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Two Women from the Past

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The Elizabethan period was undoubtedly one of the richest in the history of England. After a period of turmoil, Elizabeth's reign gave England a time of internal peace. Making the best of the opportunity, the English burst out in all directions: exploration, drama, trade, poetry. The importance of women grew in this period along with everything else, with a natural development of freedom. Duke Frederick of Wüttemberg, visiting England in 1602, remarked that "the women have much more liberty than perhaps in any other place." 1 Twentieth century minds would disagree that the women had freedom, but in comparison to other countries and to the past, Elizabethan women were much better off.
There were several reasons for the heightened importance of women. For one thing, a woman ruled England. This rather naturally put the fairer sex in the limelight. For another, the ladies who waited on her drew importance from the fact that they served a sovereign. This, too, advanced the woman's position. Then the eminence of the women added to their importance. The poets of the day dedicated their poetry to the women, especially to the Queen and ladies of nobility, thus bringing to the fore women's best qualities.

With all the new freedom, the only way of life open to a woman was marriage. Society was set up that way. The Queen's Maids of Honour were single, but, aside from the prestige, one of the best reasons for being a Maid of Honour was the opportunity it gave to find a husband. The whole education of girls hinged on this idea. Necessity called for a knowledge of household affairs. Religion, teaching obedience to father and husband, held a strong place in education. Formal studies enabled girls to be companions of their husbands. Besides, intellectualism for women was all the fashion.

Framed in and formed by this society, a woman had to somehow work out her own destiny. Two, Margaret Hoby and Anne Clifford, did this. More important, they left some record of it. Certainly their lives reveal two interesting ladies and give some insight into the far-off age of Elizabeth.
Margaret Hoby, daughter and only child of Arthur Dakins and his wife Thomasine Guy, was born at Linton, Yorkshire, and was baptised on February 10, 1571, in Wintringham Church. The Dakins family was rather new in Yorkshire at this time, having grown wealthy by speculating in confiscated church land released by the Reformation of Henry VIII. Arthur Dakins had only come to Linton in 1565, where people considered him and his wife to be "strangers". In spite of his newness, Mr. Dakins became an important man in his district, adding to his lands and eventually becoming a Justice of the Peace and member of the Quorum. As sole heiress of her father, Margaret Dakins needed an education suitable to her position. Her parents sent her to the household of the Countess of Huntingdon, following the old method of placing their daughter in a position to obtain both a good education and a good marriage. This choice proved a fortunate one for Margaret, since her stay in the Huntingdon family led to three things: a deep Puritan religion, an excellent education, and her first husband. The Huntingdons were extremely Puritan in their views. The Earl had three cardinal virtues: to fear God, to love the Gospel, and to hate Popery. His wife agreed with him. Margaret naturally became strongly Puritan, for religious instruction was a main part of education. Besides formal education, she received training in household management,
estate management, and other useful arts. Her instructor in all these, the Countess, was one of the best in England. Other people affirmed it, and Lady Huntingdon herself stated that she knew how to "breed and govern yong[sic.] gentlewomen." 7

Margaret's position improved because of her stay with the Huntingdons, who were prominent socially in marked contrast to her own family. Henry Hastings was the third Earl of Huntingdon; more important, he was President of the Council of the North, which made his family the most important north of the Trent. His wife Catherine was a daughter of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, 8 and brother of the Earl of Leicester. Both were close to Queen Elizabeth, for at the death of the Earl, Elizabeth moved to Whitehall just so she could be the one to tell his wife and thus make the blow softer. 9

The cousins of the Huntingdons were the relatives who most concerned Margaret Dakins. One of the Earl's cousins was Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex. This gentleman was in Dublin in 1576, where he became ill with dysentery. Four days before he died, he wrote to make sure that the Earl of Huntingdon and his wife would obtain the care of his two daughters, Penelope and Dorothy, and of his son Walter. He did not include his elder son, Robert, who was to become the most famous of the four children. 10

Young Walter Devereux entered the world in 1569, two years before Margaret Dakins. He received his education at Christ Church, Oxford, which he entered on June 12, 1584. 11
Both before and after this schooling he must have been a part of the Huntingdon household, where he met Margaret Dakins. Whether the two became romantically attached is questionable, but some time before May, 1589, they did marry each other.  

The match was probably a business affair, as were most marriages then. Margaret had wealth, important to any aspiring courtier. Surely Margaret's father approved, for the son of an Earl was a good catch, no doubt having some money of his own. The Earl of Huntingdon and Walter's brother, the Earl of Essex, made the arrangements for the match. Negotiations included setting up the young couple in housekeeping, which meant the purchase of a suitable estate. The manor and parsonage of Hackness proved the very thing. This extensive estate cost £6,500 and contained lands in Everle, Brexay, Huton Bushell, Silpho, Hacknes Dale, Suffielde, Harewoode Dale, Burneston, and Ayton. Arthur Dakins gave £3,000, the Earl of Essex contributed another £3,000, and the Earl of Huntingdon provided the remaining £500 necessary. Unfortunately the title was not completely cleared at the time, so trouble developed later for Margaret.  

History reveals very little of this marriage. Walter Devereux was one of the jewels of the time; he must have been handsome. Still, his behavior caused comment in his neighborhood, behavior remembered nine years after his death and mentioned by inference. Unfortunately, no one was ever specific about it. Whether a period of bliss or misery, the first marriage
was short. Walter went to France with his brother when that young gentleman went over to help Henry IV of France. In the process of one of Robert's foolish escapades, Walter proved the excellency of the opponents' marksmanship.15

Poor Margaret was barely a widow before she was again a wife. Once more the Earl of Huntingdon was responsible for her marriage, this time to a cousin of his wife, Thomas Sidney. The marriage took place in December, 1591, after Walter's death in September, 1591. The reason for the delay in holding the wedding was that all things had to wait until Walter's friends could bury his remains.16

This somewhat unseemly haste was not Margaret's fault, for she had gone home to her parents, either when her husband left for France or when she heard of his death. The Huntingdons caused the rush. Thomas Sidney was the Countess's favorite nephew, a son of her sister, and both she and the Earl wanted the wealth of Margaret to enhance the future of the young man. Even then, they might have waited, but another suitor put in an appearance who had enough pull to win the hand of the widow.17

Thomas Posthumus Hoby was born in 1566 or early 1567 after the death of his father, who died while serving as ambassador to France in 1566. His mother Elizabeth was one of Sir Anthony Cooke's well-educated daughters. The Queen thought highly of Elizabeth Hoby and sent thanks for her good conduct.
in France, Lady Hoby had married again since then, this time to Lord John Russell, who died before she did. He also died before his father, which infuriated Lady Russell, since she could not take the title of Countess Dowager. In 1591, all of her children held good positions—except Thomas Posthumus, who was still living with his mother. After trying to force him to be a lawyer, which he flatly refused to do, Lady Russell decided, with Thomas in agreement, that he would have to marry an heiress. It was at this juncture that the news of Walter Devereux's death reached Lady Russell's ears. She turned immediately to her brother-in-law, Lord Burghley, to obtain his influence in this heaven-sent opportunity. Lord Burghley thought it too soon, but Lady Russell had a will of her own and was afraid that Margaret would have too many suitors if they waited. Thomas Posthumus was going to be a problem because he was so undersized he had been mistaken for a child at times. Lord Burghley wrote to the Earl of Huntingdon, Walter's guardian. 18

