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Sister-Subject/Sister-Queen: Elizabeth I among her Siblings

Carole Levin

Elizabeth Tudor had one older half-sister and one younger half-brother by the first and third of her father Henry VIII's wives. During her father's reign the young Elizabeth spent a fair amount of time with one or the other of her siblings, either at court or one of the other residences where she lived. Though her relationship with her brother Edward was easier, Mary, 17 years older than her younger sister, could be kind to the child who had lost her mother in such a horrific manner—even though she loathed Elizabeth's mother Anne Boleyn. This essay interrogates the relationships Elizabeth had with both Mary and Edward (Figure 1). But these were not the only siblings Elizabeth had. She not only referred to fellow sovereigns as her sisters and brothers, but Henry VIII fathered other children of whose illegitimacy there was no question. This essay also considers Elizabeth's sibling relationships in these other contexts. Though as queen Elizabeth often used the rhetoric of family, she found her relationships with her siblings to be problematic and dangerous. Given the competing claims for power, it was often difficult for royal children to have close bonds.

Henry had each of his daughters declared illegitimate when he ended the marriages with their mothers, but in his will of 1543, ratified by Parliament, he placed them back in the succession after his son Edward if he died without children of his own. Mary, as the elder, was of course the more immediate heir. Elizabeth's life in her father's reign was difficult, but improved considerably with the coming of her final stepmother, Katherine Parr, who was kind to all three of the children. In the final year of his reign, 1546, no doubt at Katherine's instigation, Henry invited Elizabeth to court. Mary and Elizabeth were listed as the queen's ladies-in-waiting.¹

Edward and Elizabeth were brought together in January 1547 to be told the news of their father's death; Edward's advisors thought the boy would deal with the news better if he were with his sister. This seems to be the case; Elizabeth met the news with fortitude and Edward congratulated her on her stalwartness:



Figure 1. Elizabeth, Edward VI, and Mary, stipple engraving by R. Page after Robert Smirke, 1824, private collection.

"There is very little need of my consoling you, most dear sister, because from your learning you know what you ought to do, and from your prudence and piety you perform what your learning causes you to know ... I perceive you think of our father's death with a calm mind."²

Yet once Edward was boy-king at the age of nine, he spent little time in the company of his sister Elizabeth, and she in turn lived in different households from her older sister Mary. Elizabeth did attempt to stay in touch with Edward through letters, and several times she visited him at court. Though Elizabeth was writing to a younger brother, she was also well aware that she was addressing her sovereign. In a letter written to Edward only a month into his reign, she told him that her "feelings, indeed, proceeding not so much from the mouth as from the heart, will declare a certain due respect and faith towards your majesty." A year later, after a visit with Edward she wrote "Of your love towards me no more numerous or illustrious proofs can be given, king most serene and illustrious, than when I recently enjoyed to the full the fruit of a most delightful familiarity with you ... I perceive your brotherly love most greatly inclined towards me, by which I conceive no small joy and gladness" (*Elizabeth I* 13,15-16).

Though she may well have felt fondness for her brother, and possibly her sister for that matter, at this point in her life, from her early teens, Elizabeth must have been all too well aware that for her ever to ascend the throne, her siblings had to die. And those around Edward and later Mary were equally aware of what a threat to these reigns the young Princess was. In early 1549, at only 15, Elizabeth was at great risk because Thomas Seymour, among other plots to gain power as Edward's younger maternal uncle, attempted to marry her. Though she had no one to advise her, Elizabeth learned very early to keep her own counsel and to hold back her trust. She also used her position as the king's sister to advantage early on.

After Seymour and both Elizabeth's principal gentlewoman, Kate Ashley, and her cofferer, Thomas Parry, were lodged in the Tower, the Council sent Sir Robert Tyrwhitt to examine Elizabeth. Perhaps as a way to humiliate Elizabeth and to force a confession, Tyrwhitt told Elizabeth that there were rumors circulating that she was with child. But this did not break Elizabeth's will. She responded with a forceful letter to the Lord Protector, asking to come to the court so that she could demonstrate that she was not pregnant. Furthermore, aware of the importance of being well thought of by the English people, Elizabeth requested that Somerset publicly deny this slander, and do so since she was the king's sister: "But if it might so seem good unto our lordship and the rest of the Council to send forth a proclamation into the countries [counties] that they refrain their tongues, declaring how the tales be but lies, it should make/both the people think that you and the Council have great regard that no such rumors should be spread of any of the king's majesty's sisters (as I am, though unwor-

thy)" (*Elizabeth I* 32-33). Elizabeth managed to survive this crisis and protect both Ashley and Parry. As for Seymour, she certainly did not publicly mourn his death, but she carefully remembered his fate, that he had been executed at the command of his own elder brother.

