.

Thirdly, the chapter examines Anne's Exile Network. Anne accessed and directed her Exile Network in order to improve her personal condition while in the Low Countries and for wider politico-religious aims including campaigns on behalf of the Scots Queen, as we have seen, and the restoration of the Catholic faith in England via moderate and more radical means. Reconstruction and analysis of the Exile Network reveals how Anne navigated the often divided exile community, becoming, albeit briefly, leader of the gentlemen fugitives during the 1570s. This chapter examines how Anne utilised her networks, and in particular, the exchange of news and intelligence gathered from these networks, in order to negotiate her influential position within the exile community from August 1570 until 1575 when she was expelled from Spanish territory during peace

¹⁸ Greengrass, 'Noble Affinities in Early Modern France', p. 276.

negotiations with the English. Once again, figures from the network are examined in detail in order to understand fully the benefits forged by these acquaintances.

In this instance, the Exile Network also offers the opportunity to examine the impact of social class and gender on Anne's successful role within the exile community during the 1570s. Recent scholarship has highlighted the variety of ways through which early modern women enacted agency with debate continuing as to whether social and marital status, including widowhood, offers greater opportunity for appreciating the true complexities of the period than a focus on gender.¹⁹ This chapter engages with the debate by recognising that Anne's status as the widow of a man believed within the exile community to be a Catholic martyr, allowed her a greater degree of influence over her confederates than she would have enjoyed had the earl reached exile. Yet, this chapter also considers the broader issue of gender by concurring with Gibbon's theory that female exile experience offered an opportunity for Catholic women to perform in the public arena much more openly.²⁰ In the same way, Allen and others have shown that women entered the diplomatic and intelligence spheres using skills that were considered stereotypically 'feminine' in order to foster friendships, gather information and exchange this intelligence as required either for their own sake or for the benefit of male relatives.²¹ This re-appraisal of intelligence networks incorporates contemporary gendered expectations of female information exchange, for too long classified separate from intelligence as 'gossip' and highlights the ways that early modern women navigated news and information exchanges.²² This chapter reveals that Anne enacted these gendered experiences, both a female Catholic understanding of exile that gave her room to perform, and as someone who fostered networks based on an exchange of news and intelligence. By examining Anne's Exile Network in this framework of recent inclusive research, Anne's life, experiences and successes of the 1570s can be illuminated for the first time.

Altogether, by reconstructing Anne's networks in three stages, greater understanding regarding the significance of her activities can be revealed. Her Primary Network reveals how Anne negotiated the patronage system using petitionary and financial rewards, as well

¹⁹ The body of literature on early modern women's agency continues to expand, however for a brief overview of examinations of women's social status, including widowhood and education, providing opportunity to enact agency in political, cultural or religious arenas see Nadine Akkerman and Birjit Houben, eds., *The Politics of Female Households*; Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*; Harris, 'Women and Politics in Early Tudor England'; Stewart, 'The Voices of Anne Cooke, Lady Anne and Lady Bacon,'; Wolfe ed. *Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland: Life and Letters*; Walker, *Gender and Politics in Early Modern Europe*.

²⁰ Gibbons, 'An Unquiet Estate Abroad', p.43.

²¹ Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*, p.190; Daybell, 'Gender, Politics and Diplomacy', pp. 102 – 104; Daybell, 'The Intelligence Networks of Elizabeth Talbot', pp. 116, 122.

²² Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*, pp. 148 – 158; Daybell, 'The Intelligence Networks of Elizabeth Talbot', pp.116, 122 - 127; Daybell, 'Gender, Politics and Diplomacy', pp. 102 – 104.

as more abstract mutual benefits including the collective experience of rebellion and shared confessional ties, in order to maintain patron/client bonds. The Scottish Network, though geographically anchored, was more nuanced and requires careful attention. The Scots Queen dominated both Anne's personal circle of sympathisers whom she relied upon during her residence in Scotland and her politicised network from 1570 onwards. The Scottish Network was bound by affinities rather than reward and as such is more difficult to determine at times, but through examination of a range of sources it has been possible to highlight Anne's active campaigns on the Scots Queen's behalf and support in return reaching from the queen to Anne. Finally, Anne's Exile Network is the focus for considerations of agency and gender. We must consider how it was that Anne came to such a position of influence in the exiled English community and explore her status as the wife of a martyr, her widowhood, her own confessional ties and finally her practical tactics especially her involvement in the gathering of intelligence.

1.2. The Primary Network, 1569 – 1572

Anne, countess of Northumberland's Primary Network included servants, clients and supporters who had served her husband prior to the rebellion of 1569 or those who had rebelled themselves. Clients can be clarified by the description given by Paul Hammer as 'those linked by a significant patronage tie' to a superior. Hammer employs the term 'followers' or 'following' to describe those who were linked to a member of the nobility as servants, clients, relatives, or close friends.²³ Hammer admits that these terms are imprecise but helpful to our understanding of the often tenuous links between members of the nobility in this period and those committed to their cause or the individual personally.²⁴ It is also worth recognising that the categories presented as 'followers' by Hammer often overlapped: for example, one could be both a client and a close friend of a prominent member of the nobility.²⁵ Using the parameters set out by Hammer it is possible to describe those men who continued to be employed independently by Anne after her husband's imprisonment and execution as her 'followers'. They fit the categories proposed by

²³ Paul E. J. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd earl of Essex, 1585 – 1597* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 269.

²⁴ Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics*, p. 269; Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, p. 2.

²⁵ Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, p. 2.

Hammer: close scrutiny of figures within the Primary Network reveals that many were servants or clients who performed specific duties in return for Anne's support in securing material support either financially or through further employment, often through Anne's petitioning on the servant's behalf. In this way, Anne accessed and directed the traditional patronage system to her advantage, using petitionary support, a frequent avenue commanded by noblewomen of this period.²⁶

Questier too has categorised these essentially hierarchical, yet often mutually beneficial, relationships, using the term 'entourage' to describe a 'social entity' that was, in Questier's research, grouped around leading members of a prominent Catholic noble family, that of Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague.²⁷ Questier stresses that the term is intended to 'mean something broader and looser than the patronage and clientage structures' that relies overmuch on the 'raw data' of official appointments and other traceable activities of patron/client rewards.²⁸ More recent research on early modern patronage is more inclusive of less formal, or even abstract qualities that helped to foster patron/client bonds.²⁹ Thus, religious convictions, affiliations in both local and national issues, and shared experiences of war, exile or even a shared geography or community could all facilitate network building, especially when access to traditional reward-based patronage was limited.

The more fluid interpretation of patronage is useful for an analysis of Anne's Primary Network because it helps to explain how Anne managed to maintain the services of several followers for whom no explicit financial payment can be traced and for whom she did not appear to extend her support via petitionary means. Instead, the collective experience of the rebellion of 1569 and its long-term consequences and shared confessional ties served to sustain these bonds. While these experiences overlapped, this chapter examines each individually using examples from Anne's Primary Network. Anne relied upon these more informal aspects of patronage culture because of the constraints of her exile circumstances: she was separated from her husband (from August 1572 as a widow) and was financially insecure, reliant on a Spanish pension. It is true that a more fluid approach to patronage is therefore especially valuable in tracing the networks of a noblewoman since women, like Catholics, did not have access to traditional channels of the patronage system. This did not mean that women were unable to negotiate the system to their advantage, but simply that

²⁶ Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, ch. nine, pp. 229 - 264.

²⁷ Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, p. 2.

²⁸ Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, pp. 2 - 5; Kettering, 'Patronage in Early Modern France', p. 839; Ben-Amos, 'Informal Support in Early Modern England', p. 297.

²⁹ Greengrass, 'Noble Affinities in Early Modern France' p. 276; Kettering 'Patronage in Early Modern France' p.839; Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, pp. 2 - 5.

they were forced to find alternative modes of access. In this sense, the looser framework, set back from the traditional data usually collated in historical analyses of patronage societies, has a particular value for the reconstruction of women's networks.

The majority of Anne's personal servants remain nameless or appear so fleetingly in the contemporary sources that their inclusion here would serve only to create a list of names about whom little else is known. For example, two female attendants were with Anne when she travelled into Scotland in mid-December 1569, and along with Anne, had their horses and other goods stolen. Unfortunately, these women were not named, nor were they mentioned again in any reports of Anne's time in Scotland.³⁰ Therefore, it is necessary to examine the followers of her husband, the earl of Northumberland, in order to reconstruct Anne's Primary Network and to identify some of those men who continued to be employed as servants or who remained as followers of Anne's independent of her husband after his imprisonment and her departure into exile.

First, it is possible to demonstrate how Anne ensured the continued service of a prominent member of her husband's household estate and participant in the rebellion of 1569, through formal reward based cultures of exchange, based on Anne's success as a petitioner in the English exile community. Peter Kirke was Northumberland's clerk at Topcliffe from 1562 and was alleged to have been Northumberland's main contact with fellow conspirator and rebel leader Leonard Dacres prior to the rebellion of 1569.³¹ Even before the rebellion, Kirke appeared to act in Anne's interests as well as her husband's, which was not unusual: Kirke convinced Dacres to make his seat at Naworth Castle in Cumbria available to Anne for the duration of the rising, although this plan did not come to fruition.³² By examining Anne's correspondence it appears that he visited Anne in exile on at least one occasion and she continued to write to him until 1576 when he returned to England. We can discern a correspondence of some length between Anne and Kirke since she referred to earlier letters that she received from him and reminded him in a letter dated 15 June 1576, that he had 'long experience of me, and as before *you* haue tried me so are *you* lyk still to find me in favour.'³³ In the same letter, Anne also advised him to come to

³⁰ CSP Dom. Add. 1566 – 1579 (22/12/1569), p. 161: Earl of Sussex to Burghley.

³¹ PHA 361 (09/1562 – 04/1564): 'Account of Peter Kyrke, clerk of the works and buildings, purveyor of grain, storer and buyer of cattle and disburser of 'forreyne' expenses for Thomas, Earl of Northumberland, at the Little Park in Topcliffe, co. Yorks.'

³² Cal. Salisbury, Vol. I (10/01/1570), p. 460: 'Examination of Thomas Bishop, gentleman'. Bishop alleged that Anne remarked to him directly that she would stay at Naworth for a 'month of Fridays' before the rebellion began. Leonard Dacres refused the rebels entry to Naworth Castle when they arrived there seeking aid. However, shortly after the earls fled into Scotland Dacres led his own men in a second brief rising which was quickly defeated by Lord Hunsdon forcing him to flee into the borders.

³³ TNA, SP 12/108/96 (15/06/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Peter Kirke.

the Low Countries permanently where she would help to secure a 'porcion' for him. This 'porcion' referred to a pension provided by the King of Spain and funded through the Governor of the Low Countries to religious exiles or those who were in a position to serve Spain through political or diplomatic means. The Spanish pension was the main source of income for the English Catholic exiles, some of whom, including Anne, were valued for the information they could provide regarding persons and locations within England and across Europe.

It appears that Kirke acted as middle man between Anne and her former servants and associates in England since in this letter she also asked him directly to inform her of her 'old seruants'. She also requested that Kirke speak with one Mr Mockett to help find her a new pageboy for her household in exile. This was much the same role that he had taken during the early stages of the rebellion when he had acted as the contact between Anne, her husband and Leonard Dacres, suggesting that he was adept at conveying messages and travelling across the country. Securing his continued services was therefore of benefit to Anne isolated as she was from contacts in England. Kirke therefore was a concrete example of Anne's Primary Network, a former servant of her husband, a contact that she put to service independently on her behalf. Anne negotiated the patronage system to her advantage to enable her to continue accessing Kirke's skills. Her offer to intercede on his behalf to secure a pension from the Spanish authorities is reminiscent of women's petitionary exercises on behalf of male friends, servants and more distant contacts.³⁴ Anne had some success as a petitioner for her fellow exiles in the search for pensions, being nominated by the gentlemen fugitives to represent them in their suit, so her offer was not simply a gesture but one which had serious potential reward.³⁵ In this sense, she was continuing to offer monetary reward for the services Kirke provided her as gatherer of news, a bearer of messages and a middle-man and she was upholding the traditional patron/client relationship he had experienced with her husband.

Additionally, Anne's support to secure a pension and her reminder to Kirke of his 'long experience' of her served to negate some of the risk in his making the permanent move into exile as she suggested. Reassurances such as this, both with potential financial reward and implicit offers of continued patronage, were acutely looked for by English Catholic exiles during Elizabeth's reign. As recent scholarship has shown, Catholic fugitives who fled to the continent under Elizabeth faced a tougher struggle than many of the earlier evangelical Marian exiles had done since they did not have the support of family and friends to offer

³⁴ Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, ch. nine, pp. 229 – 264.

³⁵ CSP Dom. Add. 1566 – 1579 (05/07/1571), p. 354: John Lee to Burghley.

shelter or financial cushioning.³⁶ Melissa Franklin Harkrider's assessment of Katherine Willoughby, duchess of Suffolk's period of exile under Mary I's rule, demonstrates how the nobility continued to access funds by transferring property deeds to family or trusted servants who held conformist views.³⁷ By comparison, under Elizabeth I, after the rebellion of 1569 in particular, opportunities for exiles to maintain and access English estates were severely restricted. An act against the 'fugitives over the seas' (1571) made the property of those who had left England without the queen's permission forfeit to the crown and specified that no goods or proceeds from lands could be 'held in right of their wives'.³⁸ This clause could be challenged only if men did not 'challenge the queen's authority' which, as Krista J. Kesselring points out, meant that those associated with the rising of 1569 'paid a heavy price'.³⁹ The anti-Catholic rhetoric encouraged by proclamations issued by the state, including those that denounced the 'traitorous boldness of certain wicked and seditious persons' and focused on the treasons against the 'dignity of her majesty' following the rebellion of 1569, was designed to suffocate support at home for the exiles by not only emphasising the risk to those who might think to aid an exile or communicate with such persons but crucially by highlighting the supposed link between the Catholic exiles and anti-English sentiment.⁴⁰ As Christopher Highley explains: 'in the eyes of the government the Catholic exiles had lost whatever potential they may once have had for rehabilitation and for being considered *true Englishmen* again'.⁴¹ Therefore, by offering to help secure material support for Kirke's move into exile Anne continued to command the channels of the patronage system in order to encourage Kirke's continued services as message bearer and procurer of servants and information.

Reconstructing what little evidence is available of Anne's relationship with Kirke therefore highlights the traditional patronage and clientage aspects of Anne's Primary Network. Securing Kirke's continued services in the face of anti-Catholic legislation and rhetoric in England which threatened to suffocate avenues of communication and support

³⁶ Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles*, pp. 32 - 33; Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 23.

³⁷ Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community in Early Modern England: Katherine Willoughby, duchess of Suffolk and Lincolnshire's Godly Aristocracy 1519 – 1580* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), pp. 95, 106.

³⁸ Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, pp. 50 – 51; Sir John Ernest Neale, *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments, 1559 – 1601* (London: Cape: 1953 – 57) pp. 177 – 240.

³⁹ Krista J. Kesselring, *The Northern Rebellion of 1569: Faith, Politics and Protest in Elizabethan England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007), p. 139.

⁴⁰ Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, p. 51; Krista J. Kesselring, 'A Cold Pye for the Papistes: Constructing and Containing the Rising of 1569', *Journal of British Studies*, 43.4 (October, 2004), 417 - 443, (p. 437 – 41); Daniela Busse, 'Anti-Catholic Polemical Writing on the Rising in the North (1569)', *Recusant History*, 27 (2004), 11 – 30, (pp. 23 – 24).

⁴¹ Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, p. 51, my emphasis.

was an advantage to Anne, yet she encouraged his permanent move to the Low Countries, perhaps recognising that Kirke's skills as a middle-man could be put to use anywhere. Thus, his move would have mutual benefits: she would continue to utilise his procurement skills and he would access her support for stable income.

On the other hand, by illuminating more abstract facets of patronage culture that those on the margins of power often had to employ, it is also possible to reconstruct Anne's Primary Network in greater detail and reveal how she succeeded in maintaining many servants and supporters when her access to traditional reward-based patronage was limited or constrained by the precarious circumstances of exile. One example of a person from Anne's Primary Network whom she maintained independently using confessional ties was Dr Lee. He was both a 'doctor of physic' and an open Catholic who went 'from house to house' where he was sheltered and possibly acted as a confessor to his hosts.⁴² Lee was allegedly a 'chief doer' with Anne during the rising even riding with Anne from their position in the border post-rebellion to steal letters from Queen Elizabeth to the Regent of Scotland.⁴³ Brenan identified Dr Lee as a follower of Northumberland, however by his own admission, Lee remained with Anne when she and her husband separated shortly after arriving in Scotland. Soon after their separation Brenan claims that Anne became unwell with fever and notes that a doctor who had travelled with her treated her during this time.⁴⁴ In light of Lee being an open Catholic who sought shelter with his religious sympathisers it is likely that he was well acquainted with Anne in particular, rather than the earl. As Marie Rowland has convincingly demonstrated, women were prominent in the harbouring of priests. As she explains, even 'in cases where a married couple provided the priest with a home, it was still the wife rather than the husband who made the arrangements, controlled the curiosity of children and servants, and ensured secrecy.'⁴⁵ Hugh Aveling proposes that Northumberland had 'one or more "old priest" chaplains' at Topcliffe but recognises that the earl was not reconciled to the Catholic faith until 1567 after reading many of the works of Catholic polemicists including Dr Nicholas Sanders, friend of his wife.⁴⁶ Contemporary Protestants may have considered Northumberland an obstinate Catholic but in fact it was Anne who held strong religious convictions, while the earl was something of a moderate until the late 1560s. Even his decision to rebel has been subsequently seen as motivated by

⁴² CSP Dom. Add. 1566 – 1579 (06/02/1570), pp. 223-25: Anonymous to Burghley.

⁴³ CSP Dom. Add. 1566 – 1579 (06/02/1570), pp. 223 – 225: Anonymous to Burghley; CP 157/30 (18/04/1570): Examination of John Hameling.

⁴⁴ Brenan, *History of the House of Percy*, p. 307.

⁴⁵ Marie Rowlands, 'Recusant Women 1560 – 1640', in *Women in English Society 1550 – 1700* ed. by Mary Prior (London: Methuen & Co., 1985), pp. 149 – 180 (p. 157).

⁴⁶ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, pp. 41, 66-67.

the dwindling status and influence of the northern nobility due to the centralising Elizabethan Court.⁴⁷ Anne, on the other hand remained a devoted Catholic who did not conform at any point under Elizabeth's reign.⁴⁸ Instead, she remained openly committed to the restoration of the faith following the rising in 1569 and pursued increasingly politicised and radical avenues to achieve this from exile. It is therefore likely that the priests sheltered on Northumberland estates were protected with the support of Anne, although with the knowledge of her husband, at least until his reconciliation in 1567. Dr Lee therefore may well have been one of these 'old priest' chaplains and as such would likely have been a follower of Anne rather than her husband, a connection formed by their shared confessional ties.

In addition, Anne's own correspondence with Kirke offers traces of other male servants of her husband, who subsequently became important contacts in Anne's Primary Network. Anne wrote to Kirke on 15 June 1576, that one 'Thwyng' attended her previously. Thwyng seems to be John Thwing of Gate Helmsey of Yorkshire who was a servant of Northumberland's noted to have departed for the Low Countries to serve Anne in April 1571.⁴⁹ He was trusted with selling Northumberland's collar of the garter to raise funds for the rebellion in 1569 and as such was clearly a close member of their service circle.⁵⁰

It is clear however, that Anne secured Thwing's service and loyalty independent of her husband following the rebellion and the earl's execution since he was described by contemporary intelligencers as Anne's 'trustiest servant' in 1574.⁵¹ Thwing travelled regularly throughout the early years of Anne's exile between England and the Low Countries. He first visited Anne in April 1571, at the same time as a servant of John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, was reported to have visited her carrying letters, though it is unclear whether the two travelled together.⁵² The diplomat Dr Thomas Wilson also reported in December 1574 that Thwing planned to travel once more from England to visit Anne. By 1576 Anne herself recorded that she had recently been in Thwing's company when she informed Peter Kirke in June of that year that she had passed advice to him regarding Kirke's troubles 'at his last being here'.⁵³ During Anne's exile, Thwing acted as a letter-bearer and like Kirke his continued residence in England made him acutely valuable as a

⁴⁷ Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy*, p. 212.

⁴⁸ The only concession she allowed was to Lord Henry Hunsdon wherein she beseeched him to be a means to the queen on behalf of her children and servants but not for herself or her husband. See TNA, SP 12/66/09 (07/01/1570): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, contemporary copy.

⁴⁹ CSP Dom. Add. 1566 – 1579 (20/04/1571), p. 345: John Lee to Burghley.

⁵⁰ CP 157/121 (06/08/1571): Examination of John Hameling.

⁵¹ CSP For. 1572 – 1574, (20/12/1574), pp. 581 – 582: Dr Thomas Wilson to Burghley.

⁵² CSP Dom. Add. 1566 – 1579 (20/04/1572), p. 345: John Lee to Burghley.

⁵³ TNA, SP 12/108/96 (15/09/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Peter Kirke.

source of information. Aveling chronicles that Thwing 'acted as a courier between the exiles in Flanders, Douai and Yorkshire' throughout the 1570s, using his personal contacts, as a relation to Cardinal William Allen through marriage, to travel between England and the English College at Douai.⁵⁴ Thwing's personal connection to the College at Douai made him especially useful, since he was also able to pass messages between the exiles and supporters there. Thwing's son was also a missionary priest trained at Douai giving him further access to the College: personal contacts within the college would have allowed him access to news and a degree of physical proximity that the exiles were denied by their constrained circumstances and reduced to accessing via epistolary channels. It is true that Thwing's connections to the Catholic continent would have warranted suspicions in England, under the legislative controls following the rebellion and indeed the fact that his movements were reported by intelligencers reflects this. Yet, it seems in the early years of Anne's exile at least, Thwing was successfully journeying between England and the continent as a 'courier' as Aveling suggests.

There is no evidence of Thwing's courier services being rewarded financially by the exiles, although it is likely that when finances were available to recompense letter-bearers, then this would have been the conventional practice. Indeed, evidence from Anne's correspondence shows that even in her constrained circumstances she was prepared to pay handsomely for a trusted bearer to deliver letters in times of crisis. She paid twelve crowns to the bearer of a letter addressed to her husband on 31 January 1572 during the negotiations for his release from the Scots.⁵⁵ This sum was considered substantial enough for her to remark upon it in the course of the closing remarks to her husband. Unlike other members of Anne's Primary Network, including Kirke, there is no evidence of Anne offering any other support for Thwing, for example through petitionary support. Instead Anne relied on other, informal, avenues to maintain her 'trustiest servant'. In particular, their shared confessional ties bound Thwing and Anne and served to ensure that Thwing was willing to continue in the service of the exiled Catholics, in spite of the personal risk to himself in journeying as a courier between England and the English Colleges on the continent.

Anne was recognised by her servants as a devoted Catholic. To men like Thwing, whose own faith was evident through his son's position as a missionary priest at Douai, and his own journeys to the College as a messenger, Anne's commitment to her faith in the face of continued threats would have been a shared bond during this tumultuous period. Both

⁵⁴ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 55.

⁵⁵ CP 159/21 (31/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland.

during and after the rebellion she demonstrated her religious conviction. She rode with the rebels and chose exile in Scotland rather than to remain at her estate of Topcliffe where she was based with her children in November 1569 when the earl first departed for the uprising. In Scotland she heard mass with her hosts regularly. Finally, in exile she committed herself to her husband's release petitioning Pope Pius V and Philip II of Spain, raising the funds needed for his ransom. She also petitioned, alongside her male confederates, for the exiles' cause, to Vatican representatives. Her involvement in campaigns on behalf of the imprisoned Scots Queen and in minor plots to restore the faith in England also furthered cemented her position as a prominent Catholic noblewoman. Her faith was central to her identity, both to contemporaries reporting to the English and to those whose loyalty she wished to maintain. This shared faith, though difficult to establish using conventional data, was a means through which Anne could direct the services of those whom she had accessed prior to the rebellion and whom she knew had experience of her religious devotion.

Finally, it is possible to highlight further how informal ties served to ensure that Anne employed her husband's followers independently. The collective experience of the rebellion of 1569 proved mutually beneficial for Anne and servants seeking patronage in exile. For example, Anne employed William Carr to transport letters during his journey to England in June 1572 despite open misgivings about his character. Carr wrote to his brother Robert Carr in January 1572 complaining that Anne wished him gone from her household. He reported that Anne informed him that only those who received wages were allowed to remain in her service and that she had only supported him previously for his brother's sake.⁵⁶ The reliance on financial reward for service that Anne used as an excuse to dismiss Carr – the delivery of wages – seems to contradict Anne's employment of figures such as John Thwing who was credited as her 'trustiest servant' and yet whose rewards are implicit at best. Such an emphasis on the traditional rewards of patronage here shows an awareness of the patronage system that Anne attempted to command in order to rid herself, albeit temporarily, of a servant whom she no longer wished to employ. The claim that Carr could offer no service worth a wage permitted Anne to remove herself as his patron.

Despite the disagreement, Carr was supported by Anne for a short period thanks to the collective experience of the rebellion that she shared indirectly with him. Robert Carr, William Carr's brother, was a follower of Northumberland during the rebellion of 1569 and

⁵⁶ CSP Dom. Add. 1566 – 1579 (31/01/1571), p. 383: William Carr to Robert Carr.

remained at Hume Castle with Anne before she departed for Aberdeen in August 1570. William Carr has not been located as a rebel although his presence in the exile community suggests he likely had some involvement in the rising or otherwise departed for the continent following the punitive legislation enacted post 1569. Goodwill towards Carr's brother, Robert Carr, for his role in the rebellion and her experience of him afterwards, may have convinced Anne to allow his brother a position with her household in the Low Countries. Securing a position for a subordinate on behalf of a relative, friend or distant acquaintance is more reminiscent of conventional petitionary activities with Anne enacting the role of a traditional patron, William Carr as client and Robert Carr as requester (though his request of support for his brother remains reconstructed only from others' correspondence). Yet, this relationship also highlights the shared experience of the rising which facilitated Anne's brief support of William Carr and her experience of Robert Carr's physical service and Scottish exile shaping her judgement.

William Carr was once again in Anne's employment in June 1572 when she directed him to carry letters to England. While practical concerns surrounding the opportunity to transport correspondence fuelled this decision, the bonds of the Northern English, Catholic-centric network that they shared made him a person suited to the task. The shared experience of the rebellion, perhaps indirectly communicated via Carr's brother, therefore acted as a conduit through which traditional patronage and clientage exchanges were pursued with mutual benefits for both Anne and her servant.⁵⁷

Therefore, tracing a few of Anne's personal servants and independent followers after her husband's execution, has allowed the reconstruction of a Primary Network which Anne accessed and maintained throughout her life from before, and during, the rising and onward into her exile. Anne negotiated the patronage system to enable her to establish a small entourage of her husband's servants who remained loyal to her following his execution by appropriating traditional structures of exchange as well as encouraging more implicit bonds of support and assistance, notably the shared experience of rebellion and collective confessional ties. Small and occasionally tenuous this network might seem but nonetheless it provided her with both practical help and more general support throughout the changing circumstances of her life and as I have demonstrated Anne utilised and commanded this network to her advantage.

⁵⁷ CSP Dom. Add. 1566 – 1579 (06/07/1572), p. 416: Lord Hunsdon to Burghley. Hunsdon recorded that William Carr was caught with 'papist books' and letters from Lady Northumberland to 'some of her friends in Northumberland'.

1.3. The Scottish Network, 1569 – 1577

Anne, countess of Northumberland's Scottish Network can be traced from late 1569, when she was forced to flee into the Scottish borders with her husband and their confederates. Inevitably, any detailed examination of the Scottish Network overlaps with Anne's extended period of exile since her sojourn in Scotland was relatively short. Anne arrived in the borders in December 1569 and travelled from Aberdeen to Sluis on 23 August 1570.⁵⁸ Nonetheless, it is possible to discern a distinctively Scottish Network emerging from late 1569 which can be considered in two phases. The first was Anne's reliance upon a network of Scottish lairds and supporters during her own brief residence in that country. The network which she established during her time there became crucial to her efforts to secure her husband's release from 1570 until 1572 when he was sold to the English and executed. Following Northumberland's death, Anne continued to access her Scottish contacts but the nature of the network changed significantly. Having no personal goal to achieve, her Scottish network became linked with the political and religious motivations which were increasingly prevalent during her exile on the continent. Anne's Scottish Networks, both the personal and the politically motivated, differ somewhat from her Primary Network in that they were not as grounded in the traditional patronage system. Instead these networks are based upon an 'ideological affinity' of political support for Mary, Queen of Scots and a shared sympathy for the Catholic faith.⁵⁹

When Anne arrived in Scotland in late December 1569 she was quickly separated from her husband. Northumberland himself was quickly captured and taken to Edinburgh to the Regent, James Stewart, earl of Moray.⁶⁰ Anne's condition quickly deteriorated under the conditions in the borders and she became ill. Her plight was recognised by Thomas Kerr, Lord Ferniehurst, who rode to rescue her and her fellow rebels. By the end of December 1569 she was sheltered at Ferniehurst Castle near Jedburgh.⁶¹ This contact with Ferniehurst proved fortuitous since it allowed Anne access to a network of disaffected Scottish lairds who were largely Catholic in faith and supporters of the captive Scots Queen.

⁵⁸ CSP For. 1569 – 1571 (03/09/1570), p. 330: Earl of Sussex to Burghley; CSP Dom. 1547 – 1580 (31/08/1570), p. 391: Lord Morley to Queen Elizabeth I.

⁵⁹ Greengrass, 'Noble Affinities', p. 276.

⁶⁰ James Stewart was the half-brother of Mary, Queen of Scots and ruled as regent until 23 January 1570 when he was assassinated. He was replaced by Matthew Stewart, earl of Lennox who was in turn killed when supporters of Mary's attacked Stirling in September 1571. John Erskine, earl of Mar became the third regent during James VI's minority in November 1571 and died in October 1572 of natural causes. Mar was overshadowed as regent by James Douglas, fourth earl of Morton who would become the fourth and final regent in November 1572.

⁶¹ CSP Dom. Add. 1566 – 1579 (31/12/1569), p. 176: Sir John Forster to earl of Sussex; CSP Dom. Add. 1566 – 1579 (07/01/1570), p. 185: Forster to Earl of Sussex. Forster reported that Anne lay in the 'lowest chamber of Ferniehurst tower and Westmorland in the overmost chamber of the same.'

Central too to the burgeoning Scottish Network was Alexander, fifth Lord Hume of Berwickshire who received Anne from Ferniehurst's care only a fortnight after her arrival there by riding out from Hume Castle to meet her in the middle of the night after she rode from Ferniehurst with Ferniehurst and his men to avoid the detection of English agents.⁶² Hume's support proved invaluable to Anne in the short period during which she resided under his protection, especially during the raid led by the earl of Sussex early in 1570 during which both Ferniehurst Castle and Hume Castle were attacked. Brennan relates that a servant of Anne's was captured from Hume Castle but he refused to tell her hiding place to the English.⁶³ It is likely that Lord Hume escorted Anne to Fast Castle, his coastal fortress outside Coldingham, in advance of the raid but in any case she was not discovered during the English invasion of 1570 and the help of the Scottish lairds cannot be underestimated in securing her continued freedom at this point.⁶⁴

Anne's relationship with Hume continued to strengthen over the course of 1570. She remained at Fast Castle until at least March 1570 during which time Hume was said to have 'forsaken religion and hears two or three masses daily with Lady Northumberland'.⁶⁵ She returned to Hume Castle by May of that year where she was at liberty to go where she liked.⁶⁶ Anne's ties to Lord Hume seem to have extended to Hume's wife Lady Agnes Grey. Anne later suggested having her daughters sent to the continent via Lady Hume during discussions with her husband on 28 January 1572 about his own release and the subsequent transport of their daughters. She informed him that the safest option was to leave the young women with Lord and Lady Hume who would send them to the continent at a later date.⁶⁷ Frustratingly, no surviving correspondence has at yet been discovered between Anne and Lord or Lady Hume following her move to the continent, but they clearly played an important role during her time in Scotland.

Further personal support came from George, fifth Lord Seton. It remains unclear from the sources when exactly Anne came into contact with Seton but by June 1570 she had departed from Hume Castle and was recorded by Lord Hume himself as being at Aberdeen

⁶² CSP Scot. 1569 – 1571 (12/01/1570), pp. 47 – 48: Robert Haugh to Lord Burghley. The sender's name was written over as 'Francis Haugh' perhaps in an attempt to disguise the identity; CSP. Dom. Add. 1566 – 1579 (11/01/1570), pp. 191 – 192: Lord Hunsdon to Earl of Sussex.

⁶³ Brennan, *History of the House of Percy*, p. 321.

⁶⁴ CSP Dom. Add. 1566 – 1579 (11/01/1570), pp. 191 – 192: Lord Hunsdon to Earl of Sussex. Lord Hunsdon speculated that Anne might have been moved to Fast Castle as early as 11 January 1570. Fast Castle was almost impregnable as it was positioned on cliffs off the coast with access only via a drawbridge over a ravine.

⁶⁵ CSP Dom. Add. 1566 – 1579 (02/03/1570), p. 249: Sir Thomas Gargrave to Lord Burghley.

⁶⁶ CSP Dom. Add. 1566 – 1579 (07/05/1570), pp. 292 – 294: Sir Francis Englefield to Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria.

⁶⁷ CP 5/76 (28/02/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland.

with Lord Seton.⁶⁸ Brennan has suggested that Seton visited Anne at Hume Castle prior to June 1570 and under his protection she was brought to Edinburgh where she met with Regent Moray to discuss the ransom of her husband, before travelling to Seton's estates in the north of Scotland.⁶⁹ This can be corroborated to some extent by an account in David Calderwood's *History of the Kirk in Scotland*, which explains that the Scottish lords who were loyal to Mary, Queen of Scots came together at Linlithgow in April 1570. Calderwood states that Westmorland, Leonard Dacres and Anne were brought to this meeting by various lords including Lord Hume. From there, the group travelled to Edinburgh and after some weeks trying to raise the citizens there they all retreated save for Lord Seton who assembled his forces at the Palace of Holyroodhouse before also returning to Linlithgow. Calderwood records that 'Ladie Northumberland' was with Seton at Holyrood in April 1570.⁷⁰ It would appear that Anne met Seton at the meeting of the Scottish lairds. In any case, Anne remained under Seton's care for three months, staying at his estate in Strathbogie and once again hearing mass with her new host.⁷¹ It was Seton who helped her find transport into exile and indeed they travelled to the continent together along with a younger brother of William Maitland, Lord Lethington, a further contact Anne seems to have made at the conference of Scottish earls in Linlithgow in April 1570.⁷² Anne's ties to Lord Seton, like those of Ferniehurst and Hume, had a considerable impact on her personal security and comfort during her stay in Scotland.

The Scottish Network can, therefore, be seen as a prime example of how early modern networks could function based on what Greengrass calls 'affinity' or 'in other words the lack of formal material rewards [that] could be supplemented or compensated by ideological affinity.'⁷³ Anne's initial contact with Ferniehurst expanded to include Lord Hume, who although himself originally a supporter of Regent Moray, had quickly switched allegiance to Mary, Queen of Scots. Lord Seton too was introduced to Anne through the network of lords supportive of Mary. It is all the more remarkable that Anne was so resoundingly accepted into this network since many of the Scottish lords who supported her were longstanding enemies of the northern English nobles. Border skirmishes between

⁶⁸ CSP Scot. 1569 – 1571 (19/06/1570), pp. 218 – 219: Lord Alexander Hume to unknown. Lord Hume wrote that Anne was 'well entertained' by Seton at Aberdeen; CSP Scot. 1569 – 1571 (21/06/1570), pp. 223 – 226: Thomas Randolph. English ambassador to Scotland, to Earl of Sussex.

⁶⁹ Brennan, *History of the House of Percy*, p. 326.

⁷⁰ David Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk in Scotland, 1560 – 1570*, vol. II (Edinburgh: Woodrow Society, 1842 – 1849), p.560.

⁷¹ CSP Scot. 1569 – 1571 (18/06/1570), pp. 208 – 209: Thomas Randolph to Earl of Sussex.

⁷² William Maitland was known as Secretary Lethington and was a committed supporter of Mary, Queen of Scots especially following her flight into England in 1568.

⁷³ Greengrass, 'Noble Affinities in Early Modern France', p. 276.

Scotland and England had carried on despite the signing of the Treaty of Berwick in 1560 which had proclaimed temporary peace. The aristocratic families on both sides of the border had long been enemies and Northumberland especially was remembered in Scotland for his role in defending the border with force between 1557 and 1558.⁷⁴

Moreover, as a rebel who had been stripped of her possessions while in Liddesdale, Anne had nothing to offer her protectors in Scotland and the uncertain fate of her husband meant that she could not make promises of future rewards in return for their help during her present crisis. Her bond with these Scottish men who owed no allegiance to her was no doubt strengthened by her religious conviction. That she is recorded as hearing mass with her hosts at both Hume Castle with Lord Hume and Strathbogie with Lord Seton, suggests the force of her religious devotion amongst Scots nobles who were divided by religious factionalism. It is clear therefore that the shared political and religious ideals of Anne and her Scottish contacts were central to the establishment of this vital network. Without it Anne would have struggled to reach the safety of exile and would have been returned to England to face her fate there.⁷⁵ Thanks to the relative safety which she enjoyed for eight months or so with Ferniehurst, Hume and Seton respectively and her eventual safe passage to the Low Countries, Anne was better positioned to initiate an epistolary network which she intended to utilise to secure her husband's release.

When finally, in June 1572 Northumberland was transported over the border into England to be taken to his death, Anne's direct contact with her Scottish network ended. No further evidence of communication with the lords who had supported her own stay, save for Lord Seton and Lord Lethington who too were in exile, or those who held her husband prisoner, has been located. Nonetheless, the affinities of faith and support for Mary, Queen of Scots, which she had shared with those sympathetic Scottish lords were not forgotten. Having no longer the pressure of her aim to rescue her husband Anne might have ceased to have an interest in Scotland. On the contrary, Anne's intimate network might have ended but the execution of her husband by the English made Anne ever more determined to involve herself in the cause of Mary, Queen of Scots and prove herself to be a veritable thorn in the side of the English authorities. Mary, Queen of Scots would once

⁷⁴ I am grateful to Bob Lawson, Curator of Ferniehurst Castle, for making me aware of the longstanding enmity between Ferniehurst in Scotland and Northumberland and Westmorland in England.

⁷⁵ If Anne had been returned to England it is unlikely that she would have received clemency from Queen Elizabeth. So infuriated by Anne's refusal to submit was the queen that she 'raged marvellously' against her and declared to the Bishop of Ross that she would see Anne burned. See CSP Scot. 1569 – 1571 (27/06/1570), pp. 235 – 237: Bishop of Ross to unknown.

again become the 'ideological affinity' which melded her newly politicised Scottish network.⁷⁶

1.3. I. Mary, Queen of Scots and Anne's Scottish Network, 1572 – 1585

Anne, countess of Northumberland's links with the Scots Queen were first suspected by her contemporaries in 1568 when the queen arrived in England. Anne met with the Scots Queen at Bolton Castle shortly after her arrival there and over the course of the next year she and her husband were sending gifts and messages to the Scots Queen and receiving like objects in return. For example, Anne was given gold rings and perfume from the Scots Queen through the bearer John Hameling who admitted to carrying messages between the Scots Queen and the earl of Northumberland and his wife.⁷⁷ Northumberland reportedly asked how many men it would take to carry the Scots Queen away from her prison, while a scheme was thought up to have Anne visit Wingfield Manor, one of the Scots Queen's many places of detainment under the earl of Shrewsbury. In this scheme a servant named Bastian was to allow Anne access to the manor disguised as a nurse who had come to visit his pregnant wife. She would then meet with the Scots Queen, swap clothes with her and allow the queen to escape while she remained behind.⁷⁸

It certainly seems that in the early years the Scots Queen attracted Anne's loyalty because of their shared faith rather than because of any real desire to see her replace Elizabeth on the English throne. The rebel earls were always careful never to mention the Scots Queen as an alternative ruler and she has never convincingly been proven to have encouraged the rebellion or actively helped to secure it. As Kesselring explains, 'Mary certainly served as a source of both inspiration and temptation for northern lords already given to conspiracy. The charge of complicity however, must remain unproven since the records contain too many silences for us to know for sure.'⁷⁹

Following Northumberland's execution however Anne's interest in the Scots Queen became more explicitly politicised. She campaigned in support of marriage between Don John of Austria and the Scots Queen, going so far as to write to him encouraging the

⁷⁶ Greengrass, 'Noble Affinities in Early Modern France', p. 276.

⁷⁷ CP 157/30 (18/04/1570): Examination of Hameling.

⁷⁸ CSP Scot. 1569 – 1571 (13/08/1571), pp. 645 – 646: George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury to Lord Burghley.

⁷⁹ Kesselring, 'Mary, Queen of Scots and the Northern Rebellion of 1569', p. 52.

match.⁸⁰ Alongside Francis Englefield, Anne had 'diverse practices with Don John regarding Mary' following his appointment as Governor General of the Low Countries in 1576: they were said to have informed him that with only a few horsemen he could free her from imprisonment in England.⁸¹ Anne was clearly considered a useful asset to the Spanish in the unsuccessful marriage plot between Don John and the Scots Queen. Having arrived in the Low Countries in 1570 she had been in England, albeit briefly, during the Scots Queen's own imprisonment there. She was familiar with the local territory in which the Scots Queen was detained and knew the properties of the earl of Shrewsbury, the Scots Queen's warden, who had been a friend of her husband at least until the rising in 1569.⁸² As we have seen, she was also still in contact with servants and followers in England from whom she could gather current intelligence. Crucially, she was committed to having the Scots Queen freed from her imprisonment and was firm in her attempts to align the force of Catholic Spain with the Scots Queen.

The English were constantly alert to any suggestion that the women were in contact once Anne had been exiled especially since Anne seemed determined to support Mary by various means. No direct correspondence between them has thus far been traced but various sources prove that they were indeed in contact with one another. In order to facilitate communication with the Scots Queen Anne turned once more to the network which she had built in Scotland. One figure from her Scottish network that Anne operated through to communicate with the Scots Queen was William Maitland, Lord Lethington. Maitland's brother had travelled with Anne and Seton into exile and it is likely that this brother passed letters between Lethington and the exiles on the continent. Moreover, Lethington himself admitted that he provided a disguise for Anne's correspondence with Mary in a letter from 1571 which he wrote to the captive queen. Here he stated that 'my last letter to your *Maiesty* was dated the vi of july qwhish I directid be a moyen of the Countesse of Northumberland.'⁸³

However, it was to Lord Seton in particular that Anne turned to enable her interaction with the Scots Queen. Numerous letters are detailed in Seton's commonplace book from 1570-1572 which reveal contact between Mary and Anne in the early months of Anne's

⁸⁰ CSP For. 1575-1577 (14/01/1577), p. 479: Dr Thomas Wilson to Lord Burghley. Anne's letter to Don John has not yet been traced.

⁸¹ CSP For. 1575-1577 (15/02/1577), p. 527: Advertisements from Hoyer in the Low Countries.

⁸² CSP Dom. Add. 1566 – 1579 (15/09/1569), p. 81: Earl of Sussex to Lord Burghley.

⁸³ TNA, SP 53/5/106 (09/08/1571): Coded letter from William Maitland, Lord Lethington, to Mary, Queen of Scots.

exile.⁸⁴ Seton recorded that in a letter dated 19 September 1570 Mary wrote to him to recommend Anne to him. Mary then wrote to Seton on 10 October 1570 informing him that the safety he ensured for Anne and Westmorland in exile was as acceptable to her as if he had done the same for Mary herself. He responded in November 1570 with a note that he had lent money to them both. Finally, the commonplace book records that Mary received a packet of letters from Anne near the end of 1570.⁸⁵ Evidence of correspondence between Anne and the queen, while their letters are not extant, suggests that Anne was not a peripheral figure but took an active role in the politico-religious network campaigning for the restoration of Mary. Epistolary connections such as those shown in Seton's commonplace book also suggest that Anne warranted a direct connection with the Scots Queen during her exile.

Anne's communication with Mary was not a one-sided declaration of religious fervour: in reconstructing the Scottish Network this chapter has unearthed evidence of Mary's own correspondence with Anne. In a letter to Thomas Morgan, later the Scots Queen's cipher maker, dated 3 August 1577, Mary noted that 'Albeit the Countesse of Northumberland hath therof written vnto me as yow do. I haue anwerid her.'⁸⁶ The letter to Morgan is particularly revealing because it positions Anne within a circle that includes Mary's advisors such as Morgan and Sir Francis Englefield, whom Mary referred to further on in this letter as having sent his goodwill through Morgan. Here Mary, while choosing not to reveal the subject of their discussion, acknowledged that both Morgan and Anne wrote to her regarding the same subject. Such detail reveals that Anne was privy to news shared with some of Mary's closest advisors and supporters on the continent at this time.

It appears that at the time it was widely known or at least suspected that Anne was in contact with the Scots Queen and that she received communications acknowledging Mary's support, limited as they were by Mary's circumstances. Burghley had John Leslie, Bishop of Ross write to Anne in 1571 during Ross' imprisonment, asking her about her husband and notably about Mary, in what appeared to be an attempt to fool Anne into revealing her correspondence with the Scots queen. Ross recorded in a letter to an unknown recipient on 13 May 1571 that Anne replied using Seton's cipher warning him to beware of 'fals

⁸⁴ BL, Cott. MSS. Caligula C. II. f.229 (1570 – 1572): Extracts copied from the 'book of negotiation' of Lord Seton.

⁸⁵ BL, Cott. MSW. Caligula C. II. f.229 (1570 – 1572).

⁸⁶ TNA, SP 53/10/88 (03/08/1577): Mary, Queen of Scots to Thomas Morgan, contemporary copy, deciphered.

capitalationes'.⁸⁷ She astutely refused to be drawn into revealing any detail of her own correspondence with the queen.

In return, the Scots Queen's support for Anne can be demonstrated by her own admission in 1572 in which she denied procuring the rebellion but confessed to recommending Anne to the Duke of Alva.⁸⁸ We can speculate that the Scots Queen offered her endorsement of Anne in response to Anne's commanding address to the duke on behalf of the Scots Queen at the end of October 1570. Anne deviated from her petition regarding her husband's suit to entreat Philip II of Spain, through the means of the Duke of Alva, to support the Scots Queen's cause.⁸⁹ By 1572 the Duke of Alva was less disposed to favour the English exiles, as Anne discovered to her own frustration when he hindered the dispensation of the funds provided for Northumberland's ransom.⁹⁰ A shared faith facilitated the early contact between Anne and the Scots Queen and continued to shape their connection throughout Anne's life as her motivations became more political. We might speculate too that the Scots Queen, moved by Anne's support for her cause, was also sympathetic to the position of an aristocratic woman absent of a husband, firstly imprisoned and later executed. In this sense, Anne once again appropriated the benefits of her status as the wife and widow of a Catholic martyr. In return, Anne could offer the Scots Queen very little in material terms but her campaigning as we have seen did have some impact and her position with the Scottish Network was not without its merits, as the attempts to entrap her show. Therefore, clearly her connection to the Scots Queen was not based on the traditional culture of exchange expected of a patronage relationship, although they had a mutual interest in securing connections from each other's patronage networks. Instead, Anne's connection to the Scots Queen was most certainly negotiated on an affinity of faith and a shared political ideal: to see the Scots Queen set at liberty.

Moreover, as Anne's political interest in the Scots Queen grew from late 1570 she began to broaden and strengthen the network she used to communicate with the Scots queen. She had meetings with representatives of the Bishop of Ross, the Scots Queen's temporary ambassador at the English court. Charles Bailly, one of Ross' agents, travelled between the continent and England carrying messages and gathering support for the Scots queen. He met with Anne privately in 1571 after carrying messages from Ross to Sir Francis Englefield. Bailly claimed that Englefield told him to visit Anne and ask her if she

⁸⁷ CSP Scot. 1569 – 1571 (13/05/1571), pp. 569 – 572: Bishop of Ross to unknown.

⁸⁸ CSP Scot. 1571 – 1574 (11/06/1572), pp. 330 – 332: Mary, Queen of Scots' answers to interrogatories.

⁸⁹ This petition has only been traced in print at present. See *Relations politiques*, Vol. VI, p. 8.

⁹⁰ Lechat, *Les réfugiés anglais*, p. 43.

had a commission for him but that Anne only spoke to him of the potential treaty being discussed in England for Mary's release. When he returned on his way back to England he once more met with Anne but this time she was with Westmorland and her chaplain.⁹¹

The most noteworthy addition to Anne's network of supporters surrounding Mary was Thomas Morgan, Mary's confidant and code-maker. Morgan once worked as a secretary for the earl of Shrewsbury and it was while working for him that he met the Scots Queen and began operating as her intelligencer. He travelled to visit Anne in 1577 and, crucially, in the same year the Scots Queen wrote a coded letter to Morgan from Sheffield Castle in which she related that she sent a reply to an earlier letter of Anne's.⁹² Here then, is further evidence that Anne was in contact with the Scots Queen. Finally, in December 1577 Morgan wrote to Anne to inform her that he was holding several letters for her from the Bishop of Ross and lamenting the death of a Mr Roper, a good Catholic whose alms would be greatly missed in England.⁹³ Morgan mentioned other letters from Anne dated October and November of that year which he only just received. Hence, Anne's connection to Thomas Morgan was particularly valuable and he was a major contact in her expanded Scottish network associated with her support for the Scots Queen.

Overall, therefore it is possible to reveal Anne's continued access to the network which she created during her brief time in Scotland. Both Seton and Maitland were introduced to her at the conference of the Scottish lords in Linlithgow in April 1570 and she employed these contacts for a new, politicised purpose following her husband's death. Her Scottish Network then gained new momentum with Anne's determination to campaign on behalf of the Scots Queen. Added to this original Scottish Network were new contacts, representatives of the Scots Queen, including the Bishop of Ross, Charles Bailly and most notably Thomas Morgan. Though her Scottish Network developed in two distinct phases, that is her intimate network of support during her time in Scotland and the secondary focus on the Scots Queen, both were equally effective. Anne first accessed and maintained a network of support based on an affinity of faith and loyalty to the exiled queen. This network of support developed in the pattern that Kettering has illuminated in her study of patronage in early modern France, extending from individual friendships with figures such as Lord Fernihurst, into an 'overall system based on [...] ties and networks.'⁹⁴ She employed this network to ensure her own survival in Scotland and to facilitate her passage

⁹¹ CSP Rome. 1558 – 1571 (05/05/1571), p. 407: Examination of Charles Bailly.

⁹² CSP For. 1575-1577 (09/05/1577), pp. 567 – 567: Sir Amias Paulet to Sir Francis Walsingham; TNA, SP 53/10/88 (03/08/1577): Mary, Queen of Scots to Thomas Morgan. This is a deciphered copy of Mary's letter.

⁹³ TNA, 53/10/99 (25/12/1577): Thomas Morgan to Anne, countess of Northumberland.

⁹⁴ Kettering, 'Patronage in Early Modern France', p. 839.

into exile. The death of her husband powered her reassessment of her Scottish network and drove the new focus on supporting the Scots Queen, both because of her personal ties to the Scots Queen and also in order to frustrate the English authorities. Understanding that this network needed to be expanded if it were to be effective, Anne began to broaden her contacts to include various representatives of the captive queen and ultimately to comprise the Scots Queen herself. These networks brought personal benefits for Anne, including recommendation from the Scots Queen, continued links through which she might transport her children and access to a network of shared affinities that crossed borders. Anne's personal and epistolary Scottish networks were therefore some of her most advantageous.

1.4. The Exile Network

By examining Anne, countess of Northumberland's own letters in conjunction with other contemporary correspondence in which she frequently appeared, notably the newsletters of diplomats and intelligencers, it has been possible to reconstruct the Exile Network which Anne accessed and maintained in the interests of her politico-religious concerns during her lengthy exile. It is impossible to separate Anne's religious and political motivations, since like other Catholic women of this period 'religious affiliation and political attitudes were inseparable parts of their own positive Catholic identity.'⁹⁵ In particular, Anne was committed to the restoration of the Catholic faith in England and to preserving the faith amongst the English Catholic community in exile, like her male compatriots. In the pursuit of her politico-religious aims she enacted various roles: patron, intelligencer and ultimately leader of her confederates for a brief period. This section highlights how Anne negotiated a position of influence in a community of exiled English Catholics which was often divided and predominantly male. Anne succeeded in securing a position of influence in the English Catholic exile community despite financial and social constraints because she cultivated a currency of information which she exchanged for support. This bargaining of information, using information as a 'commodity', enabled Anne to enact agency in the exiled community since it allowed her to create a strong, advantageous network that she could rely upon to support her.⁹⁶ As Gemma Allen has demonstrated in her recent study of diplomatic wives, such 'brokerage of information' was particularly suited to women who were well placed for

⁹⁵ Lisa McClain, 'Neither Single nor Alone: Elizabeth Cellier, Catholic Community and Transformations of Catholic Women's Piety', *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, 31. 1/2 (Spring/Fall, 2012), 33 – 52 (p.36).

⁹⁶ Daybell, 'Gender, Politics and Diplomacy', p. 103; Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*, p. 158.

fostering the 'politicised friendship networks' so crucial to early modern diplomacy.⁹⁷ Allen argues that this ability to establish and navigate networks, through the gathering of information and intelligence, afforded women a greater arena of agency than previously acknowledged. In this vein, the exploration of Anne's currency of information and its centrality to her exiled networks expands the spatial horizons of women's politico-religious agency. This section therefore analyses key figures from Anne's Exile Network in order to highlight how these figures aided Anne's usurption of the earl of Westmorland as temporary leader of the fugitive exiles during the 1570s. Finally, brief considerations of Anne's social status and the wider experience of female exile are drawn together in order to illustrate further how Anne succeeded in gaining such a prominent position of influence.

Upon arrival in the Low Countries Anne had little money and knew few people other than those whom she had travelled with from Scotland, including Lord Seton. It is therefore unsurprising that she settled amongst those men who had already reached exile with whom she was familiar thanks to their role in the rebellion of 1569. The arrival of those implicated in the rebellion created a division in the exiled English community in the Low Countries between those who had long been resident there and considered their reputations untarnished by the uprising and the new, growing assembly. While it was in the interests of the wider English Catholic exile community to unify in order to pursue broader politico-religious concerns – namely the restoration of their faith in England and by extension the possibility of long-term return there – in fact these shared desires did not serve to bond the new arrivals with their fellow exiles. The long-term resident exiles distrusted the fugitives, fearing that they would draw suspicion on the English community abroad. Fears grew that the rebels would attract the attention of the English authorities who would in turn insist on Spanish acquiescence in expelling those implicated in outright treason. These fears would ultimately prove warranted when the exiles were expelled in 1575 during temporary peace negotiations with England at which time Elizabeth I repeatedly demanded to understand why traitors and rebels had enjoyed sanctuary in Spanish territory unchallenged. Moreover, the new arrivals presented competition for the limited resources available such as Spanish pensions, positions in religious and lay houses and employment for lower-status exiles. Thus, as Highley explains, 'although loosely held together by the desire to restore the Catholic faith to their homelands, the members of the diaspora never formed a unified community. If anything, the diaspora was the epitome of disunity.'⁹⁸ Such disunity threatened Anne's prospects in exile and while she undoubtedly

⁹⁷ Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*, p.158.

⁹⁸ Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, p.83.

surrounded herself with familiar and loyal men, she recognised the need to penetrate the established exile community. To do this she established a network of key figures within the wider exile community that she accessed and directed in order to ensure her own prominent position.

Anne's networks helped her to become the leader of the gentlemen fugitives for a short time during the 1570s. Extending her network beyond the rebel group to the wider exile community, and in particular to include Sir Francis Englefield, the most prominent English exile in the Low Countries, proved particularly valuable to strengthening Anne's position. Englefield departed England following Elizabeth's ascension to the throne, having ardently supported Mary I, and the return to Catholicism. Englefield was the most prominent English exile in the Low Countries at this period: his extensive network extended across Europe, though with particular focus on Spain where he held a long-standing friendship with Jane Dormer, duchess of Feria, who herself was posited as favoured leader by the exiles after the Duke of Alva departed as Governor of the Low Countries in 1573. Englefield shared some of the concerns of the long-standing residents about the impact of the new arrivals since he himself continued to be in contact with both Burghley and Queen Elizabeth regarding property that he forfeited on his departure in 1559 with the hope of having it returned to his family in England. However, he quickly became a close member of Anne's Exile Network. During the 1570s, Englefield's contact with Anne and her confederates coincided with a burgeoning radicalisation in his pursuit of the Catholic cause. Englefield largely supported the English Colleges on the continent, but after some years in exile and growing bonds with the fugitives, and in particular Anne, Englefield began to implicate himself in schemes for military intervention by foreign rulers in England.⁹⁹

Anne and Englefield established an acquaintance that offered mutual benefits based around their shared support of the Scots Queen and growing disillusion with moderate action in the course of restoring the Catholic faith in England. Anne's stay with Catholic Scots nobles including Ferniehurst and Hume and indeed her arrival in exile alongside agents of the Scots Queen including Lord George Seton ingratiated her with Englefield. Anne's close contact with figures close to the Scots Queen also offered her the opportunity to access news and information about the Scots Queen's supporters' plans and the condition of the queen that was perhaps particularly current. That Seton continued to show his support of Anne as her exile progressed, speaking out in her favour when the Duke of Alva

⁹⁹ A. J. Loomie, 'Englefield, Sir Francis (1522 – 1596)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed. Jan 2013 <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/8811> [accessed 1 December 2016]

began to show signs of delaying the payment of the earl's ransom, further highlighted to the exiles that she was a substantial figure within the Scots Queen's faction.¹⁰⁰ It is clear that Anne and Englefield shared news regarding the Scots Queen later in their relationship, for in 1577 together they took part in marriage negotiations with Don John of Austria while he debated marriage to the Scots Queen. Anne and Englefield exchanged intelligence with the Spanish at this time on the Scots Queen's location in England directing them that with only 'a small number of horses' a Spanish force could rescue the Scots Queen.¹⁰¹ Anne's Primary Network, including Peter Kirke and John Thwing, who routinely travelled between England and the continent, was a possible route for such intelligence, regarding the terrain and conditions of the Scots Queen's imprisonment. Such information could be substantiated through connections within the Scottish Network, including the Scottish nobles and confidants, such as Thomas Morgan, with whom Anne was corresponding at this period. Therefore, a shared 'affinity' surrounding the Scots Queen, to borrow once more Greengrass' term, helped to establish Anne's connection to Englefield. Yet, this relationship was also fostered by Anne's ability to participate in intelligence exchanges.

Further evidence of Anne's intelligence gathering is offered by her correspondence with two other key figures of her Exile Network, Sir Thomas Stucely, an English exile and soldier and William Cotton, a conspirator about whom little is currently known. Cotton may have been a member of the Cotton family of Warblington, Hampshire who 'were out and out Catholics' occasionally supported by Sir Anthony Browne, 1st Viscount Montague, a committed Catholic noble.¹⁰² Anne's exchange of news with both men helped to further cement her position within the exile community. First, Anne demonstrated her knowledge of the hoped-for invasion of England and ultimate naval invasion of Ireland in 1578 by referring to Stucely's plans and offering to support his efforts however she could, including by recommending Stucely's plans to the duchess of Feria. She wrote to him as early as 21 June 1571 to explain that:

... I thought good to sende you these few lynes to
aduertise you how ready I am to dou eny thing that you
shall think metest for the benefite and advancement
of your goode and laudable enterprise as more at large
I haue signified to the Duchesse her noble grace (who I doe

¹⁰⁰ CP 5/76 (28/02/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland.

¹⁰¹ CSP For. 1575 – 1577 (15/02/1577): Advertisements from Flanders.

¹⁰² Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, p. 55. Sir Anthony was Anne's cousin through her mother Elizabeth, countess of Worcester; Elizabeth was Sir Anthony's aunt.

assure me) will imparte the same with you to ¹⁰³

Anne's recommendation of Stucley to the duchess of Feria based on his 'goode and laudable enterprise' highlights her use of intelligence as a strategy to foster and maintain valuable relationships within her wider Exile Network. The example of Stucley's invasion plans is particularly useful in understanding how Anne forged the Exile Network since it also shows her directing traditional patronage exchanges. That is to say that here Anne's recommendation of Stucley to the duchess of Feria acted as a reward or benefit in exchange for information surrounding his plans which he had agreed to share with her. While Stucley did later extend his own influence with figures at the Spanish and Papal courts by travelling extensively across Catholic Europe prior to the naval expedition of 1578, at the early stages of his 'enterprise' it would have been in his interest to secure support using traditional patronage and clientage activities such as can be seen in this interaction with Anne. Anne used her position within the exile community – as someone who communicated with the famed duchess, likely a relationship in itself facilitated through their mutual friend Sir Francis Englefield – in order to put forward Stucley's cause. She also made use of the social hierarchy between herself and Stucley – she as his superior – to demonstrate that it was in his interest to continue sharing news with her. In this respect, Anne's use of news offers greater understanding of how news fitted into the patronage and clientage system where, as Daybell explains, 'the trade was information in return for favour'.¹⁰⁴

This mutual exchange of benefits, based around news and intelligence that was particularly valuable to the exiled Catholic community, would have offered Anne the opportunity to strengthen her position as a leader. Knowledge of military intervention, as shown by her correspondence with Stucley, was a key area in which networks could be fostered and was of acute interest to the Catholic exile community. Close scrutiny of Anne's correspondence with William Cotton between 21 January and 16 August 1576 offers additional evidence of her gathering news relating to military events. The letters to Cotton, many of which feature names, places, and short passages of text in code, referred obliquely to Stucley's impending naval excursion. For example, Anne repeatedly referred to Cotton's own 'endeavours' throughout this correspondence, which is the largest cluster of letters within Anne's English corpus. The 'endeavours' remain vague, however it is known

¹⁰³ BL, Cott. MSS. Caligula, C. III. f. 186 (21/06/1571): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Sir Thomas Stucley. Anne had corresponded with Stucley before this letter since she remarked that she sent replies on to meet him in Rome which 'therin haue full is ^fuller^ aunswered the requestes of your former letters.'

¹⁰⁴ Daybell, 'The News and Intelligence Networks of Elizabeth Talbot,' p.121.

that Cotton too had naval experience since he was captain of merchant ships between 1575 and 1577, and received support from Spain to sail against those considered 'rebels against Spain' during this period.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, Anne specifically advised Cotton to wait until the new Governor of the Netherlands arrived before he acted on his plans perhaps reflecting the fact that as Peter Holmes indicates, the new Governor, Don John of Austria, was contemplating an invasion of England and 'there was a real chance of Spanish support' for such a scheme.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, Anne regularly shared explicit intelligence regarding Spanish military and diplomatic affairs with Cotton. She passed information on the state of the Spanish army who mutinied in the summer of 1576, detailing when they ceased their revolt, as well as the interception of ships by citizens from Flushing in August 1576. It is clear that such information was part of an exchange of news and intelligence from Anne's own requests for news from Cotton. Anne requested news of friends' well-being from Cotton in exchange for the specific information she provided him regarding military and diplomatic affairs. In an example from 16 August 1576 she directly asked Cotton for news of the Carew family admitting that she had no news of them for some time.¹⁰⁷

The contacts that Anne established in her wider Exile Network using news and intelligence exchanges aided her position within the fugitive group. Support from Englefield in particular, offered Anne a legitimacy that other fugitive members of the exile community lacked. For example, Englefield refused to meet with the earl of Westmorland when the earl first arrived in the Low Countries, despite already having met with Anne. Englefield's reasons for avoiding the earl are unclear, but it became clear that his allegiance lay with the countess of Northumberland rather than the earl of Westmorland during disagreements surrounding the trustworthiness of the rebel Francis Markenfield in January 1572. Anne 'disliked the dealings' of Markenfield, while Westmorland continued to support him.¹⁰⁸ According to Lechat's analysis of contemporary sources, Englefield openly supported Anne during the disputes.¹⁰⁹ Englefield's support demonstrated that Anne could negotiate the wider exile community and was a key factor in allowing Anne to usurp Westmorland as leader of the fugitive exiles for a short period.

Anne took advantage of the fractured state of the exiled English community to strengthen her own position. The precarious circumstances in which the exiles lived meant

¹⁰⁵ TNA, SP 70/134/132 (18/05/1575): Letters of Marque; TNA, SP 70/144/1405 (26/04/1577): William Cotton's Memorial to King of Spain.

¹⁰⁶ Peter Holmes, 'Stucley, Thomas (c.1520 – 1587)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed. 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/26741> [accessed 1 December]

¹⁰⁷ TNA, SP 12/108/171 (16/08/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton.

¹⁰⁸ CSP Dom. Add. 1566 – 1579 (31/01/1572), p.384: Notes.

¹⁰⁹ Lechat, *Les réfugiés anglais*, p. 45.

that they were suspicious of one another, a situation made worse by the frequent discovery of spies and traitors in their midst. Their one-time supporter John Lee turned out to be an intelligencer in the employ of their greatest enemy Lord Burghley, and a female servant of Anne's named Adele was also exposed as a spy for the English in 1574.¹¹⁰ The continuing tension between the fugitive group and the long-standing exile residents also posed a challenge that Anne was able to navigate through her relationship with Sir Francis Englefield. Englefield's distance from Westmorland, by comparison, was a weakness on the earl's part as a potential leader, since as we have seen, Englefield was at the centre of both the exile community and had access to a transnational Catholic network. Moreover, it was Anne's house in Mechelen, during periods of stability, that became the central meeting place for deliberations and consultations between various factions.¹¹¹ Anne also took to leading these meetings of the various factions. For example, it was reported that she led the group in a discussion of the traitors within their community in December 1574, abusing the exiled nobleman Sir Thomas Copley whom she was convinced was untrustworthy.¹¹²

Examining the relationship between Anne and Westmorland more closely, it is clear that the tensions that existed between Anne and Westmorland were unusual. We might expect that considering their shared experience of the rebellion and flight into Scotland that they would be allies from the outset. Yet, Westmorland was threatened by Anne's appropriation of what he felt was his position as leader of the English fugitives. As early as their internment in Scotland he complained that the Scottish lairds were more responsive to Anne's claims than his own and when Lord Seton travelled personally with Anne to the Low Countries he was incensed that she was afforded such a privilege while he had to make other arrangements for the journey. The earl of Sussex reported to Cecil that at this time Westmorland blamed Anne for 'all of his present misfortune'.¹¹³

Anne's navigation of the patronage system also helped her to usurp the earl of Westmorland's position as leader of the gentlemen fugitives. In 1572 she received 100 crowns per month as a pension from Philip II of Spain and this sum was increased to 2000 crowns per year in 1574.¹¹⁴ Anne successfully negotiated the process of *entretenimiento*, the Spanish policy of awarding Irish Catholic refugees a pension by fitting the preferred

¹¹⁰ *Relations politiques*, Vol. VII, pp. 128 – 131.

¹¹¹ Gibbons, 'An Unquiet Estate Abroad', p. 48.

¹¹² CSP For. 1572-1574 (12/12/1574), pp. 578 – 579: Dr Thomas Wilson to Lord Burghley.

¹¹³ CSP Scot. Vol. 1569 – 1571 (08/09/1570), p. 336: Earl of Sussex to Lord Burghley.

¹¹⁴ TNA, SP 15/23/150 (08/1574): Note addressed to Secretary Walsingham of such Englishmen who were entertained at the King of Spain's hands; CSP Dom. Add. 1566 – 1579 (15/01/1572), p.378: John Lee to Lord Burghley.

requirements of nobility and faith.¹¹⁵ Crucially, she highlighted what Marie Coolahan argues was key to success in securing a pension: 'service to the Counter-Reformation cause, militarily and financially' and proof of losses in the course of that service.¹¹⁶ Anne's role in the rebellion of 1569 and the consequent loss of property fulfilled the required service specification. Her continued devotion to the restoration of the faith, via campaigns on behalf of the Scots Queen and minor radical plots of invasion, further strengthened her case. Anne was also successful in her petitions on behalf of her husband raising 6000 crowns from the Spanish king towards the earl's ransom.¹¹⁷ She was resolute in her pursuit of support for her husband, repeatedly petitioning the king's agent the Duke of Alva and beseeching him with 'tears and prayers'.¹¹⁸ Anne quickly became acquainted with the Duke and to Queen Elizabeth's displeasure she was honoured by him in January 1572 when he had twenty of his own gentlemen wait upon her before having her brought to him on the arm of his own son.¹¹⁹ To bolster Northumberland's case Anne also turned to Pope Pius V with remarkable success. As early as September 1570 Sir Henry Norris, former ambassador to France, reported that the English rebels had received 10,000 crowns from the 'Pope's benevolence' although this seems to have gone to support the exiles themselves rather than Northumberland's suit.¹²⁰ By 1572 she had received word that a further 8,000 crowns would be made available for Northumberland's ransom.¹²¹

These successful negotiations of the patronage system in her own interests and on behalf of her husband encouraged the gentlemen fugitives to elect her as their representative in petitions for pensions of their own in July 1571. The gentlemen elected Leonard Dacres to pursue their requests alongside Anne. Dacres was regarded with suspicion by the exiles for his betrayal of the rebels in 1569 but he was strongly supported by Anne. After his own short-lived rebellion, he too fled into exile and remained in Anne's company for much of his time until his death in 1573. His brother Edward Dacres

¹¹⁵ Coolahan, *Women, Writing and Language*, p.129.

¹¹⁶ Coolahan, *Women, Writing and Language*, p.129.

¹¹⁷ Brenan, *History of the House of Percy*, p.327. Once again Brenan does not provide detailed references for either Alva's petition or Philip's reply, simply locating them as being in the '*Archives des Pays-Bas, Brussels*'. However other sources corroborate Philip's donation to Northumberland's ransom fund. See Lock, 'Percy, Thomas,' *ODNB*. Lechat, *Les réfugiés anglais*, p. 44, also supports Brenan's assertion giving more detailed references for a short letter from Alva to Anne in which he informs her that her request has been granted; see Archives de Royaume à Bruxelles, *Papiers d'État de l'Audience*, registre 233, f. 259.

¹¹⁸ CSP Dom. Add. 1566 – 1579 (08/01/1572), p. 378: Dr Nicholas Sanders to Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland; CSP For. 1572-1574 (07/03/1572), p.54: Mark Swinbourn to unknown recipient.

¹¹⁹ CSP Dom. Add. 1566 – 1579 915/01/1572), p. 378: John Lee to Lord Burghley. Queen Elizabeth was so irritated by this show of honour to the English rebels that she had the Privy Council question François de Zwegenheim, the Duke of Alva's agent in England. See CSP For. 1572-1574 (22/02/1572), pp. 42 – 44: Privy Council to François de Halewyn Zwegenheim.

¹²⁰ CSP For. 1569-1571 (29/09/1570), p.346: Sir Henry Norris to Queen Elizabeth I.

¹²¹ CSP Dom. Add. 1566 – 1579 (02/04/1572), p.391: John Lee to Lord Burghley.

encouraged his loyalty to Anne reminding him that he was 'very much bound' to the Lady Northumberland 'for surely if there ever were honour, goodness and virtue in any woman, they remain in her.'¹²² Dacres' inclusion by the gentlemen fugitives highlights Anne's influence. Moreover, his inclusion at the expense of more suitable candidates, such as the leader of the rebellion, the earl of Westmorland, who too gained a Spanish pension, also suggests that Anne was rising to prominence amongst the fugitive exiles at this early stage in her exile.

Dacres himself proved an impediment to the relationship between Anne and Westmorland. By 1573 Anne and Westmorland distanced themselves from one another and Westmorland was known to 'greatly mislike' Dacres. He feared that Dacres was 'privy to the secret council' of Anne while he in turn was isolated by her.¹²³ Westmorland's dislike of Dacres and of Dacres' closeness to Anne may explain why Westmorland was not involved in petitionary attempts directed to Vatican agents by Anne and other prominent exiles including Sir Francis Englefield and Dacres to highlight the exiles' cause and the case for intervention in England to restore the faith between October 1572 and September 1573.¹²⁴ Of five petitions made during this period, Westmorland remained absent from them, yet his uncle Sir Christopher Neville was a signatory of two from June 1573 sent to Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius and Cardinal Giovanni Morone.¹²⁵ Neville's presence perhaps reflects attempts to include Westmorland in this petitionary process through his relative, although his thoughts are not recorded and he himself struggled with efforts to secure a pardon through Burghley and Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester. The petitions highlight Anne's prominent position within the wider exile community, drawing Englefield and the fugitives together in a unified effort to highlight the exiles' concerns, in contrast to Highley's generalisation of division amongst the community at this time.¹²⁶ It was not until Dacres' death in 1573 that Anne and Westmorland were reconciled to some degree. In 1575 they were both noted by the English diplomat Dr Thomas Wilson to be meeting one another and proclaiming loudly against Burghley and Queen Elizabeth.¹²⁷

Therefore, by examining key figures within Anne's Exile Network, including Englefield, Stucley and Cotton, it is possible to highlight how Anne fostered this wider

¹²² CSP Dom. Add. 1566 – 1579 (16/03/1570), p. 254: Edward Dacres to Leonard Dacres.

¹²³ CSP For. 1572-1574 (11/01/1573), p.229: Sir William Drury to Lord Burghley.

¹²⁴ ASV, Seg. Stato. Vol. 76, f. 41 (20/10/1572); ASV, Conc. Trid. Vol. 33, f. 231 (22/02/1573); Conc. Trid. Vol. 33, f. 259 (29/06/1573); Conc. Trid. Vol. 33, f. 268 (29/06/1573).

¹²⁵ ASV, Conc. Trid. Vol. 33, f. 259 (29/06/1573): Anne, countess of Northumberland, Sir Francis Englefield, Leonard Dacres and Christopher Neville to Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius; Conc. Trid. Vol. 33, f. 268 (29/06/1573): Anne, Englefield, Dacres and Neville to Cardinal Giovanni Morone.

¹²⁶ Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, p. 83.

¹²⁷ CSP For. 1575-1577 (10/01/1575), p.4: Dr Thomas Wilson to Lord Burghley.

network beyond the fugitive group by gathering news and intelligence. Having established an Exile Network that included men with a shared political affinity to the Scots Queen, as well as influence within the transnational and local Catholic community (Englefield), radical interventionists (Stucley) and conspirators who could provide a breadth of news (Cotton) Anne was able to position herself as a leader of the gentlemen fugitives. Her leadership was given validity by these figures. She then enacted her own agency to ensure her position as leader was secure, albeit for a short time. By navigating traditional patronage activities, including petitions on behalf of the fugitives and of the exile community, she continued to usurp the expected leadership of the earl of Westmorland.

At the same time, Allen has shown how diplomatic wives were crucial to early modern diplomacy because they were particularly adept at fostering the 'politicised friendships' that were central to diplomatic culture becoming, as we have seen, 'brokers of information' in order to facilitate the creation of new networks.¹²⁸ In some ways, like other early modern diplomatic wives, Anne was a 'broker of information'. Her success at the gathering and exchange of intelligence was based firmly in her recognition that she had to expand her networks to crown her position amongst her confederates. She too fostered an Exile Network based on what Allen terms 'politicised friendships', that is relationships that were established in order to progress either the individual's personal condition or for shared politico-religious, or indeed diplomatic, aims. She recognised that by gathering and exchanging intelligence she could bolster her various networks of mostly male contacts and continue to negotiate the patronage system upon which her service contacts relied by using news 'as a gift' in ways which Daybell has highlighted¹²⁹. In particular, Anne shared news of a political or military nature, including intelligence relating to the Scots Queen in the hope of extending the influence of her own and her ally Englefield's influence with the Spanish Governor (albeit with the added intention of positive action on the Scots Queen's behalf). Thus, Anne's 'brokerage of information' further empowered her agency during her exile and is a crucial component in the reconstruction of her exile networks.

Finally, it is also possible to consider how Anne's status as a Catholic noblewoman and widow from August 1572 influenced her position within the exile community. It is clear that Anne benefited from the status of the widow of nobleman regarded by the English Catholic community as a martyr. We know that widowhood was an opportunity for increased independence for early modern women, though widows continued to negotiate

¹²⁸ Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*, p.139

¹²⁹ Daybell, 'The News and Intelligence Networks of Elizabeth Talbot,' p. 121.

the gendered expectations of the patronage, political and social culture of the period.¹³⁰ Analysis of Anne's status as a widow reveals that she gained greater freedom to engage in politico-religious concerns, as compared to before Northumberland's death when she was primarily concerned with negotiating his release from imprisonment in Scotland. She was able to maintain her husband's servants and followers independently as a widow and was able to extend her interest to politico-religious activities when freed from the acute crisis of Northumberland's ransom negotiations. Yet, the wider experience of female exile also contributed to the freedom which Anne enjoyed throughout the 1570s that in turn permitted her to focus on politico-religious aims and become a temporary leader of the fugitive exiles. Both her widowhood and the experience of exile afforded Anne greater agency throughout the 1570s.

When Northumberland was executed Anne's social standing changed dramatically. While Northumberland was alive and detained, her focus was primarily fixed upon him. Indeed, much of her agency was focussed on and articulated through securing her husband's release as her correspondence and continued promotion of her Scottish Network in particular demonstrate. After his execution however, Anne became an independent figure and her widowhood facilitated this change in her status. Gibbons suggests that Anne herself encouraged Northumberland's presentment as a martyr by the Catholic propagandists, although she suggests that Anne did so in defence of her husband's name.¹³¹ Certainly, Anne had Northumberland's reputation in mind, but the argument of this thesis is that her interests were also more self-serving: as the wife of a martyred Catholic nobleman Anne's own influence was strengthened considerably. As a patron she found her position was further secured since her confessional ties were enhanced by her husband's martyrdom. Her own sacrifices for the sake of religion – the consequences of the rebellion, the hardship of exile and the loss of her husband and family – would also have been augmented. For those tainted with rebellion or treason, widowhood was often presented by female petitioners as a device emphasising their vulnerability in order to engage the support of the addressee.¹³² In some respects, by encouraging her husband's depiction as a martyr Anne utilised the trope of the vulnerable and devoted widow in order to benefit from contemporary gender expectations by accessing the support of those figures moved by her plight. As a widow she was, as Alan Stewart describes of contemporary widow Lady Anne Bacon, 'simultaneously non-existent and absolutely existent in her own

¹³⁰ Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*, p.139

¹³¹ Gibbons, 'An Unquiet Estate Abroad', p. 47.

¹³² Daybell 'Scripting a Female Voice', pp. 12, 14 - 15; Thorne 'Women's Petitionary Letters', pp. 29 – 30.

right.¹³³ Stewart's assessment recognises both the legal rights that widows gained – no longer considered a *feme couverte* subsumed by her husband's person – yet the dismissal that widows, even noblewomen, faced. It was in the margins of this space, between full independence and irrelevance, that Anne forged her Exile Network. Widowhood permitted Anne to focus on politico-religious goals but it also forced her to seek support relying on her networks to maintain and progress her personal condition. Her status as the widow of the executed Northumberland therefore helped to cement the confessional ties she shared with her followers. It aided her position within the religious exiled community, facilitating the expansion of her networks during her prolonged period abroad.

Yet, it was the exile experience itself that also offered Anne greater freedom to engage in politico-religious pursuits and to establish herself, albeit briefly, as leader of the gentlemen fugitives. As Gibbons argues, exile offered new opportunities for Catholic women to perform openly public roles that may have been denied them in England. Examples included the support of missionary priests who travelled to England and wider support for the missionary colleges. While women undertook similar roles in England, they were forced to hide their actions for fear of repercussions, yet abroad such behaviour could be expressed more freely by women of faith. Exile women, like Anne, who were separated from their husbands and children, also turned to political activism because they were increasingly able to act as Gibbons sees it 'without the conventional ties of a highborn Catholic woman inside England'.¹³⁴ In particular, this included the running of a household, ensuring children were educated and, in the case of many recusant women, offering shelter to priests.¹³⁵

Therefore, by examining Anne's Exile Network it is possible to highlight how she usurped the earl of Westmorland's expected leadership of the fugitive exiles by fostering relationships which provided her with a breadth of knowledge and validity as a leader in her own right. Anne gathered and exchanged news and intelligence in order to establish some of her key contacts within the Exile Network, each of whom strengthened her own position by their support and allegiance with her. Additionally, Anne enacted her own agency by navigating patronage culture to successfully gather the support of the gentlemen fugitives themselves. This chapter contributes to our understanding of women's intelligence networks and news gathering activities by presenting Anne's agency in terms far removed from conventionally expected of the elite widow. As an intelligencer and an

¹³³ Stewart, 'The Voices of Anne Cooke, Lady Anne and Lady Bacon', p.97.

¹³⁴ Gibbons, 'An Unquiet Estate Abroad', p.49.

¹³⁵ Rowlands, 'Recusant Women, 1560 – 1640', pp. 157 – 160.

exiled widow engaged in politico-religious campaigns she negotiated the gendered nature of her activities and status.

1.5. Conclusions

Careful consideration of Anne's personal and epistolary networks throughout her life from 1569 onward reveals her resilience in the face of obstacles and crisis and her previously unrecognised successes, including her centrality to the campaign in favour of Mary, Queen of Scots and her leadership within the English exile community. Ultimately each of Anne's networks is an example of what Kettering describes as the 'English context' of patronage. That is to say, that the Primary Network, the Scottish and the Exile Networks each demonstrate the success of 'an individual relationship, multiple relationships organised into networks and an overall system based on these ties and networks.'¹³⁶ Whether stemming from political motivation or ideological bonds, these affinities allowed Anne successfully to establish varied networks that she employed to her advantage.

It is by situating Anne's networks within the reconceptualised understanding of women's patronage and diplomatic activities, that her politico-religious agency can be established. This reconceptualised analysis of early modern patronage and diplomacy was first encouraged by the archival recovery of the range of women's letter-writing, including petitions, letters written in support of others, and newsletters of military and economic affairs shared between family and friends.¹³⁷ The rediscovery of the scope of women's letters offered the opportunity for scholars in multiple disciplines to re-assess the gendered nature of power and political culture, demonstrating that men and women accessed channels of influence in both specific and complementary ways.¹³⁸ The reconstruction of Anne's networks, understood through her letters and letters written about her by contemporaries, contributes to our understanding of the 'informal channels of communication' which women were especially able to access, create and maintain.¹³⁹ This

¹³⁶ Kettering, 'Patronage in Early Modern France', p.839.

¹³⁷ See editions of women's letters including; Akkerman, ed., *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia*, Vol. II ; Allen, ed., *The Letters of Lady Anne Bacon*; Steen, ed., *The Letters of Lady Arbella Stuart*; Wolfe, ed., *Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland: Life and Letters*; as well as large-scale studies such as Daybell's *Women Letter-Writers* and digital collections such as *Bess of Hardwick's letters* (ed. Wiggins).

¹³⁸ Daybell & Norrhem, 'Rethinking gender and political culture in early modern Europe,' pp. 3- 7; see also Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*; Harris, 'Women and Politics in Early Tudor England,,'; Magnusson, 'A Rhetoric of Requests'.

¹³⁹ Daybell & Norrhem, 'Rethinking gender and political culture in early modern Europe,' p. 4.

chapter reveals how Anne successfully utilised the informal social, economic and political agency which women, including many contemporary noblewomen, including Elizabeth, countess of Shrewsbury, Lady Anne Bacon and Lady Penelope Rich, enacted to navigate the formal institutions of power. In this way, her networks were not especially unconventional for the period, but the success she achieved during the 1570s thanks to her epistolary production and negotiation of social circles, was remarkable for the extreme circumstances of her exile.

Gender and social status are shown, in this chapter, to be legitimate categories of analysis for the study of letter-writing and early modern politics.¹⁴⁰ While men, with their access to more formal diplomatic resources, were often concurrently at risk of greater censure, women have been shown to act as conduits of information and as key to the fostering of diplomatic relations. A case study of Anne's networks further strengthens this recent re-analysis of early modern political culture, since she expertly navigated her connection with prominent men (including her husband, and the gentlemen English exiles), not only for their benefit, but for specific personal aims.

