



A BIOGRAPHICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF EARLY MODERN ENGLISHWOMEN

Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts, 1500–1650

Edited by Carole Levin, Anna Riehl Bertolet, and Jo Eldridge Carney

A BIOGRAPHICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF EARLY MODERN ENGLISHWOMEN

From the exemplary to the notorious to the obscure, this comprehensive and innovative encyclopedia showcases the worthy women of early modern England. Poets, princesses, or pirates, the women of power and agency found in these pages are indeed worth knowing, and this volume will introduce many female figures to even the most established scholars in early modern studies. Rather than using the conventional alphabetical format of the standard biographical encyclopedia, this volume is divided into categories of women. Since many women will fit in more than one category, each woman is placed in the category that best exemplifies her life, and is cross referenced in other appropriate sections. This structure makes the book an interesting read for seasoned scholars of early modern women, while students need not already be familiar with these subjects in order to benefit from the text. Another unusual feature of this reference work is that each entry begins with some incident from the woman's life that is particularly exciting or significant. Some entries are very brief while others are extensive. Each includes a source listing. The book is well illustrated and liberally sprinkled with quotations of the time either by or about the women in the text.

Carole Levin is Willa Cather Professor of History and Director of the Medieval and Renaissance Studies Program at the University of Nebraska, USA.

Anna Riehl Bertolet is Associate Professor of English at Auburn University, USA.

Jo Eldridge Carney is Professor of English at The College of New Jersey, USA.

A BIOGRAPHICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF EARLY MODERN ENGLISHWOMEN

Exemplary lives and memorable acts,
1500–1650

Edited by
Carole Levin, Anna Riehl Bertolet,
and Jo Eldridge Carney

First published 2017
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2017 selection and editorial matter, Carole Levin, Anna Riehl Bertolet,
and Jo Eldridge Carney; individual chapters, the contributors

The right of Carole Levin, Anna Riehl Bertolet, and Jo Eldridge Carney to
be identified as the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for
their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77
and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or
utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now
known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in
any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing
from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or
registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation
without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Levin, Carole, 1948– editor. | Bertolet, Anna Riehl, 1970– editor. |
Carney, Jo Eldridge, 1954– editor.

Title: A biographical encyclopedia of early modern Englishwomen :
exemplary lives and memorable acts, 1500–1650 / edited by Carole
Levin, Anna Riehl Bertolet, and Jo Eldridge Carney.

Description: New York : Routledge, [2017] | Includes bibliographical
references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016026065 | ISBN 9780754669005 (alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: Women—England—Biography—Encyclopedias. |
Women—England—History—Renaissance, 1450–1600—
Biography—Encyclopedias. | Women—England—History—
17th century—Biography—Encyclopedias.

Classification: LCC CT3320 .B56 2017 | DDC 920.720942—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2016026065>

ISBN: 978-0-7546-6900-5 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-3154-4072-9 (ebk)

Typeset in Bembo
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

In appreciation for their excellence in supporting the Medieval and Renaissance Studies Program at the University of Nebraska, this book is dedicated to the wonderful graduate assistants in the program: Nathan Probasco, Cassandra Auble, Alyson Alvarez, Andrea Nichols, and Angela Bolen.

Carole

To Helen Silverstein, my dear friend and a woman whose life force is so powerful and multidimensional that it could fill a biographical dictionary of its own.

Any

With love for Eleanor Mackay Carney, free spirit, pure joy, and a “worthy woman” in progress.

Jo

CONTENTS

<i>List of illustrations</i>	xxvi
<i>Preface</i>	xxix
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xxx
1 Artists, musicians, and entertainers	1
<i>Mary Cradock Beale (1633–1699)</i>	1
<i>Susanna Horenbout [Hornebolte] Parker Gilman (ca. 1503–ca. 1554)</i>	3
<i>Esther Inglis Kello (1571–1624)</i>	4
<i>Jane the Fool (fl. 1540s–1550s)</i>	5
<i>Susanna Perwich (1636–1661)</i>	5
<i>Levina Benninck Teerlinc (ca. 1510–1576)</i>	7
<i>Thomasina (fl. 1577–1603)</i>	8
2 Criminals	9
<i>Elizabeth Abbot (d. 1608)</i>	9
<i>Alice Arden (1516–1551)</i>	10
<i>Elizabeth Barnes (d. 1637)</i>	11
<i>Mary Baynton (b. 1518)</i>	12
<i>Ann Bridgestone (fl. 1650)</i>	12
<i>Mabel Brigge (d. 1538)</i>	13
<i>Margaret Cheyne Bulmer (d. 1537)</i>	14
<i>Elizabeth Caldwell (d. 1603)</i>	15
<i>Rebecca Chamber (d. 1571)</i>	15
<i>Mary Champion (d. 1647)</i>	16
<i>Alice Clarke (d. 1635)</i>	16
<i>Alice Cowland (fl. 1549)</i>	17
<i>Elizabeth Crofte (fl. 1554)</i>	17

<i>Alice Davis</i> (d. 1629)	18
<i>Margaret Davy [Davie]</i> (d. 1542)	19
<i>Annis Dell</i> (d. 1606)	19
<i>Katherine Stamford Downes</i> (fl. 1643)	20
<i>Anne Drewry [Drurie, Calfield]</i> (d. 1573)	20
<i>Elizabeth Evans</i> ["Canberry Bess"] (d. 1635)	21
<i>Margaret Ferneseede</i> (d. 1608)	22
<i>Katherine Ferrers Fanshawe</i> (1634–1660)	22
<i>Katherine Francis</i> (d. 1629)	23
<i>Mary Frith</i> ["Moll Cutpurse"] (ca. 1584–1659)	23
<i>Anne Greene</i> (b. 1628, hanged 1650, d. 1659)	24
<i>Anne Gunter</i> (b. 1584)	25
<i>Anne Hamton</i> (fl. 1641)	26
<i>Jane Hattersley</i> (d. 1609)	27
<i>Petronella Brightred Hayward</i> (fl. 1580s)	28
<i>Joan Helliker</i> (fl. 1603)	28
<i>Frances Howard Devereux Carr, Countess of Essex and Somerset</i> (1592–1632)	28
<i>Agnes Cotell Hungerford</i> (1470–1523)	29
<i>Mary Ryder Lake</i> (1575–1643)	30
<i>Mary Osborne</i> (fl. 1580)	31
<i>Eulalia Glanfield Page</i> (d. 1591)	31
<i>Ellen Pendleton [Flodder]</i> (d. 1616)	32
<i>Judith Phelps</i> (fl. 1594)	33
<i>Ann Lake Cecil Rodney, Lady Ros</i> (1600–1630)	34
<i>Anne Saunders</i> (d. 1573)	35
<i>Martha Scambler</i> (d. 1614)	35
<i>Frances Brydges Throckmorton</i> (b. 1536–d. after 1559)	36
<i>Anne Norton Turner</i> (1576–1615)	37
<i>Margaret Vincent</i> (d. 1616)	38
<i>Anne Wallen</i> (d. 1616)	38
<i>Anne Waters</i> (d. 1608)	39
<i>Anne Welles</i> (d. 1592)	40
<i>Alice West</i> (fl. 1613)	40
<i>Anne Willis</i> (d. 1637)	41
<i>Alice Tankerfelde Wölff</i> (fl. 1534)	42
<i>Mary Woods</i> (fl. 1613)	42
<i>Katherine Wright</i> (fl. 1586)	43
<i>Anne Calthorp Radcliffe Wyse, Countess of Sussex</i> (d. 1579/82)	44

3 Entrepreneurs and builders

46

<i>Margaret Barnes</i> ["Long Meg of Westminster"] (fl. 1540s)	46
<i>Alice Barnham</i> (1523–1604)	47
<i>Margaret Baynham</i> (fl. 1540s)	48

<i>Anne Clifford Sackville Herbert</i> (1590–1676)	49
<i>Katherine Dowe</i> (ca. 1507)	51
<i>Elizabeth Garton Draper</i> (fl. 1580s)	51
<i>Joyce Jefferies</i> (1570–1650)	52
<i>Thomasine Bonaventure Galle Barnaby Percyvale</i> (d. 1512)	52
<i>Elizabeth Philips Quiney</i> (d. 1632)	53
<i>Elizabeth Barlow Cavendish St. Loe Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury</i> [“Bess of Hardwick”] (b. ca. 1527–1608)	53
<i>Elizabeth Whipp</i> (d. 1645)	55
<i>Elizabeth Gale Wilford</i> (d. 1559)	55

4 Immigrants, expatriates, exiles, and world travelers

57

<i>Elizabeth Ames [Añes]</i> (b. 1481)	58
<i>Anne Gresham Bacon</i> (ca. 1549–1594)	59
<i>Jane Bomelius Wennington</i> (d. after 1586)	60
<i>Francesca de Cáceres Grimaldi</i> (fl. 1510)	60
<i>Margaret Harington de Cisneros</i> (fl. 1559)	61
<i>Anna Hooftman Palavicino Cromwell</i> (1565–1626)	62
<i>Eleanor White Dare</i> (ca. 1563)	62
<i>Jane Fromond Dee</i> (1555–1605)	63
<i>Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria</i> (1538–1612)	64
<i>Elizabeth Ferdinand</i> (fl. 1590s)	65
<i>Helena Snackenborg Parr Gorges, Marchioness of Northampton</i> (1548–1635)	65
<i>Catherine Tishem Gruter</i> (fl. 1560s)	66
<i>Maria Enríquez de Toledo y Guzmán, Duchess of Alba</i> (d. 1583)	66
<i>Anne Keilwey Harington</i> (1554–1620)	67
<i>Anna de Tscerlas Hooper</i> (d. 1555)	68
<i>Aletheia Talbot Howard, Countess of Arundel; Baroness Furnivall, Talbot, and Strange of Blackmere</i> (b. after 1582–d. 1654)	69
<i>Anne Dormer Hungerford</i> (1525–1603)	70
<i>Juana de Castile, Queen of Castile and Aragon</i> (1479–1555)	70
<i>Mariam Khan Hawkins Towerson</i> (fl. 1614)	71
<i>Odelia de Morada Knollys</i> (fl. 1589)	72
<i>Isabella Joachimi Vanderbergh Mayerne</i> (ca. 1618–1655)	73
<i>Margaretha Elburg van den Boetzelaer de Chéridos Mayerne</i> (1573–1628)	73
<i>Jeanne de Gontault de Noailles</i> (b. 1520)	74
<i>Mary Fiennes Norris</i> (d. 1530)	75
<i>Pocahontas [Rebecca Rolfe]</i> (ca. 1596–1617)	75
<i>Jeanne Lullier Renard</i> (1533–ca. 1584)	77
<i>Maria de Rojas</i> (fl. 1504/5)	78
<i>Teresa Sampsonia Sherley</i> (ca. 1598–1668)	78
<i>Slavery: Englishwomen Kidnapped into Slavery (North Africa and the Middle East)</i>	79