It was this letter which caused the mad dash to get Margaret safely married. The Earl of Huntingdon sent Thomas Sidney post-haste to Yorkshire to fetch the heiress to London. The Earl also took the precaution of getting Arthur Dakin's consent to allow the Huntingdons to dispose of Margaret as they wished. Margaret left Yorkshire on November 2. When Burghley's letter to Mr. Dakins arrived, it was too late by a week. In spite of the difficulties neither Thomas Posthumus
nor his mother gave up the struggle. After asking various people for help, the two heiress hunters found that Margaret was definitely at the Huntingdons' in London. Armed with this news, Lady Russell suggested that Thomas Posthumus and her nephew, Anthony Cooke, abduct the prize. The Huntingdons made sure that no such attempt succeeded and kept Margaret practically locked in her room until the marriage. 19

Margaret had one definite advantage in this marriage. She fell in love with her husband. She had had the opportunity to know Thomas Sidney when his father's death placed him in the Huntingdon household. The two probably became the second couple to occupy Hackness. Certainly Thomas had dealings about the land. The title was still not clear, however. An indenture made on October 4, 1592, contained the Earl of Huntingdon's name in conjunction with those of Thomas Sidney and two others on one side, with a husbandman, William Fox of Hackness, on the other. 20

Margaret was singularly unfortunate as far as husbands were concerned. She became a widow for the second time in 1595. Thomas Posthumus Hoby, now knighted and still unmarried, renewed his suit. Still his wooing would not run smoothly. His mother was angry and would not even see him. Thomas, well aware of his mother's temper, even turned down a Court feast because he was afraid to meet his mother there. Lord Burghley managed to reconcile the two, since Sir Thomas Posthumus amounted to exactly nothing without his mother's backing, unless one counted his virtue as Sir Thomas did.
After making peace, Hoby concentrated on recommendations, since his mother was again on his side. In August, 1595, he wrote to Sir Robert Cecil, asking him to speak to the Earl of Huntingdon. His only fear was a rival backed by the Queen. 21

After much trouble, Sir Thomas Posthumus got his first interview with Margaret Sidney. The Earl of Huntingdon sent him with an escort, Mr. Stanhope, to Hull, where Margaret was staying. The interview was highly unsuccessful. Mr. Stanhope found Margaret crying because she had lost Thomas Sidney, while Thomas Hoby waited in the hall. Out of respect to the Earl, Margaret saw her suitor. She was twenty-four and her father was dead; she was free to choose for herself, but she did not choose Mr. Hoby. He was small, and he was too timid to speak to her. One sight was enough for Margaret; she ordered her servants to deny him admittance and wrote to her guardian completely refusing to so much as consider Sir Thomas Posthumus. On the other hand, Sir Thomas was delighted with her, and was ready to make her his wife. His mother was equally happy. 22

The immovable object and the irresistible force would have remained in the old deadlock except for one thing: the Earl of Huntingdon died and his brother, succeeding him, claimed Hackness. The case had to go to Chancery. Margaret had no real backing for her claim from important persons. Sir Thomas Posthumus Hoby continued to press for her hand and to ask friends to help influence the fair matron. The
possibility of the loss of Hackness reduced Margaret to submission.

Sir Thomas Posthumus Hoby was the nephew of Lord Burghley, the Lord Treasurer, and cousin of Sir Robert Cecil. The wedding took place August 9, 1596, at Lady Russell's house in Blackfriars. The wedding was small, and the only entertainment was a sermon and a dinner, though Sir Thomas had the extra pleasure of looking at his new bride. After the ceremony, Hackness received its third couple in less than ten years.  

This third husband proved to be either luckier or healthier than his predecessors, for he was still very much in existence at Margaret's death in 1633. Sir Thomas Posthumus must have been quite a let-down to Margaret after her two previous mates. He had an inferiority complex, partially caused by a domineering mother who thought that she knew what was best for him and partially resulting from his extremely small size. Added to this inferiority complex was the agressive temperament he inherited from his mother. Feelings of inferiority and aggressiveness combined to give Sir Thomas a definite personality problem.

Hoby tried to compensate for his sense of inferiority by making himself superior. One way to do this was to marry Margaret Sidney. Through her he became a landowner, which new position gave him the scope he needed. He expended himself in county administration, becoming an industrious and able justice of the peace. Sir Thomas served as a member of Parliament many times, he was a member of at least five committees, he was named to the Council of the North, and
selected as a High Commissioner. Yet Sir Thomas worried about other people being placed in a position of superiority to him.  

His offices attest to his popularity with the central government, but not with his neighbors. Somehow he could not seem to get along with his fellow North-country landowners. There were at least two reasons for this. One was his assertiveness, which got him into scrapes. The other was his Puritanism, with its implications.

His assertiveness showed itself as early as 1597 when he and Mr. Stanhope contested a Parliamentary election. This was only the beginning of his suits and quarrels with the Bures and Cholmleys, old Catholic families of the district. Members of these families asserted that Sir Thomas was forever picking quarrels and causing trouble. The Cholmleys blamed Sir Thomas for his determination to have his own way. Much of the problem was rooted in Sir Thomas’s envy of both the popularity and power of the Cholmleys. His relations with his other neighbors, the Bures, culminated in a long law suit. The central government had realized Hoby’s character by 1620, for the higher powers thought it necessary to tell the Secretary of the North to ask Sir Thomas to behave himself towards the President.

Because Hoby was a Puritan, he had added difficulty with his neighbors. For one thing, he did not drink heavily, gamble, or hunt as his compatriots did. They therefore thought him morose and inhospitable. The records of Hoby’s court case with
William Eure show the irreconcilable points of view of Sir Thomas and his neighbors. According to Sir Thomas's statement, William Eure and his friends descended uninvited upon him after a hunting trip. He offered his hospitality, but his guests made nuisances of themselves and made fun of his Puritan religious services. Sir Thomas asked them next day not to offend him and assured them he would entertain them. They left in a huff. According to William Bur's account, Sir Thomas received them coldly, was not in the least hospitable, and his departure was not so violent as Hoby claimed, though a little guilty conscience was evident in this last assertion. The antics of Eure and company repelled Sir Thomas; Hoby's stern Puritanism repelled William Eure.

Even worse for Sir Thomas's popularity, his religion had political implications. He was in a predominantly Catholic district. Burghley probably had an eye for the advantages of this set-up when he supported Sir Thomas's marriage plans. Hoby was a useful instrument of the central government, as the Catholics realized. Sir Thomas watched for trouble and was careful to write news of it to Sir Robert Cecil. Though he might report the truth, his motives for doing so often reflect his personal problems.