In May 1549, a few months after the crisis was over and life was more tranquil for Elizabeth, she sent her brother the present of her portrait that he had requested. She also hinted in the accompanying letter that she wished she could come to court and see him more often. "I shall most humbly beseech your majesty that when you shall look on my picture you will witsafe to think that as you have but the outward shadow of the body afore you, so my inward mind wisheth that the body itself were oftener in your presence" (*Elizabeth I* 35).

For the rest of Edward's reign Elizabeth presented herself as a demure young Protestant woman who kept the Council and her brother fully abreast of her doings. This self-presentation was successful. At the end of that year of crisis Elizabeth was invited to spend Christmas at court with her brother. The Spanish ambassador noted that Elizabeth "was received with great pomp and triumph, and is continually with the King."³ Elizabeth visited court a second time in early 1551. As Edward's health became more fragile, Elizabeth sent her brother concerned letters. In October 1552 she wrote: "What cause I had of sorrow when I heard first of your majesty's sickness all men might guess but none but myself could feel." In the spring of 1553 she wrote to Edward that the news of his ill-health "grieved me greatly ... I shall pray God forever to preserve you" (*Elizabeth I* 37, 38, 39).

Succession and Survival

But Edward's health only worsened in the spring and summer of 1553. Edward, at the behest of the Duke of Northumberland, or at least with his assistance, made a new will that excluded his sisters in favor of his cousin Lady Jane Grey, fortuitously married to the duke's youngest son Guildford. Edward was deeply concerned about the continuation of Protestantism, Northumberland about the continuation of his power. Edward's "Devise for the Succession" was illegal. Edward was not of age, and while his father's will had been ratified by Parliament during Henry's lifetime, Edward's was not. Despite his supposed closeness to Elizabeth, the argument that she, like Mary, might wed a foreigner, seemed to be a justification for Edward to exclude her in favor of the safely married Jane. Even at this time, Elizabeth was not one who could easily be persuaded to marry. Originally his devise called for the heir to be the son of Jane Grey, but given Edward's health this was changed to Jane herself; even if all had gone

smoothly, who knew when Jane and Guildford would actually produce a boy. In the devise both Mary and Elizabeth are declared "illegitimate and not lawfully begotten/Edward added the hope that after his death his sisters would "live in quiet order, according to our appointment," a vain hope indeed.⁴ Edward failed rapidly. For this plan to work, Northumberland knew that he had to have both princesses under his control before he announced Edward's death and Jane's accession. Events were moving too fast for the duke, and with the king's death kept secret, Northumberland sent both Edward's sisters the message that his last wish was to die in his sister's arms.

Whatever the news that Edward was dying might have meant personally to either sister, it also meant that according to the succession as dictated by Henry VIII, Mary was the next queen. She immediately took to the road for London with a small entourage but was stopped on the way with the message that she was riding into a trap—some members of the King's Council, while they might publicly support Northumberland thinking they had little choice, in fact did not want to upset the succession or see him continue in power in this way. While Mary had immediately flown to action, Elizabeth, concerned with what might be going on and sensing a trap, sent word that she herself was too ill to travel—a ploy she would use again in her dealings with a sibling.⁵

Mary became queen without a battle; on July 19 the Duke of Northumberland was arrested, and Mary proclaimed ruler of the realm. Ten days later Elizabeth came to London to await Mary's triumphant entry, and on July 31 rode out of London to meet Mary and escort her into the city. Elizabeth may well have been concerned over how her sister would respond to her—their sisterhood depended on their father, and their mothers had been bitter rivals. In the first euphoria of becoming queen, Mary greeted her younger sister with great affection and on August 3, when Mary rode in state, Elizabeth was immediately behind her sister, the queen.