	<i>Elizabeth Southwell Dudley (1584–1631)</i>	82
	<i>Princess Cecilia Vasa (1540–1627)</i>	83
	<i>Inez de Venegas Blount (fl. 1501–1510)</i>	84
	<i>Elizabeth Harlestone Wallop (d. 1552)</i>	84
	<i>Catherine Willoughby Brandon Bertie, Duchess of Suffolk (1519–1580)</i>	85
	<i>Elizabeth Ball Winwood (1585–1659)</i>	86
5	Jewish women	88
	<i>Beatriz Fernandes Nuñez (fl. 1545–1555)</i>	88
	<i>Omell Faytt Isya [Mary Cook] (fl. 1532)</i>	89
	<i>Anna Laynnes (fl. 1530s)</i>	89
	<i>Sarah Añes Lopez (b. 1550)</i>	90
	<i>Beatriz de Luna Mendes [Gracia Menesia or Gracia Mendes Nasi] (1510–1569)</i>	91
	<i>Isabella Nones (fl. 1530s)</i>	91
	<i>Maria Nuñez (b. 1575)</i>	92
	<i>Aysa Pudewya [Katherine Wheteley] (fl. 1532)</i>	92
	<i>Anna Ruiz (fl. 1540s)</i>	93
6	Litigants	94
	<i>Judith Lytton Smith Barrington (b. ca. 1592–d. 1657)</i>	95
	<i>Isobel Beaumont (fl. 1607)</i>	95
	<i>Mary Holford Cholmondeley (1563–1626)</i>	96
	<i>Margaret Christmas (fl. 1590s)</i>	97
	<i>Margery Evans (fl. 1630s)</i>	97
	<i>Mary Lassells Hall (d. ca. 1541)</i>	98
	<i>Cordell Annesley Harvey (d. 1636)</i>	99
	<i>Elizabeth Cecil Hatton Coke (1578–1646)</i>	99
	<i>Elizabeth Stonor Compton Walshe Hoby (ca. 1500–1560)</i>	100
	<i>Susanna Temple Thornhurst Lister (d. 1669)</i>	101
	<i>Katherine Knyvett Paston (1578–1629)</i>	102
	<i>Elizabeth Cowdray Paulet Windsor Puttenham (1520–1588/9)</i>	102
	<i>Jane Fyneux Roper (1460–1544)</i>	103
	<i>Alice Suttill (fl. 1590)</i>	104
	<i>Margaret Swift (fl. 1590s)</i>	105
	<i>Joan Waters (fl. 1611)</i>	105
7	Madwomen	107
	<i>Anne Kirkall Burnell (d. 1592 or after)</i>	107
	<i>The Cecils' Wet Nurse (dates unknown)</i>	108
	<i>Anne Seymour Dudley Unton, Countess of Warwick (1538–1588)</i>	109
	<i>Elizabeth Tailboys Wymbish Dudley (ca. 1520–1560)</i>	110

Dionys Fitzherbert (ca. 1580–ca. 1640) 110
Margaret Radcliffe (d. 1599) 111
Rebecca Bennet Whitelocke (d. 1634) 112
Wife of Edmund Kingesfielde 112

8 Mistresses 114

Avisa Allen (1560–1597) 114
Agnes Rhys Baynton (fl. 1550s) 115
Elizabeth Blount Tailboys Fiennes de Clinton (ca. 1500–1539/41) 116
Mary Boleyn Carey Stafford (ca. 1500–1543) 116
Eleanor Britton (fl. 1580s) 117
Eleanor Carey (fl. 1528) 118
Jane Carlisle Dacre (d. 1575) 119
Elizabeth Darrell (d. ca. 1556) 119
Faith Fulford Davis [Davys] (b. 1561) 120
Mary Fitton Leveson Polewhele Lougher (1578–1641) 121
Elizabeth Holland Reppes (d. 1547/8) 122
Douglas Howard Sheffield Stafford (1542/3–1608) 123
Jane Lambert Fleetwood (fl. 1598) 124
Joan Larke Legh (fl. 1520s) 124
Frances Meautas Shute Radcliffe (d. 1627) 125
Penelope Devereux Rich Blount, Countess of Devonshire (1563–1607) 126
Elizabeth Lambert Shore Lynom [Jane Shore] (ca. 1450–1526/7) 127
Anne Vavasour Finch Richardson (ca. 1560–after 1622) 129
Frances Coke Villiers (c. 1603–1645) 130

9 Mothers, daughters, wives, and widows 132

Margaret Howe Ascham Rampston (d. 1592?) 133
Mary Darcy Babington Foljambe (fl. 1550s) 134
Elizabeth Owen Borough (d. ca. 1551) 135
Margaret Donnington Kitson Long Bouchier, Countess of Bath (1510–1561) 135
Agnes Bowker (b. 1541/2) 136
Philippa Brooke Calverley Burton (ca. 1579–1613) 137
Elizabeth Cecil Cavendish, Countess of Devonshire (d. 1689) 138
Dorothy Neville Cecil, Countess of Exeter (1548–1609) 138
Frances Brydges Smith Cecil, Countess of Exeter (1580–1663) 139
Mary Cheke Cecil (1520–1543) 140
Frances Cecil Clifford, Countess of Cumberland (1593–1644) 141
Mary Beaumont Villiers Rayner Compton, Countess of Buckingham (ca. 1570–1632) 141
Baptina Palavicino Cromwell (1595/8–1618) 143
Jane Rehora Daniel (d. ca. 1601) 143

<i>Mary Kitson Darcy (ca. 1567–1644)</i>	144
<i>Mary Davis (1594–after 1668)</i>	146
<i>Venetia Anastasia Stanley Digby (1600–1633)</i>	147
<i>Anne More Donne (1584–1617)</i>	148
<i>Mary Mildmay Fane (1581/2–1640)</i>	149
<i>Elizabeth Heneage Finch, Viscountess Maidstone, Duchess of Winchilsea (1556–1634)</i>	150
<i>Agnes Randall Foxe (1521–1605)</i>	150
<i>Anne Aucher [Ager] Gilbert (ca. 1547–1631)</i>	151
<i>Mary Darrell Googe (1545–1614)</i>	151
<i>Anne Fernley Read Gresham (1521–1596)</i>	152
<i>Joan Bromley Greville (ca. 1562–ca. 1636)</i>	153
<i>Mary Rogers Harington (ca. 1565–1634)</i>	154
<i>Alice Fanshawe Hatton (1581–1640)</i>	155
<i>Mary Browne Wriothesley Heneage Hervey, Countess of Southampton (1552–1607)</i>	156
<i>Penelope Darcy Trenchard Gage Hervey (1594–1661)</i>	156
<i>Alice Brandon Hilliard (b. 1556)</i>	158
<i>Margaret Audley Dudley Howard, Duchess of Norfolk (1539/40–1564)</i>	159
<i>Anne Jefferies (b. 1626)</i>	160
<i>Joan Jockey de Vere (d. 1585)</i>	161
<i>Margaret Stewart Howard Monson (ca. 1591–1639)</i>	161
<i>Alice Harpur Middleton More (ca. 1474–ca. 1551)</i>	162
<i>Anne Fitton Newdigate (1574–1618)</i>	163
<i>Mabel Bagenal O'Neill (1571–1595)</i>	163
<i>Katherine Sprakeling Oxinden (1587–1642)</i>	164
<i>Anne Bourchier Parr (1517–1571)</i>	164
<i>Elizabeth Seymour Ughtred Cromwell Paulet (d. 1563)</i>	165
<i>Dorothy Devereux Perrot Percy, Countess of Northumberland (1564–1619)</i>	166
<i>Elizabeth Grey Dudley Plantagenet, Viscountess Lisle (1465/71–1525)</i>	167
<i>Honor Grenville Plantagenet, Viscountess Lisle (ca. 1493–1566)</i>	167
<i>Mary Boyle Rich, Countess of Warwick (1624–1678)</i>	168
<i>Jane Peyton Langley Ringley (fl. 1535)</i>	169
<i>Amy Robsart Dudley (1532–1560)</i>	170
<i>Jane Winter Rogers (1545–1602)</i>	170
<i>Anne Sapcotes Broughton Jerningham Russell, Countess of Bedford (d. 1559)</i>	171
<i>Katherine Brydges Russell, Countess of Bedford (ca. 1580–1657)</i>	172
<i>Helen Mitchell Barre Sadler (fl. 1540s)</i>	172
<i>Alice Middleton Alington Sewster (1501–1563)</i>	173
<i>Katherine Fillol Seymour (ca. 1501–ca. 1535)</i>	174
<i>Mary Seymour (1548–1550)</i>	175
<i>Anne Paget Sharington (d. 1607)</i>	175
<i>Judith Bennet Taylor Sherley (d. after 1633)</i>	176
<i>Barbara Gamage Sidney, Countess of Leicester (ca. 1562–1621)</i>	176

<i>Dorothy Percy Sidney, Countess of Leicester (ca. 1598–1656)</i>	177
<i>Dorothy Sidney Spencer Smythe (1617–1684)</i>	178
<i>Christian North Somerset (ca. 1533–ca. 1564)</i>	179
<i>Bridget Copley Southwell (d. 1583–1587)</i>	180
<i>Katherine Emmes Stubbes (1571–1590)</i>	180
<i>Katherine Cooke Skerme Styles (d. 1531)</i>	181
<i>Dorothy Osborne Temple (d. 1685)</i>	182
<i>Elizabeth Hussey Hungerford Throckmorton (1510–1554)</i>	182
<i>Jane Ticheborne (fl. 1580s)</i>	183
<i>Anne Stanley Brydges Touchet, Countess of Castlehaven (1580–1647)</i>	184
<i>Anne Paget Harcourt Waller (d. 1661)</i>	185
<i>Anne Barne Carleill Walsingham (ca. 1532–1564)</i>	185
<i>Ursula St. Barbe Worsley Walsingham (d. 1602)</i>	187
<i>Frances Willoughby Whitelocke (1614–1649)</i>	187
<i>Elizabeth Littleton Willoughby (d. 1595)</i>	188
<i>Mary Bassett Wollacombe (ca. 1522–1598)</i>	189
<i>Margaret Wharton Wotton (1581–1652)</i>	190
<i>Elizabeth Norris Wray, Baroness Norris of Rycoti (ca. 1603–1645)</i>	190
<i>Elizabeth Brooke Wyatt Warner (1503–1560)</i>	191
<i>Jane Hawte Wyatt (ca. 1595)</i>	192

10 Patrons and philanthropists

193

<i>Ann Cary Ball Bodley (ca. 1564–1611)</i>	194
<i>Joan Leche Bodley Bradbury (1450–1530)</i>	194
<i>Elizabeth Spencer Carey (1552–1618)</i>	195
<i>Lettice Morison Cary, Viscountess Falkland (ca. 1612–1647)</i>	196
<i>Elizabeth Carey Berkeley Chamberlain (1576–1635)</i>	197
<i>Cecilia Gresham Cioll (fl. 1560s)</i>	198
<i>Margaret Russell Clifford, Countess of Cumberland (1560–1616)</i>	198
<i>Rachel Fane Bouchier Cranfield, Countess of Bath (1613–1680)</i>	199
<i>Magdalen Newport Herbert Danvers (d. 1627)</i>	200
<i>Anne Bacon Drury (1572–1624)</i>	201
<i>Alice Leigh Dudley (1579–1669)</i>	202
<i>Anne Sackville Fiennes, Lady Dacre (d. 1595)</i>	202
<i>Jocosa Trappes Saxey Frankland (1531–1587)</i>	203
<i>Elizabeth Talbot Grey, Countess of Kent (ca. 1582–1651)</i>	204
<i>Susan de Vere Herbert (1587–1629)</i>	204
<i>Frances Egerton Hobart (1603–1664)</i>	205
<i>Elizabeth Cornuallis Kitson (ca. 1547–1628)</i>	206
<i>Avice Gibson Knyvett (d. 1554)</i>	207
<i>Elizabeth Cornuallis Sandys Lumley (d. 1658)</i>	208
<i>Alice Wilkes Robinson Owen (1547–1613)</i>	209
<i>Dorothy Catesby Dormer Pelham (b. ca. 1527–d. 1613)</i>	210
<i>Ann Radcliffe Mowlson (1576–1661)</i>	210