While his religion made him intolerant and an eager hunter of Papists, it also had a positive side. Sir Thomas wrote to Robert Cecil, Viscount Cranborne, in 1604-5 urging him to use his influence to reinstate the celebrated Stephen Egerton of Blackfriars as lecturer. He was interested in the
boroughs and chapels of the district and showed this materially. He gave a large mace to Scarborough in 1636 and, together with his wife, repaired the chapel at Hackness, apparently at the same time they erected a monument to Margaret's father, Arthur Dakins.32

Sir Thomas respected his wife, who was strongly religious, and always wrote affectionately about her. The only wish of his which she delayed in fulfilling was to settle her lands on Hoby equally with herself, and on their heirs, with the remainder to his heirs. Margaret did not give way to this until 1632, a year before her death. Then she only did so on the condition that some of her property be sold and distributed among her relatives. Sir Thomas agreed, and executed her wishes, though not until after his own death in 1640. Then he contrived by his will to create the impression that this kindness was a result of his goodness of heart.33 He was still trying, even in death, to demonstrate his superiority. Sir Thomas did not succeed with the good impression he wanted to make, at least not in his own village. According to legend, he helped his wife to her death by helping her downstairs with his foot.34

While Sir Thomas busied himself with his many offices, Lady Margaret spent her time at Hackness. Her life had a quiet tenor on its surface, but her diary covering the years from 1599 to 160535 shows very clearly that the undercurrents of her life were vigorous.
The most predominant words in the diary are "private prayer." A large amount of her day was bound up in religious exercises. Indeed, it is most likely that she began the diary as an aid to her spiritual progression. She almost says so herself. In this she was in good company, for many other Puritans kept diaries as confessionsals and spiritual aids. Margaret's religious habits had a definite pattern. Her day began with private prayer. Some time before supper, she drew apart from her family and activities to meditate, pray, and examine herself. After supper the household met for a religious service known as the lecture. Before retiring, she again prayed alone, sometimes meditating. On Sundays Lady Hoby nearly always heard two sermons, one in the morning and one in the afternoon.

Besides these rather definite periods, Lady Margaret had others which were more flexible. She often read the Bible, usually in the morning or after supper. Sometimes she went to sermons in the church on other days besides Sunday. In order to understand and remember the sermons, she meditated on them and wrote them down in a book kept for the purpose. Frequently Lady Margaret added notes to her Bible as a study help. She spent much time in private prayer when she found the opportunity, and prayed with other people, usually with Mr. Rhodes, who lived in the household and served as a chaplain.

Reading formed another aspect of her religious life. Lady Margaret read for herself, but was often busy and would combine her work and reading by having someone, such as...
Mr. Rhodes, read aloud. Her reading matter, other than the Bible, was that written by the most eminent Puritan divines of her age: Cartwright, Greenham, Perkins.39 Much of her other reading was still religious, such as Fox's Book of Martyrs, and at one time she even heard a papist book read so that she could understand better what Catholics believed.40

Towards the end of this period of her life, her religion became more social in the sense that she shared it more with others. Lady Margaret had had discussions with Mr. Rhodes all along, but by 1601 she was discussing religion with more people. The good wives of Hackness composed one group, which came to the manor house after Sunday dinner. At these meetings, Lady Margaret read the Bible and discussed the sermon with them. She also instructed the young ladies of her household in religion,41 as the Countess of Huntingdon had instructed her.

For Lady Margaret, religion pervaded every aspect of life.

One example of this was her sincere conviction that sin caused sickness and ill fortune. Whenever she became ill, she thought it was a punishment for her sins. Her recovery resulted from God's grace and mercy to her. This did not prevent her from taking medicine to cure herself, however, which she often did. When accidents happened to others, Lady Margaret thought it a sign of God's judgment. Once when a servant killed a certain young man, she considered it just retribution for that young man's sin in taking a horse into church and christening him. It was only natural for her to consider plague as God's sentence on England.42
The amount of time spent directly in religious things was more than matched by the activities of her daily life. One most important activity was the management of her household. Lady Margaret directed all phases of it and participated in many jobs herself, giving orders almost every day for the over-all work and ordering the meals, with an eye to proportions in diet. Often she worked in the kitchen and pastry herself, or preserved sweetmeats and fruit, no doubt with the help of others.

The noble lady also made such things as gingerbread. She had a garden in which she worked, raising herbs, flowers, and raspberries, among other things. Lady Hoby kept up with the newest developments by reading herbals and was able to supply herb slips to other people. Her own bees furnished her with honey. Besides cooking and gardening, Lady Margaret presided over the making of candles, saw to the dyeing of cloth, wound yarn, and "wrought" (embroidered) almost every day. She also had to train the young girls who came to her for their education. Then, too, guests meant extra work. Finally, Lady Hoby kept accounts of the expenditures in an account book, paid the bills, and gave the servants their wages.

On top of all of this, Lady Margaret did much toward running the estate. She supervised workmen, both hers and her husband's; saw to the plowing, and to the planting of rye; watched over the haying. When the corn came in, Lady Hoby prepared the grainary for it and received it herself. Later she gave out corn and measured it to see how much was left. Sheep clipping and weighting wool kept her busy in season.
Lady Hoby was the one who received the rents and payments for land, paid the working men, and sealed leases for land. She also had a hand in hiring men. Business of one kind or another filled a large part of her time, both at home and on occasional trips to town. Lady Hoby sometimes discussed the estate with Mr. Hoby and together they inspected farms, often going on horseback. At times they attended to such business as choosing the best places to build cottages in the village.45

Lady Margaret had a real interest in her tenants and parishioners, frequently inviting her tenants to dinner and, along with Mr. Hoby, talking with them afterwards. She took an interested part in discussing what measures were good for the parishioners with Mr. Rhodes and Mr. Hoby. Somehow she even found time to discuss affairs concerning Mr. Hoby's work as a justice of the peace.47

Lady Margaret expended herself for more people than her immediate family and servants. One of her major avenues for doing so was her surgical skill. This was a necessary and usual part of the training of the upper-class girls of Tudor England, for often doctors were scarce and everyone depended on the lady of the manor. She had a variety of cases. Many people called on her to deliver babies. Whenever accidents happened, the victims, whether her servants or not, brought their cuts and bruises to Lady Hoby. She was very kind to her patients, dressing the wounds every day until they healed, and giving some poor woman a salve for her arm, which she probably compounded herself. Her most daring
surgical work, however, was performed for no common case. Someone brought her a child born in Silpho. This child had come into the world with an entrance to his digestive tract, but with no exit. Whoever brought the child wanted Lady Margaret to cut a place to make the needed passage. This she proceeded to do, but though she "Cutt deepe and seearched, there was none to be found."⁴⁷ It is just as well that Lady Margaret did not have many cases like this one.