But this warm state of affairs cooled rapidly and Mary went so far as to deny her relationship to Elizabeth altogether, claiming to those close to her that Elizabeth instead resembled the musician Mark Smeaton, "a very handsome man," but also the one of lowest status of the five executed as Anne Boleyn's lovers.⁶ Few people accepted Mary's claim. Though Elizabeth had the dark eyes of her mother, her red hair came from Henry VIII, and Elizabeth was proud that people saw her very much as a Tudor. But the Catholics were also putting forth propaganda that Anne Boleyn was a witch, and Simon Renard, Mary's Spanish ambassador and close confidant, considered Elizabeth "a spirit full of enchantment."⁷

Though Edward VI and Elizabeth had shared similar religious beliefs, which one would have thought would make her an acceptable heir, at the end of his reign the dying Edward had apparently acquiesced or even initiated a change in

the succession that would have denied Elizabeth her rights and placed her in extreme danger. She and Mary not only had personal bitterness with which to contend, but a very different religious outlook, and one that, for Mary, was the guiding force of her life. As Mary returned England to obedience to Rome, she must have been all too aware of how her younger sister was the Protestant alternative. At first Elizabeth boycotted the Catholic services at court, but by September of 1553 it was clear her position was too dangerous to continue that. Elizabeth begged Mary for instruction in the "true faith," but though Elizabeth claimed conversion, Mary must have been suspicious, since on September 8, the first day Elizabeth was to attend mass, the Princess asked to be excused because of a stomach ache. When the queen insisted on her presence, Elizabeth "complained loudly on the way, keeping up a pretence of illness."⁸

Elizabeth must have become even more concerned the following month when Parliament passed an act that upheld the legality of Henry's marriage to Catherine of Aragon. Many might well argue that since Elizabeth was legally a bastard, she had no right to succeed the throne. Elizabeth, upset with the political and religious mood at court, became even more sporadic in her attendance at mass. Though at the beginning of the reign Elizabeth had had precedence over all ladies at court save the queen, by November the French ambassador Antoine de Noailles was noting that Mary was ceding that position to their cousin Margaret, Countess of Lennox, and sometimes even to "Madame Frances, who is the Duchess of Suffolk," and also mother of the condemned Lady Jane Grey.⁹ This clearly put even more strain on the sisters' relationship. Mary was furious when she heard that Elizabeth was meeting secretly with the French ambassador; Elizabeth managed to convince Mary's representatives this had not happened, but it was becoming more and more evident that Mary was eager to believe the worst of her younger sister. The Venetian ambassador wrote home of Mary's "scorn and ill will" toward Elizabeth.¹⁰

Elizabeth decided to leave court and go to her residence at Ashridge, but begged to see Mary before she left. Elizabeth assured her sister of her devotion to the Catholic doctrine, but Mary was not convinced. Though Mary gave Elizabeth a gift of a coif of rich sables, it was not out of sisterly affection; Renard had suggested it would be unwise for Elizabeth to leave court feeling disaffected. What Elizabeth wanted much more from her sister was the promise that she would allow Elizabeth to defend herself in person if Mary heard anything to her discredit, begging Mary, de Noailles heard, "not to put faith in stories to the disadvantage of the Princess without giving her a hearing."¹¹ Mary, however, by this time felt great hostility to her sister, convinced Elizabeth would "bring about some great evil unless she is dealt with."¹²

The evil Mary feared turned out to be the rebellion led by Thomas Wyatt against her marriage to Philip of Spain in early 1554. Though the rebellion was

defeated on January 29, Mary demanded that Elizabeth return to court and respond to charges that she had known and approved of the plot. Elizabeth responded that she was too ill to travel. Mary did not believe her sister; she sent three members of her Council - Lord William Howard, Sir Edward Hastings, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis—accompanied by two doctors, Thomas Wendy and George Owen. The doctors were ordered to examine Elizabeth and determine just how ill she really was. Mary informed the doctors that unless travel would actually endanger Elizabeth's life, then she must answer the queen's summons. The doctors admitted that, though Elizabeth was unwell, travel would not be life-threatening. Elizabeth was not so sure. This decision was made on February 12, the same day her cousin Jane Grey was executed. Elizabeth may well have believed that traveling to the capital could be fatal. While Elizabeth did seem truly to be in ill-health, she also appears to have exploited her physical condition so that she could prolong the travel time. The entourage moved slowly, taking five days to travel the 33 miles to London.