Thus, this chapter also contributes new evidence of women turning gender expectations to their own advantage, including the freedom of widowhood, as well as benefiting from the extreme circumstances of exile which offered noblewomen greater opportunities outside the domestic arena. In fostering intelligence networks, Anne, like other women, used news as a means of fostering relationships which allowed her to enact political agency in ways previously considered unconventional for elite women. Anne exchanged news and established relationships primarily for her own interests and for wider politico-religious aims, not simply on behalf of her husband or other male relatives. Overall, reconstruction of Anne's networks offers evidence of her commanding her circumstances and operating socially and politically in multiple arenas.

¹⁴⁰ Daybell & Norrhem, 'Rethinking gender and political culture in early modern Europe,' p. 7.

CHAPTER TWO

Epistolary Production and Reception

2.1. Introduction

This chapter examines twenty-one manuscript letters from Anne, countess of Northumberland and considers the evidence they offer for epistolary composition, scribal copying, delivery practices and the reception and afterlives of early modern letters. Two letters exist only as modern editions and are not discussed here. The chapter situates Anne's letters within the context of early modern epistolary culture and as such, extends our understanding of letter-writing practices in the period. Specifically, this chapter demonstrates the benefits of close scrutiny of the physical and visual features of Anne's twenty-one letters, which in this instance provide us, for the first time, with a picture of Anne's collaboration with secretaries and bearers during her exiled years from August 1570 until her death on 9 September 1591 and the interception and use of her letters by English intelligencers.

First, this chapter examines the material features of Anne's correspondence in order to establish the delivery status of her letters. Using seals, folds, superscriptions and endorsements it is possible to show that twenty of Anne's extant letters were sent letters. That is to say they were produced by Anne in collaboration with her secretaries and then sent to the recipient. Only six letters of these sent letters reached their intended recipient: the six Latin petitions dated from 20 October 1572 until 9 September 1573 were produced by Anne then sent and reached their recipients in Rome and Paris. On the other hand, Anne's fourteen letters in English dated between 21 June 1571 and 16 August 1576 were sent but were intercepted by English intelligencers and prevented from reaching the recipient. Analysis of material features enables the letters to be established as sent letters rather than contemporary copies. In comparison, a further example of Anne's correspondence is shown to be a contemporary copy of a letter sent by Anne to Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon and forwarded to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, on 7 January 1570.

Furthermore, close examination of the material and visual features of fourteen of Anne's letters in English and six Latin petitions reveals that she wrote only her signature in her own hand. This chapter analyses Anne's signatures to reveal her writing ability, as well as her understanding of wider epistolary culture. Twelve of her signatures are referred to in this chapter as her 'characteristic signature' which means the <A. Northumberland>

signature form. This characteristic signature, six ciphers and two unsigned letters demonstrate that Anne adapted her signing practice to influence the reception of her letters. For example, ciphers were used by Anne to increase security and privacy in her letters and in order to disguise her identity as sender from unsolicited readers. Her characteristic signature meanwhile, was penned in multiple forms with varied stylistic differences. Each form served a specific function intended to reflect the social relations between sender and recipient.

A further key finding of this chapter is the identification of the secretaries who penned Anne's letters. Her fourteen English letters dated 21 June 1571 until 16 August 1576 were written by secretary Robert Heighington who travelled with Anne following the rebellion of 1569 and remained with her until at least 1576. The six Latin petitions dated from 20 October 1572 until 9 September 1573 were written by John Fenn, an English exiled priest and translator. By examining textual and material features of both sets of letters this chapter highlights the evidence for the involvement of secretaries in the composition of Anne's letters.

Moving beyond the involvement of secretaries in Anne's correspondence, this chapter also considers other agents central to the production and reception of Anne's letters, including letter-bearers and interceptors. Exile enhanced the need for security and the desire for epistolary privacy which all letter-writers were concerned to preserve during the delivery of their correspondence. It also made the difficulties of transport acutely transparent as seen by the fact that of the twenty sent letters from Anne, fourteen were intercepted. Anne's letters offer evidence of the centrality of letter-bearers to epistolary production including contextual information on practical matters such as the costs of bearers' journeys and wider social anxieties of epistolary privacy. Letter-bearers and interceptors are examined to see how Anne delivered her letters, and how she adapted to the interception of her correspondence, employing code to disguise place names and identities for example. Consideration of the involvement of letter-bearers and interceptors of Anne's letters therefore allows a fuller understanding of how epistolary privacy and security impacted the composition of Anne's letters.

This chapter therefore offers a detailed examination of Anne's letters, primarily focusing on the material and textual features of the correspondence in order to examine its production, delivery and reception. Such close analysis ensures that the innate connections between these three key areas of composition can be illuminated. Organising the analysis in this way also allows for consideration of Anne's letters in the wider context of epistolary

culture in the early modern period, noting in particular the role of secretaries in the composition of letters and the significance of material features in relation to how the text was read by the recipient.

2.2. Methods and Definitions

It is necessary to clarify at the outset the terminology used throughout this chapter. This chapter relies upon the fields of palaeography, manuscript studies and linguistics for its methodology, which requires clear distinctions between secretary and scribe; sender and signer; autograph and holograph; hand and script; and composition and copying.

First, secretary is used to denote the person responsible for writing the manuscript letters. It is employed instead of the more general term scribe, which shares a similar meaning, in recognition that secretaries often held permanent positions within aristocratic households in order to write letters and perform other administrative tasks, or were less formally employed but were paid for their experience and skills.¹ Secretary Heighington's writings demonstrate formal training in the legal, or clerk's tradition. In the same manner, Fenn's Latin petitions reflect an academic background through linguistic capabilities as well as an understanding of epistolary culture. The term scribe can refer to formal copyists it is true, but as Peter Beal notes 'it can just as easily be applied to amateurs' including family members, household staff or even people within the sender's social circle.² Therefore, the term secretary offers more specificity especially when we consider that secretaries were often retained by noblemen and women directly for the purposes of letter-writing.³

Secondly, Anne was both the sender and the signer of the letters examined here. The term sender refers to the person who addressed letters either in their own hand or by directing a secretary or scribe to write letters on their behalf. The sender is the figure to whom a letter is attributed. By signing the letter, the sender permits this attribution and authorises the contents within. Anne's signatures in their varied forms offer the most direct evidence of her literacy and crucially of her involvement in the creation of the letters. In analysing Anne's signatures this chapter applies concepts from historical linguistics (such as that of form and function) in order to provide a logical account of Anne's signing

¹ Peter Beal, *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology 1450 - 2000*, online ed: 'secretary', 'scribe'; James Daybell, 'Women's Letters and Letter Writing in England 1540 – 1603: An Introduction to the Issues of Authorship and Construction', *Shakespeare Studies*, 28 (1999), 161 – 186, (p.165).

² Beal, *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology*, online ed.: 'secretary', 'scribe'.

³ Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p.22.

practices.⁴ Moreover, the form and function approach offers an opportunity to understand why Anne used different signing practices at different times such as traditional signatures, ciphers and leaving letters unsigned. Smith explains that whilst form and function can have technical meanings in many disciplines, linguistically *form* 'is the various linguistic items themselves' whilst *function* is the role that the said items play within an overall linguistic system.⁵ To apply this theory to epistolary culture, and to signatures in particular, when Anne penned her characteristic italic signature in the form <A. Northumberland> this was one *form* of signing practice that had the *function* of authenticating the letter and identifying the sender.

Anne's signatures were the only parts of her letters that she wrote in her own hand. Throughout this chapter, and the thesis more generally, the term 'in her own hand' refers to the parts of a letter, in this instance the signatures, that Anne penned herself. In the same vein, the term 'in the hand of secretary Heighington' or 'in the hand of secretary Fenn' is used to designate text written by the male secretaries. More broadly, the term 'in the hand of' is used to identify an individual whose writing was distinguishable in Anne's letters. For example, it is possible to identify the endorsements which featured in twelve of Anne's sent and intercepted English letters as being in the hand of William Cecil, Lord Burghley.⁶ The term 'in the hand of' offers more clarity and is more precise than the categorisation of epistolary texts as either 'holograph', 'autograph' or 'scribal'.⁷ These terms, whilst having their place in the field, can pose unnecessary difficulties when they are understood to have differing meanings. Beal assures us that holograph and autograph have the same meaning: that is both refer to a text 'written entirely in the hand of the author (as opposed to being written in any part by a secretary or copyist).'⁸

Distinction is also required between the terms 'hand' and 'script'. These terms have not always been consistently distinguished in the field of palaeography and such confusion has

⁴ Smith, *Historical Study of English*, p.8.

⁵ Smith, *Historical Study of English*, p.8.

⁶ For Lord Burghley's endorsements see CP 157/96; CP 5/76; CP 5/94; CP 159/21; SP 12/107/60; TNA, SP 12/107/75; SP 12/108/89; SP 12/108/96; SP 12/108/103; SP 12/108/165; SP 12/108/171; BL, Cott. MSS. Caligula, f. 186.

⁷ Traditionally holograph letters are understood to refer to those examples in which the main text and the signature were penned in the same hand, while autograph letters may contain a signature in a different hand from the main text. Finally, scribal letters are considered those which were penned fully by someone other than those to whom the letter is attributed i.e. a secretary or scribe. However, these terms are problematic since even in cases in which letters appear to be holograph signatures may have been penned by a scribe and indeed conversely those categorised as scribal letters may oversimplify the number of hands that appear in one text. For an overview of terms see Williams, 'The Social and Linguistic Implications of Joan Thynne's Using a Scribe', pp. 133.

⁸ Beal, *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology*, online ed.: 'holograph'.

been carried over into historical and literary studies of manuscript sources.⁹ Throughout this chapter 'hand' and 'script' are differentiated as interpreted by Smith as follows:

Script may be defined as the particular model of handwriting at which a scribe aimed, for instance Secretary, italic, gothic, whereas *hand* is the actual realisation of this script achieved by the scribe.¹⁰

Thus 'hand' here is taken to mean the writing physically penned by an individual, where it can be distinguished, while 'script' is the model of handwriting employed by the individual.¹¹ In any one letter it is possible to find more than one hand writing in the same script, as in the case of Anne's Latin petitions where the main text, in the hand of John Fenn, was in an accomplished italic script and Anne's own signatures were also in a decorative italic script. It is the execution of the script, or the 'realisation of the script' as Smith suggests, that can help to identify different hands in manuscripts.¹² In comparison, Anne's English letters, written in the hand of secretary Heighington, were written in a secretary script, while Anne's signatures (where they featured) remained in italic script, making it easier to distinguish the hands that contributed to the written letter. Although there is no evidence of such practice in Anne's correspondence, by the same token one individual hand could often execute various scripts and again on occasion it is possible to see this occur within the same manuscript. Hilary Jenkinson identifies a common practice in noblemen's letters penned in their own hand in a secretary script and yet signed with an italic signature.¹³ Women too were capable of producing more than one script. The highly literate Mary Shelton produced an italic signature as well as signing her name in a cursive script at least twice and composed her poetic texts in both an untidy script that has been derided as a 'scrawl', as well as with more polished writing.¹⁴

In this chapter, scribal profiles are used to identify Anne's secretaries. Scribal profiles are established through an analysis of spelling patterns present in the letters. This chapter uses questionnaires examining spelling, punctuation, vocabulary and epistolary conventions such as abbreviations, to identify similarities in the hands that wrote Anne's letters.¹⁵ These questionnaires record common words within the manuscripts and examine

⁹ Smith, *Historical Study of English*, p. 56.

¹⁰ Smith, *Historical Study of English*, p. 56.

¹¹ Graham Williams, 'Pragmatic Readings of the Letters of Joan and Maria Thynne 1575 – 1611: With Diplomatic Translations', (PhD thesis: University of Glasgow, 2009), p.18.

¹² Smith, *Historical Study of English*, p. 56; Williams, 'Pragmatic Readings', p.18.

¹³ Hilary Jenkinson, 'Elizabethan Handwriting: A Preliminary Sketch', *The Library*, 3.1 (June 1922), 1 – 25, (p. 23) (see also p. 23 note 1).

¹⁴ Goldberg, *Desiring Women Writing*, p.150.

¹⁵ Questionnaires were developed from those employed in the Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English (LAMLE) project. See McIntosh, Samuels and Benskin, *A Guide to A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval*

in detail how those words were spelled over the corpus of surviving correspondence, how they were abbreviated and how they were executed physically by the hand writing them. Extending the analysis to material features offers further evidence that Anne's English letters were penned by one secretary, while her Latin petitions were also penned by one, different, secretary. Exploration of the physical features of the letters including folding practices and the inclusion of significant empty space on the paper for example, provides evidence that the letters were consistently prepared in the same way before writing and before their dispatch. Altogether, the spelling, punctuation, abbreviations and material features make a compelling case for one English secretary and one Latin secretary.

Next, this chapter uses biographical evidence to support the identity of each secretary and his career with Anne. First, the secretary John Fenn is identified as the writer of the Latin petitions that were created over a relatively short period of time from October 1572 until September 1573. Secondly, the secretary Robert Heighington is identified using the English letters dated between June 1571 and August 1576. Only one person with the professional training reflected in the texts was with Anne during this period, moving with her as she was forced to journey from city to city during political turmoil in the Low Countries and that was Robert Heighington.

In addition, we cannot consider the involvement of secretaries in the production of Anne's letters without clarifying what is meant by the terminology used to identify their roles. Throughout this chapter the terms 'write', 'pen' and 'copy' are used to denote the physical writing that secretaries undertook on Anne's behalf in the letter-writing process. The terms are used interchangeably but, to clarify, 'copy' is used here in the more general understanding of 'the act of mechanically transcribing or penning the text'.¹⁶ When secretaries are referred to as copying Anne's letters this therefore does not necessarily mean copying in the sense of creating a duplicate, but rather more in the sense of creating a text that was ready to be sent, much like creating a 'copy' in the modern sense of the version ready to publish. Writing, penning and copying are all distinguished from the composition of the text. Writing and penning reflect the physical act of putting pen to paper. Composition on the other hand concerns the creation of substantive content and the rhetorical structure of the text, such as choice of topics, formulae and words.

English. See also Helen Baron, 'Mary Fitzroy's Hand in the Devonshire Manuscript', *Review of English Studies*, 45.179 (1994), pp. 341 – 64, for a guide to distinguishing hands in early modern texts.

¹⁶ Beal, *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology*, online ed.: 'copy'.

2.3. Delivery Status, Physical Forms and Material Features

All fourteen of Anne, countess of Northumberland's letters in English were delivered to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, through a network of intelligencers. This section argues that close scrutiny of the physical forms and material features of Anne's intercepted letters in English demonstrates that these letters were sent by Anne and were not copies made by interceptors. Having intercepted correspondence, it was common for intelligencers to make copies of the sent letters they had gathered, resealing the sent letter and sending it on to its intended recipient. This meant that they would have a copy of the contents and the recipient would be unaware of the sabotage to the correspondence. Dennis Flynn concurs with Lechat's suggestion that such techniques were employed against the English Catholic rebels in exile. Lechat proposes that the English authorities intercepted the rebels' letters and sent them to Philips of Marnix, Lord of Sainte-Aldegonde, a Dutch nobleman, reformer and cryptographer.¹⁷ While it would not be unexpected to find that Anne's intercepted letters which survive in the State Papers and Cecil Papers were copies in this regard, the physical and material evidence suggests otherwise. The use of seals, folds and paper locks demonstrates that Anne's letters were prepared for sending with additional security measures intended to prevent tampering by third parties. Additionally endorsements by Burghley on twelve of the intercepted letters further confirms their status as sent letters.

On the other hand, one example of Anne's letters in English can be identified as a copy: Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon forwarded a copy of a sent letter that he received from Anne in January 1570 onto Burghley on 7 January 1570.¹⁸ Although the sent letter Hunsdon received from Anne no longer survives, he likely kept it for his own records. We can tell that this was a copy of a sent letter because the secretary copied Anne's signature in his own hand showing that she signed the letter she sent to Hunsdon. In addition, the letter was endorsed explicitly by Burghley as a 'coppie of hyr anserr. Hunsdon's clerk'. Physical features confirm this since there was little evidence of the letter being prepared as a sent letter: there was no superscription and no seal. Even the lack of dirt and discoloration where the outside surface might have faced during travel is indicative that the paper was covered, again suggesting that this was an enclosure in a larger letter-packet.

¹⁷ Lechat, *Les réfugiés anglais*, p. 77; Dennis Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), p.71.

¹⁸ TNA, SP 12/66/09 (07/01/1570): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Lord Hunsdon, contemporary copy.

Close scrutiny of Anne's correspondence reveals that she was aware of the sabotage to which her letters were subject, and that her letters were produced with added security measures intended to enhance the likelihood that the letters should reach their destination. Anne's intercepted letters in English demonstrate that regardless of how securely a letter was sealed and folded, it could still be opened and read by unsolicited parties. Security measures, including paper locks taken from the letter page, folding patterns and traditional wax seals, were all employed by Anne's secretary to enhance the privacy of her correspondence. However, these features only show that effort was made to lock Anne's letters, they do not demonstrate that tampering could be avoided through using additional security features, since all of her extant letters in English were intercepted. We can speculate that letters which successfully reached their destination and which do not survive, because they were destroyed by recipients, may have featured a higher level of security, including any number of the elaborate measures highlighted by the Letterlocking project.¹⁹ Or it may be simply that these letters included the same physical forms and material features as Anne's intercepted letters, but that in cases where letters reached their destination the channels of delivery were more reliable.

Analysing material features also offers evidence of Anne's authentication of letters penned by her secretaries and of interpersonal relations embedded in the letters. First, the use of a seal which shows signs of a device designed to represent Anne independently from her husband demonstrates Anne's direction of and authority over letters penned in the hand of her secretary. Anne's letters were also folded in at least two different ways; the slit-and-band method and the accordion style. While each had security benefits, the accordion style was used to distinguish Anne's marriage letters from the correspondence she shared with others, where the physical features of the letter indicated intimacy and deference towards her husband, reflecting interpersonal epistolary relations.

¹⁹ Jana Dambroglio, 'Letterlocking Resources', janadambroglio.com.

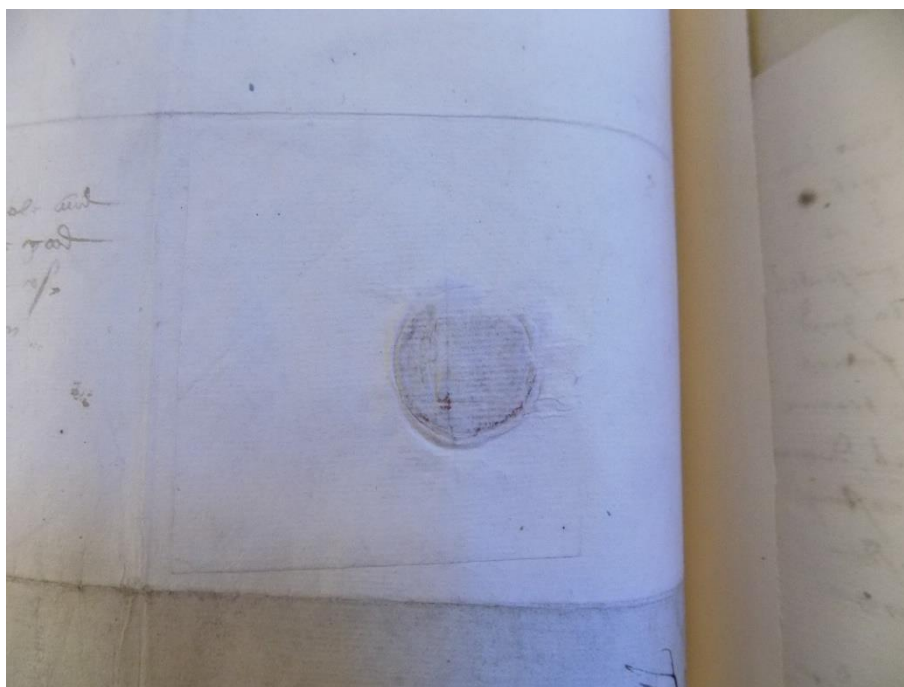
2.3. I. Seals and Folds

Fig.1.1. CP 159/21 (31/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Douglas, Lord Lochleven. Detail of red wax seal with traces of paper lock. Seal featuring arms of Henry Somerset, earl of Worcester, Anne's father, with alteration to reflect Percy arms.



Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

Fig.1.2. CP 5/94 (31/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland, to James Douglas, earl of Morton. Detail of red wax seal with remains of paper lock. Fewer seal details visible.



Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

Fig.1.3. CP 157/96 (27/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland, to her husband Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland. Detail of red wax seal with remains of paper lock. Seal featuring Somerset arms, as in fig 1.1., though less distinct.



Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

Fig. 1.4. National Trust Images. Petworth House window featuring Somerset arms impaled by Percy arms.



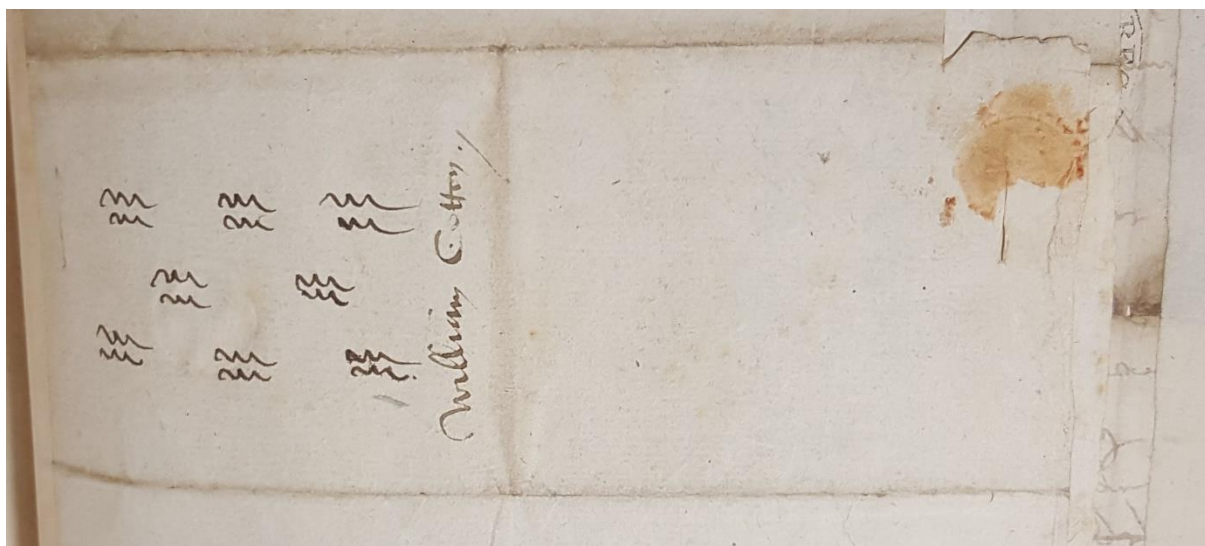
CMS_486489, Collections – Public, © National Trust / Andrew Fetherston

Fig.1.5. TNA, SP 12/108/171 (16/08/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland, to William Cotton. Address detail showing traces of red wax seal over dispatch slit with cipher marks as superscription.



Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.

Fig.1.6. TNA, SP 12/108/165 (08/08/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland, to William Cotton. Address detail showing traces of wax seal over dispatch slit with cipher marks as superscription expanded in Burghley's hand.



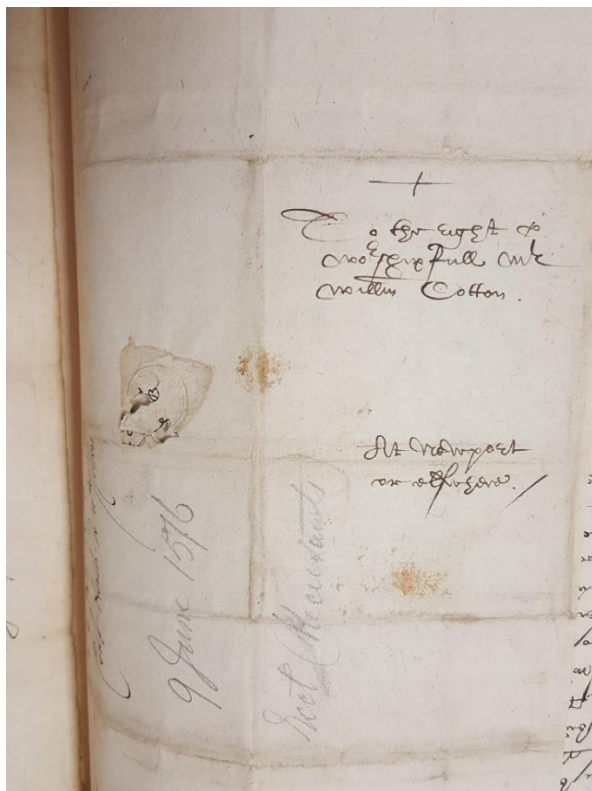
Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.

Fig.1.7. TNA, SP 12/107/75 (11/02/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland, to Cotton. Address detail showing minimal remains of wax seal over dispatch slit.



Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.

Fig.1.8. TNA, SP 12/108/89 (09/06/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland, to Cotton.
Address detail showing damage from removal of seal and staining from red wax.



Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.

Fig.1.9. CP 157/96 (27/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland, to her husband the earl of Northumberland. Address leaf with dispatch slits, paper lock and slit and band fold.



Image © Hatfield House Archives, 2010.
Included in The Cecil Papers (Database), Copyright © 2010 ProQuest LLC.

Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

Fig.1.10. CP 5/76 (28/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland, to her husband the earl of Northumberland. Address leaf showing evidence of accordion folding: elliptical centre folds and traces of double wax seals (one removed by damage).

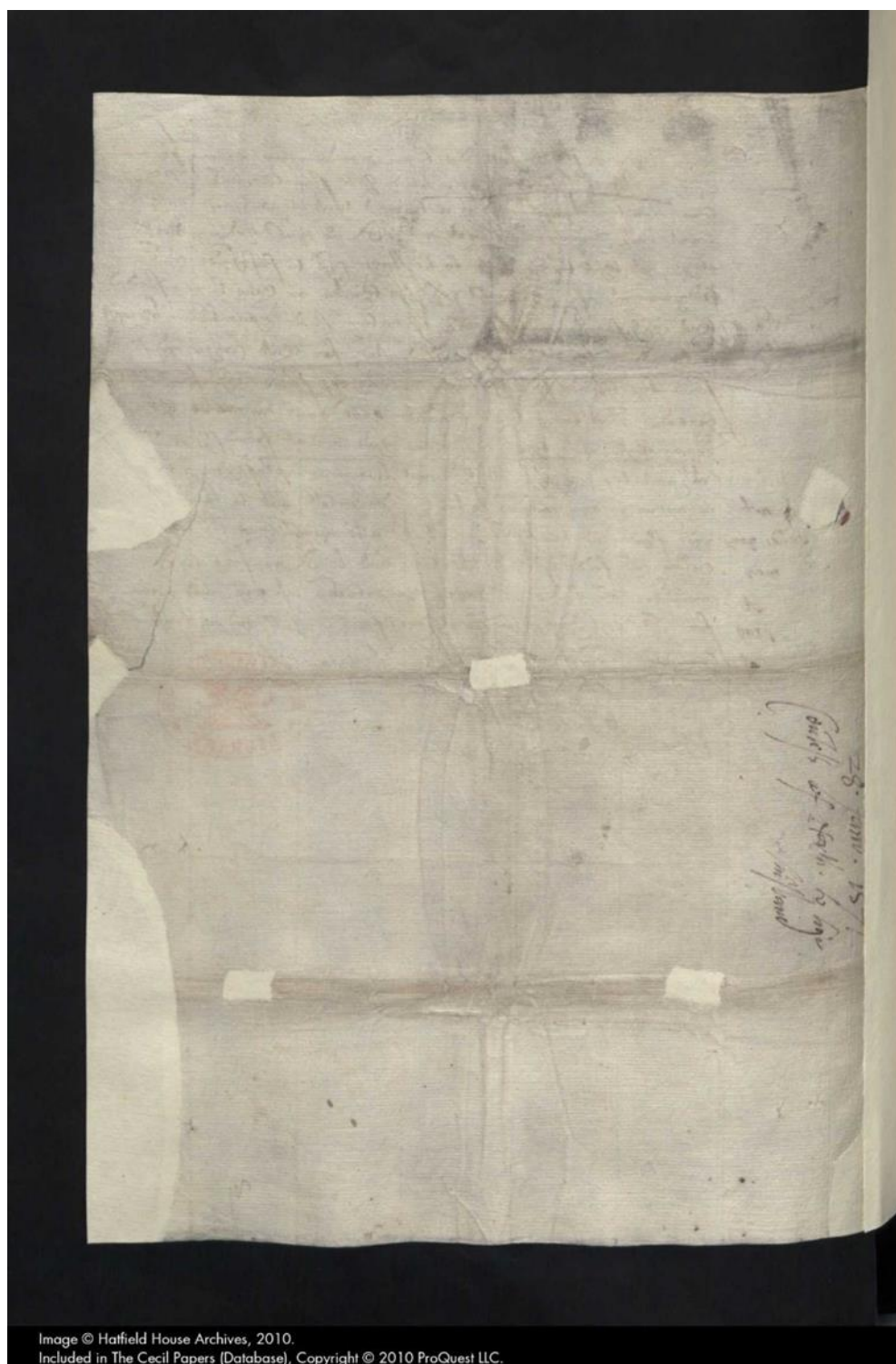
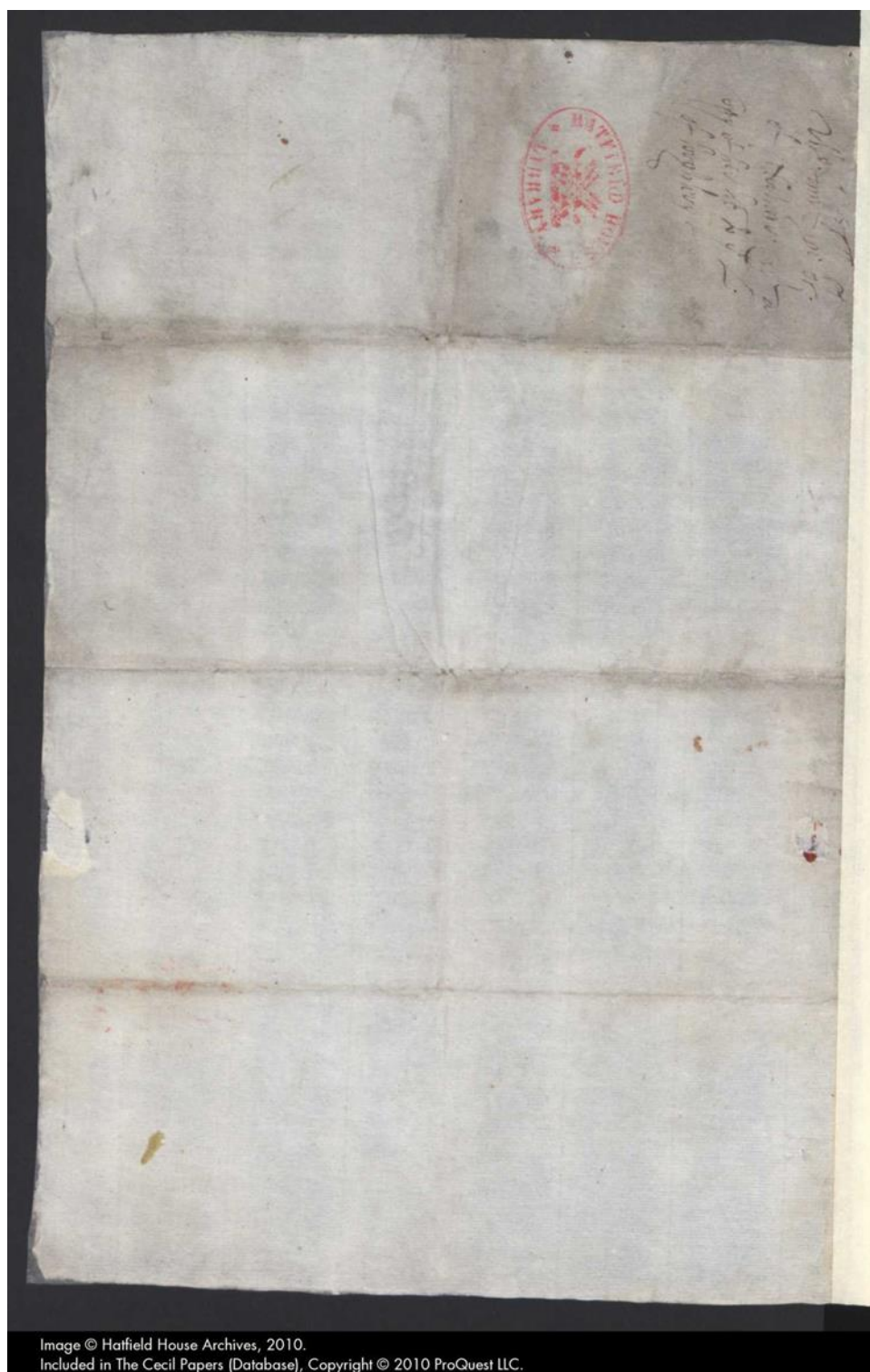


Image © Hatfield House Archives, 2010.
Included in The Cecil Papers (Database), Copyright © 2010 ProQuest LLC.

Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

Fig. 1.11. CP 159/21 (31/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland, to her husband the earl of Northumberland. Address leaf showing evidence of accordion folding: elliptical centre folds and traces of double wax seal (one damaged and repaired).



Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

Seals and folds can offer evidence of the delivery status of a letter and the security measures employed by letter-writers to preserve the privacy of their correspondence. Of the fourteen intercepted letters in English, four feature red wax seals and the remaining ten feature traces of a seal. In at least two cases, the remains of a paper lock taken from the letter paper is also visible. Anne's sent letters are generally folded in the slit-and-band style: at least eleven are similar in style to the example shown above (fig.1.9.) with at least one slit mark visible. This method of folding letters was quite common in the early modern period whereby the paper was folded three or four times horizontally, then in half vertically before a slit was made through all the sheets and a piece of paper was threaded through and secured, usually by the seal.²⁰ On the other hand, letters addressed to her husband were prepared for delivery using the accordion fold pattern. Known as 'plighting' in the early modern period, accordion or pleated letters were often very small letter-packets because they were folded more times than in the tuck and fold, or slit-and-band methods. Heather Wolfe emphasises that letters sealed with silk floss and folded in the accordion style were often 'no bigger than a credit card' and featured narrow, multiple folds visible as 'peaks and valleys'.²¹ Anne's letters do not offer evidence of silk or ribbon used to tie the letter packet, but close scrutiny of the elliptical shaped folds in the centre of two her marriage letters indicates that these letters were folded using the accordion technique (fig. 1.10, 1.11). The seals, paper locks and folds that feature on all fourteen of Anne's intercepted letters demonstrates that they were all prepared for sending and that they were prevented from reaching their destination. This is further confirmed by the presence of superscriptions in the hand of secretary Heighington and the endorsements made by Burghley upon receipt of Anne's letters. Closer analysis of these material features also indicates that seals and folds functioned as security measures and on occasion with wider social and interpersonal purposes.

While the presence of seals indicates that letters were prepared for sending and as a device to secure the correspondence, Anne's seals were also used as a way of authenticating her correspondence.²² This was especially pertinent since all of her letters were penned in the hand of her secretary Robert Heighington and on occasion she did not sign her letters. The seals indicate Anne's involvement in the production of the secretarial

²⁰ Starza-Smith, 'The Material Features of Letters'.

²¹ Wolfe, 'A Letter from Queen Anne to Buckingham Locked with Silk Embroidery Floss', *The Collation*, <<http://collation.folger.edu/2013/01/a-letter-from-queen-anne-to-buckingham-locked-with-silk-embroidery-floss/>> [accessed 1 December 2016].

²² Beal, *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology*, online ed.: 'seal'.

letters and demonstrate that she probably read and approved the text.²³ In this way she can be seen to have overseen and directed her correspondence even when she was not writing the letters in her own hand.

We can establish seals acting as Anne's epistolary authority because the seal used to prepare her letters was a device which uniquely identified her as the sender and which represented her independently from her husband. Though it is difficult to distinguish Anne's seals, in the best-preserved and clearest example from a letter sent to Lord Lochleven from Anne on 27 January 1572, close examination suggests that she employed a device which combined details from the arms of her father Henry Somerset, earl of Worcester and her husband Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland (fig. 1.1). The arms of Henry, earl of Worcester, as featured on his tomb at St. Mary's Priory Church, Chepstow, included three lion 'rampant' figures in the upper right quadrant; an 'L' shape that created a small inner square in the lower left quadrant; and two examples of the Beaufort family arms featuring opposing triple crosses and three lions 'passant' with a band beneath each quadrant indicating the illegitimacy of Worcester's father.²⁴ Anne's seal also featured this 'L' shape within the small inner square in the lower left quadrant. This 'L' shape crest was part of the ancestral arms of the Wydeville family, Anne's paternal grandmother's line.²⁵ The upper left and lower right quadrants show further similarities to her father's arms. Careful examination highlights three circular objects in the position of the triple crosses of Somerset's arms, as well as horizontal linear characters where the lions gardant feature on his arms. Anne's seal also maintains the band running above and below these two quadrants of the Beaufort arms indicating ancestral illegitimacy.

Analysis of this cleanest example of Anne's seals also offers some evidence that she adapted her device to include crests in recognition of her marriage. The lion rampant of the upper right quadrant of her seal bears more resemblance to the single azure lion rampant that featured in Northumberland's coat of arms than to the triple design of lions rampant as

²³ Coolahan, *Women, Writing and Language*, p. 106; Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p. 85; Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England*, p. 95.

²⁴ Patrick Cracroft-Brennan, 'Henry, 2nd earl of Worcester', *Cracroft's Peerage: The Complete Guide to the British Peerage and Baronetage*, <

http://www.cracroftpeerage.co.uk/online/content/worcester1513.htm?zoom_highlight=henry+somerset>

[accessed 1 December 2016]; Lions 'passant guardant' are those that stand with three feet on the ground, one lifted, and face outwards. Lions 'rampant' stand on their hind legs and face the direction of their lifted feet. See: *Heraldic Dictionary*, University of Notre Dame, online ed, 2000 <

<http://www.rarebooks.nd.edu/digital/heraldry/>> [accessed 1 December 2016]; Arnold Rabbow, 'The Origin of the Royal Arms of England – A European Connection', *The Coat of Arms*, 186 (Summer 1999) <

http://www.theheraldrysociety.com/articles/england/european_origin_three_lions.htm> [accessed 1 December 2016]

²⁵ Cracroft-Brennan, *Cracroft's Peerage*, 'Henry, 2nd earl of Worcester': Henry Somerset's coat of arms are visible on his tomb at St Mary's Priory Church, Monmouth.

seen in her father's. Further evidence of Anne's paternal arms merging with her husband's is found in a later stained window from the Sussex estates of the earls of Northumberland at Petworth House (fig. 1.4). Here the paternal arms of Henry Somerset are impaled by the arms of the Percy family. This later example of Anne's paternal arms, features the same 'L' band on the lower left quadrant and lion rampant in the upper right quadrant that feature in the monument at Worcester's tomb and Anne's own seal.

Using a seal that was not immediately recognisable as the Percy family coat of arms or her husband's chosen device had practical implications for Anne. During her exile it may have been helpful to avoid identifying herself outwardly as the wife of Northumberland during his imprisonment. As Anne became aware that her correspondence was subject to interception from unsolicited readers she may have found it more helpful to use her father's arms to further disguise her identity. It may also have been the case that due to tensions in their marriage during their physical separation while Northumberland was imprisoned in Scotland and Anne enjoyed relative liberty in the Low Countries, that Anne chose to use her paternal arms to indicate her own position in the negotiations between Catholic benefactors, her husband and herself as mediator. In this respect she enacted behaviour similar to other noblewomen of this period during marital difficulties – and indeed even in cases of relatively successful marriages in which aristocratic women wished to demonstrate their own influence.²⁶ Elizabeth, countess of Shrewsbury, for example, created her own 'Hardwick cross' device which she used to identify herself independently from her husband the earl of Shrewsbury.²⁷ Even in times of marital harmony the combination of familial arms with marital devices in seals illustrated noblewomen's attempts to enact agency through epistolary channels. Such measures may reflect what Caroline Bowden has described as women's 'sophisticated participation in a complex system of informal patronage' in which relatives, servants and distant acquaintances sought the support of female members of the nobility independent from their male relatives in order to secure financial, political or religious aid.²⁸ Devices which combined familial and marital emblems could therefore serve the dual purpose of identifying a woman independently whilst aligning her with her male relatives. Thus seals acted in a dual fashion in Anne's case, to authenticate and identify her correspondence as her own, and as a traditional security device.

²⁶ Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p.54.

²⁷ Starza-Smith, 'The Material Features of Letters.'

²⁸ Bowden, 'Women as Intermediaries', p. 215; see chapter one for further analysis of Anne's negotiation of patronage culture.

Analysis of the folding patterns employed in the production of Anne's letters also suggests that the letters were prepared using folds which enhanced the security of the letter. Contemporary reports of the interception of Anne's letters indicates that her letters were folded in order to create small letter-packets which were easy to conceal during delivery. Anne's letter-bearer William Carr was discovered in July 1572 with letters sent by Anne sewn into his clothing. Lord Hunsdon reported the concealed letters to Burghley on 3 July 1572, explaining that Carr had the letters intended for members of 'that cankered faction' sewn into his jacket.²⁹ Hunsdon wrote again on 6 July 1572 to clarify that the letters were intended for some of Anne's 'friends in Northumberland'.³⁰ To conceal letters in such a way required that they be folded into very small packets and indeed recent research, including Nadine Akkerman's analysis of the correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, has illustrated that the most petite letter-packets were easy to hide as they could be quickly placed into the hands of letter-bearers or recipients and hidden in sleeves or clothing, making them suited to secret or illicit correspondence.³¹

Surviving intercepted letters sent from Anne to her husband dated 28 and 31 January 1572 offer further evidence that her letters were folded into small letter-packets using the accordion folding pattern. One example from 31 January 1572, was a relatively brief letter of just over a page that Anne did not sign (fig.1.11.) The address leaf from this letter features elliptical shaped fold lines in the central upper section as well as evidence of a double wax seal, traces of which can be seen on the lower right side of the page along with a corresponding repaired seal tear on the opposite side (fig.1.11.). The earlier, longer letter from 28 January 1572 also features the elliptical fold lines though in this example they extend the length of the page. The clearly defined elliptical shaped gatherings in the centre of the page are supported on this occasion by traces of red wax in the upper right corner (fig.1.10.) It is unclear whether a parallel wax trace features in this letter since damage has occurred, possibly on opening. These fold lines recall the centre-points of the mountain-valley appearance created by accordion style folding.³² Accordion folding required that the

²⁹ CSP Dom. Add. 1566 – 1579 (03/07/1572), p. 416: Lord Hunsdon to Lord Burghley.

³⁰ CSP Dom. Add. 1566 – 1579 (06/07/1572), p. 416: Lord Hunsdon to Lord Burghley.

³¹ Nadine Akkerman, ed. *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia*, Vol. II (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); see also Wolfe, ed., *Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland*; Lois Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature, 1641 – 1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

³² Starza-Smith, 'The Material Features of Letters'; Heather Wolfe, 'Neatly sealed with silk, and Spanish wax or otherwise': the practice of letter-locking with silk floss in early modern England', in *In the prayse of writing: early modern manuscript studies: essays in honour of Peter Beal* ed. by S. P. Cerasano & Steven W. May (London: British Library, 2012), pp. 169 – 190. See Folger, Cavendish-Talbot MSS, X.d.428 (1) (28/05/[1607]); Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel to Bess, countess of Shrewsbury; Folger, Cavendish-Talbot MSS, X.d.428 (2) (27/06/[1607]); Arundel to countess of Shrewsbury, for examples of these elliptical centre folds.

page be folded into a long strip by repeatedly folding in half from top to bottom, before it was folded in half bringing the sides together. The open edges were then held together by wrapping coloured silk or floss around the packet before securing with wax. Occasionally wax was applied to both sides of the packet and for extra security the thread could be sewn through the edges after wrapping.³³ In each of these cases the additional security attempted by folding the letter into a small, easy to conceal, letter-packet, proved unsuccessful since the letters were intercepted.

Since accordion folding does not appear to have secured the safe delivery of Anne's letters it is also possible that this folding style was employed to reflect the interpersonal relationships between Anne and the addressee. Of the two extant examples of Anne's accordion-folded letters, both were sent to her husband and were unsigned. This section proposes that these marital letters were folded using accordion folds in order to distinguish letters to her husband from those sent to less intimate correspondents, reflecting contemporary understanding of 'plighting' or accordion folding as an intimate method of preparing letters. It is true that it would have been difficult to fold the lengthy eleven-page letter sent from Anne to her husband, dated 28 January 1576, into a small letter-packet, but the later example from 31 January 1576 could have been folded into a small letter-packet due to its short length. The findings of the Letterlocking project also highlight pleated letters that feature elliptical centre folds from later seventeenth-century collections that were not sealed with silk, but rather featured a paper lock and were folded only three times, creating a six panel address leaf.³⁴ These findings expand the original theory proposed by Wolfe that accordion letters generally featured multiple, closely spaced, fold-lines and demonstrate that letters like Anne's lengthy marital letters can still be considered accordion-folded examples.³⁵

As Karen Robertson suggests the additional unfolding required to read letters packaged in this style can be seen as 'a material embodiment of emotions'.³⁶ It may be that Anne, or her secretary, folded the unsigned letters to her husband in the accordion style to display intimacy. Certainly, the playful and familiar closing phrase 'you know by whom' suggests a close relationship in which the recipient was expected to recognise the sender from other

³³ Dambroglio, 'Letterlocking Resources', janadambroglio.com.

³⁴ Jana Dambroglio et. al., Letterlocking Instructional Video: Brienne Postal Archive: A Pleated Letter, 1691. Filmed 12/2015. Vimeo video: Duration 3:37. Posted 04/2016. Video URL < <https://vimeo.com/189399602>> [accessed 5 December 2016].

³⁵ Wolfe, 'A Letter from Queen Anne to Buckinghamd Locked with Silk Embroidery Floss'.

³⁶ Karen Robertson, 'Negotiating Favour: The Letters of Lady Raleigh', in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England 1450 – 1700* ed. by James Daybell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 99 - 113 (p. 108).

features of the letter, including the information contained within, the familiar language and phraseology, and material features such as the seal.

At the same time, accordion folding often featured in correspondence when a letter-writer wished to emphasise their deference or respect for the recipient. The creation of a diminutive letter-packet therefore mirrored the sender's self-humbling position. The presentation of a compact letter also materially reflected wider epistolary concerns with what Magnusson has termed 'trouble-making': desiring not to be seen to impinge on the recipient and yet at the same time seeking some kind of response, hence the act of writing.³⁷ It is possible that Anne sought to present a self-humbling position and to offer deference to her husband using the material features of her letters to highlight such a stance. At this time, she had been physically separated from Northumberland since December 1569 and their marriage was under further strain due to Northumberland's frustrations at the continued delays experienced in his suit for liberty from the Scots. From Anne's correspondence with her husband at this time it was clear that Northumberland had on occasion blamed Anne for his continued imprisonment, despite her considerable success in raising the ransom requested and negotiating on his behalf with the Scottish nobles for his release.³⁸ Chapter three of the thesis demonstrates that Anne employed rhetorical strategies of deference towards her husband in her letters, including tropes of female intellectual inferiority, when offering advice regarding his suit at this time of tension between them. Such rhetorical and linguistic strategies were supported to some extent by material features including a change in the style of folding.

This change to accordion style folding stands out because the majority of Anne's surviving letters were folded using the slit-and-band style. Like the accordion pattern, the slit-and-band style folding was unsuccessful in preventing Anne's letters from unsolicited attention since the extant examples are all intercepted. However, additional features of letters folded in the slit-and-band pattern suggest that Anne and her secretary may have been trying multiple methods of securing her letters in the hopes that some would reach their destination. For example, Anne's slit-and-band letters also offer evidence of what are known as 'dispatch slits'. While originally thought to accommodate silk or ribbon which was tied around the letter and sealed by wax and generally restricted to the formal correspondence of monarchs or state officials, recent findings from the Letterlocking project has shown that these slits were more frequently filled by paper taken from

³⁷ Magnusson, 'A Rhetoric of Requests,' pp. 57 – 58.

³⁸ CP 157/96 (27/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland; CP 5/76 (28/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland.

elsewhere in the letter.³⁹ These 'locks' were threaded through the slit and secured in place using the wax seal. In a letter to Northumberland dated 27 January 1572, a triangular paper lock was visibly cut from the paper and used to secure the letter packet. The removed section has been repaired by later conservation. Also visible on close inspection are the 'dispatch slits' that the paper lock has been threaded through. The slits are most prominent on the reverse of the wax seal, but it is also possible to see all four slits lining up on this same page thanks to the page being laid flat during conservation (see fig.1.9.). This method of folding and sealing a letter, using a triangle shaped lock taken from the paper of the letter, offered fairly stringent security to the letter. As Dambrogio explains, the handmade fibres of the paper from this period meant that the lock would be a match only to the letter it was cut from.⁴⁰ Moreover, by opening a letter folded and sealed in this manner, you would have to be careful not to damage the paper at the point of the dispatch slits. Two other sent letters in Anne's corpus show evidence of this triangular paper lock strengthening the slit and band method of folding. They were addressed to the earl of Morton on 31 January 1572 and to Lochleven on 31 January 1572.⁴¹

Overall, analysis of the seals, locks and folds used in the production of Anne's letters suggest that multiple methods of preparing the letters were employed to enhance the chances that the letters would reach their destination. Seals, locks and folds therefore offer evidence of the impact of interception on Anne's correspondence since they each demonstrate that efforts were made to increase the security of the letters. This section also highlights that these material features also served wider functions beyond the anxiety surrounding epistolary security and privacy. Seals are shown to be key evidence in tracing the collaborative process of production in secretarial letters, while folds highlight interpersonal and social relations embedded in epistolary exchanges.

.

³⁹ Beal, *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology*, online ed.: 'seal'; Dambrogio, 'Letterlocking Resources', janadambrogio.com; Starza-Smith, 'The Features of Material Letters.'

⁴⁰ Dambrogio, 'Letterlocking Resources', janadambrogio.com

⁴¹ CP 5/94 (31/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to James Douglas, earl of Morton; CP 159/21 (31/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Douglas, Lord Lochleven.

2.3. II. Superscriptions and Endorsements

Fig.1.12. BL, Cott. MSS. Caligula, f. 186 (21/06/1571): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Sir Thomas Stucley. Detail of address leaf with endorsement in the hand of Lord Burghley and erased superscription text.



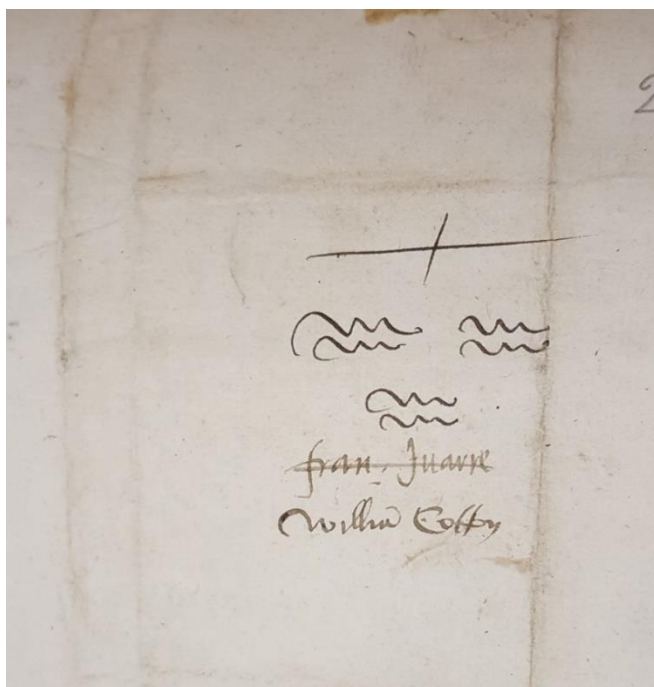
© British Library Board (BL. Cotton. MSS. Caligula. C. III. f. 286)

Fig.1.13. TNA, SP 12/107/60 (21/01/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton. Detail of address leaf with endorsement in the hand of Lord Burghley.



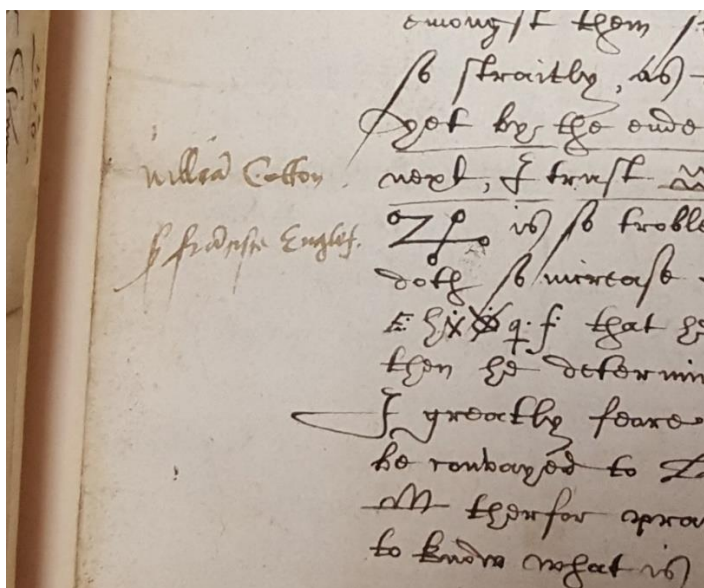
Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.

Fig.1.14. TNA, SP 12/108/103 (26/06/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton. Close up of address leaf showing cipher mark and expansion of cipher in Lord Burghley's hand.



Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.

Fig.1.15. TNA, SP 12/108/89 (09/06/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton. Close up of marginalia in Lord Burghley's hand.



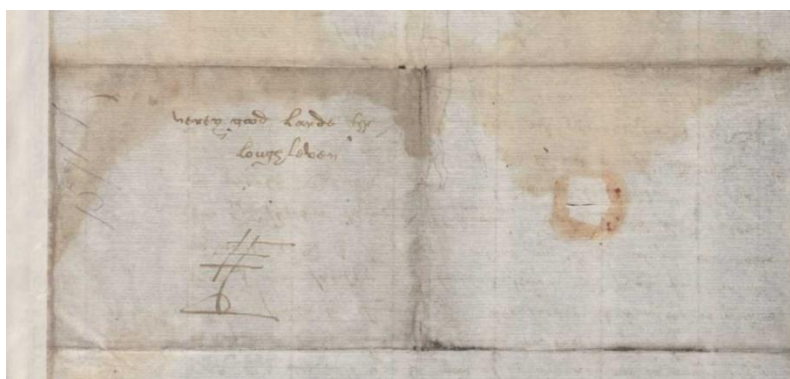
Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.

Fig.1.16. CP 5.94 (31/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to James Douglas, the earl of Morton. Close up of superscription featuring faint swirl knot and text erased on opening.



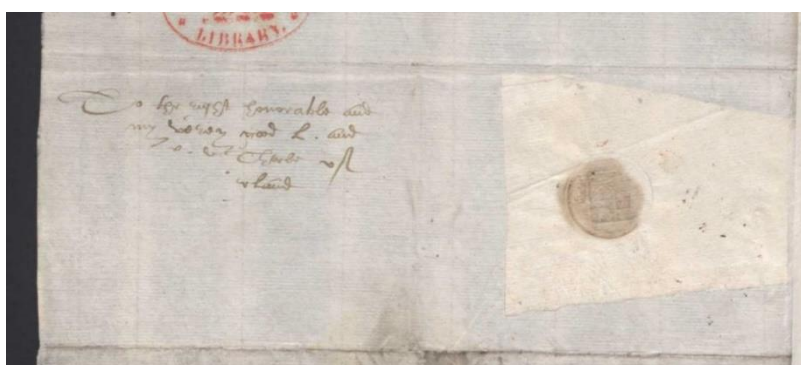
Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

Fig.1.17. CP 157/97 (27/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Douglas, Lord Lochleven. Detail showing superscription with knot and text erased on opening.



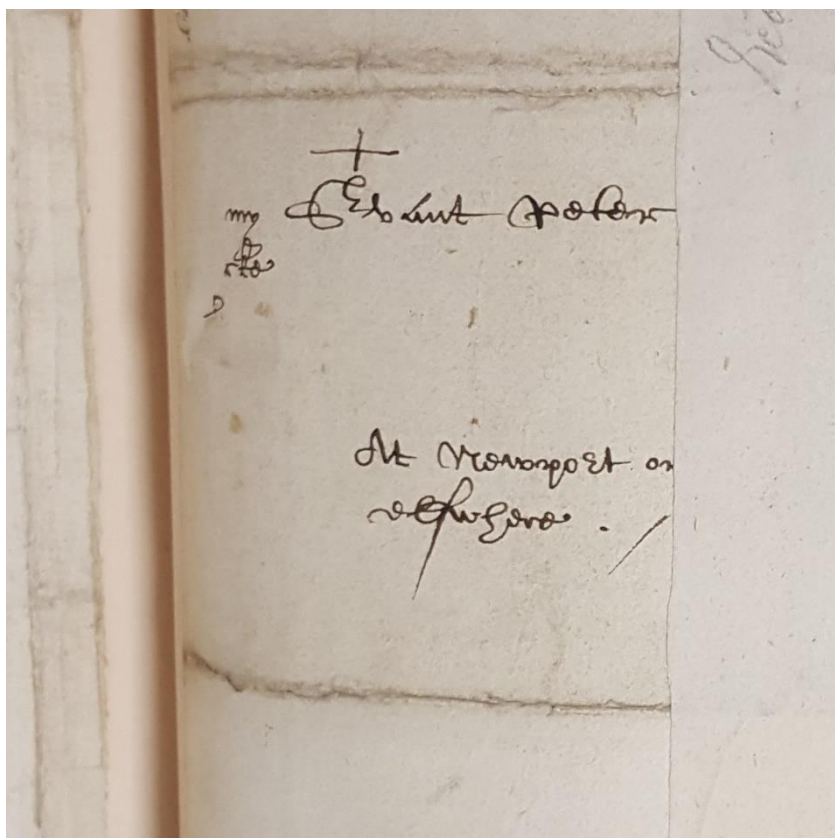
Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

Fig.1.18. CP 157/96 (27/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland. Detail showing superscription with text erased on opening of paper lock.



Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

Fig.1.19. TNA, SP 12/108/96 (15/06/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Peter Kirke. Detail showing superscription with text erased on removal of paper lock and seal.



Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.

It is worth taking the time to consider the superscription in its own right. Superscriptions generally appeared on the outside-facing leaf of the letter and were considered the most public part of a letter since they could be read before the letter was opened.⁴²

Superscriptions were also linked to the folding and sealing of the letter packet because they were generally the final text penned in the letter-writing process and they signalled that a letter was intended for delivery, often including the name of the intended recipient in varying degrees of intimacy or formality depending on the social relations between sender and addressee, and on occasion the location of the recipient if it was known. In Anne's case twelve of her intercepted letters feature superscriptions. They range from conventional addresses which offer deference, such as the one addressed to James Douglas, earl of Morton on 31 January 1572 to 'the right honorable and my most singuler good Lorde

⁴² Graham Williams, 'The Language of Early Modern Letters', *Bess of Hardwick's Letters: The Complete Correspondence c.1550 – 1608*, <https://www.bessofhardwick.org/background.jsp?id=168> [accessed 5 December 2016]; Stewart, *Shakespeare's Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 49.

Therle of Morton'⁴³ (fig.1.16.), to matter-of-fact notices, such as the one from 15 June 1576 to 'my servant Peter Kerke. At Newport or elsewhere.' (fig.1.19.). These more functional superscriptions were intended to offer instruction to the bearer before they addressed the recipient, which in turn highlights the lack of attention made towards the recipient's position and suggests that the sender held a higher social station, as in this case where Anne, a noblewoman, wrote to a servant.

In five letters Anne simply used a cipher to address the recipient of her letters. Writing to William Cotton between 21 January and 16 August 1576 a wavy symbol rather like an <W> was repeated on the superscription (fig.1.13. and 1.14.). On four occasions this symbol was augmented by the title 'Cotton' or 'William Cotton'. The addition of the recipient's name below a cipher, or initial mark, was a common practice of secretaries who often included further detail after the sender signed the letter.⁴⁴ Anne's six letters to Cotton were signed using a cipher mark that was expanded on occasion by the title 'Countesse of Northumberland'. Her secretary Robert Heighington may have included her title prior to sending these letters and indeed he may also have expanded the cipher marks on the address leaf used to indicate William Cotton. However, it is more likely that these expansions of the cipher marks were in the hand of the interceptors of Anne's correspondence. Close scrutiny of the cipher marks on the address leaf and those used to sign Anne's correspondence to Cotton reveals that the ink used to decipher the marks was distinctly lighter and coloured brown in comparison with the darker black ink of the superscriptions and the signatory ciphers. Ink cannot in itself offer proof that a different hand expanded the ciphers, but the lighter brown ink used on the address leaves to decipher the mark representing Cotton, as well as that which occasionally deciphered Anne's signatory cipher, was the same shade as that used by Burghley in his marginal notes in at least two of Anne's six letters to Cotton between 21 January and 16 August 1576. Moreover, careful examination of Burghley's marginal text shows similarities between the hand that wrote the expansion on the address leaf of four letters addressed to Cotton and Burghley's own marginal notes in Anne's letters to Cotton (see fig. 1.14. and fig. 1.15).

Furthermore, placing symbols on superscriptions acted as a further attempt to ensure epistolary privacy. By obscuring the identity of the recipient letters might be less likely to be intercepted by third-parties, though this assumed that bearers were trusted to preserve the identity of addressee since they presumably needed to be aware of it. Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia practiced a similar style of obfuscation by sending letters via false

⁴³ CP 5/94 (31/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to the earl of Morton.

⁴⁴ Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England*, p. 96.

addresses so that they might reach their intended recipient unimpeded.⁴⁵ It is unlikely that Anne took the trouble to disguise the identity of both herself, as the sender of the letters and the recipient, by using cipher marks, and to commit the identity of the recipient and their location to a trusted bearer, only to permit both to be revealed in writing immediately before sending. Therefore, these expansions provide further evidence that her letters were intercepted. The expansion marks visible on the address leaf of four letters addressed to Cotton and alongside three signatory cipher marks are in the hand of Lord Burghley and confirm his attempts to extract information from Anne's sent and intercepted correspondence.

We must also be careful not to confuse ciphers with 'knots' which were decorative devices occasionally found on address leaves. While it was quite common for letter-writers to add diagonal pen marks to superscriptions, 'knots' were more decorative items. They tended to be either a swirl, as in the example from Anne's letter to the earl of Morton from 31 January 1572 (fig.1.16.), where the curved loop is visible just beside <Morton>. In a more striking example from 27 January 1572, the address leaf of Anne's letter to Lochleven shows a detailed decoration below the text (fig.1.17.). Both of these examples were devices intended to prevent anyone tampering with the address leaf.⁴⁶ They therefore further highlight the material process of sending Anne's intercepted letters.

The language of superscriptions also offers evidence for the delivery status of Anne's intercepted letters. In some cases, the superscriptions were oddly disrupted. In a letter addressed to Anne's husband on 27 January 1572 the subscription read 'To the right honorable and my verrey good *Lord* and [husband] Therle of [Northumbe]rland' (fig.1.18.). We might expect to find <Northumberland> abbreviated but the form here does not fit conventional contractions of the word. Burghley for example, routinely endorsed Anne's letters, noting her title as variously 'Countess of Northumberland' or 'Northumberland'. Added to this the almost entire erasure of the word <husband[e]> and it becomes clear that the text was removed during the opening of the paper lock and seal. Sometimes superscriptions were written over the paper lock which highlighted if the letter had been tampered with or occasionally the text was lifted from the page when the seal was broken and the lock pulled through.⁴⁷ In either case evidence of this kind shows that the letter was

⁴⁵ Starza-Smith, 'The Material Features of Letters'; Akkerman, ed., *Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart*, Vol. II; James Daybell, 'Secret Letters in Elizabethan England', in *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture: Texts and Social Practices, 1580 – 1730* ed. by, James Daybell and Peter Hinds (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010) pp. 47 – 64 (p.47).

⁴⁶ Starza-Smith, 'The Material Features of Letters.'

⁴⁷ Danbrogio, 'Letterlocking Resources,' janadanbrogio.com; Starza-Smith, 'The Material Features of Letters.'

sent since it demonstrates firstly that the letter packet was prepared for delivery by the inclusion of a superscription that addressed the recipient and occasionally instructed the letter-bearer. More convincingly, in this instance, the damage or loss of letter forms in the superscription shows that the letter was tampered with since it indicates that the letter packet was opened and yet this letter did not reach its intended recipient. Instead, the letter reached the personal collection of Lord Burghley.

Further examples of this type of damage to the superscriptions can be seen in four other letters from Anne's correspondence dating from 1572–1576. In a letter to Lochleven dated 31 January 1572, the title <lorde> is missing in the middle of the superscription (fig.1.17.) while similarly, the first part of this word was erased in the superscription from a letter to the earl of Morton, also dated 31 January 1572 (fig.1.16.). The latter part of Peter Kirke's name was lost in the superscription to Anne's letter sent to him on 15 June 1576 and was not contracted but rather was removed on opening (fig.1.19.), while in a letter to Sir Thomas Stucley from 21 June 1571 the superscription was completely intact save for the distortion of the title <[fren]de> and the complete removal of Stucley's family name (fig.1.12.).

Finally, it is impossible to consider superscriptions without briefly recording the importance of endorsements to our knowledge of the delivery status of Anne's letters. Twelve of Anne's intercepted English letters feature endorsements all but one of which were in the hand of Lord Burghley.⁴⁸ Burghley's endorsements offer some of the most substantial evidence that Anne's intercepted letters were sent letters. First, he never recorded the letters as copies. This is in contrast to Hunsdon's copy of the letter Anne sent to him in January 1570 which was explicitly recorded as 'coppie of hyr anserr. Hunsdon's clerk.'⁴⁹ Instead, each of these twelve endorsements noted the date of the letter, the sender and the recipient (fig.1.12; fig.1.13.). Crucially, Burghley also recorded where Anne sent her letter from in one endorsement of correspondence between Anne and Sir Thomas Stucley from 21 June 1571. He wrote 'Lady of Northumberland from Macklyn to Thomas Stuckly. Joseph.' (fig.1.12.).⁵⁰ The consistency of Burghley's endorsements of Anne's intercepted letters further indicates that the letters were sent letters and not copies of some variety. Endorsements offer some of the most effective means of establishing a letter's

⁴⁸ The other example dated 15 June 1576 and addressed to Peter Kirke, featured an endorsement in a secretary script, followed by Lord Burghley's hand noting only the date of the sent letter (SP 12/108/96).

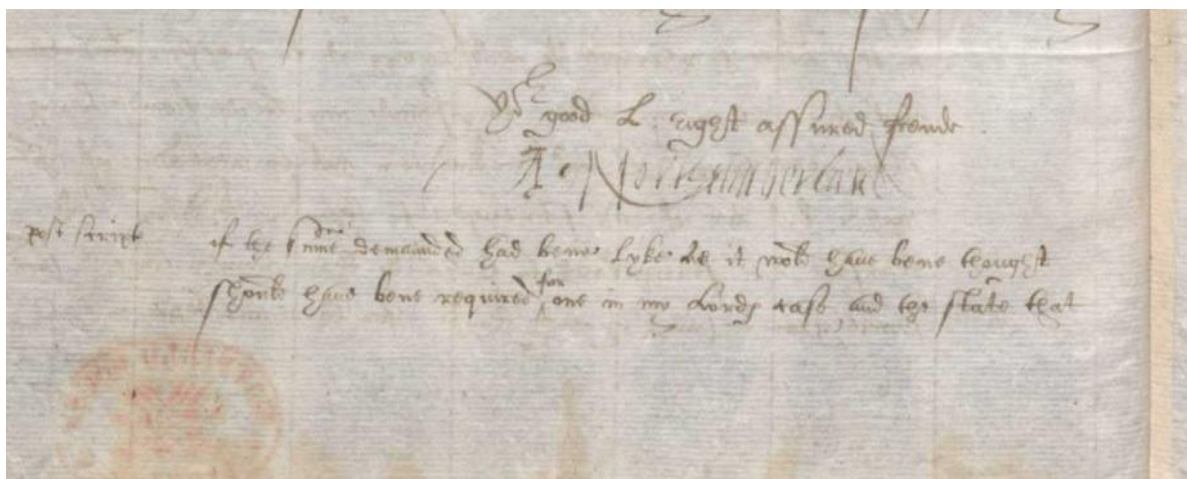
⁴⁹ SP 12/66/09 (07/01/1570): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Lord Hunsdon, contemporary copy.

⁵⁰ 'Joseph' seemed to refer to a phrase used by Anne within this letter by which she compared the Duchess of Feria with the Old Testament figure of Joseph who led his people in an uprising against tyrannous rulers.

status since as Starza-Smith explains it was generally the case that 'copied letters are usually marked as such by the copyist before archiving'.⁵¹

2.4. Anne's Handwriting and Signatures

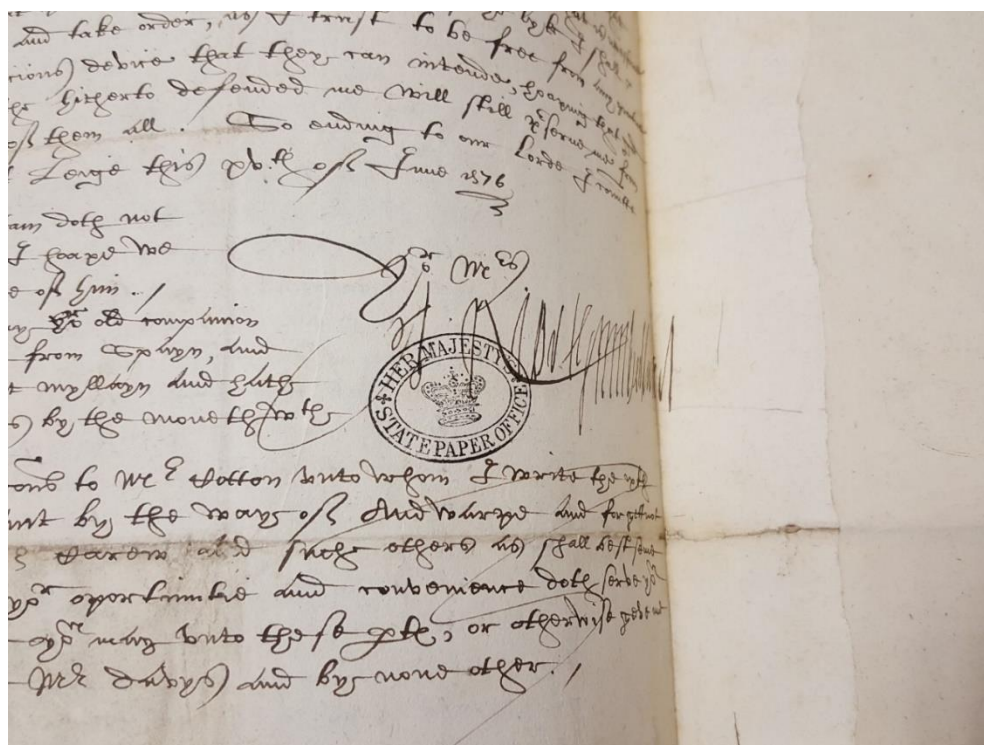
Fig.1.20. CP 157/97 (27/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Douglas, Lord Lochleven. Detail showing Anne's characteristic italic signature.



Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

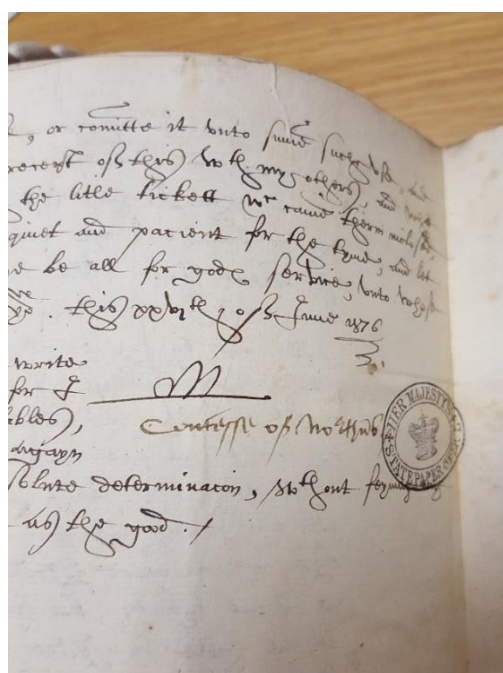
⁵¹ Starza-Smith, 'The Material Features of Letters.'

Fig.1.21. TNA, SP 12/108/96 (15/06/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Peter Kirke. Detail showing Anne's exaggerated signature with lengthy mark filling the empty space.



Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.

Fig.1.22. TNA, SP 12/108/103 (26/06/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton. Detail showing Anne's cipher with identifying expansion in Lord Burghley's hand.



Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.

Fig.1.23. TNA, SP 12/108/89 (09/06/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton. Detail showing Anne's cipher without identifying expansion.

viffy ab) I think I shal not be able to do so well as I should, for
 I hope our Lord will pforame, to my selfe direction and
 instruction. I remitte y^e, I sende this w^{ch} is of June 1576
 and by this means I shall see M
 I shall not be able to write more Black and
 after received myne and will not acknowledge it,
 know y^e affaires will surely goe y^e least to
 remember this trifle of myne, not to stand y^e M
 ab) I shal not be able to do so well as I should, for

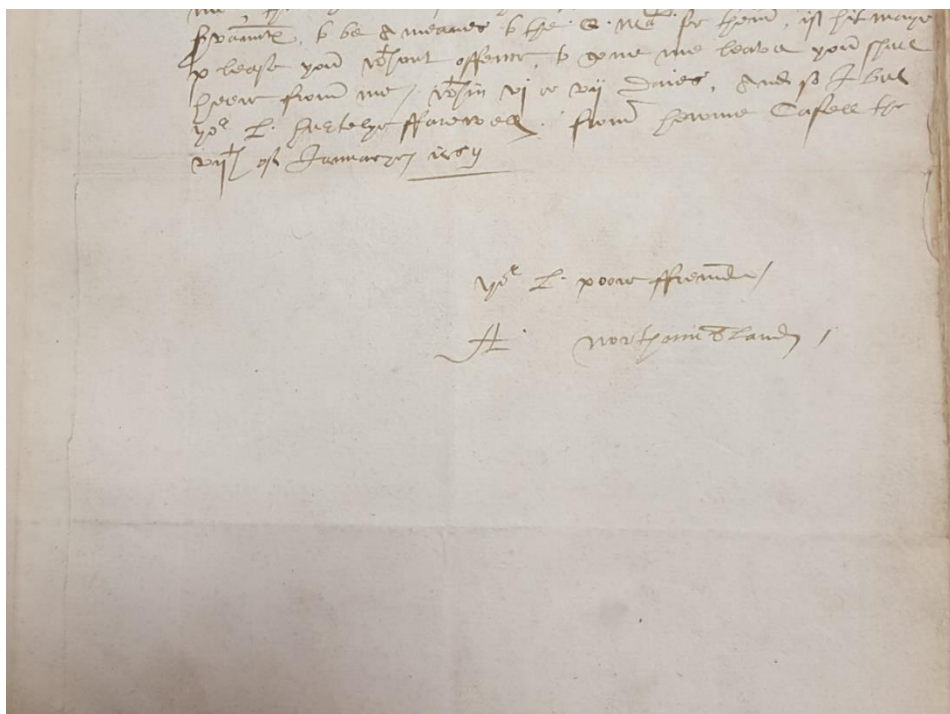
Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.

Fig.1.24. CP 159/21 (31/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland. Detail showing no signature or cipher, only closing remarks in the hand of secretary Heighington.

Understandyng how I from every one of you. I have
 I shall not be able to do so well as I should, for
 I hope our Lord will pforame, to my selfe direction and
 instruction. I remitte y^e, I sende this w^{ch} is of June 1576
 and by this means I shall see M
 I shall not be able to write more Black and
 after received myne and will not acknowledge it,
 know y^e affaires will surely goe y^e least to
 remember this trifle of myne, not to stand y^e M
 ab) I shal not be able to do so well as I should, for

Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

Fig.1.25. TNA, SP 12/66/09 (07/01/1570): Copy of letter sent from Anne, countess of Northumberland to Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon. Signature, and letter-text, in the hand of Hunsdon's secretary.



Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.

By examining Anne's varied signatures in detail it is possible to appreciate the functions of signing practices within the wider epistolary culture. In the case of Anne's letters, which were all penned in the hand of male secretaries, her signatures acted as an authorising device which demonstrated that she approved the text.⁵² Taking specific examples from Anne's corpus this chapter demonstrates the signatory forms employed by her, highlighting that the reception of her correspondence influenced the form of signature Anne used to sign her letters. Anne anticipated and varied the form of her signature throughout her correspondence from January 1570 until August 1576, changing from the characteristic form of signing her name <A. Northumberland> (see fig.1.20.) to a more deliberate obfuscation with the employment of a cipher (see fig.1.22.) and indeed even a complete lack of signing (see fig.1.24.). A number of factors produced these changes in form, most pressing the social and interpersonal relations between sender and recipient and anxiety surrounding epistolary privacy and security.⁵³ Here, close scrutiny of the forms and functions of Anne's signatures has two purposes. First, it allows us to analyse Anne's handwriting. Without any letters written in Anne's own hand it is necessary to turn to her

⁵² Coolahan, *Women, Writing and Language*, p. 106; Daybell, 'Women's Letters and Letter-Writing', p. 168.

⁵³ Steen, 'Material Letters and the Process of Interpretation', p. 57.

signatures to gain understanding of her writing capabilities. It has been suggested that women's signatures can on occasion function as evidence of women's ability to read letters rather than her ability to write letters.⁵⁴ However, the evidence offered by Anne's signing practices indicates that while her signatures and cipher marks demonstrate reading ability, since they indicate that she read the text of her letters before signing them, they also demonstrate that she had some writing skill. The variations within her characteristic signature reflect an understanding of epistolary culture and highlight how she adapted signing practices to suit the recipient of the letter and influence its reception, not only because of practical circumstances.⁵⁵ Moreover, the use of ciphers shows a more complex degree of literacy than first presumed thanks in part to the dual function of the cipher as an identifying mark to those whom the sender wished to communicate with and more generally to conceal the sender's identity from unsolicited readers. The variety of forms of signing which Anne employed throughout her correspondence demonstrate that her signatures served multiple functions and allow us to understand her writing abilities to a limited extent, constrained as we are by the lack of further textual examples in Anne's own hand.

Anne's corpus of sent letters featured twelve signatures penned as <A. Northumberland>, six ciphers and two unsigned examples. A further example of Anne's signature exists as a printed edition of a letter to her husband dated 21 March 1572.⁵⁶ No manuscript source of this letter has yet been traced and so it is not possible at this stage to analyse the signature in detail. The printed edition of the letter does include a signature which is recorded as the characteristic <A. Northumberland> form which perhaps indicates that it fits the profile of her signatory practice as will be demonstrated here, but it cannot be ascertained whether this signature was in Anne's hand or in the hand of a secretary due to the nature of the source. Yet another letter from 7 January 1570 bears her signature: however, addressed to Lord Hunsdon, it was a contemporary copy in the hand of Hunsdon's secretary. Hunsdon's secretary copied Anne's signature as additional proof that Anne signed the sent letter that Hunsdon himself received from her before copying it and sending it onwards to Lord Burghley.⁵⁷ It is clear that Hunsdon's secretary copied Anne's signature and that this was not an example of her signature in her own hand because it featured none of the characteristics of the twelve examples from her original sent letters.

⁵⁴ Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p.85.

⁵⁵ Steen, 'Material Letters and the Process of Interpretation', p. 57.

⁵⁶ *Registrum Honoris*, Vol.1, p. 167. The letters of the earls of Morton are currently held in the National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh yet this letter has not been located in the collection.

⁵⁷ SP 12/66/09 (07/01/1570): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Lord Hunsdon, contemporary copy.

Figures 1.22- 1.23 above offer evidence of Anne's characteristic italic signature penned in her own hand. Each of these three examples were typical of the twelve signatures in Anne's corpus and yet highlight the spectrum of the alterations that she made stylistically to her characteristic <A. Northumberland> signature. By comparing these examples, which show the breadth of stylistic nuances in Anne's traditional signature, with the copy from the letter sent to Hunsdon, we can establish that Hunsdon's letter did not feature an example of Anne's signature in her own hand. At the same time, we can establish better understanding of Anne's own handwriting by closely analysing her signatures in detail.

First, it is necessary to examine Anne's signatures in her own hand and determine what features distinguish it from the secretarial copy. Close scrutiny of the details of Anne's signature offers the opportunity then to consider Anne's writing ability. Figure 1.20, a letter dated 27 January 1572 addressed to William Douglas, Lord Lochleven, featured Anne's distinctive italic signature which always appeared as a capital initial followed by her title with a period separating the two parts. In this case, as in the other examples of her letters that bear a signature, Anne's italic script is immediately distinguishable from either the cursive, secretary heavy script employed by secretary Robert Heighington in the sent English letters or indeed from the compact, neat italic script of Latin secretary John Fenn. The letter to Lochleven from 27 January 1572 (fig.1.20) shows her signature at its most typical, with characteristic spiky letter forms especially prominent in the middle of the title <Northumberland> and the distinctive unclosed vowels, seen here on the <a>, that are a feature of the signatures throughout all twelve of Anne's signed letters. Here, each letter form was distinct, suggesting that the pen was lifted from the page frequently. This typical style of signature featured in four other examples of the twelve letters that bear a characteristic <A. Northumberland> style signature.

Whilst the examples in other letters are more elaborate and fluid in style they are consistent enough to be immediately recognisable as Anne's hand. In a letter addressed Peter Kirke, Anne's servant, from 15 June 1576, the signature used was in a similar italic script that, though more fluid in this instance, continued to feature the angular letter forms such as the capitalised <N> on <Northumberland> with its sweeping descender which reached to the middle of the title (fig. 1.21). The signature indicates minimal pen-lifts on the central <um> of the title <Northumberland> with each minim being distinct but each letter being less easy to separate, as is the case in the previous example (fig.1.20.). Clubbing on the bottom-right foot capitalised <A> alongside a sweeping left-sided descender on the same letter was the characteristic formation of Anne's initial in the twelve

signatures, no matter what level of extra decoration she added. Classic decoration can also be seen in a letter to Pope Gregory from 20 October 1572 where the initial <A> featured loops on both the top and mid-strikes of the letter form. This decorative feature can be seen most clearly in all six of Anne's Latin petitions.⁵⁸

The letter to Peter Kirke dated 15 June 1576 (fig.1.21.) also shows the most elaborate example of superfluous marking beneath the signature. Unlike the more simplistic signatures, as demonstrated by the example in the letter to Lochleven from 27 January 1572 (fig.1.20.), in this example Anne filled the space around her signature with further marks. As a security measure, this could ensure that no additions or changes were made in the remaining empty space. On the other hand, it may also have been an attempt to highlight her social position by intentionally 'wasting' paper. By damaging the paper, she was demonstrating grandeur with something that was expensive in this period. Finally, the marks had the effect of making the signature stand out on the page.