	<i>Bridget Morrison Radcliffe, Lady Fitzwalter and Countess of Sussex (1575–1623)</i>	211
	<i>Frances Sidney Radcliffe, Countess of Sussex (1531–1589)</i>	212
	<i>Mary Dale Avery Ramsay (d. 1601)</i>	212
	<i>Lucy Harington Russell, Countess of Bedford (1581–1627)</i>	213
	<i>Dorothy Devereux Shirley Stafford (1600–1636)</i>	215
	<i>Anne Bacon Townshend (1573–1622)</i>	216
	<i>Mary Slaney Bradgate Weld (ca. 1560–1623)</i>	216
11	Pirates and warriors	218
	<i>Anne Morgan Carey, Baroness Hunsdon (ca. 1530–1607)</i>	218
	<i>Lettice Fitzgerald Digby, Baroness of Offaly (ca. 1580–1658)</i>	219
	<i>Gráinne Ní Mháille [Grace O'Malley] (d. ca. 1611)</i>	220
	<i>Brilliana Conway Harley (ca. 1598–1643)</i>	221
	<i>Dorothy Kelly Hazzard (d. 1674)</i>	222
	<i>Dorothy Monk Killigrew (ca. 1570–ca. 1633)</i>	223
	<i>Elizabeth Trewinard Killigrew (fl. 1582)</i>	223
	<i>Charlotte de la Trémoille Stanley, Countess of Derby (1599–1664)</i>	224
12	Political women	226
	<i>Hannah Howse Allen Chapman (1632–1664)</i>	226
	<i>Blanche Somerset Arundell (1583/4–1649)</i>	227
	<i>Elizabeth Preston Butler, Duchess of Ormonde (1615–1684)</i>	228
	<i>Ann Carter (d. 1629)</i>	228
	<i>Christiana Bruce Cavendish, Countess of Devonshire (1595–1675)</i>	229
	<i>Eleanor Butler Fitzgerald O'Connor, Countess of Desmond (ca. 1545–ca. 1638)</i>	231
	<i>Anne Murray Halkett (d. 1699)</i>	232
	<i>Katherine Boyle Jones (1615–1691)</i>	233
	<i>Jane Howard Neville, Countess of Westmorland (1537–1593)</i>	233
	<i>Katherine Howard Stuart Livingston, Lady Aubigny and Viscountess Newburgh (1610–ca. 1650)</i>	234
	<i>Elizabeth Warren (b. 1617)</i>	236
	<i>Jane Ryder Whorwood (1612–1684)</i>	237
13	Printers	238
	<i>Elizabeth Oulton Allde (d. 1636)</i>	238
	<i>Anne Boler (d. 1638)</i>	239
	<i>Alice Harris Fowler (d. 1602)</i>	239
	<i>Anne Griffin (d. 1652)</i>	240
	<i>Joan Kingston Robinson Orwin (d. after 1599)</i>	241
	<i>Elizabeth Pickering Jackson Redman Cholmeley (1510–1562)</i>	242

Margery Parton Trundle (d. 1629) 242
Jacquinetta Vautrollier Field (d. ca. 1611) 243

14 Prostitutes

245

Thomasine Breame (fl. 1575) 245
Elizabeth Broughton (d. early 17th century) 246
Mary Donnelly [Dornelly] (fl. 1570s) 247
Elizabeth Evans (fl. 1597) 247
Rose Flower (fl. 1574) 248
Alice Furies (fl. 1576) 248
Francis Hudson (fl. 1606) 249
Elizabeth Kelsey (fl. 1576) 249
Anne Levens (fl. 1573) 249
Black Luce (fl. 1576) 250
Jane Trosse (fl. 1576) 251

15 Royal family

252

Anne of Cleves (1515–1557) 252
Anne [Anna] of Denmark (1574–1619) 253
Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby (1443–1509) 255
Anne Boleyn (ca. 1501/7–1536) 257
Catherine of Aragon (1485–1536) 259
Eleanor Brandon Clifford (ca. 1520–1547) 261
Margaret Clifford Stanley (1540–1596) 262
Margaret Douglas Stuart, Countess of Lennox (1515–1578) 263
Frances Brandon Grey Stokes, Duchess of Suffolk, Marchioness of Dorset
 (1517–1559) 264
Jane Grey Dudley, Lady Jane Grey (1537–1554) 265
Katherine Grey Seymour, Countess of Hertford (ca. 1540–1568) 267
Mary Grey Keyes (ca. 1545–1578) 269
Henrietta Maria (1609–1669) 270
Katherine Howard (ca. 1521–1542) 272
Ethelreda Malte Harington (ca. 1534–ca. 1558) 273
Katherine Parr Borough Neville Seymour (1512–1548) 274
Anne Plantagenet Howard (1475–1511) 275
Bridget Plantagenet (1480–1517) 276
Cecily Plantagenet Scrope Welles Kyme (1469–1507) 276
Elizabeth Plantagenet [Elizabeth of York] (1466–1503) 277
Katherine Plantagenet Courtenay, Countess of Devon (1479–1527) 279
Jane Seymour (1509–1537) 280
Arbella Stuart Seymour (1575–1615) 280
Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia (1596–1662) 282

<i>Mary Stuart, Mary Queen of Scots (1542–1587)</i>	284
<i>Elizabeth Tudor, Elizabeth I, Queen of England (1558–1603)</i>	287
<i>Margaret Tudor Douglas Stewart, Queen of Scots (1489–1541)</i>	291
<i>Mary Tudor Brandon [the French Queen], Duchess of Suffolk (1496–1533)</i>	293
<i>Mary Tudor, Mary I, Queen of England (1516–1558)</i>	295

16 Scholars 298

<i>Anne Cooke Bacon (ca. 1528–1610)</i>	299
<i>Mary Roper Clarke Basset (ca. 1526–1572)</i>	300
<i>Elizabeth Neville Danvers Carey (1545–1630)</i>	301
<i>Mildred Cooke Cecil (1526–1589)</i>	302
<i>Margaret Giggs Clement (1505–1570)</i>	302
<i>Elizabeth More Dauncey (b. 1506)</i>	303
<i>Dorothy King Moore Durie (ca. 1612–1664)</i>	304
<i>Lucy Davies Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon (1613–1679)</i>	305
<i>Cecily More Heron (1507–1540)</i>	306
<i>Mary Fitzalan Howard (1539/40–1557)</i>	307
<i>Katherine Cooke Killigrew (ca. 1530–1583)</i>	308
<i>Bathsua Reginald Makin (b. 1600)</i>	308
<i>Dorcas Eccleston Martin (1537–1599)</i>	310
<i>Margaret More Roper (1504–1544)</i>	311
<i>Elizabeth Cooke Hobby Russell (ca. 1529–1609)</i>	312
<i>Jane and Margaret Seymour (fl. 1550s)</i>	314
<i>Frances Middlemore Wolfreston (1607–1677)</i>	315

17 Witches 316

<i>Jinny Bingham [Mother Damnable] (fl. 1640s)</i>	317
<i>Ellen Brierly (fl. 1612)</i>	318
<i>Jennet Brierly (fl. 1612)</i>	319
<i>Agnes Brigges (fl. 1574)</i>	319
<i>Jane Bulcock (d. 1612)</i>	320
<i>Joan Cason (d. 1586)</i>	320
<i>Elizabeth Clarke (d. 1645)</i>	321
<i>Susan Weeks Cromwell (d. 1592)</i>	321
<i>Avis Cunny (d. 1590)</i>	323
<i>Alison Device (d. 1612)</i>	323
<i>Elizabeth Device (b. bef. 1572–d. 1612)</i>	324
<i>Jennet Device (b. 1602/3)</i>	325
<i>The Flower Witches: Joan, Margaret, and Phillipa (d. 1618)</i>	325
<i>Elizabeth Francis (d. 1579)</i>	326
<i>Mary Glover (fl. 1602)</i>	327
<i>Alice Gray (fl. 1612)</i>	328

<i>Elizabeth Gregory</i> (fl. 1605)	329
<i>Katherine Hewitt</i> (d. 1612)	329
<i>Elizabeth Jackson</i> (fl. 1602)	330
<i>Rebecca Jones</i> (d. 1645)	331
<i>Ursula Kempe</i> (d. 1582)	332
<i>Mary Lakeland</i> (d. 1645)	332
<i>Elizabeth Lighbone</i> (fl. 1614–1616)	333
<i>Elizabeth Lowys</i> (d. 1565)	334
<i>Alice Molland</i> (d. 1685)	334
<i>Anne Mylner</i> (fl. 1564)	335
<i>Alice Nutter</i> (d. 1612)	336
<i>Margaret Pearson</i> (fl. 1612)	336
<i>Agnes Pepwell</i> (d. 1612)	337
<i>Joan Peterson</i> (d. 1652)	338
<i>Rachel Pindar</i> (b. 1563)	338
<i>Anne Redfearne</i> (d. 1612)	339
<i>Isobel Robey</i> [Isabel Roby] (d. 1612)	340
<i>Agnes Samuel</i> (d. 1593)	340
<i>Alice Samuel</i> (d. 1593)	341
<i>Elizabeth Sawyer</i> (d. 1621)	342
<i>Elleine Smith</i> (d. 1579)	342
<i>Elizabeth Southernns</i> (ca. 1532–1612)	343
<i>Isabel Southgraves</i> (fl. 1612)	343
<i>Ursula Southheil</i> [Mother Shipton of Knaresborough] (1488–1561)	344
<i>Jane Southworth</i> (fl. 1612)	344
<i>Margery Stanton</i> (fl. 1578)	346
<i>Agnes Waterhouse</i> (d. 1566)	346
<i>Rebecca and Anne West</i> (fl. 1645)	347
<i>Anne Whittle</i> (d. 20 August 1612)	348
<i>Sarah Williams</i> (fl. 1585)	348
 18 Women and needlework	 350
<i>Jane Bostocke</i> (fl. 1598)	351
<i>Anne Gower Endicott</i> (1599?–1629)	352
<i>Margaret Browne Layton</i> (ca. 1579/90–1641)	353
<i>Elizabeth Withypoll Lucar</i> (1510–1537)	353
<i>Dorothy Bonham Selby</i> (ca. 1572–1641)	356
 19 Women and religion	 357
<i>Bishops' wives and daughters</i>	358
<i>Agatha Wellesbourne Barlow</i> (ca. 1505–1593)	358
<i>Elizabeth Macheson Coverdale</i> (d. 1565)	359

Margaret Cranmer Whitchurch Scott (d. ca. 1575) 360

Judith Aylmer Squire Lynch (ca. 1561–1618) 361

Frances Barlow Parker Matthew (1550/1–1629) 362

Margaret Harlestone Parker (1519–1570) 362

Maria Heyman Ponet Hill (fl. 1550s) 363

Martyrs 364

Anne Albright, Joan Catmer, Joan Sole, and Agnes Snoth (d. 1556); Katherine Knyght and Alice Snoth (d. 1558) 364

Katherine Allin, Petronil Appleby, Joan Bradbridge, Elizabeth Lewes, and Joan Manning (d. 1557) 365

Rose Allin, Helen Ewring, Elizabeth Folkes, Alice Munt, and Agnes Silverside (d. 1557) 365

Joan Ashdon, Christian Groves, Margery Moris, and Thomasina Wood (d. 1557) 367

Anne Askew Kyme (ca. 1521–1546) 367

Margery Austoo (d. 1557) 369

Alice Benden, the Widow Bradbridge, Barbara Final, and the Wife of Wilson (d. 1557) 370