Mary's confidant, Simon Renard, wanted Elizabeth sent directly to the Tower, as did Mary's chancellor, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. But several members of Mary's Council were uncomfortable with the idea of imprisoning the sister of the Queen. Though Renard saw Elizabeth as an enormous danger to Mary, he was also impressed by her self-control and intuitive sense of self-presentation:

The Lady Elizabeth arrived yesterday, dressed all in white and followed by a great company of the Queen's people and her own. She had her litter open to show herself to the people, and her pale face kept a proud, haughty expression in order to mask her vexation.¹³

Elizabeth was sensitive to the symbolic import of colors throughout her life. When she met with Mary at the very beginning of her sister's reign Elizabeth had all her ladies dressed in the Tudor colors of green and white. Dressing all in white as she was carried through the street was a visual statement of her innocence and virtue; by drawing back the curtains of her litter, she was demonstrating her desire for the people to see her and to know that she had nothing to conceal from them.

Elizabeth was held for nearly a month in her rooms in Whitehall while Mary and her Council argued about her fate. Since no one was willing to guard Elizabeth under house arrest, Mary decided she would indeed send her to the Tower. The Earl of Sussex and another member of the council were sent to take Elizabeth to the Tower by barge, as Mary and her Council feared there might be attempts to rescue her if she were taken through the streets of London. When Elizabeth was told she was being sent to the Tower she begged for an audience with Mary before the order was carried out. The order to the Tower without a

chance to see Mary was what Elizabeth had most feared, and was exactly what she had begged from her sister at their last meeting. Sussex knew the queen would not see Elizabeth, but when this request was denied Elizabeth pleaded that she might at least write to Mary before she was moved. Sussex yielded; Elizabeth was, after all, like Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII.

In her letter Elizabeth beseeched Mary to see her before imprisoning her in the Tower. At this moment of crisis, Elizabeth not only recognized the need to be able to see and talk with her sister, she understood the importance of carefully crafting her request. Elizabeth urged Mary to grant her an interview so that she could respond to the charges against her:

And to this present hour I protest afore God ... that I never practiced, counseled, nor consented to anything that might be prejudicial to your person any way or dangerous to the state by any mean. And therefore I humbly beseech your majesty to let me answer afore yourself and not suffer me to trust your councillors—yea, and that afore I go to the Tower (if it be possible); if not, afore I be further condemned (*Elizabeth I* 41).

It is perhaps not surprising that at this time of crisis, Elizabeth would recall a previous threat to her personal and political safety, the Seymour incident. Begging Mary to see her, Elizabeth refers to Seymour's death at the order of his brother, Somerset:

I have heard in my time of many cast away for want of coming to the presence of their prince, and in late days I heard my lord of Somerset say that if his brother had been suffered to speak with him, he had never suffered ... Therefore once again, with humbleness of my heart because I am not suffered to bow the knees of my body, I humbly crave to speak with your Highness (*Elizabeth I* 41-2).

Elizabeth hoped that if she could actually see and talk with her sister, she could convince Mary of her innocence, despite their differences. Elizabeth steadfastly denied any association with Wyatt and insisted on her loyalty to Mary. But Mary was furious that Sussex allowed Elizabeth to write to her and she refused her fervent plea for a meeting; perhaps Mary did not trust herself to remain firm if she and Elizabeth actually talked. Simon Renard was convinced that Elizabeth wrote the letter for the express purpose of delaying her imprisonment, but it seems likely that Elizabeth truly believed that were she able to see and speak with Mary, she might avert this catastrophe. The letter only gained Elizabeth a one-day reprieve; the next day she was taken to the Tower. In the next months Elizabeth became so convinced that her sister would have her executed she considered begging Mary for a French swordsman, so she could be executed in the same manner as her mother.

While Elizabeth feared Mary greatly, the Queen in the end did not have her younger half sister killed. When Mary was dying in November 1558, she sent word to Elizabeth begging her sister to continue the Roman Catholic faith. But Elizabeth's father had broken with the Pope to marry her mother, and when Elizabeth became queen she re-established the Church of England.