In comparison, the signature seen in the letter penned by Hunsdon's secretary (fig.1.25.) was strikingly different in several ways. First, it was in the same hand as the main text of the letter which was written using a more cursive script that heavily featured secretary forms. Under closer scrutiny Hunsdon's copied signature was significantly different in the formation of the title <Northumberland>. While the secretary made attempts to maintain the period mark between the initial and the title and to copy the style of the capital <A> by retaining the sweeping left-side descender and the clubbed foot on the right, he overdid the second part of the signature, in his haste and thanks to his own skill in fact. The capital <N> was too curved in style and did not have the long right descender that reached over to the middle of the title; the vowels were cleanly completed and closed over; and he added in flourishes on the medial and terminal <d> which in Anne's signatures were routinely rendered as straight, even spiky forms with high ascenders (see figs. 1.20 – 1.21). Even in her most polished signatures such as that in a letter addressed to Pope Gregory XIII on 20 October 1572 the effort she made to be less angular in the formation of her letters was clear in the curved in <Northumberland>, yet here where such care was taken, the

⁵⁸ The Latin letters were examined using digital images only due to archival restrictions. Images of these letters are not currently available for reproduction. See ASV. Segreto Stato. Vol. 76, f. 41 (20/10/1572); ASV. Conc. Trid. Vol. 33, f. 231 (22/02/1573); ASV. Conc. Trid. Vol. 33, f. 259 (29/06/1573); ASV. Conc. Trid. Vol. 33, f. 268 (29/06/1573); ASV. Conc. Trid. Vol.33, f. 280 (07/09/1573); all Anne, countess of Northumberland, Leonard Dacres and Sir Francis Englefield to papal representatives, featuring characteristic italic signature in Anne's hand.

final <d> reverted to an extremely straight example with a disjointed form and tall ascender.⁵⁹

Thus, by examining three key examples from the twelve signatures penned in Anne's hand it is possible to draw some conclusions about her handwriting. Although the source material is of course limited when scrutinising only signatures, we are nevertheless able to understand how Anne formed her writing. She created both characteristic and elaborate styles of the same signature, adding small alterations or decorative elements to her typical initial/title form showing that she was clearly familiar with the process of writing. Daybell proposes that laboured signatures, like that in the letter to Lochleven from 27 January 1572 (fig.1.20.) may suggest that a woman was unaccustomed to writing or had difficulty composing her letters, but in fact evidence within Anne's corpus of twelve signatures, showing both arduous signatures and more well executed examples is perhaps indicative of the circumstances of the letters' production rather than inability on her part.⁶⁰

Anne's signatures therefore demonstrate that she had skill when it came to penning her letters. Her signatures can be read as evidence of her literacy: not only was Anne able to read, she could also write. To sign a letter that has been copied by a secretary suggests that the signer read the text since the signature gave approval to the contents of the letter and attributed the letter to their name. As Coolahan explains, signatures in a woman's own hand, especially in letters copied by a secretary or scribe, 'provide evidence of a woman's ownership of the text.'⁶¹ And since reading was generally taught before writing, signing ability can be interpreted as evidence of the ability to read.⁶² By reading and signing the letter she ensured that it retained her instructions, whether they were conveyed via dictation or by draft letters and notes in her own hand, and that it was not altered to such a degree that she would not accept it being attributed to her. In this sense, Anne's signature functioned in quite a traditional manner by identifying her as the sender of the letter in an immediate, visual way whilst also indicating that she authorised the contents and the text within.

⁵⁹ ASV. Segreto Stato. Vol. 76, f. 41 (20/10/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland, Leonard Dacres and Sir Francis Englefield to Pope Gregory XIII.

⁶⁰ Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p. 69.

⁶¹ Coolahan, *Women, Writing and Language*, p. 106; Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p. 85; Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England*, p. 95.

⁶² Margaret Spufford, 'First Steps in Literacy: The Reading and Writing Experiences of the Humblest Seventeenth-Century Spiritual Autobiographers', *Social History*, 4.3 (1979), 407 - 435 (pp. 409, 434-435).

2.4. I. Signatures: Form and Function

Anne used three forms of signing in her twenty sent letters: a characteristic <A. Northumberland> signature, a cipher and leaving her letters unsigned. Each form of signing her letters served a different function. The characteristic signature acted as a visual representation of Anne's authority as the sender of the letters, confirming her identity and marking the text as her own. Ciphers on the other hand, performed the opposite role: they were deliberate symbols of disguise and attempts to obscure the identity of the sender. Yet, a cipher must succeed in a dual position since it had to hide the identity of the sender from unsolicited readers while also being recognisable to the intended recipient so that they may be decoded thereby allowing attribution to take place. Leaving letters unsigned, in Anne's case at least, can be read as an extension of the desire to obscure the identity of the signer. In the two letters from 27 and 31 of January 1572 that she did not sign, it was physical features of the letter that led the recipient to establish the sender.

Furthermore, the characteristic <A. Northumberland> style signature that Anne employed in twelve letters influenced reception. Anne used the most typical version of her signature, in terms of style, to address recipients that she shared regular correspondence with such as Lord Lochleven, her husband's jailer (fig.1.20). In contrast to the characteristic signature style used to sign letters to Lochleven, Anne used more elaborate signatures to help facilitate contrasting social relationships with both social superiors and servants. In the six petitions addressed to papal representatives, including the letter addressed to Pope Gregory XIII from 20 October 1572, Anne altered the <A. Northumberland> signature so that it was more decorative and elaborate. The capital <A> featured a distinct decorative addition on the top left, while the descenders of both the <A> and the <N> of <Northumberland> were exaggerated.⁶³ The elaboration and decoration that featured in all six of the signatures Anne composed for the Latin petitions indicates greater attention to detail and more considered execution of her signatures than the more simplistic styles she employed elsewhere. The attention focused on the signatures in the Latin letters reflected the importance of the letters' contents, especially when we note the inclusion of a decorative knot of sweeping marks beneath Anne's signature in these Latin petitions. These knots could be used as security devices to prevent the signature being tampered with and therefore its inclusion while visually enhancing Anne's signature also served to emphasise the sensitivity of the text which she was authenticating.⁶⁴ While other

⁶³ ASV. Segreto Stato. Vol. 76, f. 41 (20/10/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland, Leonard Dacres and Sir Francis Englefield to Pope Gregory XIII.

⁶⁴ These knots appeared in five examples of Latin petitions between 20 October 1572 and 7 September 1573.

features of the petitions allowed Anne an opportunity to promote her position as an exiled Catholic countess and her position in the hierarchy of male signers with whom she shared the petitions.⁶⁵ Such attention to the signature in letters addressed to social superiors or to figures Sara Jayne Steen has classified as 'politically influential friends' also demonstrated Anne's attempts to offer deference to the recipient by taking care to compose her writing with effort even in correspondence prepared by a secretary. This consideration of social relations reflects Steen's position that 'anything less than her most formal handwriting would undercut the earnestness of her plea and the respect with which she regards her potential benefactor.'⁶⁶

Finally, in the letter addressed to her servant Peter Kirke dated 15 June 1576 Anne used similar signing strategies for a more overt self-presentation that reflected the relationship between herself and the recipient.⁶⁷ Like the elaborate signatures she wrote in the petitions to papal agents, when writing to her servant Kirke, Anne continued to utilise a more decorative and exaggerated form of the characteristic <A. Northumberland> signature (fig.1.21.). In this example however, certain features were inflated further such as the decorative knot below the signature which filled the remaining space on the paper, the extended letter forms as seen in the mid-section of the title <Northumberland> and the bold pen strokes on the descenders of the capital <A> and <N> with the latter cutting across the text of the title signature itself. Overall, this was a particularly confident example of Anne's signature. This bold form of the characteristic <A. Northumberland> signature served a similar purpose to those employed in the Latin petitions in that it highlighted Anne's social position. In this case however, the effect was not to negate the deferential and humble positioning indicated by other material and linguistic features of the letters, but to signify Anne's superior status. Anne signalled her rank by first creating a bold, elaborate signature which reflected and promoted her nobility and position within the power relationship with Kirke as mistress and patron. She then used the physical positioning of the signature to emphasise this position. Primarily, she offered no deferential space between the subscription and the signature and nor did she maintain significant space below the signature, instead filling the paper with an exaggerated decorative knot of one continuous sweeping line. Again, while this could act as a security measure preventing her signature from being altered, the absence of blank space below signatures and between the

⁶⁵ Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England*, p. 92; ASV, Conc. Trid. Vol.33, f. 231 (22/02/1573); ASV, Conc. Trid. Vol.33, f. 268 (29/06/1573); ASV, Conc. Trid. Vol.33, f. 280 (07/09/1573).

⁶⁶ Steen, 'Material Letters and the Process of Interpretation', p. 57.

⁶⁷ See Jane Couchman and Ann Crabb, 'Form and Persuasion in Women's Letters, 1400 – 1700', in *Women's Letters Across Europe, 1400 – 1700*, ed. by Jane Couchman and Ann Crabb (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 3 – 21 (p. 12).

subscription and the signature also signalled authority and social rank.⁶⁸ The physical evidence of the signature also reflected the linguistic evidence contained within the letter itself which also positioned Anne as the superior figure in the power relationship between sender and recipient. The letter to Kirke offered instructions and commands from Anne and features such as the blunt salutation - 'Peter *your* letres of the iiith of June be saifly cummed to my handes'- and concise subscription with no descriptive elements – '*your Mistres*' – which emphasised that Anne was the superior in the relationship.⁶⁹

Anne's ciphers on the other hand served a different function from the nuanced self-fashioning shown by her stylistic alterations of the characteristic <A. Northumberland> signature. Primarily, the cipher as a form of signing served to conceal the identity of the sender. There was less of the immediate recognition inherent to the characteristic form of signature. Cipher marks offer evidence of anxiety surrounding the security of the letter and indicate that the contents were sensitive. By 1576, when all six examples of Anne's cipher form of signing appeared she was an active campaigner on behalf of Mary, Queen of Scots and had been involved to some degree in moderate and radical plots to restore Catholicism to England.⁷⁰ The six letters to Cotton dated between 21 January and 16 August 1576 each contained news of the Catholic exile community, their Spanish and French allies and details of contacts, intrigues and political campaigns throughout Europe. It is therefore unsurprising that Anne wished to distance herself from the contents of the letters should they not reach their intended recipient.

On the other hand, a cipher must still be recognisable to those with whom Anne did wish to communicate and of course she expected recognition for the intelligence shared with her contacts if it reached them. For this reason, Anne used only one cipher, styled as an <M> shaped device with three rounded points on a straight-lined bottom (fig.1.22; fig. 1.23). It is unclear whether this mark was a contraction of a basic <A> and <N> without the centre stroke on the <A>. Or it may be that Anne was using Cotton's cipher alphabet to create the mark. Cotton used the letter <m> to represent the letter <n> in the alphabet which he had created by at least June 1574.⁷¹ His cipher was quite innovative because as Daybell explained 'each letter of the alphabet was represented by an initial character and all subsequent words beginning with the same letter were then represented by variations on

⁶⁸ Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England*, p. 93.

⁶⁹ SP 12/108/96 (15/06/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Peter Kirke.

⁷⁰ See chapter one.

⁷¹ BL, Cott. MSS. Caligula, B. VIII, ff. 286 – 289 (07/06/1574): Copy of William Cotton's ciphers as sent to Sir Francis Engfield.

this stem character.⁷² Anne's letters to Cotton were the greatest number addressed to one recipient in her correspondence and it is worth noting that she did not use cipher in the text of her letters until 1576 when she wrote to him. Cipher did not appear in any of her other letters, either within the main text to obscure names, place-names or lengthy phrases, or as a form of signing. Therefore, it is possible that she was influenced by Cotton's cipher in the creation of the cipher mark she used to sign letters. On the other hand, it may be that the cipher she used to sign her letters did not indicate letter-forms at all, but instead may hint at the coronet used ceremoniously by earls and countesses. Although a physical countess coronet featured five visible points on the frontispiece separated by four visible strawberry leaves the general shape of the cipher mark recalled a crown or coronet. In this case, the coronet would act to identify Anne through her noble title rather than by initials.

Although it is not possible to state conclusively whether Anne's ciphers were in her own hand because of the lack of comparable textual examples and the limited text from which to analyse differences in hand between the body text and signatory ciphers, the function of the cipher as signature remained the same. It offered greater security and epistolary privacy for letters that contained sensitive content than the characteristic <A. Northumberland> signature since it permitted the sender to conceal or obscure their identity from unsolicited readers. However, the cipher also had to be recognisable to the intended recipient hence Anne's employment of only one form of cipher as opposed to the multiple forms which she created through small adaptations of her characteristic <A. Northumberland> signature. Considering the potential involvement of her secretary in the formation of the cipher signatures we can also see similar issues of authority and authentication coming to the forefront as with her other signatures.

Directly linked to Anne's use of ciphers as signatures, the complete lack of signature in Anne's marital correspondence dated 28 January and 31 January 1572 proves more open to interpretation (fig.1.24). As demonstrated in the analysis of the characteristic form of signing and the cipher as a form of signing, signatures served multiple functions most notably to authenticate the letter and demonstrate the sender's 'ownership' of the text.⁷³ Choosing not to sign the letter can be read as an extension of the cipher form in which the identity of the sender is obscured, however ciphers still offer the potential for recognition

⁷² Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England*, p. 159.

⁷³ Coolahan, *Women Writing and Language*, p. 106; Emily Ross, 'Whose letter is it anyway?: an assessment of secretarial involvement in Lady Elizabeth Hatton's correspondence', *Etudes Epistémè*, 21 (Spring 2012) <<https://episteme.revues.org/398>> [accessed 18 December 2016].

and demonstrate that the text has been authenticated in some way. The contents of the marital letters, although more familiar than most of Anne's other correspondence, still featured intelligence regarding the negotiations to release Northumberland from imprisonment in Scotland and Catholic affairs on the continent. Seeking to distance herself from any incriminating evidence contained within was therefore not surprising and by not signing the documents Anne could refute any attribution to her. Yet, other linguistic clues embedded within the text of the letter suggest that the recipient, in this case her husband, was expected to recognise Anne as the sender of this letter. Notably, the intimacy of the subscription 'you know from whom', as well as discussions of their children, suggested that the reader ought to recognise the sender. In addition, the deference shown by Anne to her husband's counsel in the letter dated 28 January 1572 in her choice of advisors following Dr Nicholas Sanders' departure on 25 January 1572 wherein she informed him that she proffered 'both *Doctor* Sanders his opinion and myne owne submytting my self to whom you shall appoint' recalled the humble language that featured in an earlier letter to her husband from 27 January 1572 which she signed as <A. Northumberland> under the subscription 'your *Lordships* most humble and obedient wife'.⁷⁴

Therefore, Anne's lack of signing indicated intimacy and familiarity with the recipient. The familiarity conveyed by this lack of signing recalled letters that were left unsealed when sent to close acquaintances in an effort to display trust and closeness.⁷⁵ Yet, it is also worth noting that these two examples of Anne's marital correspondence may have been left unsigned because she was aware that they would be read by persons other than her husband. That is not to say interceptors in this instance, but rather that she may have expected that should the letters reach her husband they may have been read by his keeper Lochleven before being passed onto him. Evidence that Anne was aware that her letters were shared between her husband and his jailer can be found elsewhere in her correspondence when she permitted her husband to read the letter she sent to Lochleven on 31 January 1572.⁷⁶ As such, the absence of signing evidence alongside the continued use of linguistic clues embedded in the text, especially the intimate subscription 'you know from whom' may have been a deliberate demonstration that she was aware her letters were not receiving the reception she intended and as such she adapted them. Or on a more practical level it may simply have been that the letters, being dated so closely to one another were

⁷⁴ CP 5/76 (28/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland; CP 157/96 (27/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland

⁷⁵ Starza-Smith, 'The Material Features of Letters.'

⁷⁶ CP 159/21 (31/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland.

actually sent as one bundle, and so the signature in the earliest letter from 27 January 1572 carried over to the other letters included in the delivery packet.

Therefore, by examining Anne's signatures in this way, by their form and function, it is possible to draw conclusions for the first time about Anne's ability to read and write. Crucially, we can demonstrate that the varied signing practices that Anne employed throughout her correspondence reflected wider concerns within epistolary culture over the privacy and security of letters and the reception of letters, as shown through the evidence of social relations embedded in signatures.

2.5. Latin Letters Copied by John Fenn

The five papal petitions sent to Pope Gregory XIII, Cardinal Giovanni Morone and Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius between 10 October 1572 and 7 September 1573, as well as a further example addressed to Charles, Cardinal de Lorraine dated 10 October 1572, were all copied in the hand of a highly proficient Latin secretary. It is possible to identify this secretary with some degree of caution, using scribal and contextual evidence, as John Fenn (1535–1615). Fenn was a Roman Catholic priest and a translator who sought refuge in the Low Countries following the deprivation of Catholics from Oxford and Cambridge posts under Elizabeth I. He matriculated from the University of Louvain in 1564, was still listed as a student there in 1570 and by 1574 was listed as a priest in the city. He had excellent Latin skills, translating the works of John Fisher and the Council of Trent into English from their Latin originals.⁷⁷ By engaging someone like Fenn, who was a classically trained Latin scholar to pen her petitions, Anne gave authority to the claim presented in the petition and strengthened the suit, because as Peter Mack explains 'those who cannot master the structure of discourse agreed by a particular community or who do not know the arguments it considers persuasive are excluded from direct participation.'⁷⁸ Not having the ability to write in Latin herself (as far as is known) employment of a Latin secretary

⁷⁷ Peter E. B. Harris, 'Fenn, John (1535 – 1615),' *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/9282> [accessed 8 Dec 2016].

⁷⁸ Peter Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric: Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.3.

seemed an obvious manoeuvre but it was more than a simple requirement of translation. By employing someone like Fenn, who was highly literate and had extensive training, Anne was able to ensure that she had access to the conventions required to petition papal agents.

It is important to note that it has not been possible to compare the petitions with other examples of Fenn's hand since there are no known manuscript copies of his printed works which survive. Nor are examples of his hand from his time as master of the grammar school at Bury St. Edmonds during the reign of Queen Mary I until the accession of Elizabeth in 1558 extant.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, linguistic evidence offered by the petitions as well as contextual information gathered from Anne's wider correspondence suggests that John Fenn was the most likely candidate to be the Latin secretary who wrote the six petitions.

Key to identifying Fenn as the Latin secretary is a letter from Dr Nicholas Sanders to Anne sent on 17 January 1572 in which he directly recommended Fenn to her, explaining that she should employ him as her Latin secretary. Sanders advised Anne that:

If you haue anie letters to be drawne in Latin,
as now to his holynesse, or to the king *maiestie*,
make a most sure accompt of Master Fen who both
can do it exellently well, and is willing therunto.⁸⁰

First, it is worth confirming that the 'Master Fen' that Sanders referred to was indeed John Fenn. It is highly unlikely that anyone else of this title with skills in Latin so valuable as to recommend them for employment as a Latin secretary living in the Low Countries at this period could be inferred from the moniker 'Master Fen'. It is true that John Fenn had two brothers, James and Robert who were also priests, but James remained in England until sometime in 1579 when he entered the English College in Rheims before receiving his priesthood in April 1580.⁸¹ Less is known about his brother Robert. It is believed he was exiled and imprisoned but even if he were in the Low Countries at the same time as Sanders recommended 'Master Fenn', the expertise of Latin knowledge and letter-writing abilities points towards the highly educated and accomplished John Fenn, whose work as a Latin translator was widely recognised.

⁷⁹ I am grateful to Dr Francis Young for confirming the lack of manuscript examples of Dr Fenn's hand in other locations.

⁸⁰ CP 5/67 (17/01/1572): Dr Nicholas Sanders to Anne, countess of Northumberland.

⁸¹ J. Andreas Löwe, 'Fenn, James (c.1540–1584)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/9281>> [accessed 8 Dec 2016]

It is clear from Sanders' directions to Anne that he already discussed the possibility of employment as a Latin secretary with Fenn, either in person before his own departure from the Low Countries for Rome on 25 of January 1572, or via correspondence, since he informed her that Fenn was 'willing' to take on the role.⁸² It is quite possible that the two were well acquainted since Sanders himself had been a resident of Louvain since at least November 1564 and he was a registered student at the university there at the same time as Fenn. Like Fenn, Sanders became a well-known writer of Catholic texts. Moreover, as T. F. Mayer notes Sanders quickly became 'a chief cog in the exile community of Louvain' following his matriculation on 12 November 1564, placing him at the centre of a network of Catholic exiles.⁸³ Sanders went on to encourage Anne in the same letter to employ Fenn at the first opportunity, writing 'beginne therefore to use master fen with the first occasion'.

Sanders may have recommended Fenn for the position of Latin secretary to Anne, but we must explore Anne's own correspondence further for evidence that she did indeed bring Fenn into her circle and utilised his scribal abilities. On 28 January 1572 she wrote to her husband explaining that she already had 'somme experience' of Fenn 'in summe dealings' and found him 'verey eloquent and wittie'.⁸⁴ This admission by Anne that she did in fact have an acquaintance with Fenn supported Sanders' claim that Fenn was already familiar with Anne:

I know noman for *the* calling like to master fen,
nor none for affection more ioyned to him [Anne's husband]
and to your Ladyship.⁸⁵

Although this language was full of flattery and reminiscent of a petition on behalf of an acquaintance addressed to a socially superior figure for a position of some kind, at the very least it confirmed that Fenn met with Anne prior to his employment as Latin secretary and was familiar with the cause of her husband. When we note that she recorded her acquaintance with him in the letter to husband from 28 January 1572, Sanders' statement appears less like a disingenuous technique to convince and more an exaggeration of a real circumstance with flattery nevertheless still involved.

⁸² T.F. Mayer indicates he left Louvain on 25th January 1572: T.F. Mayer, 'Sander [Sanders], Nicholas (c.1530–1581)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2014 <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/24621> [accessed 8 Dec 2016]

⁸³ Mayer, 'Sander [Sanders], Nicholas (c.1530 – 1581)', *ODNB*.

⁸⁴ CP 5/76 (28/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland.

⁸⁵ CP 5/67 (17/01/1572): Dr Nicholas Sanders to Anne, countess of Northumberland.

Thus using evidence from Anne's correspondence and contextual information we are able to suggest a possible identity for the secretary who penned Anne's Latin petitions. However, it is not possible to state conclusively that the six Latin petitions are in the hand of John Fenn, due to the lack of comparable sources. As a highly educated and accomplished Latin translator Fenn was nevertheless a suitable candidate to translate and copy letters into Latin. The linguistic and material features of the petitions indicate that they were copied by someone proficient in the language, with considerable linguistic skill and familiarity with the material process of letter-writing. He therefore makes a suitable candidate based on these criteria too.

First, we can see that the papal petitions were certainly penned by one scribe through close examination of linguistic and material features. The formation of the abbreviations for example were consistently transcribed across all six petitions: the abbreviation of <que> or <qum> was written with a double-looped descender on the tail of the <q> in all six examples. In a further example, the characteristic capital <R> with a swooping right-descender as seen in <Regniam> (line 15) and <Reuerendissime> (line 17) in the petition to Cardinal de Lorraine on 20 October 1572 compared almost exactly with <Reuerendo> (line 26) in the petition dated 29 June 1573 sent to Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius.⁸⁶ The closing formulae was also consistently formed. First, the date and location from which the letter was sent was always noted either in the more formal structure 'Datum Bruxellis xx^{imo} Octobris 1572' or as the less stiff 'Bruxellis. 29. Jun. 1573'.⁸⁷ In the second example it appears that the date was added to the letter slightly later than the main text. The darker ink and the use of Arabic numerals as opposed to Roman numerals, as was the case in four out of six of the dates in the Latin letters, indicates that the date may be in a different hand to that which transcribed the main text. Or it may be that, in haste, the date was added in this fashion just before the letter was sent. Further evidence that these letters were all composed in the same hand can be seen in the similarities of the subscriptions. In every example the subscription was separated from the main text by white space on the manuscript. The minimum spacing between text and subscription was 1cm even in examples where there was limited space left on the paper for the inclusion of the

⁸⁶ For full transcriptions see Appendix pp. 295 – 307. BnF, MS. Dupuy, f. 224 (20/10/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland, Leonard Dacres and Sir Francis Englefield to Charles, Cardinal de Lorraine (Appendix, pp. 297 – 298); ASV. Conc. Trid. Vol. 33, f. 259 (29/06/1573): Anne, countess of Northumberland, Leonard Dacres, Christopher Neville and Sir Francis Englefield to Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius (Appendix, pp. 301 – 302).

⁸⁷ ASV. Segreto Stato. Vol. 76, f. 41 (20/10/1572): Anne countess of Northumberland, Leonard Dacres and Sir Francis Englefield to Pope Gregory XIII (Appendix, pp. 295 – 296); ASV. Conc. Trid. Vol. 33, f. 259 (29/06/1573): Anne, countess of Northumberland, Leonard Dacres, Christopher Neville and Sir Francis Englefield to Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius (Appendix, pp. 301 – 302).

signatures.⁸⁸ The subscriptions themselves always used the same abbreviations of adjectives such as <Illustrissime> and <addictissimi>.⁸⁹

Moreover, the papal petitions were at the very least produced by someone with considerable linguistic skill in Latin and some degree of academic training. While it was not unusual for formal petitions to take care over the visual impact of the manuscript page these six letters in particular were meticulous in their layout. Each margin was clearly delineated with significant negative space maintained between the text and the subscription indicating deference and negative politeness. It has not been possible to access the original Latin letters because they are preserved in European archives. Yet, measurements taken from colour images of the Latin petitions show, on average, a 4cm left-hand margin was retained in all six petitions, with no less than 1cm between the main text and the subscription. 1cm was actually the most conservative example and appears to be condensed to allow the signatures to fit onto the page as there was limited space left. Generally, in the six Latin examples the spacing between text and subscription was between 2cm and 3.5cm, while up to 5cm of white space was maintained between the subscription and the signatures. Furthermore, there were miraculously few errors suggesting that the letters were copied from earlier drafts, possibly drafts created by the co-signatories. The linguistic expertise demonstrated in the Latin letters is what would be expected from a well-educated formal secretary. The abbreviations employed show knowledge of both classical and medieval Latin in the contraction of the 'ae' forms of words. The classical 'ae' form was replaced by 'e' in the medieval period but was taken up again in the Tudor and Stuart period reflecting Humanist ideals of classical learning.⁹⁰ This is most prevalent in a letter from Anne to Cardinal Morone dated 7 September 1573 (lines 1;2;3;9;11;24).⁹¹ Syllable length also appears to be marked in this letter (lines 1;2;3;5). The style of marks used to indicate syllable length may indicate contemporary ideas of pronunciation rather than classical scansion since classical Latin placed accents on the penultimate syllable if it was long and on the ante penultimate syllable when it was short.⁹² Both approaches were designed to show Latin proficiency and to stand out amongst the

⁸⁸ ASV. Segreto Stato. Vol. 76, f. 41 (20/10/1572)

⁸⁹ BnF, MS. Dupuy, f. 224 (20/10/1572) (Appendix, pp. 297 – 298); ASV. Conc. Trid. Vol. 33, f. 259 (29/06/1573) (Appendix, pp. 301 – 302).

⁹⁰ 'Beginner's Latin: Differences Between Medieval and Classical Latin', *National Archives*, <http://nationalarchives.gov.uk/latin/beginners/problems/> [accessed 8 December].

⁹¹ ASV. Conc. Trid. Vol. 33, f. 280 (07/09/1573): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Cardinal Giovanni Morone (Appendix, pp. 306 – 307).

⁹² Thanks are extended to Dr Fraser Dallachy for first distinguishing the syllable markers in the Latin correspondence.

formal documents received at the Vatican court where petitions were daily by emphasising linguistic ability and understanding of the epistolary form.

2.6. English Letters Copied by Robert Heighington

Anne's fourteen English letters were written in the hand of secretary Robert Heighington. This section presents a scribal profile of Heighington in order that the involvement of the secretary in the composition of Anne's letters can be identified. The scribal profiling presented here owes much to the linguistic questionnaires developed by medievalists working with larger corpuses of text such as the Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English (LALME) project led by McIntosh, Samuels and Benskin.⁹³ This thesis accessed a significantly smaller corpus from which to collect and analyse relevant data and indeed the research was not concerned with surveying dialect as the LALME project intended. Nevertheless, the basis format of selecting 'items' common to the corpus and indexing all 'equivalent forms' or 'manifestations' of those items offered the clearest means of cataloguing similarities and indeed idiosyncrasies across Anne's English letters.⁹⁴ The linguistic questionnaires presented here are sub-categorised into a general overview of verbs, nouns and adjectives that were common throughout Anne's English letters. These commonly featured words most frequently featured in the salutations, benedictions and closing remarks of the text which were traditionally based around formulaic epistolary conventions. Additionally, as Anne's letters often focussed on similar topics of concern, notably her efforts on behalf of her husband during 1572 or offers of news and advice throughout 1576 to Catholic supporters, phrases containing words repeated across the correspondence presented further opportunity for inclusion in the linguistic questionnaires highlighted here. For example, Anne's regular refrain declaring either her own inability to perform more on behalf of the recipient or conversely the exclamation of her successes explained the prevalence of variations of the adjective <able> and noun <ability> in her English letters (table 1.)

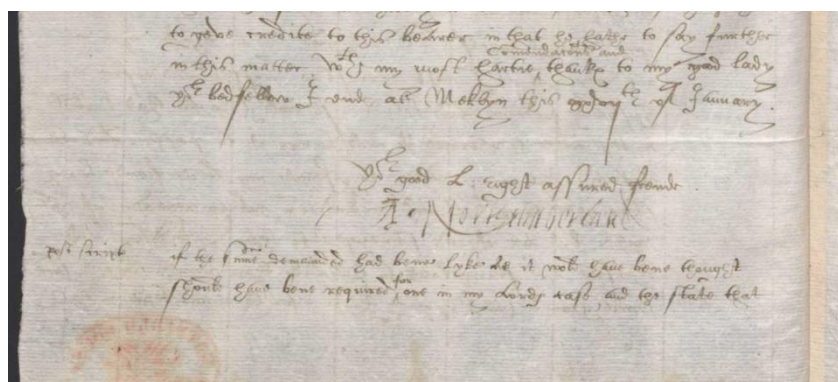
The data collected through the spelling questionnaires is then used to present a scribal profile of Anne's English secretary, identified here as Robert Heighington, former auditor to Northumberland prior to the rebellion of 1569 and fugitive who travelled with Anne into

⁹³ McIntosh et. al, *Guide to A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*; see also Mooney and Stubbs, *Scribes and the City*.

⁹⁴ M. Benskin, M. Laing, V. Karaiskos and K. Williamson, 'An Electronic Version of A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English, (Edinburgh: © 2013- The Authors and The University of Edinburgh) <http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme.html>, parts. 2.1 – 2.2.2.4 [accessed 8 December 2016].

Scotland and the Low Countries remaining in her company until at least 1576. The clerical features of Anne's English letters and the formal skill of secretary Heighington are revealed through close scrutiny of close scrutiny of spelling features including punctuation and abbreviations. Latinate spellings and the use of anaphoric compound words in particular are considered here in order to demonstrate the professional experience and clerical or legal understanding of textual production that Heighington expressed in the writing of Anne's letters. The scribal profile presented of Heighington brings together techniques from various fields including palaeography, manuscript studies and linguistics, and relies too on wider historical study to contextualise findings on Heighinton's role in the composition of Anne's letters.

Fig.1.26. CP 157/97 (27/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Lord Lochleven. Detail showing the date of letter.



Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

Daybell suggests that 'it is generally (but not always) fair to assume that if the signature contained in a letter is in a different hand from that of the main body of the letter then an amanuensis wrote it.'⁹⁵ All fourteen of Anne's English letters were composed in a fluid cursive hand with highly accomplished penmanship which is easily distinguishable from the italic script of the signatures. The hand that composed the main text of the signed letters was proficient and capable and showed minimal pen-lifts from the page. If we consider the formation of the roman numerals in the dating of Anne's letter to Lochleven on 27 January 1572 we can see that the letter-forms were joined together and the writing style was sinuous and proficient (fig.1.26.). This fluid, accomplished penmanship was

⁹⁵ Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p. 69.

consistent throughout Anne's English corpus appearing in letters addressed to her husband, to the Scottish lairds and to her servant Peter Kirke dated as far apart as 1572 and 1576.⁹⁶ For a cursive script, with some secretarial forms, to be produced at speed suggests if not professional training, then at the very least someone who was familiar with letter-writing and writing letters frequently. Moreover, in letters which run to some length, such as the eleven-page letter addressed to Northumberland, dated 28 January 1572, the hand did not diminish in quality. We can see where the secretary possibly stopped and restarted the document at a later point because of differences in ink quality but the composition remained highly accomplished all the way through, with remarkably few errors for such a long letter: only sixteen corrections, including additions above the line, in eleven pages.⁹⁷

Linguistic features including spelling, vocabulary, punctuation and abbreviations offer further evidence that the secretary who penned Anne's English letters did have academic training and clerical experience.

2.6. 1. Spelling

Spelling was consistent throughout the English examples of Anne's correspondence. By using a spelling questionnaire which samples words common to all fourteen English letters we can demonstrate the consistency of spelling throughout this corpus. Words such as <bene>, <cumme>, <heare>, <hoape>, <moneth>, <satisfaction>, <wisshe> and <wolde> all appeared in at least five of the fourteen letters and were spelled the same way each time (table 1). Other common words such as <it> and <the> were spelled in the same form in every example of Anne's English correspondence with <it> never featuring the <y> which could be used interchangeably in this period. Additionally, <the> and <that> were always fully transcribed and never spelled using the older thorn form to represent <th>.

⁹⁶ CP 157/96 (27/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland; CP 5/76 (28/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland; CP 5/94 (31/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to the earl of Morton; SP 12/108/96 (15/06/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Peter Kirke.

⁹⁷ CP 5/76 (28/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland.

Table 1. Spelling of common words in Anne's English letters.

ITEM	FORM	NUMBER OF LETTERS WITH OCCURANCES (out of possible 14)	TOTAL OCCURANCES IN MS LETTERS
Able/ability	Hable/habilitie	12	24
Been	Bene	8	28
Come*	Cumme/cummith	9	23
Commendations	Commendacions	5	6
Hear	Heare	7	17
Hope	Hoape	6	14
Month	Moneth(e)	5	7
Receive*	Receau/Receaued	7	12
Satisfaction	Satisfaction	6	10
Show*	Shew(e)/Shewed/Sheweng	5	6
Very	Verey	10	20
Wish	Wisshe	9	14
Would	Wold(e)	8	27
* = various tenses included			

Further evidence of the consistent spelling practice featured in Anne's English letters is offered by words including verbs and pronouns that were routinely separated or contracted during composition (table 2). In every example of Anne's English correspondence, the conditional 'shall be' was presented as <shalbe>, as was the future 'will be' contracted to <wilbe>. Often, contraction was employed as an elision of vowels, as in examples between the article and noun such as <thende> and <thother>. By comparison pronouns were routinely divided into component parts as in the examples <my self>, <your self> and <him self>. The example <an other> was divided when used as both a pronoun and an adjective. Spelling patterns such as those offered here were not unconventional in the early modern period, but rather close examination of habitual spelling practices including contractions and divisions of commonly featured verbs, adjectives and pronouns offers further evidence that the English letters were written by one person.

Table 2. Contractions and divisions in spelling practice of Anne's English letters.

ITEM	FORM	NUMBER OF LETTERS WITH OCCURANCES (out of possible 14)	TOTAL OCCURANCES IN MS LETTERS
Another	an other	4	5
Anything	any thing/ eny thing	3	4
As much	asmuche	1	3
As well	aswell	4	5
Himself	him self	6	9
Myself	my self	6	7
Shall be	shalbe	9	23
The end	thend(e)	2	3
The other	thother	2	3
Will be	wilbe	7	10
Withal	withall	5	10

Crucially, consistent spelling such as that demonstrated in Anne's English correspondence can be seen as evidence of someone who had received a high level of education since those who had access to printed texts through learning were more likely to be influenced by spelling and were less likely to be erratic in their spellings.⁹⁸ Emily Ross points out that the idiosyncratic spellings found in many women's letters that were penned in their own hand can be read as a reflection of their point of reference for spelling being 'the sound of the word (phonetics) rather than its appearance in a printed text.'⁹⁹ This theory is not to suggest that women were not able to read printed texts, but simply acknowledges that male letter-writers, especially clerks and secretaries, had the opportunity, in most though not all cases, of greater education and access to academic, ecclesiastical and clerical training. Therefore, the consistent and non-erratic spelling which covers all fourteen English manuscripts offers some evidence that the secretary who penned them was highly trained and had received an education.

⁹⁸ Giles E. Dawson and Leatitia Kennedy-Skipton, *Elizabethan Handwriting, 1500 – 1650: A Guide to the Reading of Documents and Manuscripts* (London: Faber & Faber, 1966), p.16.

⁹⁹ Ross, 'Whose Letter is it Anyway?', online ed.

Anne's English letters also reveal a conservative spelling pattern which again suggests the secretary who penned the texts had formal training. Academically trained secretaries with experience of legal or court environments often employed formal spellings rather than choosing dialectal variations. Graham Williams compared the letters of George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury with letters penned on Shrewsbury's behalf by secretaries and found that Shrewsbury's choice of possessive pronoun 'my' reflected his Northern dialect, while his secretarial letters employed the more conservative possessive pronoun 'myne'.¹⁰⁰ In Anne's English correspondence, her secretary routinely maintained the <h> prefixed to spellings of <able> or its derivatives thus the letters were peppered with examples of <hable>, <habilitie> and <inhabilitie> (table 1). This spelling, though not unusual, seems to have been preserved for formal literary texts: examples in the *OED* for the sixteenth century include Stanyhurst's translation of Virgil's *First Foure Bookes of Æneis* (1582). As early as c.1400 the <h> was dropped from the Middle English <hablen> and <able> was noted in English texts.¹⁰¹ Indeed, Anne's contemporary and fellow conspirator in the Northern Rebellion of 1569, Jane Neville, countess of Westmorland did not feature the <h> in the spellings of <able> within letters penned in her own hand from the same period, instead she wrote <able> as in PDE.¹⁰²

It is worth noting however, that the writer of Anne's letters did show some uncertainty in employing this conservative, possibly literary, spelling convention since in a letter to her husband dated 28 January 1572 the pattern extended to nouns as well as verbs. In this letter, <Aberdeen> was spelled <haberdine>.¹⁰³ An idiosyncratic spelling of place-names was common to manuscript letters of the period but the addition of the <h> did not fit the etymological pattern of verbs such as <able>. Perhaps the writer was aware of the literary style of spelling with the conservative <h> and added a hypercorrection in an attempt to bolster the style of the letter and show off their skills. Or in this case, it is likely that <Aberdeen> was written with some Scots influence: Anne spent eight months staying with sympathetic, Catholic Scottish nobles until her departure from Aberdeen, thus it was possible that some Scots forms infiltrated the language of her letters. Indeed, the unusual spelling of <Aberdeen>, and other words including <able>, may have been an attempt to include Scotticisms in Anne's English correspondence, in order to politely accommodate

¹⁰⁰ Williams, 'The Language of Early Modern Letters.'

¹⁰¹ *OED*: 'able, vb.:' See also *MED*: 'ablen or hablen',

¹⁰² CP 15/18 (20/10/1586): Jane Neville, countess of Westmorland, to Lord Burghley.

¹⁰³ CP 5/76 (28/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland.

correspondents who were familiar with Scots.¹⁰⁴ For example, in a letter dated 27 January 1572, Anne's secretary addressed Lord Lochleven as 'larde' rather than the English equivalent 'Lord' in the superscription.¹⁰⁵ Since these letters were composed in quick succession, and indeed, since Anne's correspondents were all either Scots nobles, or English correspondents based in Scotland at this time, it may be that her secretary's habit of using Scotticisms crossed over into her marriage letters. It is also possible that the marriage letters were presumed to be read by Northumberland's Scottish jailers and the use of Scots forms therefore enhanced the communicative function of the letters by acknowledging this wider audience.

A final feature of the spelling of Anne's English letters provides additional evidence that they were penned by a secretary who was professionally trained. The inclusion of Latinate spellings throughout the English letters suggests that the secretary who penned them had clerical training. Notably, the secretary produced a constant form of the word <doubt> invariably including the , spelling it either as <dowbt> or as the PDE <doubt>. Latinate spellings such as <dowbt> also indicate once more that the person who penned the texts had access to printed texts and did not rely on phonetic understandings of how to spell words which in turn further suggests that they had academic training. This can also be seen in the consistent spelling of <satisfaction> with the <t> rather than a contracted <cion> ending throughout the English letters (table.1). Less regular but noticeable nonetheless was the formation of the diphthong <au> in the word <aunswer> which appeared this way in three letters from 1571–1572 addressed to a variety of correspondents including her husband and Lord Lochleven. Williams suggests that these spellings were indicative in Joan Thynne's case of scribal correspondence since in her holograph letters she never employed the <au> diphthong instead spelling <answer> as simply <anser> on the four occasions she employed the word.¹⁰⁶ He proposes that the diphthongs seem to suggest alternative pronunciation. It is possible therefore that the <au> diphthong was commonly produced by those with formal training since it was a common spelling in letters written by secretaries.

Therefore, it appears that the writer of Anne's English letters had some formal training from an analysis of the spelling patterns. The spelling patterns indicate that the secretary who penned her English letters was highly trained because spelling was consistent

¹⁰⁴ Jeremy. J. Smith, 'Scots and English in the Letters of John Knox', in *The Apparelling of Truth: Literature and Literary Culture in the Reign of James VI. A Festschrift for Roderick J. Lyall*, ed. Kevin J. McGinley and Nicola Royan (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), pp. 1 – 10 (pp. 4, 10).

¹⁰⁵ CP 157/97 (27/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Lord Lochleven.

¹⁰⁶ Williams, 'Pragmatic Readings', p. 117.

throughout the correspondence. Anne's English letters offer evidence of a conservative, formal spelling practice which was often an indicator of secretarial penmanship. The secretary showed an understanding of spelling which went beyond phonetic recognition of words and instead reflected the growth of print culture. In addition, the letters include examples of Latinate spellings which offer further evidence that the letters were penned by someone who was highly trained. However, we must be cautious of relying too heavily on this evidence since there was no standardised spelling at this period and letters produced by both men and women showed remarkable idiosyncrasies in their spelling patterns. Even Anne's letters which were remarkably consistent in spelling show variability within letters. For example, in a letter to the earl of Morton dated 31 January 1572 the <tion> ending is rendered both as <satisfaction> and as the common contraction <cion> with the <i> indicated by a macron in <contentacion>. These two words appear right after one another as in the line: 'as shalbe to *your* satisfaction and contentacion'.¹⁰⁷ The same letter also showed variation between the use of <y> and <ie> endings which again was not uncommon in manuscript texts from the period.

2.6. II. Vocabulary

Closely associated with spelling practice is the vocabulary of the manuscript letters. Analysis of vocabulary chosen throughout the examples offers more conclusive evidence that the secretary who penned the letters was highly literate and had some training in textual production. Compound grammatical terms proliferate throughout Anne's English letters including the compound adverbs <therfor>, <hitherto> and <wherof> to name but a few, the compound preposition <notwithstanding> and compounds used as conjunctions such as <whensoever>. The inclusion of a high number of other compounds is also worth considering. Malcolm Richardson has shown that terms such as <thereof>, <therein>, <thereto>, <forthwith>, <therewith> <hereby>, <whereof> and <aforesaid> were distinctive markers of statutes. These terms 'also seem to have been part of a rote method of composition that professionally trained scribes would have carried over into familiar correspondence'.¹⁰⁸ In the table below 109 compound terms are identified across Anne's English letters.

¹⁰⁷ CP 5/94, (31/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to the earl of Morton.

¹⁰⁸ Richardson, 'The Dictamen and Its Influence on Fifteenth-Century English Prose', pp. 218 – 219; Williams, 'The Social and Linguistic Implications of Joan Thynne's using a Scribe', p. 138; Matti Kilpio, 'Participial Adjectives with Anaphoric Reference of the Type The Said, The (A) forementioned from Old English to Early Modern English: The Evidence of the Helsinki Corpus,' in *To Explain the Present: Studies*

Table.3. Compound forms in Anne's English letters.

Item	Form	Number of letters in which item appears (out of 14)	Total number of occurrences in MS letters
Hereafter	herafter	5	8
Hereby	herby	1	1
Herein	herin	1	4
Herewith	herwith	1	1
Hitherto	hitherto	3	3
Notwithstanding	notwithstanding	5	6
Thereafter	therafter	1	1
Thereby	therby	2	2
Therefore	therfor(e)	13	22
Therein	therin	5	11
Thereof	therof	5	11
Thereunto	thereunto	1	2
Thereupon	thevponn	1	2
Therewith	therwith	2	2
Whensoever	whensoeuer	1	1
Whereas	wheras	1	2
Whereby	wherby	3	7
Wherein	wherin	5	9
Whereof	whereof/wherof	6	8
Whereunto	wherunto/whervnto	3	4
Whereupon	whervpon	1	1
Wherewith	wherwith	1	1
Aforesaid*	aforsaid	1	1
Forby	for by	1	1
		TOTAL	109

The abundance of these terms strongly suggests that the letters were composed by a secretary who had formal training and fits with the pattern of composition identified by

Malcolm Richardson wherein these compound terms were employed to mark the text, not only for the reader but within the process of production as a formatting method that professionally trained secretaries and scribes continued to employ in their less formal compositions, including epistolary texts.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, the advanced use of some of the terms in particular highlights the scribal proficiency on display within Anne's letters. First, while <therefore> was occasionally used as a conjunction within the letters it was more often used grammatically as an anaphora to refer to preceding words or phrases. In this way <therefore> and similar prepositions and conjunctions acted as what J. D. Burnley terms a 'cohesive device'.¹¹⁰ For example, in a letter to her husband dated 31 January 1572 <therefore> served to bring together Anne's desire that Northumberland's suit was resolved quickly with her fears regarding his safety in the event of an English invasion of Scotland in the lines:

if the frenshe wyne with Englande then
is it saied that Therle of Sussex passethe into
Scotlande with an armye Immediatlly to ouerthrow
the *queens* subiectes therfor it standithe *your Lordship* greatlie
vpon to grew to a conclusion as spedelie as you
can¹¹¹

Here <therefore> performed an anaphoric function by referring to the preceding passage detailing Sussex's invasion plan, linking the invasion to Anne's advice that Northumberland conclude his suit quickly.

The anaphoric function could also be extended to demonstrative phrases, articles, and even pronouns, as Burnley has shown, with the common purpose of 'lexical cohesion'.¹¹² Anne's letters also feature determiners used with a clear anaphoric function which Jens Rasmussen and Burnley have shown was a formal feature of the 'curial prose' of legal and diplomatic texts.¹¹³ Examples of anaphoric determiners that feature in Anne's letters, although limited in number, include <the said>, <the which>, <of the which> and <the

¹⁰⁹ Richardson, 'The Dictamen', pp. 218 – 219.

¹¹⁰ Burnley, 'Curial Prose', p.593.

¹¹¹ CP 159/21 (31/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland.

¹¹² Burnley, 'Curial Prose', pp. 596 – 597.

¹¹³ Jens Rasmussen, *La prose narrative française du XVe siècle: étude esthétique et stylistique* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1958), p. 38; Burnley, 'Curial Prose', p. 606.

aforesaid>.¹¹⁴ More frequently, the present participle <touching> served the same anaphoric function, featuring in four English letters including the contemporary secretarial copy of Anne's sent letter to Lord Hunsdon dated 7 January 1570.¹¹⁵

The inclusion of anaphoric references in the letters demonstrate that the secretary who wrote them was familiar with the cohesive grammatical function of such devices. Indeed, anaphora continued to feature in literary and epistolary texts, not as a structural foundation but as a means of 'connective convenience' reflecting the original clarity of legal and diplomatic documents. The variety of anaphoric connectors such as those displayed in Anne's English letters offer further evidence that the secretary who wrote the letters had experience of formal textual production.

Additionally, considering the letters of contemporary women letter-writers it is possible to propose that the use of compound terms and anaphoric references was typically found in letters penned by secretaries rather than correspondence written in the sender's own hand. Joan Thynne used <therefore> only as a conjunction and never as an anaphoric subject matter in her holograph letters and in fact, <therefore> was the only compound adverb found in the letters penned in Joan's hand.¹¹⁶ As Williams and others have shown, 'compound verbs and anaphoric reference terms (e.g. thereto, the said etc.) were much more frequent in legal statutes than in private texts throughout the late middle and early modern period of English.'¹¹⁷ It is certainly the case that these anaphoric reference terms feature throughout Anne's letters which is a strong indication that they were produced by someone with experience of creating formal documents that required both skill and specific training.

In addition, the inclusion of <aforesaid> in at least one example from Anne's English corpus presents a further opportunity to consider the composition of the manuscripts. <Aforesaid> features in a letter from Anne to William Cotton from 16 August 1576 (ID24 in table 2.2.4). Although it is the only example of the word in the English corpus of Anne's letters it is worth noting its inclusion since recent scholarship using the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence* (CEEC) has demonstrated that 'participial adjectives such as

¹¹⁴ These are identified based on Burnley's suggestions from late medieval French and English texts, 'Curial Prose', pp. 596 – 597.

¹¹⁵ Burnley, 'Curial Prose', p. 598.

¹¹⁶ Williams, 'The Social and Linguistic Implications of Joan Thynne's using a Scribe', p.140.

¹¹⁷ Williams, 'The Social and Linguistic Implications of Joan Thynne's using a Scribe', p. 138.

aforesaid occur 14.6 times per 2000 words in “official letters” but only 9 times per 2000 words in “private letters” by the early modern period.¹¹⁸

Therefore, the number of compound adverbs in Anne's letters suggests that they were created by someone familiar with legal or business documents since the manner in which these terms proliferate the letters reflects the textual markers found in official statutes, as well as the secretarial 'rote method' of composition.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, the advanced use of <therefore> as anaphora rather than a standard conjunction, as well as the inclusion of the more 'official' anaphoric reference <aforesaid>, is also indicative of scribal training and high literacy.

2.6. III. Punctuation

The punctuation of Anne's English letters offers further evidence that they were written by someone highly skilled with clerical training. Punctuation in the early modern period continued to serve an essentially rhetorical function, reflecting the emphases of speech, which was especially pertinent to the production of letters were regularly read aloud.¹²⁰ Yet, grammatical punctuation developed slowly, becoming dominant in English writing by the end of the seventeenth century. Anne's letters demonstrate an awareness of the developing grammatical function of punctuation, designed to aid the reader of the text. Longer sentences were broken up into component clauses by commas, while virgules </> and period marks <.> were used to mark the end of a sentence or the final line of text. Capitalisation remained erratic following these punctuation marks but place-names and identities were generally capitalised. This consistency in punctuation was especially the case in the closing formulae that routinely recorded the place from which the letter was sent. Most often, this was Mechelen, which was rendered as <Meklyn> in all but one example. In the anomaly, the city appeared as <Machlyn> but remained capitalised.

In addition, two particular features of the punctuation of Anne's English letters emphasise the clerical skills of the secretary. The tilde <~> and round brackets <(.)> have both been revealed to feature heavily in documents produced by professional secretaries and scribes. These punctuation devices were common to clerical and legal documents before they transferred to epistolary texts as secretaries gained employment as

¹¹⁸ Kilpio, 'Participial Adjectives with Anaphoric Reference', p. 94; Williams, 'The Social and Linguistic Implications of Joan Thynne's using a Scribe', p. 138.

¹¹⁹ Richardson, 'The Dictamen', pp. 218 – 219.

¹²⁰ Williams, 'Pragmatic Readings', p. 39.

letter-writers, both informally and in permanent positions within noble households. First, the tilde featured 32 times in twelve of the fourteen English letters written by Anne's secretary. Williams argues that the inclusion of the tilde demonstrates a formalised letter-writing process that did not permit a casual approach to textual production because tildes were 'consistent with legal style as it was used to fill space at the end of lines'.¹²¹ Virgules and periods appeared at the end of a line of text and medially, acting as a grammatical marker.¹²² In comparison, tildes functioned as markers of space at the end of the line when the writer deemed that the following word would not fit in. A letter addressed to Anne's husband from 27 January 1572, demonstrates the function of the virgule and the tilde in her letters:

I wold not haue dowbted to
 haue prepared that sume vpon my credite and to haue dispatched
 it vpon the Lardes bare worde, whose honorable and ~
 faithfull dealing I do well know and do credite./ but that ^other^
 somme I can not be hable to reache vnto with all the labour that
 I can make without further assurannce,

The inclusion of the tilde suggests that the writer took care to prepare this document and crucially that he was familiar with the formal, legal function of the mark as a means to fill space.¹²³ In this sense, the tilde served not as a grammatical marker but as a material feature, highlighting not only the skill of the writer but the attention taken to the production of the text. The care taken during the letter-writing process is further illuminated when we note the lack of any double hyphen <=> marks in Anne's letters. Double hyphens regularly appeared in letters from this period indicating words that were continued over the line. Letters written by Joan Thynne in her own hand featured the double hyphen for this purpose and Dr Nicholas Sanders employed the same mark in his letter to Anne from 17 January 1572, carrying the word <receau> over two lines.¹²⁴ The double hyphen is suggestive of letters composed in haste, or that the writer was less familiar with the practicalities of letter-writing and misjudged the manuscript space. By comparison, letters featuring tildes indicate that the writer was familiar with the layout of the letter-page. This competency is further emphasised in those cases where a clear left-hand margin is visible.

¹²¹ Williams, 'Pragmatic Readings', p. 45.

¹²² Williams, 'Pragmatic Readings', p. 45.

¹²³ Williams, 'Pragmatic Readings', p. 45; Richardson, 'The Dictamen', pp. 217 - 218.

¹²⁴ Williams, 'Pragmatic Readings', p. 45; CP 5/67 (17/01/1572): Dr Nicholas Sanders to Anne, countess of Northumberland.

In all fourteen of Anne's English letters a defined margin was prepared. Starza-Smith points out that a defined left-hand margin demonstrates that the letter was folded in advance of writing to guide the writer suggesting familiarity with the mechanics of letter production.¹²⁵

Further evidence suggesting that Anne's letters were penned by a secretary is demonstrated in the inclusion of round brackets. Twenty-two examples of round brackets feature in seven of the English letters. The brackets were used to indicate an aside within the text but they were also signposts that emphasised crucial points in the letter. For example, in a letter to Sir Thomas Stucely in June 1571 round brackets were used to emphasise Anne's assurance to Stucely that she commended his enterprise to Jane Dormer, duchess of Feria. She wrote: 'I haue signified to the Duchesse her noble grace (who I doe assure me) will imparte the same with you'.¹²⁶ Stress of this sort, as indicated by round brackets, has been identified 'as part of the Elizabethan specialisation of scribal punctuation by which each symbol develops a particular set of uses'.¹²⁷

2.6. IV. Abbreviations

Unfortunately, we do not have Anne's autograph writing for comparison but the abbreviations used in her letters can be seen as typical features of scribal language. Anne's English letters feature common titular abbreviations such as <Lo> or <L> for Lord, <Ma^{tie}> to signify Majesty and <s^r> to indicate <Sir>. In addition, standard abbreviations are employed to denote which as <w^{ch}>, with as <wth> and your as <yo^{ur}>. The word letter was also routinely shortened to <l^{re}>. Macrons also feature throughout Anne's English letters denoting a contraction, usually on a double consonant, such as in commend, which was invariably written as <commend>. The <ion> ending is written either with a <t> as in present day English or with <c> but in most cases the <i> is contracted and indicated with a macron as in <contenacion>. Abbreviations and contractions of this style are indicative of 'the familiarity with the mechanics of writing' and are conventional in form.¹²⁸

Abbreviations of this form feature in women's letters penned in their own hand as well as in more formally transcribed texts by secretaries and we can presume that girls were taught

¹²⁵ Starza-Smith, 'The Material Features of Letters.'

¹²⁶ BL, Cott. MSS. Caligula, CIII. fol. 186, (21/06/1571): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Sir Thomas Stucely.

¹²⁷ Javier Calle-Martin and Antonio Miranda-Garcia, 'The Punctuation System of Elizabethan Legal Documents: The Case of GUL, MS Hunter 3 (S.I.3)', *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, 59 (2007), 356 – 378, (p.376).

¹²⁸ Starza-Smith, 'The Material Features of Letters.'

the abbreviations used in epistolary texts in much the same way as boys.¹²⁹ They function as a means to speed up the process of writing, or to save space on the paper.

However, close analysis of abbreviations can offer evidence that the text was penned by a secretary. Just as certain forms of punctuation reflect scribal training so too can certain abbreviators indicate high literacy and advanced understanding of manuscript production. The brevigraph used to abbreviate <per>, <par> and <pro>, as in words such as <perceaeue> and <parte>, proliferates throughout Anne's English letters. It occurs at least once in every example of her English corpus, averaging 5.78 occurrences per letter and reaching a peak inclusion of eighteen brevigraphs in an eleven page letter addressed to her husband dated 28 January 1572.¹³⁰ Clearly, the greater use of the brevigraph in the letters reflects the length of the letter to some degree and suggests the conservation of space on paper as well as attempts to maintain the speed of composition, which was the main purpose of all abbreviations and contractions. It has also been suggested that the brevigraph did not feature heavily in letters written by women in their own hand.¹³¹ By comparing letters written by Elizabeth, countess of Shrewsbury in her own hand and those written by secretaries on her behalf, Williams demonstrated that the brevigraph did not appear in letters penned in her own hand but that her secretaries did employ this particular abbreviation. In fact the countess used 'relatively few abbreviations in comparison with the scribes who wrote in a more formal capacity for her.'¹³² A similar conclusion can be drawn from Williams' analysis of the letters of Joan Thynne wherein he points out that in almost all examples where superscript letters or macrons were used to indicate abbreviations or contractions in her letters then these were secretarial compositions and not letters penned in her own hand.¹³³ It is true that brevigraphs were used by highly literate female letter-writers including Lady Anne Bacon and Lady Mary Percy, Anne's daughter, but considering the textual evidence as a whole it appears that the brevigraph is further evidence that the secretary who penned Anne's English letters was highly trained.¹³⁴

¹²⁹ Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p. 95.

¹³⁰ CP 5/76 (28/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland.

¹³¹ Williams, 'The Language of Early Modern Letters.'

¹³² Williams, 'The Language of Early Modern Letters.'

¹³³ Williams, 'Pragmatic Readings', p. 117.

¹³⁴ Gemma Allen, ed., *The Letters of Lady Anne Bacon*, Camden 5th Series, Vol. 44 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Archives of the Archdiocese of Mechelen-Brussels, Engelse Benedictinessen, 12.2. I am grateful to Professor Jamie Goodrich for sharing Mary Percy's correspondence with me.

2.6. V. Identifying Robert Heighington as Anne's English Secretary

In an examination dated 28 August 1582 a man identifying himself as a 'saruant vnto syr thomas copley' confessed that 'beyond the sees he was seckretary vnto the lady of Northumberland'.¹³⁵ His name was not recorded however his confession confirmed that Anne did employ a secretary during her exile and indeed her friend and correspondent Dr Nicholas Sanders was aware of her secretary as early as 1572 when he wrote 'what your frind will do *your* secretarie shal shew *your* Ladyship'.¹³⁶ Although it is not possible to confirm whether Robert Heighington was the secretary apprehended in 1582, he was her secretary throughout the 1570s and penned her English correspondence from June 1571 until August 1576.

Crucially, Heighington had clerical experience. John Hameling, a rebel in 1569, reported in his own examination that Heighington was auditor to Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland, and had previously been a servant of Sir Francis Englefield before being employed by Northumberland presumably upon Englefield's departure for the Low Countries in 1559.¹³⁷ Moreover, Heighington was later identified as Northumberland's secretary by both Dr Thomas Wilson, diplomatic agent in the Low Countries in 1574 and by Lord Henry Hunsdon in 1575. Wilson reported Heighington's involvement on Anne's behalf in the production of a book which slandered Lord Burghley.¹³⁸ Crucially, Hunsdon noted that since Northumberland's imprisonment Heighington 'hath been with the Countesse' and he cautioned that Heighington was 'a dangerous man and as I take it, a great practiser with Cotton and those letters with this marke 'H' bee his to Cotton or else Sir Francis Englefields marke'.¹³⁹ By the time Anne reached the Low Countries Sir Francis Englefield's eyesight had deteriorated to such an extent that he was almost blind and so it was entirely possible that the 'H' mark, which did appear on Englefield's letters in what has been assumed to be his mark, may in fact be the mark of the secretary who wrote them – Robert Heighington.¹⁴⁰ Heighington was previously Englefield's servant and was trusted and well-regarded enough that he was bequeathed a farm by his employer.¹⁴¹ Certainly, it is possible to show that Heighington was involved in the correspondence networks of the

¹³⁵ TNA, SP12/115/44, (08/1582): Confession of a servant of Sir Thomas Copley.

¹³⁶ CP 5/67 (17/01/1572): Dr Nicholas Sanders to Anne, countess of Northumberland.

¹³⁷ CP 157/121 (08/06/1571): Examination of Hameling.

¹³⁸ CSP For. 1572-1574 (12/12/1574), pp. 578 – 579: Dr Thomas Wilson to Lord Burghley; Lechat suggests this book was a French translation of the anonymous *Treatise of Treasons* which proposed that Queen Elizabeth's Protestant advisors, especially Burghley were the real threat to her throne not her Catholic subjects. See Lechat, *Les réfugiés anglais*, p. 90.

¹³⁹ TNA, SP53/10/65 (27/05/1575): Bishop of Ross to William Cotton, endorsed by Lord Hunsdon.

¹⁴⁰ Loomie, 'Englefield, Sir Francis (1522–1596),' *ODNB*.

¹⁴¹ CP 157/121 (08/06/1571): Examination of Hameling.

exile community beyond the accusations of Hunsdon and his fellows. In the same letter that Hunsdon endorsed there was an enclosed letter from William Cotton addressed to Heighington himself in which Cotton advised Heighington to be more careful when sending letters.¹⁴²

It is clear that Heighington was identified as having been secretary to Northumberland so it is not implausible that he would continue to be employed in this capacity for Anne. Indeed, she maintained many of her husband's servants independently following his imprisonment and execution, including Peter Kirke, his clerk.¹⁴³ Moreover, Heighington was reported as being with Anne both during her time in Scotland and whilst she was in exile. In fact, he was with her in March 1575 when she was temporarily removed from Spanish territories during peace negotiations with England. Sir Francis Walsingham's spy, Daniel Rogers, reported that 'Highston' departed with Anne for Liege.¹⁴⁴

Although other potential candidates fit the scribal profile of Anne's English letters the contextual evidence indicates that the only person with clerical training who remained with Anne throughout the dates in which her English letters were produced was Heighington. Thomas Jeyne (alias Jennings) a fellow rebel and supporter of Anne's also fits the scribal profile that suggests the English letters were penned by someone highly trained. Jeyne was the writer of the earls' proclamation in 1569 and was previously secretary to Sir Henry Norris while he was stationed in the Low Countries in 1568. He had considerable literary experience, being both a poet and a translator of Pierre de Ronsard's works. However, Jeyne was not always with Anne when her letters were produced. They were separated while Anne was in Scotland, with Jeyne reaching the Low Countries before her. He sent letters to Lord Lethington, a mutual acquaintance, hoping to contact Anne during this separation and as soon as she reached exile he was noted to be in her company once more.¹⁴⁵ He was also separated from Anne in 1572 when her letters to her husband and the Scottish nobles were produced making it unlikely that he created them. We know he was not with Anne because he wrote to her himself at this time.¹⁴⁶ Therefore, due to the contextual evidence we can dismiss other figures within Anne's networks who fit the scribal profile. By considering the language and material features of the letters alongside

¹⁴² CSP For. 1572-1574 (12/12/1574): Dr Wilson to Burghley, pp. 578 – 579.

¹⁴³ Kirke could not have been Anne's secretary since she was regularly separated from him following her departure for the Low Countries in 1570 and instructed him via letter when he was absent.

¹⁴⁴ CSP For. 1575 – 1577 (04/03/1575), p. 19: Daniel Rogers to Dr Thomas Wilson.

¹⁴⁵ Jeyne was at Fast Castle in Scotland for a brief period alongside Anne before he left for the Low Countries. See CSP For. 1569 – 1571 (27/02/1570), pp. 194 – 195: Thomas Randolphe to Cecil; see also TNA, SP52/18/159 (27/06/1570): Thomas Jeyne to Lord Lethington and Lord Seton.

¹⁴⁶ TNA, SP15/21/118 (18/06/1572): Thomas Jeyne to Anne, countess of Northumberland, ciphered.

contextual evidence it is possible to identify Anne's English secretary from 1571 until 1576 as Robert Heighington.

2.7. Letter Bearers

Finally, this chapter considers the role of other agents in the reception of Anne's letters, in particular letter-bearers. While we have been able to identify Anne's English and Latin secretaries tracing letter-bearers is more troublesome. They were very rarely named, most often referred to as 'this bearer'. On a few occasions, however, Anne did name her letter-bearers, including William Slingsby and James Swynhoe, both of whom carried letters to Scotland during her exile.¹⁴⁷ The first, William Slingsby, may possibly have been a relation of her husband's, but at the very least, we know that he became a bearer of messages between Anne and Northumberland during his imprisonment in Scotland.¹⁴⁸ James Swynhoe was another of these servants. He too was recorded in Anne's letters as being a servant of her husband who later bore letters for her while in exile.¹⁴⁹ Whether they were retained specifically as letter carriers is unlikely since Slingsby at least was noted as travelling to Scotland 'on his owne businesse'.¹⁵⁰ What is clear is that Anne trusted these men, and in particular Swynhoe, to carry the more intimate messages that resulted from her marital communication. She explained to Northumberland on 31 January 1572 that she wished to send Swynhoe with her letter but that he was not ready to travel and so for convenience she sent it with Slingsby who was journeying anyway.¹⁵¹ Anne's emphasis on explaining why Swynhoe did not carry the letter suggests he may have been a close servant of Northumberland. She repeated that Swynhoe:

was not in the way, nor readie whan this oportunitie
of sending seruyd by whom I was intended to haue

¹⁴⁷ CP 5/76 (28/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland; CP 159/21 (31/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland and Lord Lochleven.

¹⁴⁸ CP 159/21, (31/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland. Sir Francis Slingsby of Knaresborough was married to Northumberland's sister Mary de Percy but he did not involve himself with the rebellion. Sir Francis and Mary had a son named William but his birth is not recorded until 1564 which would make him too young to be the same William Slingsby who served Northumberland here.

¹⁴⁹ CP 159/21 (31/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland.

¹⁵⁰ CP 159/21 (31/01/1572).

¹⁵¹ CP 159/21 (31/01/1572).

sent vnto you as the bearer can declare./¹⁵²

Anne appeared anxious to reassure Northumberland that she had done what she could to secure Swynhoe before employing Slingsby in his place. She even directed Slingsby to offer further assurances of Swynhoe's unavailability.

In addition, close scrutiny of the evidence offered by Anne's interaction with the letter-bearer Slingsby broadens our understanding of delivery practices at this time. That Slingsby was willing to carry the messages while travelling on his 'owne busnesse' reflected the common practice of employing friends and even strangers who were journeying to the same destination or indeed only part of the way, to carry letters or messages.¹⁵³ Informal postage techniques tended to be less expensive than the official postal route which throughout the sixteenth-century was directed by the de Tassis family in the Low Countries.¹⁵⁴ The twelve crown fee that Anne paid Slingsby to deliver her letter to Northumberland therefore suggests that the journey was particularly cumbersome or dangerous, or that she had secured Slingsby's services at short notice and was required to pay highly. It may also indicate that he carried numerous letters at once which would have been more difficult to conceal, thereby increasing the risk of discovery.

While it was always a concern in the early modern period to avoid delay in sending letters, being part of an exile community exacerbated those challenges. Anne's correspondence with William Cotton shows the difficulties in delivering correspondence even when correspondents lived near to one another. Their communication also highlights how the frequent movements of recipients based in an exile community created further challenges in maintaining epistolary contact. The civil war in the Low Countries meant that towns suddenly became inaccessible, recipients moved frequently, as did senders, which made retaining letter bearers a struggle and correspondence of exile groups was routinely monitored by both local authorities and by the State from which they had departed in case of incriminating or seditious evidence. It is possible to show these difficulties by considering the intertextuality of Anne's letters. Anne routinely opened her letters to William Cotton by noting that she either received his earlier correspondence or that it had

¹⁵² CP 159/21 (31/01/1572).

¹⁵³ Gary Schneider, 'Politics, Deceptions and the Workings of the Post: Some Features of Epistolarity in Early Modern England', *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*, 28.1 (2002), 99 – 127, (p. 100).

¹⁵⁴ Christina Beltrán, 'Philip of Spain: The Spider's Web of News and Information', in *News in Early Modern Europe: Currents and Connections*, ed. by Simon F. Davies and Puck Fletcher (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 23 – 50 (p. 29); Paul Arblaster, 'Antwerp and Brusses as Inter-European Spaces in News Exchange', in *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Brendan Dooley (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 193 – 206 (p. 201).

not yet arrived showing the anxiety surrounding delivery. She also noted when his letters took what she considered a lengthy time to reach her, such as when she complained that a letter sent by Cotton on 24 July 1576 did not reach her until the 16 of August.¹⁵⁵ At this point, Cotton was also in the Low Countries since in a superscription from June 1576 Anne directed her letter to him at 'Newport or elsewhere' and she reported to Peter Kirke that she wrote to Cotton at Antwerp that same month.¹⁵⁶ Anne's concerns regarding the delay to Cotton's letters reflected what Gary Schneider has termed 'obsessive' anxiety regarding bearers 'even in benign moments of epistolary exchange'.¹⁵⁷ Senders' feared that letter-bearers would miscarry their letters or read the contents. The loss of letters was more than an inconvenience, but rather as Schneider argues, could threaten relationships.¹⁵⁸ It was possible that significant delays between writing and receiving a response could be read as a 'snub' by one party, with epistolary silence read as a loss of favour or registering as discouragement or anger on a correspondent's part.¹⁵⁹ Thus, the letter-bearer played a crucial role in maintaining social relations. Anne's distrust of bearers is evident in her correspondence with Cotton such as when she explained that she intended to send letters via one Laurence Blacknoll whom she suspected of miscarrying letters for a person whose identity she concealed using symbols. She explained that 'And by this meane I shall see withall whether Laurence Blacknoll hath receaued myne and will not acknowledge it.'¹⁶⁰

The social anxiety surrounding the position of letter-bearers in the epistolary exchange is further evidenced in an example of an oral message that can be reconstructed between the sender Anne, the letter bearer James Swynhoe and the recipient Lord Lochleven. Anne explained to her husband, in a letter dated 28 January 1572, that Lochleven was informed that Northumberland's ransom had been funded by Pope Pius V and Philip II of Spain. Anne wished to keep this information from Lochleven, withholding the source of the funds. Her caution was warranted since upon learning the identity of the benefactors Lochleven decided to 'exacte the more seing it was to cumme owt of their purses' thus delaying the couple's cause further. Anne informed her husband explicitly that it was Swynhoe who had shared this information with Lochleven, rebuking the bearer for his 'rasheness' and 'wante of experience'. She also cautioned Northumberland that 'though I haue no mistrust of his truthe yet I thinke it not mete to haue commytted the full certentie

¹⁵⁵ TNA, SP12/108/171, (16/08/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton.

¹⁵⁶ TNA, SP12/108/89, (09/06/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton; SP 12/108/96, (15/06/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Peter Kirke.

¹⁵⁷ Schneider, 'Politics, Deceptions and the Workings of the Post', p. 102.

¹⁵⁸ Schneider, 'Politics, Deceptions and the Workings of the Post', pp. 103 – 104.

¹⁵⁹ Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p. 160; Schneider, 'Politics, Deception and the Workings of the Post', p.110.

¹⁶⁰ TNA, SP 12/108/89 (09/06/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton.

to his knowledge'.¹⁶¹ Anne's chastisement of Swynhoe illustrates the uneasy reliance of letter-writers on their bearers and the unequal balance of power in the relationship. Letter-bearers while often holding positions subordinate to those sending the correspondence enacted influence since as Schneider argues 'bearers always threatened to impart information to people who were not meant to have it'.¹⁶² Anne chastised Swynhoe through her husband but it is not known whether she confronted him directly. Perhaps she did not want to risk alienating a trusted bearer, a concern that is suggested by her offer of a reprieve by her opening assurance that she did not 'mistrust' him. In any case, Anne's letters add detail to our understanding of the role of the letter-bearer by further illustrating the influence of bearers and the social anxiety that such influence created amongst letter-writers.

The relationship between sender and bearer was never more acutely entangled than at the moment of delivery to the recipient. The bearer acted as a witness to the reception of the letter and returned with a report of that moment as well as a verbal or written answer from the recipient.¹⁶³ Additionally, as Daybell explains, letter bearers did more than carry the physical letter to its destination. They were 'personal representatives entrusted with women's intimate business interests and empowered to operate on their behalves'.¹⁶⁴ In Anne's case, letter bearers acted in a similar fashion occasionally acting as her 'personal representative' authorised to gather information in her absence.¹⁶⁵ For example, since she herself was unable to travel back to Scotland she asked the earl of Morton in January 1572 whether the bearer of her letter might have access to her husband and report back to her on his condition.¹⁶⁶ Moreover, she entrusted her bearers with information which she considered too sensitive to commit to paper: 'geve credite to this bearer in that he hath to say further in this matter', again emphasising their authority to speak on her behalf as well as highlighting the oral aspect of early modern letters which were not immediately visible on the page, but which bearers brought to light.¹⁶⁷ While variations of this phrase were regularly employed to vouch for the bearer, it nevertheless illustrates that Anne directed letter-bearers to act on her behalf and represent her interests. By entrusting the letter-bearer with information that was not felt safe to commit to paper the bearer was given an elevated position in the epistolary exchange.

¹⁶¹ CP 5/76 (28/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland.

¹⁶² Schneider, 'Politics, Deceptions and the Workings of the Post', p. 103.

¹⁶³ Stewart, *Shakespeare's Letters*, p. 213.

¹⁶⁴ Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p. 132.

¹⁶⁵ Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p. 132.

¹⁶⁶ CP 5/94, (31/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to the earl of Morton.

¹⁶⁷ CP 157/97, (27/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Lord Lochleven.

2.8. Conclusions

This chapter highlights the multi-agent and collaborative nature of early modern letter-writing. Case studies of exile letters, like Anne's analysed here, offer further opportunity to discover the range of figures who contributed to, and collaborated in, the production, construction and afterlives of letters. While the role of secretaries, scribes and other amanuenses, has received considerable attention, and indeed is subject to close scrutiny in this chapter, here the roles of other contributors, including letter bearers and interceptors of correspondence, are shown to have been crucial to early modern letter-writing processes.¹⁶⁸ It is through careful study of the endorsements and the material features of Anne's letters that we can see that the letters are original sent examples rather than copies made by intelligencers, although this was not uncommon. The language and physical features of Anne's letters highlight her anxiety regarding delivery and indeed her understanding that her letters were being sabotaged by an unsolicited third party. Thus, like secretaries and letter bearers, interceptors and the figures who ordered the confiscation of Anne's letters, notably Burghley, should be considered as having played a role in the production, delivery and reception of Anne's letters.

Close analysis of Anne's letters suggests that exile letters are especially fruitful in offering evidence of this collaborative process, since the extreme circumstances of exile made each stage of letter-writing acutely difficult and indeed visible. For example, this chapter highlights that the pressures of transporting letters were exaggerated since exiles were removed from many of the channels of communication with which they were previously familiar. This included the loss of trusted servants who carried letters as part of their duties, the recurrent civil strife that disrupted already precarious transportation routes across Europe, and, particularly for religious exiles, the acute danger of interpretation by agents of English and foreign states.

At the same time, this chapter demonstrates the strategies and techniques used by women letter-writers to direct the production and to authorise the content of their letters when employing secretaries. Therefore, close scrutiny of Anne's signatures and seals ensures that her own input is not diminished here. Indeed, this chapter offers evidence of Anne's literacy and her understanding of epistolary culture through a detailed examination of such physical and material features as can be attributed to her. Thus, this chapter offers evidence that letters composed by secretaries for women are valuable sources and should not be dismissed or overlooked when compiling editions of women's correspondence. In

¹⁶⁸ Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, ch.4, pp. 91 - 126; Stewart, *Shakespeare's Letters*, pp. 109 – 110.

this way, the findings of this chapter rely upon the extensive scholarship which has been undertaken to highlight the complex status of early modern letters as not simply private, individual compositions, and offers further evidence of the assessment that letters were collaborative and social texts.¹⁶⁹

Moreover, the materialist approach to the study of Anne's letters which is evidenced in this second chapter, owes much to the discipline of manuscript studies and, more recently the discoveries of those working in the field of digital humanities. It is important to note that this chapter, and indeed the thesis more broadly, relies wherever possible on study of Anne's original manuscript letters. By examining the original manuscript letters the evidence suggested by the material and physical features of Anne's letters is given greater credence. The use of techniques developed by those working in digital humanities and from a materialist approach, therefore offer a further dimension to our understanding of letter-writing practices.

¹⁶⁹ For an overview of the collaborative and social nature of letters see, Daybell and Gordon, 'The Early Modern Letter Opener,' pp. 5 – 6; Daybell and Gordon, 'Re-reading correspondence and women's letters,' p. 7; Stewart, *Shakespeare's Letters*, pp. 10, 213.

CHAPTER THREE

Rhetorical and Linguistic Strategies in Anne, countess of Northumberland's Exile Letters in English

3.1. Introduction

This chapter analyses the rhetorical, linguistic and textual strategies used by Anne, countess of Northumberland, in her petitions, marital correspondence and newsletters. These letters are considered as distinct epistolary styles and each was written with specific reception concerns reflecting perceived social and interpersonal relations between sender and recipient. In her petitions, Anne wrote to persuade or to move the reader to grant a request or accept a proposal. Her marital letters were more intimate, composed to offer advice to her husband regarding his release from imprisonment in Scotland. Finally, Anne's newsletters were written to maintain networks using news and information as a 'commodity' that could be exchanged to cultivate valuable relations that would ensure Anne's position of influence within the English Catholic exile community.¹ In each epistolary style, Anne navigated social relations and the particular circumstances of production, whilst articulating a high perception of her own position and power.

The chapter examines how the rhetorical forms and linguistic scripts employed in her correspondence demonstrate Anne's sophisticated understanding of epistolary conventions and culture. Previous chapters have demonstrated how Anne directed and commanded complex epistolary exchanges even though her letters were penned by a secretary. Here, this analysis is extended by highlighting that Anne's rhetorical efforts affirmed and bolstered her own agency within this male-dominated discourse. This analysis of Anne's letters draws on historical pragmatics, which allows a fuller understanding of the social relations embedded in epistolary production and reception conventions. The findings of historical pragmatics, in particular by Penelope Brown and Stephen C. Levinson, and Andreas Jucker and Irma Taavitsainen, have supported the epistolary frameworks proposed by epistolary scholars, such as Magnusson and Williams, for understanding linguistic and rhetorical scripts used by early modern letter-writers.² This chapter relies upon such theories of politeness in illustrating those devices employed by Anne to create authority in her letters, to mitigate offense and to engage diplomatically within the epistolary exchange

¹ Daybell, 'Gender, Politics and Diplomacy', p. 103.

² Brown and Levinson, *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*; Jucker and Taavitsainen, *English Historical Pragmatics*; Magnusson, *Shakespeare and Social Dialogue*; Williams, *Women's Epistolary Utterance*.

while maintaining a high regard for her own worth. For example, linguistic forms and conventions classified by Magnusson as either an epistolary style of 'humility and entreaty' or 'supposal and assurance' are applied to analyse Anne's petitions and marital letters.³

Furthermore, this chapter expands Magnusson's framework by arguing that the extreme circumstances of Anne's letters permits a wider assessment of conventional strategies used throughout her letters. Anne's petitions are thus shown to be in a mixed style, using aspects of both a deferential and self-assured script. This mixed style was used by high-status men and women and permitted them to make diplomatic and respectful requests of the recipient.⁴ Anne affirmed her high regard of her position in these epistolary exchanges by using the language of solidarity and friendship rather than overly humbling and deferential devices in order to show politeness towards the recipient of her petitions. She used linguistic choices such as the imperative to direct the recipient, non-honorific descriptive language in the closing formulae and minimal supplicatory address terms. Such devices permitted her to frame her requests in an assured and authoritative style.

Secondly, this chapter examines Anne's marital letters to demonstrate that Anne also employed cultural assumptions and prescriptive gender roles to frame advice to her husband during a period of crisis. The appropriation of cultural assumptions is shown here to have been advantageous to Anne: by positioning herself in a posture of female inferiority and using legitimising devices including piety tropes and wifely obedience, she was able to offer advice with authority. Beyond traditional assessments of rhetorical devices and linguistic scripts, analysis of Anne's marriage letters also reveal that marital correspondence and letters of advice can be understood as texts designed for the benefit of the sender rather than as efforts in the interest of the addressee. Here, Anne's marital letters of advice are shown to have offered her an opportunity for self-reassurance in which she affirmed and bolstered her influence yet again.

Finally, Anne's newsletters offer evidence of her sharing news as a commodity in the style shown by recent research on female diplomatic activities. Once more our understanding of women's news exchanges can be expanded in this instance since Anne shared news not only for favour, but also to foster beneficial networks.⁵ Furthermore, Anne shared news with those lower in status to her which was unusual, although analysis of her letters indicates that she continued to rely upon and emphasise her status and high regard

³ Magnusson, 'A Rhetoric of Request', pp. 55, 60 – 62.

⁴ Magnusson, *Shakespeare and Social Dialogue*, pp. 48 – 51.

⁵ Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*, p.136.

for her worth in these exchanges.⁶ She framed news in the language of credibility and value suggesting her own judgement and reasoning, for example. Analysing Anne's newsletters in the context of diplomatic and patronage activities therefore offers welcome detail to our understanding of early modern women's news and epistolary activities.

3.2. Early Modern Epistolary Petitions

Research on women's petitionary correspondence has illustrated numerous early modern women's sophisticated navigation of patronage culture either as the subject of suitors' letters or as petitioners in their own right and on behalf of family, servants and distant acquaintances.⁷ Women routinely acted as intermediaries on behalf of relatives, dependants and friends and crucially, their abilities as petitioners were actively sought out by others. Bowden has shown, for example, that Mildred Cecil, Lady Burghley, regularly assumed the role of intermediary between petitioners and her husband William Cecil, Lord Burghley, because she was considered by contemporaries to exercise influence in her marriage. The extent of this influence was apparent in correspondence from Scottish nobles to Lady Burghley in 1560 during peace negotiations, in her own advice written in Latin to the Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1573 and in payments from a suitor to intercede with her husband on his behalf in 1580.⁸ The breadth of women's patronage activities is also evidenced by their own petitionary correspondence. In many cases women acted independently of their husbands, as shown by the epistolary career of a fellow Cooke sister, Lady Elizabeth Russell. After the death of Lady Russell's second husband John, Lord Russell in 1584, she continued to petition her brother-in-law, Lord Burghley and nephew Robert Cecil on behalf of various figures including her tempestuous son, her nephew, Puritan preachers and the composer John Dowland.⁹

While petitions offer evidence of women's negotiation of patronage and politics in the early modern period they can also be read as a sub-genre of epistolary culture more

⁶ Daybell, 'The Intelligence Networks of Elizabeth Talbot', p. 121.

⁷ Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, pp. 229 – 230; see also Bowden, 'Women as Intermediaries', pp.216, 219; Thorne, 'Women's Petitionary Letters', pp. 27 – 29.

⁸ Caroline M. K. Bowden, 'Cecil, [née Cooke], Mildred, Lady Burghley, 1526 – 1589', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, online edn. May 2014 <

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/46675>> [accessed 8 Dec 2016].