Lady Margaret carried her Christian charity to others besides those who came to her. She visited a sick man on one of her walks and made some meat to take to a Mr. Proctor. She visited those who appreciated and needed company, such as Mother Rhodes, probably the chaplain's mother. Lady Hoby gave poor people wheat and beef, and even lent money to some poor man. Yet perhaps her greatest charitable action was her kindness to a kinswoman whom she apparently could not like.⁴⁸

Her recreations as such were few in number. Actually, Lady Margaret had very little free time for such things. She enjoyed walking and went almost every day, liking especially to walk in the fields. At one time, Lady Hoby had a picnic there with her mother and friends, though this time her coach provided transportation. Occasionally Lady Margaret exercised on horseback; sometimes she went fishing. Less often she indulged in bowling. Music served both as a pastime and as a religious help, for Lady Hoby played the Alpherion and sang psalms.⁴
Visiting formed almost her whole social life. She often took coach or horse and visited her mother, first at Linton, later at Newton. Sometimes she visited her neighbors. Relatives and friends visited her, especially towards the latter part of the period recorded in her diary. Her real round of visiting occurred when she went to York or to London. When in York she visited Lady Burghley, who had married the eldest son of William Cecil, first Lord Burghley, and was therefore Sir Thomas’s cousin. An abundance of other cousins and friends occupied her time while she was there. 50.

The London trips were the big ones for Lady Margaret. She made three of these from 1599 to 1605: visiting the city from October 1600 to March 1601, from April to June of 1603, and from November, 1604 to February, 1605. At these times Lady Hoby visited her husband’s relatives, beginning with his mother, Lady Russell. Sir Thomas’s cousins reciprocated frequently. Lady Margaret dined with the Bishop of Limbrick and renewed old relationships with her relatives by her first marriages: Lady Sidney, Lady Rich (born a Devereux), Lady Rutland (Lady Margaret’s niece on the Sidney side), Lady Walsingham (who was connected to both Sidneys and Devereuxes through her daughter’s marriages to both Sir Philip Sidney and the Earl of Essex), and Lady Warwick (Lady Russell’s sister-in-law). 51

Hoby’s case with the Eures in the Star Chamber probably occasioned the first visit to London. It is obvious that.
hard feelings still existed. When Mr. Eure came to Lord Burghley's while the Hobys were there, Sir Thomas and his wife left rather than provoke a scene. The Hobys won their suit before their next trip to London, because Lord Eure paid £100 which was appointed them and others to pay, by the Lordes of the priue Counsell in the starr Chamber, for their riot Comitted and vnsiuill behaouour att Hackenes:..."[sic.] 52

The Hobys went to London the second time for the burial of Queen Elizabeth. Then apparently they paid court to the new sovereign and his queen. Plague drove everyone from London, but before returning to Hackness, Lady Margaret got the opportunity to kiss the Queen's hand. 53

Trips to York and London afforded two other advantages. One was the opportunity to take physic and the other was to hear the eminent preachers. Lady Margaret, on her trip to York in 1600 had talks with her physician and took physic regularly. She experienced at least one blood-letting on this excursion. On her London visits she went on Sunday to services at Westminster; then, in the afternoon, she attended Stephen Egerton's lectures in Blackfriars. She also got to visit with eminent divines, for Dr. Perkins called on her on at least one occasion. 54

Lady Margaret made a life for herself centered around her religion, her household, and her inherited estate. She never had children 55 on whom to bestow her affections and, with her strong Puritan training, she naturally turned to religion as her main concern in life. Her Household and estates gave
her an outlet in which to be both independent and useful, and of which she used fully.

Her relationship to her husband is one of the most intriguing questions her diary raises. Comparison of the beginning and the end show a definite change towards Mr. Hoby. By 1605, Lady Margaret had come to use the words "we" and "our" instead of the "I" and "my" of the earlier years. This seems to indicate a definite feeling of warmth in the last part, as though her troubles were lessening and life becoming more enjoyable.

Troubles she did have, and in these times she turned more strongly to her prayers and meditations. Unfortunately, she did not name her particular sins and temptations, but the diary contains enough evidence to give some support as to the nature of one temptation. This temptation presented itself in the form of Mr. Rhodes. Dorothy Mead also considers this likely. Lady Margaret had two husbands, both presumably attractive men, and she had definitely loved one of them. Then necessity forced Sir Thomas Posthumus Hoby upon her. She had rejected all idea of even seeing him again, much less of marrying him, when her circumstances turned in his favor. Therefore she certainly did not like him when she married him. Close connection with Sir Thomas could not bring about an immediate liking for her either. Though he may have been kind, his small size and his assertiveness must have been repulsive to Margaret, who could get along with people much
better than he could. She had visited Lady Bure in spite of the fact that the Bures were Catholic and, when young William created such a stir, she still managed to behave graciously to him. This is one of the few points on which both Sir Thomas and William Bure agreed. Then too, her husband's aggressiveness towards her, which evidenced itself in his earnest desire to have the lands made over to him jointly with her, led to strained relations. At one time, they wrote to each other even though they were both at home. 59

During much of the period of the diary, Mr. Rhodes served as a chaplain of some sort in the household. No doubt he could easily have surpassed Sir Thomas in manliness. Also, he was a devout Puritan. Sir Thomas was away a great deal and Mr. Rhodes naturally had much contact with Lady Margaret. One typical page early in the diary refers to Mr. Rhodes five times and to Mr. Hoby twice. They read about and discussed religion together, prayed together. 60 They must have had a great deal in common. Probably nothing ever happened between the two, but the things left off the page make a certain nebulous impact upon the reader of Margaret's diary. After reading from the beginning, a certain line on page one hundred twenty-four makes a definite impression. "in the Morninge, Mr Rhodes Cominge vp to me, I desired him to pray with me:..." 61 This has no effect out of context, yet the impression on an interested reader is that Lady Margaret felt a definite emotion and a definite need to call on her God at that particular moment.
There is a certain pattern and interconnection between Lady Margaret's acceptance of Mr. Hoby and Mr. Rhodes' life. The first time she spoke of Sir Thomas as her husband was six months after Mr. Rhodes discussed his coming marriage with her. After his first wife's death, Mr. Rhodes was again with the Hobys for a while. Much later, Satan's buffets disturbed Lady Margaret deeply, at a time when Mr. Rhodes must have been there. Mr. Rhodes met a girl who came to Lady Hoby in August, 1602. By December the girl's father and Mr. Rhodes concluded the marriage of Mercie to Mr. Rhodes. Margaret had fewer troubles after this, for Mr. Rhodes now had a home of his own. Relations between the two households were friendly, for the Rhodeses dined with the Hobys. After this Lady Margaret begged God for "that blissinge wch yet I want." If it was a child she had in mind, it was the first time she expressed her wish in her diary, though she may have wanted one sooner. This wish implies the acceptance of Mr. Hoby as the father of her child.

Two other things probably contributed to her greater acceptance of Mr. Hoby. Both these occurred in less than a year, and so probably had the greater impact on her. One was William Bure's conduct when he came to Hackness in August, 1600, a visit that resulted in a suit in the Star Chamber. When he spoke to her, he was so drunk that she gave up trying to talk to him. After this the journey to London gave her a closer association with her husband. Her joy when Lord
Bure paid them for the trouble shows that she had aided with her husband on this matter.64

The other thing happened while she was in London because of the case against the Bures. This was the treason of the Earl of Essex, which she considered as such. Still, it was a jolt to her. Just before this Lady Margaret had visited some of the women who were concerned with him as they were members of his family. She apparently liked these women; certainly earlier, in 1596, she proved that she liked the Earl of Essex for she wrote to Robert Cecil on his behalf. At any rate, she became ill the day Essex's treason began and remained that way until the case was decided.65

The comparison of William Bure and the Earl of Essex to Sir Thomas Posthumus Hoby was favorable to Sir Thomas for the first time. Mr. Hoby did not drink and he did not plot treason. The handsome men of the day had shown their flaws, and perhaps Lady Margaret saw her husband in a new light. There is a definite improvement in the relationship between the two from this point on.