Queen and Sister

The new Protestant queen had lost both her brother and sister. But while she was queen she used the rhetoric of family often in her letters to other monarchs, on occasion calling herself sister to both her cousin Mary Stuart and Mary's son James. As Lena Orlin points out, Elizabeth "turned to political purpose her membership in the figurative family of European sovereigns."¹⁴ Indeed, the special relationship of monarchs was such she even called herself "sister" when she signed a letter to the King of Morocco.¹⁵

The official siblings of Elizabeth I were her two predecessors, Edward and Mary, who had both ruled before her, but Henry VIII had other children about whose illegitimacy there was no question and who had no claim to the throne. Elizabeth's relations with these siblings was much less clear but they also played some role in her development as queen as well as sister. Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, died in his teens soon after witnessing the execution of Elizabeth's mother Anne Boleyn. There seems no connection between Elizabeth and Fitzroy. Henry, however, may have had other sons. Some people have argued that Mary Boleyn, briefly Henry's mistress before he fell in love with her sister Anne, had a son by the king, but William Carey acknowledged the boy as his and the king never suggested otherwise, nor did Henry Carey. There was a rumor about Henry Carey as the son of Henry VIII floating around in the 1530s, and Anthony Hoskins has recently argued that not only Henry but his sister Catherine Carey were the children of Mary Boleyn Carey by Henry VIII.¹⁶ But Elizabeth never recognized either of the Careys as her half-siblings, though she was very close to them, especially Catherine. Retha Warnicke insists that "Until her death in early 1569, Catherine was one of her *cousin* Elizabeth's closest friends" (emphasis mine).¹⁷ Elizabeth ennobled Henry Carey as Lord Hunsdon and he served her in a number of positions. Elizabeth was certainly fond of her Carey relatives, but probably because of the connection with Anne Boleyn.

On the other hand, Sir John Perrot did claim to be the son of Henry VIII, though Henry never formally acknowledged him so. Perrot, born sometime between 1527 and 1530, was the son of Mary Berkely, whose husband Sir Thomas Perrot was a courtier and wealthy landowner. John's physical resemblance to Henry VIII fueled rumors that he was the king's son, a belief that Sir John

strongly encouraged. Perrot was knighted as part of Edward VI's coronation but his Protestantism did not endear him to Mary and he was briefly imprisoned during her reign for sheltering heretics; after his release he fled abroad. Perrot returned upon Elizabeth's accession and in fact was one of the four bearers who carried the canopy of state during her coronation.

In Elizabeth's reign Perrot was sent to Ireland, a place that destroyed a number of her courtiers. Perrot's talent for making enemies at court, especially Sir Christopher Hatton, also did not help him. Evidence of a treasonable correspondence between Perrot and Philip II was shown to be a forgery, but in 1592 Perrot was still found guilty of treason, possibly because of his contemptuous comments about Elizabeth. He had stated publicly that Elizabeth was "ready to piss herself for fear" of Philip of Spain. Perrot was lodged in the Tower but Elizabeth was reluctant to have him executed. "God's death! Will the Queen suffer her brother to be offered up a sacrifice to the envy of his frisking adversaries?" Perrot exclaimed. Whether she believed he was her brother or not, Elizabeth may well have remembered decades earlier how she felt in the Tower waiting for word whether or not Mary would order her death. While rumors were circulating that Elizabeth intended to pardon him, Sir John died of natural causes. Elizabeth restored the estates to his son Thomas.¹⁸

While Henry VIII never admitted to the paternity of Sir John Perrot, he did acknowledge that he was father of Ethelreda Malte, though he had her raised as if she were the natural child of his tailor, John Malte, who was paid well for the privilege. Ethelreda's mother was Joanna Dyngley, but she had no hand in her upbringing. Ironically and indirectly, Ethelreda may have done more than any other sibling to establish a sense of family for Elizabeth. John Harington of Stepney was treasurer of the King's camps and buildings at Stepney and intensely loyal to Henry. In payment for Harington's fidelity, the king arranged a marriage for him in 1546 with his illegitimate daughter and at the time of the marriage granted Ethelreda a large grant of forfeited monastic land that Harington inherited on Ethelreda's death, which apparently occurred sometime between 1555 and 1559.¹⁹ The lands Harington inherited on her death made his fortune and he showed his gratitude to the king by the steadfast devotion to his younger daughter Elizabeth. Harington, as a servant to Thomas Seymour, had been in Elizabeth's household when she lived with Katherine Parr early in Edward's reign. Though still married to Ethelreda, by early in Mary's reign Harington was very much in love with Isabella Markham, one of the six gentlewomen of Elizabeth's household.