⁹ Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*, pp. 157, 168; Bowden, 'Women as Intermediaries', p. 219; Pamela Priestland, 'Russell, [née Cooke], Elizabeth, Lady Russell [other married name Elizabeth Hoby, Lady Hoby] (1528 – 1609)', *ODNB*, online edn. January 2008 <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/13411> [accessed 8 December 2016].

generally.¹⁰ Contemporary letter-writing guides took pains to distinguish the proper forms needed to achieve success when preparing letters of request including encouraging a formal and deferential style within a fairly rigid framework.¹¹ It is true that petitionary correspondence conformed more strongly to epistolary conventions relating to rhetoric, material features and structure than other models of correspondence such as marital letters or familiar correspondence between other family members.¹² However, recent studies of women's petitions in particular has highlighted the methods used to navigate the formal conventions of the model.¹³ Magnusson has identified two recurring linguistic strategies employed in women's letters of petition classifying them as 'humility and entreaty' and 'supposal and assurance' scripts.¹⁴ These scripts reflected the petitioner's perception of her power within the epistolary exchange. Thus, the 'humility and entreaty' script was used by petitioners to offer deference to the recipient and in turn to humble their own position. The 'supposal and assurance' script, in contrast, often reflected confidence and self-assurance in the patronage and political arena.¹⁵ Both scripts were not exclusively used by female petitioners and in fact they were used by male senders in similar ways to reflect social rank, age, and marital status, as part of wider epistolary negotiations of the perceived power balance between recipient and sender.¹⁶

Some, including Daybell and Alison Thorne, have examined women's petitions further to identify rhetorical strategies that were used by women that were distinct from those employed by male petitioners.¹⁷ Key findings from research of this nature has shown that women articulated gender stereotypes, understood from contemporary conduct literature which emphasised an 'idealised female' behaviour, to secure positive or beneficial outcomes in their requests.¹⁸ Examples including tropes of female physical weakness and

¹⁰ Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p. 229.

¹¹ Some of the most popular letter-writing manuals encouraged adaptability notably in familiar letters while collecting examples for imitation based on forms and style. See Angel Day, *The English Secreterie* (1586) and William Fulwood's *The Enemy of Idleness* (1568).

¹² Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, pp. 115 – 116; Frank Whigham, 'The Rhetoric of Elizabethan Suitor's Letters', *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 96.5 (1981), 842 – 882, (pp. 864 – 866).

¹³ Coolahan, *Women, Writing and Language*, p.103; Daybell, 'Women's Epistolary Rhetoric', pp. 12, 15 – 17; Thorne, 'Women's Petitionary Letters', pp. 27 – 29.

¹⁴ Magnusson, 'A Rhetoric of Requests', p. 55.

¹⁵ Magnusson, 'A Rhetoric of Requests', pp. 57 – 62; Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p. 231.

¹⁶ Magnusson, 'A Rhetoric of Requests', p. 52. Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p.231.

¹⁷ Daybell, 'Women's Epistolary Rhetoric', pp. 15 – 17; Thorne, 'Women's Petitionary Letters', pp. 27 – 30, 32 – 35.

¹⁸ For an introduction to conduct literature and prescriptive ideals of feminine behaviour see, Laura Gowing, *Gender Relations in Early Modern England* (Harlow: Pearson, 2012); Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*; Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Jessica C. Murphy, *Virtuous Necessity: Conduct Literature and the Making of the Virtuous Woman in Early Modern England* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2015). For the impact of conduct literature on epistolary strategies see Alison Wall, 'Elizabethan Precept and Feminine Practice: The Thynne Family of Longleat', *History*, 75 (Jan 1990), 23 – 38 and Claire Walker 'Doe not suppose me a well mortified

intellectual inferiority, as well as the vulnerability of widows and the idealised role of the devoted mother and wife were regularly employed by women as part of what Magnusson has termed the 'performance of powerlessness' in order to move the addressee to support them.¹⁹ These devices were found throughout women's wider correspondence and indeed beyond epistolary texts, notably in the petitionary activities of litigants in courts of law who also framed their cases in the language of idealised marital relations and prescriptive gender norms.²⁰

In petitions especially, the role of these devices was to persuade the addressee to agree to or accept the request or to offer support to the sender.²¹ The intention to persuade or move the recipient carried acute risks. If the sender misunderstood the social relations or overestimated their own power, they risked offending the addressee and failing to secure their aim. In exploring Anne's petitions, this section takes as its framework the theory of positive and negative politeness strategies, first proposed by Brown and Levinson, in order to highlight how Anne negotiated the social and interpersonal relations embedded in epistolary exchanges that were designed to persuade the addressee.²² Negative politeness fits well with Magnusson's scripts of 'humility and entreaty' in that both offer deference to the addressee while simultaneously, though not always, humbling the sender's own position.²³ We can read negative politeness as efforts to not impinge on the recipient's time or efforts, instead emphasising the optional nature of the request. These strategies serve to amplify the addressee's position. At the same time, amplification can be achieved through positive politeness methods. Whereas negative politeness highlights respectful distance between parties, positive politeness mitigates the risk of offence by encouraging solidarity. Admirable qualities in the addressee are still emphasised but the sender's own position is not necessarily lowered and instead the two parties are positioned as equals with shared motivations, fostering a sense of reciprocity.²⁴ In the study of letters this politeness theory has been helpfully summed up by Magnusson as the 'trouble-making/trouble-taking'

Nun dead to the world': Letter-Writing in Early Modern English Convents', in *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450 – 1700* ed. by James Daybell (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 159 – 176.

¹⁹ Magnusson 'A Rhetoric of Requests', p. 57; Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p. 255; Daybell, 'Women's Epistolary Rhetoric', p. 15; Thorne, 'Women's Petitionary Letters', p. 29.

²⁰ See Tim Stretton, ed., *Marital Litigation in the Court of Requests 1542 – 1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 2, 171 – 189, 235 – 240.

²¹ Attempts to persuade the recipient can be seen in other models of letters such as letters of advice in which similar negotiations of risk and social relations were necessary to succeed in sharing counsel. These letters are discussed later in this chapter.

²² Brown and Levinson, *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*, p.63; see also Magnusson, *Shakespeare and Social Dialogue*, pp. 20 – 26.

²³ Magnusson, 'A Rhetoric of Requests', p. 55.

²⁴ Jucker and Taavitsainen, *English Historical Pragmatics*, pp. 115 – 122; Magnusson, *Shakespeare and Social Dialogue*, pp. 20 – 22.

script.²⁵ In the pursuit of a favourable response, petitioners could employ scripts that suggested they wished to cause as little 'trouble' to the addressee as possible. These 'trouble-making' scripts were designed to mitigate offence. On the other hand, letter-writers could frame requests as something that the addressee should take the trouble to pursue. Such politeness scripts often reflect social status and interpersonal relationships embedded in epistolary exchanges. These politeness techniques can be seen to effect in the rhetorical and linguistic strategies of Anne's petitions, one example of which is analysed in close detail in the following section.

3.2. I. Case Study 1: Anne's petitionary correspondence to William Douglas, Lord Lochleven, CP 157/97, 27 January 1572.

3.2. II. The Construction of Authority

Anne, countess of Northumberland's petitions demonstrate that she used her social status and gender to present an authoritative style of requests. Using Magnusson's classification of linguistic scripts as a starting point this section highlights that she used a mixed style, common to aristocratic petitioners in this period, which permitted her to diplomatically engage with the addressee while maintaining high regard for her own status. However, the unconventional circumstances in which Anne's letters were produced moves us to expand our understanding of conventional epistolary scripts and rhetorical devices which were employed to persuade or move recipients. As Thorne demonstrates, in times of crisis women regularly employed devices that foregrounded their gender identity or social status.²⁶ While Anne did use conventional strategies of deference to mitigate offence, she never presented herself as weak or disempowered. Despite the acute difficulties of her exile and the imprisonment of her husband, Anne agitated addressees to settle in her favour. In this way, her letters differed from contemporary women whose husbands were implicated in rebellion, since she did not use tropes of weakness or vulnerability as

²⁵ Magnusson, 'A Rhetoric of Requests', pp. 57 – 58.

²⁶ Thorne, 'Women's Petitionary Letters', p. 26.

persuasive tools.²⁷ Instead, she continued to emphasise her own influential position even when constrained by financial and political challenges.

Anne's superior social rank encouraged her authoritative interaction with Scottish nobles, especially William Douglas, Lord Lochleven, her husband's jailer, upon whom she actually relied for the release of her husband at this time. Anne's petition to Lochleven, dated 27 January 1572, was self-assured because it made no apology for 'trouble-taking'.²⁸ In this she refused both to lower herself and to defer to Lochleven. Anne also made assumptions, or 'supposals', about the actions or thoughts Lochleven would perform. She presumed for example, that he would agree to guard Northumberland after he was released. When she asserted that Lochleven would aid her husband she made no qualification to this 'truth claim': she used the future rather than the conditional tense in the declaration 'so you will not leave him vntill he may by *your* good meanes be sett free from intertrapping'.²⁹ Anne also assumed that because Lochleven had treated Northumberland kindly previously he would continue to do so once Northumberland was free. She was of course also assuming that Lochleven would actually set Northumberland at liberty having accepted her proposal and request to send further 'assurance' and to accept the ransom. Anne added the request that Lochleven protect Northumberland after he was released in the post-script which was a particularly direct part of the text. While in the main body of the text she had financial recompense to offer Lochleven in exchange for his agreement (the ransom fee paid by Northumberland's benefactors) here she proffered more abstract rewards. Honour and glory were offered as recompense for the effort expected of Lochleven on Northumberland's behalf: 'beare away that glorie laud and praise of that *your* honorable faithfull and frendly intreating of him'.

Anne's creation of authority and her high perception of her own position is also evident in the lack of supplication she showed to Lochleven. Honorifics were used to address Lochleven in this request but they did not include the 'overblown pomp' that featured in letters of request to noblemen of political influence.³⁰ Instead, Anne referred to Lochleven as simply '*your Lordshippe*' or '*good my Lordshippe*'. The epithet 'good' was also extended to Lochleven in the subscription in which Anne referred to herself as his 'right assured frend'. In fact, Lochleven was only addressed as '*your Lordship*' in this letter nine times,

²⁷ Coolahan, *Women, Writing and Language*, p. 102.

²⁸ Magnusson, *Shakespeare and Social Dialogue*, p. 103.

²⁹ All quotes from the letter to Lochleven are taken from CP 157/97 (27/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Lord Lochleven; see Appendix, pp. 226 – 233 for full transcription and images of the manuscript letter; Magnusson, 'A Rhetoric of Requests', pp. 60 – 62.

³⁰ Daybell, 'Gender, Obedience and Authority', p. 57; Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p. 247.

while in comparison he was addressed pronominally using 'you/your/yourself' twenty-seven times. The lack of supplicatory language offered to Lochleven by Anne therefore indicates a direct tone and created a markedly different tone from contemporary letters of petition addressed to social superiors or politically influential figures such as Lord Burghley, in which 'Lord' and 'Lordship' were used every time he was addressed.³¹ In some cases, even short letters could include honorifics thirty or more times emphasising the amplification of the recipient.³² Regular employment of honorific and supplicatory address terms reflected senders' attempts to offer deference to the recipient and are one linguistic technique that offer evidence of the 'humility and entreaty' epistolary style including deferential and self-humbling strategies designed to move the addressee into supporting the request.³³ Anne's letter included enough honorific titles to maintain a diplomatic respectfulness of Lochleven's position but her preference for simple pronominal address terms helped to textualise their relationship as one of equals.

We can see this equal relationship materialising through textual features in yet another section of the letter. The superscription presented more elaborate description of Lochleven as '[My] verey good Larde the [Larde of] Loughleven'. Lochleven was offered a more deferential mode of address here because the superscription was the most public part of the letter. At no point in the body of the text was the superlative 'verey' used to enhance a compliment, nor was Lochleven addressed as 'Larde'. Scots nobles, including Lochleven, were accustomed to reading Scots, and thus the Scottish address 'Larde' acted as a means to accommodate the recipient, acting as an overtly polite means of acknowledging Lochleven's status.³⁴ That it featured only on the public address leaf of the letter perhaps also indicates a regard for the wider, Scots, audience who handled the letter during its delivery. The change from the Scots title 'larde' to the English 'lordshippe' throughout the sealed letter-text, however, suggests that efforts to accommodate Lochleven using familiar Scotticisms were minimal.

Additionally, the subscription in which Anne referred to herself as Lochleven's 'right assured frend' offered further evidence of her confidence in petitioning the Scottish lord. Anne did not use the language of submission that is found in letters of petition to Burghley by her contemporary and fellow rebel wife, Jane Neville, countess of Westmorland. While

³¹ See letters from Anne's contemporary and fellow rebel wife, Jane, countess of Westmorland to Lord Burghley: CP 8/61 (22/09/1575); Jane, countess of Westmorland to Burghley; CP 15/18 (20/10/1586); Jane, countess of Westmorland to Burghley.

³² My thanks to Dr Alison Wiggins for pointing out this feature of Burghley's petitions.

³³ Magnusson 'A Rhetoric of Requests', pp. 55, 60 - 62; see also Thorne, 'Women's Petitionary Letters', pp. 27 - 29.

³⁴ Smith, 'Scots and English in the Letters of John Knox', pp. 4, 10.

Jane signed her letters to Burghley as 'your *Lordships* pore and faythfull frynd as I am bownd' and 'your *Lordships* most bownd and assured frynd', Anne fashioned a greater equality between herself and Lochleven by omitting subservient language such as 'bound' and instead focussed on the language of friendship.³⁵ Anne routinely closed her English petitions in this fashion, even referring to herself as the 'right assured frende' of the earl of Morton, to whom she showed more overt deference in a letter from 31 January 1572.³⁶ These examples are in keeping with wider findings from early modern women's petitionary correspondence.³⁷ Daybell shows that declarations of friendship contrast with the language of service that featured in letters to men of high rank or political influence.³⁸ He argues that 'the language of friendship is generally only used among equals, which suggests the degree of confidence with which women dealt with government officials.'³⁹ Moreover, he notes that high status women frequently signed themselves as 'friends' in epistolary exchanges where they perceived their own position and influence to be equal to, or greater than, the recipient's.⁴⁰ By addressing Lochleven as a 'right assured frend', Anne was declaring her own superior rank and her confidence in negotiating the petitionary process by also suggesting that was Lochleven's equal.

Further evidence of Anne's self-assured lack of deference to Lochleven is found in the textual framing of the petition. The opening and closing salutation of 'hartie commendacions', presented a distinct signal that Anne declined to lower herself in order to show deference to Lochleven. Just as Anne had a linguistic choice between the language of service or the language of friendship available for the subscription of the letter, in the vocabulary of the salutations there was a choice available between 'hartie' and its opposite 'humble'. By employing 'hartie' in the salutations Anne enhanced her position as Lochleven's equal rather than his inferior. 'Hartie' was a linguistic choice that suggested solidarity rather than the submissiveness that was evoked by the term 'humble'. It is generally accepted that in early modern letters 'harty' is a linguistic indicator of positive politeness, that is a rhetoric of association and appreciation, since it expressed warmth and

³⁵ CP 8/61 (22/09/1575); Jane Neville, countess of Westmorland to Burghley; CP 15/18 (20/10/1586); Jane Neville, countess of Westmorland to Burghley.

³⁶ CP 5/94 (31/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to the earl of Morton.

³⁷ Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, pp. 246 – 249.

³⁸ Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p. 247.

³⁹ Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p. 248.

⁴⁰ Daybell, 'Women's Letters of Recommendation and the Rhetoric of Friendship in Sixteenth-Century England', in *Rhetoric, Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by Jennifer Richards and Alison Thorne (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), pp. 172 – 190 (p. 182).

affection.⁴¹ 'Humble' on the other hand is read as a marker of negative politeness, or a rhetoric of respectful dissociation and distance, because it directly offered deference.⁴² Sanchez extends the analysis further remarking that letter-writers who employed the descriptor 'humble' in their petitions in salutations or closing formulae were presenting 'an act of self-humiliation'.⁴³

In the next section, we can highlight some of the other, more minor linguistic techniques that Anne employed to construct authority, when combined with the minimal use of honorific address terms and careful management of the opening and closing formulae of the letter. For example, Anne used the imperative to advise and instruct Lochleven in this petition. She wrote 'And good my *Lordshippe* thinke vpon me one way that as I most earnestlie wisshe and desire my husbandes fredomme'. The imperative was mitigated here to some extent by the instruction to think upon her concern for her husband which evoked an emotive response from the reader by presenting her as a 'sorrowful wife'.⁴⁴ Such reminders of her wifely duty recalled prescriptive ideals of feminine behaviour and acted to unintensify the directness of her instructions which did not fit easily with gendered expectations of feminine roles.⁴⁵ In addition, she advised him not to delay the negotiations further when she wrote 'so your *Lordshippe* that is to take the commoditie therof may well, and I trust will, no longer differ the tyme to geve them that evidence of your iust meanyng towardes my lordes enlargement'. Removing the clause in which she added her opinion 'I trust will', the counsel that Lochleven would 'no longer differ' was made more forceful and direct in tone through the use of the the imperative. Anne's use of the imperative implied a lack of deference towards Lochleven because of its directness when used to proffer advice or instruction.

As well as using linguistic choices to highlight her own position, Anne also cultivated an implied threat to Lochleven's honour throughout her petition, reporting poor assessments of his reputation by others and acknowledging her own frustrations at his behaviour. Discussions of Lochleven's honour, both directly and implicitly, permitted Anne to continue to emphasise her own authority since it allowed her to contrast her own

⁴¹ Williams, 'Pragmatic Readings', p. 264; Alexander T. Bergs, 'Letters: A new approach to text typology', in *Letter Writing* ed. by Terttu Nevalainen and Sanna-Kaisa Tanskanen (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2007), pp. 27 – 46 (p. 31).

⁴² Brown and Levinson, *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*, p. 63; Magnusson, *Shakespeare and Social Dialogue*, p.21.

⁴³ Teresa Roura Sanchez, 'Convention vs. choice in securing the good-will of the reader: the Cely letters', *SELIM: Journal of the Spanish Society for Medieval English Language and Literature*, 10 (2002), 77 – 100, (p. 10), quoted in Bergs, *Letters: A new approach to text typology*, p. 31.

⁴⁴ Thorne, 'Women's Petitionary Letters', p. 29.

⁴⁵ Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, pp. 61 – 62, 69 – 71; Wall, 'Elizabethan Precept and Feminine Practice', p. 24.

dependability with Lochleven's unreliability, as well as to demonstrate her position at the centre of the negotiations. Her knowledge of the benefactors' suspicions and her own attempts to present herself as someone who could help Lochleven overcome such a reputation, reflected her perceived influence. Anne delivered the negative aspersions of Northumberland's benefactors in a matter-of-fact style, writing that it was because of Lochleven's delay in issuing 'assurannce' that 'in this respecte the stay hathe bene and hathe rested of long tyme for to aduenture so muche vpon your Lordshippes bare worde being vnknowenn vnto them'. The language she used to deliver the benefactors' concerns was couched in a rhetoric of dishonour and unreliability. The verb to 'aduenture' meant to risk and suggested an element of threat or danger. Northumberland's benefactors were described by Anne as undertaking such a risk upon Lochleven's 'bare worde'. The implication was that the 'bare worde' of Lochleven was not sufficient to warrant such risk. Anne also positioned the benefactors as 'adventuring', taking a great risk, while requesting that Lochleven proffer greater 'assurannce' five times throughout the text. 'Assurance' was a term deeply embedded in the language of credit and the linguistic positioning presented here was suggestive of a relationship of 'debt and corresponding obligation' in which it was Lochleven who owed the benefactors.⁴⁶ This debtor/creditor relationship between Lochleven and the financial sponsors of Northumberland is also evident in the declaration that the benefactors were 'scrupelous to hazarde their money without somme sewre grounde'. Here again, Lochleven's reputation was indirectly questioned because the implication was that he had been unreliable thus far and had failed to provide 'sewre grounde'. Instead, the benefactors were forced to 'hazarde' their finances which yet again couched the negotiations as risky.

Framing Lochleven's reputation in the language of finances was thus key to Anne's approach. Certainly, her repeated request for Lochleven to give 'assurannce', so that the benefactors could pay Northumberland's ransom, positioned him as the debtor – in order to fulfil his obligation to the men who would reward him financially he had to ultimately free Northumberland, but in the meantime also offer some guarantee that he would keep to the terms of the agreement. This language of obligation which Anne placed upon Lochleven assumed his agreement to the proposal to release Northumberland, and positioned Lochleven in a more submissive position than acknowledging the relative power he held in the negotiations.

⁴⁶ Magnusson, *Shakespeare and Social Dialogue*, p. 82; Stewart, *Shakespeare's Letters*, pp. 186 – 188.

In addition, the declaration of the benefactors' concerns regarding Lochleven's reputation also offered Anne an opportunity to strengthen her influence as intermediary between the parties. She repeatedly informed Lochleven that Northumberland's sponsors were distrustful because they were 'strangers to *your Lordshippe* and vnknowenn'. The implication was that it was through Anne that Lochleven's reputation could be lauded to the men who held the financial rewards and she indirectly informed Lochleven by the repetition of his distance both geographically and socially from them, that she could either praise or hinder his reputation.

Anne implied to Lochleven that she could influence the benefactors' impression of his reputation in her role as intermediary with her references to Lochleven's 'honorable and faithfull dealing'. She claimed that she herself would not hesitate to send the money to Lochleven on his word alone because she had 'good experience' of his 'honorable and faithfull dealing'. Anne was at this time in the Low Countries and even while in Scotland from December 1569 to August 1570 she was at no point in the company of Lochleven. This flattery of his reputation was a fabrication intended to create civility and respect between recipient and sender even though they had not in fact had any contact in person.⁴⁷ As a positive politeness technique it served to bring the correspondents together, creating solidarity and evoking an 'us vs. them' tone to the discussions of the benefactor's suspicions. The benefactors' insults were delivered matter-of-factly to Lochleven but Anne set herself apart from their negative accusations by using parentheses to position herself separately from them textually:

and in this respecte the stay hathe bene and hathe rested of long tyme for to aduenture so muche vpon *your Lordshippes* bare worde being vnknowenn vnto them (althoughe if the money were myne owne I durst boldly do it, for the good experience that I haue of *your* honorable and faithfull dealing) they can not be brought vnto, and therfor desire suche assurannce of *your* meanyng of performance as may occasion them not to doubte of *your honour* on that behalf⁴⁸

Anne interjected in the middle of declaring the benefactors' distrust of Lochleven to exclaim that if it were her own decision to make she would not hesitate to act. The interjection served to break up the insult and lessened the blows directed at Lochleven. Without the parenthetical clause, the text moved straight from the suggestion that Lochleven was someone too dishonourable to risk money on, as implied by the term 'aduenture' and the combined assessment of his status as 'vnknowenn', and based on his

⁴⁷ Williams, 'Pragmatic Readings', p. 136.

⁴⁸ CP 157/97 (27/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Lord Lochleven; see Appendix, pp. 240 – 247.

'bare worde', to an attempt to position Lochleven in a subordinate position. This subordinate position was suggested by presenting him in the role of a debtor who was obliged to offer more to the sponsors as shown by the term 'assurannce', which is repeated throughout the letter. Anne's textual interjection contrasted the negative assertion of the benefactors – language such as 'doubte' and 'meanying of performance' which suggested actions unfulfilled – with positive reception of actions already experienced. While close examination shows that Anne also made implied threats to Lochleven's honour, here she positioned herself apart from the direct threats presented by the benefactors and created the 'us vs. them' tone, which was then used to mitigate her own covert insults elsewhere in the text.

Anne also employed the rhetorical strategy of the 'letter as debt' to permit her to discuss Lochleven's reputation. This strategy allowed her to present her own criticisms of Lochleven but in an indirect way. The 'letter as debt' was the method of eliciting a response from an addressee by reminding them of the social and cultural code of epistolary reciprocity.⁴⁹ Failing to respond to a letter or delaying a reply could be read as a snub or lack of respect for the recipient.⁵⁰ Anne referred to Lochleven's failure to respond to her letter immediately after the brief and non-supplicatory salutation. She admonished him for 'hearing nothing syns' her last letter and informed him that she 'wold no longer stay' to wait upon the return of her first servant and thus sent the second bearer. Anne also requested that she might receive Lochleven's 'spedie aunswer' to this letter. Here, she directly positioned his lack of epistolary reciprocity alongside his delays to the negotiations to release her husband, suggesting that the two were both negative reflections of his reputation. She wrote 'what hindrannce this long delay hathe bene aswell to *your Lordshippe* as to my lorde in his healthe as otherwise and that I may receaue *your* spedie aunswer'. The term 'hindrannce' was particularly blunt and suggested her displeasure. Epistolary silence was potentially inflammatory, registering as a possible snub or intentional discouragement to the sender.⁵¹ While it was common for letter-writers to write again in an effort to discover whether such silence was intentional or not, they often employed politeness strategies to defend themselves against any threat to the addressee

⁴⁹ Williams, 'Pragmatic Readings', p. 137; Schneider, 'Politics, Deceptions and the Workings of the Post', pp. 105 – 107.

⁵⁰ Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p. 160; Schneider, 'Politics, Deceptions and the Workings of the Post', p. 107; Andreas H. Jucker and Irma Taavitsainen, 'Diachronic Speech Act Analysis: Insults from Flyting to Flaming', *Journal of Historical Pragmatics*, 1.1 (2000), 67 – 95 (p. 85).

⁵¹ Schneider, 'Politics, Deceptions and the Workings of the Post', p. 110; Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p. 160; Jucker and Taavitsainen, 'Diachronic speech acts: Insults from flyting to flaming', p. 85.

should it be the case that correspondence had been miscarried or lost.⁵² Here however, Anne bluntly admonished Lochleven's silence by naming it as a 'hindrance'. By equating his epistolary silence with wider inaction on his part in the negotiations to release Northumberland, she implied that Lochleven intentionally offered her disfavour or discouragement. It is most likely that Lochleven's delay in replying to Anne at this time was a combination of the practical challenges in securing safe carriage of correspondence and a 'temporising strategy'.⁵³ He was under pressure from his social superiors not to confirm any arrangements regarding the release of Northumberland since there was disagreement amongst the Scottish nobles as to whether the earl should be returned to England or ransomed for his liberty. Yet, Lochleven himself suffered from financial strain at this time, and was keen to be rid of his aristocratic prisoner.⁵⁴

Finally, Anne created a self-assured epistolary style by contrasting Lochleven's reputation for unreliability with her own steadfastness. She declared that she succeeded in raising the ransom money and it was ready to be disbursed but that the benefactors waited on further assurance from Lochleven, writing 'I haue so wrought it'. The verb 'wrought' implied that she had gone to some effort but it also suggested that she had shown skill and commitment to reach this point. It was in the post-script that Anne expressed herself most plainly. She was explicit in her declaration of her dedication to overcome the challenges she had faced: 'without the great and manifold meanes that I haue made and trobles that I haue bene put vnto to attayne to this point wherunto by great labour I haue brought it'. She employed direct language here using the personal pronoun three times in quick succession to claim the struggles as her own and by extension, to claim the credit for their forbearance. Here, in the post-script, she stepped away from the role of intermediary and claimed agency as the enabler of these negotiations.

Therefore, it is clear that Anne was bold in her pursuit of Lochleven's assurances for the foreign benefactors, his acquiescence in freeing Northumberland and his agreement to protect Northumberland even after his release. She used various linguistic strategies to cultivate a self-assured epistolary style in her request, using the language of supposal and assurance, avoiding supplicatory and deferential self-fashioning, and presenting herself as Lochleven's equal or superior. Crucially, she employed rhetorical strategies to implicitly threaten Lochleven's honour in order to persuade him that he should accept her proposal.

⁵² Schneider, 'Politics, Deception and the Working of the Post', p. 107.

⁵³ Schneider, 'Politics, Deception and the Working of the Post', p. 107.

⁵⁴ CP 5/76 (28/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland, discusses Lochleven's financial strain including the mortgage on his estate.

She did this by aligning Lochleven's failure in the epistolary arena with his potential social unreliability thereby threatening his reputation. Anne also compared her own dedication and successes to Lochleven's inaction and delays. Nevertheless, the strategy of insulting or threatening Lochleven's honour and expressing, albeit implicitly, her frustrations at the repeated delays to the negotiations, was high risk and as such required compromises to mitigate the effect of these devices.

3.2. III. Mitigating Offence

While the petition to Lochleven offers evidence of Anne's high perception of her own position and power, as seen through linguistic and rhetorical devices that served to create authority in her letter, other strategies were evoked to tone down the inflammatory impact of the admonishment and criticism that was included in the request. In particular, some aspects of a 'humility and entreaty' script served to mitigate potential offence. Careful examination of the text reveals that Anne also deployed the role of the devoted wife as a legitimising device for her intervention. Each of these devices were used to lessen the threat to Lochleven's honour in some way, or to fashion a space wherein those threats could be read without the negative reaction that might otherwise be expected.

In one way, Anne's linguistic choice can be read as deferential to Lochleven: she employed the verb 'beseche' in the petition. She wrote 'I shall beseche you no longer to delay it' and admitted that she was 'beseching' Lochleven to give credit to the bearer who she informed him had further to say on the matter. 'Beseche' marked the power difference between herself and Lochleven and suggested that she was the subordinate in the power relationship between the two of them.⁵⁵ Elsewhere in the text, Anne used the verb to 'pray' instead of to 'beseche' to make a direct request of Lochleven. She wrote 'And so prayeng ^your^ lordshippe to consider of this my request, what hindrannce this long delay hathe bene'. The requesting verb 'prayeng' admitted that Anne needed Lochleven's attention, but it was less deferential and a less emotive directive verb than 'beseche'.⁵⁶ This fitted with Anne's blunt assertion of Lochleven's 'hindrannce' to the negotiations directly after her request that he 'consider' her request. Nevertheless, the inclusion of requesting verbs recognised deference towards Lochleven. She also appeared to position herself as the

⁵⁵ Magnusson, *Shakespeare and Social Dialogue*, p. 26.

⁵⁶ Stenroos and Mäkinen, 'Reinterpreting politics in a medieval correspondence', p. 94; Williams, 'Pragmatic Readings', p.76.

subordinate to Lochleven by admitting that his actions would be remembered by Northumberland's 'posteritie, kynred or frendes' for as long as they were able to acknowledge it. More explicitly, she wrote that by doing as she directed Lochleven would 'singulerly binde vs all vnto you'. This language of service evoked by 'binde', and the remembrance of actions rendered unto 'posterity', was more compatible with the language of 'entreaty and humility' script.⁵⁷ These small linguistic details helped to moderate the accusations and admonishments that were presented to Lochleven throughout Anne's petition. Linguistic strategies such as speech acts and service vocabulary served to create a mixed style of petition with the function of diplomacy and respectfulness towards the recipient.

This section also highlights how Anne enacted the role of the devoted wife to enable her to intervene in such a direct and forceful manner as intermediary between Lochleven, her husband and the benefactors. Daybell has shown how women interceded with officials in their capacities as mothers, wives and mistresses of households, noting that these were 'social roles that legitimised (often explicitly so) interventions outside of the domestic realm'.⁵⁸ Anne made it immediately clear that she was acting on behalf of her husband by sending her messages via Northumberland's servants: 'I write bfore to *your Lordshippe* by my lordes servant'. This indicated that she was in close contact with her husband and that she directed Northumberland's servants, even if Lochleven was attempting to delay their communication – she openly informed him that she would not wait on the return of the previous message bearer but sent the current carrier instead, regaining control. She put her wifely duty at the centre of the petition, framing her intervention around her devotion to Northumberland. She declared 'that as I most earnestlie wisshe and desire my husbandes fredomme and libertie so wold I do all that I could in the world to procure it, and bring it to passe'. Here, the devotion to her husband was directly positioned as legitimising her actions on his behalf. It was because she was so 'earnest' in her desire to free her husband from imprisonment that Anne was enabled, as a dutiful wife, to intervene as she could 'to procure' his 'fredomme and libertie'.

Moreover, Anne utilised the circumstances of Northumberland's imprisonment to further her self-fashioning as a devoted wife. She made repeated references to her husband's health or 'condicion' throughout the text in an effort to move Lochleven to grant her suit. Asides such as, 'my lorde his present state and condicion considered' and declarations that the long delays were harmful to 'my lorde in his healthe' were not

⁵⁷ Magnusson, *Shakespeare and Social Dialogue*, pp. 60 – 62.

⁵⁸ Daybell, 'Gender, Authority and Obedience', p. 57; Daybell, 'Women's Epistolary Rhetoric', p. 16.

intended to move Lochleven by evoking sympathy for Northumberland but, rather by demonstrating Anne's wifely devotion. As a strategy, it was intended to elicit pity for Anne as a devoted wife separated from her husband which worked to persuade Lochleven to agree to the proposal for her own sake (even though she was actually petitioning on behalf of Northumberland and his benefactors).

Crucially, Anne avoided the circumstances that led to Northumberland's imprisonment and instead, focused on the ransom fee which she declared was too high for what 'should have bene required ^for^ one in my lordes case'. This decision to keep clear of the political sensitivity surrounding Northumberland's rebellion was a common feature of women's petitionary letters on behalf of rebellious or treasonous relatives. Thorne has shown that wives' petitions relating to their rebel husbands focussed on conjugal love and side-stepped direct mention of sensitive issues. She suggested that this can be read as 'a gesture of compliance' acknowledging prescriptive assumptions that women should not involve themselves in public affairs.⁵⁹

Overall, Anne's depiction of herself as a devoted wife not only legitimised her intervention in the negotiations as an intermediary on her husband's behalf but was designed to move Lochleven to grant her proposal and request. Presenting herself as a devoted wife recalled idealised expectations of marital relations and feminine behaviour. In such a role, Anne was asserting her rights as a wife to intervene for her husband even if it did not correspond with ideals of female silence and obedience. In this way, her self-fashioning as a wife attempted to moderate the threat to his honour.

To conclude, analysis of Anne's petition to Lochleven from 27 January 1572 offers evidence of her assertive epistolary style. She employed a language of supposal and assurance and used friendship and association to position herself as Lochleven's equal rather than submitting herself or offering deference to him as the addressee. Crucially, this petition highlighted the rhetorical strategies she employed to present the unfavourable opinions of Northumberland's benefactors to Lochleven as well as to admonish his epistolary delays and failures in his social duty. While Anne employed conventional strategies of deference to mitigate offence to Lochleven and enhance the success of her request, analysis of this petition demonstrates that her superior social status and gender shaped her authoritative epistolary style. In this case, social status rather than gender can be seen to have played a key role in the rhetorical devices employed in Anne's letters.

⁵⁹ Thorne, 'Women's Petitionary Letters', p. 32.

3.3. Early Modern Marriage Letters

Having established how Anne framed her petitions in a self-assured style relying upon her superior status to persuade recipients while diplomatically mitigating offence, this section considers how Anne appropriated prescriptive gender expectations and marital roles to her own advantage when negotiating marital tensions. Here, Anne's marital letters are analysed to highlight that women's letters of advice can be read as texts composed to self-assure and bolster the position of the sender rather than simply in the interests of the recipient.

Letters by early modern married women offer evidence of women navigating the idealised feminine values and behaviours expounded in contemporary prescriptive literature.⁶⁰ While conduct literature proposed wifely submission and husbandly authority as the ideal marriage, the prescriptive intentions of these texts did not entirely deny the realities of married life at all levels of the social hierarchy. For example, women could defy their husbands and fathers in matters of conscience without the same degree of censure (although to what extent a woman could exercise her faith independently continued to be debated, particularly in non-conformist or recusant communities). The pragmatics of everyday life, including the running of a household and the raising of children, also shaped domestic advice. In such matters the nuances of wifely 'support' for her husband were more readily enacted than prescriptive stereotypes of women's physical and intellectual inferiority, which served little in the reality of marriage. Such prescriptive norms did have wider effects of course, including the exclusion of women from direct access to many political and economic resources in the same ways as their male relations. Conduct literature reflected these prescriptive origins of constricting power and influence by continuing to suggest that husbands did not expect women to have sufficient intellectual ability to take part in economic or political issues.⁶¹ Letters from wives from this period however, illustrate that women negotiated these prescriptive expectations and often discussed matters beyond the domestic with their husbands, at times astutely assuming the role of a dutiful wife and mother in order to legitimise their involvement. Alison Wall describes this approach as a 'rhetoric of submissiveness', designed to recall idealised wifely attributes of obedience, silence and devotion that women employed in order to frame less idealised behaviours or activities.⁶² Such behaviour could include everyday offers of

⁶⁰ Wall, 'Elizabethan Precept and Feminine Practice,' pp. 30; Williams, 'Pragmatic Readings,' pp. 104.

⁶¹ Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*; Gowing, *Gender Relations in Early Modern England*; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*; Murphy, *Conduct Literature and the Making of the Virtuous Woman in Early Modern England*.

⁶² Wall, 'Elizabethan Precept and Feminine Practice', p. 29.

advice to husbands or even preparing households during military events. It is also true that women articulated their understanding of ideal masculinity and marital behaviour on the part of husbands in order to defend their expectations and rights as a wife.⁶³ Thus wives routinely chastised their husbands for failing to spend time with them or for failing to appreciate their contributions, including running estates in the men's absence.

Marital letters offer evidence of women giving and sharing advice with their partners. Women routinely offered advice on issues relating to finances, property, religion and political and military affairs.⁶⁴ They framed this advice by emphasising their role as dutiful wives and mothers, by employing gender stereotypes of female inferiority and by assuming piety tropes. Each of these devices served to mitigate the offense inherent in offering advice, even in marital relationships. Offering advice presented a degree of risk since it assumed that the recipient needed counsel and without it would not make wise decisions. In marital relationships this presented a threat since it turned gender expectations upside-down: women should not need to direct a man's judgement for man's reasoning was considered superior to women's. Additionally, advice-giving often meant acknowledging that a woman had judged her husband to be fallible in some way. At times of marital tensions and breakdowns, offering advice was especially fraught. Emphasising their piety and religious convictions was particularly helpful in navigating the issue of marital advice since it was recognised, although not without disagreement, that a woman must answer to her conscience even if it meant disobeying her husband. Moreover, the pious wife was acting out of goodness and conscience, and not the malicious desire to speak simply to dominate her husband. These contrasting opinions of women continued to influence how women portrayed their advice throughout the early modern period.

⁶³ Stretton, *Marital Litigation in the Court of Requests*, p. 2; Wall, 'Elizabethan Precept and Feminine Practice', pp. 30 – 31.

⁶⁴ Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*, pp. 98, 157; Bowden, 'Women as Intermediaries', p. 216; Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, ch. 8, pp. 200 – 228.

3.3. I. Case Study 2: Anne's marital correspondence, to the earl of Northumberland, CP 5/76, 28 January 1572.

Three letters from Anne to her husband Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland, were sent in quick succession between 27 and 31 January 1572.⁶⁵ A fourth, dated 21 March 1572, survived only as a printed copy in the archives of the earls of Morton.⁶⁶ The marital letters offer evidence of Anne using conventional strategies of idealised marital roles and gender expectations, in extreme circumstances of lengthy physical separation, and at a time of political and financial crisis for both parties. Close scrutiny of a lengthy example from Anne to Northumberland dated 28 January 1572, shows how Anne framed advice to her husband during the period of acute marital tensions brought about by Northumberland's confinement in Scotland, and the lengthy and delayed negotiations for his release. This section argues that Anne addressed her husband using an authoritative style that was tempered by deferential strategies. In these letters, Anne positioned herself in an obedient and humble role, using tropes of female intellectual inferiority and wifely devotion in order to navigate her husband's heavy reliance upon her as intermediary in his ransom negotiations, and as someone free to pursue political and financial support on his behalf. Using rhetorical devices of female inferiority allowed Anne to assume an authoritative role in her marital exchanges, as the provider of advice and guidance to her husband. At the same time, presenting herself using submissive strategies, deferred diplomatically to expectations of husbandly authority and wisdom.

Simultaneously, Anne's letters to her husband offer evidence of her using these epistolary exchanges (of which only Anne's side are extant) as a means of reassuring and bolstering her own position rather than simply to defer to her husband. For example, the open chastisement of Northumberland which featured in the marital letters from Anne, was framed using idealised marital roles, where Anne emphasised that Northumberland was failing in his husbandly duties to maintain contact with his wife and to appreciate his wife's efforts, activities and successes. Anne's rebukes were further emphasised using marital expectations through her amplification of her wifely dependability and feminine goodness and wisdom, all of which were considered worthy attributes in the idealised conduct literature of the period.

⁶⁵ CP 157/96 (27/01/1572); CP 5/76 (28/01/1572); CP 159/21 (31/01/1572): all Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland.

⁶⁶ *Registrum Honoris de Morton*, pp. 167 – 169.

3.3. II. The Posture of Feminine Inferiority

Anne performed the role of female inferiority in order to offer advice to her husband during his suit for release and regarding his subsequent transport from Scotland and related matters such as who should travel with him. Her advice was framed in the context of contemporary concerns of idealised wifely behaviour and expectations of female roles. First, she framed her explicit advice in the language of female intellectual deficiencies and she then enhanced this performance through repeated emphasis on her wifely obedience and submissiveness. The effect of such rhetorical strategies was to offer deference to her husband as a means to navigate the threat of Northumberland's acute and heavy reliance upon his wife at this point in their marriage. These rhetorical devices of feminine inability permitted Anne to authoritatively guide her husband in matters of critical import to him. In this way such negative gender assumptions actually functioned to the advantage of female letter-writers, where women employed negative cultural expectations as a strategy to legitimise their inclusion and action in arenas beyond the domestic.⁶⁷

Nowhere was Anne's use of negative gender roles more acute than at the outset of the advice that she directed to Northumberland. She explained that:

for myne owne parte being but A woman I can no more but pray for *your* good successe and spede seing the matter is to weightie for me to gyve aduise vponn and to chargeable to intermeddle *withall*, being not hable to travell therin my self, but must remayne to do as it shall like *you* to commande and none otherwise⁶⁸

Her use of the negative gender assumption of women's intellectual 'inferiority' evoked by the phrase 'being but A woman' was confirmed in the descriptors 'weightie' and 'chargeable' which implied matters of import and challenge. She further diminished her capabilities by employing the directive 'to intermeddle' in reference to her actions. 'Intermeddle', according to the *OED*, meant 'to interfere' 'to interpose' or more obviously to modern readers 'to meddle'.⁶⁹ The verb carried connotations of lack of experience or skill.⁷⁰ Anne's use of the verb 'intermeddle' reflected contemporary concerns of idealised feminine behaviour which prescribed wifely arenas as purely domestic.⁷¹ The wider political negotiations inherent in Northumberland's ransom suit would be seen as beyond feminine

⁶⁷ Daybell, 'Women's Epistolary Rhetoric', p. 16; Thorne, 'Women's Petitory Letters', p. 30.

⁶⁸ All quotes from this letter to Northumberland are taken from CP 5/76 (28/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland; see Appendix for full transcription and images of the manuscript letter, pp. 239 – 263.

⁶⁹ *OED*, 'intermeddle'

⁷⁰ *OED*; 3. 'To concern or occupy oneself *with* or *in*; to have to do *with*; to take part *in*; to meddle, interfere; esp. to concern oneself with what is none of one's business, to meddle or interfere impertinently.'

⁷¹ Wall, 'Elizabethan Precept and Feminine Practice', p. 24; Stretton, *Marital Litigation*, p. 3.

'comprehension' or ability by the standards of the prescriptive literature of the period since women were believed too easily distracted to take part in such discussions.⁷² The verb also connoted negative gender stereotypes surrounding women who were prone to gossip, or 'scold', or more specifically wives who defied the 'natural order' by dominating their husbands through excessive speech when they should learn to be silent.

By declaring that she would 'pray' for Northumberland's 'good succeſſe and ſpede', Anne employed the piety trope to present herself as virtuous to negate the suggestion that she was meddling in affairs with which wives should not concern themselves. In addition, however, employing piety tropes served to highlight Anne's female weakness: she could, as she expressed, 'no more but pray' since more direct action was beyond her capabilities as a woman.⁷³ This suggestion of inability contrasted explicitly with the fact that she had intervened directly on behalf of her husband to secure financial support for his ransom, petitioning across Europe in order using her epistolary networks and doggedly raising his suit in person with representatives of the Spanish crown from her base in Mechelen. Here then, is evidence that Anne was enacting female meekness to her own advantage: to mitigate the offence to Northumberland from the knowledge (which they both shared) that he in fact relied heavily upon her. The language of intellectual inferiority and virtuousness therefore created a rhetoric of reassurance that exploited male gender assumptions and persuaded Northumbreland that her advice was of no threat.⁷⁴ While offering advice was not as openly threatening as criticism or as imposing as a request Magnusson points out that it nevertheless trespassed on the other's sense of self, especially if they were a social equal, 'for it implies that the person advised would not take a sound course of action without the intervention of the advisor.'⁷⁵ The idea that Anne needed to guide her husband in 'sound counsel' defied the gendered expectations of marital relations apparent in the prescriptive literature of the period which demanded that it was the husband's role to direct his wife since he was her superior both physically and intellectually. In this sense, enacting inferior and obedient tropes served to mitigate the threat offered by Anne's counsel in affairs of an extra-domestic and wider political arena.

Anne did not offer a formal apology for offering advice to Northumberland in his suit, using markers common to women's letters of advice such as an admission that she was 'bold' to offer counsel, or recognition of her 'presumption' in giving advice. However, the

⁷² Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, pp. 60 – 62.

⁷³ Thorne, 'Women's Petitionary Letters', pp. 29 – 32.

⁷⁴ Pollock, 'The Making of Women in the Upper Ranks of Early Modern England', p. 234, 'Women's Epistolary Rhetoric', p.15; Magnusson, 'A Rhetoric of Requests', p. 57.

⁷⁵ Magnusson, *Shakespeare and Social Dialogue*, pp. 18, 20.

language of inability, qualification and entreaty that Anne used to frame her advice to Northumberland functioned in the same manner.⁷⁶ In discussions of Lord Edward Dacres' trustworthiness Anne cautioned Northumberland that all men could offer friendship by words alone and recalled the Dacres' failure to support the earls during the rebellion of 1569: 'as by wordes A man may professe'.⁷⁷ Yet, she added an immediate qualification to her advice: 'I dare not take vpon me to aduise but must referre it to *your* self and *your* frendes opinions'. By this qualification, she positioned herself beneath her husband and his male friends, whose advice she magnified before her own. The verb 'dare not' indicated her intention not to impose upon Northumberland with her advice. However, she continued to temper this self-humbling position somewhat by giving her own advice first and then qualifying it after the fact.

The authority with which Anne offered advice continued to be framed using strategies which permitted her to offer advice without causing overt offence. Anne offered direct advice to Northumberland regarding his own journey from Scotland, touching upon the dangers of the sailing and advising him which of their servants could be trusted to make the crossing with him:

I thinke John Swynbourne were A meete man for *your Lordshippes* aduise withall and to accompany *you*, both bicawse I am *perswaded* that he lovith *you* dearely, is honest, wise, of good experience and well acquainted with the natures and condicions of that countrey men, wherby he is the better hable to discern what way or meane is best for *you* to take, and with what *persons you* may most safeliest deale.⁷⁸

Anne's recommendation of John Swynbourne featured elements of a strategy of negative politeness, intended not to impose on Northumberland or make assumptions of his acquiescence. Swynbourne's personal qualities were emphasised, his honesty, wisdom and good experience. Highlighting personal qualities was a device employed more usually by inferiors to superiors in the recommendations of others.⁷⁹ The knowledge Swynbourne had of the Scots was also given as an expedient reason to employ him in this task because he would make the journey easier for Northumberland through his understanding of trustworthy persons and familiarity with the terrain. Yet, this example also demonstrates that while she offered deference to her husband using negative politeness techniques Anne

⁷⁶ Ross, 'Whose Letter Is It Anyway?' online ed.; Magnusson, 'A Rhetoric of Requests', pp. 57 – 58.

⁷⁷ Edward Dacres seems to be the Lord Dacres referred to by Anne here since Lord Leonard Dacres was already in Brussels by January 1571.

⁷⁸ CP 5/76 (28/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland.

⁷⁹ Magnusson, *Shakespeare and Social Dialogue*, p. 87.

also ensured that her own capability was emphasised. She positioned herself in this advice as having assessed the risks in allowing Northumberland to navigate the journey in the word choice: 'I am perswaded'. Framing the advice in this way highlighted Anne's competent judgement and her reasoned wisdom. Phraseology such as 'I am perswaded', also offered less room for refusal on the part of the reader and presupposed the acceptance of Swynbourne's recommendation to some degree. Thus, here it is apparent that while Anne employed deferential strategies, she continued to reveal her own perception of her worth and ability.

3.3. III. Idealised Marital Roles

At the same time as using negative gender expectations to her advantage in offering advice, Anne also employed the idealised role of the devoted and faithful wife. This rhetorical device benefited Anne since it offered a legitimising reason for her intervention in Northumberland's concerns and permitted her to perform an obedient and submissive role in their relationship. These strategies were employed to deflect from the reality of Northumberland's reliance upon Anne as intermediary and negotiator on his behalf. Close analysis of Anne's use of marital expectations demonstrates that she employed both cultural assumptions of wifely ideals and contemporary expectations of husband's duties and roles, to affirm and bolster her own position of influence at this time. In this way, we can read Anne's marital correspondence as designed as much for self-reassurance as for communication with Northumberland.

First, Anne employed linguistic scripts to suggest her obedience and wifely subservience. The language of compliance and submissiveness was employed by Anne throughout the letter to emphasise her obedience: 'notwithstanding I am to do as *you* shall determyne and commande and thereafter shall provide bicause *your* direction and none other I am to obeye'. This admission was a performance in deferring power to Northumberland to make decisions. She extended this performance in her appointment of a new advisor following Dr Sanders' departure. Although she admitted to Northumberland that she herself wished to employ Dr William Allen she demurred to Northumberland's judgement – and indeed to Sanders' own advice on two other candidates. She declared to Northumberland:

so will I not take vpon me to make choise of eny other then it shall like you to assigne, and therfor do geve you bothe *Doctor Sanders* his opinion and myne owne submytting my self to whomm you shall appoint⁸⁰

This was despite her own attachment to the previous advisor Dr Sanders whom she was upset to have lost. She repeated once more her standard formula of positioning her own opinion and those of others beneath Northumberland's own, thus aggrandizing him. In this case however, it had the added effect of emphasising her obedience as a wife. She further appropriated a scripted female epistolary style by declaring that she was Northumberland's 'to commande', thereby emphasising her obedience and dutifulness as a wife.

Anne positioned herself in the role of a devoted and obedient wife so that her advice would be framed in a deferential manner, but by drawing on this role she was also articulating an idealised type of female behaviour. The devoted and faithful wife was one of the roles performed by upper-class women that legitimised their intervention in matters beyond the domestic domain. By writing in such a subservient and obedient style, Anne was evoking what Daybell has established was a 'familial responsibility [that] provided a moral justification for women's intervention in business matters', in this case, for Anne's counsel.⁸¹ She expressed this familial or conjugal duty when she affirmed to Northumberland that: 'I wold omytte no *parte* of my dewtie nor shalbe founde slacke to sett forwarde all that in me liethe that [^]may[^] be done to bring you to your desire.' This obligation to honour her husband was recalled in Anne's letters to other recipients, including Northumberland's jailer William Douglas, Lord Lochleven, to whom she wrote on 27 January 1572 'as I most earnestlie wissh and desire my husbandes fredomme and libertie so wold I do all that I could in the world to procure it'.⁸²

However, the performance of a devoted wife also acted as strategy which allowed Anne to reassure herself of her own strong and useful position at this time of marital tensions and personal crisis. Her need to justify the delay to his suit was apparent since she opened this letter with a lengthy explanation of the most recent setbacks before informing him of their successes and achievements in raising the necessary finances. Northumberland's frustrations at his continued imprisonment in Scotland were clear from Anne's own comments. For example, her aspirations towards the 'spede' in accomplishing his desires were repeated in all of her letters to Northumberland, indeed it was the constant valediction

⁸⁰ CP 5/76 (28/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland.

⁸¹ Daybell, 'Women's Epistolary Rhetoric', p. 16.

⁸² CP 157/97 (27/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Lord Lochleven.

to him: 'I haue none but pray to god to sende *you* a prosperous and spedie ende of *your* long troubles'.⁸³ As a rhetorical device it therefore also worked to diffuse the tensions that formed the background to her correspondence with her husband during this period.

Furthermore, it was in the opening and closing of the letter that Anne's own frustrations with Northumberland were given force. She opened the letter chastising Northumberland for failing to write. She did not mention directly whether he had failed to write to her but instead she referred to letters as something which his 'frendes' looked for. In an earlier letter sent the previous day to Northumberland however, Anne did acknowledge that Northumberland had failed to write even to her, declaring: 'I also verey desirous to vnderstand in what state *you* do stand, by reason I haue harde nothing syns *your* other seruantes departure'.⁸⁴ To further rebuke him for his epistolary silence she went on to inform that in this time both herself and his friends had undertaken 'much adoe, great importance and charges' and raised the 10,000 crowns needed for his ransom. This cumulative list of their successes served to suggest that Northumberland was sulking and intentionally chose not to respond due to previous delays. The opening of this letter had the effect of a mild scolding from Anne by rebuking Northumberland's lack of epistolary reciprocity, which was in itself considered an impolite non-verbal action towards his 'frendes' and towards herself.⁸⁵ Epistolary silence on the part of husbands was also recognised as a failure of husbandly duty to maintain frequent contact if they were unable to share their wives' company.⁸⁶

Anne continued this admonishment of Northumberland's mood of resentment by closing the letter with a direct rebuke. She seemed aware that Northumberland was, in his frustrations at the delays to release, likely to blame his wife. She exclaimed to Northumberland:

And thus having none other at this tyme but to beseche *you* to suspende *your* Judgement if *perhappes you* do thinke or haue bene *perswaded* that *your* sewte might with greater spede haue bene brought to the ende that it is cummed vnto, for that whan god shall sende the tyme that I may openne the same, *you* shall well perceiue and trye that I could haue done no more then is done that and that *you* haue had great frendshipp therin without the whiche it had not be[ne] accomplished.⁸⁷

⁸³ CP 159/21 (31/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland.

⁸⁴ CP 157/96 (27/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland.

⁸⁵ Schneider, 'Politics, Deceptions, and the Workings of the Post', p. 107.

⁸⁶ Wall, 'Elizabethan Precept and Feminine Practice', p. 30; Williams, *Women's Epistolary Utterance*, p. 41.

⁸⁷ CP 5/76 (28/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland

This rebuke recalled a similar refrain throughout Anne's letters to her husband in which she deflected blame from herself for his continued predicament. In a letter dated only the day before from 27 January 1572, Anne also warned her husband from blaming her for the difficulties and length of time with which his case was resolved: 'trusting that your *Lordshippe* will not impute eny blame towardes me if your businesse haue not cummed to passe so sone as you wisshed and my self gretlie desired'.⁸⁸

Once again, these rebukes can be read as a negative assessment of Northumberland's performance as a husband, since they recall contemporary assertions that husbands should appreciate their wife's efforts. Like other early modern women, Anne did not frame her rebuke in a meek style, as wives were recommended to do.⁸⁹ Instead, when she felt her husband was unjust she framed rebukes directly and confidently within a modest style that emphasised her own dependability as a wife. Here, Northumberland failed to recognise Anne's efforts on his behalf and he snubbed her 'company', albeit in epistolary outreaches, by failing to write often enough to her. Just as women could use gendered expectations of wifely values to frame their involvement in extra-domestic arenas, idealised masculine values could also be evoked to assert women's expectations and rights as wives.⁹⁰ Like other contemporary high-status wives therefore, Anne's letters to her husband illustrate a submissive style but alongside a bold perception of her position as a wife, and as her husband's intermediary.

Simultaneously, Anne presented herself as virtuous by invoking piety tropes once more, calling God as her witness that her actions would be judged that she could not have done anything more to achieve Northumberland's desires. Moreover, she also used biblical language to rebuke Northumberland: instructing him to 'suspend' his 'Judgement'. The use of the rhetorical 'if' suggested that she was well aware that Northumberland did think that his suit could have been achieved more quickly and she criticised him for this resentment. The use of 'beseche' here reflected Anne's emotional state and her frustrations. More commonly featured in petitions 'beseche' was a 'stronger, more emotive' directive speech act than 'to pray' for example.⁹¹ Anne used the language of assumption in this rebuke, which temporarily removed the deferential position towards Northumberland that she had cultivated throughout the letter. She declared that Northumberland's suit would end how he desired it, by using the future tense in her assertion that God 'shall send the tyme that I may

⁸⁸ CP 157/96 (27/01/1572): Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland.

⁸⁹ Wall, 'Elizabethan Precept and Feminine Practice', pp. 30 – 31.

⁹⁰ Wall, 'Elizabethan Precept and Feminine Practice', p. 31.

⁹¹ Williams, 'Pragmatic Readings', p. 76.

openne the same' and when that suit's success would be achieved Northumberland 'shall well perceive and trye' of her efforts. Finally, she asserted that the case could not have been a success without the friendship he shared, thus contrasing his own behaviour with the strenuous activity of Anne and his supporters on his behalf. This assessment of her actions suggests that Anne was using idealised marital roles and gender expectations, to re-assure herself of her wisdom to intervene during the period of heightened tensions in her marriage.

To conclude, close scrutiny of the letter from Anne to Northumberland from 28 January 1572 offers evidence of the key rhetorical strategies employed by Anne to offer advice to Northumberland. It also emphasises that Anne's use of conventional rhetorical devices and cultural assumptions should be considered in light of the unconventional circumstances which framed the production of her letters. In this way it is possible to read Anne's deferential strategies as tools to navigate Northumberland's reliance upon her. Anne was therefore able to present advice to her husband in an authoritative way, re-affirming and bolstering her own position. Her letters can be read as communication for her own advantage rather than simply as efforts to support her husband.

3.4. Early Modern Newsletters

Finally, to offer a broad understanding of Anne's rhetorical and linguistic strategies and her understanding and navigation of epistolary culture, this section offers an analysis of her newsletters sent to fellow Catholic conspirators during her exile. This analysis proposes that once again Anne demonstrated her high regard for her position in epistolary exchanges with male recipients and directed these exchanges even when framed in a reciprocal and mutually beneficial style, as her news and intelligence sharing was. Anne's newsletters offer evidence of women sharing news down the social hierarchy and amplifying their own judgement and reasoning in this style of correspondence.

A newsletter can be understood to be any hand-written report of familial, local, national or international affairs sent to a particular person.⁹² Throughout the sixteenth-century news was routinely shared in familiar letters as well as in more formal reports by diplomatic

⁹² Beal, *A Dictionary of Manuscript Terminology*, online ed.: 'newsletter'.

agents or intelligencers to their masters.⁹³ News need not be restricted to formal, modern understandings of (supposedly) well-researched, objective information. Instead, research has shown that rumours were routinely shared as part of news culture both in high-status written networks and in popular oral exchanges.⁹⁴ While the truth of news was always a concern, especially when shared with a patron in an effort to gain favour, rumours and gossip served to foster solidarity.⁹⁵ Rumours may have been acknowledged as such in letters therefore to excuse any possibility of the news being invalid but they continued to be shared, often with the letter-writer distancing themselves from the information.⁹⁶ Like rumours, opinions too were regularly shared on matters of local, national and international import. Brendan Dooley and Sabrina Baron have argued that opinion can be considered information since assessing the veracity of news in the sixteenth and early seventeenth-century was difficult.⁹⁷

Understanding news in a more fluid way therefore offers greater scope to appreciate the newsletters of early modern correspondents. It permits an understanding of newsletters beyond the previously static definition of letters that were written solely to impart news and which were usually long and detailed.⁹⁸ Instead, letters that mention items of news or rumour only in passing, or those which can be seen as a mix of both private and public topics, can therefore be fully included in studies of news culture.⁹⁹ An approach which moves away from a simplistic understanding of newsletters has proved fruitful for extending our understanding of women's engagement in news sharing. Daybell has argued that women were central to the creation of the mixed, informal newsletters that developed into the commercial newsletters of the seventeenth-century.¹⁰⁰ Studies of women's letters across the early modern period have also shown that women's news gathering activities can

⁹³ For familiar letters of news see the edited collections of Allen, ed., *Letters of Lady Anne Bacon*; Sara Jayne Steen, ed., *The Letters of Lady Arbella Stuart* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Wolfe, ed., *Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland*. For intelligence letters see, Robyn Adams, 'A Most Secret Service: William Herle and the Circulation of Intelligence', in *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011), pp. 63 – 81; Akkerman, ed., *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart*, Vol II; Daybell, 'Women, News and Intelligence Networks in Elizabethan England'.

⁹⁴ Brendan Dooley and Sabrina Baron, 'Introduction' in *The Politics of Information* ed. by Brendan Dooley and Sabrina Baron (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 1 – 17 (pp. 1 – 8, 17).

⁹⁵ Dooley and Baron, 'Introduction', p. 8; Daybell, 'The News and Intelligence Networks of Elizabeth Talbot', p. 121.

⁹⁶ Daybell, 'The News and Intelligence Networks of Elizabeth Talbot', p. 121.

⁹⁷ Dooley and Baron, 'Introduction' p. 1; Simon F. Davies and Puck Fletcher, 'Introduction', in *News in Early Modern Europe: Currents and Connections*, ed. by Simon F. Davies and Puck Fletcher (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 1– 18 (p. 3).

⁹⁸ Richard Cust, 'News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, 112 (1986), 60–90 (p. 62).

⁹⁹ Atherton, 'The Itch Grown a Disease: Manuscript Transmission of News in the Seventeenth-Century', in *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain* ed. by Joan Raymond (London: F. Cass, 1999), pp. 39 – 65 (p. 41); Daybell, 'The News and Intelligence Networks of Elizabeth Talbot', p. 117.

¹⁰⁰ Daybell, 'Gender, Politics and Diplomacy', p. 103.

be understood in the context of intelligence and diplomacy in much the same way as their male relatives and compatriots.¹⁰¹ Women could not access formal diplomatic posts but they fostered diplomatic and political friendships through gathering and sharing news, acting as a link between political centres and peripheries.¹⁰² Analysis of the types of news that women assumed an interest in, including military and parliamentary affairs, also offers the chance to redress the prescriptive ideal of domesticity of early modern women.¹⁰³

3.4. I. Case Study 3: Anne's newsletters, to William Cotton, TNA, SP 12/108/171, 16 August 1576.

Anne's newsletters offer evidence of her sharing news as a gift to ensure the support of valuable contacts within the Counter-Reformation community. In this respect, she took part in a traditional patronage and clientage system that women letter-writers routinely navigated, using news and intelligence in order to secure future grants or petitions, or in a less formal component of patronage culture, to foster beneficial relationships and networks.¹⁰⁴ In contrast to contemporary high-status women, Anne shared news with people who were of lower status and rank than her.¹⁰⁵ Anne's correspondence with William Cotton, a Catholic conspirator about whom little is known, and Sir Thomas Stucley, offers evidence that news could be a reciprocal exchange in which both parties shared information without the need to secure favour. In these exchanges she revealed her high perception of her own position while emphasising the mutual benefits of sharing news. She regularly made direct requests of these correspondents for intimate news of friends and for political information. And crucially, when she felt that Cotton had failed to uphold his side of the exchange she admonished him for not sending her news.¹⁰⁶ Perhaps the shared experience and strain of exile altered social relations, or perhaps commitment to the preservation of their faith motivated high-status individuals to share information with their lower status acquaintances. Analysis of Anne's newsletters to Cotton in particular suggest

¹⁰¹ Akkerman, ed., *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart*, Vol. II; Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*, pp. 192 – 193, 225.

¹⁰² Daybell, 'Gender, Politics and Diplomacy', p. 102; Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*, pp. 9, 139.

¹⁰³ Daybell, 'The Intelligence Networks of Elizabeth Talbot', p. 127.

¹⁰⁴ Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*, p. 140; Bowden, 'Women as Intermediaries', p. 215; Daybell, 'Women, Politics and Diplomacy', pp. 102 – 103.

¹⁰⁵ Daybell, 'The News and Intelligence Networks of Elizabeth Talbot', pp. 120 – 121.

¹⁰⁶ TNA, SP 12/108/171 (16/08/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton.

however, that Anne continued to perceive her position and power to be high and influential. For example, she framed her news in the language of credibility and value and did not distance herself from information. Anne's assessment of the value of her news and information is evident in her instruction to Cotton from a letter dated 26 June 1567 to 'Marke well what I write and ponder it depely, for I think I geve *you* no fables.'¹⁰⁷ Distancing was common to those who shared information as a means to secure favour from superiors for fear the news would prove false and lead to disgrace. In this way she therefore illustrated that she was not seeking the recipient's favour, but rather a reciprocal exchange, in which she assumed a less humble position. Additionally, the language of assurance and credibility that framed her news indicated that her own judgement did not need to be questioned. Emphasising her sound reasoning further indicated her high perception of herself. Her confidence in chastising Cotton for failing to share news was couched in an implicit threat by advising him that she had discovered the information by other means. The implication was that she did not need Cotton for her intelligence which once again functioned to amplify her own position.

The newsletters, including the example from Anne to Cotton dated 16 August 1576 which is examined in close detail in this section, highlight the breadth of Anne's news interests. She exchanged intelligence regarding Spanish and European military and political affairs, informing Cotton of the appointment of Don John of Austria as the new Governor of the Low Countries in a letter from 8 August 1576.¹⁰⁸ She also updated him throughout their correspondence of the mutiny of Spanish soldiers and the attempts to pacify them.¹⁰⁹ At the same time, Anne corresponded with Sir Thomas Stucely during his early efforts to invade Ireland offering to 'doe eny thing that *you* shall thinke metest for the benefite and advancement of *your* hoale and laudable enterprise'.¹¹⁰ This interest in a naval invasion was fuelled in part by her religious convictions and her continued efforts to destabilise the English regime following her husband's imprisonment and execution. Yet, she also shared opinions of friends and of Cotton's endeavours in secret enterprises. For example, she wrote to Cotton sharing news of Sir Francis Englefield's health conditions – he suffered from deteriorating sight and 'catarre'.¹¹¹ And she regularly requested news from Cotton of friends from whom she had heard nothing for a long time. This mix of personal

¹⁰⁷ TNA, SP 12/108/103 (26/06/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton.

¹⁰⁸ TNA, SP 12/108/165 (08/08/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton

¹⁰⁹ TNA, SP 12/108/165 (08/08/1576); TNA, SP 12/108/171 (16/08/1576): all Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton.

¹¹⁰ BL, Cotton. MSS. Calig. C. III. f. 186 (21/06/1571): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Sir Thomas Stucely.

¹¹¹ TNA, SP 12/108/89 (09/06/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton.

and public items fits with the style of newsletters commonly produced by women of this period and offers an opportunity to add further detail to our understanding of the news areas which women navigated.

Finally, close scrutiny of Anne's newsletters offers an opportunity to examine in detail the use of codes and cipher in Anne's letters. Codes and cipher did not appear in any of Anne's other letters, but featured in six of the seven letters sent to Cotton between 21 January and 16 August 1576. Anne used Cotton's own system of encryption in which the first alphabetical letter was indicated by a symbol and key words in that same alphabetical line were shown by a small variation on the original symbol. For example, 'T' was indicated by a long 'f' letter with a dot to the side of it. The word 'treason' was shown by the long 'f' letter with two circles on each end of the horizontal band of the 'f'.¹¹² Simultaneously, Anne used other symbols that were not included in Cotton's cipher system to obscure the identity of key people. Although her use of symbols has not yet been fully decoded, she used an excess of symbols at times as red herrings to complicate the text for unsolicited readers.¹¹³

3.4. II. News and Intelligence

Anne's letters to Cotton throughout 1576 were the most explicitly focussed on the exchange of news and information. The sharing of news featured in her other correspondence, notably her marital letters, but whereas while she shared political news with her husband as mark of intimacy and shared interest, in her letters to Cotton sharing news and information performed a more specified function. Exchanging news with Cotton served to maintain Anne's network of Catholic supporters and allies and cultivate her position of influence within the circle of exiled English Catholics on the continent. As Daybell and others have argued, news was a commodity that carried considerable 'political capital' because it kept people informed of events across a national and international level, as well as forging links between the central institutions of power and the more distant provinces.¹¹⁴ Anne deployed news as a commodity by exchanging it for new information, information that made her a useful asset to the English Catholic exile community.

¹¹² BL, Cotton. MSS. Calig. B VIII. ff. 286 – 289 (1574): William Cotton's ciphers.

¹¹³ Daybell, 'Secret Letters in Elizabethan England', p. 52; Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing*, p. 40.

¹¹⁴ Daybell, 'Women, Politics and Diplomacy', p. 103; Dooley and Baron, 'Introduction', p. 17; Joan Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641 – 1649* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 1.

Anne's performance as an information broker can be seen in her letter to Cotton from 16 August 1576. Firstly, she offered detailed information on the recent detainment of a ship by the officials of Flushing in the Low Countries in which various letters were intercepted. She gave the names of those men who were part of the ship's company and were employed to carry letters but did not complete their tasks – in particular, the unreliable Andrew Walker, whom she disguised in code on this occasion.¹¹⁵ This was information that was pertinent in a more personal capacity to the exiles rather than in a wider political context. Yet, it was considered of great relevance to Cotton since Anne had previously written to him about the same issue a week earlier on 8 August 1576 and, on this occasion, provided him with the intelligence that she had gathered on the untrustworthy servant Walker and his involvement in the detainment of the ship.¹¹⁶ Crucially, Anne informed Cotton why she had shared this news with him, explaining that 'to thende that [coded] may be warned and better advised hereafter of suche slipper fellowes'. This was not simply a gesture of goodwill on behalf of Cotton's best interests however, since it was in the exile community's interests to avoid using unreliable bearers and to find out as much as they could about figures such as Walker. Indeed, the request to discover more about Walker was made once more in this letter: 'what he shalbe hable to learne owt, or certentie that he can find of this matter'. Anne therefore offered news of the incident involving Walker with detailed information regarding his detainment and release by one 'Mr Wynter', but she expected reciprocation from Cotton. He was to gather evidence on Walker's knowledge of the missing letters, something she had already asked him to enquire about and which by offering news she hoped she could now convince him to perform.

This letter to Cotton dated 16 August 1576 demonstrates the place of news in reciprocal exchange, rather than simply offered from lower-status figures to superiors in efforts to secure favour. Anne offered information only if something was forthcoming in return. She directly chastised Cotton for failing to inform her of the 'great stirres and trobles in *your* partes, wherof yors make no mencion'. She informed him that she had heard of them from many other reports an inclusion that was designed to remind him that she had access to various news feeds and was not reliant solely upon him for her information, as well as showing him that his omission of intelligence was easily discovered. News was often a stimulus for writing and so even accounting for delays in the delivery of letters, which

¹¹⁵ All quotes from this letter to William Cotton are taken from TNA, SP 12/108/171 (16/08/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton; see Appendix for full transcription and images of the letter, pp. 331 – 337.

¹¹⁶ TNA SP 12/108/165 (08/08/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton.

Anne herself acknowledged in the opening of this letter to Cotton, she clearly expected Cotton to share his plans to 'levie and take vp men ther'.¹¹⁷

In the same way, Anne also presented news to Cotton as a token or gift to strengthen her friendship with him and permit her to make more personal news requests of him in return.¹¹⁸ In the post-script, she offered the spontaneous and unsolicited news that: 'Even now worde is brought vnto vs that the mutined Spanyardes that were at Alst be accorded with, or at the point to receave satisfaction'. She followed this pronouncement with a direct request that Cotton send her news about the Carews: 'I pray you send me worde what is becummed of the Carewes, bicause I heare nothing of them, and whether ^they^ be cummed to you or not./' She framed this request in the language of a petition using the supplicatory, though not overly emotive, directive verb 'pray'. Her admission that she had no news of the family indicated that in this respect her intelligence networks failed and she was required to broker information with Cotton in the hopes that he would be able to offer her news in exchange. In this respect, Anne was using news in an unsolicited way in order to cement a relationship and yet also in a reciprocal fashion: in exchange for military information she requested news of a personal nature.

The language that Anne used to frame news and information illustrates her high perception of her own position and power even in reciprocal exchanges with mutual benefits. She did not distance herself from the news she shared instead, presenting it as valid. For example, this letter to Cotton opened immediately, following the note of frustration that she has only just received his earlier letter, with a confirmation of the correspondence lost in the ship that was taken by the people of Flushing. She stated who was involved in this incident (although disguising names using code) and made the point that she already shared her opinions on the matter in a previous letter, insisting that this letter serves merely to confirm the information. The numerous 'I' centred phrases offering Anne's thoughts and opinions of the news shared in this letter also served to further emphasise her reasoning and judgement, thereby placing her in a high position of influence. For example, she bluntly described those involved in the ship's interception and loss of correspondence as 'slipper fellowes' while repeating that she was willing to 'therof fully advise' to figures whose name she obscures and that she 'thought good to advise' Cotton on the same matter.

¹¹⁷ Daybell, 'Gender, Politics and Diplomacy', p. 103.

¹¹⁸ Daybell, 'The Intelligence Networks of Elizabeth Talbot', p. 121; Allen, *The Cooke Sisters*, p. 140; Dooley and Baron, 'Introduction', p. 17.

3.4. III. Symbols and Ciphers

Using codes and ciphers in her correspondence inevitably drew attention to the correspondence that Anne was trying to prevent reaching the English authorities. The very attempt to disguise text alerted readers that there was something that the sender wished to keep hidden.¹¹⁹ In cases like Anne's, where the sender was known to the authorities, this was especially true. Indeed, in the political and religious turbulence of the Elizabethan period the notoriety of recusant families in particular made them targets of epistolary interception as Daybell has shown.¹²⁰ Anne's correspondence with Cotton was not the only communication that she attempted to obscure, but these were the only letters she sent that featured ciphers and symbols to disguise people's identities and place-names. In an earlier letter to Sir Thomas Stucely from 21 June 1571, Anne used biblical allusions to obfuscate references to Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria, who was a leader of the English Catholic community.¹²¹ Such innocuous communications were a common means of distracting unwanted readers from the clandestine purpose of the correspondence.¹²² In Anne's case, this double meaning was noted by Lord Burghley who recorded the biblical reference in his endorsement of the letter.

It has not been possible to fully decipher the code used in Anne's newsletters to Cotton, however this section proposes that the symbols used had multiple meanings to obscure names and place-names from unwanted readers. Attempts to understand the content hidden by code have been made using the marginalia of contemporaries, including Burghley, which offer suggested decodings, and by comparing the code to that used by Cotton himself in his popular alphabet system. Red herrings in the form of null characters may have also been used for this purpose. Anne deviated from Cotton's own cipher alphabet to disguise the names of figures referred to throughout her letters, including herself and the recipient. In those cases, where Cotton's own cipher system was used, it has been possible to attempt to decipher the text using the suggestions by contemporary marginalia as a starting point.

The ciphers at least, used in her letters to Cotton were largely based upon Cotton's own system of encrypting material. Anne's ciphered words appeared to follow Cotton's system using the initial character code. Using Cotton's cipher to decode the 'mouer of the shippe

¹¹⁹ Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England*, p. 158.

¹²⁰ Daybell, 'Gender, Diplomacy and Politics', pp. 111 – 112.

¹²¹ BL, Cotton. MSS. Calig. C. III. f. 186 (21/06/1571): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Sir Thomas Stucely.

¹²² Daybell, 'Secret Letters in Elizabethan England', p. 47; Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing*, p. 38.

aforsaid' offered the name 'andrew walker'. Caution must be maintained since it is not certain that Cotton's cipher was employed in Anne's letters yet contextual evidence strengthens the case for using this cipher to interpret Anne's ciphered phrases. Firstly, contemporaries came to the same solution, decoding a later section as 'walker' above the line which when decoded using Cotton's cipher also becomes 'walker'. Crucially, Andrew Walker was a message bearer named by Anne in an earlier letter to Cotton dated 8 August 1576. She reported to Cotton that letters had gone missing and that Walker had been carrying some of the undelivered correspondence, in the hope that Cotton would make enquiries of Walker when he next met with him.¹²³ Andrew Walker was not hidden in symbols but was named outright in this letter. The other figure deciphered using Cotton's system was one 'Sir antonio'. This was most likely Antonio Perez, secretary to Philip II of Spain who was implicated in the murder of the Don John of Austria's secretary in 1577. Another possibility was Anthony Bulmer, grandson of Richard Bulmer and participant in the rebellion of 1569 when he was eighteen. Bulmer was pardoned by the English in 1575 but continued to be an active Catholic and travelled between the continent and England carrying correspondence. Either figure would fit with the description of 'Sir Antonio' here as one who had letters and other things taken from him when he arrived by ship, although the spelling suggests it was likely a Spanish figure making it more likely to be Antonio Perez.

In one respect, however, Anne's use of encryption did not seem to follow Cotton's cipher system. She employed symbols to disguise the names of figures referred to throughout the text. The same two symbols were used throughout this letter and indeed throughout her correspondence to Cotton more broadly. The first was the same symbol that was used to sign the letters as a mark of her own identity. In several letters to Cotton a capital 'M' shaped letter, or perhaps a crown-like symbol featuring three looped ascenders on a straight base-line, was used to sign the letter. This symbol was followed, in the hand of Burghley, by the identifier 'Countesse of Northumberland'.¹²⁴ Perhaps it was because Burghley identified the signatory cipher as Anne's mark that he also noted in the margin when this same symbol appeared for the first time in the body text of Anne's letter to Cotton, writing 'the countesse of northumberland' alongside it. Burghley also deciphered a second cipher mark, one of two wavy parallel marks, as identifying William Cotton,

¹²³ TNA, SP 12/108/165 (08/08/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton.

¹²⁴ TNA, SP12/108/103 (26/09/1576); SP 12/107/60 (21/01/1576); SP 12/107/75 (11/02/1576): all Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton; see chapter two (superscriptions and endorsements) for further analysis of the hands involved in composition of Anne's letters and in particular the titles alongside signatory ciphers.

writing 'william cotton' in the margin on the symbol's first appearance in the text. No examples of Cotton signing his letters using the same symbol have been located at present so it is not possible to verify whether Burghley deduced that the symbol indicated Cotton from signatory examples in a similar way to his deduction of the <M> shaped cipher representing 'the countesse of northumberland'.

The issue of deciphering the symbols used to identify Anne and Cotton arose when reading the letter since the same signatory or address symbols appeared throughout the body text. The likeliest interpretation of these challenging symbols was that the symbol 'M' that Burghley assumed referred to the countess of Northumberland was intended to be recognised as identifying Anne but could be read less transparently as 'countess of Northumberland', and more openly as 'I' or 'myself'. Thus in the line '[coded] hath heard bfore, as by myne of the viiith of this instant' which could be read as 'the countess of Northumberland'. Or, assuming that the symbol was merely a means of identifying the subject to recipient, it could be read as '[I] hath read.' The same was true for the symbol that Burghley indicated represented Cotton. In the advice, 'to thende that [Cotton] may be warned and better advised hereafter of suche slipper fellowes' if the symbol were to indicate Cotton then this read very statically. It suggested that the letter was addressed to someone else. The other possibility was that the symbol for Cotton was used and the recipient was expected to recognise it as indicating himself and to read it as 'yourself' or 'you' rather than 'Cotton' almost like an honorific in the way that abbreviations of your Lordship featured in Anne's letters of petition and marital correspondence.

In this way the symbols worked on multiple levels in a similar, though not exact, way to the signing codes identified by Vicent Ilardi in ambassador's letters of recommendation. Here, basic symbols based around an <S> shaped were edited to identify the degree of support offered, thus a triple <S> symbol indicated full support and only one <S> suggested minimal support.¹²⁵ Those without an understanding of the code would not be able to interpret the wider meanings, thinking it perhaps an elaborate decoration, or referring to something totally unconnected. In other examples, the symbol may have been used as a red herring such as in the text: 'that I may therof fully advise [coded]'. Symbols of no significance were routinely used to make ciphers or codes more complex and make the

¹²⁵ Vincent Ilardi, 'Crosses and Carets: Renaissance Patronage and Coded Letters of Recommendation', *American Historical Review*, 92.5 (1987), 1127 – 1149 (p. 1133 – 1134).

communications more difficult to decipher, creating challenges for how we read coded correspondence.¹²⁶

Using symbols in this fashion to disguise innocuous pronouns may have seemed like excessive obfuscation. They may have themselves been red herrings; they were not null symbols but their meaning was limited. The other possibility was that the symbols could refer to various figures interchangeably. Daybell points out examples of ciphers that allowed for multiple options of alphabets and ambassadorial word-lists of key names and places that included gaps for nulls and expansions as symbols were updated.¹²⁷ Complex ciphers often required a separate key to unlock the communication, although it was unlikely that a key was required to unlock the identities hidden by the symbols used here since there was nothing to differentiate them other than the contextual information surrounding their inclusion.¹²⁸

The final possibility was that the role of Anne's secretary, Robert Heighington, in the composition of the letters to Cotton was greater than previously assumed. In this case, the symbol 'M' used in the body text referred to the countess of Northumberland, while the passages that employed the first-person pronoun were Heighington's. Thus, in the line 'that I may therof fully advise ['M']', the subject pronoun 'I' indicated Heighington rather than Anne while the coded 'M' referred to Anne. However, if this were the case, Heighington continued to sign the letter using the symbol that marked the letter as Anne's, the 'M' shaped cipher. If this were the case, he may have meant to indicate that he was writing on Anne's behalf but even so this seems unusually bold for a secretary: indicating that the letter was his mistress's and yet writing in a style that implied he was the sender of the letters. This would certainly seem the case in the line '[coded] hath heard bifore, as by myne of the viiith of this instant' if the text was intended to be read as Heighinton's composition. Secretaries did not often leave explicit evidence of their role in copying texts. As Ross notes, 'acknowledgement of the use of a secretary was omitted from final texts as sent', other than in instances when writers apologised for not having written in their own

¹²⁶ Daybell, 'Secret Letters in Elizabethan England', p. 52; Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing*, p. 40; Ilardi, 'Renaissance Patronage and Coded Letters of Recommendation', pp. 1127, 1144.

¹²⁷ Daybell, 'Secret Letters in Elizabethan England', p. 52; Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing*, pp. 40 – 41.

¹²⁸ Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England*, pp. 152 – 157.

hand.¹²⁹ Yet, in letters written in Heighington's hand to Anne's servant Peter Kirke from the same period (15 June 1576) Anne signed the letter with a full signature.¹³⁰

Moreover, contemporary correspondence suggests that Heighington used a different symbol in his own letters. Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon reported that Heighington used a symbol similar to an 'H' in his own letters. This followed a common practice of signing one's initials as a mark of their signature.¹³¹ Hunsdon remarked that Heighington used this symbol in his letters to Cotton with whom he was a 'greate practiser'.¹³² Hunsdon also admitted that the mark may have been the symbol of Sir Francis Englefield. Indeed, an exaggerated 'H' was given by Cotton in his list of key names to indicate Englefield. However, in Anne's correspondence Englefield was represented by a different symbol, somewhat more along the lines of a 'Z' with circles on the ends. Letters that were attributed to Sir Francis Englefield may have been written in the hand of Heighington which would explain why Hunsdon struggled to distinguish the cipher mark. Englefield reported that Heighington took charge of his accounts and letters up until his death in 1589.¹³³

In any case, the use of ciphers and symbols to disguise information, including people's identities and place-names, indicated Anne's awareness that her letters were being intercepted. By 1576, her letters had been collected by English intelligencers for more than five years, at least since her arrival in the Low Countries in August 1570.¹³⁴ She presented political intelligence such as the news that the Spanish soldiers who had mutinied were pacified without using any symbols or ciphers, and asked Cotton openly for his help in finding information about the Carew family since she had not received any news of them. The news of the Spanish soldiers and the request regarding the Carews were part of the post-script which may explain why they were not encrypted in any part: perhaps in haste they were left undisguised. Given the excessive use of symbols to obscure names in the main body text it might be expected that the Carews would have been hidden here too otherwise. On the other hand, the use of the excessive symbols to disguise Anne and Cotton's own identity in the body text may have been simply a red-herring, making understanding even more difficult for unwanted readers who may not have been familiar with the full range of meanings behind the symbols.

¹²⁹ Ross, 'Whose Letter is it Anyway?', online edn; Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p. 72.

¹³⁰ TNA, SP 12/108/96 (15/06/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Peter Kirke; SP 12/107/60 (21/01/1576): Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton.

¹³¹ Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p. 95.

¹³² TNA, SP 53/10/65 (27/05/1575): Bishop of Ross to William Cotton with note by Lord Hunsdon.