Agnes Bongeor and Margaret Thurston (d. 1557) 371

Margaret Middleton Clitherow (1553?–1585) 372

Elizabeth Cooper (d. 1557) 374

Joan Dangerfield (d. 1556) 374

Alice Dryver (d. 1558) 375

*Agnes George and Elizabeth Pepper (d. 1556);
Christian George (d. 1558)* 376

Margaret Hide and Agnes Stanley (d. 1557) 376

Joan Horns, Katherine Hut, Elizabeth Thackuel, Margaret Ellis (d. 1556) 377

Joyce Curzon Appleby Lewis (d. 1557) 377

Anne Heigham Line [St. Anne Line] (d. 1601) 378

Margaret Mearing (d. 1557) 378

Cecily Ormes (d. 1557) 379

Margery Polley (d. 1555) and Joan Beach (1556) 379

Agnes Potten and Joan Trunchfield (d. 1556) 381

Agnes Prest (d. 1558) 381

The Guernsey Martyrs: Katherine Cauches, Guillemine Gilbert, and Perotine Massey (d. 1556) 382

Anne Tree (d. 1556) 385

Elizabeth Warne (d. 1555), Isabel Foster, and Joan Lashford (d. 1556) 385

Joan Waste (d. 1556) 386

Nuns 387

Katherine Bulkeley, Abbess of Godstow (d. ca. 1560) 387

Frances Burroughs (ca. 1576–1637) 388

Clementia [Anne] Cary (1615–1671) 388

<i>Magdalena [Lucy] Cary (1619–1650)</i>	389
<i>Catherine Magdalen [Elizabeth] Evelinge (1597–1668)</i>	389
<i>Isabel Jordan [Jordayne], Abbess of Wilton (d. 1533)</i>	390
<i>Bridget More (1609–1692)</i>	391
<i>Gertrude [Helen] More (1606–1633)</i>	391
<i>Mary Percy (1570–1642)</i>	392
<i>Joan Seller (1603–1683)</i>	393
<i>Winefrid Thimelby (1618–1690)</i>	393
<i>Mary Ward (1585–1645)</i>	394
Preachers, prophets, and visionaries	395
<i>Mrs. Attaway (fl. 1645–1646)</i>	395
<i>Elizabeth Parker Avery (fl. 1614–1653)</i>	396
<i>Elizabeth Barton (1509–1534)</i>	397
<i>Barbara Blaugdone (ca. 1609–1704)</i>	398
<i>Katherine Chidley (fl. 1616–1653)</i>	399
<i>Jane Hawkins (fl. 1629)</i>	400
<i>Mary Proude Springett Penington (bap. 1623–1682)</i>	400
<i>Mary Simpson (1617–1647)</i>	401
<i>Anna Trapnel (ca. 1630–1690)</i>	402
<i>Sarah Wight (1631–d. after 1656)</i>	404
Recusants	404
<i>Agnes Augustine Alford (b. ca. 1523)</i>	404
<i>Anne Stanley Stourton Arundell (ca. 1542–1602)</i>	406
<i>Dorothy Arundell (1559/60–1613)</i>	407
<i>Anne Bellamy (fl. 1580–1595)</i>	408
<i>Eleanor Windsor Brome (ca. 1525–1592)</i>	409
<i>Brome, Elizabeth (d. after 1605) and Bridget (d. 1636)</i>	410
<i>Eleanor Vaux Brookesby (ca. 1560–1625)</i>	411
<i>Magdalen Dacre Broune Montagu (1538–1608)</i>	412
<i>Julian Birley Byrd (d. ca. 1609)</i>	413
<i>Jane Cheney Wriothesley (b. ca. 1505/9–d. 1574)</i>	413
<i>Elizabeth Heywood Donne (d. 1631)</i>	414
<i>Margaret Dormer Constable (1553–1637)</i>	415
<i>Mary Grosvenor Legh Egerton (ca. 1535–1597)</i>	415
<i>Anne Dacre Howard, Countess of Arundell (1557–1630)</i>	416
<i>Elizabeth Dacre Howard (ca. 1564–1639)</i>	417
<i>Elizabeth Howard (1583–1598)</i>	418
<i>Elizabeth Leybourne Dacre Howard, Duchess of Norfolk (b. ca. 1536–1567)</i>	419
<i>Catherine Lovell Knyvett (ca. 1565–1610)</i>	420
<i>Dorothy Constable Lawson (1580–1632)</i>	420
<i>Joan [Jane] Ferneley Aldred Lodge (1546–after 1625)</i>	421
<i>Cecily Hopton Marshall (1559–1625)</i>	422
<i>Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza (1566–1614)</i>	422
<i>Dorothy Pauncefoot (fl. 1586)</i>	423

- Margaret Howard Sackville (ca. 1561–1591)* 424
Mary Cavendish Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury (1557–1632) 425
Mary Stourton Tregian, Countess of Arundell (ca. 1550–ca. 1608) 425
Muriel Throckmorton Tresham (ca. 1550–1615) 426
Anne Vaux (1562–ca. 1637) 426
Elizabeth Fitzhugh Parr Vaux (1455/65–1508) 427
Elizabeth Roper Vaux (b. ca. 1564–d. after 1627) 428
Mary Tresham Vaux (d. 1597) 429
Eleanor Woodhouse (fl. 1606) 429

Women of faith 430

- Joan Cromwell Barrington (1558–1641)* 430
Susanna Poe Bastwick (d. in or after 1657) 430
Margaret Charlton Baxter (1636–1681) 431
Katherine Bruen Brettergh (1579–1601) 432
Elizabeth Culpepper Brooke (1601–1683) 433
Sarah Roane Davy (1637–1669) 433
Elizabeth Brydges Fane (d. 1568) 434
Margaret Askew Fell Fox (1614–1702) 435
Mary Cresswell Gunter (1586–1622) 436
Mary Atwaters [Waters] Honeywood (1527–1620) 436
Deborah Huish (1628–1662) 437
Sara Hayes Jones (b. ca. 1580–d. after 1647) 438
Mary Overton (fl. 1646–1647) 439
Mary Cary Rande (b. 1620/1) 440
Jane Turner (fl. 1647–1653) 440
Anne Venn (1627–d. 1654) 441
Katherine Jacqueman Whittingham (d. 1590) 442
Winefrid Wigmore (1585–1657) 443
Elizabeth Young (fl. 1558) 444

20 Women and theatre

445

- Mary Arden Shakespeare (d. 1608)* 446
Ursula Isley Beaumont (fl. 1616) 446
Anne Draper Bedingfield (1560–1641) 447
Helen [Ellen] Brayne Burbage (ca. 1542–1613) 448
Alice Spencer Stanley Egerton, Countess of Derby (1559–1637) 449
Anne Hathaway Shakespeare (1556–1623) 450
Rebecca Edwards Knell Heminges (1571–1619) 450
Joan Rastell Heywood (1504–1574) 451
Goditha Arden Price (ca. 1600–ca. 1680) 451
Judith Shakespeare Quiney (1585–1662) 452
Susanna Shakespeare Hall (1583–1649) 453
Anne Hastings Radcliffe Stanley, Countess of Derby (ca. 1485–1550) 454

Women at court: Henry VIII 456

- Katherine Gordon Warbeck Strangeways Cradock Ashton (d. 1537)* 456
- Anne Bassett Hungerford (ca. 1520–ca. 1557)* 457
- Katherine Bassett Ashley (b. ca. 1517)* 458
- Isabel Leigh Baynton Stumpe Stafford (1506–1573)* 458
- Grace Marney Bedingfield (1487–ca. 1553)* 459
- Elizabeth Wood Boleyn (d. bef. 1561)* 460
- Jane Parker Boleyn, Lady Rochford (d. 1542)* 461
- Anne Bray Brooke, Baroness Cobham (1501–1558)* 461
- Margaret Bourchier Bryan Soche, Lady Bryan (ca. 1468–1552)* 462
- Elizabeth Bryan Carew (1495/1500–1546)* 463
- Mary Norris Carew Champernowne (ca. 1520–1570)* 464
- Gertrude Blount Courtenay, Marchioness of Exeter (d. 1558)* 464
- Joan Champernon Denny (d. 1553)* 465
- Elizabeth Jerningham Denton (d. 1518)* 466
- Jane Guilford Dudley (1509–1555)* 467
- Mary Neville Fiennes Wooton Thursby (1524–1576)* 468
- Mabel Clifford Fitzwilliam (ca. 1491/2–August 1551)* 468
- Anne Jerningham Grey Barley Drury Walsingham (d. 1559)* 469
- Margaret Wotton Medley Grey (1487–1541)* 470
- Joan Vaux Guildford Poyntz [Mother Guildford] (ca. 1463–1538)* 471
- Anne Stafford Herbert Hastings, Countess of Huntington (1483–1544)* 472
- Anne Parr Herbert, Countess of Pembroke (b. bef. 1514–1552)* 472
- Agnes Tilney Howard, Duchess of Norfolk (ca. 1477–1545)* 473
- Elizabeth Stafford Howard (1497–1558)* 474
- Margaret Gamage Howard (d. 1581)* 475
- Elizabeth Jerningham (b. ca. 1509–d. after 1559)* 476
- Dorothy Gates Josselyn (ca. 1508–ca. 1582)* 477
- Mary Scrope Jerningham Kingston (ca. 1480–1548)* 477
- Margery Horsman Lyster (fl. 1530s)* 478
- Eleanor Paston Manners (d. 1551)* 479
- Margaret Dymoke Vernon Coffin Manners (ca. 1490–1550)* 479
- Cecily Daubridgescourt Mansel (1506–1558)* 480
- Elvira Manuel (fl. 1501)* 481
- Jane Astley Mewtas (ca. 1517–ca. 1551)* 482
- Maud Green Parr (1492–1531)* 482
- Sybil Hampden Penne (d. 1562)* 483
- Margaret Plantagenet Pole, Countess of Salisbury (1473–1541)* 483
- Jane Popincourt (fl. 1516)* 484
- Maria de Salinas Willoughby (d. 1539)* 485
- Anne Boleyn Shelton (ca. 1483–1555)* 486
- Mary Shelton Heveningham Appleyard (1510/15–1570/1)* 487
- Elizabeth Browne Somerset (d. 1565)* 487

- Anne Hastings Talbot* (b. ca. 1471–d. 1520) 488
Bridget Wiltshire Wingfield Harvey Tyrwhit (d. 1533/4) 489
Anne Gainsford Zouche (d. bef. 1548) 489
Mary Zouche (b. 1512) 490

Women at court: Mary I 491

- Mary Radcliffe Arundell* (d. 1557) 491
Susan Clarenceau (b. bef. 1510–1564) 491
Frances Neville Waldegrave Paulet (ca. 1519–1599) 492
Frideswide Knight Strelley (d. 1565) 493

Women at court: Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots 493

- Elizabeth Curle* (d. 1620) 493
Janet Kennedy Melville (d. 1589) 494

Women at court: Elizabeth I 495

- Katherine Astley* (d. 1565) 495
Dorothy Broadbelt (fl. 1560s) 496
Frances Howard Fitzgerald Brooke, Countess of Kildare
 (b. ca. 1573–d. 1628) 497
Elizabeth Brydges Kennedy (1574–1617) 498
Elizabeth Norwich Carew (d. after 1594) 498
Catherine Knyvett Paget Cary (1543–1622) 499
Elizabeth Brooke Cecil (1563–1597) 499
Elizabeth Fitzgerald Browne Fiennes de Clinton (1527–1590) 500
Frances Newton Brooke Cobham (ca. 1530–1592) 501
Frances Edmonds Doyley Danvers (ca. 1525–1601) 502
Anne Cecil de Vere, Countess of Oxford (1556–1588) 502
Mary de Vere Bertie Hart (ca. 1554–1628) 503
Margaret Edgcumbe Denny (1560–1648) 504
Elizabeth Stafford Drury Scott (ca. 1550–1599) 504
Anne Russell Dudley, Countess of Warwick (1548/9–1604) 505
Margaret Cavendish Dudley (d. 1595) 506
Eleanor Brydges Gifford (b. 1540s) 507
Margaret Golding de Vere Tyrrell (ca. 1526–1568) 508
Isabella Markham Harington (d. 1579) 508
Katherine Dudley Hastings (1543/5–1620) 509
Mary Hastings (ca. 1552–ca. 1584) 510
Anne Poyntz Heneage (d. 1593) 511
Katherine Carey Howard, Countess of Nottingham (ca. 1547–1603) 512
Ippolyta the Tartarian (fl. 1559–1569) 512
Katherine Carey Knollys (1524–1569) 513
Lettice Knollys Devereux Dudley Blount, Countess of Essex and Leicester
 (1543–1634) 514
Elizabeth Knollys Leighton (1549–1616) 515
Margaret Williams Norris (d. 1599) 516
Nazaret Newton Southwell Paget (ca. 1541/7–1583) 517