In 1554 John and his wife Ethelreda accompanied Elizabeth to wait upon her when she was imprisoned in the Tower. While there Harington wrote to Mary's Chancellor Stephen Gardiner. After describing his own duty to Elizabeth he added, "My wife is her servant, and does but rejoice in this our misery, when

we look with whom we are held in bondage. Our gracious King Henry did ever advance our families' good estate ... wherefore our service is in remembrance of such good kindness." Suggesting a close relationship with Elizabeth, Harington described how she "does honor us in tender sort, and scorns not to shed her tears with ours."²⁰ Harington's marriage to Ethelreda may have had its difficulties, especially given his love for Isabella, whom he married early in Elizabeth's reign. When John and Isabella's son John was born in 1561 Elizabeth agreed to be his godmother.

Elizabeth's relationships with her siblings caused her danger and anxiety. In many ways Elizabeth had little freedom over how she would relate to her siblings; these relationships were predetermined by the political and religious constraints of the time, which made uncomplicated familial affection impossible. But Elizabeth was able to structure some positive family feelings. Being a godmother apparently gave the queen some joy. As her godson Sir John Harington said of her, "We did all love her, for she said she loved us ... When she smiled it was pure sunshine."²¹

Notes

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Quotations from Elizabeth's writings are taken from Lean S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose, ed., *Elizabeth I: Collected Works* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

1. Anne Somerset, *Elizabeth I* (New York, St Martin's Press, 1992), 14.
2. Frank A. Mumby, *The Girlhood of Queen Elizabeth: A Narrative in Contemporary Letters* (London: Constable and Co., 1909), 81.
3. Somerset, *Elizabeth I*, 28.
4. *Ibid.*, 30.
5. "Elizabeth, according to most accounts, had one of her real or feigned attacks of illness at the hour of Northumberland's temporary success"; Mumby, *Girlhood of Queen Elizabeth*, 81.
6. Henry Clifford, *The Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (London: Burnes and Oates, 1887), 80.
7. Royall Tyler, ed., *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, Relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, Preserved in the Archive at Simancas and Elsewhere* (London: Longman, Green, Longman & Roberts, 1862-1954), vol. XI, 169, 393.
8. Mumby, *Girlhood of Queen Elizabeth*, 80.

9. Ibid., 92.
10. Rawdon Brown, ed.. *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1881; repr. Nedeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus, 1970), vol. VI:2, 1058).
11. Mumby, *Girlhood of Queen Elizabeth*, 97.
12. Tyler, ed.. *Calendar of Letters*, vol. XI, 418.
13. Ibid., vol. XII, 125.
14. Lena Orlin, "The Fictional Families of Elizabeth I," in *Political Rhetoric, Power, and Renaissance Women*, ed. Carole Levin and Patricia A. Sullivan (Albany: SUNY Press, 1995), 94.
15. The point about the king of Morocco was made by Professor Nabil Matar in his talk "Queen Elizabeth and Mulay Ahmad al-Mansur" at the symposium *The English and the Others*, Newberry Library, Chicago, December 5, 2003.
16. For Hoskins's argument see his article "Mary Boleyn Carey's Children: Offspring of King Henry VIII?" *Genealogists' Magazine* 25:9 (March 1977), 345-52. A monk of Syon in his confession claimed that Mr Skydmore [Sir John Scudamore] had introduced him to "young master Care, saying that he was our sovereign lord the king's son, by our sovereign lady the queen's sister, whom the queen's grace might not suffer to be in the court"; Paul Friedmann, *Anne Boleyn* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1884), vol. II, 324. But Catholics would certainly have encouraged any negative comments about Henry and the Boleyns, and this statement, while interesting, does not prove that Henry Carey was Henry's son. The monk was also incorrect that Anne did not want young Henry Carey at court. He was Anne's ward, and she made sure that he received a fine education; see Retha M. Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 148.
17. Ibid., 238.
18. For more on Perrot, consult H. C. G. Matthews and Brian Harrison, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), vol. 43, 810-15, and see Hiram Morgan, "The Fall of Sir John Perrot," in *The Reign of Queen Elizabeth: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*, ed. John Guy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 109-25.
19. Ruth Hughey has found evidence that Ethelreda was still alive in 1555 and died before 1559. Hughey claims that there was a daughter, Hester, "who was living in 1568 but nothing else is known about her"; Ruth Hughey, *John Harington of Stepney: Tudor Gentleman* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1971), 18, 36. See also *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 25, "Harington, John," 283-4, "Harington, Sir John," 285-8.
20. Hughey, *John Harington of Stepney*, 45.
21. Sir John Harington, *Nugae antiquae*, ed. Henry Harington (London: J. Dodsley, 1779), vol. I, 140-41.