By the end of the period of her diary, Lady Margaret's life as reflected in the diary was richer in friends, more tranquil in its acceptance of circumstances, and more developed in human relations. Lady Margaret had learned to live with both herself and her husband. It was her religion which gave her the strength to win through to this.
Chapter II

"She was long regarded a queen in the north, and her foundations and benefactions seem to argue a revenue little less than royal. She founded two hospitals, and repaired or built seven churches and six castles." This is the record left by Lady Anne Clifford in the county records of Yorkshire. Before she managed to do any of this, she was fifty-nine years old.

Anne Clifford was born at Skipton Castle on January 30, 1590, the daughter of George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, and the former Margaret Russell. George Clifford was an interesting man, extremely complex. He represented one of the oldest families in the North and was handsome, strong, intelligent, courageous, courtly, and a favorite of Queen Elizabeth. His wife was a member of an extraordinary family from which she inherited brains, initiative, and determination.

The Earl of Bedford had arranged the marriage of his daughter, Margaret, to his ward, George Clifford. Unfortunately the two simply did not suit each other. George Clifford enjoyed horse-racing, tilting, boating, and other sports; Margaret was religious, conscientious, and a great reader. Perhaps they could have managed, but the privateering bug bit George and from 1586 to 1598 he made twelve voyages for the sake of money and the Queen's favor. Though his aim was money, he did not plan his voyages very well, and while his daughter
thought him well-beloved by everyone, men such as John Chamberlain felt that someone else could do a better job in maritime or military positions than he could. These voyages of his necessitated long absences from home. He was away from his wife at the death of both their young sons and at Anne’s birth. This left a terrible burden on Margaret. The distance apart of the couple in actual space and in personality, aggravated by sorrow, the Earl’s high position at Court and importance in English affairs, and his unfaithfulness, lead to a separation. Margaret journeyed to London, where she lived most of the time with her sister, Lady Warwick, in Austin Friars. 69

Apparently Lady Anne spent some time with each of her parents, and both of them took an interest in her education, though Margaret Clifford and her sister were the most concerned with it. Presumably the only instruction of her father having to do with her education was that she should obtain all-acceptable knowledge, but that she should learn it only in the English language. He did not want her to study Greek or Latin, but she did have French. 70

Lady Anne had both a governess, Mrs. Taylor, who taught her a love of religion as well as knowledge, and a tutor, Samuel Daniel. Mr. Daniel was a famous poet and historian who had much to do with the development of Lady Anne’s literary taste and feeling for history. Margaret Clifford and Lady Warwick must have influenced her in this a great deal also,
for they were both well-educated, intelligent women. Lady Anne had a dance instructor and a music teacher too, who instructed her in some of the finer graces. In the main, however, her education was serious. Early readings included such light things as the works of Sidney, Spenser, and Chaucer, and *Don Quixote*; on the more serious side she read Epictetus, Boethius, the writings of St. Augustine, the *Works* of Ovid, Eusebius's *History of the Church*, Montaigne's *Essays*, the French Academy in three volumes, and Cornelius Agrippa's work on the vanity of science.

After spending some time in the country with old Mr. Elmes and his wife to strengthen her health (where she learned to love country life) Anne Clifford went up to London, where she lived on Clerkenwell Green. Her mother thought this house in the suburbs would be better for her than a house in town. Here she began her social life. She held an assured social position, very much because of her aunt. Lady Warwick was the widow of Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick. She served Queen Elizabeth as Maid of Honour before her marriage, and afterwards she returned to serve her mistress as a lady of the bedchamber. She was influential, clever, and one of Elizabeth's closest friends. Anne herself states that the Queen loved her and that her Aunt Warwick would have procured a place for her in the Privy Chamber if the Queen had not died when Anne was still too young. She often was at the Court at Christmas time, sometimes staying in her aunt's room on a pallet.
Besides visiting her aunt and the Court, Anne visited the Countesses of Northumberland and Derby, and Lady Scroope, going in their coaches. They, along with Lady Warwick, often gave her presents, which were quite useful. Her account books show that her expenditure for the two-year period from August, 1600 to August, 1602, was £35. 13s. 3d. The receipts totaled £38. 12s. 1d, a large proportion of which was made up of gifts from friends.

Her account books also give an insight into both her life and her character. Elementary deduction shows that Lady Anne gave parties, or masques, of her own with attendant musicians. She played the virginal, and shot with a crossbow. She had small pictures which she treasured, one golden and another which she kept in an ivory box. Her clothing varied from Holland smocks and jersey stockings to lawn and silk, depending on the occasion. With a varied life she was also experimental, for at one time she even bought some little silkworms. Her rewards and presents to servants and friends demonstrate the beginning of the liking to give presents, which lasted all her life. At least one-fourth of her small allowance went for gifts.

Queen Elizabeth's death greatly unsettled Anne's family. Anne and her mother moved to join her Aunt Warwick at Austin Friars for safety in case there were trouble. Lady Warwick attended Elizabeth until she died, and Margaret Clifford was one of the women who watched beside the Queen's body. Anne was the only one left out of the activities, for she was too young to watch and too short to take part in the funeral procession.
With the advent of James I and his Queen, Anne followed the Court with her mother. It was a gay time and in this period Anne formed a close friendship with her cousin, Frances Bouchier. Once when Margaret Clifford was punishing Anne, Frances sneaked into her room and spent the night with her. Anne really loved her cousin for this. 76

In spite of the festivities, things had changed for the family. Lady Warwick no longer held so prominent a position as before, and though the king was very gracious to her and to Margaret Clifford, even Anne could feel the difference. By 1605, however, Lady Anne was a friend of Lady Arabella Stuart, so things apparently improved somewhat for her as far as relations to the royal family were concerned. 77

During the spring of 1603 Anne's father occasionally visited them at Clerkenwell, but not often. At least he still kept up the house. Later on the relations between him and his wife grew worse and whenever they met, they showed their dislike for one another, although he still had an interest in his daughter and respect for his wife. A letter of Lady Anne's in 1605 shows that she was with her father at the time. She discussed a marriage proposal with him, and he agreed to do nothing without Lady Margaret's consent. 78

The separation of her parents had a deep effect on Lady Anne. She found it hard to obey the commands of both, for sometimes they were in opposition. When away from her mother, she kept her informed through letters and footmen. The reconciliation of her father and mother when George
Clifford lay dying was a relief to Anne, for she loved and respected both of them, especially her mother. Anne knew what a difficult time her mother had endured because of separation. 79