<i>Blanche Parry (ca. 1508–1590)</i>	518
<i>Elizabeth Throckmorton Raleigh (1565–d. ca. 1647)</i>	519
<i>Elizabeth Sandys Berkeley (1533–1585)</i>	520
<i>Philadelphia Carey Scrope (1563–1629)</i>	521
<i>Mary Shelton Scudamore (1550–1603)</i>	521
<i>Anne Stanhope Seymour Newdigate (1510–1587)</i>	522
<i>Mary Dudley Sidney (ca. 1530/5–1586)</i>	524
<i>Elizabeth Hastings Somerset (d. 1621)</i>	526
<i>Elizabeth Howard Southwell Stewart (ca. 1567–1646)</i>	527
<i>Dorothy Stafford (1526–1604)</i>	527
<i>Maria Touchet Thynne (ca. 1578–1611)</i>	528
<i>Bridget Manners Tyrwhit (d. 1604)</i>	529
<i>Frances Vavasour Sherley (1568–1606)</i>	530
<i>Elizabeth Vernon Wriothesley (1573–ca. 1655)</i>	531
<i>Frances Walsingham Sidney Devereux Burke, Countess of Essex and Clanrickard (1567–1633)</i>	532
Women at court: Anne of Denmark	534
<i>Cecily Bulstrode (1584–1609)</i>	534
<i>Elizabeth Trevannion Witthrington Carey (ca. 1563–1641)</i>	534
<i>Frances Howard Prannell Seymour Stuart, Duchess of Richmond and Lennox (d. 1639)</i>	535
<i>Katherine Knyvett Rich Howard (ca. 1564–1638)</i>	537
<i>Jane Drummond Kerr (ca. 1585–1643)</i>	538
<i>Mary Middlemore (d. 1618)</i>	539
<i>Audrey Shelton Walsingham (1568–1624)</i>	539
Women at court: Henrietta Maria	540
<i>Elizabeth Feilding Boyle, Countess of Guilford (1619–1667)</i>	540
<i>Elizabeth Thimbleby Conquest (d. after 1644)</i>	541
<i>Anne Villiers Douglas Dalkeith, Countess of Morton (ca. 1610–1654)</i>	541
<i>Susan Villiers Feilding, Countess of Denbigh (d. 1655)</i>	543
<i>Mary Feilding Hamilton, Marchioness of Hamilton (1613–1638)</i>	544
<i>Lucy Percy Hay, Countess of Carlisle (1599–1660)</i>	544
<i>Cicely Crofts Killigrew (d. 1638)</i>	545
<i>Anne Killigrew Kirke (ca. 1607–1641)</i>	546
<i>Katherine Manners Villiers MacDonnell, Duchess of Buckingham (ca. 1603–1649)</i>	547
<i>Anne Feilding Noel (ca. 1613–1636)</i>	549
<i>Mary Curzon Sackville, Countess of Dorset (1586–1645)</i>	549
<i>Elizabeth Darcy Savage, Countess Rivers (1581–1651)</i>	550
<i>Dorothy Seymour (ca. 1604–ca. 1664)</i>	551
<i>Jeanne de Harlay St. Georges (1580–1643)</i>	552
<i>Sophia Carew Neville Stewart (1611–d. 1702/3)</i>	552
<i>Eleanor Villiers (b. after 1610/12–1685)</i>	553
<i>Anne Boteler Blount Weston, Countess of Newport (1610–1669)</i>	554

- Katherine Thimelby Aston (1619–1658)* 556
Katherine Wilson Austen (1629–ca. 1683) 557
Jane Meautys Cornwallis Bacon (1581–1659) 558
Elizabeth Banckes (fl. 1616) 559
Jennyfer Benny (fl. 1616) 559
Mrs. Boughton (ca. 1600–d. after 1650) 560
Ann Bowyer Ashmole (d. 1646) 560
Anne Dudley Bradstreet (ca. 1612–1672) 561
Elizabeth Tanfield Cary, Lady Falkland (1585–1639) 562
Jane Cavendish Cheyne (1620/1–1669) 563
Margaret Lucas Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle (1623–1673) 564
Mary Hill Cheke McWilliams (1533–1616) 565
Elizabeth Knevitt Clinton (ca. 1574–ca. 1630) 566
Marie Harvey Collyn (ca. 1556–d. after 1608) 567
Eleanor Touchet Davies Douglas (1590–1652) 567
Anne Waldegrave Docwra (ca. 1624–1710) 569
Sibella Cole Sanford Dover (d. 1653) 569
Anne Edgcumbe Douriche Villiers (d. ca. 1613) 570
Katherine D'Oyley Dyer (ca. 1575–1654) 571
Bridget Grey Egerton (1577–1648) 572
Elizabeth Cavendish Egerton (1626–1663) 572
Mary Fage (fl. 1637) 573
Elinor Poole Fettiplace Rogers (1570–1647) 574
Eleanora Wyatt Finch (1590s–1623) 574
Constance Aston Fowler (d. 1664) 575
Emma Foxe (d. 1570) 576
Elizabeth Bernye Grymeston (b. in or bef. 1563–d. 1601/4) 576
Margaret Dakins Devereux Sidney Hoby (1570/1–1633) 577
Lucy Apsley Hutchinson (1620–1681) 577
Elizabeth Isham (1608–1654) 579
Elizabeth Brooke Joceline (1596–1623) 579
Anne King Dutton Howe (ca. 1621–ca. 1671) 580
Aemilia Bassano Lanyer (1569–1645) 581
Dorothy Kempe Leigh (fl. 1616) 582
Anna Norman Ley (d. 1641) 583
Anne Vaughan Lock Dering Prowse (b. ca. 1534–d. after 1590) 583
Jane Fitzalan Lumley (ca. 1537–ca. 1577) 584
Grace Sharrington Mildmay (ca. 1552–1620) 585
Martha Prynn Thorowgood Moulsworth (1577–1646) 586
Anne Lock Moyle (1561–1604) 587
Constantia Munda (fl. 1617) 588
Frances Manners Neville (d. 1576) 588

<i>Nurse of Donald Gorm</i> (fl. 1650)	589
<i>Mary Oxlie</i> (fl. 1656)	589
<i>Katherine Fowler Philips</i> (1632–1664)	590
<i>Diana Primrose</i> (fl. 1630)	591
<i>Hester Ley Pulter</i> (1595/6–1678)	592
<i>Elizabeth Beaumont Ashburnham Richardson, Baroness of Cramond</i> (1576/7–1651)	592
<i>Jane Seager Plumtree</i> (fl. 1589)	593
<i>Anne Harris Southwell Sibthorpe</i> (1574–1636)	594
<i>Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke</i> (1561–1621)	594
<i>Ester Sowernam</i> (fl. 1617)	596
<i>Rachel Speght Procter</i> (ca. 1597–ca. 1630)	597
<i>Alice Woodhouse Sutcliffe</i> (fl. 1632)	598
<i>Gertrude Aston Thimelby</i> (1617–1668)	598
<i>Katherine Bridges Thomas</i> (1637–ca. 1694)	599
<i>Ellin Thorne</i> (fl. 1576)	600
<i>Alice Wandesford Thornton</i> (1627–1707)	600
<i>Rose Lock Hickman Throckmorton</i> (1526–1613)	601
<i>Margaret Tyler</i> (fl. 1558–1578)	602
<i>Elizabeth Oxenbridge Tyrwhit</i> (ca. 1510–1578)	602
<i>Elizabeth Jane Weston Leo</i> [Elisabetha Joanna Westonia] (1581–1612)	603
<i>Anne Wheathill</i> (fl. 1584)	604
<i>Isabella Whitney</i> (fl. 1566–1573)	605
<i>Hannah Wolley Challiner</i> (ca. 1622–ca. 1674)	606
<i>Mary Sidney Wroth</i> (b. 1587–1651/3)	607
<i>Hester Wyat</i> (fl. 1640)	608

<i>Entries in alphabetical order</i>	609
<i>Notes on the editors</i>	625
<i>List of contributors</i>	626

ILLUSTRATIONS

Artists, musicians, and entertainers

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 1.1 | <i>Mary Beale</i> , by Thomas Wright, after Mary Beale, 1820 | 2 |
| 1.2 | <i>Susanna Penwich</i> , after P. Rogerson, published by William Richardson, 1794 | 6 |

Entrepreneurs and builders

- | | | |
|-----|--|----|
| 3.1 | <i>Anne, Countess of Dorset & Pembroke</i> , published by John Scott, 1807 | 49 |
|-----|--|----|

Immigrants, expatriates, exiles, and world travelers

- | | | |
|-----|---|----|
| 4.1 | <i>Pocahontas</i> , after Simon de Passe, published 1793 (1616) | 76 |
| 4.2 | Catherine Willoughby in exile | 86 |

Mistresses

- | | | |
|-----|---|-----|
| 8.1 | <i>Jane Shore</i> , by Francesco Bartolozzi, published by Edward Harding, after Silvester Harding, 1790 | 128 |
|-----|---|-----|

Mothers, daughters, wives, and widows

- | | | |
|-----|--|-----|
| 9.1 | Sixteenth century women | 133 |
| 9.2 | <i>Mary Villiers (née Beaumont)</i> , <i>Countess of Buckingham</i> , by James Stow, published by George Perfect Harding, published 1814 | 142 |
| 9.3 | <i>Mary Darcy (née Kitson)</i> , <i>Lady Darcy of Chiche</i> , after Unknown artist, early 19th century | 145 |
| 9.4 | <i>Mary Davis</i> , after Unknown artist, published 1792 | 147 |
| 9.5 | <i>Penelope Hervey (née Darcy)</i> , <i>Lady Hervey when Lady Gage</i> , by Robert Cooper, published 1822 | 157 |
| 9.6 | <i>Alice Brandon, Mrs. Hilliard</i> , by Nicholas Hilliard, 1578 | 159 |
| 9.7 | Lady Mayoress of London and country woman | 186 |

Patrons and philanthropists

- | | | |
|------|---|-----|
| 10.1 | <i>Leticia Morison Falkland, Viscountess Falkland</i> . From an original picture by Cornelis Janssen van Ceulen, published 1815 | 197 |
| 10.2 | <i>Lucy Harington Russell, Countess of Bedford</i> | 214 |

Political women

- | | | |
|------|--|-----|
| 12.1 | <i>Christiana Cavendish (née Bruce), Countess of Devonshire</i> , by Schenecker, published 1792 | 230 |
| 12.2 | <i>Catherine Howard, Lady d'Aubigny, and later Lady Newburgh</i> . John Hoskins. Portrait miniature. 1638–1640 | 235 |