¹³³ CSP Dom. Add. 1580 – 1625 (24/01/1589), p. 296: Sir Francis Englefield to Robert Tempest.

¹³⁴ Her earliest surviving letter addressed to Lord Hunsdon was dated 7 January 1570 but this was a copy that Hunsdon had his clerk send on to Lord Burghley, rather than an intercepted letter. See TNA SP 12/66/09 (07/01/1570): Anne, countess of Northumberland to Lord Hunsdon, contemporary copy.

3.5. Conclusions

This final chapter enhances our understanding of the range of women's letter-writing and the rhetorical strategies, linguistic techniques and epistolary devices through which they represented themselves, their families and the communities they allied themselves to, by bringing to bear methods from historical pragmatics to the study of Anne's petitions, marital letters and newsletters. Methods from historical pragmatics are especially helpful in the study of the content of Anne's letters since they offer evidence of how she constructed meaning in her correspondence. This approach relies upon an understanding of the specific socio-cultural context in which her letters were produced and as such offers an opportunity to reveal how Anne used her letters to demonstrate her continued high perception of her status and influence, and to negotiate social relations to her own benefit and self-assurance, even during the crises of her exile life.

The close readings of Anne's letters presented in this chapter demonstrate that she utilised many of the same rhetorical and linguistic strategies as her contemporaries and suggests that exile did not diminish the overarching assurance in her superior status which features in her correspondence. Crucially, this chapter offers new evidence that even in exile, removed from the formal expressions of social, economic and political influence, status and gender were constructed through rhetorical and linguistic strategies appropriated by women letter-writers for their own benefit and advancement; in order to persuade, to offer advice, to share news and even to chastise or admonish correspondents. Anne's letters offer little evidence of her appropriating the challenges of her physical situation or her exile circumstances to move her recipients to support her requests or accept her advice. Instead, she relied upon those strategies which have been shown, both in recent editions of women's correspondence, and in large-scale studies of letters, to have been commonly used by noblewomen to their own advantage.¹³⁵ Her correspondence offers evidence of a woman engaging with prescriptive ideals of womanhood and wifely behaviour for her benefit: either to move suitors' support or as a legitimising device used to support her involvement outside the domestic arena. In this way, this chapter contributes to the study of women's letters by further illuminating the strategies used by women and by offering evidence of a noblewoman's epistolary agency in a discourse, which in Anne's case, was especially shaped by men and by the extreme circumstances of her exile life.

¹³⁵ Coolahan, *Women, Writing and Language*, p.103; Daybell, 'Women's Epistolary Rhetoric', pp. 12, 15 - 17; Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p. 231; Thorne, 'Women's Petitionary Letters', pp. 27 - 29. Magnusson, 'A Rhetoric of Requests', pp. 57 - 62.

Studying Anne's petitions using a historical pragmatic approach highlights the ways in which she negotiated her attempts to persuade the recipient with strategies of politeness and admonishment which lapsed into vituperation on occasion. As others have shown, the success or lack thereof, of women's letters of chastisement or counsel does not take away from the confidence women letter-writers displayed in employing vituperative forms and in the strategies with which they mediated such language.¹³⁶ It is possible that the geographical distance from her correspondents fuelled Anne's epistolary displays of exasperation, frustration and anger, since she was unlikely to suffer serious personal consequence, and as such the influence of exile continues to offer new avenues for future scholarship.

This chapter also builds upon the study of women's letters of counsel, by demonstrating that marriage letters and, more generally letters of advice by women, can be read in a more nuanced manner than as efforts simply on behalf of or in the interests of others.¹³⁷ Instead, Anne's marriage letters illuminate the way in which advice-giving, framed in the context of idealised marital roles, could support women to enact epistolary agency in their own interests. In Anne's case the agency provided by advice-giving permitted her to reflect on her own circumstances and to re-assure herself of her influential position. Her marital letters demonstrate that gender expectations shaped the way that Anne offered advice. The complexities of gender roles and, often contradictory, cultural assumptions of female capabilities, afforded Anne considerable latitude in pursuing her interests, as they did many other notable female letter-writers in the period.

Finally, Anne's newsletters demonstrate that sharing news was both a demonstration of political agency and a means of constructing community bonds. Close readings of how Anne shared news through her letters contributes further to our knowledge of women's engagement with politics, including military, economic and religious affairs. Using methods from historical pragmatics demonstrates the confidence and self-assurance Anne displayed in sharing news. This study supports the recent findings by Crawforth and Akkerman, that the use of cipher and codes in letters also had similar effects and served to strengthen social ties.¹³⁸ The social and political function of sharing news and using ciphers is strengthened and expanded by this study of Anne's letters since this chapter

¹³⁶ Allen, 'Women as counsellors in sixteenth-century England,' p. 82; O'Callaghan, 'Womanish Brabb[ll]s and the Letter of Affront,' p.170; Linda Pollock, 'Anger and the Negotiation of Relationships in Early Modern England,' *Historical Journal*, (2007), pp. 56-90 (pp. 581 – 583).

¹³⁷ Allen, 'Women as counsellors in sixteenth-century England,' pp. 82, 89; see also Magnusson, 'Widowhood and Linguistic Capital,' pp. 3 – 33.

¹³⁸ Akkerman, 'Enigmatic Cultures of Correspondence,' pp. 75 – 77, 83 – 84; Crawforth, 'The Idea of the Cipher in Ben Jonson's Masques,' p. 144.

demonstrates that she regularly shared news with those of a lower social status than her, while it was more conventional for news to travel up the social hierarchy.

Overall, close scrutiny of Anne's letters highlights that she never presented herself as weak or disempowered, and instead ensured that the rhetorical efforts of her correspondence served to highlight her agency and influence in extreme circumstances. In this way, the chapter contributes to the continuing reconceptualization of women's epistolary activities as examples of diplomacy, patronage and politics in the early modern period.

CONCLUSION AND DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This thesis contributes to the field of women's letter-writing by applying a rounded form of analysis to Anne, countess of Northumberland's letters, bringing to bear methods from multiple disciplines to reveal the range of early modern women's letter-writing and how women enacted epistolary agency for personal and political purposes. In particular the thesis offers a historical pragmatic reading of Anne's petitions, marital correspondence and newsletters, to reveal that, even in exile, women utilised linguistic strategies and rhetorical devices, which supported their sophisticated negotiation of the patronage system, and offered the opportunity to engage in wider political and religious activities.

This thesis demonstrates the value and the advantages of an interdisciplinary study of early modern letters. Such a diverse approach, drawing together methods from historical pragmatics, manuscript studies and social history, offers new understanding about the culture of women's letter-writing. This inter-disciplinary approach is of particular advantage in cases where a limited corpus of epistolary texts is available, which is often the case with subjects including women, religious non-conformists and people of the lower-classes in the early modern period. Editing and analysing Anne's twenty-one sent manuscript letters in this inter-disciplinary way allows us to negotiate and overcome the silence of the archives which continues to obscure these subjects. In particular the study of Anne's own letters alongside contemporary letters written about her (even though these are almost exclusively by men) facilitates greater understanding of her successes and how she directed her circumstances to her own advantage. Overall, bringing together multiple methods from a variety of academic disciplines offers an opportunity to highlight Anne's activities and successes during her exile years, whilst also examining the nuances of her epistolary habits.

The rounded form of analysis which this thesis offers therefore considers letter-writing as a process involving many stages and persons, including networks, the layers of composition and physical production, and the role of collaborative agents including secretaries, letter-bearers and interceptors. In addition, this study of early modern women's letter-writing succeeds in situating Anne fully within her 'cultures of correspondence'.¹ The edition produced here brings together Anne's extant correspondence and those few examples of letters written to her. While the responses to her letters have not been traced, the thesis nevertheless is not limited by a selective approach, discounting letters received by her, and especially not excluding letters penned for Anne by secretaries, editorial

¹ Daybell and Gordon, 'The Early Modern Letter Opener', p.9.

perspectives which risk limiting our understanding of the multi-agent and socially constructed nature of epistolary exchanges.

Instead, this thesis establishes that women's letters, as shaped by and addressed to men, can be read as texts which were directed by women and crucially, designed to further women's own interests. Letters remain understood primarily as a male discourse and Anne's letters highlight the role of men in the production and reception of women's letters: all of her extant letters were penned by male secretaries, they were all addressed to men and indeed they were intercepted and assessed to be worthy of preservation by male intelligencers. Nevertheless, this thesis establishes that in these circumstances women controlled and authorised their letters and that scribal letters from women remain valuable resources.² In Anne's case, the use of an independently recognised seal and the range of her signatures demonstrates her direction of the production and rhetorical effort of her letters.

The historical pragmatic reading of Anne's letters extends our understanding of the epistolary devices, linguistic strategies and rhetorical styles used by women letter-writers. Anne never presented herself as weak or disempowered. Instead, she used conventional strategies of female inferiority, idealised marital roles and deferential scripts towards male addressees, to legitimise her involvement in non-domestic affairs and to assure and bolster her high perception of her own worth and position in epistolary exchanges. Drawing upon different disciplines demonstrates that widowhood, social status, religious convictions and cultural assumptions of gender, all supported Anne's success as temporary leader of the gentlemen fugitives during the 1570s and in her epistolary production. Anne's petitionary correspondence and newsletters reveal that her social status was key to her authority and self-assured epistolary style in exchanges with social equals or those of lower social rank. At the same time, close scrutiny of rhetorical devices and linguistic scripts, especially in her letters of advice, indicates that Anne navigated the gendered culture of epistolary production, using prescriptive gender expectations to her advantage. This thesis moves from a broad historical analysis of Anne's life, understood through her networks and letters, through an analysis of the material features of letter-writing and the physical processes of producing letters, and finally offers a historical pragmatic reading of Anne's correspondence. This approach affirms the centrality of Anne's assured self-representation in her navigation of social relationships, as embedded in epistolary exchanges.

² Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, pp. 72 – 75.

First, it reveals that, even in exile, women utilised linguistic strategies and rhetorical devices, which created a constructed 'female' epistolary style. As shown by scholars of early modern letters, this 'female' style was not exclusive to women, but rather was utilised by male letter-writers on occasion too, for example to move recipients to pity or to persuade patrons of their loyalty.³ For women, appropriating gender assumptions, both positive and stereotypically negative, often acted to their own benefit. The trope of female intellectual inferiority was used to frame advice to male relatives or powerful allies, while prescriptive advice surrounding idealised womanly behaviour was embedded in the language of the devoted wife, the doting mother and the skilful mistress of the household, often utilised to legitimise women's engagement with affairs outside the domestic arena. Studying Anne's letters contributes further to our understanding of the beneficial performance of prescriptive ideals and cultural assumptions which women expertly employed in their letters. For example, close readings of Anne's petitions and marriage letters, which reveal the scope of both formal and intimate letters composed by women, crucially highlights that the appropriation of gender assumptions not only legitimised women's political, diplomatic and economic agency for a male audience (which Anne's letters especially addressed), but that these strategies acted as ways through which women assured themselves of their own epistolary understanding and wider political agency.

Thus, a historical pragmatic analysis of Anne's marital correspondence and her newsletters, reveals that she offered advice not only for the benefit of her husband's suit, but as a method of assuring her own high perception of her abilities and influence. In this way, women's letters of advice can be read as texts composed for the senders' own sake, and not simply in the interests of the recipient or other readers. Even in cases where the purpose of a letter appears to be in the interests of a male correspondent, these letters had multiple layers of intentions and motivations. In this respect, this case study of an early modern noblewoman's letters supports the view that letters were not only a 'social exchange' but were deliberately constructed by the correspondent for specific purposes; to persuade a suitor, to advise family members, to chastise and even to re-assure women of their position and influence within diplomatic and political arenas.⁴

In the same vein, the sharing of news can be understood through Anne's letters as both a political and social activity. Sharing news created and maintained community and intimate bonds, while demonstrating the success and value of informal channels of communication,

³ Magnusson, 'A Rhetoric of Requests', p. 52; Daybell, 'Scripting a Female Voice', pp. 12, 14 - 15; Thorne, 'Women's Petitionary Letters', pp. 20 - 30.

⁴ Daybell and Gordon, 'The Early Modern Letter Opener', p. 9.

which women directed and maintained with particular success.⁵ Anne's newsletters to William Cotton demonstrate once again, her high perception of her position within epistolary exchanges. She cultivated an assured style, framing her news in the language of good judgement, reliability and worth. Such linguistic strategies reveal her assured reliance upon her superior status and the advantages of her gender. While the ciphers used throughout Anne's letters from 1576 onwards have yet to be fully interpreted, this thesis contributes to the recent re-analysis of ciphered letters as having both a political and social function. Thus, Anne's letters of news to William Cotton, which regularly contained cipher to varying extents used to disguise people and places, are shown here to have acted to secure social ties within the transnational Catholic community, within which Cotton was, throughout the 1570s at least, a central, if shadowy figure. This thesis also contributes to recent developments in the study of women's diplomacy and intelligence by examining Anne's exchange of news and information, using analytical studies of her own newsletters alongside contemporary reports of her exile activities. News, as part of the wider diplomatic, patronage and political culture of the early modern period, is shown to have acted as a commodity in Anne's epistolary networks to foster valuable Counter-Reformation relationships. Anne's news and intelligence activities are revealed to have been less rigidly hierarchical in nature than those of her many high-status contemporaries and instead news exchanges were reciprocal.

Additionally, this thesis, through a reconstruction of Anne's exile networks, demonstrates the political agency of women by revealing how they acted as intelligencers and diplomats, by utilising news in order to secure beneficial friendships and contacts. In Anne's case, these techniques were performed primarily for her own benefit and not for the advantage of a powerful or prominent male relative, indeed this was especially the case following her husband's execution. Instead, Anne expertly negotiated her status as the widow of what her community considered a religious martyr, in order to maintain useful servants, secure her own safety and her comfort in exile. It is true that she navigated the channels of informal communication in order to gather support for the exiles' chosen representative Nicholas Sanders, and to agitate for papal intervention in England, but these activities further cemented her own position of influence and power, albeit temporarily, within the exile community.

Therefore, a case study of Anne's exile letters offers further evidence that letters were a tool for women to enact political agency. Through reconstruction of Anne's networks in

⁵ Akkerman, 'Enigmatic Cultures of Correspondence', pp. 83-84.

exile, this thesis demonstrates how women created and maintained informal patron/client relationships. Reconstructing networks, understood through letters, also reveals how women utilised and directed these networks to their own advantage, even when removed from the formal institutions of economic and political influence. Exile women were at a further disadvantage in this regard, since they were often, like Anne, excluded from accessing personal or familial financial resources, and they were distanced from potential allies and supporters. Thus, an examination of Anne's exile networks reveals how women not only accessed, but created new circles of support and acted as independent patrons in times of crisis. This analysis of Anne's networks contributes to the growing acceptance of the informal avenues of political influence available to early modern women. Thus, chapter one highlights that a reconceptualization of patronage, which recognises its abstract, or informal outcomes can allow us to reconstruct women's networks, demonstrating how they maintained servants independently and acted on behalf of, often male, allies, friends and supporters.

This thesis also offers a new dimension to the field of women's letter-writing by examining the letters of an exiled noblewoman. It prompts new questions about the impact of exile upon the physical channels of communication and how exile could disrupt the transport and alter the afterlives of early modern letters. Moreover, this thesis questions the effect of extreme circumstances upon the construction of linguistic and rhetorical content in women's letters, including the physical separation from family, friends and patrons, as well as the economic and political challenges of being removed from familiar institutions and channels of influence. Did exile prompt women (and men) to move further away from epistolary strategies and devices that were conventionally expected to move their suitor, or to mitigate emotions and offence? Not unexpectedly, a case study of Anne's exile letters indicates that letter-writers utilised many of the same techniques and strategies employed by their contemporaries based within the formal institutions of the English nobility. What is evident, from the interdisciplinary study offered here, is that women did not necessarily rely upon the misfortune of their exile circumstances as a tool intended to influence or move their recipients. In this respect, the circumstances of exile appear to have had a different effect on women's letter-writing strategies than the acute crises of rebellion, treason, or insurrection, which often prompted a performance of vulnerability and epistolary strategies which emphasised one's precarious situation. It is true that in some ways exile afforded noblewomen greater freedom to manoeuvre than their contemporaries, since the distance from child-rearing and household responsibilities fostered opportunities

for wider political agency in multi-faceted ways.⁶ Using letters and networks to campaign on politico-religious issues, as Anne did, is an example of the extraordinarily visible aspects of exile women's agency. In this respect, she enacted a range of agency that contemporary women of similar status achieved without the constraints and challenges of exile. Like Lady Anne Bacon, Lady Elizabeth Russell and Elizabeth, countess of Shrewsbury, Anne was representative of aristocratic women, in navigating the indirect roles that noble and gentlewomen used to pursue their interests.⁷

One of the main opportunities for further research which has arisen from this study, is therefore the large-scale examination of exiled women's letters in this period, in order to establish more conclusively whether exile letters differ from other letters produced in times of personal crisis, by avoiding or altering those devices, such as the vulnerable widow, or the pitiful and dutiful wife of accused rebels. Key to this study would be whether exiles' religious convictions or principles afforded correspondents an assurance which motivated them to avoid conventional tropes designed to elicit pity. Anne's example offers only a tantalising glimpse into the potential of an expanded study of exile letters, especially when comparisons are made between her own epistolary strategies and those offered by her contemporary and fellow rebel wife, Jane Neville, countess of Westmorland. Jane remained in England following the rebellion of 1569 and quickly sued for clemency, sending letters through Burghley to her husband requesting that he submit to the queen's mercy. Her letters more firmly conform to the strategies employed by other women caught up in their husband's failed political manoeuvres. She regularly represented herself as a weak and humble suitor, and as an object of pity through her vulnerable status. To some extent this strategy was successful since she was granted the titles of a small number of her husband's estates.

Another potential avenue for comprehensive study of exile letters is by extending the corpus of lay exiles' letters. Comparison between Marian exiles letters and those produced by exiles during Elizabeth's reign would also permit a more detailed understanding of the impact of religious convictions upon the construction of exile correspondence. Current research remains focussed on women religious' experience of exile, although Gibbons has begun to address exile from a more inclusive approach, examining the experience of high-status women including Anne.⁸ Women's letters may prove especially fruitful for future

⁶ Gibbons, 'An Unquiet Estate Abroad', pp. 47 – 49.

⁷ Stewart, 'This Double Voice,' pp. 89, 99; Bowden 'Cecil, [née Cooke], Mildred, Lady Burghley, 1526 – 1589', *ODNB*; Daybell, 'The Intelligence Networks of Elizabeth Talbot', pp. 122 – 127.

⁸ Gibbons, 'An Unquiet Estate Abroad', pp. 47 – 49.

research in this field, as historical texts that offer evidence of exile women's activities and experiences. It is also within the realms of future research for a corpus of exile letters to be collected, in order to examine whether English exile letter-writers (both men and women) employed specific linguistic and rhetorical strategies to frame communication with supporters at home in England, in requests for pensions on the continent and in epistolary exchanges amongst their own community. As letters continue to be recovered from the archives, and as digital collections and printed editions continue to situate letters in their specific circumstances, it will become easier for scholars to locate exile correspondence, either by focussing on a specific individual or by taking a geographical or politico-religious approach. In much the same way that letters written by nuns have been recovered through an examination of religious orders, or specific convents in discrete localities, the study of the correspondence of lay women exiles will be facilitated and supported by the large-scale digitisation projects which continue to make original source material available for study.⁹ If exile women's letters could be located, for example the correspondence of Henry Parker, Lord Morley's wife, or the correspondence of Sir Thomas Copley's wife, both prominent exiles who had their wives with them on the continent for a period, these may offer insight into the relative freedom that exile afforded high-status women. We could ask whether these exile wives were constrained by their continued marital arrangements, whereas Anne who was separated from her husband and later widowed, seemed to thrive in the freedom to manoeuvre that this position afforded her, albeit temporarily. Other examples include Lady Jane Dormer, née Newdigate and her granddaughter Lady Anne Hungerford, whose correspondence may offer further insight into high-status women's exile experience while separated from their husbands either through widowhood or imprisonment. Marian exiles have been subject to considerably more study than those who fled under Elizabeth I and indeed any study of the Elizabethan exiles tends to focus on men. Redressing this balance offers potentially fruitful areas for expansion of women's political and religious activities.

⁹ Walker, *Gender and Politics in Early Modern Europe*.

APPENDIX I:

An Edition of the Manuscript Letters of Lady Anne Percy, countess of Northumberland (7 January 1570 – 25 December 1577)

Transcription and Editorial Policy

This transcription policy intends to provide semi-diplomatic transcriptions of the original manuscript correspondence of Lady Anne Percy, countess of Northumberland from 7 January 1570 until 25 December 1577. The twenty-four letters in total that can be identified are transcribed here including fifteen letters in English sent from Anne to various recipients during her exile in Scotland and later in the Low Countries. In addition, and transcribed here, are the five Latin letters sent by Anne in collaboration with gentlemen exiles, a further Latin petition sent only from Anne and three examples of correspondence addressed and sent to Anne during her exile years. The letters are presented chronologically. The Latin petitions are presented without corresponding images due to reproduction rights.

Two of Anne's letters have been edited previously. An address to the Duke of Alva by Anne on behalf of her husband's suit and declaring support for Mary, Queen of Scots was edited, in French, by Kervyn de Lettenhove, in the *Relations Politiques*, Vol. 6. Lettenhove dated this letter as 'the end of October 1570'.¹ Another letter, addressed from Anne to her husband the earl of Northumberland dated 21 March 1572 was edited and published in the *Registrum Honoris de Mortum*, Vol. I.² Both of these letters are omitted from this appendix and have not been transcribed in full because the manuscript sources for both cannot currently be located. As such, it is not possible to provide images of the letters nor can diplomatic transcriptions be made of the texts. Lettenhove's edition of the address to the Duke of Alva from October 1570 does not record salutations or signatures, but rather summarises the text. It remains unclear whether the original manuscript letter from Anne to the Duke of Alva was itself written in French. Anne did have access to a French secretary, Dr Knott, who was recommended to her by Dr Nicholas Sanders, but since the original manuscript is unavailable, this letter cannot be authenticated at present. The edition of the letter addressed to Northumberland of 21 March 1572, recorded in the archives of the earls of Morton, is more detailed: the signature is included and some of the spelling has been

¹ *Relations Politiques*, Vol. VI, pp. 8 – 11.

² *Honoris Registrum de Morton*, Vol. I., pp. 76 – 77.

transcribed to capture its Scots features, such as the <is> ending <Lordshipis>, <requestis> and <brutis>, and the spellings <lang> and <wif>, for <long> and <wife>.³

A Note on Dates

In the transcriptions of Anne's letters, New Style dates are included in the headnotes. For the sake of clarity, it is worth making a couple of observations about the dates that appear. On the one hand, those letters dated between January and March include the earlier year of date; for example, Anne's letter to the earl of Morton from 31 January 1572 was endorsed by Lord Burghley as 'ultimo January 1571' but featured the date 'this last of January 1572' in the body text. On the other hand, endorsements on letters from between April and December featured the same year as the body text, hence Burghley's endorsement of Anne's letter to William Cotton on 9 June 1576 as '9 June 1576' which matched the body text date of 'this ixth of June 1576'. In summary, Burghley's endorsements were in the Old Style when Anne's letters were dated between January and March of the year, which reflected the fact that the year in England did not officially begin until 25 March (Lady Day) up until 1752.

Headnotes

Each transcription is preceded by a headnote that sets out the available information for each letter thus: the manuscript location and archive reference, address details (e.g. Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland), the date of the letter, scribes of different parts of the letter, endorsements, location of the recipient (if known) and status of the letter. The identity of the secretary who wrote the letter, in those cases where letters were penned by secretaries or were copies, is identified if known. The presence and identity of the letter bearer is given in the headnote where it can be established.

1.) Archive reference

Anne's letters are held primarily in British archives including The National Archives, Kew, The Cecil Papers at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire and The British Library, London. Her Latin correspondence held in two collections in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Rome, and one more Latin letter is held at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris. Archive references are given by location, followed by manuscript collection reference, volume and

³ *Honoris Registrum de Morton*, Vol. I., pp. 76 – 77.

folio number e.g. TNA, SP 12/108/103 or BL, Cotton MS. Calig. C.III. fol. 186 and make note of the list of abbreviations above.

2.) Address details

A note of the sender(s) and the recipient(s) e.g. Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband the earl of Northumberland.

3.) Date

The date given in the headnote is as it appears in the body text of the letter. This is also consistent with the New Style of dates used throughout the thesis (see 'A note on dates' above). Where endorsements by contemporaries feature, the dates may not match since the endorsement reflects the English New Year of 25 March thus any letters dated between January and March appear as the previous year in endorsements. All of Anne's letters are dated.

4.) Scripts and hands

All of Anne's letters in English were written in the hand of secretary Robert Heighington while her Latin letters were written by secretary John Fenn. The headnotes record which parts of the letters were written by which secretary, or by Anne, in addition to Anne's own signature. If no signature featured, then this absence is noted. Cipher marks are transcribed using modern alphabetical symbols. For a full list of transcribed ciphers see 'Codes and Ciphers' (pp. 206 – 208). The scripts used by different hands in the composition of the letter are noted in the headnotes.

5.) Endorsements

Anne's letters do not feature endorsements from her intended recipients upon receipt since most of her surviving correspondence was intercepted. Rather her letters were endorsed by unsolicited readers who intercepted her correspondence. The main interceptor was William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and most of her letters featured endorsements by him. To be specific, fifteen English letters, including two letters sent to Anne, were intercepted and endorsed by Burghley. Endorsements then, are clearly essential in allowing us to demonstrate that Anne's letters were sent and intercepted.

6.) Marginalia

The headnote records any marginalia featured in the manuscript and whether it is in the hand of the sender, the secretary, the recipient or a third party. In most cases, any marginalia featured in Anne's letters was in the hand of Lord Burghley.

7.) Location of recipient and place of origin of letter

Where possible the location of the recipient is recorded in the headnote to record the scale of Anne's epistolary reach. When the recipient's location is recorded in the address leaf or in the text then this is given in the headnote, however, sometimes the recipient's location can be established using cross-references from other letters in Anne's correspondence. The place of origin of Anne's letters is also included where known alongside the destination of the letter.

8.) Status of the letter

Almost all of Anne's letters in English were sent letters intercepted by unsolicited parties and did not reach their intended recipients (whereas her Latin correspondence was sent and reached its intended recipients). The status of the letter can be; a sent original received by the recipient, a sent original intercepted by unsolicited parties, an unsent original kept by the sender, a copy of sent letter made by the sender for their records, a copy of sent letter made by the recipient for their records, or a copy of sent letter made by other contemporary figures. Status also notes whether any later manuscript or printed published editions of the letter exist.

Spelling and punctuation

The semi-diplomatic transcriptions of Anne's original manuscript letters presented here maintain the layout, punctuation and spelling as far as possible within the limits of a typescript.⁴ Word division follows the manuscript letters both in examples that separate words such as <my selfe>, PDE <myself>, and those that contract or elide including <shalbe>, PDE <shall be> or <thother>, PDE <the other>. Idiosyncratic capitalised letter-forms are transcribed, such as the capital <A> that ran through Anne's letters and was a characteristic feature of her secretary's personal spelling system, both as an initial letter in words such as <And> mid-sentence and as the indefinite article <A>. Names are not always capitalised in the manuscripts, which is not surprising in Early Modern English,

⁴ Williams, 'Pragmatic Readings', p. 202.

and first names are sometimes written using lower case letter forms, while family names are capitalised. The distinction between <u/v> and <i/j> has been retained and their uses are interchangeable, as is typical of Early Modern English. However, in the Latin letters there was no letter <j> simply a long <i>; thus this letter has been transcribed as <i> in those few cases that it appeared in the body text. All periods, commas, colons, semi-colons, virgules [/] and tildes [~] reflect the original manuscript composition and are retained. Where text is illegible, due to damage, blotted ink, or repeated strikethroughs, it is rendered as an elipsis in square brackets [...]. Where text has been lost from the end of a word due to damage, such as the removal of a seal or through folding, and where it is possible to make an editorial estimation of the word then the evaluation is indicated by square brackets around the missing letters. For example, <[Northumbe]rland>, has been rendered on the address leaf of Anne's letter to her husband dated 27 January 1572 in which the removal of the seal damaged the text.

Abbreviations

Most abbreviations and contractions are expanded with the added letters indicated in italics. The list below details the abbreviations that are expanded in the transcriptions.

Table 4. Expanded Abbreviations.

L:, Lo:	<i>Lord/Lordshippe</i>
La:	<i>Lady/Ladyshippe</i>
yo ^r	<i>your</i>
yo ^u	<i>you</i>
S ^r	<i>Sir</i>
Ma ^{tie}	<i>Majestie</i>
lre	<i>letre</i>
w ^{ch}	<i>which</i>
w th	<i>with</i>
y ^e	<i>the</i>
y ^t	<i>that</i>

The exceptions are M^r and D^r which remain in common use and are not expanded here. I have also not expanded the monetary abbreviations for pounds, shilling and pence <v^l iv^s i^d>. The brevigraph <p> is routinely expanded with the added letters indicated in italics; this elaborated and lengthened <p> form indicated multiple contractions including <par>, <per>, <pro> and <pre>. Macrons that appear in the original above a letter or section of a word are transcribed by indicating an extra letter in italics; conventionally, the macron

indicated a contracted <m> or <n>. Those marks that appear to be superfluous flourishes or pen marks are not transcribed.

Deletions and Additions

Any legible deletions in the manuscript letters are indicated by strikethroughs: for example, <Little Jacques>. All superscriptions have been lowered except those that are still in common usage, once again including titles such as M^r and D^r and specifically date markers such as <xvth of June 1576>. Additions above the line are indicated using caret marks, for example as in the line <but ^that^ such>.

Layout and Lineation

The aim here is not to attempt to represent the layout of manuscript letters exactly; nevertheless, space between salutations, subscriptions and signatures has been retained. Thus text is transcribed as faithfully as possible, with indentions maintained, and attempts made to retain significant space proportionally to how it appears in the manuscript letter. The original lineation of the text is maintained. Page breaks are indicated by square brackets in the following way: [page two]. Where text appears in the left-hand margin this is indicated by the following in square brackets [in the left-hand margin:]. If the hand that wrote the marginalia can be identified, then the writer is included alongside within the square brackets. Marginalia is positioned on a separate line of text distinguished from the body text by the square brackets [in the left-hand margin]. The body text continues uninterrupted following notes of marginalia. Body text is identified by square brackets [body text:] and where the identity of the scribe can be established this information is included. Underlined passages have been maintained since these were most often in the hand of contemporary unsolicited readers and show the process of interception. Underlined passages are rendered by underlining. The letter is transcribed with the address leaf first since this was the text that was read first by the recipient or by anyone coming into contact with the letter. The address leaf is transcribed with endorsements, followed by the superscription. Thus the address leaf is transcribed using square brackets as [endorsement:] and [superscription:]. Any later catalogue details added are also transcribed as part of the address leaf since these can be helpful in understanding the afterlife of the manuscript. These details are recorded in square brackets as [later additions, cataloguer:]. Finally, any

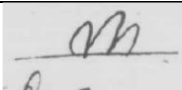
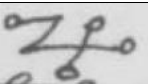
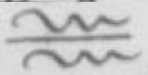
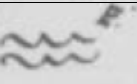
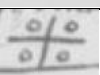
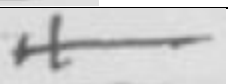
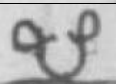
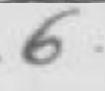
later marginalia by archivists that cannot be identified is placed at the end of the letter using square brackets [marginalia:].

Codes and Ciphers

Anne's letters feature symbols and codes used to disguise the identities of people and places. These present a number of editorial challenges, to which solutions are presented here in this section of the thesis. Occasionally, larger passages of text are written entirely in cipher or code. Where possible these encrypted words or sections are deciphered using the alphabet cipher system used by Anne's correspondent William Cotton and the contemporary attempts to decode the symbols by intelligencers and statesmen, including Lord Burghley. If a symbol or code is interpreted, then it is indicated by being presented fully in italics: for example, the symbol <6 > which is used to represent <*france*> in a letter to William Cotton, dated 26th June 1576. Burghley noted in the margin that this symbol referred to France and Cotton's alphabet cipher also provided France as the key to the symbol <6> in 1574.⁵ In other cases, Anne's symbols do not match those used by Cotton in his cipher system and are either from another unknown system or were her secretary's own creation. In those examples, it has not been possible to decipher them fully (despite Burghley continuing to make attempts to decode them in the margins). Where symbols are undeciphered in the transcriptions then characters are used to represent those symbols. A list below indicates the characters used to represent Anne's symbols. These deciphered suggestions for these codes remains a hypothesis currently based on the work of contemporary attempts to decode Anne's letters and further research, undertaken for this thesis, to contextualise the symbols.

⁵ BL Cotton. MSS. Calig. B. VIII, ff. 286 – 289 (1575): Cotton's cipher.

Table 5. Anne's ciphers

M		'countess of Northumberland'; or 'myself/me/my/mine' if the symbol is used by Anne to be recognised as her not simply as a signature. Possibly multiple identities obscured by this cipher (see chapter two).
≈		William Cotton; or 'yourself/you/yours' if intended to be recognised by the recipient as referring to him. See chapter two for more on the difficulty interpreting this cipher.
Z		Sir Francis Englefield
≈/≈		unknown
≈ ^E		unknown
‡		Sir Thomas Copley
≠		Sir Thomas Stucley
ψ		Henry Parker, Lord Morley
6		France
Δ.		unknown

In her correspondence the cipher used as a signature by Anne also featured throughout the body text of some of the letters. Lord Burghley transcribed these ciphers in each case as simply indicating the 'countess of Northumberland'. Reading the text becomes clumsy when transcribing the M cipher as 'the countess of Northumberland' in every case throughout the body text which caused me to consider whether this cipher had multiple functions. Thus, as shown in the table above, this cipher was used as a signature that indicated simply Anne, countess of Northumberland, often expanded by the secretary below the symbol. Yet, this edition proposes that the same cipher also acted as a means of reading the text assuming that the recipient was familiar with the cipher and was expected to recognise its meaning. The symbol therefore could read as 'myself', 'my' or 'mine' in the

expectation that it indicated Anne. This reading avoided the need to refer to Anne in the third-person, which in turn improves the fluency of the reading of the text. However, it is also possible that the cipher was intended to be read in the third person as a means to further obfuscate the text from unsolicited readers. Finally, it must also be considered that the cipher referred to multiple identities and that a separate key was needed to specify who was mentioned at each point in the text. Furthermore, contextual clues could have led the recipient to recognise which figure was disguised by the cipher if indeed multiple identities were obscured by one symbol. Red herrings, that is the use of nonsense or unnecessary symbols that had no meaning, were also a possibility, included in the text to further confuse unwanted readers. This analysis also applied to the cipher used to indicate William Cotton. Cotton's symbol did not always render coherent sense to the text when transcribed as 'Cotton' and as such the symbol could have referred to various figures with contextual clues or a separate key need to decode the specific identity. Or indeed, like Anne's symbol it may have been recognised as Cotton by the recipient and as such could be read as 'yourself' or 'you'. Overall, it is important to observe that the symbols used are not fully decoded and remain open to interpretation.

Letters addressed to Anne from Thomas Jeyne and Thomas Morgan employed code for long passages of text: indeed, Jeyne's letter was almost entirely written using code. In these examples it is not possible fully to transcribe the document since the code has not been deciphered at present. Thus, where lengthy passages were in code this uninterpreted code is expressed in an editorial note as [...coded...]. If a whole line of text is in code then the [...coded...] editorial addition is the only entry for the line. If code appears alongside English text on a line, then the editorial note [...coded...] is used alongside regular text to distinguish the two. This system allows the lineation of the text to be maintained. Thus, in Thomas Morgan's letter to Anne from 25 December 1577 several lines are transcribed as only [...coded...]. These lines number the same number of coded lines in the original manuscript. In examples where the entire letter is in code, as with Jeyne's letter to Anne dated 18 June 1572, the contemporary deciphered copy of his letter is transcribed.

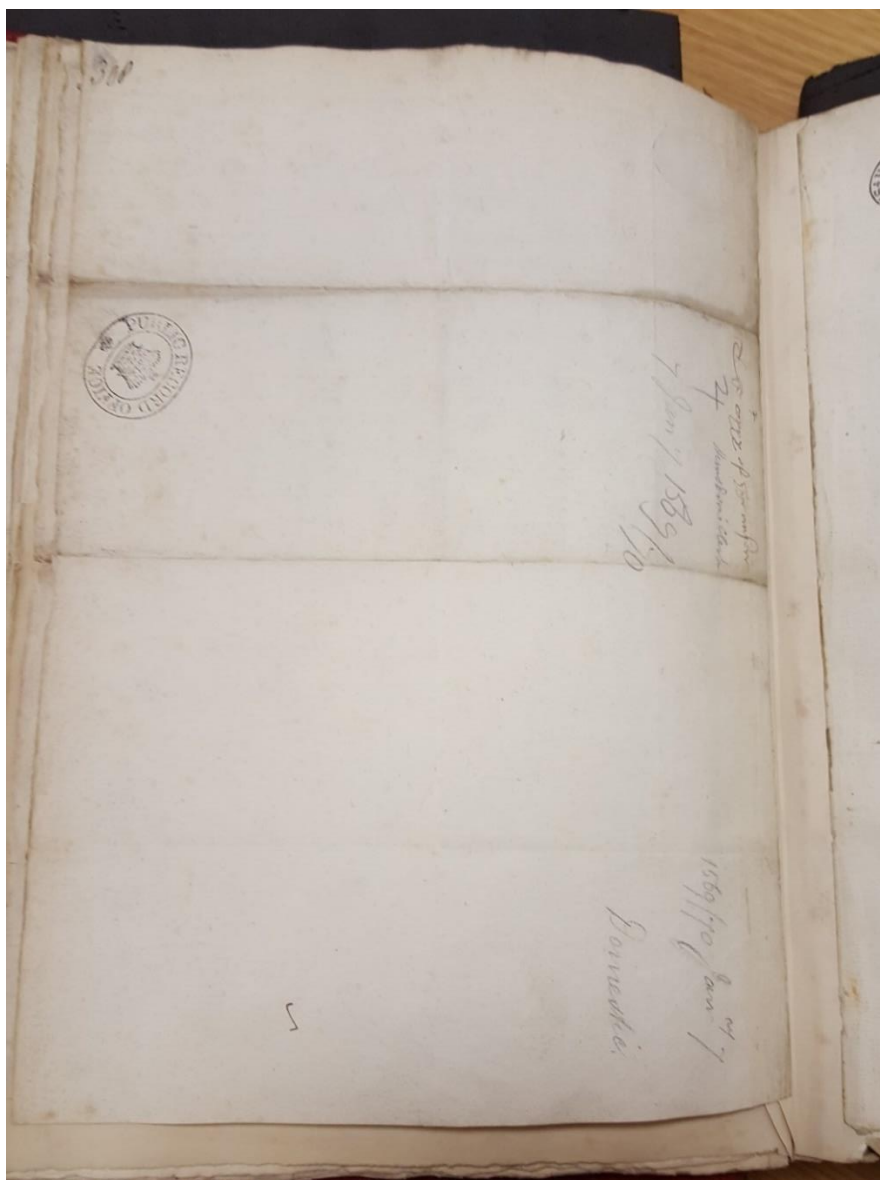
Editorial Annotations

Brief editorial annotations are provided with the letters, using footnotes to identify historical events, place names and persons mentioned in the letters. Biblical allusions and proverbs are also glossed. Any secondary sources used for annotations are given within round brackets within the footnotes. For a comprehensive guide to figures featured in the thesis, and those who were key to Anne's period in exile and frequently mentioned in her epistolary networks, see chapter one of the thesis.

EDITION OF THE LETTERS

TNA, SP 12/66/09. Anne, countess of Northumberland to Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon.⁶ 7 January 1570. Body text and signature in the hand of Hunsdon's clerk using a secretary style script. Endorsement in the hand of William Cecil, Lord Burghley. No marginalia. Sent from Hume Castle, Scotland.⁷ Secretary: Hunsdon's clerk. Letter bearer: unknown. Letter status: sent copy of original sent letter received by recipient.

TNA SP 12/66/09: address leaf



Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.

⁶ Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon (1526 – 1596) was cousin to Queen Elizabeth I and was one of the royalists who helped bring down the rebellion of 1569. Yet, he was politically aware of the religious and cultural strength of the northern counties of England. He wrote to Anne offering to support her in petitioning Queen Elizabeth for clemency. Anne's letter to Hunsdon was in reply to his offer of support.

⁷ Hume Castle was the property of Alexander 5th Lord Hume who sheltered Anne following her initial rescue by Thomas Kerr of Ferniehurst in December 1569 in the Scottish borders.

TNA SP 12/66/09: body text

3018


 My deare good L. I have receiv'd yo^r Comptrolle^r Letter
 touching my self; w^{ch} am to be gether in do^r stile my self.
 for your Indure of fit; not for the miserie of my owne body
 but that I shoud not be as I said thought woud be faine byme
 in the sute of my faine. w^{ch} I said thought woud be faine
 byme severall from the same. It was not for my
 sponser that I shoud. or faine of the. A. m. m. m. m.
 for I woud faine nor understand, but for the faine byme
 as woud as on woud any faine. And sould in my
 Indgement, but is one of the faine m. m. m. m. m.
 all offere. for yo^r faine m. m. m. m. m. m. m. m. m.
 I shall continue to praye yo^r L. of yo^r continuance to be
 And if I love it shall not be forgotten, and if I do
 I shall woud woud woud you; praying yo^r L. continuance
 in my faine, but the faine and faine that you faine
 me, but you woud faine fit upon my faine faine and
 faine, to be a faine to the. A. m. m. m. m. m. m. m. m. m.
 to woud you faine faine, to be a faine to be a faine
 faine from me. w^{ch} in my w^{ch} faine, and if I but
 yo^r L. faine faine. faine faine faine faine faine
 out of faine faine faine

yo^r L. faine faine /
 H. faine faine /

Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.

Address leaf:

[endorsement in the hand of Burghley:]

The coppy of hyr anserr

Hunsdons clerk

[later addition:]

7 Jan[uary] 1569/70

[Body text in hand of Hunsdon's clerk:]

My verie good *Lordshippe* I haue receued *your* Comyfortable lynes /. ~ .
 towchinge miself; *which* cumme All to gether in as evill case.
 as you Judge of hit; not for the miserie of my owne Boddy
 But that I can not be as I had thought neuer to haue bynne
 in the persutes of my husband; *which* I had thought neuer to haue
 bynne Seperated from till deathe⁸ / yt was not for my
 Offenses that I fled; or feare of the *Queen Majesties* mercye
 for I neuer hard nor vnderstand, But her ~~Majesties~~ ^mercy^ hath bynne
 as great as euer was anye princes. And Suer led in my
 Judgement, that is one of the spetiall causes, that vpholdes
 all estates. for *your* frendshippe, and good will towards me /.
 I shall earnestlye praye *your Lordshippe* of *your* Continuannce therin
 And if I leve it shall not be forgotten, And if I dye ~
 I trust god will reward you; praing *your Lordshippe* earnestlye ~
 once Agayne, that the pittie and faveor that you shewe vnto
 me, that you wilbestowe hit vpponn my poore childerne /. and
servanntes to be A meanes to the *Queen Majestie* for them, if hit maye
 please you without offence to geue me leave you shall
 heere from me within vi or vii daies, And so I bid
your Lordshippe hartelye farewell from hewme Castell the
 viith of January 1569

⁸ Anne was sheltered by Catholic Scottish lords while Northumberland was captured and taken firstly to Edinburgh under the care of Regent Mar and later to Lochleven Castle, Perthshire where he remained until his delivery to England in June 1572.

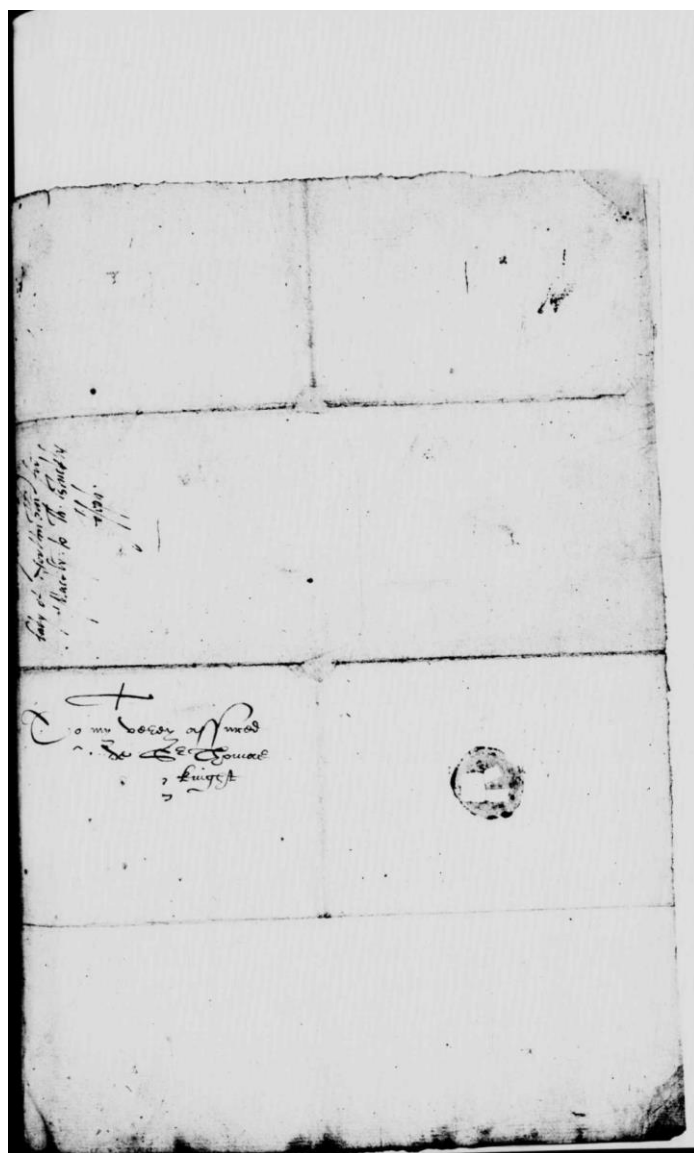
[signature in the hand of Hunsdon's clerk:]

Your Lordshippes poore Freinnd /

A. northumberland /

BL, Cotton. MSS. Caligula. C. III. f. 186. Anne, countess of Northumberland to Sir Thomas Stucely.⁹ 21 June 1571. Body text in the hand of secretary Robert Heighington using mix of secretary and italic script. Signature in Anne's own hand in italic script. Endorsement in the hand of William Cecil, Lord Burghley. No marginalia but underlined passages in Burghley's hand. Sent from Mechelen, Low Countries.¹⁰ Secretary: Robert Heighington. Letter bearer: unknown. Letter status: sent letter intercepted.

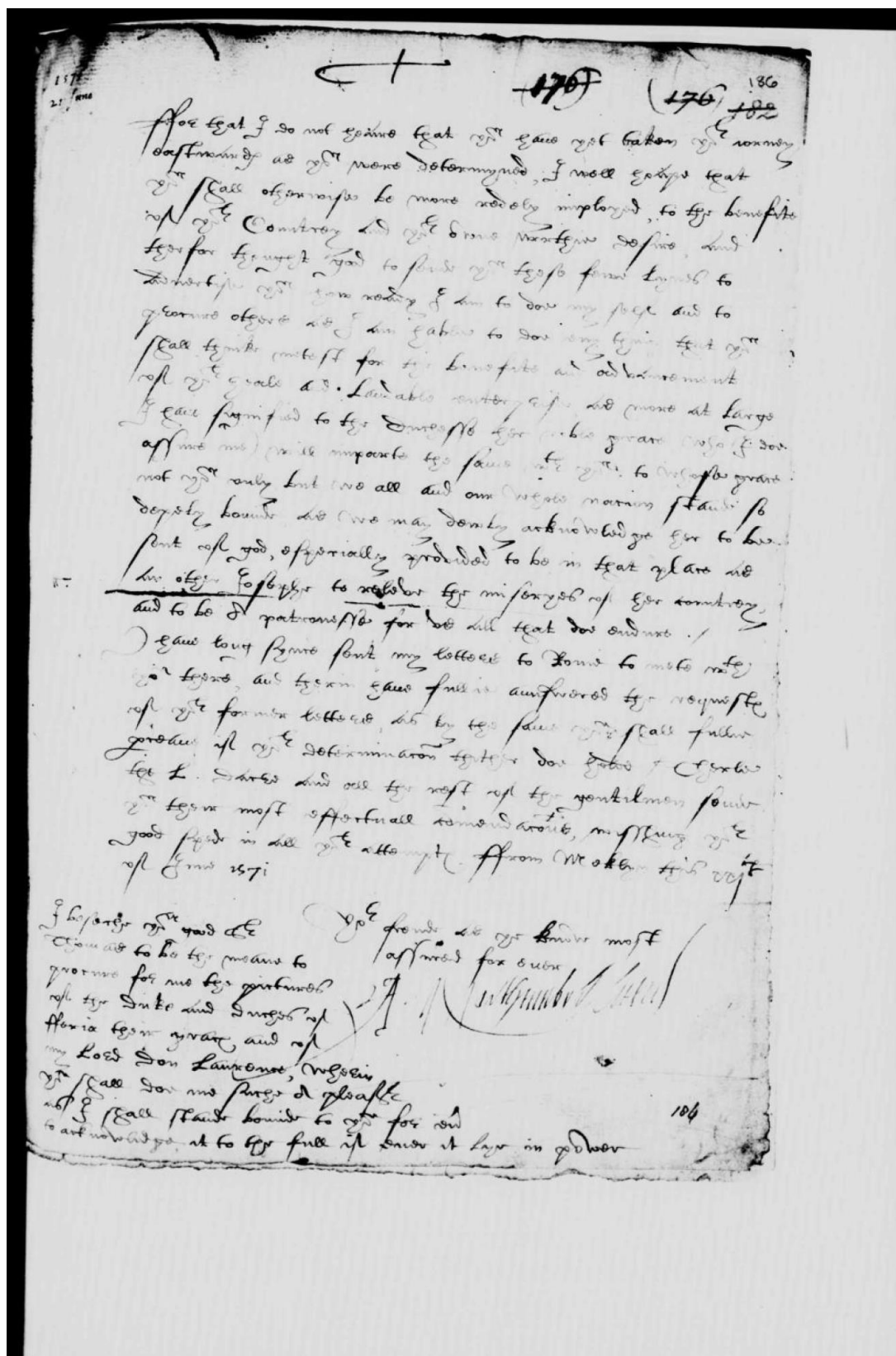
BL Cotton. MSS. Caligula. C. III. f. 186: address leaf



© British Library Board (BL. Cotton. MSS. Caligula. C. III. f. 186)

⁹ Sir Thomas Stucely (c.1520 – 1578) was a soldier and naval commander. During the 1570s he secured support from the duchess of Feria for a plan to invade Ireland by ship but Philip II of Spain remained cautious of Stucely's plans. In 1578 Pope Gregory XIII and Philip II of Spain finally provided him with financial and naval support to launch an invasion of Ireland however, the force never reached Ireland but instead fought at the battle of Alcazar against the Moors where Stucely was killed.

¹⁰ Mechelen was one of the more permanent bases of Anne's exile years although she was forced to depart Spanish territory during peace negotiations with England in 1575.



Address leaf:

[endorsement in hand of Burghley:]

lady of Northumberland from

Macklyn to Thomas stuckly

Joseph¹¹

[superscription in hand of Heighington:]

To my verey assured

[fren]de *Sir* Thomas

[Stucel]y Knight

[Body text in hand of Heighington:]

For that I do not heare that *you* haue yet taken *your* iourney
eastwardes as *you* were determynd, I well hoape that
you shall otherwise be more redely employed, to the benefite
of *your* Countrey and *your* owne worthie desire, and
therfor thought good to sende *you* these fewe lynes to
aduertise *you* how ready I am to doe my self and to
procure others as I am hable to doe eny thing that *you*
shall thinke metest for the benefite and advancement
of *your* hoale and Laudable enterprise as more at Large
I haue signified to the Duchesse her noble grace¹² (who I doe
assure me) will imparte the same with *you* to whose grace
not *you* only but we all and our whole nacion stande so
depely bounde as we may dewly acknowledge her to be
sent of god, especially provided to be in that place as
an other Joseph to releve the miseryes of her countrey,¹³

¹¹ A note taken of the biblical reference to the Old Testament Joseph made in the body text of the letter.

¹² Jane, duchess of Feria (1538 – 1612). The duchess of Feria offered support to the English exiles through her friendship with Sir Francis Englefield. She was a devoted Catholic and was positioned for a time as a potential Governor of the Low Countries by the English exiles (M. J. Rodrigo-Salgado, 'Suárez de Figueroa [Dormer], Jane, duchess of Feria in the Spanish nobility (1538 – 1612),' *ODNB*, online edn. Oct. 2006 < <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/7836>,> [accessed 5 December 2016]).

¹³ Reference to the biblical Joseph who was betrayed by his brothers but who rose to become a great leader who led his family and people to a better and more prosperous future, smiting those who betrayed him.

and to be A patronesse for vs all that doe endure./
 I haue long synce sent my letters to Rome to mete with
 you there, and therin haue fullie aunswered the requestes
 of your former letters, as by the same you shall fullie
 perceauie if your determinacion thither doe holde / Therle
 the Lord Dacre¹⁴ and all the rest of the gentilmen sende
 you their most effectuall commendacions, wisshing your
 good spede in all your attemptes. From Meklyn this xxith
 of June 1571

Your frende as you know most
 assured for euer

[signature in the hand of Anne, countess of Northumberland:]

A. Northumberland

[post-script in the hand of Heighington:]

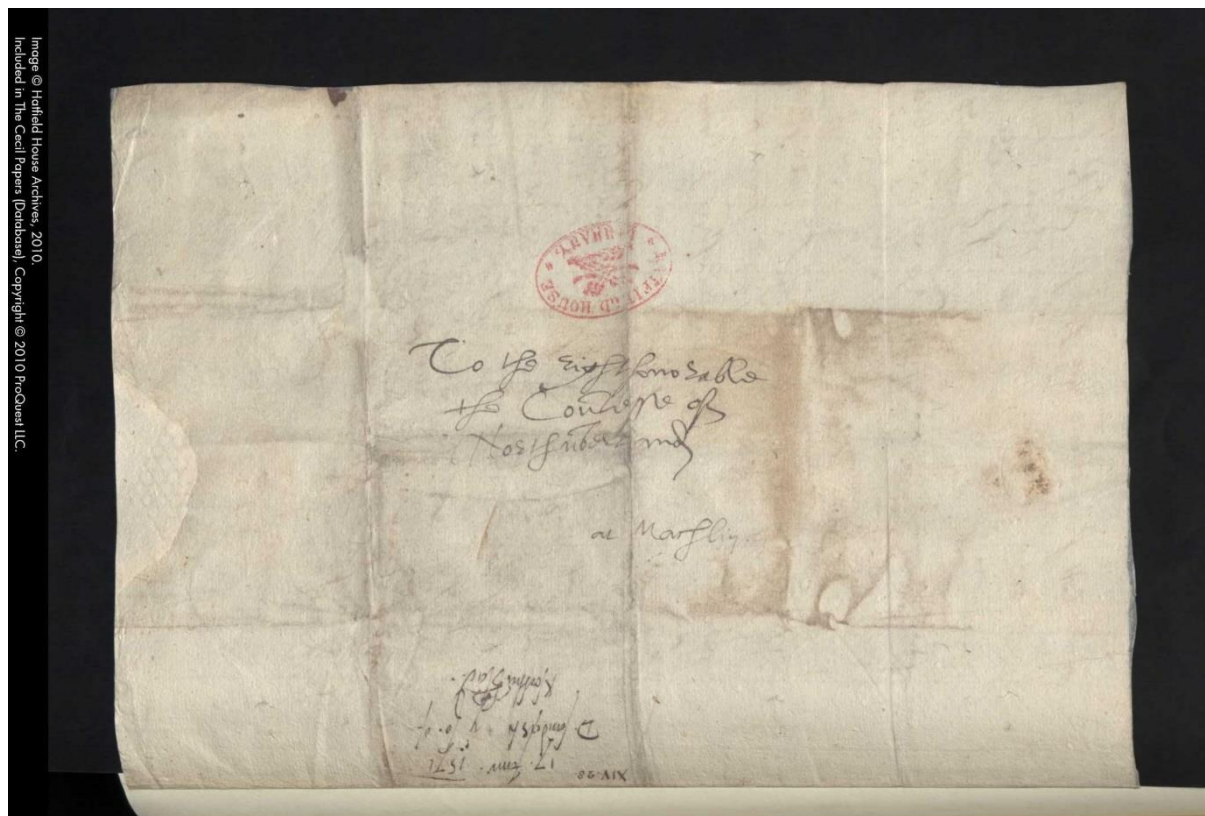
I beseche you good Sir
 Thomas to be the meane to
 procure for me the pictures
 of the Duke and Duches of
 Feria their graces and of
 my Lord Don Laurence,¹⁵ wherein
 you shall doe me suche A pleasure
 as I shall stande bounde to you for euer
 to acknowledge it to the full if euer it lye in power
 [...]

¹⁴ Leonard Dacres (d.1573), rebel and northern gentleman who initially betrayed the northern earls during the rebellion of 1569 but ultimately rose in rebellion himself and fled into exile.

¹⁵ Unknown.

CP 5/67. Dr Nicholas Sanders to Anne, countess of Northumberland.¹⁶ 17 January 1572. Body text in Sanders own hand in cursive script. Signature obscured. Endorsement in the hand of William Cecil, Lord Burghley. Marginalia and underlined passages in Burghley's hand. Sent from Louvain, Low Countries. Letter bearer: unknown. Letter status: sent letter intercepted.

CP 5/67: address leaf



Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

¹⁶ Dr Nicholas Sanders (c.1530 – 1581) was an English controversialist who left his fellowship at New College, Oxford sometime by 1560 rather than take the oath of supremacy. He became a key figure in the English exile community at Louvain. He was a close friend of Anne's and was passionate in his defence of the English Catholics, supporting the rebellion of 1569 and the excommunication of Queen Elizabeth by Pope Pius V in 1570.

CP 5/67: body text page one

Eight fine Eells madam I reme[m]ber me surely ad fully
 was you, being glad of it and happy, and desire to
 increase it with more power I shall absolutely
 find will do it for the sake of the
 comfort in the state so it is that I am bound to
 take up of my part of my part
 or so. like you can of in some sort.
 before I said more is now done to be
 found ad not to me. And when it is
 so. was to pay it, in I. but is to be
 name it, as also vij. 4. v. 12. the
 rising road left in the taking up of the
 gold at antwerp. And for find it
 edie to both in some sort of the
 sold again, as he shall have left
 in his hands when for so. he will
 for it. And edie to had occasion to
 lay out in some sort of gold; of
 the which I had part: and because I
 knew it Calicut I desired it
 not I did remember it and
 was sure it was of the you, and
 surely had rather look it up for
 me. But I know it for sure to
 well you keep in make no for so.

Image © Hatfield House Archives, 2010.

Included in The Cecil Papers (Database), Copyright © 2010 ProQuest LLC.

Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

I have abt a day & a half an half
 to remain here - after that I trust in God
 to be forwarded, not doubt but I shall
 have abt a week to be at home as I think
 for better, yet specially, as by your
 of ipollate yourself. in my case if I
 had a letter to Mr. D. Knott, he will
 certainly will & fast. If you have
 any letters to be sent in Latin, abt
 now to his Soling, or to the King, make
 a map sure and, as in my
 will say so it will be well, and
 it will be the more in my mind it is
 to send my Lord & I should be
 to know more for & Latin.
 Mr. Knott like to me say, nor none for offering
 more signed to him and to the King. He
 is wise, learned, courageous and diligent.
 D. Knott D. Knott, you know what
 a name said of him, he is Italian and
 a very, brave, and worthy. He is
 to be sure & my say and he is very
 in same about a house of Lord.
 because before to be in my way the
 first occasion, which is to be in
 perhaps in would have been better with

CP 5/67: body text page three

and lett him alone wth the est. of J. J.
 for some space or more previous
 to leave into the field
 particularly for it. but now I leave it
 I have made a picture of a table
 for the field, wth I hope you will
 in good good, and make it a sort of
 me yet in a word of the design
 please. And send to the
 for the to get an everlasting photo.
 with me for better to my lord,
 I have in my hand a vol. of
 a volume of the history of the
 no less. I have in my hand
 be the, I have in my hand
 being his and mine. I have in my
 a copy of the history of the
 I have in my hand a copy of the
 take my time of my good C. D. and John
 who not mine for which, but I hope to send me
 to the field for the field. by the field.
 to send
 (signature)



Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

Address leaf:

[endorsement in the hand of Burghley:]

17 January 1571

D^r Sanders to *the Countess* of

Northumberland.

[superscription in hand of Sanders:]

To the right honorable

the Countesse of

Northumberland

at Machlin.

[Body text in hand of Sanders:]

Right honorable madam I commend me hartely and humbly

vnto you, Being glad of *your* good hoap, and redie to

increase it which way sooner I shalbe able./ what *your*

frind wil do, *your* secretarie shal shew *your Ladyship*.

Touching me state, so it is *that* I am forced to

take up of him *the* xv^l xvi^s iiiii^d *which*

your Ladyship loke upon you of Mr Jenies¹⁷ dets.

therfore *the* said monie is now dew to *your*

frind and not to me. And when it is *your*

Ladyships ease to pay it, mr dr knot¹⁸ is to re=

ceauē it, as also viii^l v^s vi^d, the

which was lost in the taking up of the

goldes at antwerp. And *your* frind is

redie to lett *you* haue so much of the

gold again, as he shall haue left

in his hands when *your Ladyship* doth call

¹⁷ Thomas Jeyne, alias Jennings, (active from 1565 – 1583) rebel and poet, wrote the declaration of the northern earls during the rebellion of 1569 and remained a close supporter of Anne's following the rebellion. When she arrived in the Low Countries he travelled to meet her and remained in her company until 1575.

¹⁸ An unknown figure whom Sanders referred to Anne to be a French and Italian secretary.

for it. Alredie he had occasion to
 lay out ^almost^ iii score pownds of *that* gold; of
 the which I had part: and because I
 knewe it (althowgh I *procured* it
 not) I did remember *your* case, and
 was sorie it shuld go *from you*, and
 surely had rather lack it then *your* so=
 ner shuld. but I know *your* hart to
 wel then therof you make no forse.

[page two]

I haue as yet a day & perhaps an half
 to remain here after *that* I trust in god
 to go forward, not douting but I shall
 haue as wel *your Ladyships* prayers as *somtimes*
your letters, then specially, when anie thing
 of importance cometh in *which* case if *your*
Ladyship send *your* letters to mr dr knot, he will
 receaue them with *the* first . If *you* haue
 anie letters to be drawne in Latin, as
 as now to his holynesse, or to *the* king *majestie*,
 make a most sure accompt, of Mr Fen¹⁹,
 who both can do it excellently well, and
 is willing thereunto. in so much *that* if
 god send my lord *your* housband to thes
 countries, I know noman for *the* calling

[in the left-hand margin, Burghley's hand:]

¹⁹ John Fenn (1535 – 1615) Catholic priest and translator. Deprived of his post at New College, Oxford Fenn fled to Flanders where he became well known and respected for his Latin translations. Fenn was recommended to Anne as a Latin secretary and wrote Latin petitions for her and the gentlemen fugitives during the early 1570s.

Mr Fenn

[hand of Sanders:]

like t to mr fen, nor none for affection
more ioyned to *him* and to *your Ladyship*. he
is wise, lerned, couragious and eloquent.

[in the left-hand margin, Burghley's hand:]

Dr Knott

[hand of Sanders:]

As for Dr Knot, you know what
I haue said of *him* for Italian and
Frenche, sobrietie, and wisdom. If it
so fortune *that* mr fen and he do both ioyne,
you haue about *you the* floure of louan.
begine therfore to use mr fen with the
first occasion, telling *him only* in what
sense *you* wold haue *your* letter written

[page three]

And lett him alone with the rest. If I
had anie greater or more preciouise
thing to leaue unto *your Ladyship*, *you* shuld
surely haue it. but now I leaue with
Sir Jhon neuuile a picture on a tabble
for *your Ladyship*, *which* I beseche *you* to take
in good part, and make *that* accompt of
me that *you p* wold of *your* deerest

seruant.²⁰ And ending so I committ
 your *Ladyship* to gods euerlasting protection
 with my short letters to my lord²¹,
 ^ (which you may reade) ^ because my businesse wil suffer
 no longer. ^ I red likewise a letter to *the lord liddington* which my lord seton²² must haue &
 I pray you see suprasrised and sealed ^ If my *lord Seton*
 be there, I commend me homblie to him,
 being his euermore. ^ & send him a letter to my *lord liddington*.²³ ^ from louan
the xviith of Januarie 1572.
 Accompt it my very euil fortune that I can not
 take my leaue of my good *lord dacre*, whom I
 saw not since his return, but do hombly commend me
 to him, & him hartely to god.

being your *Ladyships*
 to command

[...]

²⁰ Possibly a relative of Charles Neville, earl of Westmorland, who travelled into exile with the rebels. The picture to which Sanders refers has not been located, nor is it mentioned elsewhere in the correspondence.

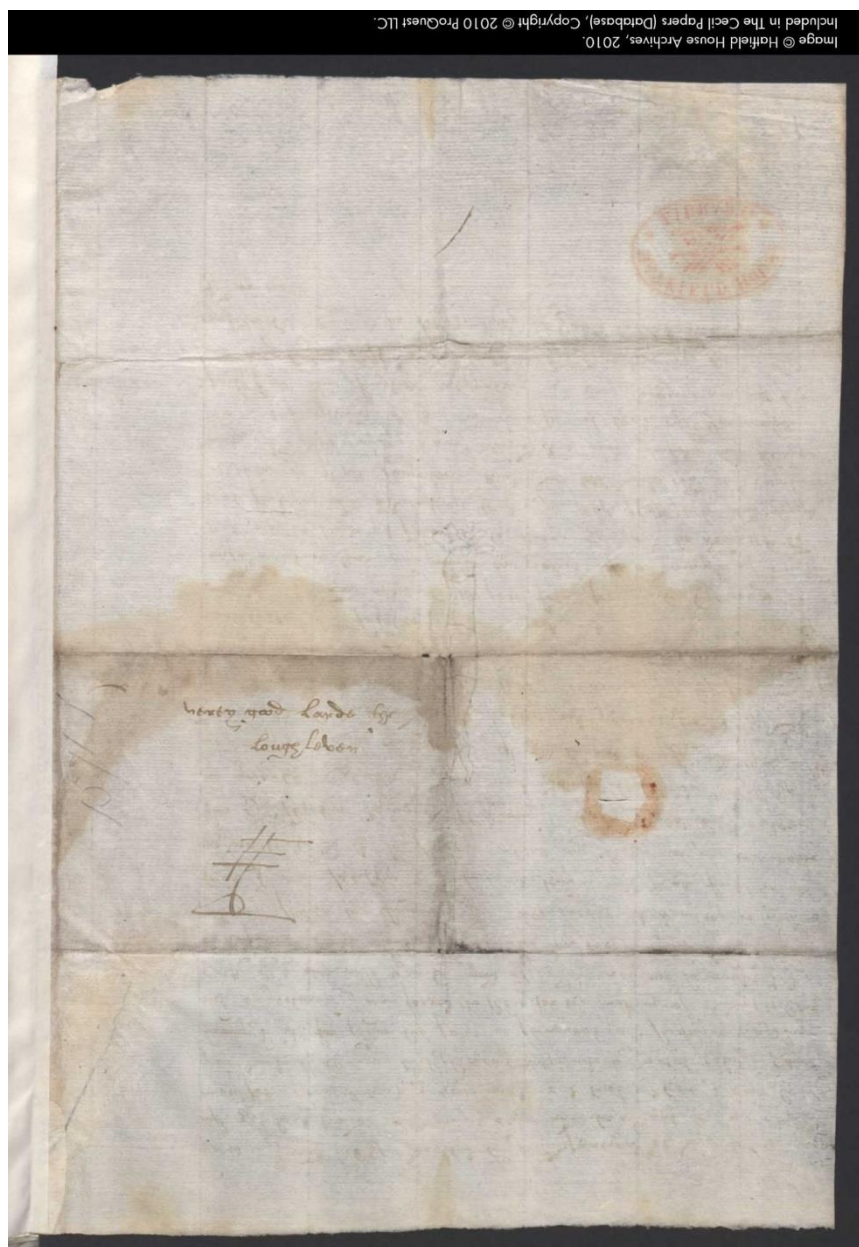
²¹ Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland.

²² George, 7th Lord Seton (1531 – 1586), was Master of the Royal Household under Mary, Queen of Scots and remained loyal to the queen during her imprisonment and exile in England. He travelled to the Low Countries to secure support for Mary from the Duke of Alva. He sheltered Anne during the later months of her stay in Scotland in 1570 and travelled with her by ship from Aberdeen to the Low Countries in August 1570.

²³ Likely to be William Maitland, Lord Lethington. Liddington was an alternative title for the barony of Lethington. Maitland (1525 – 1573) was known as Secretary Lethington to Mary, Queen of Scots. He was an ambassador to Queen Elizabeth's court. He acted as a double agent of sorts following Mary's escape into England in 1568 by joining the new Scots government but continuing to act in Mary's interest.

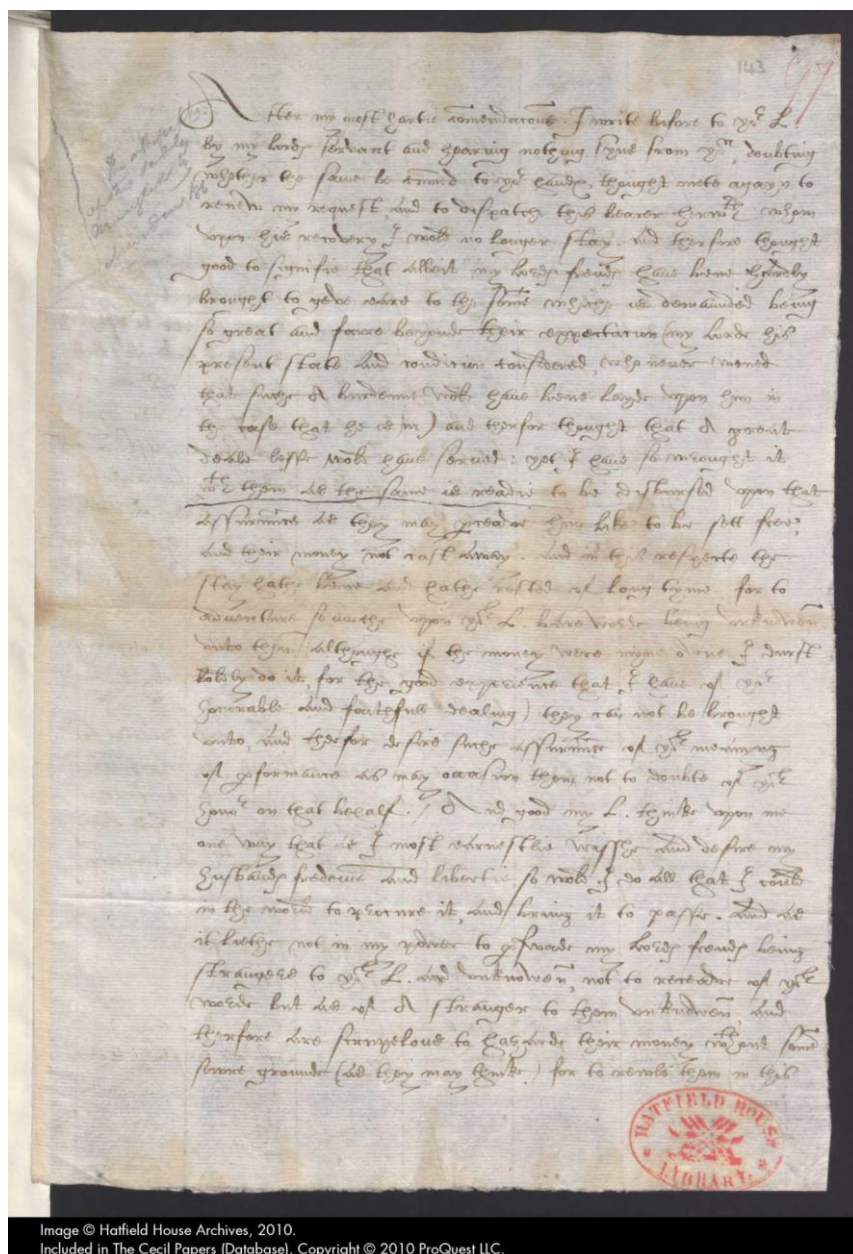
CP 157/97. Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Douglas, Lord of Lochleven.²⁴ 27 January 1572. Body text in the hand of secretary Robert Heighington using mix of secretary and italic scripts. Signature in Anne's own hand in italic script. No endorsement. Marginalia in the hand of secretary Heighington. Later marginalia in unknown hand. Sent from Mechelen, Low Countries to Lochleven Castle, Scotland. Secretary: Robert Heighington. Letter bearer: unknown. Letter status: sent letter intercepted.

CP 157/97: address leaf



Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

²⁴ William Douglas, Lord Lochleven, 6th earl of Morton (c.1540 – 1606) was cousin of James Douglas, 4th earl of Morton. He owned Lochleven Castle, Perthshire where Mary, Queen of Scots was held until her escape into England in 1568. Northumberland was then held here until his return to England in June 1572.



Address leaf:

[superscription in hand of Heighington:]

[My] verey good Larde the

[larde of] Loughleven

[Body text in hand of Heighington:]

After my most hartie commendacions I write bifore to *your Lordshippe* by my Lordes servant and hearing nothing syns from you, doubting whether the same be cummed to *your* handes, thought mete agayn to renew my request, and to dispatche this bearer herwith whom vpon his recovery I wold no longer stay. and therfore thought good to signifie that albeit my Lordes frendes haue bene hardly brought to geve eare to the *somme* whiche is demaunded being so great and farre beyonde their expectacion (my Lorde his present state and condicion considered, who neuer mened that suche A burdenne wold haue bene layde vpon him in the case that he is in) and therfor thought that A great deale lesse wold haue serued: yet I haue so wrought it with them as the same is readie to be disbursed vpon that assurannce as they may *perceave* him like to be sett free, and their money not cast away. and in this respecte the stay hathe bene and hathe rested of long tyme, for to aduenture so muche vpon *your Lordshippes* bare worde being unknowenn vnto them (althoughe if the money were myne owne I durst boldly do it, for the good experience that I haue of *your* honorable and faithfull dealing) they can not be brought vnto, and therfor desire suche assurannce of *your* meanyng of *performance* as may occasion them not to doubte of *your* honour on that behalf./ And good my *Lordshippe* thinke vpon me one way that as I most earnestlie wisshe and desire my husbandes fredomme and libertie. so wold I do all that I could in the world to procure it, and bring it to passe. and as

it liethe not in my power to *perswade* my Lordes frendes being
 strangers to *your Lordshippe* and unknowenn, not to receave of *your*
 worde but as of A stranger to them unknowenn, and
 therefore are scrupelous to hazarde their money *without somme*
 sewre grounde (as they may thinke) for to rewle them in this

[page two]

case I can not, seing the money is theirs and of their mere
 benevolence and love to my Lorde ready to be disbursed.
 so *your Lordshippe* that is to take the commoditie therof may well,
 and I trust will, no longer differ the tyme to geve them
 that evidence of *your* iust meanyng towards my Lordes
 enlargement as *you* may no longer be kept from so great
 A benefite, nor my Lorde from his desired libertie.
 and seing the matter restithe in *your* owne power to dispatche
 and that no meanyng is of neither *parts* (as I take it) but
 honorable iust and faithfull, I shall beseche *you* no ~
 longer to delay it, but so to openne *your* self vnto them
 as they being satisfied (*which* by eny reasonable assurannce
 they wilbe contented.) A frindly ende may be made
 in this matter, *you* to haue *your* money, my Lorde and all
 their favours and kyndnes, and they to enjoye his presence
 and company. And so prayeng ^{^your^} Lordshippe to consider of this
 my request, what hindrinnce this long delay hathe bene
 aswell to *your Lordshippe* as to my Lorde in his healthe as otherwise
 and that I may receaue *your* spedie aunswer, wherby the bonde
 of kyndnes may be so knytte between my Lorde and *you*
 and *your* two howses, as *you* shall haue good cawse hereafter to
 thinke *your* favour at this tyme well bestowed, beseching *you*
 to geve credite to this bearer in that he hathe to say further
 in this matter, with my most hartie ^{^Commendacions and^} thanks to my good lady

your bedfellow²⁵ I ende at Meklyn this xxviith of January.

Your good Lordshippes right assured frende

[signature in hand of Anne, countess of Northumberland:]

A. Northumberland

[in the left-hand margin:]

post script

[post-script in hand of Heighington:]

if the summe demaunded had bene lyke as it wold haue bene thought
should haue bene required ^{^for^} one in my Lordes case, and the state that

[page three]

he is in, I wold not haue doubted to haue dispatched it vpon the assurannce
of *your* bare worde and myne owne credite, without the great and
manifold meanes that I haue made and trobles that I haue bene
put vnto to attayne to this point wherunto by great labour I haue
brought it. for seing the same is so great and so farre passing
all expectacion I am forced to seke for the making of it vpp to their
handes that otherwise than by good assurannce can not be contented
to disburse their money and therby my troble hathe bene more
and my sewte the longer, and whensoever it cummithe to passe
that I may satisfie *your Lordshipp* (as therin *you* shall finde in me
no wante to do it with spede) yet is my Lorde nothing the nearer
for his safetie, being A stranger in those parties, but rather
in greater hazarde and in more danger then now whill he
remaynithe vnder *your* garde, if he be not by *your* good helpe

²⁵ Lady Agnes Leslie, countess of Morton (c.1541 – c.1606). Lady Agnes became Mary, Queen of Scots' companion during the queen's imprisonment at Lochleven Castle.

and meanes furthered to the place of safetie wher he wold
 be at or may accompt him self assured. and therfor my
 trust is in *your Lordshipp* that as *you* haue verey honorablie hitherto
 dealte for his safetie, so *you* will not leave him vntill he
 may by *your* good meanes be sett free from intertrapping or
 misaduenture that may cumme by malice [~~if~~] or decept of eny
 that may be layde or suborned to annoye him, and be commytted to
 that fortune and adventure that him self shall take and choise,
 wherby *you* shall singularly binde vs all vnto *you*, and wyne
 vnto *your* self muche honour commoditie and profite and beare
 away the glorie laude and praise of that *your* honorable
 faithfull and frendly intreating of him whiche can not be
 at eny tyme left vnrem^{em}bred whilst either my Lorde his
 posteritie kynred or frendes may be hable to acknowledge it to
you or yors./

[marginalia, upper left:]

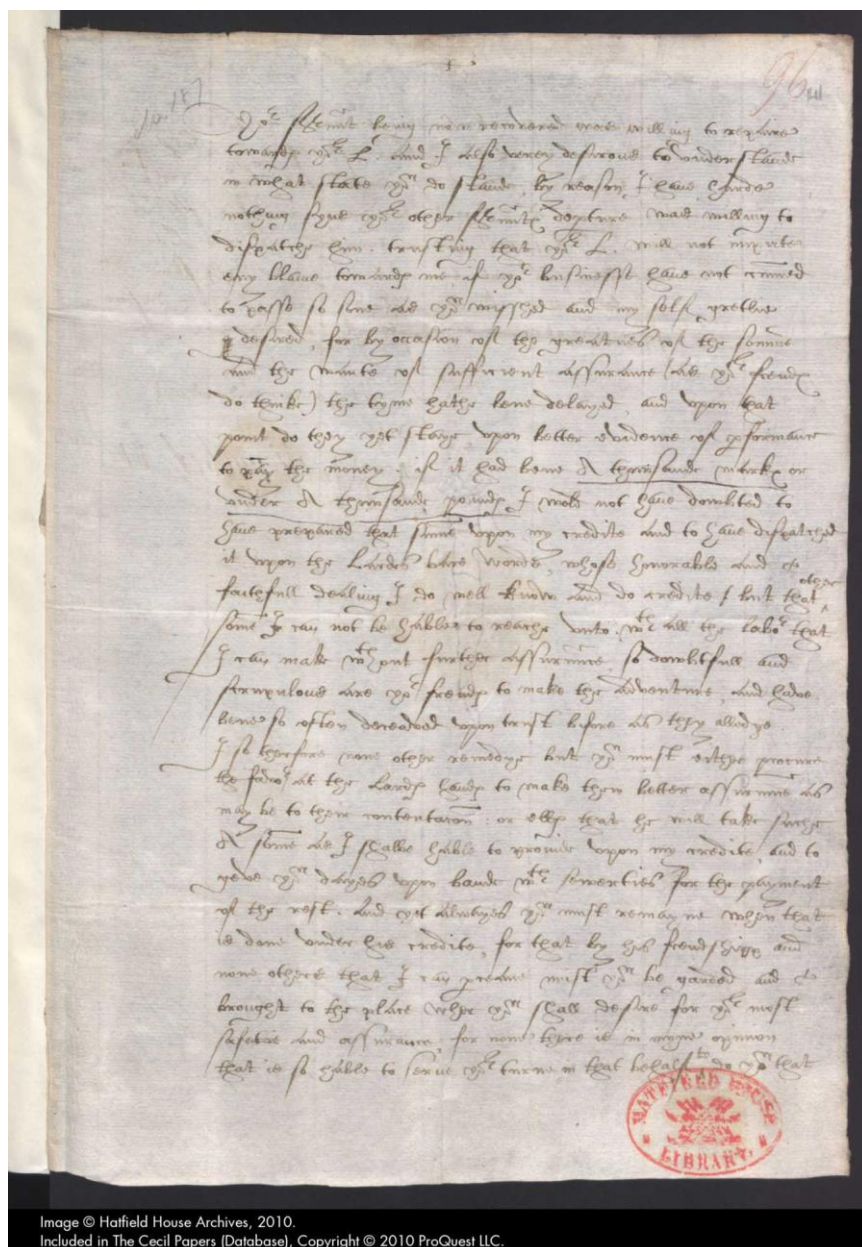
The orthography
 of this lady
 much lined by
 Hunsdon [...]

CP 157/96. Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland. 27 January 1572. Body text in the hand of secretary Robert Heighington using mix of secretary and italic scripts. Signature in Anne's own hand using italic script. Endorsement in the hand of William Cecil, Lord Burghley. No marginalia. Sent from Mechelen, Low Countries to Lochleven Castle, Scotland. Secretary: Robert Heighington. Letter bearer: unknown. Letter status: sent letter intercepted.

CP 157/96: address leaf



Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.



Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

[illegible]

Address leaf:

[endorsement in hand of Burghley:]

27 January 1571

Countess of Northumberland to hir
husband

[superscription in hand of Heighington:]

To the right honorable and

my verey good *Lorde* and

[husbande] Therle of

[Northumbe]rland

[Body text in hand of Heighington:]

Your *seruant* being now recovered was willing to repaire
towardses your *Lordshippe* and I also verey desirous to vnderstande
in what state you do stande, by reason I haue harde
nothing syns your other *seruantes* departure was willing to
dispatche him. trusting that your *Lordshippe* will not impute
eny blame towardses me, if your *businesse* haue not cummed
to passe so sone as you wisshed and my self gretlie
g desired, for by occasion of the greatnes of the *somme*
and the wante of sufficient assurance (as your *frendes*
do thinke) the tyme hathe bene delayed, and vpon that
point do they yet staye, vpon better evidence of performance
to pay the money. if it had bene A thowsande markes or
vnder A thowsande powndes I wold not haue dowbted to
haue prepared that summe vpon my credite and to haue dispatched
it vpon the Lardes bare worde, whose honorable and ~
faithfull dealing I do well know and do credite./ but that ^other^
somme I can not be hable to reache vnto with all the labour that
I can make without further assurannce, so dowbtfull and
scrupulous are your *frendes* to make the adventure, and have

bene so often deceived vpon trust bifore as they alledge.