Though Anne welcomed the reconciliation, she could not welcome the results of her father’s death. In spite of entails on the estate dating from the time of Edward I and later enforced by Edward II and by Parliament during Henry VIII’s reign, the Earl of Cumberland left his lands to his brother Francis. He had good reasons for doing so. Francis had enough lands and money of his own to clear the mortgages on the property which George had contracted. He also thought that the estate should be with the male line. Anne could not inherit the Earldom, and he did not realize that she could inherit the barony of Clifford. He left his daughter £15,000 to come from several lands, leases, and a licence. Anne was to receive the lands only if his brother’s male line failed. 80

Lady Margaret objected, feeling that her husband had wronged their child. She made it the object of her life to win the estates for her daughter. She began a search of all the family records of the Veteriponts, Vesceys, and Cliffords to support Anne’s claim. The result was the greatest mass of documents of any family in England. In 1607 Margaret took Anne on a tour of the northern lands to see what was rightfully hers. The Earl Francis kept them from Skipton,
but they saw much of the estates elsewhere. In 1608 the pleadings began in the Court of Wards. Lady Anne undoubtedly agreed with her mother's position, for she always spoke of her father as the last Clifford to possess the estates rightfully. She was proud of her mother's determination to get the lands, for which Margaret Clifford went to law against Earl Francis until her death in 1617.81

February 25, 1610, Anne married Richard Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, privately at her mother's house in Austin Friars. Three days later she was a Countess, because Richard's father died, making Richard the new Earl of Dorset. Through this she also became mistress of Knole, one of England's greatest houses.82

The new Earl of Dorset was handsome, gracious, vigorous, a courtier, and a great friend of Prince Henry. He had a sparkling wit, backed by learning, and was obliging, discerning, generous, and honourable. Unfortunately, placing no restraint on his appetite for pleasure, he spent a great deal of money, most of his fortune, in court activities such as masques and tiltings, and in housekeeping. The Earl helped entertain the ambassadors of France and Spain, which necessarily cost him much. He loved rich clothes, for Chamberlain remarked that at one wedding the Earl of Dorset surpassed everyone in dress. Dorset cared for his wife deeply and Lady Anne appreciated the good qualities of her husband, but his bad ones led to trouble.83
Lady Anne and her mother naturally continued the case against the new Earl of Cumberland to get the lands. The suit went to Common Pleas and finally James I himself tried to arbitrate. To Anne's dismay, Dorset did not assist her. The Earl of Cumberland offered a generous settlement of £20,000, which was to be paid in installments. Dorset needed money and this was in a form more useful than the estates in the uncertainty of their disposition could be. Lord Dorset was determined to make Anne see reason in this thing. Anne was equally determined to have her rights. If it had not been for her mother, she might have given way, but Anne's mother was not emotionally involved with Anne's husband and she stood firm.

Lord Dorset tried every means to "convince" his wife. At times he lived in London, while Lady Anne remained in seclusion at Knole; he threatened to go to France; he sent her into the North to Brougham to talk to her mother and almost left her there; he allowed the king to arbitrate; worst of all, he took Lady Anne's child away from her for a while. All of her friends begged her to give in, including the Archbishop of Canterbury and her relatives. The agony suffered and the misery endured reveal themselves in her diary. Her mother was far away and she was very much alone. Anne wanted to please her husband, whom she loved. Yet she stood firm, refusing to accept the arbitration of James, which infuriated the king, though the Queen was sympathetic enough to advise her to
withstand him. Finally, King James settled the case, still without Anne's consent, in favor of Francis, Earl of Cumberland, by granting the reversion of the lands by patent to him.85

Lady Anne tried to please her husband, but she would not be coerced. When Dorset tried to get her to give the rights of the Westmoreland lands to him and the child, enforcing his wish by sending her to Knole immediately, Anne refused to give in. This brought her Lord from London in double time. Using a more loving approach, he persuaded her to give the inheritance to him if she had no heirs, promising to be a good and kind husband. Anne yielded to this.86

Lady Anne's life during this period varied from sad to almost happy. Her mother died in 1617, which was a severe blow, but Dorset made it easier both by his kindness and by supporting the claim to her mother's lands. His moods varied, however. Sometimes he would not allow her to accompany him to London; then again he had her with him when he was at Court. He admitted that he loved and respected Anne in everything except her attitude towards the lands.87 This wear and tear of relationships to her husband, caused by stubborn insistence on her rights, was what made life so hard.

When things became difficult, Lady Anne turned to religion and to reading. Her prayers were especially helpful, for she prayed often after people tried to persuade her to give in. Reading provided something with which to occupy her mind.
Often she occupied hands and mind by embroidering while someone else read aloud. During this period she turned to Montaigne's *Essays* and *Plays*, a history of the Netherlands, the *Fairy Queen*, Sandys' book on the government of the Turks, the Bible (especially the Old Testament), a lady's *Book of Praise* of the solitary life, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and *Leicester's Commonwealth*.

When in Dorset's good graces, her recreation took on more variety. During early married life she had taken part in masques; now when at Court who went to see them. Lady Anne saw plays, such as the *Mad Lover*, privately in friends' homes. She visited Lady Carey, Lady Rich, the Lady of Northumberland, the Queen, and even such suspect persons as Lady Somerset. She ate with her friends, went with them to the homes of other friends, talked, and played games such as Glecko. When at home with her husband when he was in a kind mood, the two of them played Burley Brake on the bowling green, sat quietly together, or ate together. Occasionally he stayed with her.

Lady Anne's interest in clothes manifested itself mainly when her husband was with her or when she was in London. While alone at Knole she wore a black taffeta nightgown and a yellow taffeta waistcoat. While Dorset was with her, she wore her white satin gown and white waistcoat and, when going up to London, she got a new gown. Her Court attire was a gown of embroidered green damask.

Lady Anne probably ran the establishment at Knole, for occasionally she wrote of working, accepting the deer meat.
sent in, or gathering cherries. More often she mentioned embroidery or cooking. Part of her embroidery became presents for friends. Anne must have enjoyed cooking, for she made such things as rosemary cakes, marmelade of quince, and pancakes. 91

One of her chief interests was her child, Margaret Sackville, who was born in 1614 and named in honour of Margaret Clifford. Anne's letters to her mother are full of motherly concern about cutting teeth, the proper wet nurse, the liveliness of the baby, and how sweet the little girl looked in the tiny gloves Margaret Clifford sent her. In the diary Lady Anne records the progress of the child: the first time she wore a whalebone bodice, the first time the baby had a coat laced with real lace, the first time she cut the strings off her coats and let her walk with togs alone; the appearance of teeth; her sicknesses with the attendant sleepless nights for Lady Anne; the first time the child slept with her mother; the excursions when little Margaret rode on a piebald nag. She loved the child deeply and when Dorset took the little girl from her, she let her go without a fuss so as not to hurt her. 92