Royal family

- | | | |
|-------|---|-----|
| 15.1 | <i>King James I of England and VI of Scotland and Anne of Denmark</i> , Renold or Reginold Elstruck (Elstracke), early 17th century | 254 |
| 15.2 | <i>Anne Boleyn</i> | 258 |
| 15.3 | <i>Katherine of Aragon, Jane Seymour, Anne of Cleves, Catherine Howard</i> , by John June, mid-18th century | 260 |
| 15.4 | <i>Lady Jane Dudley</i> by Magdalena de Passe and Willem de Passe, published by Frans van den Wyngaerde, 1620 | 266 |
| 15.5 | <i>Katherine Grey, Countess of Hertford</i> . Levina Teerlinc. Portrait miniature. Ca. 1555–1560 | 268 |
| 15.6 | <i>Henrietta Maria</i> , by Ferdinand Jean de la Ferté Joubert, after Sir Anthony van Dyck. Line engraving, mid-19th century | 270 |
| 15.7 | <i>Elizabeth of York</i> , Jodocus Hondius, 1610 | 278 |
| 15.8 | <i>Lady Arbella Stuart</i> , after John Whittakers, late 18th to early 19th century | 281 |
| 15.9 | <i>Princess Elizabeth</i> . Nicholas Hilliard. Portrait miniature. 1606–1609 | 283 |
| 15.10 | <i>Mary, Queen of Scots</i> , by George Vertue, after Nicholas Hilliard, 1735 | 285 |
| 15.11 | <i>Queen Elizabeth</i> , after Unknown artist, 18th century | 288 |
| 15.12 | <i>Margaret Tudor</i> , Thomas Cheesman after Hans Holbein the Younger, published 1819 | 292 |
| 15.13 | <i>Mary Tudor; Charles Brandon, 1st Duke of Suffolk</i> , George Vertue, after Unknown artist, 1748 | 294 |
| 15.14 | <i>Queen Mary I</i> , by Franz Huys, after Unknown artist, ca. 1555 | 296 |

Scholars

- | | | |
|------|--|-----|
| 16.1 | <i>Anne Bacon (née Cooke), Lady Bacon</i> , by Henry Richard Cook, published by Silvester Harding, 1810 | 299 |
| 16.2 | Hans Holbein II, Rowland Lockey. <i>Sir Thomas More, His Household and Descendants</i> . Portrait miniature. 1593–1594 | 306 |
| 16.3 | <i>Bathsua Makin (née Reginald)</i> , by William Marshall, after Unknown artist, 1640s | 309 |
| 16.4 | <i>Elizabeth, Lady Russell</i> , by Rivers, published 1803 | 313 |

Witches

17.1	<i>Mother Damnable</i> , after Unknown artist, published by James Caulfield, 1793	317
17.2	Witches circle dancing	321
17.3	Witches being hanged	328
17.4	Witches' familiars, 1579	331
17.5	<i>Mother Shipton</i> , Charles Townley, after Sir William Ouseley, 1804	345

Women and needlework

18.1	<i>Jane Bostocke</i> . Sampler. 1598	352
18.2	<i>Margaret Layton</i> . Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger. Portrait. Ca. 1620	354
18.3	Jacket. Linen, embroidered with colored silks, silver and silver-gilt thread, lined with silk. 1610–1615 (made), 1620 (altered)	355

Women and religion

19.1	Anne Askew, execution. From John Foxe, <i>Acts and Monuments</i>	368
19.2	<i>Margaret Clitherow (née Middleton)</i> , by Jacobus Neeffs (Neefs), early to mid-17th century	373
19.3	<i>Margery Polley</i> . From John Foxe, <i>The Book of Martyrs</i>	380
19.4	<i>Perotine Massey</i> . From John Foxe, <i>The Book of Martyrs</i>	383
19.5	<i>Anna Trapnel</i> . After Richard Gaywood, late 18th to early 19th century	403
19.6	<i>Anne, Countess of Arundel</i> , by Innocenzo Geremia, after Lucas Vorsterman, 1806	407
19.7	<i>Mary Honeywood</i> , by Unknown artist, possibly late 18th century	437

Women at court

21.1	<i>Agnes Howard (née Tilney)</i> , <i>Duchess of Norfolk</i> , by Unknown artist	474
21.2	<i>Anne Stanhope Seymour</i> , <i>Duchess of Somerset</i> , by Thomas Nugent, published by Edward Harding, after Silvester Harding, published 1792	523
21.3	<i>Mary Dudley</i> , <i>Lady Sidney (d. 1586)</i> . Levina Teerlinc. Portrait miniature. Ca. 1575	525
21.4	<i>Frances Walsingham Sidney Devereux Burke</i> , <i>Countess of Essex</i> , by Henry Richard Cook, published by and after Silvester Harding, after Nicholas Hilliard, published 1810	533
21.5	<i>Frances Howard</i> , <i>Duchess of Richmond</i>	536
21.6	<i>Anne Villiers Douglas</i> , <i>Countess of Morton</i>	542
21.7	<i>Katharine</i> , <i>Duchess of Buckingham</i> , by Magdalena de Passe, ca. 1620–1623	548

PREFACE

This project started a number of years ago when Carole Levin was reading a book about early modern England and saw the name of a woman with whom she was not familiar and started to look her up. She thought, wouldn't it be great if one could pull a book off the shelf that consisted of short biographies of a multitude of early modern English women. She shared this idea with Anna Riehl Bertolet, and they embarked on the project. Both Carole and Anna wish to thank Michele Osherow for her help at the beginning of the project, and are so grateful that Jo Eldridge Carney came on as a third editor – and for all the excellent work she did – as this encyclopedia was nearing its completion.

Instead of following a layout of a traditional encyclopedia, we decided it would be more exciting and useful if the women were grouped by category. This arrangement would allow readers to find women who were writers, translators, printers, editors, entrepreneurs, artists, musicians, entertainers, criminals, litigants, needleworkers, prostitutes, women at court, witches, scholars, a range of different religious women, philanthropists, women considered mad, immigrants, and expatriates. All the women in this encyclopedia had at one time or another been in England. Many spent their lives in England, but some moved to England as children or adults, or just visited there. As well as the many women in more public roles, we also wanted to include women who were known especially as mothers, daughters, wives, and widows, and this became one of our biggest categories. We also have the category for women who were mistresses. Because many women cannot be categorized in only one area, we have a number of “see alsos,” but we do realize the limits as well as the open possibilities of our categories. Each category has its own introduction.

We envision this dictionary as a potent teaching and research tool that can help to answer some questions, but also, more importantly, lead our audience to inquire about the lives of early modern woman at a greater depth and breadth. Indeed, although we included over 800 women in this collection, we see this as only the beginning of finding and identifying early modern English women. We hope this collection encourages others to keep finding more women in the folds of history and making their stories heard.

Carole Levin, Anna Riehl Bertolet, Jo Eldridge Carney

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to thank a number of people who helped with this project including Monica Miscavage, Elizabeth Childs, and especially Amy Hutchins, who helped us to keep track of various aspects of this massive project through the years of its development. We are grateful to the Research Incentive Committee of the English Department at Auburn University for funding a graduate research assistant, Meagan Gacke, who helped with the first stages of editing. We are also thankful to the UCARE program at the University of Nebraska that funded a number of undergraduate assistants including Alicia Meyer, Brittney Ofstedal, and Adam Lambert. We are so appreciative of all the support from our editor, Erika Gaffney, and want to thank Elizabeth Levine and Nicole Eno of Routledge for shepherding our project through to completion. Our greatest joy was working with the wonderful scholars who contributed to this encyclopedia and the pleasure the three editors had working with each other.

1

ARTISTS, MUSICIANS, AND ENTERTAINERS

That there are relatively few women in this category speaks less to the creative potential of women and more to social and cultural notions about female modesty and decorum. Indeed, an ideal upbringing for many young women of the middle and upper classes included attention to drawing, needlework, calligraphy, and music, but these skills were largely intended to be shared only in carefully circumscribed domestic spaces.

In the fine arts, women began to establish careers as miniaturists or portrait painters, typically trained first in their fathers' workshops and then supported by aristocratic or royal patronage as they developed their own reputations. Many women were encouraged to acquire expertise at playing the viol, lute, virginals, and other musical instruments, but performances were typically confined to small, intimate settings. A more visible and sanctioned form of entertainment was the role of the court or household fool, a person valued more as an object of amusement than talent. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, women were increasingly claiming ownership of their artistic works and moving toward public performances in local venues and in the court masque. The achievements of the women included here signal this emergence of artistic women from the private to the public and professional.

See also:

Elizabeth Withypoll *Lucar*

Jane *Seager* Plumtree

MARY CRADOCK BEALE (1633–1699)

The first important woman portrait painter in England, Beale exercised unusual personal freedom and seemed unself-conscious about it, as illustrated by her “Essay on Friendship” in which she argued for the equality of men and women in friendship and marriage. She was the daughter of a Puritan rector and, even before her marriage on 8 March 1652 to Charles Beale, a member of a leading Puritan family, she had gained a reputation as an artist. The couple lived near Covent Garden, then Hind Court, Fleet Street, and finally settled next to the Golden Ball, Pall Mall. Her studios became salons. On Hind Court regulars included rising scientists, clergymen, and men in a variety of professions. Thomas Flatman, the esteemed miniaturist, became one of Beale's intimate friends, and he encouraged her and referred clients to her.

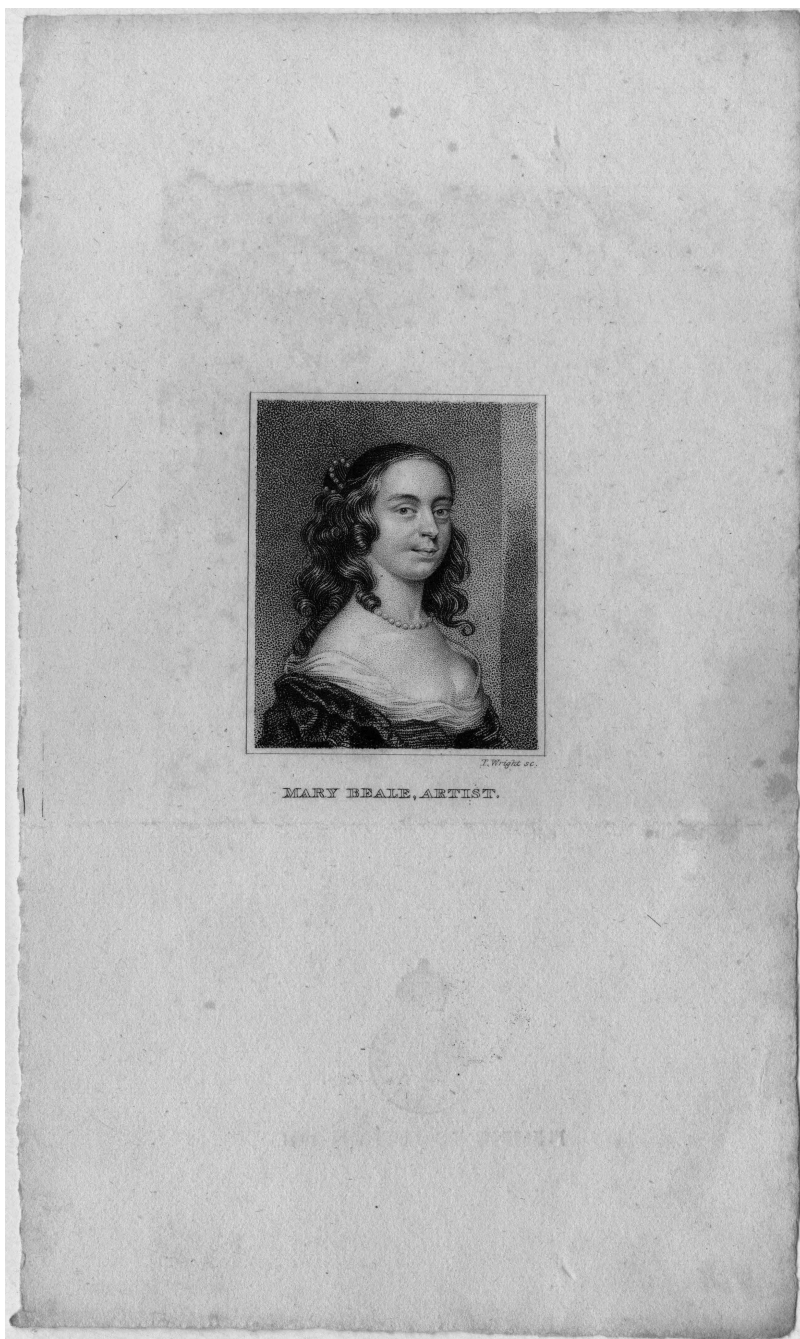


Figure 1.1 *Mary Beale*, by Thomas Wright, after Mary Beale, 1820

Source: NPG D30434 © National Portrait Gallery, London

The Pall Mall studio was frequented by young intellectuals, and while residing there, she had a wide clientele from among the fellows of the Royal Society, the aristocracy, and clergy and, as the fashion for portraits and miniatures spread, from the gentry. She became a friend of Peter Lely, the court painter, and was patronized by Charles II. Lely dined with the Beales, allowed her to study his techniques, and introduced her to influential people. Her skill and reputation as a miniaturist grew rapidly, and among them are beautiful portraits of Lely and of the poet Elizabeth Singer Rowe as a young woman.