I se therfore none other remedye but *you* must either procure the favour at the Lardes handes to make them better assurannce as may be to their contentacion: or elles that he will take suche A somme as I shalbe hable to prouide vpon my credite, and to geve *you* dayes vpon bande with sewerties for the payment of the rest. and yet alwayes *you* must remayne when that is done vnder his credite, for that by his frendshippe and none others that I can perceaue must *you* be garded and ~ brought to the place wher *you* shall desire for *your* most safetie and assurance; for none there is in myne opinion that is so hable to serue *your* turne in that behalf ^to^ do *you* that

[page two]

pleasure, nor so iustlie wold performe ^it^ as the Larde if he wold take it in hande. And so referring *your Lordshippe* for further declaracion to the credite of the bearer whom I haue founde A diligent and verey carefull seruant in all *your* businesse I ende commytting *your good Lordshippe* to the custodie and protection of the almightie who sende *you* perfecthe healthe with the enjoyeng of *your* hartes desire. From Meklyn this xxviith of January 1572.

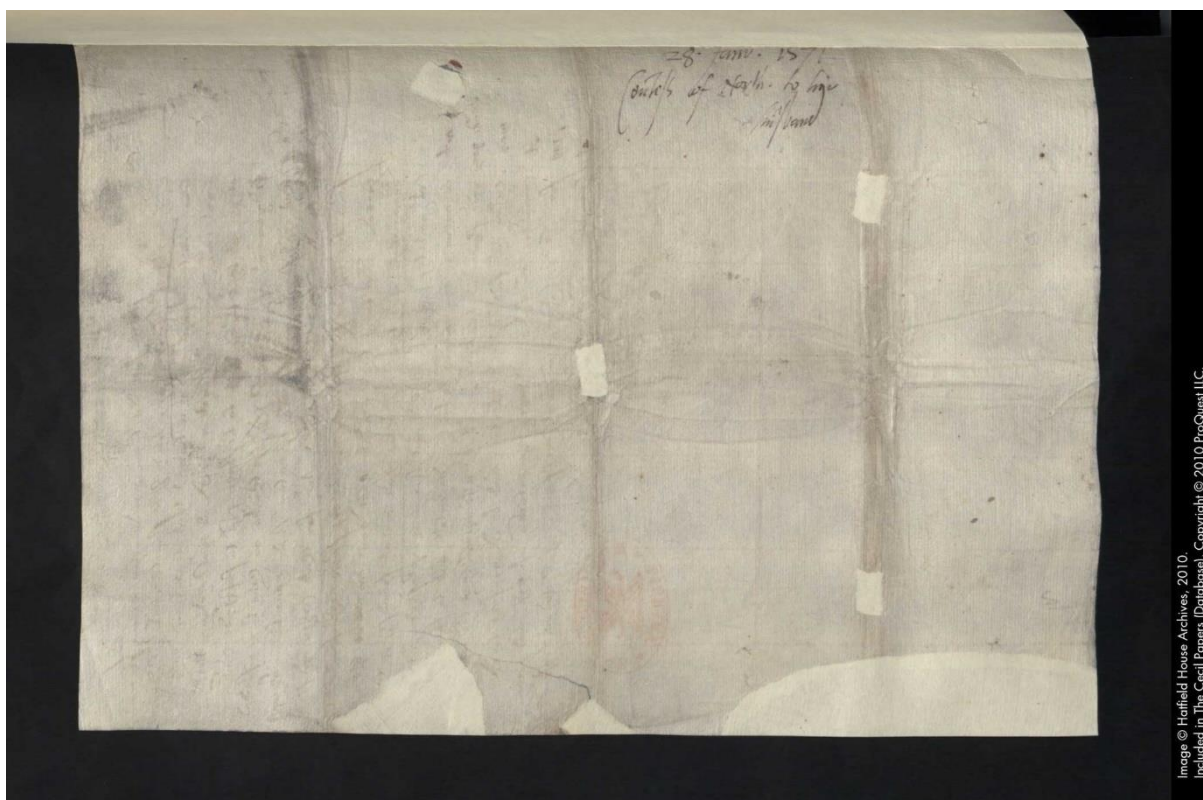
Your Lordshippes most humble and obedient
Wife.

[signature in hand of Anne, countess of Northumberland:]

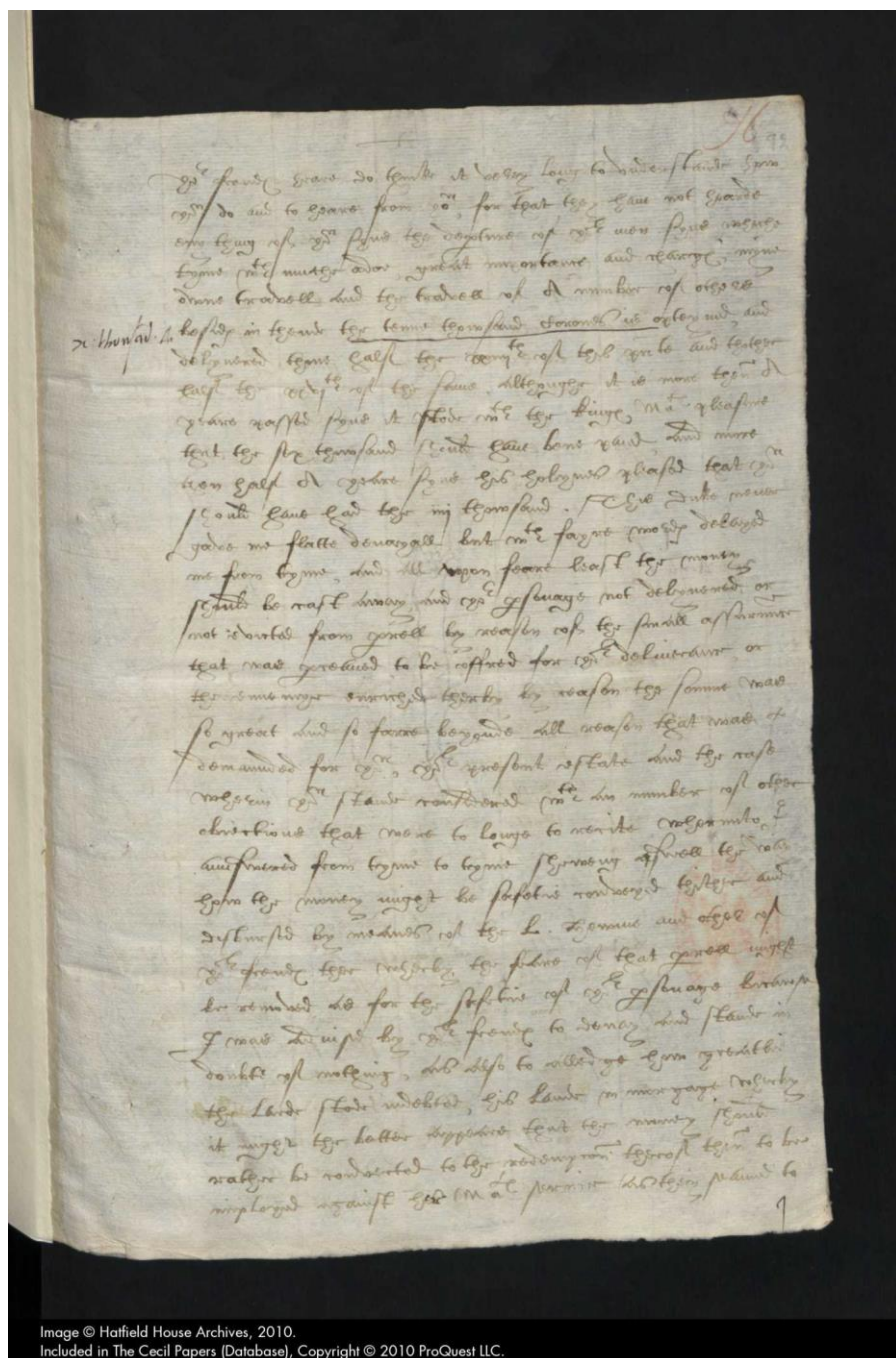
A. Northumberland

CP 5/76. Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland. 28 January 1572. Body text in the hand of secretary Robert Heighington using mix of secretary and italic scripts. No signature. Endorsement in the hand of William Cecil, Lord Burghley. Marginalia and underlined passages in Burghley's hand. Later marginalia in unknown hand, recording damage. Sent from Mechelen, Low Countries to Lochleven Castle, Scotland. Secretary: Robert Heighington. Letter bearer: unknown. Letter status: sent letter intercepted.

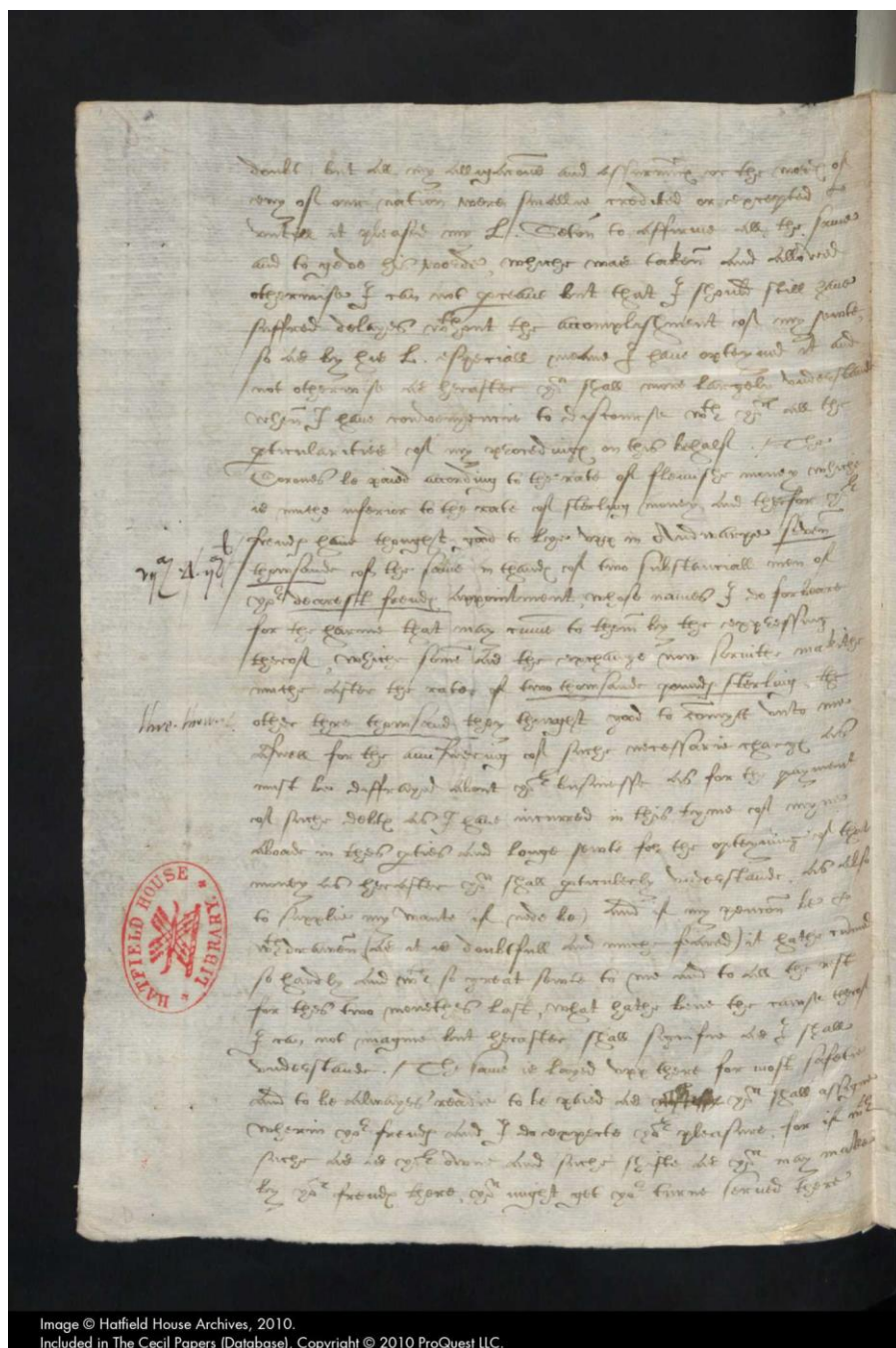
CP 5/76: address leaf



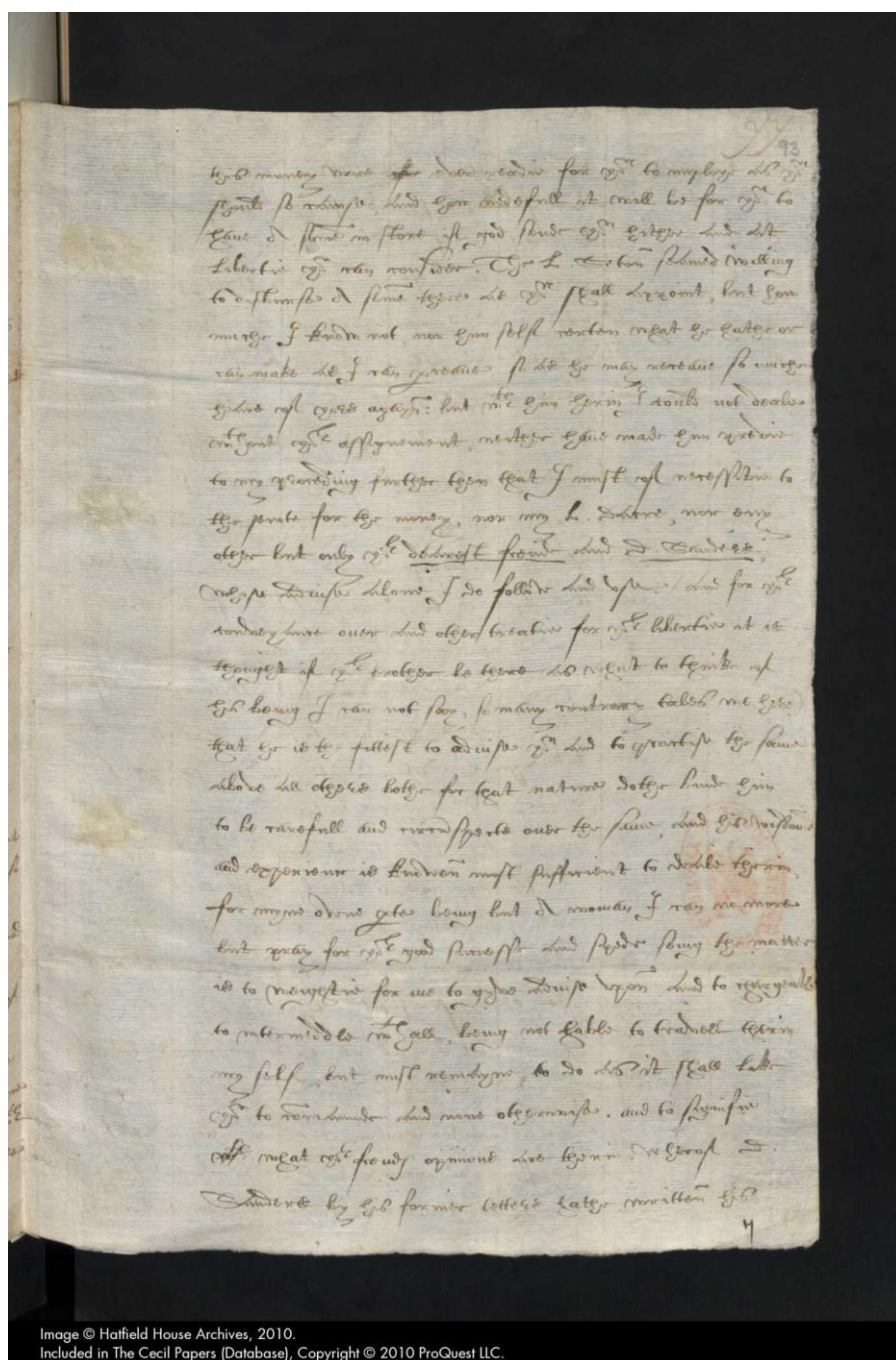
Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.



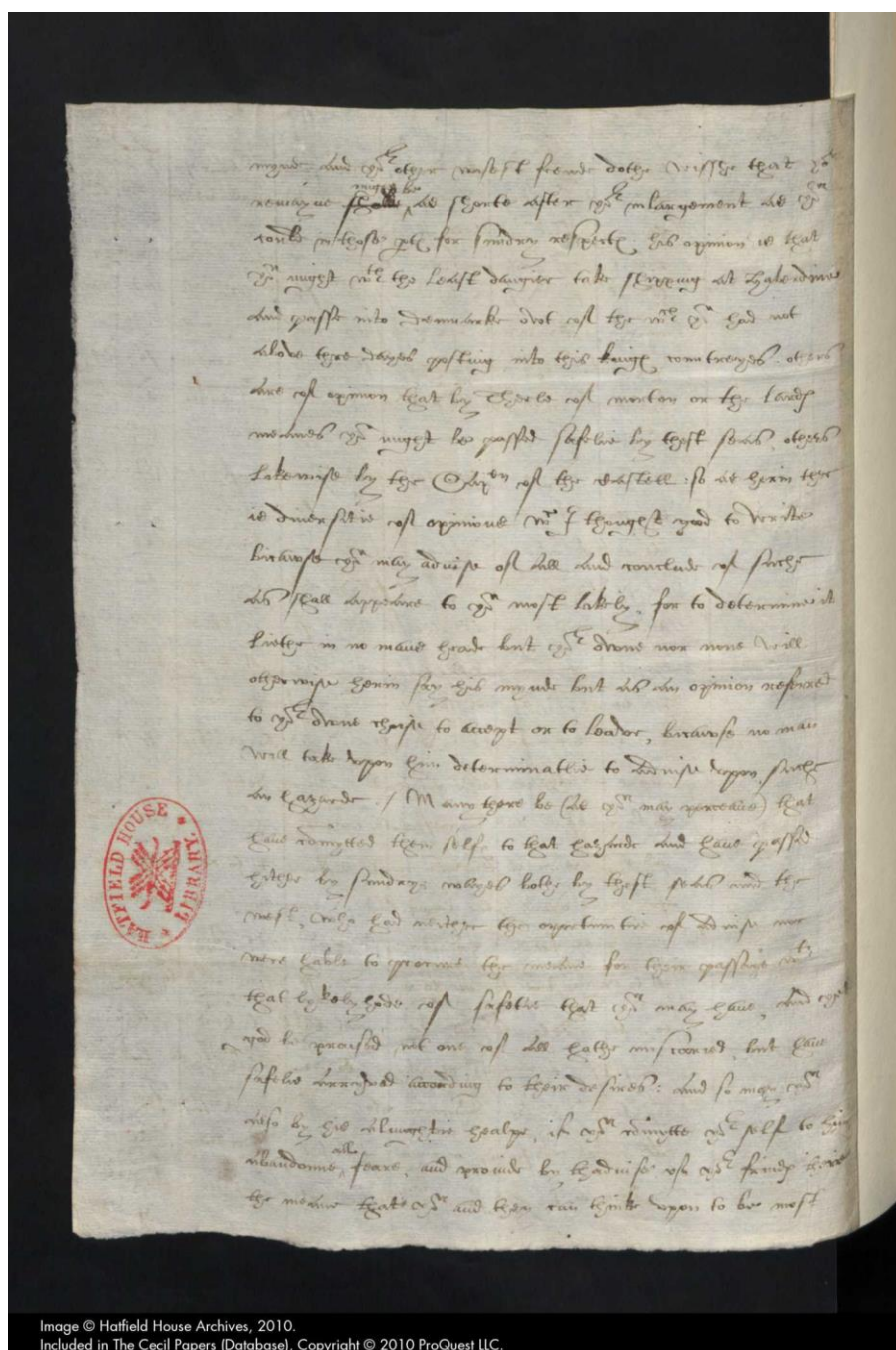
Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.



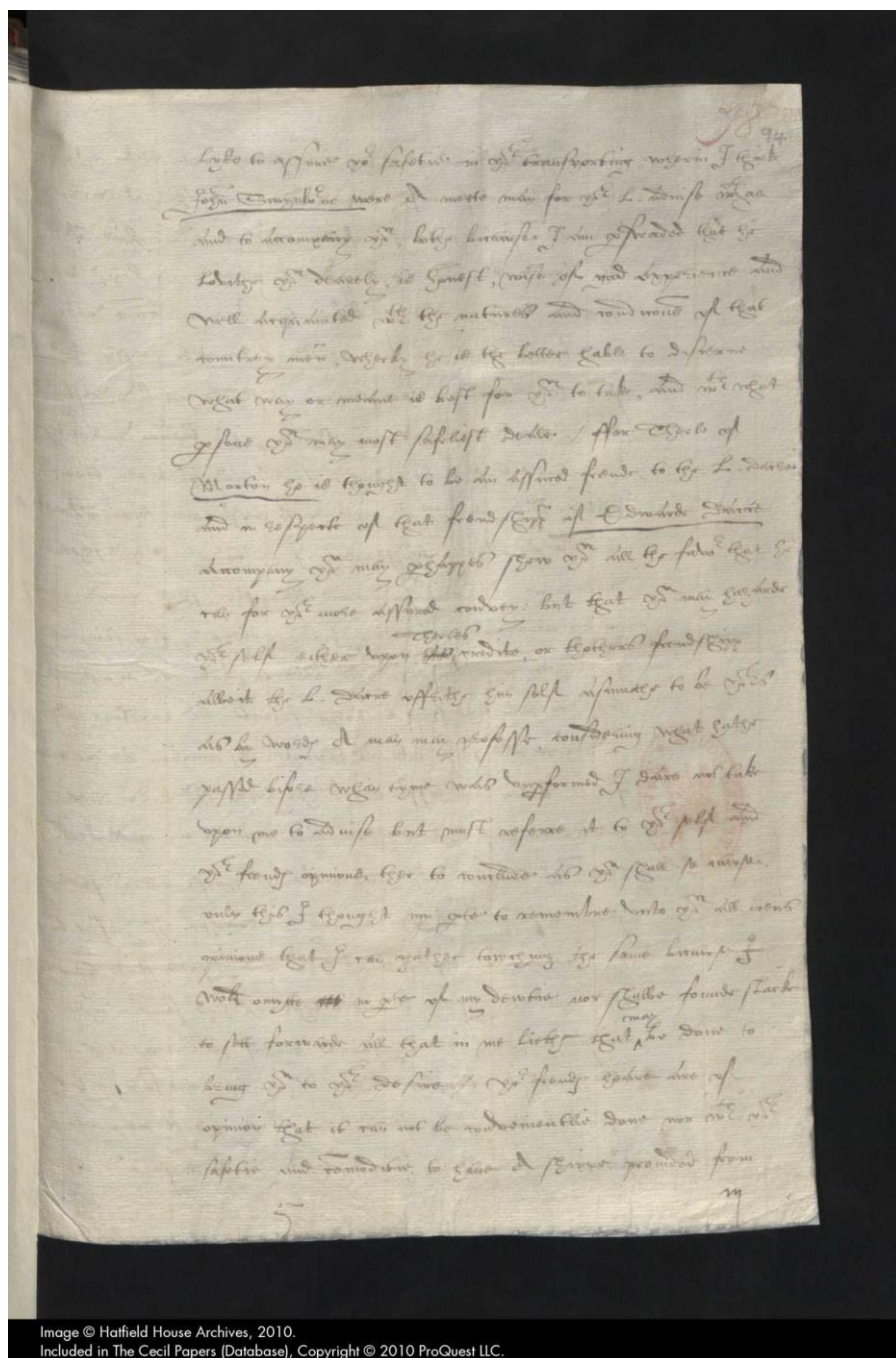
Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.



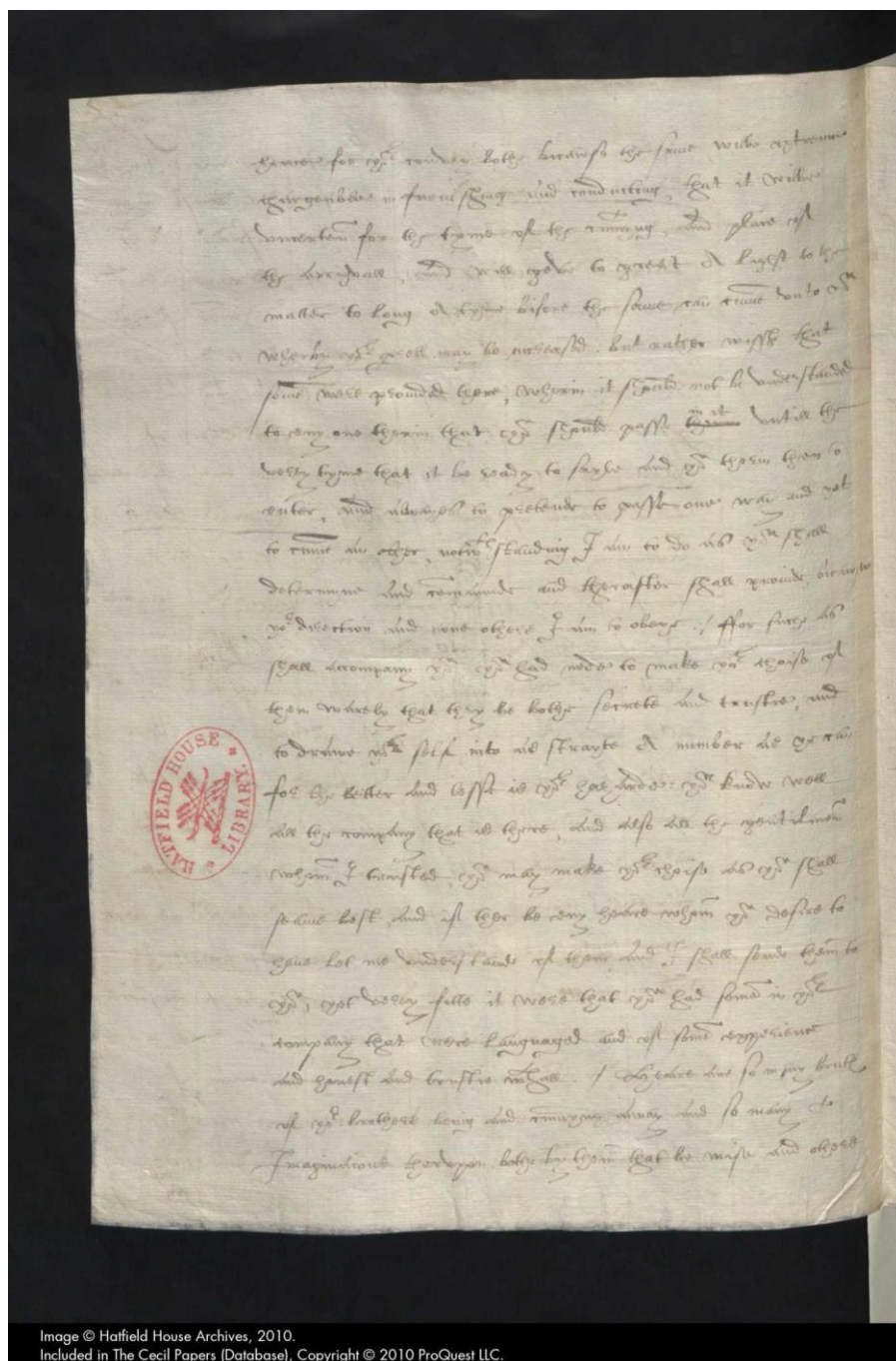
Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

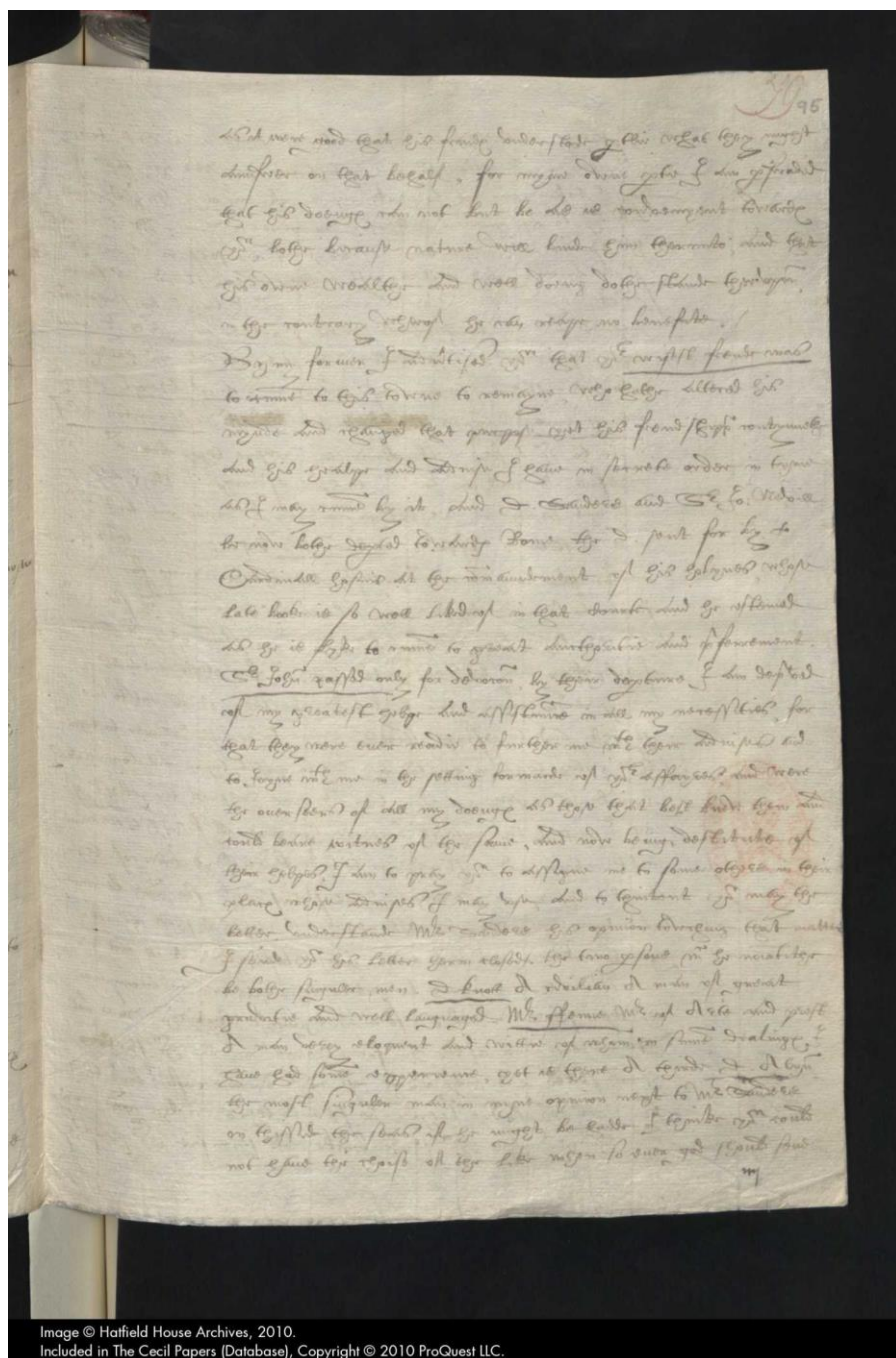


Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

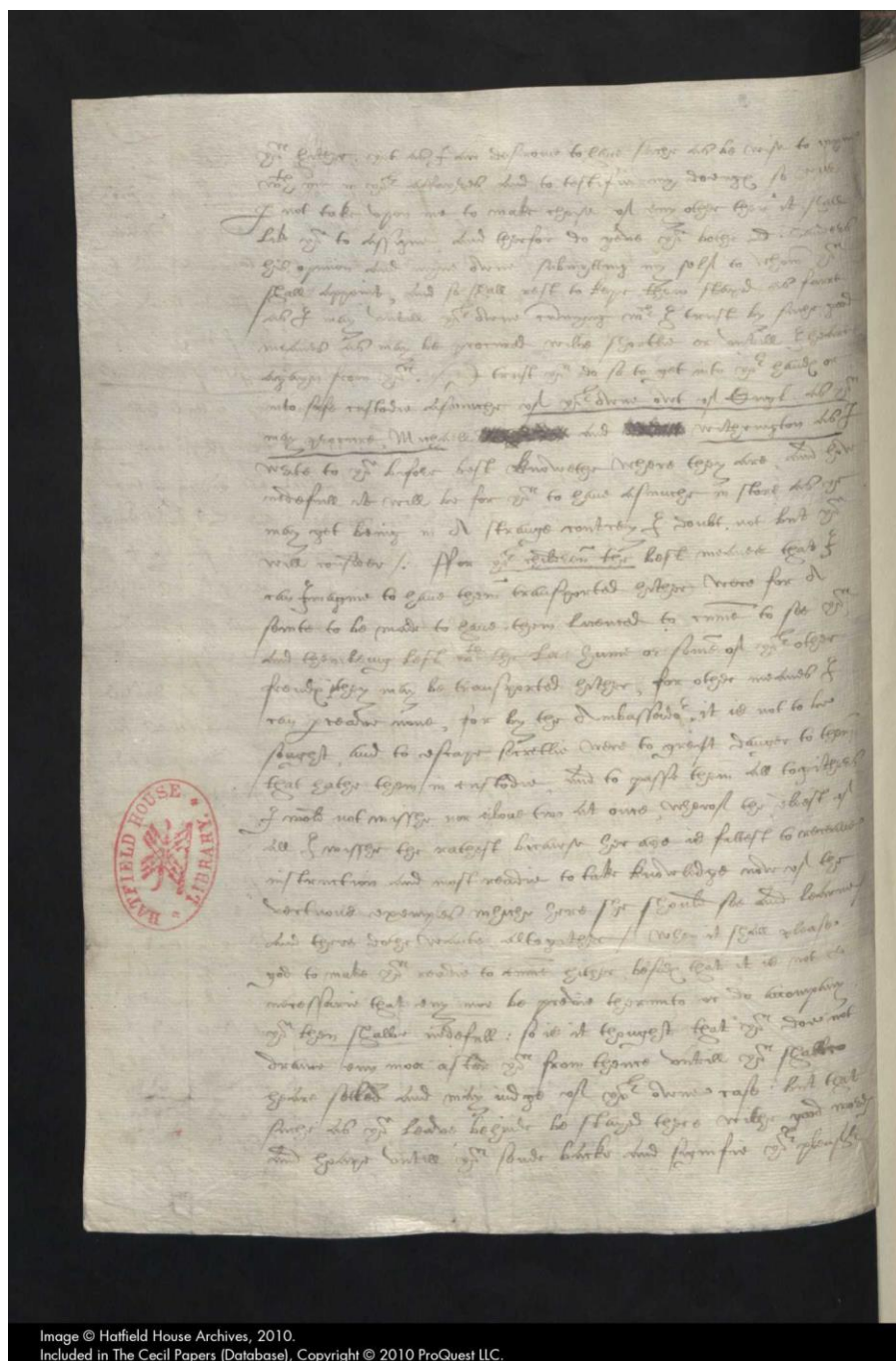


Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

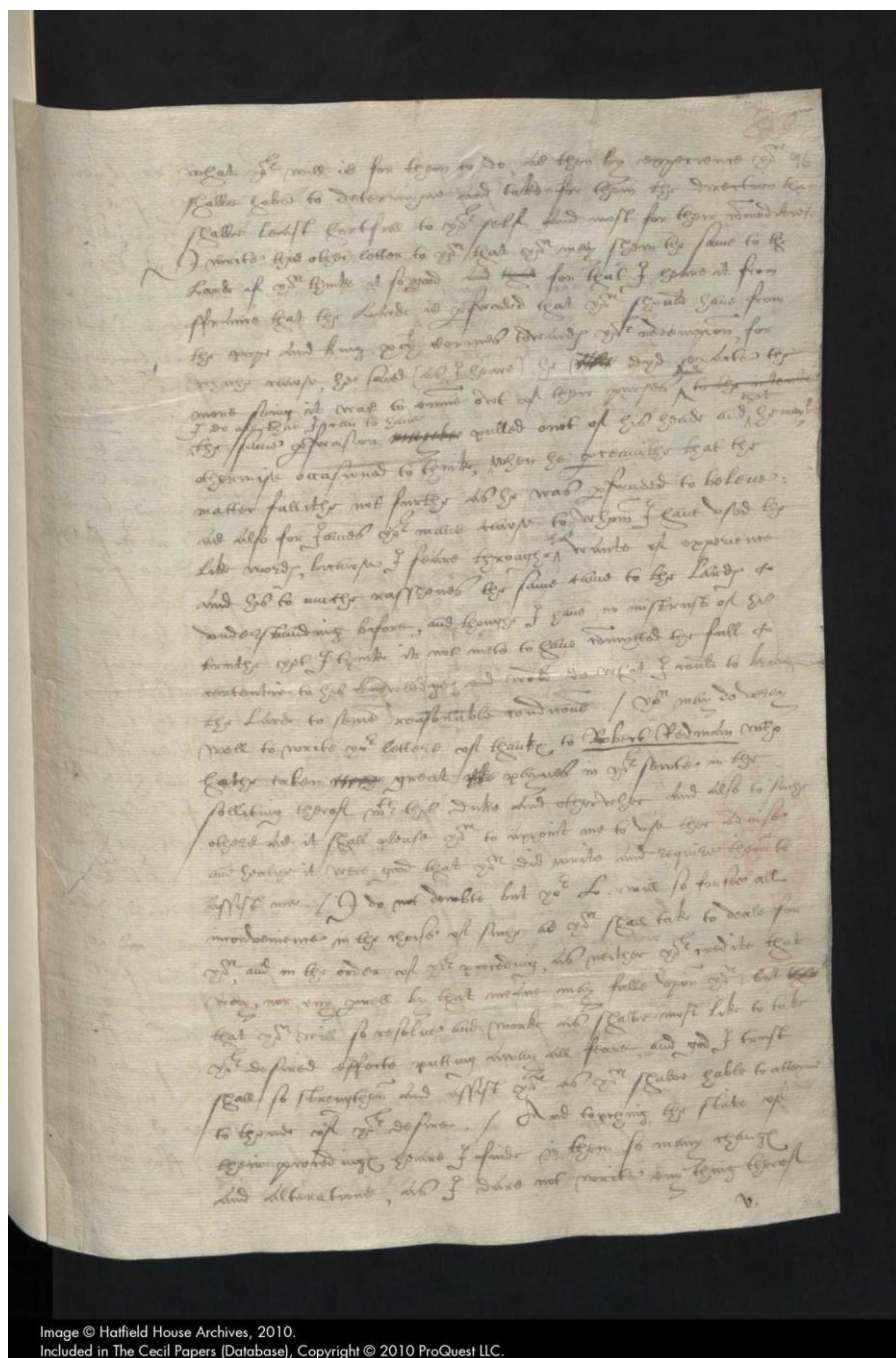




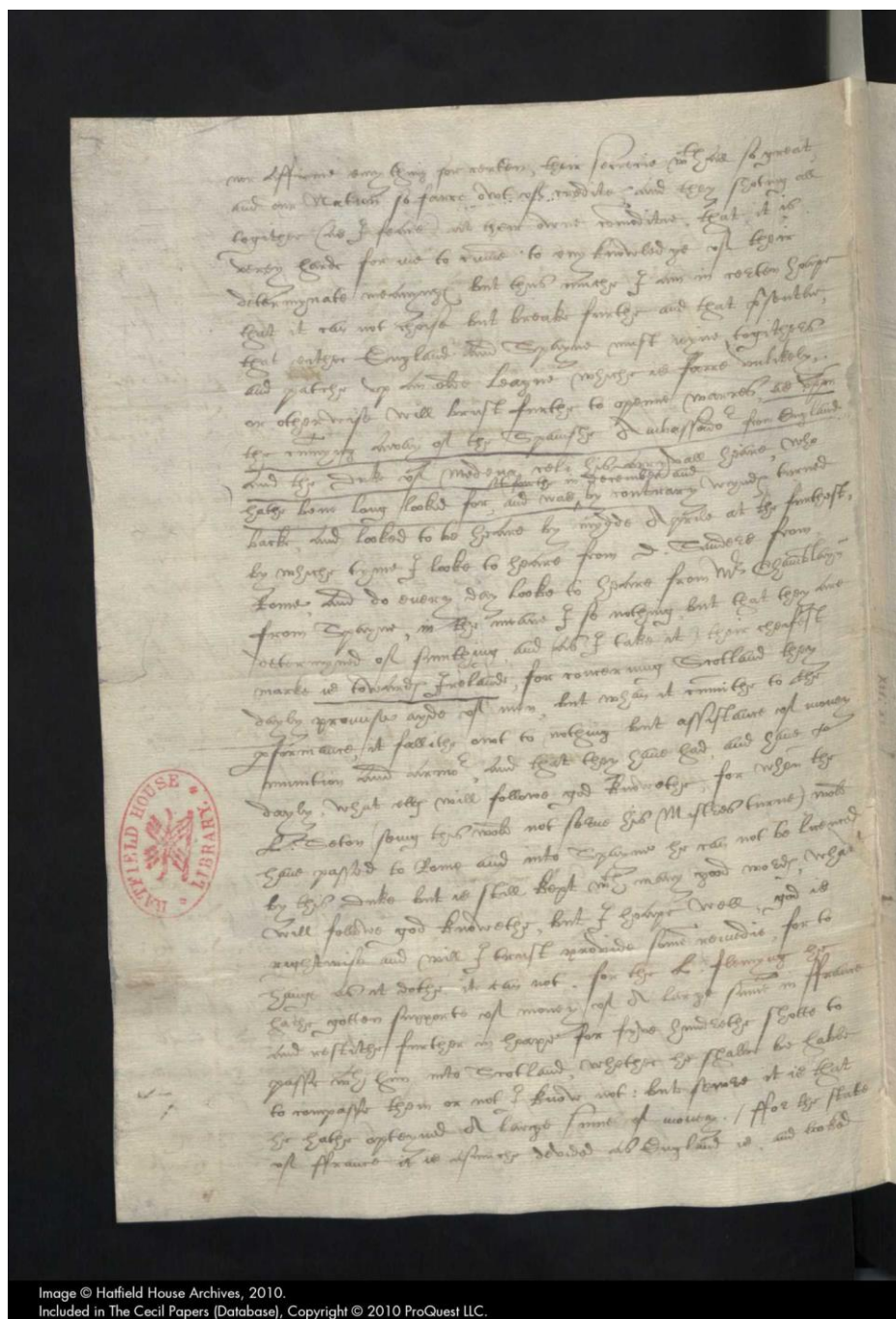
Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.



Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.



Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.





husband

[Body text in hand of Heighington:]

Your frendes heare do thinke it verey long to vnderstande how
you do and to heare from you, for that they haue not hearde
eny thing of you syns the departure of your men syns whiche
tyme with mucche adoe, great importance and charges, myne
owne travell and the travell of A number of others

[in the left-hand margin, Burghley's hand]

northumberland Anne

[hand of Heighington:]

besides in thende the tenne thowsand Coronas is opteyned, and²⁶
delyuered thens half the xxiiiith of this *prunte* and thother
half the xxvith of the same, althoughe it is more then A
yeare passed syns it *parted* with the kinges *Majesties* pleasure
that the sex thowsand should haue bene paid, and more
then half A yeare syns his holynes pleased that you
should haue had the iiii thowsand. This Duke²⁷ neuer
gave me flatte denayall but with fayre wordes delayed
me from tyme, and all vpon feare least the money
should be cast away and *your personage* not delyuered or
not evicted from *perell* by reason of the finall assurannce
that was *perceaued* to be offred for *your deliuerance*, or
the ennemye enriched therby by reason the somme was
so great and so farre beyonde all reason that was ~
demaunded for you, *your present estate* and the case
wherin you stande considered with an number of other
obiectiions that were to longe to recite, wherunto I
aunswered from tyme to tyme sheweng aswell the way
how the money might be safelie conveyed thither and

²⁶ This fund was supplied by Pope Pius V and Philip II of Spain.

²⁷ Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, 3rd Duke of Alva (1507 – 1582) and Governor of the Low Countries from 1567 – 1573.

disbursed by meanes of the *Lorde Hewme*²⁸ and other of
your frendes ther wherby the feare of that *perell* might
 be removed as for the safetie of *your* personage bicawse
 I was aduised by *your* frendes to denay and stande in
 doubte of nothing, as also to alledge how greatlie
 the Larde stode indebted²⁹, his lande in morgage wherby
 it might the better appeare that the money should
 rather be converted to redempcion therof then to be
 imployed against her *Majesties* seruice (as they seamed to

[page two]

doubt. but all my allegacions and assurannces or the wordes of
 eny of our nation were finallie credited or excepted ~
 vntill it pleased my *Lorde Seton* to affirme all the same
 and to geve his worde, whiche was takenn and allowed
 otherwise I can not perceauie but that I should still haue
 suffred delays without the accomplishment of my sewte,
 so as by his *Lordshippes* especiall meane I haue opteyned it and
 not otherwise as hereafter *you* shall more largely vnderstande
 when I haue conuenyencie to discourse with *you* all the
 particularities of my procedinges on this behalf./ The
 Coronas be paied according to the rate of flemishe money whiche
 is muche inferior to the rate of sterling money, and therfor *your*
 frendes haue thought good to lye vpp in Andwarpe seven

[in the left-hand margin, Burghley's hand]

vii^{ay} Δ ii^{ayt}

[hand of Heighington:]

²⁸ Alexander 5th Lord Hume (d.1575). Originally supportive of the Regency against Mary, Queen of Scots, Alexander Lord Hume changed sides and became an ardent supporter of Mary. He sheltered Anne at his properties in the borders during her stay in Scotland and was converted to a firmer Catholicism during her residence with him.

²⁹ William Douglas, Lord Lochleven.

thowsande of the same in thandes of two substanciall men of
your dearest frendes appointment, whose names I do forbear
 for the harme that may cumme to them by the expressing
 therof, whiche somme as the exchange now seruith makithe
 muche after the rate of two thowsande poundes sterling, the

[in the left-hand margin, Burghley's hand]

thre. thowsand ^L

[hand of Heighington:]

other thre thowsand they thought good to commytt vnto me
 aswell for the aunswering of suche necessarie charges as
 must be diffrayed about *your* businesse as for the payment
 of suche debtes as I haue incurred in this tyme of myne
 aboade in thes parties and longe sewte for the opteyning of that
 money as hereafter *you* shall particulerly vnderstande, as also
 to supplie my wante (if nede be) and if my pencion be ~
 withdrawenn (as it is doubtfull and muche feared) it hathe cummed
 so hardly and with so great sewte to me and to all the rest
 for thes two monethes last, what hathe bene the cawse therof
 I can not imagine but hereafter shall signifie as I shall
 vnderstande. / The same is layed vpp there for most safetie
 and to be alwayes readie to be paied as ~~your~~ *you* shall assigne
 wherein *your* frendes and I do expecte *your* pleasure, for if with
 suche as is *your* owne and suche shifte as *you* may make
 by *your* frendes there, *you* might yet *your* turne serued there

[page three]

this money were if ever readie for *you* to imploye as *you*
 should so cawse, and how nedefull it will be for *you* to
 haue A somme in store if god sende *you* hither and at
 libertie *you* can consider. The Lorde Setonn seamed willing

to disburse A somme there as *you* shall appoint, but how
 much I know not, now him self certen what he hathe or
 can make as I can *perceave* so as he may receive so much
 heare of yors agayne: but with him herin I could not deale
 without *your* assignement, neither haue made him previe
 to my proceeding further then that I must of necessitie to
 the sewte for the money, nor my *Lorde Dacre*³⁰, nor eny
 other but only *your dearest frende*³¹ and *Dr Sanders*³²,
 whose aduise alone I do follow and vse./ and for *your*
 conveyance ouer and other treatie for *your* libertie it is
 thought if *your* brother be there (as what to thinke of
 his being I can not say, so many contrary tales we here)
 that he is the fittest to aduise *you* and to practise the same
 above all others bothe for that nature dothe binde him
 to be carefull and circumspecte ouer the same, and his wisdomme
 and experience is knowenn most sufficient to deale therin,
 for myne owne parte being but A woman I can no more
 but pray for *your* good successe and spede seing the matter
 is to weightie for me to gyve aduise vponn and to chargeable
 to intermeddle withall, being not hable to travell therin
 my self, but must remayne to do as it shall like
 you to commande and none otherwise. and to signifie
~~with~~ what *your* frendes opinions are therin. Wherof Dr
 Sanders by his former letters hathe writtenn his

[page four]

mynde and *your* other wisest frende dothe wisshe that *your*
 remayne ~~shalle~~ ^{might be} as shorte after *your* enlargement as *you*
 could in those partes for sundry respectes. his opinion is that
you might with the least dangier take shipping at Haberdine

³⁰ Leonard Dacres.

³¹ Unknown.

³² Dr Nicholas Sanders.

and passe into Denmarke owt of the *which* you had not above thre dayes posting into this kinges countreyes. others are of opinion that by Therle of morton³³ or the Lardes³⁴ meanes you might be passed safelie by thest seas, others likewise by the Capten of the Castell³⁵: so as herin ther is diuersitie of opinions *which* I thought good to write bicawse you may aduise of all and conclude of suche as shall appeare to you most likely, for to determine it liethe in no mans heade but *your* owne nor none will otherwise herin say his mynde but as an opinion referred to *your* owne choise to accept or to leave, bicawse no man will take vpon him determinatlie to aduise vpon suche an hazarde. / Many there be (as you may perceauē) that haue commytted them selves to that hazarde and haue passed hither by sundry wayes bothe by thest seas and the west, who had neither the oportunitie of aduise nor were hable to procure the meane for their passage with that lykelyhode of safetie that you may haue, and yet god be praised not one of all hathe mismoored, but haue safelie arryved according to their desires: and so may you also by his almightie healpe, if you commytte *your* self to him abandonne ^{^all^} feare, and prouide by thaduise of *your* frindes there the meane that you and they can thinke vpon to be most

[page five]

lyke to assure *your* safetie in *your* transporting wherin I thinke John Swynbourne³⁶ were A meete man for *your* Lordshippes aduise withall and to accompany you, both bicawse I am perswaded that he lovithe you dearely, is honest, wise, of good experience and

³³ James Douglas, 4th earl of Morton and final regent of Scotland from November 1572 until 1578.

³⁴ William Douglas, Lord Lochleven.

³⁵ Unknown.

³⁶ A northern minor gentleman who took part in the rebellion of 1569 and travelled into Scotland with the earls.

well acquainted with the natures and condicions of that
 countrey men, wherby he is the better hable to discerne
 what way or meane is best for you to take, and with what
 persons you may most safeliest deale./ For Therle of
Morton he is thought to be an assured frende to the Lorde Dacre
 and in respecte of that frendshippe if Edward Dacre³⁷
 accompany you may perhappes shew you all the favour that he
 can for your more assured conveyance but that you may hazarde
 yourself hither vpon ~~his~~ ^Therles^ credite, or thothers frendshipp
 albeit the Lorde Dacre offrithe him self asume the to be yours
 as by wordes A man may professe, considering what hathe
 passed bifore whan tyme was vnperformed I dare not take
 vpon me to aduise but must referre it to your self and
 your frendes opinions, ther to conclude as you shall se cawse.
 only this I thought my parte to remembre vnto you all mens
 opinions that I can gather towching the same bicawse I
 wold omytte ~~parte~~ no parte of my dewtie nor shalbe founde slacke
 to sett forwarde all that in me liethe that ^may^ be done to
 bring you to your desire./ your frendes heare are of
 opinion that it can not be convenientlie done nor with your
 safetie and commoditie to haue A shippe prouided from

[page six]

heare for your convey bothe bicawse the same wilbe extreme
 chargeable in furnishing and conducting, that it wilbe
 vncertenn for the tyme of the cummyng, and place of
 the arryvall, and will geve to great A light to the
 matter to long A tyme bifore the same can cumme vnto you
 wherby your perell may be increased: but rather wisshe that

³⁷ Leonard Dacres' brother. Edward Dacres encouraged Leonard Dacres' loyalty to the Percies during and after the rebellion of 1569.

somme were prouided there, wherin it should not be vnderstanded to eny one therin that *you* should passe ~~therin~~^{in it} vntill the verey tyme that it be ready to sayle and *you* therin then to enter, and alwayes to pretende to passe one way and yet to cumme an other, notwithstanding I am to do as *you* shall determyne and commande and therafter shall prouide bicawse *your* direction and none others I am no obeye./ For suche as shall accompany *you*, *you* had nede to make *your* choise of them warely that they be bothe secrete and trustie, and to drawe *your* self into as straye A number as ye can for the better and lesse is *your* hazarde: *you* know well all the company that is there, and also all the gentilmenn whome I trusted, *you* may make *your* choise as *you* shall seame best, and if ther be eny heare whome *you* desire to haue let me vnderstande of them and I shall sende them to *you*, yet verey fitte it were that *you* had somme in *your* company that were languaged and of somme experience and honest and trustie withall./ Heare are so many brutes of *your* brothers being and cummyng away and so many³⁸ ~ Imaginacions thervpon, both by them that be wise and others

[page seven]

as it were good that his frendes vnderstande *partlie* what they might aunswer on that behalf, for myne owne *parte* I am perswaded that his doenges can not but be as is conveyent towardes *you*, bothe bicause nature will binde him therunto; and that his owne wealthe and well doeng dothe stande thervponn, in the contrary wherof he can reape no benefite./

³⁸ Sir Henry Percy, 8th earl of Northumberland (1532 – 1585) remained loyal to the crown during the rebellion of 1569 but supported his brother's daughters. Sir Henry was later involved in plots to rescue Mary, Queen of Scots, spending time in the Tower on three occasions for his involvement in conspiracies relating to the imprisoned queen. He was found shot in the Tower in 1585 during his final incarceration there.

By my former I aduertised you that your wisest frende was³⁹
to cumme to this towne to remayne, who hathe altered his
mynde and changed that purpose yet his frendshippe contynuethe
and his healpe aduise I haue in secrete order in tyme
as I may cumme by it, and Dr Sanders and Sir John Nevill⁴⁰
be now bothe departed towardes Rome the Dr sent for by ~
Cardinall hosius⁴¹ at the commandment of his holynes, whose
late booke is so well liked of in that Courte and he esteemed
as he is lyke to cumme to great auctoritie and preferment.
Sir Johnn passed only for devocion, by there departure I am departed
of my greatest helpe and assistance in all my necesseties, for
that they were euer readie to further me with their aduises and
to Joyne with me in the setting forward of your affayres, and were
the ouerseers of all doenges as those that best knew them and
could beare witnes of the same, and now being destitute of
their helps I am to pray you to assigne me to some others in their
places whose aduises I may vse, and to thintent you may the
better vnderstande Master Sanders his opinion towching that matter
I sende you his letter herin closed./ the two persons which he nominatithe
be bothe singuler men. Dr knott⁴² A civilian A man of great
gravitie and well language. Mr Fenne⁴³ Master of Arts and prest
A man verely eloquent and wittie of whom in summe dealings I
haue had somme experience, yet is there A thirde Dr Alyne⁴⁴
the most singuler man in myne opinion next to Mr Sanders
on thisside the seas, if he might be hadde I thinke you could
not haue the choise of the like when so euer god should send

³⁹ Unknown.

⁴⁰ Relative of Charles Neville, earl of Westmorland.

⁴¹ Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius (1504 – 1579) was actively opposed to the Reformation. He was a respected diplomat. Dr Nicholas Sanders worked as his secretary while in Rome from January 1572.

⁴² A secretary of Italian and French, first recommended by Dr Nicholas Sanders to Anne in January 1572.

⁴³ John Fenn, Latin translator and priest, recommended to Anne as a Latin secretary. Fenn ultimately penned six Latin petitions for Anne and her fellow English exiles between October 1572 and September 1573.

⁴⁴ William Allen (1532 – 1591), cardinal and founder of Douai College.

[page eight]

you hither. yet as I am desirous to haue suche as be wise to ioyn
 with me in *your* affayres and to testifie my doenges so will
 I not take vpon me to make choise of eny other then it shall
 like *you* to assigne, and therfor do geve *you* bothe Dr Sanders
 his opinion and myne owne submytting my self to whome *you*
 shall appoint, and so shall rest to kepe them stayed as farre
 as I may vntill *your* owne cummyng *which* I trust by suche good
 meanes as may be procured wilbe shortlie or vntyll I heare
 agayn from *you*./ I trust *you* do se to get into *your* handes or
 into safe custodie asmuche of *your* owne owt of England as *you*
may procure, Michaell [...] and [...] withrington as I⁴⁵
 write to *you* bfore best knowethe where they are, and how
 nedefull it will be for *you* to haue asmuche in store as ye
 may get being in A strange contrey I doubt not but *you*
 will consider./ For *your* childrenn the best meanes that I
 can Imagine to haue them transported hither were for A
 sewte to be made to haue them licenced to cumme to see *you*
 and then being left with the *Ladie* hume or somme of *your* other
 frendes they may be transported hither, for other meanes I
 can perceaue none, for by the Ambassadour,⁴⁶ it is not to be
 sought, and to escape secretlie were to great danger to them
 that hathe them in custodie, and to passe them all togethers
 I wold not wisshe nor aboue two at once, wherof the eldest of
 all I wisshe the rathest bicawse her age is fittest to receaue
 instruction and most readie to take knowledge now of the
 vertuous exemples whiche here she should see and learne/
 and there dothe wante altogether / when it shall please
 god to make *you* readie to cumme hither, besides that it is not ~

⁴⁵ Obscured due to successive strikethroughs.

⁴⁶ Possibly the Spanish Ambassador, Guerau de Espés (1524 – 1572) who Anne reported had been expelled from England and arrived in the Low Countries

necessarie that eny men be previe therunto or do accompany
you then shalbe nedefull: so is it thought that *you* doe not
 drawe eny more after *you* from there vntill *you* shalbe
 heare settled and may iudge of *your* owne case: but that
 suche as *you* leave behind be stayed there withe good wordes
 and hoape vntill *you* sende backe and signifie *your* pleasure

[page nine]

what *your* will is for them to do, as then by experience *you*
 shalbe hable to determyne and take for them the direction that
 shalbe least hurtfull to *your* self and most for their commoditie/.
 I write this other letter to *you* that *you* may shew the same to the
 Larde⁴⁷ if *you* thinke it so good and ~~that~~ for that I heare it from
 France that the Larde is perswaded that *you* should haue from
 the pope and king xx^l Coronas towards *your* redempcion, for
 whiche cawse, he said (as I heare) he ~~wold~~ dyd exacte the
 more seing it was to cumme owt of their purses ^And^ ~~to the intende~~
 ^I do all that I can to haue^ the same perswasion [...] pulled owt of his heade and ^that^
 he may be
 otherwise occasioned to thinke, when he perceauithe that the
 matter fallithe not furthe as he was perswaded to beleue:
 as also for James *your* mans⁴⁸ cawse to whome I haue vsed the
 like wordes, bicawse I feare throughe ^his^ wante of experience
 and his to mucche rasshenes the same came to the Lardes ~
 vnderstanding bifore, and thoughe I haue no mistrust of his
 truthe yet I thinke it not mete to haue commytted the full ~
 certentie to his knowledge and wold do what I could to bring
 the Larde to somme reasonable condicions./ *You* may do verey
 well to write *your* letters of thankses to Robert Redman⁴⁹ who

⁴⁷ William Douglas, Lord Lochleven.

⁴⁸ James Swynhoe, rebel and supporter, who followed the Percies into Scotland and Anne into exile. Swynhoe acted as a message bearer for Anne.

hathe taken [...] great [~~parte~~] paynes in *your* sewte in the
 solliting therof with this Duke and otherwher and also to suche
 others as it shall please *you* to appoint me to vse ther aduise
 and healpe it were good that *you* did write and require them to
 assist me./ I do not dowbte but *your Lordshippe* will so forsee all
 inconvenience in the choise of suche as *you* shall take to deale for
you, and in the order of *your* proceding, as neither *your* credite that
 way, nor eny perell by that meane may falle vpon *you*: but ~~that~~
 that *you* will so resolue and worke as shalbe most like to take
your desired efforte putting away all feare, and god I trust
 shall so strengthenn and assist *you* as *you* shalbe hable to attayne
 to thende of *your* desire./ And touching the state of
 their procedinges heare I finde in them so many changes
 and alterations, as I dare not write eny thing therof

v.

[page ten]

nor affirme eny thing for certen, their secrecie withall so great,
 and our Nation⁵⁰ so farre owt of credite and they shoting all
 together (as I feare) at their owne commoditie, that it is
 verey harde for us to cumme to eny knowledge of their
 determynate meanynge but thus muche I am in certen hoape
 that it can not choise but breake furthe and that *presentlie*,
 that either England and Spayne must ioine together
 and patche vp an olde League whiche is farre vnlikely,
 or otherwise will brust furthe to openne warres, as vpon
the cummyng away of the Spanishe Ambassadour from England
and the Duke of Medena celi his arryvall heare, who⁵¹

⁴⁹ Unknown.

⁵⁰ England.

⁵¹ Juan de Cerda, 4th Duke of Medina-Celi (c.1514 – 1575). Medina-Celi was appointed Governor of the Low Countries in Spring 1572 and clashed with the Duke of Alva who remained a military commander. He was dismissed along with the Duke of Alva in 1573 and replaced by Luis de Requesens as Governor (1528 – 1576).

hathe bene long looked for, and was ^set furthe in December and^ by contrary wyndes
turned

backe, and looked to be heare by mydde Aprile at the furthest,
by whiche tyme I looke to heare from *Doctor Sander* from
Rome, and do euery day looke to heare from *Master Chamberlayne*⁵²
from Spayne, in the meane I se nothing, but that they are
determynd of sumthing, and (as I take it) their choisest
marke is towardes Irelande, for concerning Scotland they
daily promise ayde of men, but whan it cummith to the
performance, it fallithe owt to nothing but assistance of money
munition and armour, and that they haue had, and haue ~
daily, what elles will followe god knowethe, for when the
Lorde Seton (seing this wold not serue his Mistres turne)⁵³ wold
haue passed to Rome and into Spayne he can not be licenced
by this Duke but is still kept with many good wordes, what
will followe god knowethe, but I hoape well, god is
rightwise and will I trust provide somme remedie, for to
hange as it dothe it can not. for the *Lorde flemyng*⁵⁴ he
hathe gotten supporte of money of A large summe in France
and restithe further in hoape for fyve hundrethe shotte to
passe with him into Scotland, whether he shalbe be hable
to compasse them or not I know not: but sewre it is that
he hathe opteyned A large summe of money./ For the state
of France it is asmuche devided as England is, and looked

[page eleven]

daily when it should fall owt to an inconvenience emongst them,
The Duke of Guise⁵⁵ hathe bene here secretlie with this Duke⁵⁶

⁵² George Chamberlain: supporter of the English rebels and personal ally of Sir Francis Englefield.

⁵³ Mary, Queen of Scots.

⁵⁴ John Fleming, 5th Lord Fleming (1529 – 1572). Supporter of Mary, Queen of Scots, Fleming spent time on the continent campaigning on Mary's behalf and returned to Scotland shortly before his death in September 1572.

two monethes past, and it is thought that, that howse dothe
lynke with Spayne altogether./ And thus having none
other at this tyme but to beseche *you* to suspende *your*
Judgement if *perhappes you* do thinke or haue bene *perswaded*
that *your* sewte might with greater spede haue bene brought
to the ende that that it is cummed vnto, for that whan god shall
sende the tyme that I may openne the same, *you* shall well
perceave and trye that I could haue done no more then is
done ~~that~~ and that *you* haue had great frendshipp therin
without the whiche it had not be accomplished. I ende
praying to our Lorde to be *your* directour, and to sende [...] *you*
good spede and successe in all *your* attemptes that *you* may
enjoy *your* fredomme and libertie, and be A confort to A
number *which* lyve in dayly expectacion of *you* and pray
for *your* delyverance and welfare. this xxviiith of
January./ *you* know by whom./

[marginalia:]

sende *you*

may

A

pray

of

⁵⁵ Henry Duke of Guise (1550 – 1588) founder of the Catholic League.

⁵⁶ Duke of Alva.

CP 5/94. Anne, countess of Northumberland to James Douglas, earl of Morton.⁵⁷ 31 January 1572. Body text in the hand of secretary Robert Heighington using mix of secretary and italic scripts. Signature in Anne's own hand using italic script. Endorsement in the hand of William Cecil, Lord Burghley. No marginalia. Sent from Mechelen, Low Countries to Lochleven Castle, Scotland. Secretary: Robert Heighington. Letter bearer: unknown. Letter status: sent letter intercepted.

CP 5/94: address leaf



Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

⁵⁷ James Douglas, 4th earl of Morton (c.1516 – 1581) became the fourth and final Regent of Scotland in November 1572. He remained Regent until 1578.

[superscription in hand of Heighington:]

To the right honorable and
my most singuler good
[Lar]de Therle of
Morton

[Body text in hand of Heighington:]

Right honorable and my verrey good Lorde. the experience
past whiche I ^{haue} tried of *your* great favour and good will
shewed to my Lorde and husbande in this his miserie dothe
occasion me to omytte no tyme nor oportunitie whiche shalbe
offered for me to write and sende to *your Lordshippe*./ and therefore
having the oportunitie of thes shippes passing thither I
thought good to dispatche this bearer my Lordes servant
aswell bicawse I haue hearde nothing of my Lordes other
seruantes who passed bfore, as to hastenn the significacion of
your Lordshippes good pleasure and the Lardes in suche matter as I haue
geven to this bearer in credite to declare vnto *you*, without
the whiche I am not hable to procede as shalbe to *your* ~
satisfaction and contentacion, nor bring that to passe whiche
is looked for at my handes. Beseching *your Lordshippe* to receave
him into *your* protection, and that he may by *your* good meanes
be *permytted* to haue accesse to my Lorde and husbande, and to
returne for the better vnderstanding of his pleasure and
treating of this cawse accordingly as he hathe in charge.
prayeng *your* good *Lordshippe* to geve credite vnto him, and that
I may still finde the contynuanee of *your* former favour
wherby I acknowledge my self most depely obliged
to equalle the same if euer my power, good will and ~
travell may be applied to stande *you* in steade, whiche
shalbe ever readie to be imploied to serue *your Lordshippe* or eny
of *yours*, hoaping that *your Lordshippe* will haue that care ouer

my *Lorde* as he and all his may be alwayes bounde to ~
haue the like of *you* and yors, whiche for my part I shall
euer advance to my vttermost. as knowethe god who kepe
your good *Lordshippe*. From Meklyn this last of January 1572

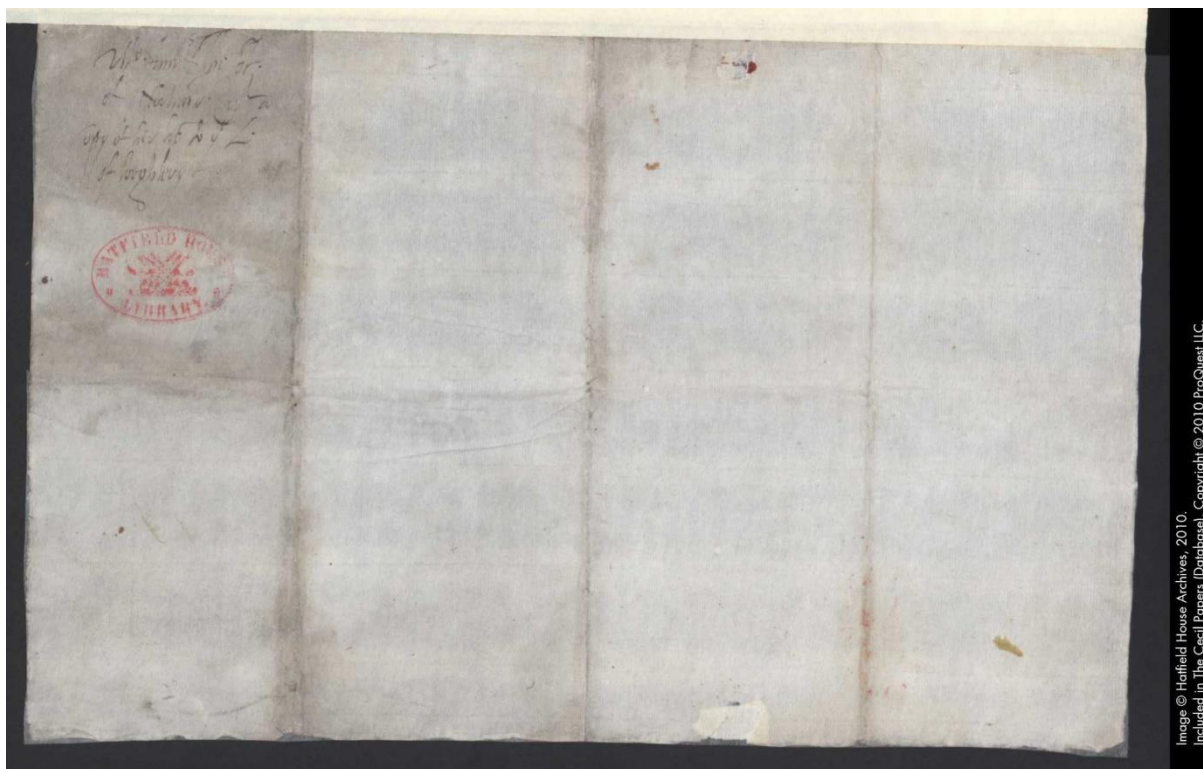
Your honourable *Lordshippes* right assured frende

[signature in hand of Anne, countess of Northumberland:]

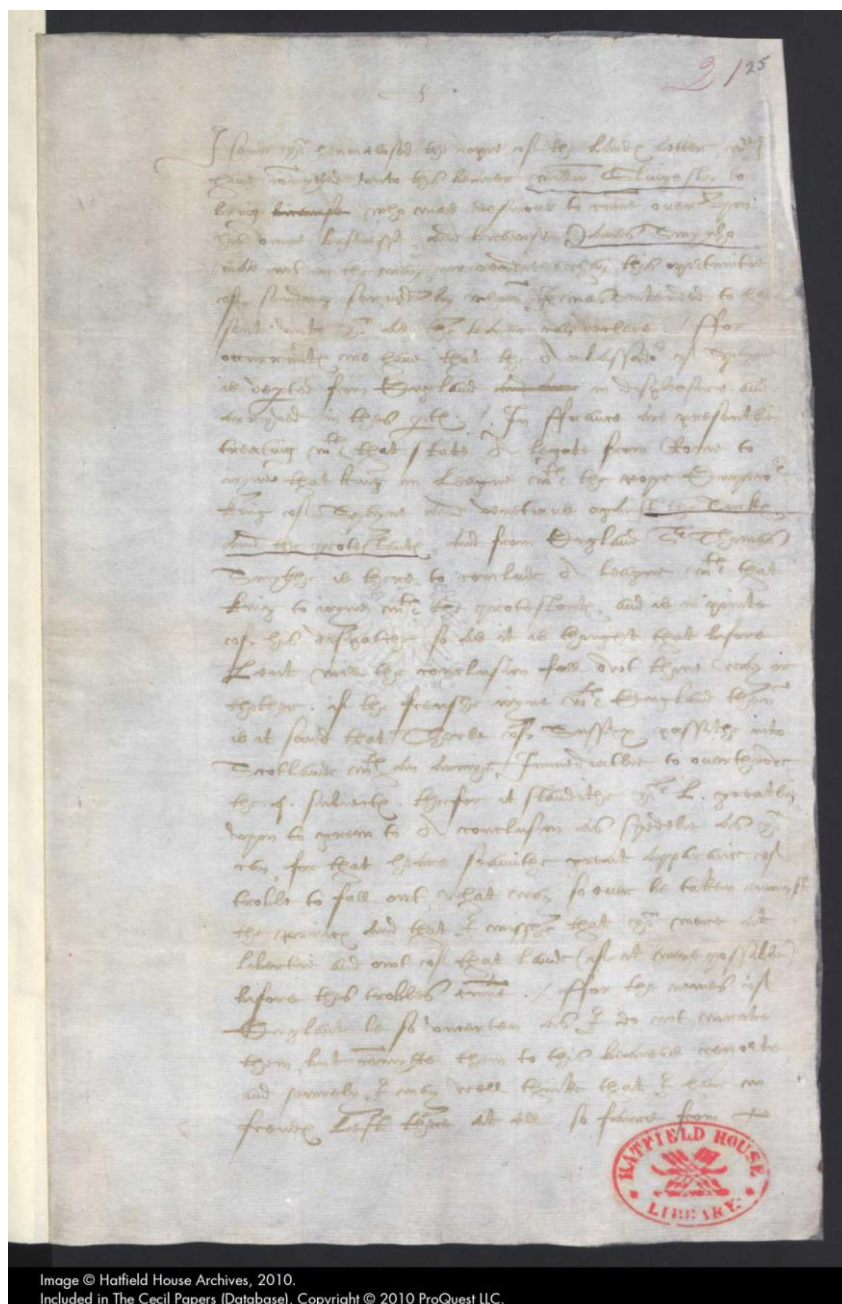
A. Northumberland

CP 159/21. Anne, countess of Northumberland to her husband Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland. 31 January 1572. Body text in the hand of secretary Robert Heighington using mix of secretary and italic scripts. No signature. Endorsement in the hand of William Cecil, Lord Burghley. No marginalia, but underlinings. Enclosed letter to William Douglas, Lord Lochleven (transcribed separately). Sent from Mechelen, Low Countries, to Lochleven Castle, Scotland. Secretary: Robert Heighington. Letter bearer: William Slingsby. Letter status: sent letter intercepted.

CP 159/21: address leaf



Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.



Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

CP 159/21: body text page two

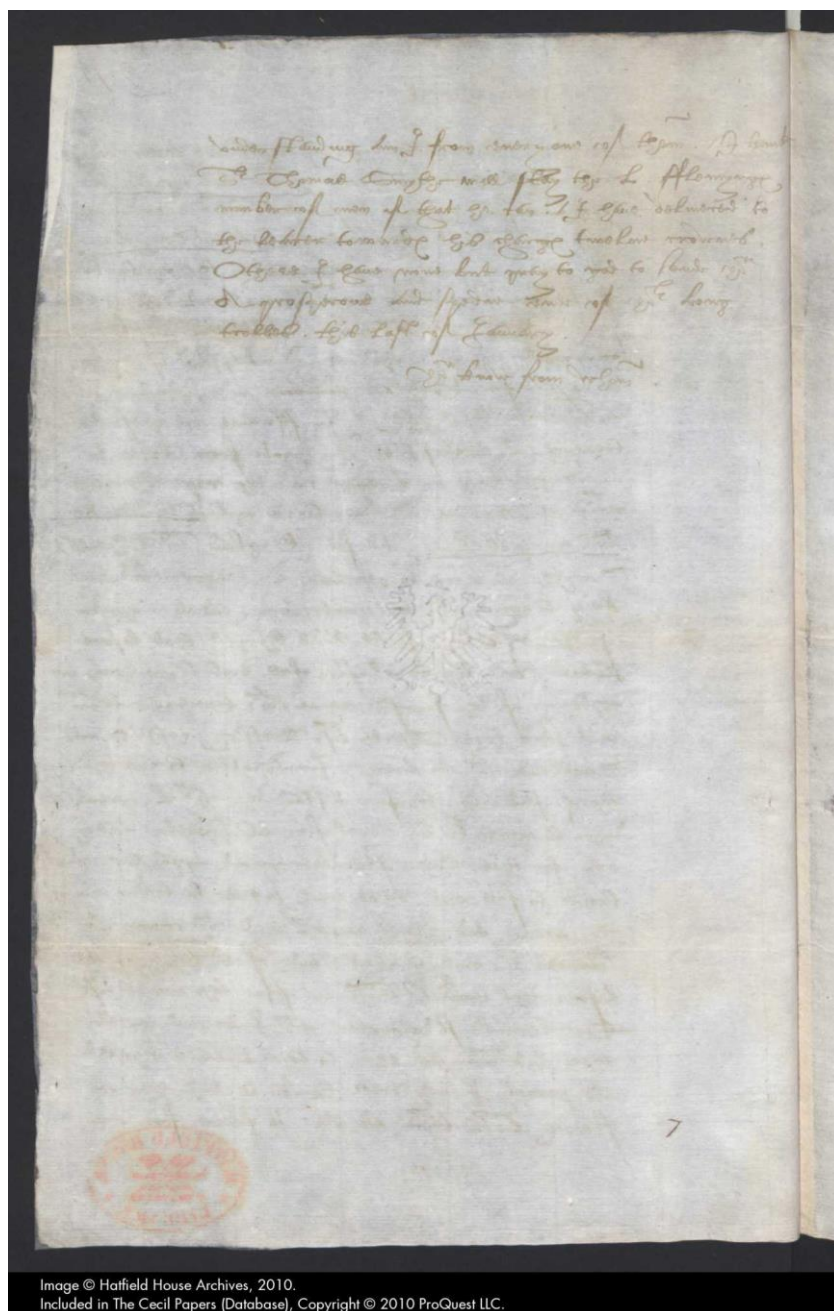


Image © Hatfield House Archives, 2010.
Included in The Cecil Papers (Database), Copyright © 2010 ProQuest LLC.

Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

Address leaf:

[endorsement in hand of Burghley:]

Ultimo January ^1571^ The Countess

of Northumberland (with a

copy of her letre to the Lorde

of loughlevyn

[Body text in hand of Heighington:]

I sende you herinclosed the copie of the Lardes letter, *which* I
 haue commytted vnto this bearer William Slingsby⁵⁸ to
 bring ~~bicawse~~ because who was desirous to cumme ouer vpon
 his owne businesse, and bicawse James Swynho⁵⁹
 was not in the way, nor readie whan this oportunitie
 of sending serued by whome I was intended to haue
 sent vnto you as the bearer can declare./ For
 occurranntes we haue that the Ambassadour of Spayne⁶⁰
 is departed from Englande ~~and at~~ in displeasure and
 arryved in thes partes./ In France are presentlie
 treating with that state A legate from Rome to
 wyne that king in league with the pope Emperour
 king of Spayne and venetians against the Turkes
and the protestantes, and from England Sir Thomas
 Smythe⁶¹ is there to conclude A league with that
 king⁶² to ioine with the protestantes, and is in pointe
 of his dispatche so as it is thought that bifore
 Lent will the conclusion fall owt thone way or
 thother. if the frenshe wyne with Englande then
 is it saied that Therle of Sussex⁶³ passithe into
 Scotlande with an armye Immediatlie to ouerthrow
 the *queen*s subjects. therfor it standithe your Lordshippe greatlie
 vpon to grew to A conclusion as spedelie as you
 can, for that heare seamithe great apparance of
 troble to fall owt, what way so euer to be taken emongst

⁵⁸ A participant in the rebellion of 1569 who remained in Anne's company in Scotland and continued in her employment as message bearer in exile.

⁵⁹ Participant in the rebellion of 1569 and message bearer to Northumberland. Swynhoe continued in Anne's employ as message bearer following Northumberland's imprisonment.

⁶⁰ Guerau de Espés, Spanish Ambassador to England who was expelled from England following accusations that he was involved in the Ridolfi plot.

⁶¹ Sir Thomas Smith (1513 – 1577), scholar and diplomat, was an ambassador to France in 1562 and again in 1572.

⁶² Charles XI of France (1550 – 1574) reigned from 1560 until his death in 1574.

⁶³ Thomas Radcliffe, 3rd earl of Sussex (c.1525 – 1583).

the princes and that I wisshe that *you* were at
 libertie and owt of that lande (if it were possible)
 bfore thes troubles cumme./ For the newes of
 Englande be so vncerten as I do not write
 them, but commytte them to this bearers reporte
 and sewrely I may well thinke that I haue no
 frendes left there at all so farre from ~

[page two]

vnderstanding am I from eueryone of them./ I thinke
Sir Thomas Smythe will stay the *Lorde Flemynges*⁶⁴
 number of men if that he can./ I haue deliuered to
 the bearer towardes his charges twelue crownes.
 Others I haue none but pray to god to sende *you*
 A prosperous and spedie ende of *your* long
 troubles. this last of January.

You know from whome.

⁶⁴ John Fleming, 5th Lord Fleming, supporter of Mary, Queen of Scots.

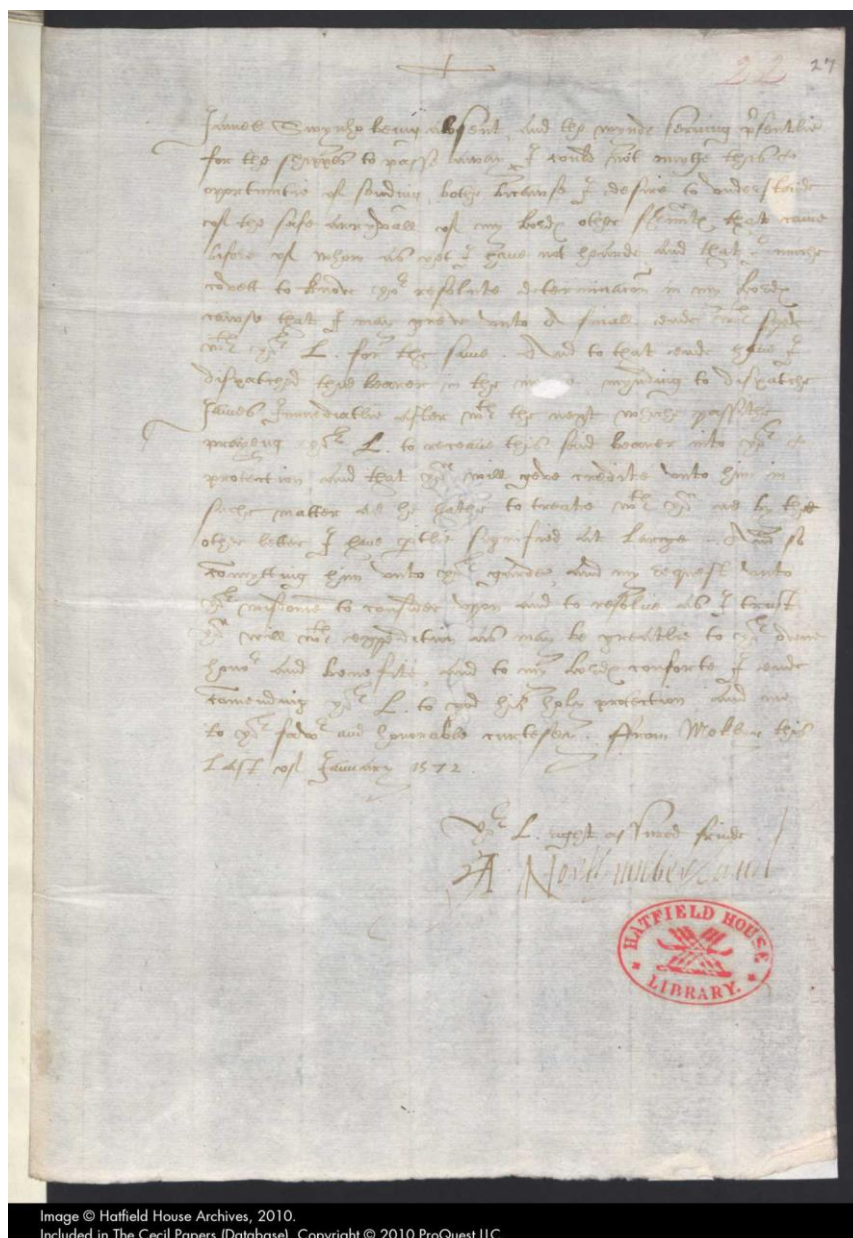
CP 159/21. Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Douglas, Lord Lochleven. 31 January 1572. Body text in the hand of secretary Robert Heighington using mix of secretary and italic scripts. Signature in Anne's own hand using italic script. No endorsements. No marginalia or underlined passages. Sent from Mechelen, Low Countries, to Lochleven Castle, Scotland. Secretary: Robert Heighington. Letter bearer: William Slingby. Letter status: sent letter intercepted.⁶⁵

CP 159/21: address leaf



Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

⁶⁵ This letter was wrongly catalogued as an enclosed copy of the original sent letter to Lochleven from Anne that she included in her letter to Northumberland, dated 31 January 1572, so that he could read what she had written to Lochleven. Instead, this letter is the original sent letter to Lochleven (the copy of said letter is unknown).



Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

Address leaf:

[superscription in hand of Heighington:]

To the right honorable and
my verey good Larde, the
[Larde] of Loughlevenn.

[Body text in hand of Heighington:]

James Swynho being absent, and the wynde seruing presentlie
for the shippes to passe away, I could not omytte this ~
oportunitie of sending, bothe bicawse I desire to vnderstande
of the safe arryvall of my Lordes other seruantes that came
bifore of whom as yet I haue not hearde, and that I mucche
covett to know *your* resolute determinacion in my Lordes
cawse that I may grew vnto A finall ende with spede
with *your Lordshippe* for the same. And to that ende haue I
dispatched this bearer in the m[eane] mynding to dispatche
James Immediatlie after with the next whiche passithe
prayeng *your Lordshippe* to receaue this said bearer into *your* ~
protection, and that *you* will geve credite vnto him in
suche matter as he hathe to treate with *you* as by this
other letter I haue partlie signified at large. And so
commytting him vnto *your* garde, and my request vnto
your wisdomme to consider vpon and to resolute as I trust
you will with expedition and may be greatlie to *your* owne
honour and benefite, and to my Lordes conforthe I ende
commending *your Lordshippe* to god his holy protection, and me
to *your* favour and honorable curtesey. From Meklyn this
last of January 1572.

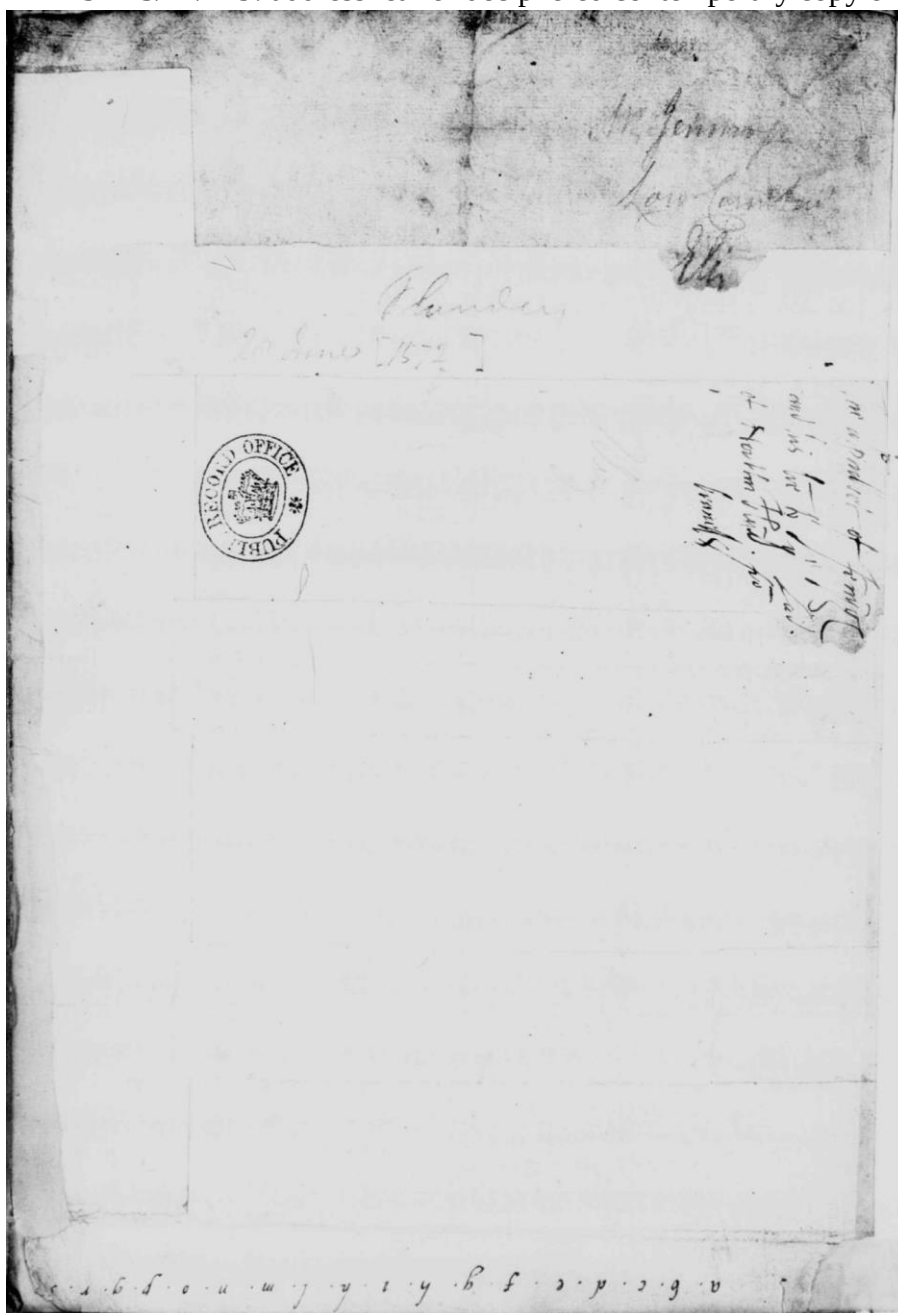
Your Lordshippes right assured frinde./

[signature in hand of Anne, countess of Northumberland:]

A. Northumberland

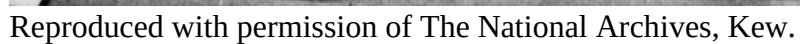
TNA, SP 15/21/118. Thomas Jeyne (alias Jennings) to Anne, countess of Northumberland.⁶⁶ 18 June 1572. Body text in the hand of Thomas Jeyne, entirely in cipher. Signature in Jeyne's hand using cipher. No endorsement. Marginalia in secretary script. Sent from Brussels, Low Countries. Letter bearer: unknown. Letter status: sent letter intercepted. Catalogued with a contemporary deciphered copy of Jennying's letter endorsed by William Cecil, Lord Burghley (TNA, SP 15/21/119). Deciphered copy transcribed here.

TNA SP 15/21/119: address leaf of deciphered contemporary copy of Jeyne's letter



Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.

⁶⁶ Thomas Jeyne (alias Jennings), (active from 1565 – 1583) rebel and poet.



Address leaf:

[endorsement in the hand of Burghley:]

a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s

In a packet of Jennynge

and his letre to *the* Ladie

of Northumberland from

brusells

[Body text in unknown hand:]

a b c d e f g h I j k l m n o p q r s t u x y [...]

X of the eyght of iune at the arryvall of the

englyshe gentyl men who I doubt not but

wyll be gratful ton for the frenship & curtesy

[...] haue doun them Conforme to your let=

ters to me in there behalfe [...] specially

the nevels⁶⁷ for whom I haue pauned my

credyt aswel to [...] apperrel them as for

there dyete d monye also cutbert Nevel⁶⁸ is

satisfyed the vith of wryte of. I feare there coming so sone will hurt mucche to the

cause. They came away before ^[...]^ we haue recevid resolution of generall support [...]

is much

discontented with the hast publishing the interdiction. I [...] is doen as I can learne

without the aduise of any from this side the sea [...] for the Louinistes cleres them selves

of it. In dede it is not orderly handelid for it hath preiudged some things ^d hayth haused^

[...] to beging here in ^quysytyon^ to lay hand hastely to the [...] sword, wherby all

our frendes ar in extreme danger as you may know. namely those in [...] handes. we haue

⁶⁷ Various members of the Neville family took part in the rebellion and fled into exile when it failed including Charles Neville, 6th earl of Westmorland, who led the rebellion alongside Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland. Westmorland's uncle Christopher Neville also rebelled and fled into exile.

⁶⁸ Cuthbert Neville (active from 1548 – 1569). Another Neville relative who rebelled in 1569 and escaped into exile in the Low Countries. Cuthbert Neville died in exile.

G. Bradley, 'Neville, Christopher (fl. 1549–1575)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/19925> [accessed 5 December 2016].

receuid no resolution, yet of general support ^{^which^} with I lear^{n^}e will not be yet geuen
[...]

the Nobilitie of [...] haue not sent hither their requestes and assurance with other letter/

I wrote to yow at length in my last letres [...] I haue not mouid any of [...] particu=

lars yet for that I fearid ~~be~~ it wold preuidice the general sute. but sence they

delay the one I will attempt the other [...] moue theim most earnestly for mony [...]

I trust to receue such good newes shortly as peter carce shal be with yow with my

next letres, and so humbly from Bruxells the xxviiith of June.

your *ladyships* most assured

seruant

[...]

ASV. Segreto. Stato. Vol. 76, f. 41. Anne, countess of Northumberland, Leonard Dacres and Sir Francis Englefield to Pope Gregory XIII.⁶⁹ 20 October 1572. Body text in the hand of secretary John Fenn using italic script. Signatures in the hands of Anne, countess of Northumberland, Leonard Dacres and Sir Francis Englefield, in italic scripts. No address leaf. No endorsement. No marginalia. Sent from Brussels, Low Countries to Rome, Italy. Secretary: John Fenn. Letter bearer: unknown. Letter status: sent letter received by recipient.

[Body text in hand of Fenn:]

Beatissime pater.

G

Post pedum oscula beatorum. Paterna illa et semper parata pietas, quæ tam in *tua Sanctitate*, quam in tuis sempiternæ memoriæ predicatoribus illuxit: queque cito adiuuando, consolando, et iustas, exultantium ~ nostræ Nationis Catholicorum petitiones promouendo, se quasi pene compatiens ostendit, nos *Beatitudinem tuam* nostris literis confidentius interpellare facit: et coram te, tanquam communi fidelium omnium parente longam illam deplorare tarditatem et procrastinationem vsque ante hac in patriæ nostræ restitutione habitam, quam quidem inde maxime prouenisse arbitramur, quod nemo adhuc esset nostræ ~ Regionis qui cum autoritate et fide causam nostram ad illam ~ sedem deferre, et apud alios principes eam, tanquam suam, tractare posset.

Suavis autem illa lætitia, et pia spes, quæ iam precipue a tempore vere fælicissimi tui Papatus nos affecerunt, vna cum filiali illa obedientia et dilectione Romanæ illi sedi semper debitis (quam te ei preficiendo Deum valde sanxisse credimus) nos, exilium nostrum, et bonorum omnium, quibus domi fruebamur amissionem, equiori animo faciunt tollerare:

⁶⁹ Sir Francis Englefield (1522 – 1596) was a prominent courtier under Mary I who fled England in 1559 when Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne. He became one of the most influential exiles in the English Catholic community in the Low Countries and travelled to Spain routinely on behalf of the exiles. He was a committed advocate of Mary, Queen of Scots and the Catholic restoration. Pope Gregory XIII (1502 – 1585) was the successor to Pope Pius V who had excommunicated Queen Elizabeth in support of the earls' rebellion in 1569. Pope Gregory XIII was Pope from May 1572 until his death in 1585. He was more focussed on the reforms of the Church than the continuing to support the exiles to the same extent that Pope Pius had.

Ideo*que* summis precibus apud *tuam* sanctitatem contendere, ne (propter piam illum affectum quo soles alios simili miseriæ succumbentes respicere) occasiones illas quæ hodie Dei *Optimi Maximi* prouidentia, ad patriam nostrum in vnitatem ecclesiæ reducendam, quasi maxime idoneas sese offerunt, sine fructu elabi patiaris. ad quod perficiendum, nos auxilium, concilium, fortunas, vitas, quicquid denique habemus aut possimus *tuæ* Sanctitatis aut eorum quos designabis obsequie libere offerimus concedimus*que*./ Ad hunc ergo finem iterum iterun*que* Beatitudinem *tuam* non modo in hoc negotio,

[page two]

Sed aliis omnibus, pro quibus eam posthac adire cogemur Reuerendo *Doctore* Nicolao Sandero aurem et fidem prebere suppliciter exoramus: quem, propter pietatem, doctrinam, et prudentiam, cunctorum nostræ nationis nomine, et votis, Sanctitati *tuæ* tanque virum inter nostrates precipuum, omnique honore et fide dignissimum, commendamus. at*que* hoc quidem plurium subscriptione facilius attestari, quam multis cognitum taceri potuit./

Nunc autem in tua ope Sanctissime Pater spem nostrum, certe quidem singularem reponentes, benedictionem *tuam* humillime precamur, ~ Immensam dei misericordiam iterum at*que* iterum orantes ut tuam Beatitudinem nobis ac toti. Ecclesiæ quam diutissime incolumen prestat Datum Bruxellis xx^{imo} Octobris 1572.

Tuæ beatitudinis obientissimi filii
et addictissimi Clientes.

[signature in hand of Anne, countess of Northumberland, Leonard Dacres and Sir Francis Englefield:]

A. Northumberland
Leonardus Dacre
Franciscus Englefyld

BnF, Dupuy MS. Vol. 541 f. 224. Anne, countess of Northumberland, Leonard Dacres and Sir Francis Englefield to Charles de Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine.⁷⁰ 20 October 1572. Body text in the hand of secretary John Fenn in italic script. Signatures in the hand of Anne, countess of Northumberland, Leonard Dacres and Sir Francis Englefield in italic script. No address leaf. No endorsement. No marginalia. Sent from Brussels, Low Countries to Rome, Italy. Secretary: John Fenn. Letter bearer: unknown. Letter status: sent letter received by recipient.

[Body text in hand of Fenn:]

Etsi Presul *Illustrissime* de tua prudential et pietate non diffidimus, quas in rebus gerendis singulares semper fuisse non tantum Gallia sed exteri pene omnes agnoscunt et confitentur, tamen monet nos officum nostrum, quod erga Reginam Scotiæ debemus, ut de periculo, quod ei imminere cenimus tribus uerbis tuæ *Illustrissime* Dominationi ~ Scribamus. Scis enim uel nobis tacentibus, post hos Galliæ ~ Inexpectatos euentus, quantum hereticorum et presertim Anglorum animi irritantur, qui ad Vltimam omnium suorum conciliorum desperationem adducti audebunt, nisi citissime prouideatur, in euis corpus sæuire, cuius famam tot libellis iam diu lacerarunt ./ Quod ne fiat, tu in quem omnium oculi coniiuntur prospicere debes. Nos vero ubi facto opus erit nostra omnia deuouemus, simulqum *Doctorum* Nicolaum Sanderum tuæ *Illustrissime* Dominationi commendamus, cui propter euis ad hanc causam diligentiam et erga ipsam Reginam stadium te presente, sed maxime ab aula discedente ad suam sanctitatem aditum patere summopere optamus. Vale Presul Reuerendissime et *Illustrissime* Bruxellis xx^{imo} Octobris 1572

Tuæ *Illustrissime* Dominationis

Addictissimi

⁷⁰ Charles of Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine (1524 – 1574) represented King Charles IX of France at the Council of Trent.

[signatures in hand of Anne, countess of Northumberland, Leonard Dacres and Sir Francis Englefield:]

A. Northumberland
Leonardus Dacre
Franciscus Englefyld

ASV. Concilio Tridentino. Vol. 33. f. 231. Anne, countess of Northumberland, Leonard Dacres, Christopher Neville, Sir Francis Englefield and Maurice Chauncy, prior of the English Carthusians at Louvain to Cardinal Giovanni Morone.⁷¹ 22 February 1573. Body text in the hand of secretary John Fenn in italic script. Signatures in the hand of Anne, countess of Northumberland, Dacres, Neville, Englefield and Chauncy, most in italic script; Neville's in secretary script. No address leaf. No endorsement. No marginalia. Sent from Brussels, Low Countries to Rome, Italy. Secretary: John Fenn. Letter bearer: unknown. Letter status: sent letter received by recipient.

[Body text in hand of Fenn:]

Illustrissime et Reuerendissime Cardinalis

In tot tantisque malorum fluctibus, quibus iam a multis animis iactati ac vexati sumus, hoc vnum nobis non mediocri solatio fuit, quod eo in loco, vnde maximam subsidii spem concipimus, is nobis patronus dei prouidentia obtigerit, qui et pro sua singulari pietate, nostris commodis promouendis totus incumbat, summaque gratia et Authoritate apud *Suam Sanctitatem* valeat./ Qua spe freti, amplitudinem tuam in causa Nicolai Sanderi *Sacrae Theologiae* Doctoris obrixе rogamus: qui vir, cum tuæ *Dominationi Illustrissimæ* sit addictissimus, et ob eximias eius, virtutes eidem gratus et charus, nostra commendatione non eget./ Sed cum animaduertimus, quam vtile et necessarium fuerit, et nobis et causæ quam suscepimus, vt vnus aliquis ex nostris ad id idoneus, locum aliquem et dignitatem Ecclesiasticam obtineat, qui sub tuæ Amplitudinis protectione, nostris rebus et negotiis procurandis insistat, tuæque Aucthoritatis aduinculo fultus in causis grauioribus benignus audiat: Nos eundem Nicolaum quanto maximo possumus affectu, tuæ *Illustrissimæ Dominationi* commendamus,

⁷¹ Christopher Neville (active 1549 – 1575) was the uncle of Charles Neville, earl of Westmorland. He took part in the rebellion of 1569 and became a prominent figure in the English exile community. He seemed to be representing Westmorland in the papal petitions. Maurice Chauncy (c.1509 – 1581) was prior of Sheen Anglorum monastery in Bruges from its founding in 1568 previously having been prior of the Bruges Charterhouse in 1561. Cardinal Giovanni Morone (1509 – 1580) was incarcerated by Pope Paul IV in 1557 suspected of Lutheran heresy for his merciful dealings with Protestants while on diplomatic missions for the Vatican. He was cleared of all charges and freed when Pope Pius V was elected in December 1559. Morone spent his later years exploring how to reunite Catholics and Protestants across Europe and was a respected statesman.

eidem supplicantes, vt hoc nostrum desiderium, in viro isto
 promouendo , suæ *Sanctitati* fusius exponat, eumque sua commendatione
 gratiosorem reddat./ Quo beneficio per te adepto *Illustrissimæ*
 Cardinalis, quantum toti Ecclesiæ profueris, tuum ipsius reliquorumque
 purpuratorumque Iudicium esto: quantum vero ipsa Regina
 Scotiæ, atque adeo tota Britannia Cardinali Morono debuerit
 tacitus bonorum omnium consensus, et presstantissimorum virorum,
 cum hic, tum domi, vota conspirantia, illustre testimonium
 dabunt. Quid? quod ipsum Nicolaum adeo tibi in perpetuum
 deuinxeris, vt fideliozem et obsequentiozem cleintem, neminem

[page two]

prorsus habueris: vt interim nihil dicamus de nostris et Romanæ
 Ecclesiæ aduersariis, quorum impiis conatibus, non vna alia re,
 magis obsisti posse, euentus ipse docebit. / Postrenio etiam literas
 hac de re ad suam stem *Sanctitatem* mittimus quæ vt per tuam *Dominationem* =
Illustrissimam
 tradantur, himiliter petimus. Deus *Optimus Maximus* te nobis diu
 incolumem seruet. Datem Bruxellis. xxii^o februarii 1573.

Tuæ *Illustrissimæ Dominationis* semper
Addictissimi

[signatures in hand of Maurice Chauncy, Anne, countess of Northumberland, Leonard
 Dacres, Christopher Neville and Sir Francis Englefield:]

Mauricii Cathus[...] *Anglorum*
 prior Indigni

A. Northumberland

Leonardus Dacre

Christoferus Nevill

Franciscus Englefield

ASV. Concilio Tridentino. Vol. 33. f. 259. Anne, countess of Northumberland, Leonard Dacres, Christopher Neville and Sir Francis Englefield to Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius. 29 June 1573. Body text in the hand of secretary John Fenn in italic script. Signatures in the hand of Anne, countess of Northumberland, Dacres, Neville and Englefield, most in italic script; Neville in secretary script. No address leaf. No endorsement. No marginalia. Sent from Brussels, Low Countries to Rome, Italy. Secretary: John Fenn. Letter bearer: unknown. Letter status: sent letter received by recipient.

[Body text in hand of Fenn:]

Reuerendissime et Illustrissime Cardinalis

Dum firgidos Principum animos cohortationibus nostris nunc per literas absentes, nunc per ipsorum ministros presentes quidem, sed status nostri et calamitatis ignaros accendere nitimur, nos operam perdimus, aduersarii maiores et animos et vires in dies acquirunt, et Ecclesia nostra misere conuulsa ruinam minitatur. Itaque maiori conatu rem aggrediendam esse videmus, et (nisi velimus piam causam per ignauiam prodere) fortius vrgendum.

Ablegandum esso vnum quempiam censemus de nostratibus ad *Maiestatem Catholicam*, qui ammum principis torpentem seris excitet, excitatem pio hortatu accendat, pietatis zelo accenso materiam continenter subiiciat et foueat, et causationibus, quas meus timida suæ semper tepiditati obtendit, vi rationum respondeat, diluat, et satisficiat. Cui legationi obeundæ cum neminem habemus tam idoneum, quam *Doctorum Nicolaum Sanderum* tuæ quidem *Dominationis Reuerendissimæ et Illustrissimæ* alumnum, nostræ vero Nationis si non vnicum, certe singular decus et presidium id a te summopere petimus et obtestamur, vt sanctissimum Patrem adeas, literas ab eo commendatitias ad suam *Maiestatem Catholicam* impetres, quibus et piam causam et pium Oratorem seriis verbis et obtestationibus commendet, tuis deinde et amicorum literis ad regem ex more solito vtrunque promoueas,

postrerio etiam (si spes est facile impetrari posse) suam
Beatitudinem pro sumptibus saltem ad iter necessariis ~
 interpellator accedere ne graueris. Hæc sin obis ex

[page two]

voto præstiteris, nos tibi deuinctissimos reddes, apud Deum
 Immortalem magnam inibis gratiam, et de Ecclesia Anglicana
 summis iam in augustiis constituta optime mereberis. Vale
 Reuerendissime et Illustrissime Cardinalis. Bruxellis. 29 Iun. 1573.

Tuæ Reuerendissimæ et Illustrissmæ Dominationis
 semper addictissimi

[signatures in hand of Anne, countess of Northumberland, Leonard Dacres, Christopher
 Neville and Sir Francis Englefield:]

A. Northumberland

Leonard dacre

Christoferus nevyll Francisus Englefyld

ASV. Concilio Tridentino. Vol.33. f. 268. Anne, countess of Northumberland, Leonard Dacres, Christopher Neville and Sir Francis Englefield to Cardinal Giovanni Morone. 29 June 1573. Body text in the hand of secretary John Fenn in italic script. Signatures in the hands of Anne, countess of Northumberland, Dacres, Neville and Englefield, most in italic script; Neville's in secretary script. No address leaf. No endorsement. No marginalia. Sent from Brussels, Low Countries to Rome, Italy. Secretary: John Fenn. Letter bearer: unknown. Letter status: sent letter received by recipient.

[Body text in hand of Fenn:]

Reuerendissime et Illustrissime Cardinalis

Quantum detrimenti causæ nostræ attulerit in consiliis ineundis tarditas et procrastinatio, quantum contrà aduersariarum partium vires auxerit Principum Christianorum tepiditas et cunctatio, qui pulcherrimas rebus gerendis oportunitates sepius oblatis vel non intellexerunt, vel intellectas diuini cultus incuria neglexerunt, tuam prudentiam. (Præsul Reuerendissime et Illustrissime) latere non potest, qui vti vniuersum Christiani nominis orbem pio studio et cura complecteris, ita nostræ Angliæ iam olim tuæ fidei et patrocinio commissæ precipuam quandam et peculiarem sollicitudinem geris. Tanti autem teporis in animis principum vix aliam rationem assignare possumus, quàm quòd causa nostra apud eos non a nostratibus sed ab aliem frigidè plerunque aut imperite sollicitatur. frigidè quidem, quia earum calamitatum, quibus nos indies affligimur et pene obruimur, illi vix vllum sensum habent, imperite vero, quia earum rerum, quas nos quotidiano ferè vsu edocti bene cognitæ et perspectas habemus illi nullam pene notitiam habent, et proinde causationibus, quas Principes suæ seu animi timiditati seu zeli Christiani penuriæ obtendunt, satisfacere nequeunt. Quas rerum difficultates cum animo consideramus, simulque consilium inimus, quibus rationibus ecclesiæ nostræ iam misere concussæ labifactatæ et (nisi

mature succurratur) extremam ruinam minitanti opem
feramus hoc vnica ratio restare videtur, vt *Doctorum Nicolaum*
Sanderum virum (vti bene nouit tua *Amplitudo Reuerendissima*

[page two]

et *Illustrissima*) omnibus virtutum ornamentis conspicuum ad *Catholicam*
Maiestatem legemus, qui illi calamitosam *Reipublicæ* nostræ faciem
ob oculos ponat, animum principis ad opem opportune ferendam
accendat, et si quid mentem a pulcherrimo facinore suscipiendo
deterret, timorem magnis rationum momentis excutiat. Iam verò
vt et gratior sit eius apud Regem legatio, et nos maiorem ex
ea fructum sperare possimus, id a tuæ *Dominatione Reuerendissima* et *Illustrissima*
summo opere petimus, vt genti tuæ (te enim iam diu vnicum ~
Patrem et patronum agnouit) summis in augustiis constitutæ
manum auxiliatricem porrigas, sanctissimum Patrem interpelles,
vt causam nostrum magno Regi *Catholico* serio commendet, tuam
deinde et amicorum authoritatem per *litteras* ad suam *Maiestatem*
interponas, et (nisi prudentia tua causæ nostræ aliter expedire
viderit) sumptus saltem ad iter necessarios a sua Beatitud[in]e
impetres. Quod si feceris, gratissimam deo et ecclesiæ *Catholice*
operam nauabis, et nos multis iam antea nominibus tibi ~
deuinctissimos, si fieri possit, deuinctiores reddes. Deus
Optimus Maximus tuam *Dominationem Reuerendissimam* et *Illustrissimam* nobis et =
ecclesiæ
suæ incolumen quam diutissime conseruet. Vale Cardinalis
Reuerendissime et *Illustrissime*. Bruxellis. 29 Iun. 1573.

Tuæ *Reuerendissime* et *Illustrissime Dominationis*
semper addictissimi

[signatures in hand of Anne, countess of Northumberland, Leonard Dacres, Christopher Neville and Sir Francis Englefield:]

A. Northumberland

Leonard dacre

Christoferus nevyll

Franciscus Englefyld

ASV. Concilio Tridentino. Vol. 33. f. 280. Anne, countess of Northumberland to Cardinal Giovanni Morone. 7 September 1573. Body text in the hand of secretary John Fenn in italic script. Signature in hand of Anne, countess of Northumberland in italic script. No address leaf. No endorsement. No marginalia. Sent from Brussels, Low Countries to Rome, Italy. Secretary: John Fenn. Letter bearer: unknown. Letter status: sent letter received by recipient.

[Body text in hand of Fenn:]

Illustrissime et Reuerendissime Cardinalis

Quemadmodum eo tempore, quo primùm de Amplitudine tua audiui, patriæ meæ gratia multum lætata sum: quòd hac ætate tantarum calamitatum et miseriarum plena tam commodè, ac fælicitèr te nostræ gentis Protectorem nacti simus: qui propter excellentes virtutes, et dignitatem iure optimo vbique coleris, plurimique æstimaris; et ea, qua es apud summum Pontificem autoritate nobis petentibus ad illius Sanctitatem aditum parere, ac in nostra regione restituenda haud parum adiuuare vales: ita mea solius causa ex illa benevolentia, et firma amicitia: quam olim inter cognatum meum piæ memoriæ Cardinalem Polum, ac Præstantiam tuam fuisse intellexi, magnum capio solatium. Cuius recordationem in te (etiamsi ille huius vitæ munere sit defunctus) nihil tamen imminutam; sed semper benignitate tua summa erga omnes illi sanguine coniunctos, vel alio quodam modo ex illo pendentes manifestiùs explicatam sentio. Cuius rei fructum, et commoditatem ego ipsa propterea nupèr percepi, quòd tum instantia reuerendi Presbiteri Mauritii Clinoc⁷² conterranei et amici mei non vulgaris; tum mea causa, imò potiùs beati Cardinalis Poli⁷³ gratia, propter quem me illius consanguineam ornasti ergentem, Antonium Bulmerum Anglum⁷⁴, claris parentibus ortum, optimæ

⁷² Possibly Maurice Chauncy, prior of the English Carthusians at Sheen Anglorum monastery in Bruges.

⁷³ Cardinal Reginald Pole (1500 – 1550), the last English Roman Catholic Archbishop.

⁷⁴ Anthony Bulmer, grandson of Richard Bulmer northern gentleman who participated in the rebellion of 1569. Anthony Bulmer took part in the rebellion in 1569 when only 18 years old and was pardoned in 1575 but continued to actively pursue his faith. He travelled between the continent and England delivering correspondence and books (Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles*, pp. 158 – 159; *Miscellanea VIII*, pp. 117, 177; *Miscellanea: recusant records*, p. 211).

spei adolescentem, ac catholicæ Religioris amore, et zelo ardentem tam benignè excepisti, causam eius apud illius Sanctitatem egisti, et non modò sanctissimas illius literas ad *Catholicam Maiestatem* exorasti: verù etiam centemos cor^oatos ad illius munificentissima liberalitate ad eius sumptus in itinere Hispaniam versùs ferendos comparasti. Luibus de causis Amplitudini tuæ gratias, quas possum, dignissimas habeo; et obseruantiam meam humillimè offero; necnon ab omnium rerum creatore deprecor, vt tibi Næstoreos annos dignitate, ac beatitudine affluentes concedat. Vale *Amplissime et Illustrissime* Cardinalis. Bruxellis. 7^o Ides Septembris.

1573. /.

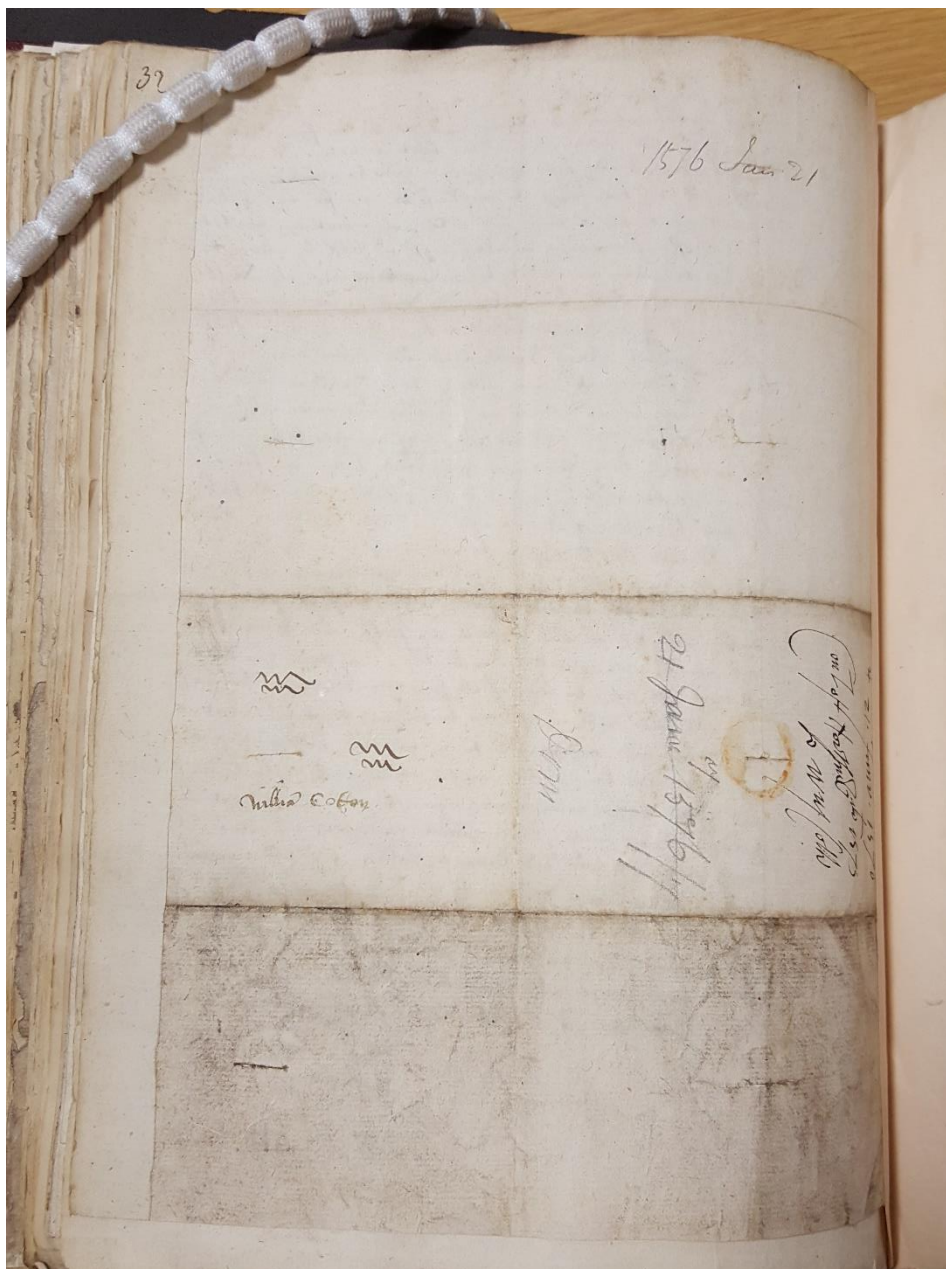
Tuæ Amplitudinis *Illustrissimæ* et
Reuerendissimæ
semper addictissima

[signature in hand of Anne, countess of Northumberland:]

A Northumberland

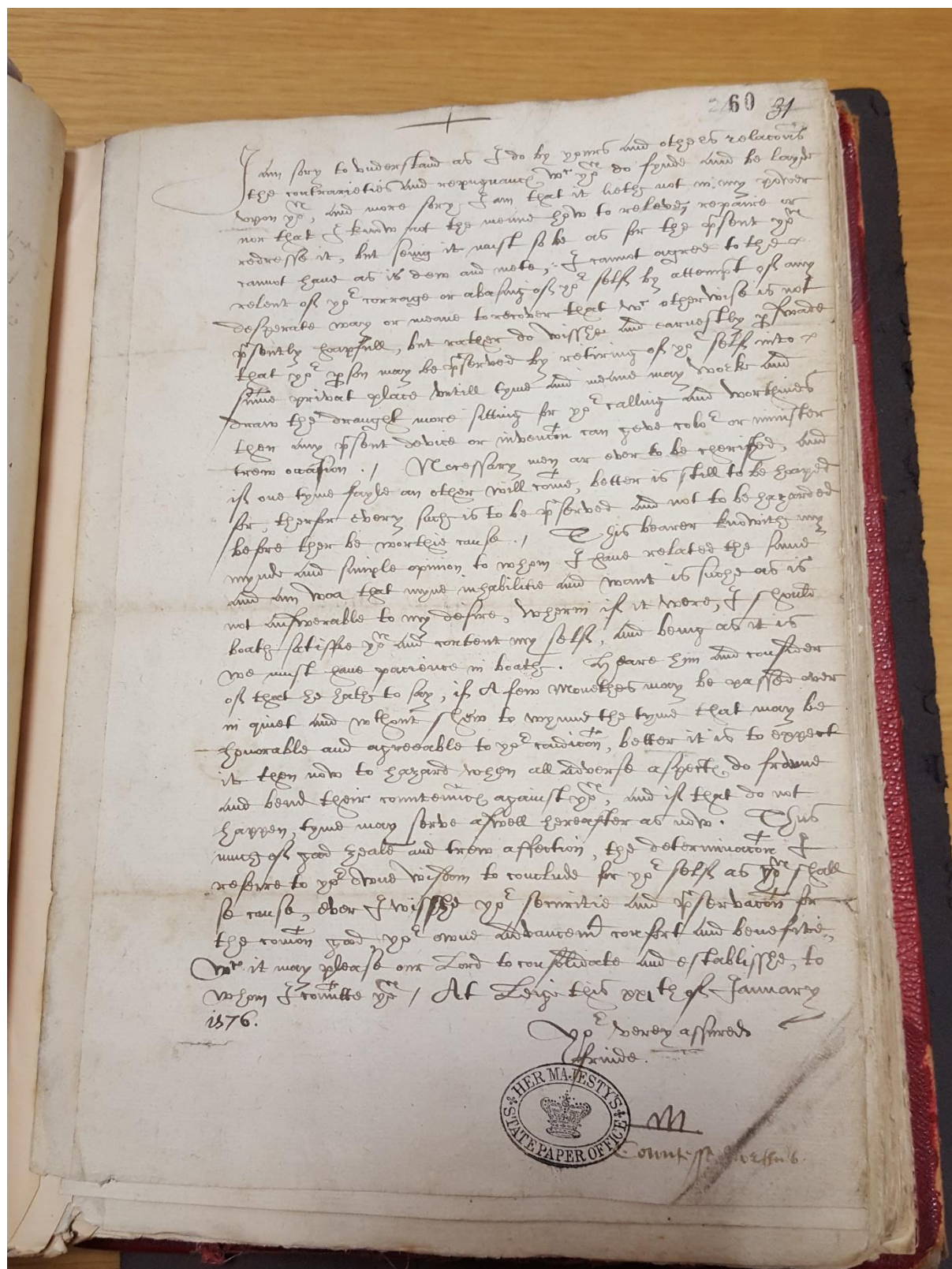
TNA, SP 12/107/60. Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton.⁷⁵
 21 January 1576. Body text in the hand of secretary Robert Heighington using mix of secretary and italic scripts. No signature. Cipher mark. Endorsement in the hand of William Cecil, Lord Burghley. No marginalia. Sent from Liège, Spanish Low Countries. Secretary: Robert Heighington. Letter bearer: unknown 'this bearer'. Letter status: sent letter intercepted.

TNA, SP 12/107/60: address leaf



Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.

⁷⁵ William Cotton was an English Catholic exile. He was involved in various minor plots against the English state throughout the 1570s and was temporarily in the employ of the Spanish as the captain of various merchant and naval ships. Very little is known about his life and his death date is unclear.



Address leaf:

[endorsement in hand of Burghley:]

21. January 1576

Countess off Northumberland ^anno 1575^

to William Cotton

[superscription in hand of Burghley:]

William Cotton

[in hand of Robert Heighington:]

2 ≈ cipher marks

[Body text in hand of Heighington:]

I am sory to vnderstand as I do by yours and others relations
the contrarieties and repugnances *which* you do fynde and be layde
vpon *you*, and more sory I am that it liethe not in my power
nor that I know not the meane how to releve, repaire or
redresse it, but seing it must so be as for the *present* you
cannot haue as is dew and mete; I cannot agree to the ~
relent of *your* corrage or abasing of *your* self by attempt of any
desperate way or meane to recover that *which* otherwise is not
presently hoapfull, but rather do wisshe and earnestly *perswade*
that *your* person may be *preserved* by returning of *your* self into ~
summe privat place vntill tyme and meane may worke and
draw the draught more fitting for *your* calling and worthines
then any *present* device or *invention* can geve colour or minister
trew occasion./ Necessary men ar ever to be cherished, and
if one tyme fayle an other will *comme*, better is still to be hoaped
for, therfor every suche is to be *preserved* and not to be hazarded
before ther be worthie cause./ This bearer knowithe my
mynde and simple opinion to whom I haue related the same
and am woe that myne inhabilitie and want is suche as is
not answerable to my desire, wherin if it were, I should

boathe satisfie *you* and content my self, and being as it is
 we must haue pacience in boathe. Heare him and consider
 of that he hathe to say, if A few Monethes may be passed over
 in quiet and *without shew* to *wynne* the tyme that may be
 honorable and agreeable to *your* *condicion*, better it is to expect
 it then now to hazard when all adverse aspectes do frowne
 and bend their countenences against *you*, and if that do not
 happen, tyme may serve aswell hereafter as now. Thus
 much of good zeale and trew affection, the determinacion I
 reserve to *your* owne wisdom to conclude for *your* self as *you* shall
 so cause, ever I wisshe *your* securitie and *preservacion* for
 the common good, *your* owne advancement confort and benefite,
which it may please our Lord to consolidate and establishe, to
 whom I committe *you* / At Leige⁷⁶ this xxith of January
 1576

Your verey assured
 frinde

[cipher mark:]

M

[in the hand of Burghley:]

Countesse Northumberland

⁷⁶ Anne was forced to move to Liège in 1575 during peace negotiations between Spain and England. Queen Elizabeth wrote directly to Bishop Groesbeek asking that he remove Anne but Groesbeek continued to refuse (TNA, SP 70/144/82).

TNA, SP 12/107/75. Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton. 11 February 1576. Body text in the hand of secretary Robert Heighington using mix of secretary and italic scripts. No signature. Cipher mark. Endorsement in the hand of William Cecil, Lord Burghley. No marginalia. Unknown place of origin (Low Countries) to unspecified destination. Secretary: Robert Heighington. Letter bearer: unknown. Letter status: sent letter intercepted.

TNA, SP 12/107/75: address leaf



Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.


 And in your letter of the 14th of this instant more to me being great full
 for the desire that I had to understand from you and of your good will, and
 I might have been delivered out of the ballance of your debts and be
 brought to your most desired ends, and best contentment. And because
 it pleases you to require so ample thanks to me, I may be more than
 your bond deserved, or that all my merits, my good abilities, so
 much as to myself I will call all my own. And in further
 state much more cause to require, and thanks to me for your favor and
 affection to C. B. and the rare high doctrine, my self to your of
 my, or in future to be employed specially for the sake. And
 in your lawning about more your own wants of abilities to do
 for C. B. as he wishes, yet the less reason that to him seems
 best for C. B. relief, and in that to desire in your, as
 I must but thank you for the same, so saying before full
 understanding from C. B. by your own relation might be made
 not all of that desire and means myself in making mention, and
 all was more agreeable, as a matter that to me seems as profitable
 to be troubled in, all though you by the way to say to me the
 reason that makes me to be of that mind, and not all to let me
 know and so in order of play and flatter dealing, my own meaning
 never is to feed any not better than I am able to give, nor
 nor to get them to report of all more than I can do.
 Against in future that C. B. hath finished my self for
 compassing his desires in Spain by the relinquishing and giving
 over the place and service according to his appointment, for the
 the same (which to you of his friend though a place more for his
 not to be, yet before it will be obtained and granted it was to
 them a matter of some difficulty and trouble, nor easily should
 not have been left and referred, as it appears it is. I wish you
 know from now upon great respect, for the same being kept, should
 your bond the more of your duty to some in that sort, and the relief
 and ground in which you might have alleged to be though without
 of other profession and more ample consideration. The advantage
 of your express saying, I joyed to it the more of it, more by experience
 now for the time, and all advice seems to testifies that no nation
 is so divided to be but sometimes there as once, nor have yet
 been agreed and reconciled, before that the name of friend in that

Address leaf:

[endorsement in hand of Burghley:]

11 Febraury 1576

anno 1575

Countess Northumberland to William

Cotton

[superscription in hand of Burghley:]

Cotton

[in hand of Heighington:]

5 ≈ cipher marks

[Body text in hand of Heighington:]

[above the line, in hand of Burghley:]

C. Cotton.

[in hand of Heighington:]

Good ≈ yors of the vth of this instant were to me verely gratefull
for the desire that I had to vnderstand from *you* and of *your* procedinges, *which*
I wisse may sone be deliuered owt of the ballance of suspence and be
brought to *your* most desired ende and best contentment /. And wher
it pleasith *you* to render so ample thanks to M, they be more then
haue bene deserued on that M can merite, whose habilitie is so
meane, as to wisse *you* well is all M can performe. M in truthe
hath muche more cause to yeilde dew thanks to ≈ for his favour and
affection to C.B.⁷⁷ and the care *which* he declarithe himself to haue of

⁷⁷ Charles Bailly (c.1541 – 1625) was a conspirator and informer. He was a servant and messenger of the Bishop of Ross who was in the Low Countries for a short period and transported correspondence between supporters of Mary, Queen of Scots and the English exiles. Bailly ended up in the Tower in 1571 carrying letters central to the Ridolphi Plot and was interrogated. He was released in November 1572 after being tortured in the Tower and confessing all his knowledge of the plot and its participants. Upon release he returned to the Low Countries.

him, *which* M takithe to be imploied specially for M sake. And where $\approx$ lamenting as it were his owne wante of habilitie to do for C.B. as he wolde, yeildith the reasons that to him seame best for C.B. releif, and in that parte desirithe M helpe, as M cannot but thanke $\approx$ for the same, so having bifore full $\sim$ vnderstanding from C.B. by his owne relacion while he was here with M of that device and meane wherof $\approx$ makithe mencion, whervnto M was neuer agreable, as A matter that to M seaming is fructles to be travelled in, M thought good by these to lay before $\approx$ the reasons that movithe M to be of that mynde, and withall to lett him know and see M order of playne and flatte dealing, whose meaning neuer is to feede any with better hoape then M is hable to performe nor to geve them to expect of M more then M can do /.

First M thinkithe that C.B. hathe preiudiced himself for $\sim$ compassing his desire in Spayn by the relinguishing and geving over the place and service whervnto he was appointed, For though the same was to none of his frindes thought A place mete for his worthines, yet bifore it could be obteyned and granted it was to them A matter of summe difficultie and travell, *which* rasshely should not haue bene left and resewced, as it appearith it is, I neither know how nor vpon what respectes, for the same being kept should haue bene the way of his entry to som in that Court, and the colour and ground whervpon he might haue alledged to be thought worthie of other preferment and more ample consideracion ./ the advantage therof therfore fayling, Joyne to it the tyme present, wherein by experience we see and trye, and all advises thence do testifie that no Nacion is so odious to be sene sewters ther as ours, nor their petitions somuche abhorred and condempned, besides that the want of frendes in that

[page two]

Court where no one is left that M knowithe with whom by the writing of many lynes M could avayle or further him an Inche,

adde to thes M meane tearmes wherin M presently restith who
 while M had it, was well contented to imparte frely with others
 and it fayling and consumed is now ⁱⁿ case hardly to shift for M
 self mucche lesse hable to ayde and support an other, or to be one
 vpon whose helpe an other should take comfort to confide. These
 therfor layde together and every way dewly pondered and wayed
 resoluthe for opinion that C.B. best is to determyne vpon summe
 other course, and by putting him self agayne into lyke place of
 service ther to stay until better oportunitie do appeare, and his frindes
 haue more meane to do him good then now they haue or are in [...]
 of /. So having not els longer to deteyne you with many effect[ual]
 commendacions I committe you to our Lord who prosper all your
 designementes to your best contentment and most satisfaction / this
 xith of February 1576.

Your most assured frinde /

[cipher mark:]

M

[addition in hand of Burghley:]

Countess of Northumberland

[post-script in hand of Heighington:]

if $\approx$ happe to haue the

occasion to cumme unto these partes

M wilbe glad to see him, to whom

he shalbe alwayes welcumme ./M hathe

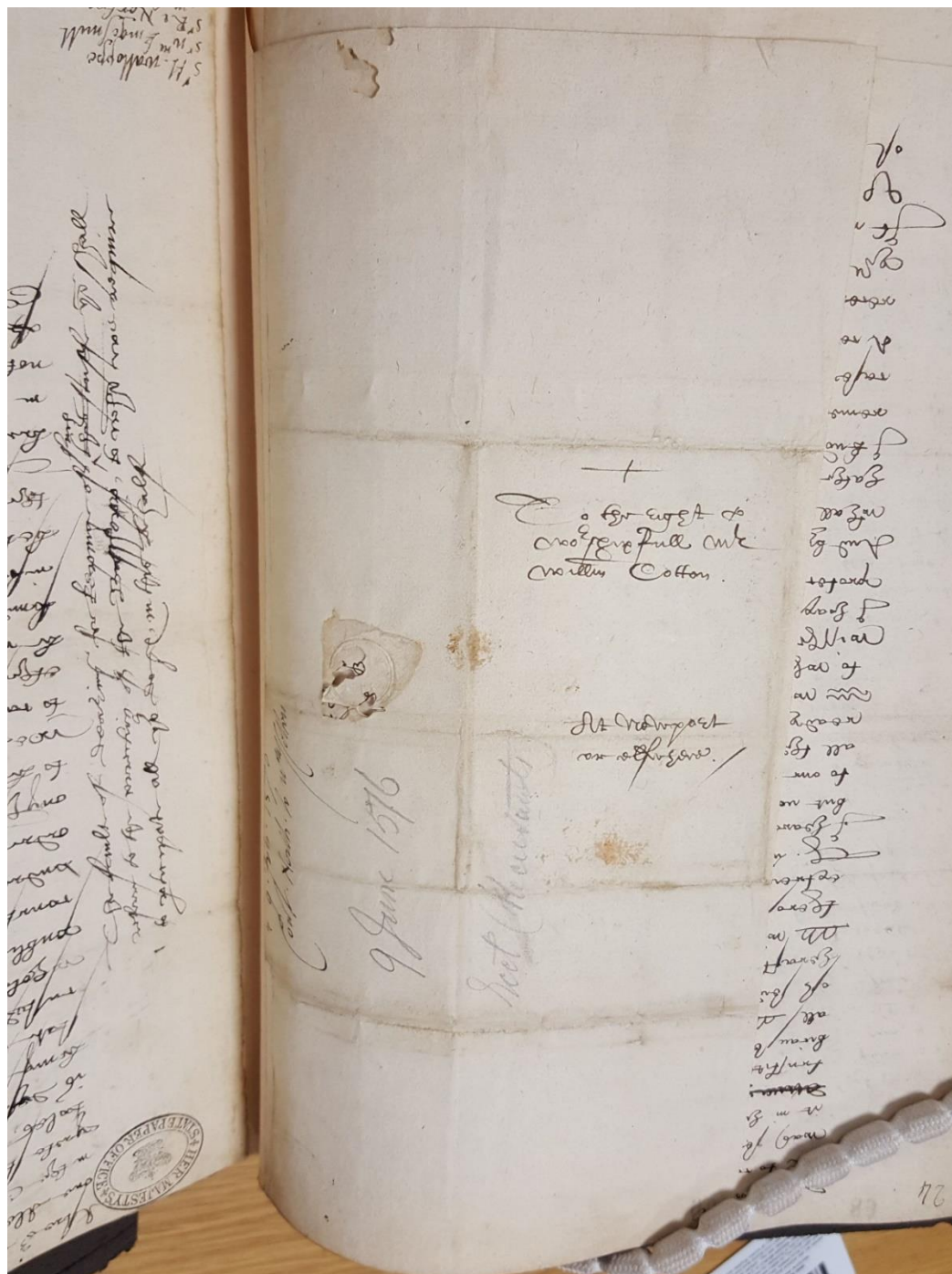
holden $\approx$ with many vayne wordes in this letre,

notwithstanding is willing to performe all that M is

hable. /

TNA, SP 12/108/89. Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton. 9 June 1576. Body text in the hand of secretary Robert Heighington using mix of secretary and italic scripts. No signature. Cipher mark. Endorsement in the hand of William Cecil, Lord Burghley. Marginalia and underlined passages in Burghley's hand. Sent from unspecified location to Nieuport, Low Countries. Secretary: Robert Heighington. Letter bearer: unknown. Letter status: sent letter intercepted.

TNA, SP 12/108/89: address leaf



Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.

89 39 23
 I have receaved your of the remitt of the last month
 nor I may y^etas to see, because that term of your given
 satisfaction in many respects, and yet lett in nothing
 be approved that any thing will be receaved on your but as
 hallo me to, and according to that appears that to gate
 on his friend, and yet in your. I have found not
 his ability to take the note that he makes in thinking
 impossible to his merit, yet for the noble in thinking
 it best, that he may not get so ran by the reason and
 fears me and without continuing or forring your reason
 his necessity is to send to deale, to do, and to treat, and as
 he expects well that he will further the same to his
 so I trust that you will further the same to his
 comfort and expectation, because his reason shall do well
 to continue his reasonable carriage and belonging to will
 the same will his may find to cause to increase or
 relinquish, nor I have shall not be, but rather increase
 and increase. / Concerning the matter between of
 and morley and I. I meddle not with all, but suppose the same will
 taken was and ended without either parties, and so I
 lett it suffice for the time. / I have say in your
 to Loretto, no more since your saying construction.
 from of I have been in the place no more
 any more but one since his being in the place no more
 he is, but I understand that he had moved for divers
 amongst them specially for me, but then all things went
 so shortly, so that was little cause of comfort or sorrow
 got by the end of his month, or a little more the
 next, I trust you shall receive better contentment. /
 of is so troubled with the nature of the aged that
 doth increase to the weakness and impaire of his
 health that he must be forced to leave it to his
 then he determined, and go to the mountains. /
 I greatly fear least the two not all sent to me to
 be returned to Limerick shall be not delivered, &
 all the for prayer to do his bettermost endeavor
 to have what is become of the same, because that two

Address leaf:

[endorsement in hand of Burghley:]

9 June 1576

Countess Northumberland to William Cotton

[later addition, cataloguer:]

9 June 1576

Scotland (Recusants)

[superscription in hand of Heighington:]

To the right ~

wourshipfull Master

William Cotton

At Newport

or elsewhere./

[Body text in hand of Heighington:]

I haue receaved yors of the xxiiiith of the last Monethe
which I was glad to see, bicause that therin *you* haue geuen
 satisfaction in many respectes, and yet lett ≈ nothing
 be affrayed that any thing wilbe conceaved on him but as
 shalbe mete, and according to that affiance that he hathe
 in his frindes, and they in him./ If he finde not
 his affaires to take the roote that he wolde, nor to be
 answerable to his merites, yet for the while M thinkithe
 it best, that he wyne what he can by *perswacion* and
 fare meane without contending or forcing ther wheras
 his necessitie is to haue to deale, to do, and to treat, and as
 he hoapithe well that tyme will worke desired effect,
 so do I trust that god will further the same to his
 confort and expectacion, wherein his wisdom shall do well

to continew his commendable corrage and begenyng vntill
 the same with his wise frindes so cause to surceasse or
 relinquishe, *which* I hoape shall not be, but rather ^cause to be^ increased

[in the left-hand margin, Burghley's hand:]

lord morlye⁷⁸

[hand of Heighington:]

[p...:] and advanced. ~~and~~/ Touching the matter betwen ψ⁷⁹

[in the left-hand margin, Burghley's hand:]

Sir Thomas Stukelye⁸⁰

[hand of Heighington:]

and ≠⁸¹ I meddle not withall, but suppose the same wilbe
 taken vpp and ended without eithers *preiudice*, and so I

[in the left-hand margin, Burghley's hand:]

Sir Thomas Stukely

[hand of Heighington:]

lett it ceasse for the tyme: ≠ they say is gone
 to Loretto, wherof diuerse geve sundry constructions.

[in the left-hand margin, Burghley's hand:]

Sir Francis Englefield

⁷⁸ Henry Parker, Lord Morley (1531 – 1577), Catholic exile.

⁷⁹ Burghley deciphered this cipher mark as indicating Lord Morley.

⁸⁰ Sir Thomas Stucley (c.1520 – 1578).

⁸¹ Cipher mark used to disguise the identity of Sir Thomas Stucely, according to Burghley's transcription. Burghley's decoding fits with contextual evidence because Stucely did go to Loretto in 1576, as Anne reported here using this cipher mark to disguise the identity of the person.

[hand of Heighington:]

From Z I heare verely seldom, and haue not receaved
any *letres* but once since his being in the place wheras
he is, but I vnderstand that he had moved for diuerse,
emongst them specially for $\approx$, but then all thinges went
so straitly, as ther was litle hoape of confort or spede,
yet by the ende of this monethe, or A litle within the

[in the left-hand margin, Burghley's hand:]

William Cotton.

[hand of Heighington:]

next, I trust $\approx$ shall receave better contentment./

[in the left-hand margin, Burghley's hand:]

Sir Francis Englefield

[hand of Heighington:]

Z is so trobled with the Catarre *which* by the ayre ther⁸²
doth so increase to the weakenning and impare of his
*sight*⁸³ that he must be forced to leave *Rome* soner
then he determined, and $\wedge$ to $\wedge$ go to the montaynes./
I greatly feare least the *letre which* M sent to $\approx$ to
be conuayed to Laurence Blacknoll⁸⁴ be not deliuered, to
M therfor prayeth $\approx$ to do his vttermost indeavour
to know what is becumme of the same, bicause that *letre*

[page two]

⁸² Build up of mucus in the airways.

⁸³ Sir Francis Englefield had very poor sight and was almost blind by this time, requiring a secretary to write his letters and needing to travel by coach for his safety (Loomie, 'Sir Francis Englefield,' *ODNB*).

⁸⁴ A message bearer who appeared to have been responsible for letters that did not reach their recipients. Anne suspected Blacknoll of betraying the trust of the senders.

did import M muche, and withall M wolde desire
 ≈ to convaye over to the same person to whom thother
 was sent this inclosed, with request that he will stay
 it in his handes vntill one from Monshieur Dauce⁸⁵, ~~Monshieur~~
~~dauce him selfe~~ do cumme to him to requier it. M ~
 trustithe that ≈ will vse this matter consideratly,
 bicause the letre doth greatly concerne M, and with
 all M herby wold try and prove whether this way
 of sending be secure, and suche as will serve M turne
 hereafter, and that M may trust vnto or not, bicause
 M wold not be frustrate in M occasions in hoape
 therof, and be misserved, *which* might turne to M
 extreme preiudice and hindrance./ Of Ingram
 Thomas⁸⁶ and his perkeners⁸⁷ hard happ and increase of misfortune
 I heare by report of others *which* I am verely sorry for,
 but not being hable to helpe it I can no more but pray
 to our Lord to sende them better chance, and recovery of
 all their losses with ample gayne./ And so being
 ready with good will and as I am hable to do for
 ≈ what may lye in my power for his satisfaction,
 to whom with my verely effectuall Commendacions I do
 wisshe as I thinke his worthines doth well deserue, *which*
 I hoape our Lord will performe, to whose direction and
 protection I committe you, I ende this ixth of June 1576

[cipher mark:]

M

⁸⁵ Unknown.

⁸⁶ Unknown.

⁸⁷ Perkeners were plots of land colonised by Dutch settlers in the Banda Islands and the East Indies during the expansion of the Dutch East Indies Company. Dutch planters and later wealthy colonial families were known as perkeniers. The word 'perkeners' may be used to refer to early settlers or planters in the Low Countries or elsewhere as a general term meaning settler of land, since the Dutch East Indies Company was not established until 1602. (Ulbe Bosma and Remco Raben, *Being Dutch in the Indies: A History of Creolistation and Empire, 1500 – 1920*, trans. Wendie Shaffer (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008), p. 158).

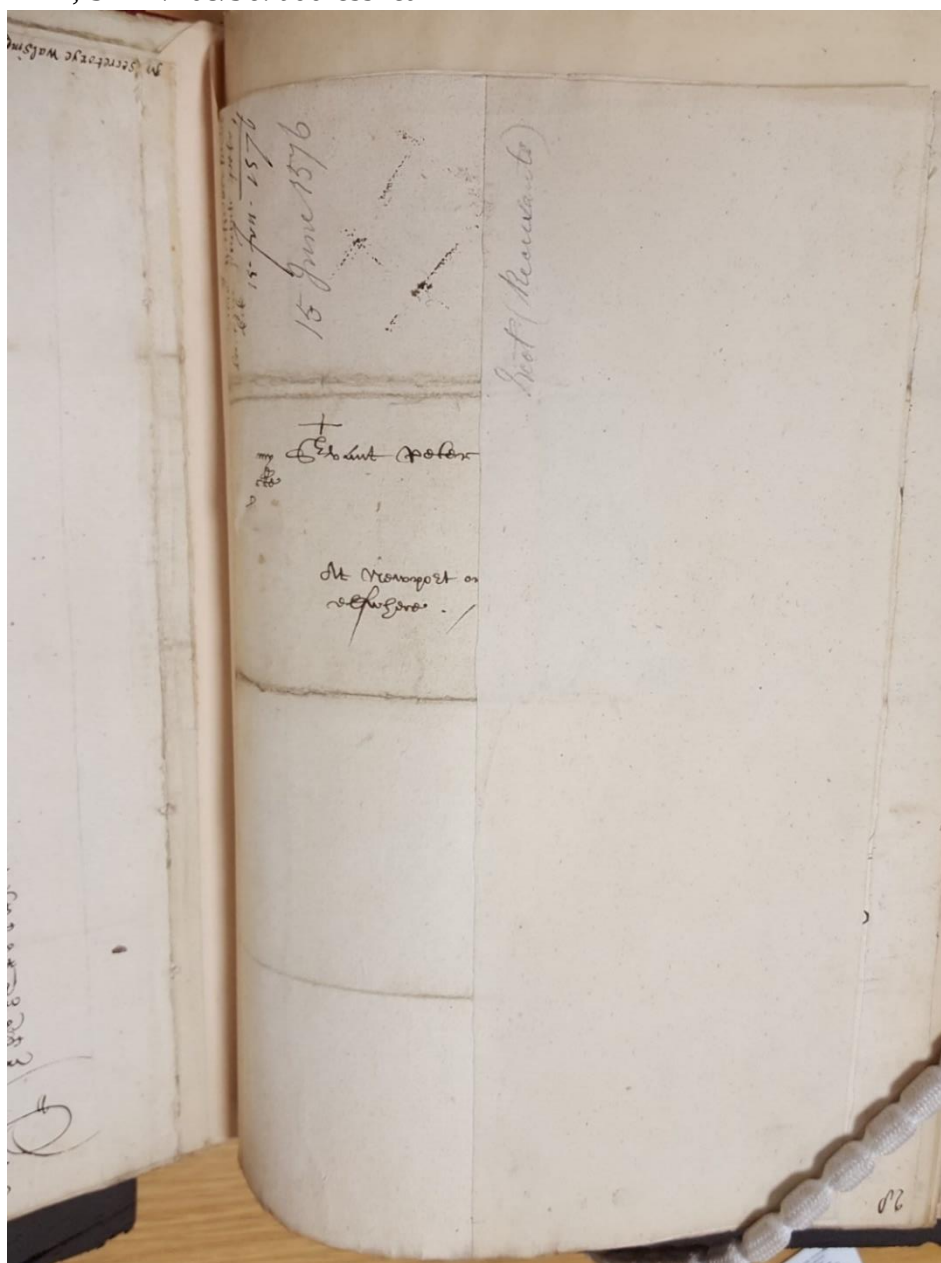
[post-script in hand of Heighington:]

And by this meane I shall see
 withall whether Laurence Blacknoll
 hath receaved myne and will not acknowledge it,
 I know *your* affaires will hardly geve *you* leasure to
 remembre this trifle of myne, notwithstanding M
 case at this *present* dothe aske no lesse then to vrge
 A certentie, and therfor I pray *you* aduise me of the
 receipt of this *with* all expedicion and what hoape forder
you haue of the sequele of the same.
 It may fall owt that M did the better in not visiting
 ψ⁸⁸ then for the *present* was thought requisite, herafter
 of that matter *you* shall know more.

⁸⁸ Henry Parker, Lord Morley.

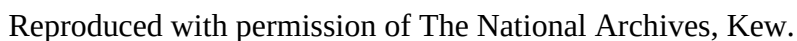
TNA, SP 12/108/96. Anne, countess of Northumberland to Peter Kirke.⁸⁹ 15 June 1576. Body text in the hand of secretary Robert Heighington using mix of secretary and italic scripts. Signature in Anne's own hand in italic script. Endorsement partly in the hand of William Cecil, Lord Burghley. No marginalia. Sent from Liège, Spanish Low Countries to Newport, Low Countries. Secretary: Robert Heighington. Letter bearer: unknown. Letter status: sent letter intercepted.

TNA, SP 12/108/96: address leaf

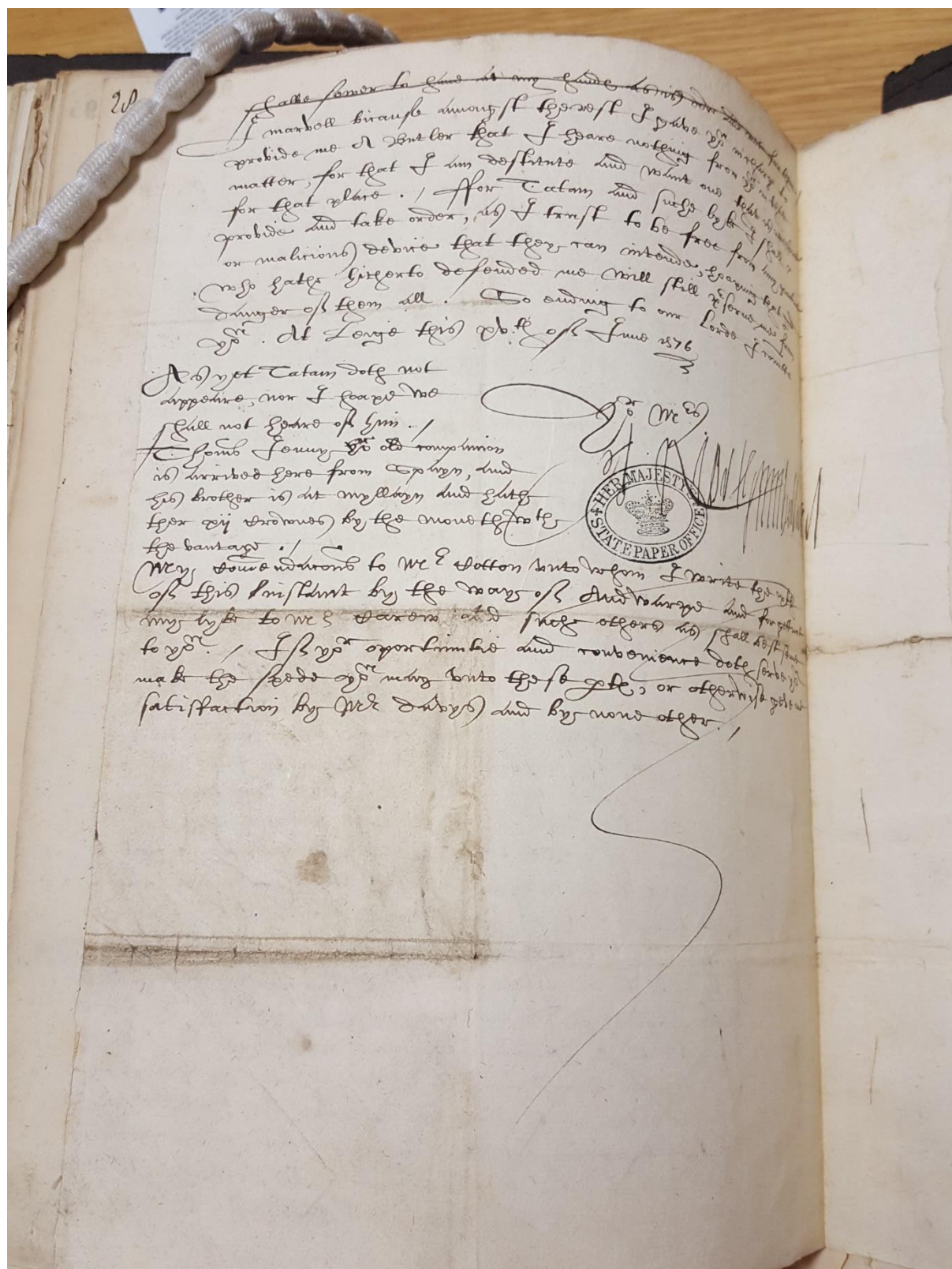


Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.

⁸⁹ Kirke was clerk to Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland from 1562 until the rebellion of 1569. He remained loyal to Anne and fled into Scotland, staying in her company and travelling into exile. He travelled routinely between England and the continent and was not based permanently in the Low Countries.



TNA, SP 12/108/96: body text page two



Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.

Address leaf:

[endorsement in hand of Burghley:]

[*The*]

Ladie Northumberlands

letre to her seruante Petre

Kerke

15 June 1576

[later addition, cataloguer:]

15 June 1576

Scotland (Recusants)

[superscription in hand of Heighington:]

my Servant Peter

[Ke]rke

At Newport or

elsewhere./

[Body text in hand of Heighington:]

Peter, *your* letres of the iiijth of June be saifly cummed to my handes as I wolde willingly haue sene *you* here whan *you* were last at Machlyn, so did I not at any tyme wisshe or desire it but with consideracion and respect had to *your* affaire that *your* absence might be no preiudice nor hindrance to the same, and so I coulde well haue bene content to haue *you* here for the tyme, and in lyke order I gave out my wordes to George Moore⁹⁰ merily and not otherwise./ For any concept or displeasure of myne *you* shall not nede to doubt, *you* know me well and haue had A long experience of me, and as before *you* haue tryed me so are *you* lyke still to finde me in favor and as I may. I am

⁹⁰ Message bearer and servant of Anne's.

sory to vnderstand that *your* procedinges and indeavors do so ~
 vnfortunatly and vnluckely fallowt, the particularities wherof
 it grevithe me to heare, and the more I sorrow for it for
 that I am not hable to releve nor to helpe it; but seing
 by all the circumstance and maner of that *which* is past ~~that~~
 it appearithe that that the kynde of service of yors is nothing
 agreable to the will and pleasure of god, *you* do well if *you*
 strive no longer therwith but surceasse and geve ouer for A
 tyme, bicause as I perceave the tyme yet servithe not
 for the purpose, and so muche I expressed to Thwyng⁹¹
 at his last being here. for *your* debtes seing *you* want
 habilitie to discharge them, all parties must be contented to
 beare till god sende *you* more habundance and meane wherewith
 for *your* selfe if *you* will cumme hither suche porcion as is here to
 be had withe the rest *you* shalbe sewer to finde, and may haue./
 As the authoritie that I gave *you* at *your* departure from me was
 as *you* say but small, so dyd I look for none other but ^{^that^} suche as
you wolde bring should be but litle, and therfor in that poynt
you nede to take litle care bicause the same wilbe easely answered,
 wold to god fortune had so well secunded *you* that. *you* might
 aswell haue satisfied all others as *you* shall do in this, yet wolde
 I be glad to vnderstand and know the state of my old seruantes./
 Litle Jaques ~~*your* old man~~⁹² ~~will nedes be gadding and cannot be~~
~~reteyned by my perswacion, as I haue written at large to Sir Henry~~
~~Percye~~⁹³, therfor as *you* cumme by Cannt⁹⁴ ~~move Mr Mockett~~⁹⁵ ~~in my~~
~~name to helpe me to A page suche one as shalbe warranted vnto~~
~~him to be trew, and not evell toughed, for one, I must haue but~~

⁹¹ John Thwing of Gate Helmsley of Yorkshire, was retainer to Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland before the rebellion of 1569. He was described as Anne's 'trustiest servant' and travelled between England and the continent carrying correspondence. He also passed between the English College at Douai and the exiles acting as a messenger (CSP For. 1572 – 1574 (20/121/1574), pp. 581 – 582).

⁹² Unknown.

⁹³ Sir Henry Percy (1532 – 1585), brother of Thomas Percy and Anne's brother-in-law.

⁹⁴ Ghent, Low Countries.

⁹⁵ Unknown.

~~neuer will I after this boy haue suche affection to Stranger
agane nor cherishe any lyke as I haue done this, though they~~
[page two]

~~shalbe sewer to haue at my handes as is dew and not for them./~~

I marvell bicause amongst the rest I gave *you* in charge to
provide me A Butler that I heare nothing from *you* in that
matter, for that I am destitute and want one that is necessarie
for that place./ For Tatam⁹⁶ and suche lyke I shall ~
provide and take order, as I trust to be free from any practice
or malicious device that they can intende, hoaping that god
who hathe hitherto defended me will still preserue me from
danger of them all. So ending to our lorde I committe
you. At Leige this xvth of June 1576.

your Mistres

[signature in hand of Anne, countess of Northumberland:]

A. Northumberland

[post-script, in hand of Heighington:]

As yet Tatam doth not
appeare, nor I hoape we
shall not heare of him./
Thomas Jenny⁹⁷ *your* old companion
is arrived here from Spayn, and
his brother is at myllayn and hathe
ther xii Crownes by the moneth with
the vantage./

My Commendacions to Mr Cotton⁹⁸ vnto whom I write the ixth
of this instant by the waye of Andwarpe and for gett not
my lyke to Mr Carew and suche others as shall best seme
to *you* / If *your* oportunitie and convenience doth serve *you*

⁹⁶ Unknown.

⁹⁷ Thomas Jeyne alias Thomas Jeyne (active 1565 – 1583).

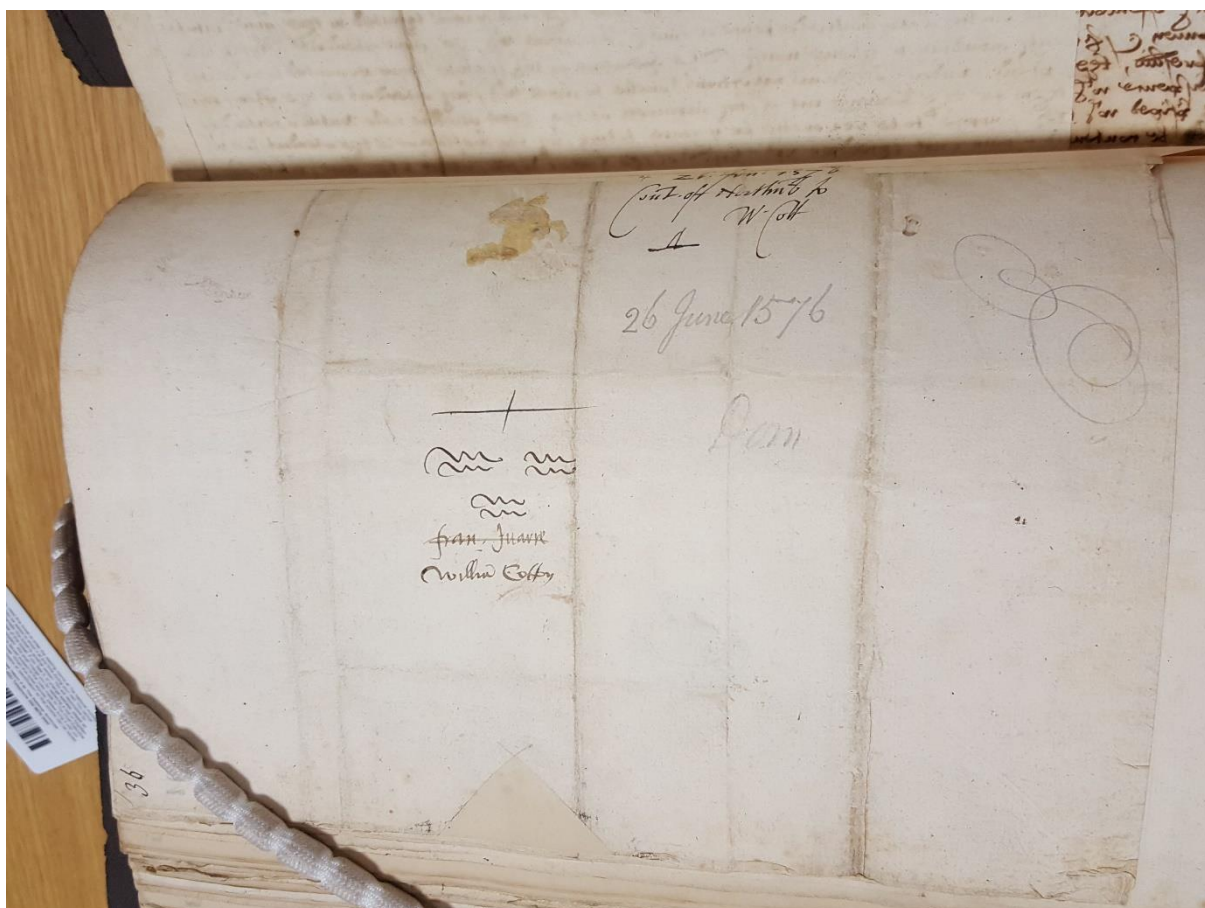
⁹⁸ William Cotton.

make the spede *you* may vnto these *partes*, or otherwise geve me satisfaction by *Peter* davys and by none other.⁹⁹

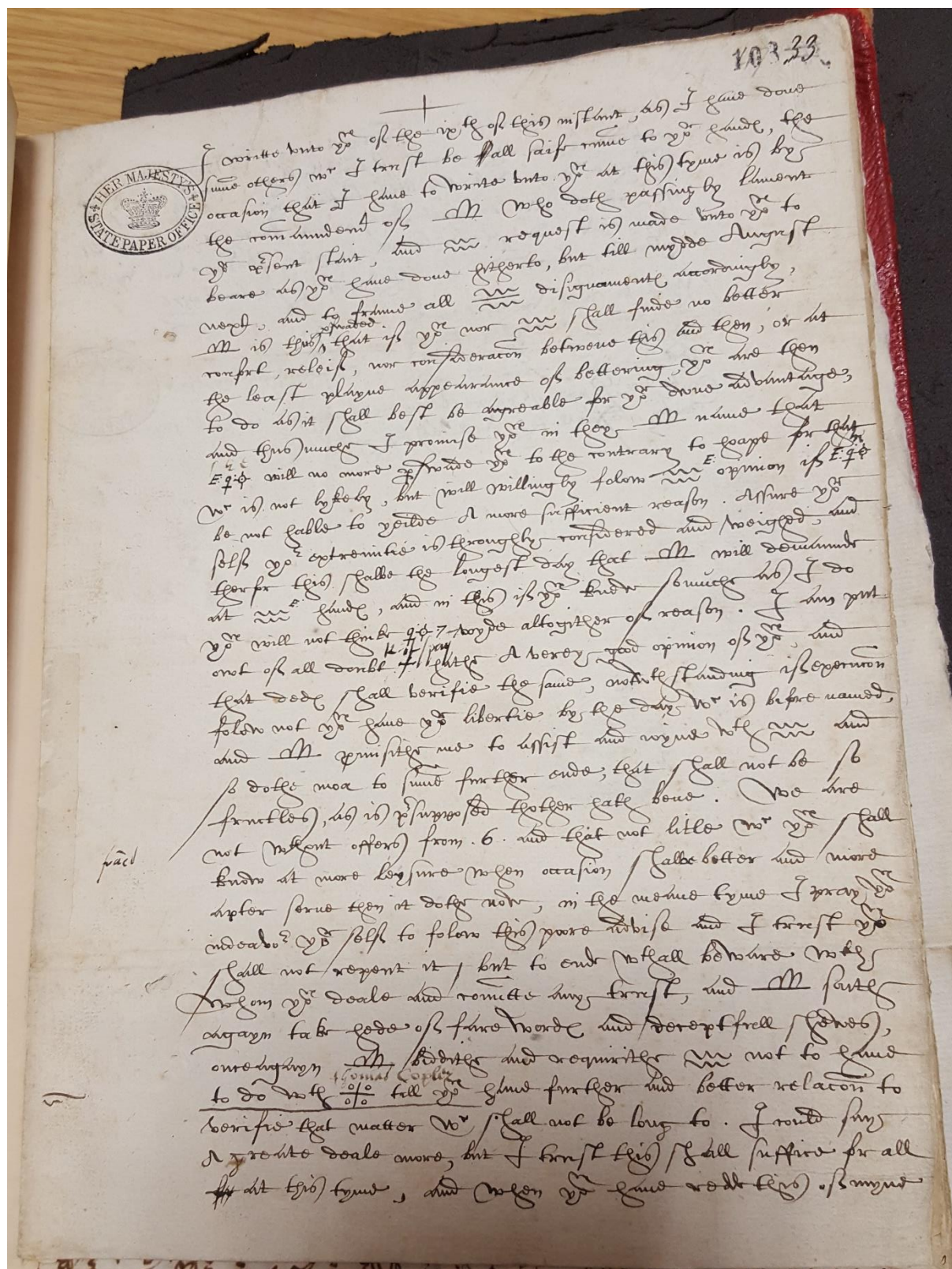
⁹⁹ Unknown.

TNA, SP 12/108/103. Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton. 26 June 1576. Body text in the hand of secretary Robert Heighington using mix of secretary and italic scripts. No signature. Cipher mark. Endorsement in the hand of William Cecil, Lord Burghley. Marginalia and underlined passages in Burghley's hand. Sent from an unknown location within the Low Countries to an unspecified destination. Secretary: Robert Heighington. Letter bearer: unknown. Letter status: sent letter intercepted.

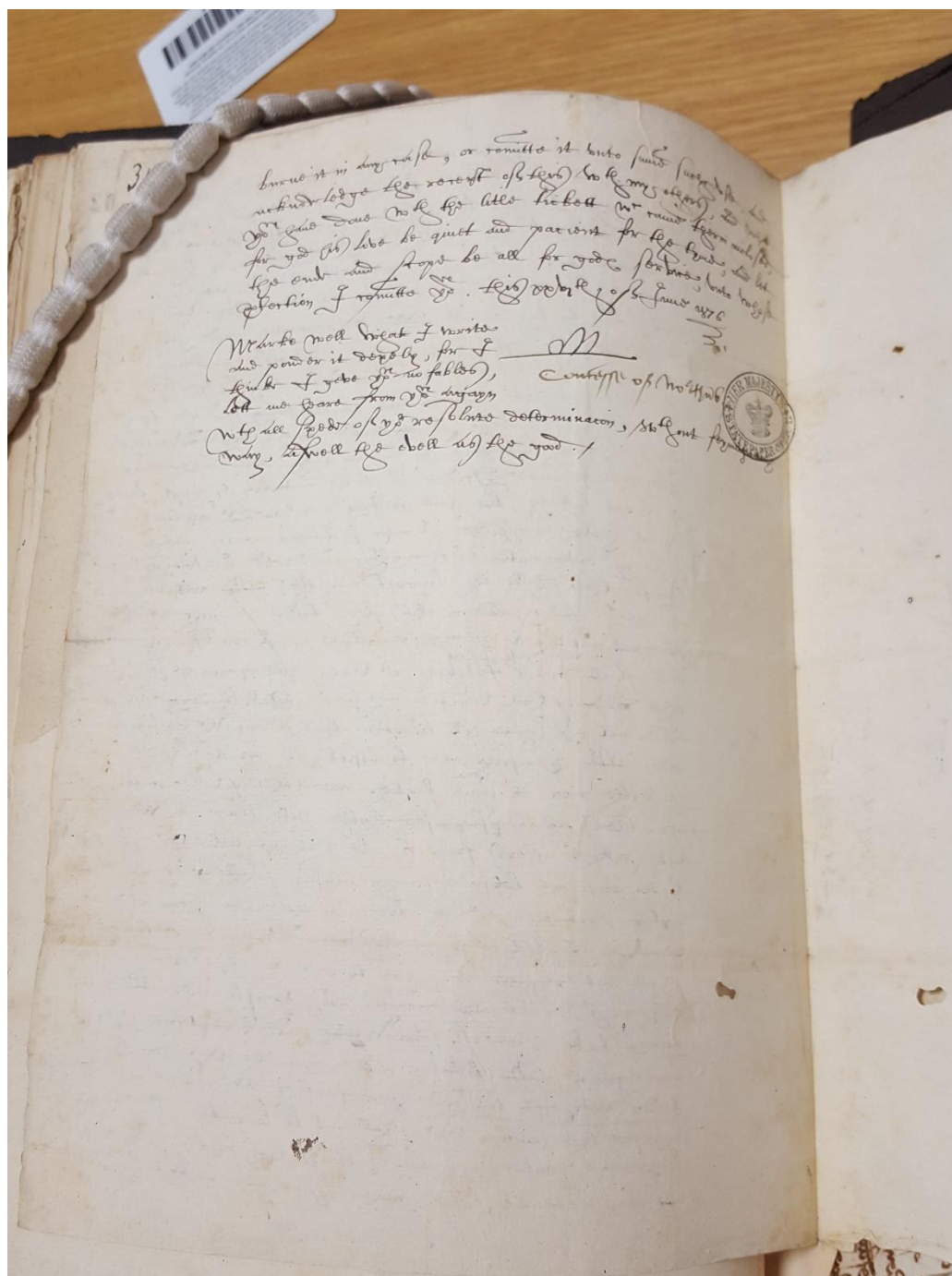
TNA, SP 12/108/103: address leaf



Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.