By 1619, the uncertain state with her husband had definitely taken its toll on Lady Anne. She was sick a great deal of the year. On Good Friday she had a spell of weeping and felt so troubled that she did not want to take Communion. Her husband put it off for the whole household out of consideration for
her. There were other sicknesses, and from October, 1619, to March, 1620, she kept to her own room. The Earl was kind to her in this period. He even stayed at Knole two extra days so that he could be with her for their tenth wedding anniversary. While Notestein is partly correct in saying that her illness resulted from her mental distress, a desire to punish her husband, and an attempt to win sympathy, a most important factor in her troubles was the birth and death of her first son in that year.93

Between 1619 and 1622 Lady Anne had two more sons, both of whom died in infancy. In 1622 she had another daughter, Isabella. Then, on March 28, 1624, Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset, died. He had written to her that very day saying that he was improving and for her not to come. Lady Anne, who was nursing her little girl at the time, soon was sick herself with smallpox and could not go anywhere. Dorset's death was a blow to her, for in spite of their difficulties she both loved and respected him.94

Lady Anne was a widow for six years, two months, and four or five days. For a while immediately following her husband's death, no one was sure that she would live. Lady Anne got well, but her face was marred and she decided not to remarry. She spent most of the time of her widowhood with her daughter in London. The second daughter in Buckinghamshire, Sussex, big family event of this time was the marriage of her daughter, Margaret, to John Tufton, later Earl of Thanet, in 1629. During all this time she still fought for her rights. In
August, 1628, Lady Anne put claims through law and advice of council to maintain her right to the inheritance lands of Craven and Westmoreland. Before that in April, 1628, she had petitioned the king to acknowledge her claim to the dignities of Clifford, Westmoreland, and Vesey and to order the Earl of Cumberland and his son to stop styling themselves by these names. 95

During her widowhood she had other problems besides the old ones caused by her father's will. Richard Sackville's brother did not like Anne and the feeling was mutual. At one time thieves almost robbed Lady Anne, but someone saw them entering her house. Anne felt sure that this was instituted by a great man and enemy, presumably her brother-in-law. 96

She married her second husband June 3, 1630, at Chenies in Buckinghamshire. Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery and Pembroke, was the complete opposite of Lady Anne. He cared for little besides horses and dogs; his moral character and language were bad; he was contemptuous of study and culture, ungracious, false, cowardly, flippant. The two managed to live together four years and six months. After that, the marriage failed completely. Lady Anne had to petition Secretary Windebank in order to obtain the use of one of her husband's houses when she went to London. During this time at least one friend, her cousin, the Earl of Bedford, stood by her and she found consolation in her books and children. 97
While Lady Anne may have been taken in by Lord Herbert's good looks or have been swept off her feet, the most likely explanation is that she needed a friend at Court who had influence, both to keep the new Earl of Dorset from seizing her portion from her former husband and to help her with the old inheritance problems. Anne said that this marriage foiled her enemies, and when she made claims for her estates in 1632-4 and in 1637, Lord Herbert signed the papers with her. Finally, husband number two served one more purpose. When the Civil War broke out, Lady Anne was comparatively safe even though she was a royalist, for Pembroke was a Parliamentarian. 98

In 1644 the last Earl of Cumberland died. Anne waited five years before she went North to the lands she had finally obtained. The Civil War made it unsafe to leave London; she was a royalist, which doubled her danger; her health was poor; and her second daughter was in the midst of choosing a husband. Isabella married in 1647 and in 1649 Lady Anne went North to Skipton Castle. Her last matrimonial tie dissolved that same year with Philip Herbert's extinction and she was free. 99

This was the beginning of the happiest period of Lady Anne's life. For the first time, she had a full job on her hands. Of all her castles Skipton was in the best condition and of that only the long gallery was possibly habitable, for Skipton had withstood a siege during the war. In 1651, Lady Anne began repairs on Skipton and Appleby. Appleby was ready eleven years later. She restored Brough and Brougham. Pendragon, which had been a ruin for one hundred years, was ready by 1663. She even
repaired Barden's Tower, which belonged to her cousin, the
Countess of Cork. Nothing could stop her mania for building.
When told that Cromwell would pull her castles down, Anne
replied that she would build them again. Cromwell, hearing
this, said that he would certainly not interfere. It was a good
thing he did not. Her restorations cost £40,000.100

Putting her estates in order involved more than buildings.
Lady Anne's tenants had taken advantage of the struggles and
the Civil War could hardly have heaped bounty on them. She
had kept in touch during her first marriage, but this contact
was not enough. Lady Anne tried to be fair, but the tenants
took advantage of her. Characteristically she refused to
surrender her rights. One case in particular illustrates this.
Eight hundred boon hens went with Skipton and had for four
hundred years. A clothier from Halifax named Murgatroyd bought
a tenement in the Skipton district and refused to pay the boon
hen which he owed. That hen was Lady Anne's ancient right.
She took the case to the Assizes of York and, after spending
£200, got her hen. Then Lady Anne invited Murgatroyd to a
dinner at which the hen was the feature attraction.101

Lady Anne was a very religious person. Every morning she
heard a chapter of the Bible and the morning prayers read.
Anglican to the core, she heard the liturgy of the Church of
England no matter what else went on in the kingdom. Furthermore,
she put her Christianity into practice, repairing or rebuilding
the churches and chapels around her lands and keeping up two
almshouses, one established by her mother at Bealmsley and another set up at Appleby by Lady Anne. She took a keen interest in them and was personally responsible for the woman who got into them. Lady Anne sent boys to college, pensioned clergymen, built a grammar school, endowed a moot hall for Appleby. Perhaps one of her most gracious charities was the care she took of two illegitimate daughters of her first husband. One died young, but Lady Anne married the other to a clergyman and gave the bride a portion.102

She still liked to give presents. Her new year's gifts to servants were sometimes double their annual salary. Lady Anne also rewarded those who did things for her who were not her servants. When receiving people, she gave gifts. Every Monday morning her servants distributed ten shillings to twenty poor householders of the neighborhood where she was staying. Her Will continued her giving.103 She must have enjoyed thinking of the delight some of those final gifts would bring.

She continued her interest in reading and stayed abreast of the times. Her contemporaries' works rested on her shelves as well as the ancients'. Lady Anne read the works of men such as Ben Jonson, Joseph Hall, Sir Henry Wotton (who wrote Elements of Architecture), Gerard's Herbal, Guiccardini's History, George Herbert, Henry Moore, and many religious books. She still leaned heavily on Chaucer, however, probably because his human sympathies and the historical interest appealed to her. When reading bits of things that she liked, Lady Anne had them
copied and pinned around her chamber, thus learning them. This fitted her for the conversation with the great men of the day. Doctor Donne visited her during the first marriage; George Herbert lived near by for a year during her second. All of this plus her wide experience made Lady Anne an interesting conversationalist. Doctor John Donne remarked that she could talk about anything from predestination to silk. Lady Anne probably could have done equally well speaking "of shoes—and ships—and sealing wax—of cabbages—and kings." Lady Anne was a born matriarch. She fitted naturally into the setting of castles in which she lived a feudal existence. When moving from one of her castles to another, Lady Anne went in state. She traveled in her horse litter, the ladies of her family went in her six-horse coach, the men rode horseback, the women servants had another coach, and all of the furnishings needed followed in carts in the rear. Sometimes she even required the presence of her neighbors and friends. Lady Anne got her way because she was High Sheriff of the county and the lady of the manor. When they arrived at her destination, she received all her guests singly and then allowed them to return home. Her position, combined with her native disposition, was a positive benefit economically to the North country. She insisted on buying everything locally. Whether it was hay, or cloth, or Virginia tobacco, Lady Anne felt that her own people should profit, and not the London merchants.
Her hospitality was marvelously Elizabethan, even in Restoration England. Travelers stopped by for a day or so, neighbors dropped in, the judges up for assizes found rooms with her, and her family came periodically. Lady Anne liked to discover coincidences in placing her guests in rooms where perhaps an ancestor of theirs had stayed.108