After his career as clerk in the patents office faltered, Charles had become her business manager and became highly skilled at preparing her colors. She developed a style that used light and strong contrast in tones to give unusual luminosity that drew attention to faces and created expressiveness. Her backgrounds were usually dark but with considerable texture created by a series of shadows and complementary, varied colors. The striking portrait of Bishop Gilbert Burnet (1691) is a fine example. Charles came to have great skill in creating earth tones, some made from unusual and expensive ingredients like ground glass and urine from cows fed mango leaves. A sign of her success are charges for the most expensive ingredients, such as £4 10s for an ounce of lapis lazuli to make ultramarine. She died at her Pall Mall home and is buried at St. James, Piccadilly.

Paula R. Backscheider

For further reading

Beale, Charles. Notebooks in the Archives of the Bodleian, Oxford, and the National Portrait Gallery.

Vigué, Jordi. *Great Women Masters of Art*. New York: Watson-Guptill, 2002.

Walsh, Elizabeth and Richard Jeffree. *The Excellent Mrs. Mary Beale*. London: Inner London Education Authority, 1975. Includes a list of 160 of her works with locations.

SUSANNA HORENBOUT [HORNEBOLTE] PARKER GILMAN (ca. 1503–ca. 1554)

Although Susanna Horenbout, or Hornebolte, was Flemish, she has the distinction of being the first known female artist in England. Before she came to the court of King Henry VIII, she met famed artist Albrecht Dürer, who purchased one of her illuminations and wrote in his diary, “It is a great wonder that a woman should be able to do such work.” She was also singled out for praise by Italian chroniclers Lodovico Guicciardini and Giorgio Vasari.

Susanna was the daughter of Gerard Horenbout, court painter to Margaret of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands; she and her brother Lucas received excellent training in their father’s workshop in Ghent. In the 1520s, King Henry brought the Horenbouts to England to serve as court portraitists and manuscript illuminators. Susanna married John Parker, who became Henry’s yeoman of the king’s robes and keeper of the palace at Westminster. During the early 1530s, both Parker and Susanna received gilt cups from the king at every New Year’s celebration, an indication of their status at court. The couple did not have any children, but when Parker died in 1537 he left his widow income from their properties, an inheritance that was later contested by Parker’s family.

In 1539, Susanna married John Gilman, a London vintner and eventual sergeant of the king’s woodyard; the couple had a son and a daughter. Soon after her marriage, Henry asked Susanna to escort Anne of Cleves to England, most likely because of her facility with Flemish languages. Susanna’s widowhood had left her with financial difficulties, and Henry paid her handsomely for her services; it is surmised that she was also expected to gather intelligence about the new queen’s inner circle. Anne soon appointed Susanna as her first gentlewoman but she did not continue in Anne’s service after the divorce from Henry, although the two women remained on good terms. When Henry married his last queen, Katherine Parr, Susanna became one of her ladies-in-waiting and her husband

became Gentleman Harbinger, an office he kept through the reigns of King Edward VI and Queen Mary I. Susanna's good standing at court elevated the careers of both of her husbands.

While Susanna's brother Lucas was an esteemed artist at the Tudor court, the extent of Susanna's continued artistic activity is not clear. However, recent scholarship has clearly demonstrated Susanna's importance as court painter to Henry and her seminal contribution to the introduction and development of the English miniature.

Jo Eldridge Carney

For further reading

Campbell, Lorne and Susan Foister. "Gerard, Lucas, and Susanna Horenbout." *Burlington Magazine* 128.1003 (October 1986): 719–727.

James, Susan. *The Feminine Dynamic in English Art: 1485–1600: Women as Consumers, Patrons, and Painters*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009.

ESTHER INGLIS KELLO (1571–1624)

Elaborately scribed manuscripts and tiny books created by Esther Inglis are little treasures, incredibly detailed and frequently decorated with illuminations, their bindings covered in embroidery and precious pearls. Esther probably learned many of her calligraphy skills from her mother. It is also remarkable that both Esther's father and her husband were outspoken about their pride in her accomplishments as a calligrapher: her father wrote Latin poems in her praise while her husband tirelessly promoted his wife's talent. To enhance her authority, Esther included poems written by these two men in her books.

Her parents, Nicholas Langlois and Marie Presot, were French Huguenots who escaped to London a couple of years before Esther's birth. Esther was born in Dieppe and grew up in Edinburgh where her father eventually got a position teaching French, funded by James VI. Esther's first job as a teenager was that of a "writing mistress" at her father's school. Esther married Bartholomew Kello, a clerk at James VI's court, around 1596. However, she followed the Scottish tradition by continuing to use her maiden name, Langlois, or Anglois – which means "English" in French – which she modified to Inglis by 1604. Following James VI's succession to the throne of England in 1603, Esther and Bartholomew lived in London for three years, then in Essex from 1607 to 1614, and Edinburgh from 1615 to 1624; Esther died at Leigh in 1624. They had six children, four of whom survived childhood. Their son Samuel Kello became an Anglican clergyman.

Around 60 manuscripts produced by Esther Inglis are currently known. Most of them were created as bids for patronage and presented, either by Esther or her husband, to many wealthy and powerful English, French, Scottish, and Danish recipients with distinct Protestant leanings, including Lucy Harington Russell, Countess of Bedford; Susan de Vere, Lady Herbert; Prince Maurice of Nassau; the Earl of Essex; the Vicomte and Princess de Rohan; Catherine de Bourbon, sister of Henri IV; Archibald Campbell, 7th Earl of Argyll; Christianus Friis, Chancellor of Denmark; and even Queen Elizabeth I; Henry, Prince of Wales; and Prince Charles. This impressive list of recipients, however, does not mean that Esther was socially well connected or lavishly rewarded. In fact, her gifts were not always repaid, and she died in debt. It would seem, for instance, that Bartholomew Kello ineffectually attempted to extract a reward for the Book of Psalms given to Elizabeth I in 1599, despite his best efforts to draw the queen's attention to his wife's exceptional skills. Indeed, Esther mastered a great variety of scripts, and she executed them with precision and often on a miniature scale, sometimes employing over 30 different scripts in a single piece. Most of her transcriptions are devotional

in nature, in English, French, and Latin, but also include inscriptions in Italian, Spanish, and Greek. Twenty-two of Inglis's books include her self-portraits.

Anna Riehl Bertolet

For further reading

- Frye, Susan. "Materializing Authorship in Esther Inglis's Books." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32.3 (2002): 469–491.
- Inglis, Esther. *Discours de la Foy*. Edinburgh, Scotland, 1591. Huntington Library, HM 26068.
- Ross, Sarah Gwyneth. "Esther Inglis: Linguist, Calligrapher, Miniaturist, and Christian Humanist." *Early Modern Women and Transnational Communities of Letters*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009: 159–181.
- Scott-Elliott, A.H. and Elspeth Yeo. "Calligraphic Manuscripts of Esther Inglis (1571–1624): A Catalogue." *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 84 (1990): 11–86.
- Ziegler, Georgianna. "'More than Feminine Boldness': The Gift Books of Esther Inglis." *Women, Writing, and the Reproduction of Culture*. Eds. Mary E. Burke, Jane Donawerth, Linda L. Dove, and Karen Nelson. Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 2000: 19–37.

JANE THE FOOL (fl. 1540s–1550s)

Perhaps at court from 1537, Jane the Fool served three Tudor queens: Anne Boleyn, Katherine Parr, and Mary Tudor. Known as an "innocent," someone with mental and perhaps physical disabilities, Jane wore beautiful gowns fitting any noblewoman but with the hose and shoes of a clown and a consistently shaved head. It is unknown how Jane came to be one of Anne's fools, but after Anne's execution, Jane moved on to serve Princess Mary, despite the conflicts between Mary and Anne. After Mary had her own household, she provided a mount for Jane to accompany her riding, fashionable clothes, and other fineries befitting a member of a noble household.

In 1543, while in the household of Princess Mary, Jane fell ill, and Mary purchased new sheets and new clothing for her. Katherine Parr's relationship with Mary also resulted in a relationship with Jane, and because of Jane's continued sicknesses, of which records cite many, Katherine Parr undertook the continued care of their beloved fool. After Jane's recovery, Katherine allowed her to care for a small flock of chickens in a corner of the Privy garden, providing her with entertainment and responsibility. In a painting of Henry's family at Hampton Court (1543–1547), Jane stands in the background along with her male counterpart in Henry VIII's court, Will Somers; Jane stands to the left and Will to the right. After Katherine Parr's death, Jane remained with Queen Mary from her coronation until her death, providing Mary and the other courtiers with friendship, sometimes being referred to as "Jane our Fool" instead of "Jane the Fool." Although Jane may have lived through Elizabeth I's coronation, she disappears from formal records after Elizabeth is crowned.

Anastasia S. Bierman

For further reading

- Madden, F., ed. *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary*. London: W. Pickering, 1831.
- Southworth, John. *Fools and Jesters at the English Court*. Thrupp: Sutton, 1998: 101–106.

SUSANNA PERWICH (1636–1661)

Although Susanna Perwich died in her twenty-fifth year, she had already distinguished herself as a virtuoso musician, impressing audiences and fellow musicians from England and abroad. Perwich's



Figure 1.2 Susanna Perwich, after P. Rogerson, published by William Richardson, 1794

Source: Private collection

mother ran an esteemed music school in London where Perwich was trained by an impressive list of professional musicians. Her talents were evident at an early age and she soon became the leader of the school's orchestra. In addition to being a gifted singer, dancer, and composer, Perwich was skilled at several instruments, including the harpsichord, treble viol, lyra viol, and lute. Descriptions of the vibrant musical activity within the Perwich circle during this time period challenge notions of Puritan austerity.

Shortly after her death, Perwich's brother-in-law, clergyman John Batchiler, wrote a brief adulatory biography of her, *The Virgins Pattern, in the exemplary life and lamented death of Mrs. Susanna Perwich*. Most of our information about Perwich comes from this firsthand account of her life and accomplishments, but Batchiler's work also reveals the commonly shared ambivalence toward early modern women's achievements. While he enthusiastically praises Perwich's musical genius and her fine intellect, he is quick to point out that she was also skilled at needlework, cookery, and domestic tasks, as though her extraordinary musical talent needed an apology. Batchiler also praises Perwich for playing her instruments modestly, without excessive facial expressions or physical movement.