TNA, SP 2/108/103: body text page two



Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.

Address leaf:

[endorsement in hand of Burghley:]

26 June 1576

Countess of Northumberland to

William Cotton

Δ.

[later addition, cataloguer:]

26 June 1576

Domestic

[superscription in hand of Burghley:]

~~francis juarre~~¹⁰⁰

William Cotton

[superscription in hand of Heighington:]

3 ≈ cipher marks

[Body text in hand of Heighington:]

I writte vnto *you* of the ixth of this instant, as I haue done
 summe others *which* I trust be fall saife cumme to *your* handes, the
 occasion that I haue to write vnto *you* at this tyme is by
 the commanndement of M who doth passing by lament
your present stait, and ≈ request is made vnto *you* to
 beare as *you* haue done hitherto, but till mydde August
 next, and to frame all ≈/≈ disignamentes accordingly,
 M is thus ^perswaded.^ that if *you* nor ≈ shall finde no better
 confort, releif, nor consideracion betwene this and then, or at
 the least playne appearance of bettering, *you* are then
 to do as it shall best be agreable for *your* owne advantage,
 and thus mucche I promise *you* in they M name that
she ^she^ will no more perswade *you* to the contrary to hoape for that
which is not lykely, but will willingly folow ≈^E opinion if *she*
 be not hable to yeilde A more sufficient reason. Assure *your*
 selfe *your* extremitie is throughly considered and weighed, and
 therfor this shalbe the longest day that M will demaunde

¹⁰⁰ Unknown.

at $\approx^E$ handes, and in this if you know somuche as I do
 you will not thinke *her* voyde altogether of reason. I am put
 owt of all doubt ^{^king of Spayne}¹⁰¹ † hathe A verey good opinion of you, and
 that dedes shall verifie the same, notwithstanding if execucion
 folow not you haue your libertie by the day *which* is bifore named,
 and M promisithe me to assist and wyne with $\approx$ and
 so dothe moue to summe further ende, that shall not be so
 fructles, as is presupposed thother hath bene. We are

[in the left-hand margin, Burghley's hand:]

france

[hand of Heighington:]

not without offers from *France* and that not litle *which* you shall
 know at more leysure when occasion shalbe better and more
 apter serue then it dothe now, in the meane tyme I pray you
 indeavour your self to folow this poore advise and I trust you
 shall not repent it / but to ende withall beware withe
 whom you deale and committe any trust, and M saithe
 agayn take hede of fare wordes and deceptfull shewes,
 onceagayn M biddithe and requirithe $\approx$ not to haue
to do with ^{^thomas Copley}¹⁰² ‡ till you haue further and better relacion to
 verifie that matter *which* shall not be long to. I could saye
 A greate deale more, but I trust this shall suffice for all
~~for~~ at this tyme, and when you haue redd this of myne

[page two]

burne it in any case, or committe it vnto summe suche vse, and

¹⁰¹ Philip II of Spain (1527 – 1598).

¹⁰² Thomas Copley (1532 – 1584) was a Catholic exile who went abroad without royal licence in 1570. He was distrusted by the Catholic exiles who knew that he corresponded with the English authorities.

acknowledge the receipt of this with my others, and what
 you haue done with the litle tickett *which* came therin inclosed;
 for god his love be quiet and pacient for the tyme, and let
 the ende and scope be all for godes service, vnto whose
 protection I committe you. this xxvith of June 1576.

[cipher mark:]

M

[addition in hand of Burghley:]

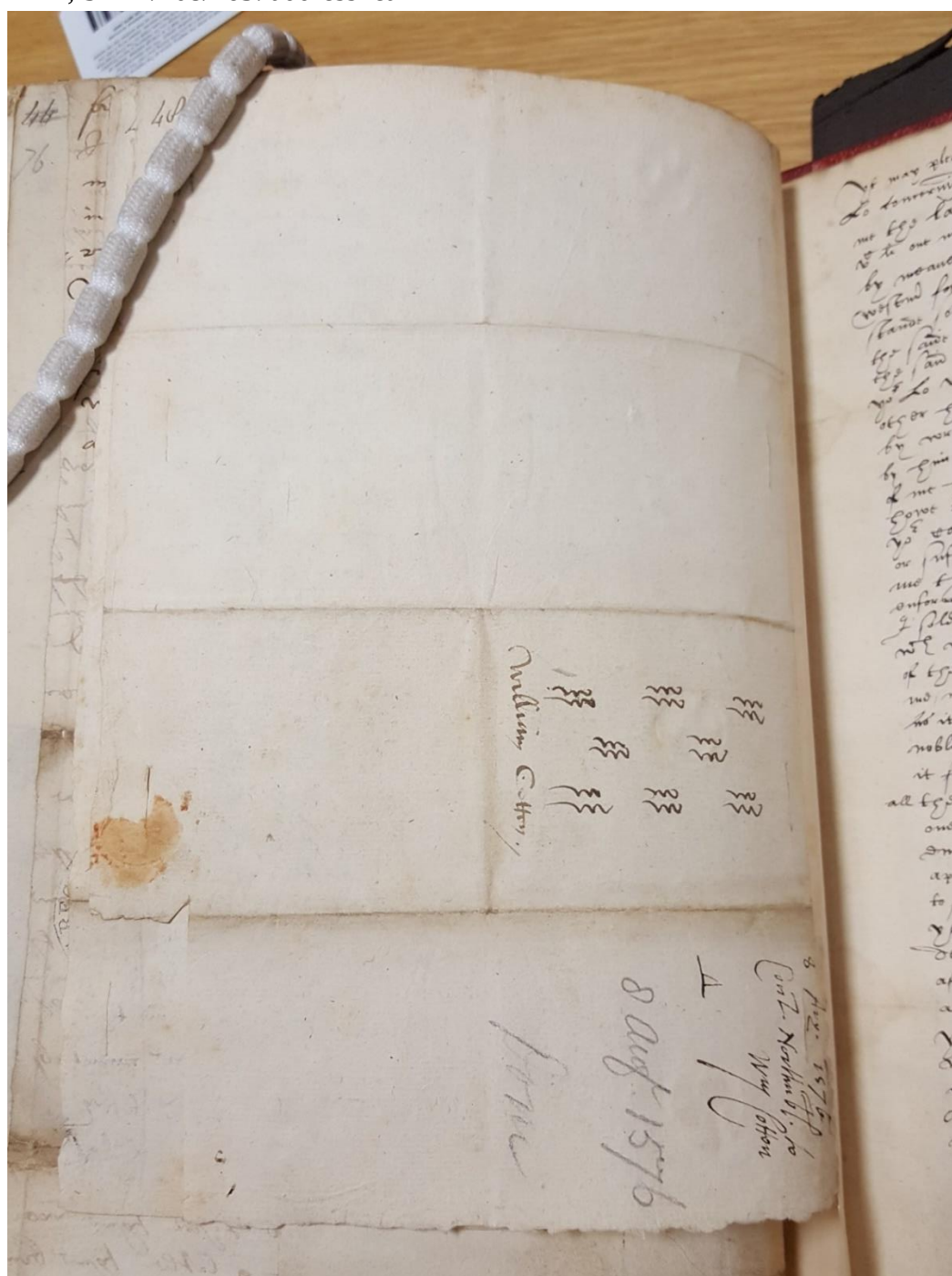
Countesse of Northumberland

[post-script in hand of Heighington:]

Marke well what I write
 and ponder it depely, for I
 thinke I geve *you* no fables,
 lett me heare from *you* agayn
 with all spede of *your* resolute determinacon, without feyning any
 way, aswell the evell as the good./

TNA, SP 12/108/165. Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton. 8 August 1576. Body text in the hand of secretary Robert Heighington using mix of secretary and italic scripts. No signature. Cipher mark. Endorsement in the hand of William Cecil, Lord Burghley. Marginalia in Burghley's hand. Sent from an unknown location in the Low Countries to an unspecified destination. Secretary: Robert Heighington. Letter bearer: unknown. Letter status: sent letter intercepted.

TNA, SP 12/108/165: address leaf



Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.

165th

+


 I have received your of the first of this instant
 and have myself at large to the full intent
 of the content of the same, and I trust doubt by this
 you of good satisfaction, and I doubt I must be
 to inform you so as I do and greater that you
 are ready and willing to do. I am sorry for the
 hands towards that I greater stand in,
 and my grief is the greater for that I want a
 facility and have not to supply for him as I would
 and do desire, considering his good affection towards
 me, and the fact that I have found at his hands:
 but let me have patience yet for a time
 till the arrival of the new Governor, and at
 the first will be here before Magistrate, and
 may though make you some more, and
 then let me make him still that you will be a
 such favorable order taken for him as shall be
 for his respect and your own satisfaction. The
 manner of words of grace and comfort nor me gave to
 by limitation of time till my next August
 may not meet for the general and reason, but
 only for the private service of me, and
 reporting before that time to your meeting from
the touching me, either by the arrival
 before that time as it happened in deed and the
 running of the new Governor's will, nor cannot
 now long be deferred, therefore let me I say

TNA, SP 12/108/165: body text page two

Insteigut to be late done, and beare in the moun, but
 I praye that he shall solo. and so shal be in your
 to me surely bettered to be shal find in your
 to be well contented. / I praye that he shall
 be sundry to be sent to the place to be delivered to
 for M, the want of the great work to
 M, therefore I praye you make diligent search
 for if you can find out any of them, either by
 Andrew Walker whom he remitte to the
 greade (some were sent) or by any other, and if
 any shall be given to him to be found, that you will
 dispathe them by the speediest and most convenient
 that you can. / So in all other things referring you
 to the relation and advice of the remitte to the
 wishing to be to my self. the 8. of August
 1476

It is written from
 Andrew Walker that son M
 John D. Austria is approved governor
 of the two countries. And now the good
 of the country of the Spanish and shall
 be praised and praised and they all satisfied to be
 a pray.

Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.

Address leaf:

[endorsement in hand of Burghley:]

8 August 1576

Countess Northumberland to

William Cotton

Δ.

[later addition, cataloguer:]

8 August 1576

Domestic

[superscription in hand of Burghley:]

William Cotton./

[superscription in hand of Heighington:]

8 ≈ cipher marks

[Body text in hand of Heighington:]

I haue receaved yors of the first of this instant

[in the left-hand margin, unverified hand:]

Sir *Francis* Inglefield

[hand of Heighington:]

and haue imparted at large to Z the full ~~invent~~
of the content of the same, who I trust dothe by his
geve you good satisfaction, whose advise I wisshe you
to performe and folow as I se and perceave that you
are ready and willing to do./ I am sorry for the

[in the left-hand margin, unverified hand:]

William Cotton

[hand of Heighington:]

harde tearmes that I *perceave* $\cong$ standithe in,
 and my greif is the greater for that I want ~
 habilitie and haue not to supplie for him as I wolde
 and do desire, considering his good affection towardes
 me, and the *favour* that I haue founde at his handes:
 but let $\approx$ haue pacience yet for A tyme
 till the arrivall of the new Governour who at
 the furthest will be here bifore Michaelmas, and
 was thought wolde haue bene muche soner, and
 then let $\approx$ *perswade* him self that ther wilbe ~
 suche favorable order taken for him as shalbe for
 his confort and yeilde him satisfaction./ The

[in the left-hand margin, unverified hand:]

Countess of Northumberland

[hand of Heighington:]

wordes of hoape and comfort *which* M gave to
 $\approx$ by limitacion of tyme till mydde August
 was not ment for the generall and common, but
 only for the private service of $\approx$, M ~
 expecting bifore that tyme to heare *summthing* from
 Z touching $\approx$, either els Z arrival ~
 bifore that tyme as it happened in dede and the
cummyng of the new Governour *withall*, *which* cannot
 now long be deferred, therfor let $\approx$ I say

[page two]

susteyne as he hath done, and beare in the meane, and
 I hoape that he shall fele and se his case in good

tyme somuche bettered as he shall finde him self
 therwith well contented./ I vnderstand that ther
 be sundry *letres* sent to those *partes* to be deliuered to
 ≈ for M, the want wherof is great greif to
 M, therfor I pray *you* make diligent searche
 ther if *you* can finde owt any of them, either by
 Andrew Walker¹⁰³ when he cummithe thither (by whom I
perceave summe were sent) or by any others, and if ~
 any shall happen to cumme to *your* handes, that *you* will
 dispatche them hither by the spediest and next meane
 that *you* can./ So in all other *partes* referring *you*
 to Z relacion and advise I committe *you* to god
 wisshing to *you* as to my self. this 8. of August

1576

[cipher mark:]

M

[post-script in hand of Heighington:]

It is written from

Andwarpe that donn

John Duke of Austria¹⁰⁴ is proclamed governour

of these lowe cuntreyes. and we are here

perswaded that the mutiney of the Spaniardes shalbe

apeased and pacified and they all satisfied with

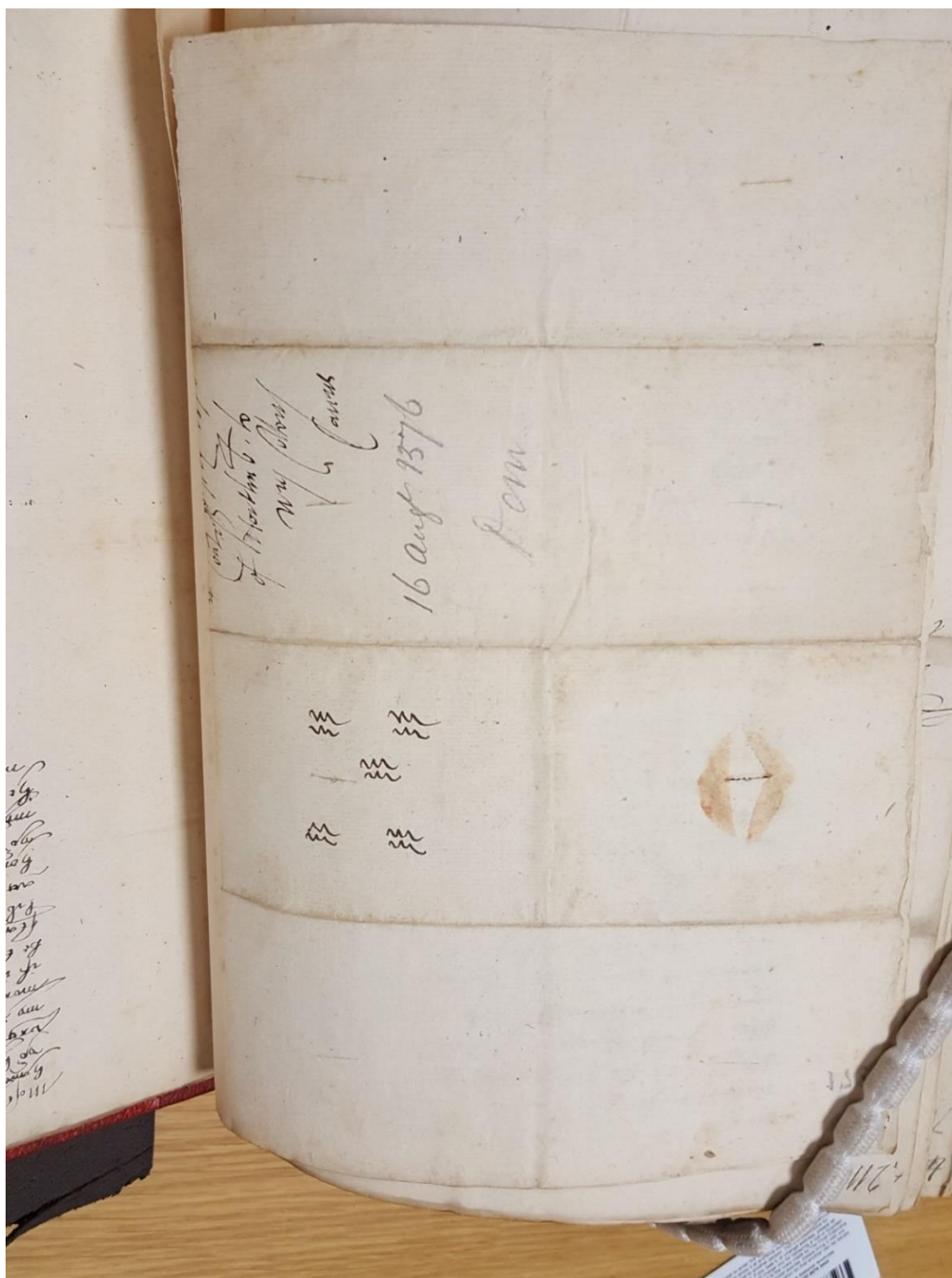
A pay.

¹⁰³ A messenger who was responsible for letters that were not delivered to their recipients.

¹⁰⁴ Don John of Austria (1547 – 1578) was the half-brother of Philip II of Spain and Governor of the Low Countries in 1576. While there he entered into negotiations with the English exiles for potential marriage to Mary, Queen of Scots.

TNA, SP12/108/171. Anne, countess of Northumberland to William Cotton. 16 August 1576. Body text in the hand of secretary Robert Heighington using mix of secretary and italic scripts. No signature. Cipher mark. Endorsement in the hand of William Cecil, Lord Burghley. Marginalia in Burghley's hand. Sent from an unknown location in the Low Countries to an unspecified destination. Secretary: Robert Heighington. Letter bearer: unknown. Letter status: sent letter intercepted.

TNA, SP 12/108/171: address leaf



Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.

171 80 57
 good of the count of July came not to my hands before
 this day the 21st of this instant. 1st Of the
 taking of the and other things directed to S. + M. J. M. S. X. f.
 no the / since that they came in by the fluffingers
 the latter count before, as by my of the count of the
 instant in my of the first of the same I
 got by signified unto me, and that the moving name of
 the agreed upon was + M. J. M. 7 C. C. T. D. X. 7, was
 (as) was proposed (was) agreed for at liberty, as phillips
 Allen, and others were by me brought in. For
 the and the displeasure that the gate by the
 lack of them, the date not much for, but the
 E. & C. remembrance that if C. T. D. X. 7 had been a
 man trusted, or so good as he was proposed to be,
 he might have found the money after his liberty
 that he saw the and perhaps might either by
 phillips Allen or some other by the trusted man by
 whom he had opportunity and convenience enough to
 have sent them) have been brought to light and to
 have turned to his hand, so as they might have
 been delivered when they were done, this I say if
 they were not at the first made away, or also by
 some means might have been continued to have gotten
 satisfaction to all parties, for as I thought good to
 advise the great and some more the remembrance in this
 got, to know that may be learned and better
 advised afterwards of such things followed, or some of
 deals well, trust or credit from least they be
 so decreed, expecting nothing to be done from
 again what he shall be able to learn out, or
 contented that he can find of this matter, that I
 may be so fully advised in.

TNA, SP 12/108/171: body text page two

We have had many reports, some of great (honour) but
 too late in the day, to be of any use. I have
 also had some late by my brother, but do not know
 if it is true. I have also had some from the
 that they differ from the others, many of which
 seem to be a caricature, but they are all
 so far from the truth, that I do not know
 if I do not get more news, and for my part
 I am in the means of doing so. But if
 you are for the time, I am glad to hear
 that you have been to the theatre, and
 it must be or two longer till the running of the
 horses, at the time (to) I wrote to you in my
 last. I trust you will find some of the
 and more satisfaction for your self, and for the
 friends of the theatre. So ending I write you
 with regards to all your actions, and with
 contentment. This 16th of August 1576

As for that word follows on
 I have, I trust, your malice is so well preserved
 it shall do no harm. I have now made it known
 to you that the intended copy of the letter
 is not to be accorded to, or at the point to
 receive satisfaction.

I pray you, but no word of what is borrowed of
 the Carriers, because I have nothing of them,
 and yet they be runned to you or not.

Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.

Address leaf:

[endorsement in hand of Burghley:]

16 August 1576

Countess

of Northumberland to

William Cotton

Canns¹⁰⁵

[later addition, cataloguer:]

16 August 1576

Domestic

[superscription in hand of Heighington:]

5 ≈ cipher marks

[Body text in hand of Heighington:]

Yors of the xxiiith of July camme not to my handes bfore
this present day the xvith of this instant./ Of the
taking of the letres and other thinges directed to Sir *antonio*¹⁰⁶
with the shippe that they camme in by the flusshingers¹⁰⁷

[in the left-hand margin, Burghley's hand:]

the cowntesse of northumberland

[hand of Heighington:]

M hathe heard bfore, as by myne of the viiith of this

[in the left-hand margin, Burghley's hand:]

william cotton

[hand of Heighington:]

instant in answere of ≈ of the first of the same I

¹⁰⁵ Possibly Cannes in France or a reference to an unknown person.

¹⁰⁶ Possibly Antonio Pérez (1540 – 1611), secretary to Philip II of Spain. Pérez organised the murder of the secretary of the Governor of the Low Countries, Juan de Escobedo in 1578 as part of growing tensions between the King of Spain and his half-brother Don John.

¹⁰⁷ Vlissingen, Low Countries (historical name in English: Flushing). Flushingers referred to the people of Flushing in the Low Countries or the people of Vlissingen.

partly signified vnto you, and that the mouers name of the Shippe aforesaid was *andrew walker*¹⁰⁸ who (as was supposed) was agayne set at libertie, as philipp Allen and others were by Mr Wynters¹⁰⁹ meane. For the letres and the displeasure that M hath by the lacke of them, M doth not mucche force, but this *she* conceaith that if *^walker^ walker* had bene A man trustie, or so honest as he was supposed to be, he might haue founde the meanes after his libertie that the said letres and thothers might either by ~ Philipp Allen or summe other lyke trustie man (by whom he had oportunitie and convenience enoughe to haue sent them) haue bene brought to light and to haue cummed to saife handes so as they might haue bene deliuered wher they were dew, this I say if they were not at the first made away, *which* also by summe meane might haue bene intimated to haue geuen satisfaction to all *parties*, therfor I thought good to advise you what and how mucche M conceaith in this *parte*, to thende that ~ may be warned and better advised hereafter of suche slipper fellowes, or how he deale with, trust or credite them least therby he be deceaved, expecting notwithstanding to heare from ~ agayn what he shalbe hable to learne owt, or certentie that he can finde of this matter, that I may therof fully advise M.

[page two]

We haue had many reportes here of great stirres and

¹⁰⁸ Message bearer who was not trusted by Anne because he had been in possession of letters that went missing.

¹⁰⁹ Unknown.

trobles in *your partes*, wherof yors make no mencion, and
 as *you* levie and take vp men ther, so do they in those
partes to cumme thither to serve, many say notwithstanding
 that those differences wilbe accorded, and will shortly
 grew to A pacificacion, but this levieng on all sides
 dothe shew small lykelode therof, and for my *parte*
 I do not yet muche wisshe nor desire it: but if
 ≈ in the meane spede of any thing to helpe to
 put over for the tyme, I am glad therof, and
 wolde haue him to shuffle owt amongst them yet
 A monethe or two longer till the cummyng of A new
 Governour, at *which* tyme (as I wrote vnto him in my
 last) I trust he shall finde cause of confort
 and more satisfaction for him self, his *particuler* and
 kynde of service. So ending I committe *you* to god
 who prosper all *your* actions and sende *you your* best
 contentment. this xvith of August 1576

[cipher mark:]

M

[post-script in hand of Heighington:]

As for that lewed fellow

Arthure,¹¹⁰ I trust his malice is so well forsene as
 it shall do no hurte./ Geven now worde is brought
 vnto vs that the mutined Spanyardes that were
 at Alst be accorded with, or at the point to
 receave satisfaction./

I pray *you* sende me worde what is becummed of
 the Carewes¹¹¹, bicause I heare nothing of them,

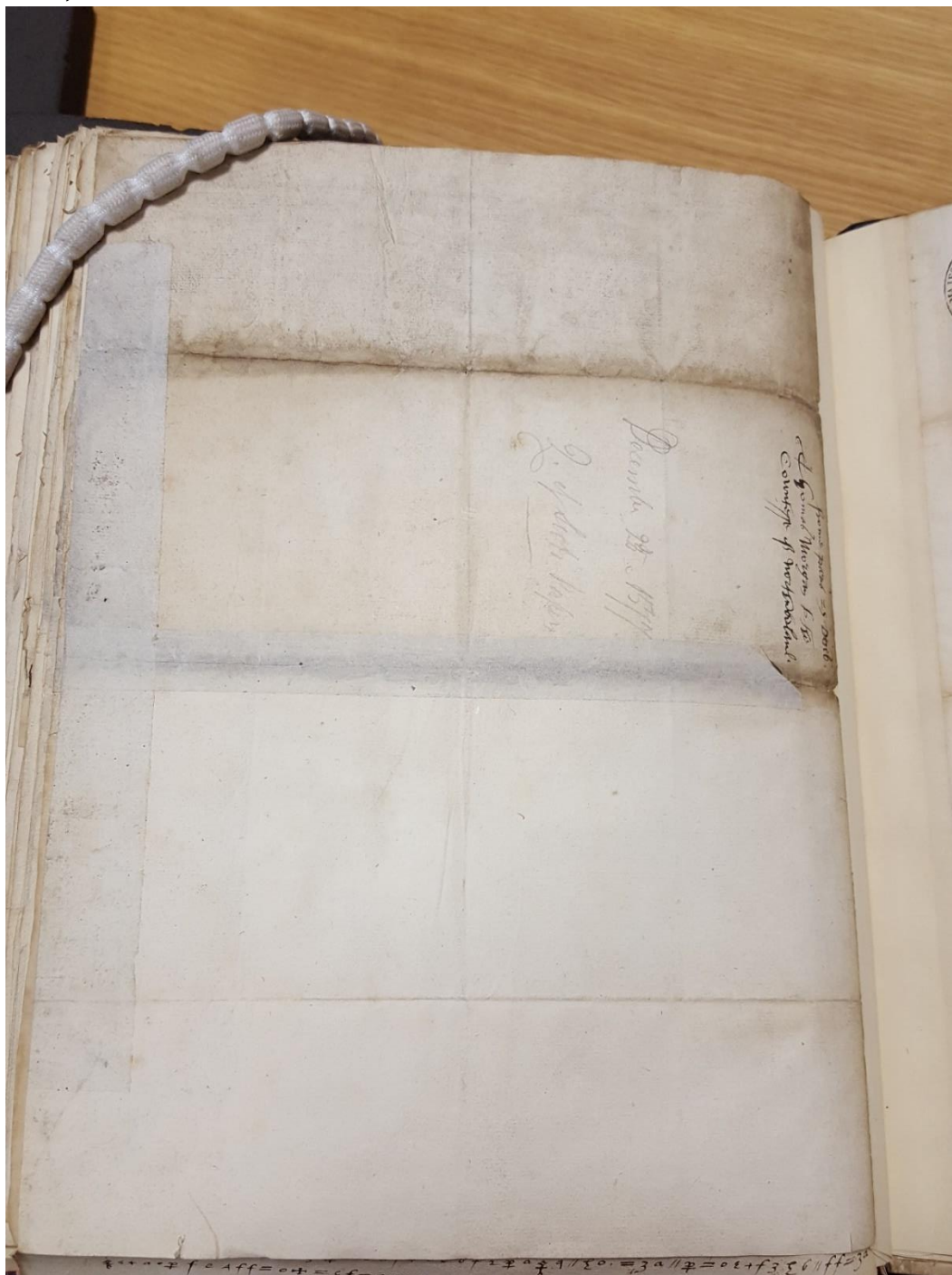
¹¹⁰ Unknown.

¹¹¹ Unknown.

and whether ^they^ be cummed to *you* or not./

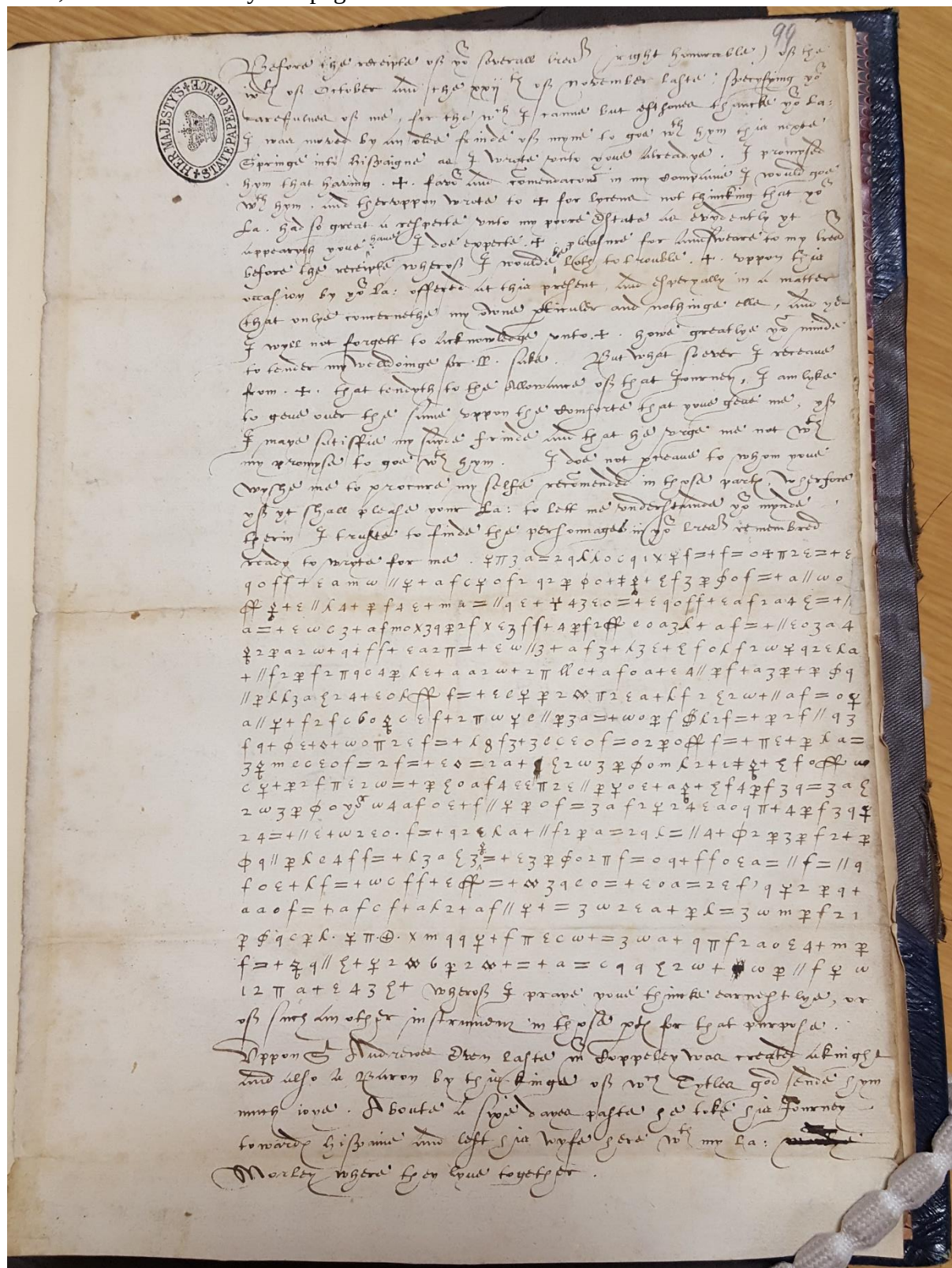
TNA, SP 53/10/99. Thomas Morgan to Anne, countess of Northumberland.¹¹²
 25 December 1577. Body text in unidentified hand in italic script and partly in
 cipher. Signature in the hand of Thomas Morgan in italic script.
 Endorsement. No marginalia. Sent from Paris, France to unspecified
 location. Letter bearer: unknown. Letter status: sent letter intercepted.

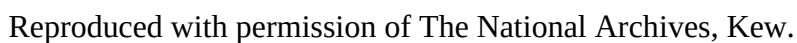
TNA, SP 53/10/99: address leaf



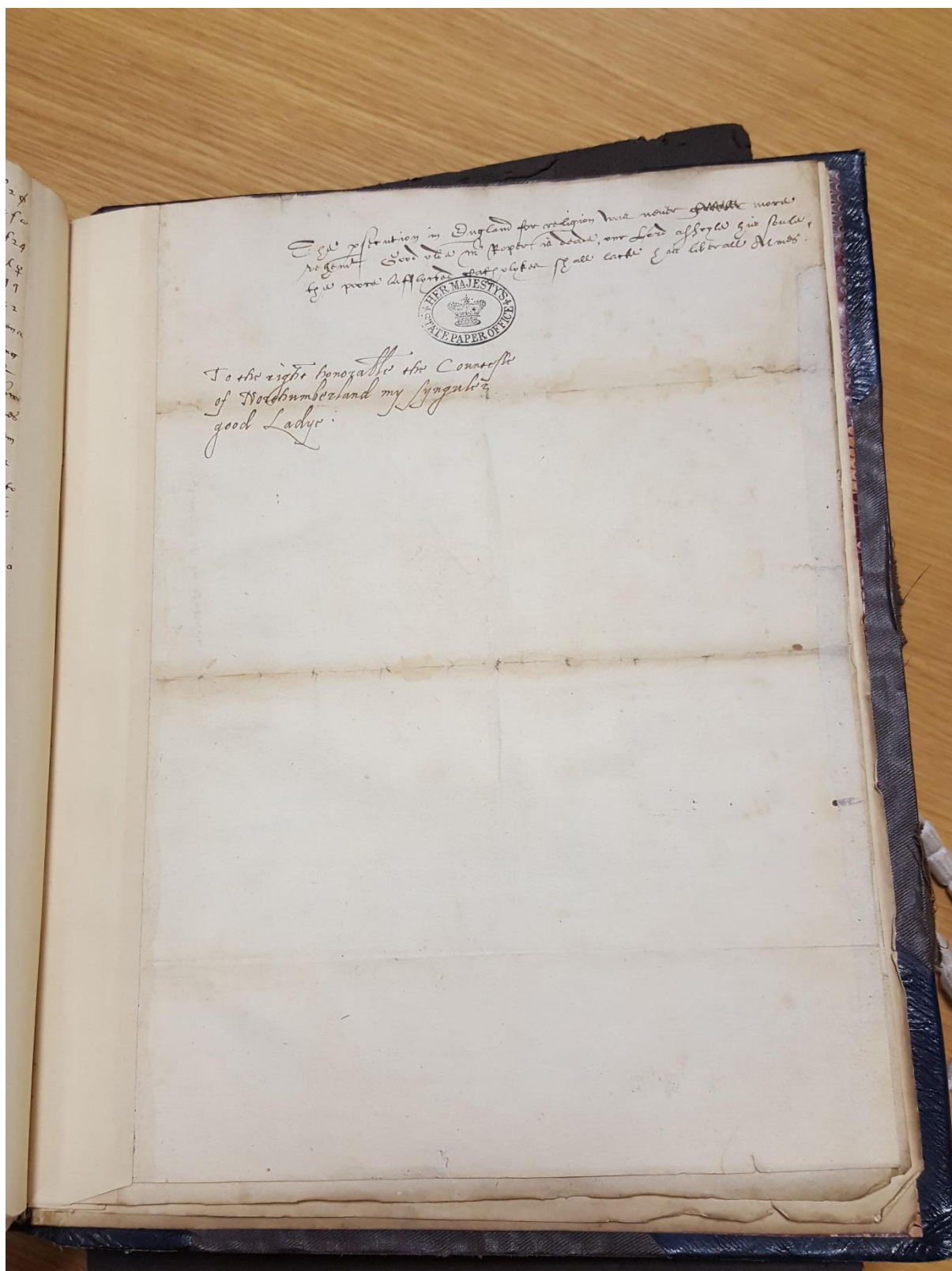
Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.

¹¹² Thomas Morgan (1543 – 1611) was secretary and servant in the household of the earl of Shrewsbury during the custody of Mary, Queen of Scots. He was a Welsh code maker who became a supporter of Mary.





TNA, SP 53/10/99: body text page three



Reproduced with permission of The National Archives, Kew.

Address leaf:

[endorsement:]

frome Paris 26 December

Thomas Morgan to the

Countesse of Northumberlande

[later addition, cataloguer:]

December 25 1577

Queen of Scots Papers[Body text:]

Before the receipte of *your* severall letres (right honorable) of the
 ivth of October and the xxvith of November laste: specyfing *your*
 carefulnes of me, for the *which* I canne but ofthones thanke *your Ladyship*
 I was moved by an olde frinde of myne to goe with hym this nexte
 Springe into hispaigne as I wrote vnto youe alreadye. I promysed
 hym that having +¹¹³ favour and commendacons in my Companie I would goe
 with hym. and thervppon wrote to + for lycens not thinking that *your*
Ladyship had so great a respecte vnto my poore Estate as evydently yt
 appearyth youe ^{^haue^}. I doe expecte + pleasure for aunsweare to my letres
 before the receipte wherof I woulde ^{^be^} loth to trouble + vppon this
 occasion by *your Ladyships* offered at this present, and especyally in a matter
 that onlye concernethe my owne particular and nothings ells, and ye[t]
 I wyll not forgett to acknowledge vnto + howe greatlye *you* minde
 to tender my welldoinge for LL¹¹⁴ sake. But what so euer I receaue
 from + that tendyth to the Allowance of that Journey, I am lyke
 to geue ouer the same vppon the Comforte that youe geue me, yf
 I maye satisfie my sayde frinde and that he vrge me not with
 my promyse to goe with hym. I doe not perceaue to whom youe
 wyshe me to procure my selfe recommended in those partes. Wherefore

¹¹³ Unknown.

¹¹⁴ Unknown cipher mark.

yf yt shall please your *Ladyship* to lett me vnderstande *your* mynde
therin I truste to finde the personnages in *your* letres remembred
ready to wryte for me. [...coded...]

[...coded...]

[...coded...]

[...coded...]

[...coded...]

[...coded...]

[...coded...]

[...coded...]

[...coded...]

[...coded...]

[...coded...]

[...coded...]

[...coded...]

[...coded...]

[...coded...]

[...coded...]

[...coded...]

[...coded...]

[...coded...] wherof I praye youe thinke earnestlye, or

of suche an other instrument in those *partes* for that purpose.

Vppon *St Andrewes* Even¹¹⁵ laste Mr Coppeley¹¹⁶ was created aknight

and also a Baron by this kinge of *which* Tytles god sende hym

much ioye. Aboute a sixe dayes paste he toke his Journey

towardses hispaigne and left his wyfe here with my Lady ~~Morlye~~

Morley where they lyue together.¹¹⁷

[page two]

¹¹⁵ St. Andrew's Day is the 30 November.

¹¹⁶ Thomas Copley (1532 – 1584) did receive a knighthood and was made a baron by Henri III of France.

¹¹⁷ Lady Catherine Copley and Lady Elizabeth Morley.

[...coded...]

[...coded...]

[...coded...]

[...coded...]

[...coded...]

[...coded...]

[...coded...]; but I mervelled vppon what occasion ~

he was moued to minister that speach vnto me but the fyrste meting

and thought I woulde remember the same vnto youe. Amongst

other letres from Rome directed hether to my Lord Rosse¹¹⁸ his man I sawe

those inclosed directed to *your Ladyship* and perceaving that he had no meanes

to send the same vnto *your honour* so spedylie as he desired, I toke them

into my handes to abyde such oportunitie as should be offred for

the conveighance therof vnto youe. M whom I honour wyssheth to

haue ([...coded...])

[...coded...] yf

yt so please youe. The waye betwene him and me isfarre [...coded...]

[...coded...]

[...coded...] or at the leaste carie a great suspicon therof

[...coded...]

[...coded...]

[...coded...]

[...coded...] Thus havinge no more matter to

trouble your *Ladyship* farther at this ~~at this~~ present: I humblye

take my leaue and comytt youe to the blessyd trynitie. At Paris

the xxvth of December. 1577.

Your Ladyships humbly ever at

commandement

¹¹⁸ John Leslie, Bishop of Ross (1527 – 1596) supporter and chief advisor to Mary, Queen of Scots during her imprisonment in England.

[signature in hand of Thomas Morgan:]

Thomas Morgan

[post-script:]

Mr Slyngsby his sonne and heire¹¹⁹ is here lately arryued for the
attaynement of the french tongue

[...coded...]

[...coded...]

[...coded...]

The

[page three]

The persecution in England for religion was neuer ~~greater~~ more
vrgent. Good olde Mr Roper is deade¹²⁰, our Lord assayle his soule,
the poore afflycted Catholykes shall lacke his liberall Almes.

[superscription in hand of Thomas Morgan:]

To the right honorable the Countesse
of Northumberland my synguler
good Ladye.

¹¹⁹ Possibly a son of William Slingsby, servant and message bearer of Anne's and rebel during the rebellion of 1569.

¹²⁰ Possibly William Roper (1498 – 1578) friend of Sir Thomas More and Catholic. Disbursed alms during Elizabeth's reign and continued the support of More's friends (Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'Roper, William (1495x8–1578)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2005 <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/24074> [accessed 8 December 2016]).

APPENDIX II:

Percy [*née* Somerset], Anne, countess of Northumberland (1536–1591), *rebel and Roman Catholic exile*

by [Jade Scott](#)

© Oxford University Press 2004–16 All rights reserved

Permission to reproduce this article has been granted by the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press.

Percy [*née* Somerset], Anne, countess of Northumberland (1536–1591), rebel and Roman Catholic exile, was the third daughter of Henry Somerset, second earl of Worcester (1495/6–1549), and his second wife, Elizabeth Browne (c.1502–1565), sister of the courtier Sir Anthony Browne. Her elder brother, William Somerset, became third earl on their father's death in November 1549. Anne spent her childhood at her father's principal seat of Chepstow Castle in Monmouthshire. On 12 June 1558 she married Thomas Percy, seventh earl of Northumberland (1528–1572), a year after his elevation to the peerage. The couple had one son, Thomas, who died in infancy in 1560, and five daughters, four of whom survived to adulthood: Elizabeth (*b.* 1559, *d.* c.1604), Lucy (*b.* before 1564, *d.* c.1601), Jane (*b.* after 1565, *d.* after 1591), and Mary Percy (1570–1642), who later became abbess of the Convent of the Assumption of Our Blessed Lady, Brussels. Mary was born at Aberdeen shortly before Anne Percy departed for the Low Countries.

During the northern uprising of 1569 Anne Percy rode with the rebel forces despite her pregnancy. Widely considered more forceful than her husband, she was believed by Henry Carey, first Baron Hunsdon, to be 'the stouter of the too ... so as the gray mare ys the better horse' (Sharp, 77). She intercepted messages sent between Elizabeth I and Regent Moray of Scotland and was attainted individually, coming third in the list behind only her husband and the earl of Westmorland (Queen Elizabeth is alleged to have said that she deserved to be burnt). Having left her children in the care of loyal servants at the Percy estate of Topcliffe, Yorkshire, she led a group of men to join her husband, *en route* detaining one Thomas Bishop, whom she compelled to deliver letters on her behalf; Bishop later reported that Anne had 'both the head and the stroke' (Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, Cecil papers, 5/52).

By mid-December 1569 the rebellion had failed and Anne Percy fled with her husband and the earl of Westmorland into the Scottish borders, where she was given shelter by Jock

Armstrong of the Side, who then robbed her of her horse and valuables. But she was rescued by Thomas Kerr of Ferniehirst, who offered her sanctuary at Ferniehirst Castle, near Jedburgh, while by early January 1570 she was being accommodated by Alexander Home, fifth Lord Home, at Hume Castle, and moved to his coastal fortress of Fast Castle at Coldingham by February of that year. Anne and Home developed a close friendship during her brief stay in Scotland: she persuaded the Catholic-leaning Home to 'forsake religion and hear mass two or three times a day with her' (CSP dom., Addenda, 1566–1579, 249). Their close bond lasted beyond Anne's sojourn in Scotland. She turned to Home and his wife when planning (unsuccessfully) to have her children sent to the Low Countries, writing to her husband (who had become a captive of the Scottish government) that their daughters should visit Lord and Lady Hume who would then organize their transport overseas. Moreover, Home permitted her to attend a gathering of Scottish nobles supportive of Mary, queen of Scots, in April 1570 at Linlithgow, where she met George Seton, seventh Lord Seton. By June 1570 she was resident at Seton's property in Aberdeenshire. It was Seton who arranged the ship from Aberdeen to Antwerp in August 1570 which carried Anne into exile.

With her husband a prisoner in Scotland, Anne petitioned Philip II of Spain and Pope Pius V and raised 10,000 crowns (about £2000) to buy his release, but delays in the transmission of the money meant that Northumberland was sold to the English and executed at York on 22 August 1572. In the wake of her husband's death Anne became a prominent figure within the English exile community, forming an alliance with Sir Francis Englefield, who had been a courtier under the English Queen Mary but was now in exile because of his Catholicism. She was nominated by the gentlemen fugitives to petition for pensions from the duke of Alva, the Spanish governor in the Low Countries. Her own petition for financial support proved fruitful, gaining her a pension of £2000 per year.

Anne Percy's house at Mechelen became an important meeting place for the English exiles. She supported an entourage that included many of her husband's former servants, and when financial assistance was unavailable, gave support to requests for Spanish pensions or recommendations for positions in the exile community. Despite the misgivings of her confederates, she gave shelter to Leonard Dacre after the failure of his rising against Elizabeth in 1570 and subsequent flight to Antwerp. To the consternation of the earl of Westmorland, Dacre was privy to Anne's 'secret council', and—with her support—he enjoyed Englefield's amity as well (CSP for., 1572–4, 229). The three wrote shared

petitions on behalf of the exile community to Pope Gregory XIII and some of the cardinals in 1572.

Anne Percy also became implicated in the publication of Catholic polemical texts. She was said to have been involved in the production of a tendentious account of the northern rising entitled *Discours des troubles nouvellement advenuz au Royaume d'Angleterre au mois d'octobre 1569*—published in Paris in 1570—and has also been credited with the obscure *Discours des troubles du Conte du Northumberland* (1570), of which two original copies are known to survive, and which identified her husband as a victim of the English régime. She also paid £100 for a translation into French of the anonymous *Treatise of Treasons* (1572) which was printed at Louvain with a preface dedicated to Mary, queen of Scots.

Anne Percy's exile was not without difficulty. In 1572 the Englishman Sir Thomas Gresham was sent to capture the fugitives. He did not succeed, but shortly afterwards Anne's home at Mechelen was sacked and burned by the soldiers of William of Orange. She moved to Brussels, but by 1575 had been forced to leave Spanish territory while peace negotiations were conducted with England. She temporarily took up residence in a monastery outside Liège where she was protected by Bishop Gerard à Groesbeeck, who refused to remove her from his territories despite a personal plea from Elizabeth I.

Throughout her exile Anne Percy's letters, of which about thirty are extant, were regularly intercepted by English intelligencers. They reveal her prominence in a transnational Catholic network, and show that she was implicated in a number of Catholic plots, including one for an invasion of Ireland in 1578, when she offered to help Thomas Stucley, its proposed leader, in his endeavours. She also recommended Stucley's campaign to Jane Suárez de Figueroa (*née* Dormer), duchess of Feria, who was an influential figure at Philip II's court. She maintained, too, a lengthy correspondence with William Cotton, an English Catholic about whom little is known, but with whom she exchanged intelligence regarding English and foreign affairs. Much of their correspondence was coded and has yet to be fully deciphered.

Surviving letters also show that Anne Percy was in contact with Mary, queen of Scots. After Mary's arrival in England Anne and her husband both received gifts and tokens from the Scottish queen, including perfume and a pair of gold beads which had been sent to Mary by Pius V. Later in 1569, when Mary was at Wingfield, the countess was alleged to have planned to come to the house disguised as a nurse and then to switch clothes with

Mary, 'so thereby the Queen of Scots, being something like in personage, should have been conveyed away in her apparel' (CSP Scot., 1569–71, 645–6). The two women subsequently exchanged messages via Scottish supporters, including Lord Seton, and Anne also received coded correspondence from Thomas Morgan, Mary's sometime spymaster, and had him visit her in 1577. She campaigned actively to have Mary freed from imprisonment in England, and at the start of her exile she wrote to the duke of Alva pleading the queen's cause, while in 1576 she met Don John of Austria, Alva's successor but one, and encouraged his plan to lead an invasion force to set her at liberty and marry her. She and Englefield secretly passed information about Mary to Don John, informing him that she could easily escape 'with a small number of horsemen upon the sudden' (CSP for., 1575–7, 527).

Little is known of Anne Percy's later years in exile. By 1590 she was living in a convent near Namur. According to Lord Burghley she had become 'furiously mad' (CSP dom., 1581–1590, 583–4), but her death was attributed to smallpox. She most probably died on 9 September 1591, since a letter from Charles Paget to Giles Martin (written on 23 September OS) states that Percy's death had occurred fourteen days earlier (TNA: PRO, State Papers, 12/240/36). By the time of her death she had amassed considerable wealth, including the arrears of her Spanish pension and some jewels.

JADE SCOTT

Sources

G. Brenan, *A history of the house of Percy*, ed. W. A. Lindsay, 2 vols. (1902), vol. 1 · D. Calderwood, *The history of the Kirk of Scotland*, ed. T. Thomson and D. Laing, 8 vols., Wodrow Society, 7 (1842–9), vol. 2 · [GEC](#), [Peerage](#), 9.729 · 'The daughters of Thomas Percy, seventh earl of Northumberland', [N&Q](#), 169 (1935), 165–6, 231, 246–7 · E. B. De Fonblanque, *Annals of the house of Percy, from the conquest to the opening of the nineteenth century*, 2 vols. (privately printed, London, 1887), vol. 2 · K. Gibbons, 'An unquiet estate abroad: the religious exile of Catholic noblewomen and gentlewomen under Elizabeth I', *Women on the move*, ed. F. Reid and K. Holden (2010), 43–58 · K. J. Kesselring, 'Mary, queen of Scots and the northern rebellion of 1569', *Leadership and Elizabethan culture*, ed. P. I. Kaufman (2013), 51–67 · W. R. B. Robinson, 'The lands of Henry, earl of Worcester in the 1530s. Part 3: Central Monmouthshire and Herefordshire', [BBCS](#), 25 (1974), 454–500 · C. Sharp, ed., *Memorials of the rebellion of 1569* (1840) ·

[CSP dom.](#) · [CSP for.](#), 1572–4, 1575–7 · [CSP Scot.](#), 1569–71, 1571–4 · chancery, copies of private acts of parliament and legal records brought into chancery on certiorari (Rolls Chapel series), TNA: PRO, C 89/7/21 · state papers domestic, TNA: PRO, Elizabeth I, SP 12; Edward VI–James I, addenda, SP 15 · secretaries of state: state papers, Scotland, series I, Mary Queen of Scots, letters and papers, TNA: PRO, SP 53 · state papers foreign, Elizabeth I, TNA: PRO, SP 70 · corresp., Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Dupuy 541 · corresp., BL, Cotton MS Caligula C II–III · Cecil papers, corresp., Hatfield House, Hertfordshire · Concilio Tridento, vol. 33; Segreto Stato, Germania, vol. 76, corresp., Archivio Vaticano, Vatican City · A. Pettigree and others, eds., *French vernacular books: books published in the French language before 1601*, 2 vols. (2007)

Archives

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, corresp. and petitionary letters, Dupuy 541 · [BL](#), corresp. and petitionary letters, Cotton MS Caligula, CIII · Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, Cecil papers, corresp. and petitionary letters · [TNA: PRO](#), corresp. and petitionary letters, Elizabeth I, SP 12

Wealth at death

attainted, no known will; arrears of Spanish pension and material wealth in the form of jewels: TNA: PRO, SP12/240/36, letter from Charles Paget to Giles Martin

© Oxford University Press 2004–16 All rights reserved

Jade Scott, 'Percy , Anne, countess of Northumberland (1536–1591)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2015

[<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/107539>, accessed 18 Dec 2016]

Anne Percy (1536–1591): doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/107539

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Manuscript Sources

Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Rome

Concilio Tridento, vol. 33, f. 231r–v: Anne Percy, Sir Francis Englefield, Leonard Dacres, Christopher Neville and Maurice Chauncy to Cardinal Giovanni Morone, 22 February 1573

Concilio Tridento, vol. 33, f. 259r–v: Anne Percy, Sir Francis Englefield, Leonard Dacres and Christopher Neville to Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius, 29 June 1573

Concilio Tridento, vol. 33, f. 268r–v: Anne Percy, Sir Francis Englefield, Leonard Dacres and Christopher Neville to Cardinal Giovanni Morone, 29 June 1573

Concilio Tridento, vol. 33, f. 280r–v: Anne Percy to Cardinal Giovanni Morone, 7 September 1573

Segreto Stato. vol. 76, f. 41r–v: Anne Percy, Sir Francis Englefield and Leonard Dacres to Pope Gregory XIII, 20 October 1572

Bedfordshire and Luton Archives, Bedford

P16/1/11: General Register 1560–1612. Royal grant issued to Anne Percy before her marriage to Thomas Percy in 1558

Bibliothèque National de France, Paris

Dupuy MS 541, f. 224r: Anne Percy, Sir Francis Englefield and Leonard Dacres to Charles de Guise, Cardinal de Lorraine, 20 October 1572

British Library, London

Cotton MS. Caligula. B/IX/2, f. 505: Allen King to Sir Henry Percy, 6 January 1570

Cotton MS. Caligula B. VIII, ff. 286–289: 'William Cotton to Sir Francis Englefield', Cotton's ciphers, 1574

Cotton MS. Caligula C. II, f. 229: 'Seton book of negotiation', 1570 – 1572

Cotton MS. Caligula C. III, f. 186: Anne Percy to Sir Thomas Stucely, 21 June 1571

Cotton MS. Vespasian F. XIII, f. 180: Elizabeth, countess of Worcester to Thomas Cromwell, 17 June 1533

Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC

Cavendish-Talbot MSS, X.d.428 (1–203): letters and papers of the Cavendish and Talbot families, 1333 – 1705

Hatfield House, Hertfordshire

- CP 5/67: Dr Nicholas Sanders to Anne Percy, 17 January 1572
- CP 5/76: Anne Percy to her husband, Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland, 28 January 1572
- CP 5/94: Anne Percy to James Douglas, earl of Morton, 31 January 1572
- CP 157/96: Anne Percy to her husband, Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland, 27 January 1572
- CP 157/97: Anne Percy to William Douglas, Lord Lochleven, 27 January 1572
- CP 159/21: Anne Percy to her husband, Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland & original incorrectly catalogued as copy to William Douglas, Lord Lochleven, 31 January 1572

Lambeth Palace Library, London

- Miscellaneous Papers, MS 3152, f. 58: George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury to his wife, Elizabeth, countess of Shrewsbury, 4 August 1584
- Shrewsbury Papers, MS 695, f. 103: George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, to Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland, June 1558
- Talbot Papers, MS 3205, ff. 34–35: Elizabeth Smyth to Elizabeth, countess of Shrewsbury, 10 December 1578

Petworth House Archives, Sussex

- PHA 360: 'Account of Peter Kyrke, clerk of the works and buildings, purveyor of grain, storer and buyer of cattle and disbursers of 'forreyn' expenses for Thomas, Earl of Northumberland, at the Little Park in Topcliffe, co. Yorks.', September 1562–April 1564

The National Archives, Kew

- PROB 11/48/268: Will and Testament of Elizabeth Somerset, countess of Worcester, 23 October 1565
- SP 1/129/174: Elizabeth, countess of Worcester to Thomas Cromwell, 8 March 1538
- SP 12/66/09: Anne Percy to Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, contemporary copy, 7 January 1570
- SP 12/93/102: Elizabeth, countess of Shrewsbury to unknown, 1573
- SP 12/107/60: Anne Percy to William Cotton, 21 January 1576
- SP 12/107/75: Anne Percy to William Cotton, 11 February 1576
- SP 12/108/89: Anne Percy to William Cotton, 9 June 1576
- SP 12/108/96: Anne Percy to Peter Kirke, 15 June 1576
- SP 12/108/103: Anne Percy to William Cotton, 26 June 1576
- SP 12/108/165: Anne Percy to William Cotton, 8 August 1576
- SP 12/108/171: Anne Percy to William Cotton, 16 August 1576
- SP 12/207/44: Elizabeth, countess of Shrewsbury to her husband, George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, 6 October 1587
- SP 15/21/118–119: Thomas Jeyne (alias Jennings) to Anne Percy including deciphered contemporary copy, 18 June 1572

- SP 15/23/150: 'Note of such Englishmen entertained at the King of Spain's hands', August 1574
 SP 53/5/106: William Maitland, Lord Lethington to Mary, Queen of Scots, 9 August 1571
 SP 53/10/88: Mary, Queen of Scots to Thomas Morgan. Contemporary deciphered copy of coded letter, 3 August 1577
 SP 53/10/99: Thomas Morgan to Anne Percy, 25 December 1577
 SP 59/1/207: Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland to William Cecil, Lord Burghley

Early Printed Books and Editions

- Allen, Gemma, ed., *The Letters of Lady Anne Bacon*, Camden 5th Series, Vol. 44 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)
- Akkerman, Nadine, ed., *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia*, Vol. II (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)
- Brenan, Gerald, *A History of the House of Percy: from the earliest times down to the present century*, Vol. I (London: Freemantle, 1902)
- Byrne, Muriel St. Clare, ed., *The Lisle Letters*, Vol. I–VI (London: University of Chicago Press, 1981)
- Calderwood, David, *The History of the Kirk in Scotland, 1560–1570*, vol. II (Edinburgh: Woodrow Society, 1842–1849)
- Day, Angel, *The English Secreterie or Plaine and Direct Method for the Enditing of all Manner of Epistles or Letters Aswell Familiar as Others etc.* (London: Robert Waldegrave, 1586)
- de Fonblanque, Edward Barrington, *Annals of the House of Percy: from the conquest to the opening of the nineteenth century*, Vol. II (London: Richard Clay & Sons, 1887)
- de Lettenhove, Joseph Kervyn, *Relations politiques des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre sous le règne de Philippe II*, 11 vols (Brussels: F. Hayez, 1888–1902)
- Elizabeth I: Autograph Compositions and Foreign Language Originals*, ed. by, Leah S. Marcus and Janel Mueller (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2002)
- Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. by, Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose (London: University of Chicago Press, 2000)
- Fulwood, William, *The Enemie of Idlenesse: Teaching the Maner and Stile How to Endite, Compose and Write All Sorts of Epistles and Letters: as Well by Answer, as Otherwise* (1568)
- Registrum Honoris de Morton: A Series of Ancient Charters of the Earldom of Morton with other Original Papers in Two Volumes*, Vol. I: Original Papers (Edinburgh:

Bannatyne Club, 1853)

Sharp, Sir Cuthbert, *Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569* (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1841)

Steen, Sara Jayne, ed., *The Letters of Lady Arbella Stuart* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994)

Wolfe, Heather, ed., *Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland: Life and Letters* (Cambridge: RMT Publications, 2001)

Catalogues and Reference Works

'Beginner's Latin: Differences Between Medieval and Classical Latin', *National Archives*, <http://nationalarchives.gov.uk/latin/beginners/problems/> [accessed 8 December 2016]

Bess of Hardwick's Letters: The Complete Correspondence c.1550 – 1608, <https://www.bessofhardwick.org/> [accessed 08/08/2016]

Boyd, William K., ed., *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1569–1571*, Vol. III (Edinburgh: His Majesty's General Register House, 1903)

Boyd, William K., ed., *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1571–1574*, Vol. IV (Edinburgh: His Majesty's General Register House, 1905)

Cecil Papers Online, ProQuest, main catalogue
<http://cecilpapers.chadwyck.com/marketing.do>

Cracroft-Brennan, Patrick, 'Henry, 2nd earl of Worcester', *Cracroft's Peerage: The Complete Guide to the British Peerage and Baronetage*, <
http://www.cracroftspeerage.co.uk/online/content/worcester1513.htm?zoom_highlight=henry+somerset> [accessed 1 December 2016]

Crosby, Allan James, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series of the Reign of Elizabeth I, 1569–1571* (London: Longman & Co., et al., 1874)

Crosby, Allan James, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series of the Reign of Elizabeth I, 1572–1574* (London: Longman & Co., et al., 1876)

Crosby, Allan James, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series of the Reign of Elizabeth I, 1575–1577* (London: Longman & Co., et al., 1880)

Dambroglio, Jana, 'Letterlocking Categories', janadambrodio.com
<<http://www.janadambroglio.com/letterlock/#letterlocking-format-categories>> [accessed 1 December 2016]

Early Modern Letters Online, Cultures of Knowledge, <http://emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/home> [accessed 08/08/2016]

Green, Mary Anne Everett, ed., *Calendar of State Papers: Domestic Series of the Reign of*

Elizabeth I, 1591–1594 (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1867)

Green, Mary Anne Everett, ed., *Calendar of State Papers: Domestic Series of the Reign of Elizabeth I, Addenda 1566–1579* (London: Longman & Co., et al., 1871)

Heraldic Dictionary, University of Notre Dame, online ed. 2000 <
<http://www.rarebooks.nd.edu/digital/heraldry/>> [accessed 1 December 2016]

Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, Vol. I (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1883)

Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Sixth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts: Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1877)

Hume, Martin A. S., ed., *Calendar of Letters and State Papers Relating to English Affairs, Preserved Principally in the Archives of Simancas, Elizabeth, 1568–1579*, Vol. II (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1894)

Lemon, Robert, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reigns of Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth, 1547–1580* (London: Longman et.al., 1856 – 1872)

Lemon, Robert, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1581–1590* (London: Longman, Roberts and Green, 1865)

Letterlocking, <http://letterlocking.org/about> [08/08/2016]

Miscellanea VII, Catholic Record Society Series 9 (1911)

National Archives, 'Discovery' online main catalogue
<http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/>

National Library of Scotland, online manuscript catalogue
<http://mss.nls.uk/vwebv/searchBasic>

National Library of Wales, online main catalogue
http://discover.library.wales/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?vid=44WHELF_NLW_VU1

Rigg, J. M., ed., *Calendar State Papers Relating to English Affairs, Preserved Principally at Rome in the Vatican Archives and Library, 1572–1578*, Vol. II (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1926)

State Papers Online, Gale Cengage, main catalogue
<http://gale.cengage.co.uk/state-papers-online-15091714.aspx>

Surtees Society, *Wills and Inventories Illustrative of the History, Manners, Language, Statistics etc. of the Northern Counties of England from the Eleventh Century Downwards, Part I*, (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1834),

Talbot, C., *Miscellanea: Recusant Records*, Catholic Record Society Series 53 (1961)

Published Secondary Sources

Adams, Robyn, 'A Most Secret Service: William Herle and the Circulation of Intelligence', in *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011), pp. 63–81

Akkerman, Nadine, 'Enigmatic Cultures of Correspondence', in *Women and Epistolary Agency in Early Modern Culture*, ed. by James Daybell and Andrew Gordon (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 69–84

Akkerman, Nadine and Houben, Birjit, eds., *The Politics of Female Household: Ladies-in-Waiting Across Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2014)

Allen, Gemma, *The Cooke Sisters: Education, Piety and Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013)

Allen, Gemma, 'Women as Counsellors in Sixteenth-Century England: The Letters of Lady Anne Bacon and Lady Elizabeth Russell', in *Women and Epistolary Agency in Early Modern Culture* ed. by James Daybell and Andrew Gordon (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 81–95

Arblaster, Paul, 'Antwerp and Brussels as Inter-European Spaces in News Exchange', in *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Brendan Dooley (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 193–206

Atherton, Ian, 'The Itch Grown a Disease: Manuscript Transmission of News in the Seventeenth Century', in *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Joan Raymond (London: F. Cass, 1999), pp. 39–65

Aveling, Hugh, *Northern Catholics: The Catholic Recusants of the North Riding of Yorkshire 1558–1790* (London: Chapman, 1966)

Baron, Helen, 'Mary Fitzroy's Hand in the Devonshire Manuscript', *Review of English Studies*, 45.179 (1994), 341–64

Beal, Peter, *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology, 1450–2000*, online ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

Beltrán, Christina, 'Philip of Spain: The Spider's Web of News and Information', in *News in Early Modern Europe: Currents and Connections* ed. by Simon F. Davies and Puck Fletcher (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 23–50

Ben-Amos, Illana, 'Gifts and Favours: Informal Support in Early Modern England', *Journal of Modern History*, 72.2 (2002), 295–338

Benskin, M., Laing, M., Karauskos, V., and Williamson, K., 'An Electronic Version of A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English', (Edinburgh: © 2013- The Authors and The University of Edinburgh) <http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme.html> [accessed 8 December 2016]

Bergs, Alexander T., 'Letters: A new approach to text typology', in *Letter Writing* ed. by Terttu Nevalainen and Sanna-Kaisa Tanskanen (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2007), pp. 27–46

Bosma, Ulbe and Raben, Remco, *Being Dutch in the Indies: A History of Creolistation and Empire, 1500–1920*, trans. by Wendie Shaffer (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008)

Bowden, Caroline M. K., 'Cecil [Cooke], Mildred, Lady Burghley (1526–1589)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online ed., May 2014 <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/46675> [accessed 8 Dec 2016]

Bowden, Caroline, 'Women as Intermediaries: An Example of the Use of Iteracy in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries', *History of Education*, 22.3 (1993), 215–223

Bradley, G., 'Neville, Christopher (fl. 1549–1575)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online ed., <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/19925> [accessed 5 December]

Brown, Penelope, and Levinson, Stephen C., *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987)

Burnley, J. D., 'Curial Prose in England', *Speculum*, 16.3 (July, 1986), 593–614

Busse, Daniela, 'Anti-Catholic Polemical Writing on the Rising in the North (1569)', *Recusant History* 27 (2004), 11–30

Calle-Martin, Javier and Miranda Garcia, Antonio, 'The Punctuation System of Elizabethan Legal Documents: The Case of GUL, MS Hunter 3 (S.I.3)', *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, 59 (2007), 356–378

Clayton, Sarah, 'Jenye, Thomas (fl. 1565–1583)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, online ed., 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/14764> [accessed 6 June 2017]

Coolahan, Marie-Louise, 'Irish Women's Letters, 1641 – 1653,' in *Women and Epistolary Agency in Early Modern Culture, 1450-1690*, ed. James Daybell and Andrew Gordon (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 167 – 181

Coolahan, Marie-Louise, *Women, Writing and Language in Early Modern Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010)

Couchman, Jane and Crabb, Ann, 'Form and Persuasion in Women's Letters, 1400 – 1700', in *Women's Letters Across Europe, 1400–1700*, ed. by Jane Couchman and Ann Crabb (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 3–21

Crawforth, Hannah, 'Court Hieroglyphics: The Idea of the Cipher in Ben Jonson's Masques', in *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011), pp. 138 –154 (p. 144)

Cust, Richard, 'News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, 112 (1986), 60–90

Dambroglio, Jana et. al., Letterlocking Instructional Video: Brienne Postal Archive: A Pleated Letter, 1691. Filmed 12/2015. Vimeo video: Duration 3:37. Posted 04/2016. Video URL < <https://vimeo.com/189399602> > [accessed 5 December 2016].

Davies, Simon F., and Fletcher, Puck, 'Introduction', in *News in Early Modern Europe: Currents and Connections*, ed. by Simon F. Davies and Puck Fletcher (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 1–18

Dawson, Giles E., and Kennedy-Skipton, Laetitia, *Elizabethan Handwriting, 1500–1650: A Guide to the Reading of Documents and Manuscripts* (London: Faber & Faber, 1966)

Daybell, James, 'Gender, Obedience and Authority in Sixteenth-Century Women's Letters', *The Sixteenth-Century Journal*, 41.1 (Spring 2010), 49–67

Daybell, James, 'Gender, Politics and Diplomacy: Women, News and Intelligence Networks in Elizabethan England', in *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011), pp. 101–119

Daybell, James and Norrhem, Svante, 'Rethinking gender and political culture in Early Modern Europe', in *Gender and Political Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by, James Daybell and Svante Norrhem (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 3–24

Daybell, James, 'Scripting a Female Voice: Women's Epistolary Rhetoric in Sixteenth-Century Letters of Petitions', *Women's Writing*, 13.1 (2006), 3–22

Daybell, James, 'Secret Letters in Elizabethan England', in *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture: Texts and Social Practices, 1580–1730* ed. by James Daybell and Peter Hinds (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010), pp. 47–64

Daybell, James, 'Suche newes as the Quenes hye wayes we haue mett: The Intelligence Networks of Elizabeth Talbot', in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England* ed. by James Daybell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 114–131

Daybell, James and Gordon, Andrew, 'The Early Modern Letter Opener', in *Cultures of Correspondence in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by, James Daybell and Andrew Gordon (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), pp. 1–26

Daybell, James, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing 1512–1635* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2012)

Daybell, James, *Women Letter-Writers in Tudor England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Daybell, James, 'Women's Letters and Letter Writing in England 1540–1603: An Introduction to the Issues of Authorship and Construction', *Shakespeare Studies*, 28 (1999), 161–186

Daybell, James, 'Women's Letters of Recommendation and the Rhetoric of Friendship in Sixteenth-Century England', in *Rhetoric, Women and Politics in Early Modern England* ed. by Jennifer Richards and Alison Thorne (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), pp. 172–190

Dodds, M. H., 'The Daughters of Thomas Percy, Seventh Earl of Northumberland', *Notes*

and *Queries*, 169 (September, 1935), 165–166

Dooley, Brendan and Baron, Sabrina, 'Introduction', in *The Politics of Information* ed. by Brendan Dooley and Sabrina Baron (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 1–17

Evans, Melanie, 'By the queen: Collaborative Authorship in the Scribal Correspondence of Queen Elizabeth I', in *Women and Epistolary Agency in Early Modern Culture, 1450-1690*, ed. by James Daybell and Andrew Gordon (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 36-54

Evans, Mel, *The Language of Elizabeth I: a Sociolinguistic Perspective on Royal Style and Identity* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013)

Fitzmaurice, Susan, and Taavitsainen, Irma, 'Historical pragmatics: what is it and how to do it', in *Methods in Historical Pragmatics*, ed. by Susan Fitzmaurice and Irma Taavitsainen (The Hague: Mouton de Gruyter, 2007), pp. 11 – 36

Fitzmaurice, Susan, *The Familiar Letter in Early Modern English: A Pragmatic Approach* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2002)

Flynn, Dennis, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995)

Frijhoff, Willem, 'Shifting identities in hostile settings: towards a comparison of the Catholic communities in early modern Britain and the Northern Netherlands', in *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands c.1570–1720* ed. by Benjamin Kaplan, Bob Moore, Henk von Nierop and Judith Pollman, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), pp. 1–18

Gibbons, Katy, 'An Unquiet Estate Abroad: The Religious Exile of Catholic Noblewomen and Gentlewomen Under Elizabeth I', in *Women on the Move*, ed. by Fiona Reid and Katherine Holden (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2010), pp. 43–58

Gibbons, Katy, *English Catholic Exiles in Late Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society, 2011)

Goldberg, Jonathan, *Desiring Women Writing: English Renaissance Examples* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997)

Gowing, Laura, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996)

Gowing, Laura, *Gender Relations in Early Modern England* (Harlow: Pearson, 2012)

Greengrass, Mark, 'Noble Affinities in Early Modern France: The Case of Henri I de Montmercy, Constable of France', *European History Quarterly*, 16.3 (July 1986), 275–311

Hammer, Paul E. J., *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd earl of Essex, 1585–1597* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

Harkrider, Melissa Franklin, *Women, Reform and Community in England: Katherine Willoughby, duchess of Suffolk and Lincolnshire's Godly Aristocracy 1519–1580*

(Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008)

Harris, Barbara J., *English Aristocratic Women 1450–1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002)

Harris, Barbara J., 'Women and Politics in Early Tudor England', *Historical Journal*, 33 (1990), 259–81

Harris, Peter E. B., 'Fenn, John (1535–1615)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press 2004, online ed., 2004
<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/9282> [accessed 8 December]

Highley, Christopher, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)

Holmes, Peter, 'Stucley, Thomas (c.1520–1587)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press 2004, online ed., 2004
<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/26741> [accessed 1 December]

Illardi, Vincent, 'Crosses and Carets: Renaissance Patronage and Coded Letters of Recommendation', *American Historical Review*, 92.5 (1987), 1127–1149

Jenkinson, Hilary, 'Elizabethan Handwriting: A Preliminary Sketch', *The Library*, 3.1 (June 1922), 1–25

Jucker, Andreas H., and Taavitsainen, Irma, 'Diachronic Speech Act Analysis: Insults from Flyting to Flaming', *Journal of Historical Pragmatics*, 1.1 (2000), 67–95

Jucker, Andreas H., and Taavitsainen, Irma, *English Historical Pragmatics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013)

Kesselring, Krista J., 'A Cold Pye for the Papistes: Constructing and Containing the Rising of 1569', *Journal of British Studies*, 43.4 (October, 2004), 417–443

Kesselring, Krista J., 'Mary, Queen of Scots and the Northern Rebellion of 1569', in *Leadership and Elizabethan Culture*, ed. by Peter Iver Kaufman (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2013), pp. 51–67

Kesselring, Krista J., *The Northern Rebellion of 1569: Faith, Politics and Protest in Elizabethan England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007)

Kettering, Sharon, 'Patronage in Early Modern France', *French Historical Studies*, 17.4 (1992), 839–862

Kilpio, Matti, 'Participial Adjectives with Anaphoric Reference of the Type The Said, The (A) forementioned from Old English to Early Modern English: The Evidence of the Helsinki Corpus', in *To Explain the Present: Studies in Changing English Language in Honour of Matti Rissanen*, ed. by Terttu Nevalainen and Leena Kahlas-Tarkka (Helsinki: Société néophilologique, 1997), pp. 77–100

Lechat, Robert, *Les réfugiés anglais dans les Pays-Bas espagnols durant le règne*

d'Élisabeth 1558–1603 (Louvain: Bureaux du Recueil, 1914)

Lock, Julian, 'Thomas Percy, seventh earl of Northumberland (1528–1572)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online ed., September 2015 <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/21956> [accessed 1 December 2016]

Loomie, A. J., 'Englefield, Sir Francis (1522–1596)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed. Jan 2013
<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/8811> [accessed 1 December 2016]

Loomie, A.J., *The Spanish Elizabethans: The English exiles at the court of Philip II* (London: Burns & Oates, 1963)

Löwe, J Andreas, 'Fenn, James (c.1540–1584)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online ed., Jan 2008
<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/9281> [accessed 8 Dec 2016]

Mack, Peter, *Elizabethan Rhetoric: Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

Magnusson, Lynne 'A Rhetoric of Requests: Genre and Linguistic Scripts in Elizabethan Women's Suitors' Letters', in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by James Daybell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 51–67

Magnusson, Lynne, *Shakespeare and Social Dialogue: Dramatic Language and Elizabethan Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

Magnusson, Lynne, 'Widowhood and Linguistic Capital: The Rhetoric and Reception of Anne Bacon's Epistolary Advice', *English Literary Renaissance*, 31 (2001), 3–33

Mayer, T. F., 'Sander, Nicholas (c.1530–1581)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online ed., May 2014
<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/24621> [accessed 8 Dec 2016]

McClain, Lisa, 'Neither Single nor Alone: Elizabeth Cellier, Catholic Community and Transformations of Catholic Women's Piety', *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, 31.1/2 (Spring/Fall, 2012), 33–52

McDermott, Roger N., 'Neville, Charles, sixth earl of Westmorland (1542/3–1601)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, online ed., Jan 2008
<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/19924> [accessed 1 December 2016].

McIntosh, Angus, et.al, *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*, Vol I (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986)

Mendelson, Sara and Crawford, Patricia, *Women in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)

Mooney, Linne R., and Stubbs, Estelle, *Scribes and the city: London Guildhall clerks and the dissemination of Middle English literature 1375–1425* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013)

Murphy, Jessica C., *Virtuous Necessity: Conduct Literature and the Making of the Virtuous Woman in Early Modern England* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2015)

Neale, Sir John Ernest, *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments, 1559–1601* (London: Cape: 1953 – 57)

O'Callaghan, Michelle, 'An Uncivill Scurrilous Letter:" Women's Brabb[l]es and the Letter of Affront', in *Women and Epistolary Agency in Early Modern Culture*, ed. by James Daybell and Andrew Gordon (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 169-185

Pollock, Linda, 'Anger and the Negotiation of Relationships in Early Modern England,' *Historical Journal*, (2007), 56-90

Pollock, Linda, 'Teach Her to Live Under Obedience: The Making of Women in the Upper Ranks of Early Modern England', *Continuity and Change*, 4 (1989), 231–258

Potter, Lois, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature, 1641–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

Priestland, Pamela, 'Russell, Elizabeth, Lady Russell [other married name Elizabeth Hoby, Lady Hoby] (1528–1609)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008
<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/13411> [accessed 8 Dec 2016]

Questier, Michael C., *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Rabbow, Arnold, 'The Origin of the Royal Arms of England – A European Connection', *The Coat of Arms*, 186, (Summer 1999) <
http://www.theheraldrysociety.com/articles/england/european_origin_three_lions.htm>
 [accessed 1 December 2016]

Rasmussen, Jens, *La prose narrative française du XVe siècle: étude esthétique et stylistique* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1958)

Raymond, Joan, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641–1649* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996)

Richardson, Malcolm, 'The Dictamen and Its Influence on Fifteenth-Century English Prose', *Rhetorica*, 2 (1984), 207–226

Robertson, Karen, 'Negotiating Favour: The Letters of Lady Raleigh', in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England 1450–1700* ed. by James Daybell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 99–113

- Robinson, W. R. B, 'The Lands of Henry, Earl of Worcester in the 1530s, Part 3: Monmouthshire and Herefordshire', *Bulletin for the Board of Celtic Studies*, 25.4 (May, 1974), 454–500
- Trevor-Roper, Hugh, 'Roper, William (1495x8–1578)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online ed., May 2005
<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/24074> [accessed 8 December]
- Ross, Emily, 'Whose letter is it anyway?: an assessment of secretarial involvement in Lady Elizabeth Hatton's correspondence', *Etudes Epistémè*, 21 (Spring 2012) <
<https://episteme.revues.org/398>> [accessed 1 December 2016]
- Rowlands, Marie, 'Recusant Women 1560–1640', in *Women in English Society 1550–1700* ed. Mary Prior (London: Methuen & Co., 1985), pp. 149–180
- Rodriguez-Salgado, M. J., 'Suárez de Figueroa [Dormer], Jane, duchess of Feria in the Spanish nobility (1538–1612)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online ed., October, 2006
<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/7836> [accessed 5 December 2016]
- Sanchez, Teresa Roura, 'Convention vs. choice in securing the good-will of the reader: the Cely letters', *SELIM: Journal of the Spanish Society for Medieval English Language and Literature*, 10 (2002), 77–100
- Schneider, Gary, 'Politics, Deceptions and the Workings of the Post: Some Features of Epistolarity in Early Modern England', *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*, 28.1 (2002), 99–127
- Schneider, Gary, *The Culture of Epistolarity: Vernacular Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern England, 1500- 1700* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005)
- Shepard, Alexandra, and Walker, Garthine, 'Gender, Change and Periodisation', in *Gender and Change: Agency, Chronology and Periodisatioin*, ed. by Alexandra Shepard and Garthine Walker (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp. 1 - 12
- Shepard, Alexandra, and Withington, P. J., 'Introduction', in *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric*, ed. by Alexandra Shepard and P.J. Withington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 1 - 15
- Smith, Jeremy J., *An Historical Study of English: Function, Form and Change* (London: Routledge, 1996)
- Smith, Jeremy J., 'Scots and English in the Letters of John Knox', in *The Apparelling of Truth: Literature and Literary Culture in the Reign of James VI. A Festschrift for Roderick J. Lyall*, ed. Kevin J. McGinley and Nicola Royan (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), pp. 1 – 10
- Spufford, Margaret, 'First Steps in Literacy: The Reading and Writing Experiences of the Humblest Seventeenth-Century Spiritual Autobiographers', *Social History*, 4.3 (1979), 407–435

Starza-Smith, Dan, 'The Features of Material Letters', *Bess of Hardwick's Letters: The Complete Correspondence c. 1550–1608*
<https://www.bessofhardwick.org/background.jsp?id=143> [accessed 1 December 2016].

Steen, Sara Jayne, 'Reading Beyond the Words: Material Letters and the Process of Interpretation', *Quidditas*, 22 (2001), 55–69

Steenroos, Merja and Mäkinen, Martti, 'A defiant gentleman or “the strongest thiefe of Wales?”: Reinterpreting the politics in a medieval correspondence', in *Communicating Early English Manuscripts* ed. Päivi Pahta and Andreas H. Jucker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 83–101

Stewart, Alan, 'Familiar Letters and State Papers: The Afterlives of Early Modern Correspondence', in *Cultures of Correspondence in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by, James Daybell and Andrew Gordon (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), pp. 237–252

Stewart, Alan, *Shakespeare's Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)

Stewart, Alan, 'The Voices of Anne Cooke, Lady Anne and Lady Bacon', in *This Double Voice: Gendered Writing in Early Modern England* ed. by Danielle Clarke and Elizabeth Clarke (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), pp. 88–102

Stone, Laurence, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965)

Stretton, Tim, *Marital Litigation in the Court of Requests 1542–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

Stretton, Tim, *Women Waging Law in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

Thorne, Alison, 'Women's Petitionary Letters and Early Seventeenth-Century Treason Trials', *Women's Writing*, 13.1 (2006), 23–43

Wall, Alison, 'Elizabethan Precept and Feminine Practice: The Thynne Family of Longleat', *History*, 75 (Jan 1990), 23–38

Walker, Claire, 'Doe not suppose me a well mortified Nun dead to the world': Letter-Writing in Early Modern English Convents', in *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450–1700* ed. by James Daybell (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 159–176

Walker, Claire, *Gender and Politics in Early Modern Europe: English Convents in France and the Low Countries* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003)

Whigham, Frank, 'The Rhetoric of Elizabethan Suitor's Letters', *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 96.5 (1981), 842–82

Wiggins, Alison, *Bess of Hardwick's Letters: Language, Materiality, and Early Modern Epistolary Culture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017)

Williams, Graham, 'The Language of Early Modern Letters', *Bess of Hardwick's Letters: The Complete Correspondence c.1550–1608* <
<https://www.bessofhardwick.org/background.jsp?id=168>> [accessed 8 December]

Williams, Graham, *Women's Epistolary Utterance: A Study of the Letters of Joan and Maria Thynne 1575–1611* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2013)

Williams, Graham, 'yr scribe can proove no nessecarye consiquence for you': The Social and Linguistic Implications of Joan Thynne's using a Scribe in Letters to Her Son 1607–1611', in *Women and Writing c. 1340–c. 1650: The Domestication of Print Culture*, ed. Anne Lawrence-Mathers and Phillipa Hardman (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2010), pp. 131–145

Wolfe, Heather, 'A Letter from Queen Anne to Buckingham Locked with Silk Embroidery Floss', *The Collation*, <http://collation.folger.edu/2013/01/a-letter-from-queen-anne-to-buckingham-locked-with-silk-embroidery-floss/> [accessed 1 December 2016]

Wolfe, Heather, 'Neatly sealed with silk, and Spanish wax or otherwise': the practice of letter-locking with silk floss in early modern England', in *In the prayse of writing: early modern manuscript studies: essays in honour of Peter Beal* ed. by S. P. Cerasano & Steven W. May (London: British Library, 2012), pp. 169–190

Unpublished Theses

Bossy, John, 'Elizabethan Catholicism: The Link with France', PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1960

Maxwell, Felicity Lyn, 'Household Words: Textualising Social Relations in the Correspondence of Bess of Hardwick's Servants, c. 1550 – 1590', PhD Thesis: University of Glasgow, 2014

Merton, Charlotte Elizabeth, 'The Women Who Served Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth: Ladies, Gentlewomen and Maids of the Privy Chamber 1553–1603', PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1991

Williams, Graham, 'Pragmatic Readings of the Letters of Joan and Maria Thynne 1575–1611: With Diplomatic Translations', PhD thesis: University of Glasgow, 2009