One of the wonderful things about her hospitality was her kindness to those beneath her on the social scale. Lady Anne never forgot her position or her dignity, but neither did she allow it to interfere with her contact with people. She had at least one former servant as a guest several times and invited the women of her almshouses to dinner, even reciprocating by visiting them.109

Lady Anne exercised her authority as great lady in elections. In one particular Parliamentary election for Appleby, a young man named Williamson aspired to the position of its representative. Everyone concerned was for him—except Lady Anne, who had promised it to one of her grandchildren. Williamson and his supporters tried in every way to change Lady Anne's mind, but to no avail. Finally one of Charles II's Secretaries of State wrote asking her to support Williamson. Lady Anne replied graciously that she was sorry, but she felt sure that a man as important as a Secretary of State could find another seat for the young man.110

Lady Anne had a deep sense of her position, but she did not bother with external signs. Her clothes were good, but inconspicuous, made of black serge. Most of the girls of her house dressed better than she did.111
Lady Anne was extremely interested in the records of her family. As early as her first marriage she had begun to compile the tales of the sea voyages made by her father. Later she avidly collected records in London of the family and finally had three large books on ancestors complete. Lady Anne busied herself in preserving the memories of the most recent members of the family in stone. She erected monuments for her mother and herself in Appleby church and placed a stone pillar to mark the spot of her last parting with her mother. At her castles and restorations, Lady Anne left inscriptions commemorating her activity. Even when she erected monuments to people other than her family, Lady Anne had her name placed on them. Both Samuel Daniel and Edmund Spenser received such monuments. Interestingly, Lady Anne's was the first monument erected to Spenser.112

Lady Anne was a restless soul, always on the move. She traveled from castle to castle and always went over the most untraveled roads available. She had an inordinate desire to go where no one else had been. "In a coach she was pulled over roads that one would hesitate to traverse today in a car with good brakes."113 On these travels she even managed to combine her love of giving and of family history with her urge to move.114

Lady Anne's whole life was a search for security, which she finally found in the last quarter of it. Everything previous to that was one vast insecurity shaded with sadness.
To begin with, the dispute between her parents disrupted early life. Then there were long years of uncertainty about the outcome of the inheritance case. Anne's relations with her first husband were rather well ruined by the controversy. During her widowhood, she felt the dangers of a grasping brother-in-law; her second marriage was more disastrous than her first.

Lady Anne desperately wanted a happy marriage. She had seen at first hand an unhappy one. She tried unceasingly to please her first husband, and her happiness when he condescended to be kind is pathetic. But Lady Anne could not allow this search for the secureness of a happy marriage to destroy her as a person or cause her to sacrifice her rights. She typified the new emergence of women in this period, and her husband did not quite know what to do with his independent wife. Still more Lady Anne had to cope with the struggle within herself of the old and new woman. Then too, she was the last of a long line of noble ancestors which she could not betray by a weak resignation of her right.

The feat of sheer moral courage Lady Anne displayed in dealings with her first husband over her lands is doubly marvelous because Anne happened to love him. Dorset had good qualities, but more important, he reminded her of her father, whom she admired and loved. Both were courtiers, vital men busy in affairs, active in sports, manly.
During at least part of the time, Anne had her mother for moral support. Margaret Clifford meant more to Lady Anne than any other person did, for Anne loved and admired her in every respect. But with Margaret's death she was left alone. Her illness in the year 1619 was partly a result of the strain of her marriage relations, partly occasioned by the birth and loss of her first son, partly an attempt to win her husband's sympathy, and partly the result of being in a life unsuited to her. Her feeling of aloneness aggravated this still further. Yearning for sympathy, Lady Anne turned even to her servants.

Finally Lady Anne got her rightful inheritance and her freedom from her last husband. No longer a small, frightened woman alone in a hostile world, but holder of the highest place in her own world, she began to really live and work. She had finally found the security lacking in her life and the scope in which to develop. Lady Anne was in a position to rebuild, to give, to enjoy people as much and as often as she wished.

During the difficult times of her earlier life, she had found security only in the past. Her interest in records shows the value Lady Anne placed on her family history. This history was illustrious enough to give her a feeling of being a part of something of worth, something innately hers. Her liking for noting coincidences was a way of associating herself with a real and solid past. The rebuilding and monuments of the last years were attempts to project both the past and her own time into the future, a further form of security.
The final years mellowed Lady Anne. She could look back with no animosity to father, husbands, uncle, or cousin. She could accept the changes of her time with equanimity, though Lady Anne herself kept to the old ways. She commanded respect and obedience without making either burdensome to others, for Lady Anne gave of herself more than she took from others. Indeed, Fuller in his Worthies found the most noteworthy thing about her to be her giving.

Lady Anne was indomitable. She had always a determination to keep going, even on the last day of her life. Throughout her life she remained loyal to her family and her heritage, never relinquishing her rights. If ever a motto served and described any one, hers expressed her.

Preserve your loyalty
Defend your rights.
Margaret Hoby and Anne Clifford were both fascinating women. Lady Anne is much easier to see and picture, for she was much more vocal about what troubled her. Lady Margaret kept the most interesting personal things unsaid, but she left a much better picture of her everyday life.

The lives of the two were similar and yet different. Both had unhappy marriages and land problems with their husbands, though Lady Margaret's was more like a mosquito sting when compared to Lady Anne's. Sir Thomas could not force his wife to give him the lands; the Earl of Dorset could try. What made it even harder for Lady Anne was the fact that she loved her first husband and thus suffered more because of her vulnerability. Lady Margaret had no such problems. Both found satisfaction in religion, reading, and estates, but in different ways and degrees. Margaret was a Puritan, though a more tolerant one; Lady Anne was Anglican. Margaret read mainly Puritan books on religion; Anne read practically everything. Margaret, along with her husband, managed her estate of Hackness; Anne managed most of her county, and did it by herself.

The two women were products of their time, yet each tried to rise above the social system of her day. The threat of losing Hackness soon forced Lady Margaret to marry as she would not. Gradually she came to accept her life and to develop in its framework. Lady Anne never gave in entirely.
during her two marriages. When she finally became free of her matrimonial bonds, Lady Anne made a life for herself of her own choosing, filling a man's role in regard to her estates, yet never losing her womanliness. Their effect on history was not great, but their own worlds were better because they lived in them.