This countering of her musical skill is also evident in Batchiler's tribute to Perwich's religious devotion. When the sudden death of Perwich's fiancée left her grief-stricken, she began to question

her indulgence in the sensual pleasure of music. She vowed to remain single, turned down several marriage proposals, and became increasingly devoted to prayer; she also claimed that she would only play music insofar as such activity brought her closer to God.

After visiting a friend and sleeping on damp linens, Perwich took cold and became very ill. On her deathbed, she gave extensive orders for her funeral arrangements, insisting on an all-female funeral, with women attending and carrying the hearse and constituting the procession. Her wishes were granted.

Jo Eldridge Carney

For further reading

Batchiler, John. *The Virgins Pattern, in the exemplary life and lamented death of Mrs. Susanna Perwich*. London, 1661.
Becker, Lucinda M. *Death and the Early Modern Englishwoman*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.
Trillini, Regula Hohl. *The Gaze of the Listener: English Representations of Domestic Music-Making*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008.

LEVINA BENNINCK TEERLINC (ca. 1510–1576)

The talent of Flemish artist Levina Teerlinc was highly prized at the Tudor court, as evidenced by her presence as a giver and receiver of valuable items in the New Year's gift records, and more importantly by the considerable salary and permanent annuity she received, which exceeded that paid to her predecessor, the acclaimed court artist Hans Holbein.

Levina was the daughter of Simon Benninck, or Bening, a renowned painter, miniaturist, and illuminator at the Ghent-Bruges school. Like many other female artists of the early modern period, Levina received her training in her father's workshop. In 1545, Henry VIII invited Levina to become his official court painter, replacing Hans Holbein who had died in 1543; such an appointment would have been a boon for any artist, but for a female to receive the honor was extraordinary. Levina and her husband, George Teerlinc, moved to England and built a house in Stepney; George became a gentleman pensioner in the royal household. During her 30-year career, Levina worked under the royal patronage of Henry as well as all three of his reigning children; she was also a favorite of other court figures, most notably Anne Parr, the sister of Henry's last queen consort, Katherine Parr.

Because Teerlinc did not always sign her work and because much of her presumed work is no longer extant, a precise assessment of her work has proven problematic to art historians. Teerlinc excelled in the miniature; one depicting the Holy Trinity was a gift for Mary I. Several more miniatures are listed in the New Year's gift rolls from 1559 to 1576 during Elizabeth I's reign, depicting the queen at various official functions. One of the more famous works attributed to Teerlinc, presumed to be from the early 1560s, portrays Elizabeth at the annual Maundy Thursday ceremony, at which the queen washed the feet of poor women and gave them gifts of money.

Roy Strong suggests that Teerlinc's compositional style shows the influence of Hans Eworth and Lucas Hornebolte, two other Flemish artists who also made careers in London; Hornebolte, like Holbein, was an official court painter and his sister Susanna was also a skilled miniaturist. Teerlinc, in turn, may have influenced and even trained a court artist of the next generation – Nicholas Hilliard, whose career as a goldsmith, painter, and prolific miniaturist spanned Elizabeth's last decades as well as James's reign.

Teerlinc died at 1576 and was buried at the St. Dunstan parish church; she, her husband, and their one son, Marcus, had become English subjects in 1566.

Jo Eldridge Carney

For further reading

Frye, Susan. *Pens and Needles: Women's Textualities in Early Modern England*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2010.
James, Susan. *The Feminine Dynamic in English Art: 1485–1600: Women as Consumers, Patrons, and Painters*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009.
Strong, Roy. *The English Renaissance Miniature*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1983.

THOMASINA (fl. 1577–1603)

Standing at the center-edge of stage in a famous painting of Elizabeth and Robert Darnley dancing at Penshurst, attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, a dwarf woman dressed in a fine black dress and white ruff turns away from the viewer, amused by the revels going on behind her. This may well be Thomasina, variously referred to as “Thomazina Muliercula,” “Mrs Tamasin,” or “Tomasin de Paris,” who attended Elizabeth I as one of her ladies-in-waiting. Her name appears regularly in the queen’s wardrobe accounts from 1577 until 1603, and like her probable predecessor, Ippolyta the Tartarian, she was the recipient of numerous items of clothing including gowns, petticoats, bodices, gloves, and ribbons.

Dwarfs were seen as fashionable accessories and objects of amusement at the courts of European princes, much like lapdogs; perhaps in reference to this association, a white dog sits near Thomasina in Gheeraerts’s painting. It is thought that Thomasina may have been of Italian origin, although her epithet “de Paris” suggests a French connection. In 1579 her “sister,” Prudence de Paris, was given “a gown of violet cloth” by the queen, although she is not mentioned elsewhere in the court records. Dr. John Dee noted a visit from “the Quenes dwarf Mrs Tomasin” at his house on 7 June 1580. Thomasina could well have been literate, for in 1581 the queen gave her a “Penner and Inkehorne.” Her name disappears from court records after 1603, suggesting that perhaps, like many of Elizabeth’s ladies-in-waiting, Thomasina did not long outlive her mistress.

Rayne Allinson

For further reading

Otto, Beatrice K. *Fools Are Everywhere: The Court Jester around the World*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2001.
The Private Diary of Dr. John Dee. Camden Society No.19. London: John Bowyer Nichols and Son, 1842.
Queen Elizabeth’s Wardrobe Accounts, MS Egerton 2806.
Stopes, C.C. *Shakespeare’s Environment*. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1914: 269–273.

2

CRIMINALS

Criminal behavior, whether proven or perceived, included women from all social classes, but this category is still overwhelmingly populated by poor, marginalized, and lower-class women whose circumstances were more conducive to certain crimes or who did not have the resources to absolve them of their actions. The crimes described here cover a wide spectrum, from gossip and scolding to infanticide and murder. Women were punished for local transgressions, including shrewish behavior or slander against neighbors, for politically threatening activities, for witchcraft or prostitution, or for creative conning and theft.

The predominant crime represented here, however, is murder: women who killed their children or their husbands. Tabloid pamphlets sensationalized these acts as cautionary tales and popular entertainment, but many women did confess to these crimes. Their individual narratives produce a collective pattern: many women were unwed, widowed, or incapable of caring for their children, and infanticide seemed their only option. Women who murdered their husbands typically resorted to murder in order to escape from unwanted marriages or domestic violence. In the absence of annulment, separation, or divorce – solutions difficult to access, legitimize, or afford – women resorted to murder to escape unhappy or untenable marriages. These crimes committed by early modern women are better understood, although perhaps not entirely justified, by a consideration of their social and economic contexts.

See also:

Elizabeth *Banckes*

Chapter 14, Prostitutes

Chapter 17, Witches

ELIZABETH ABBOT (d. 1608)

On 9 April 1608, Elizabeth Abbot, alias Cebrooke, was hanged for the murder of Mistress Killingworth, a widowed London seamstress who had welcomed Abbot as a temporary lodger. The murder and execution were remarkable enough that a detailed pamphlet, with a title-page illustration of the hanging, was published. The pamphlet begins with a frank discussion of Mistress Killingworth's alcoholism and her unfortunate decision to alienate her well-meaning neighbors. At Abbot's trial, the prosecutor claimed Abbot exploited these tendencies by getting Mistress Killingworth drunk and

then strangling her, knowing that the neighbors would pay no attention to the dying woman's cries or be concerned when the widow failed to appear the next day. When neighbors and officers finally investigated, they found no corpse, but "certain small bones" buried in the ashes of Killingworth's fireplace were presented to a London surgeon who declared them human; a lock of hair and a chin-strap stay, found in the chimney, were determined to be those of Killingworth.

Abbot disappeared after the murder, thus becoming the chief suspect; another woman – like Abbot, a vagrant – was arrested and brought to London where, after nearly being killed by an angry mob, she was found innocent of the murder, although guilty of an unrelated burglary. Meanwhile, in Surrey, Abbot and her husband broke into a home and were surprised by the owner; while trying to escape, Abbot fell into a sawpit and was trapped there by a watchdog. A curious Londoner visiting Surrey, Mistress Cox, asked to see this female burglar and told Abbot she recognized her from somewhere. Abbot replied that the woman had better not try to pin the Killingworth murder on her, thereby inadvertently admitting to the crime. Abbot was arrested, picked out of a lineup by Killingworth's neighbors, tried, and convicted, but she refused to confess. This presented the London authorities with a problem: the absence of a corpse or witnesses to the murder made Abbot's confession essential to save her soul and avoid judicial scandal. After the trial ended, they offered Abbot a chance to address the jury in her own defense; they sent a doctor of divinity to her cell; they carried Abbot to the gibbet and forced her to look at Mistress Killingworth's house; they recalled all the witnesses and made them repeat their testimony. Although Abbot "persisted in her denial," she was eventually returned to the gibbet and hanged.

Catherine Loomis

For further reading

Anon. *The Apprehension, arraignment, and execution of Elizabeth Abbot*. London, 1608.

Alice Arden (1516–1551)

Alice Arden gained widespread notoriety as a murderess. The English authors John Stow and Raphael Holinshed included accounts of the murder in their works, and the latter's *Chronicles* (1577) may have provided the source material for the Elizabethan domestic tragedy popularized in the 1590s: *The Tragedie of Arden of Feversham and Black Will* (c.1592).

After marrying the elder Thomas Arden, a man about eight years her senior, Alice added adultery to her former sexually promiscuous behavior by continuing a liaison with her lover, Richard Mosbie, a servant. Arden's marriage to Alice had bought him important connections to influential nobles, such as Sir Edward North, Alice's stepfather, which aided him in securing a royal charter for Feversham, or Feversham, in 1546. After that, Arden served as mayor in 1548, but lost his position around 1550 when the town experienced financial difficulties. Although Arden had knowledge of his wife's adultery, he had maintained the marriage because of its beneficial patronage.

Alice decided to rid herself of her husband with Mosbie's assistance. Even though Alice and Mosbie hired several conspirators, who either harbored their own grievances against Arden or had been paid blood money to commit the crime, their initial attempts failed. Alice paid John Grene, a business rival engaged in a property dispute with Arden, to hire two assassins with the colorful names of Black Will and Shakebag. Arden escaped death by ambush, poison, and an unsuccessful attempt by Mosbie to engage Arden in a fight, with the intent to provide an excuse for the murder. Mosbie then enlisted the help of his sister, Cicely Pounder, while Alice, with the help of two of Arden's servants, Elizabeth Stafford and Michael Saunderson, arranged to have the unsuspecting Arden attacked in his own home while playing a game of chance. On the day of the murder, the other servants were sent away, so that

the deed could at last be carried out. At a prearranged signal, the conspirators surprised Arden and attacked. Arden was strangled, and he received a blow to the head with a heavy iron. The fatal dagger thrust delivered by Black Will finally finished the job. Alice also thrust her dagger into Arden's breast several times. The murder occurred on 15 February 1551.

Alice and Mosbie proved less successful in their attempt to dispose of Arden's body in a nearby field, because it was easily discovered. Because the body bore signs of murder, Alice and Mosbie, along with several other conspirators, were imprisoned, tried, and found guilty. The legal statutes in England assigned specific sentences for dealing with different types of crime. Some of the conspirators, like Mosbie and his sister, suffered hanging; Saunderson's life was ended by the public spectacle of hanging, drawing, and quartering. Alice, found guilty of committing petty treason, a wife's involvement in her husband's murder, was burned at the stake.

Debra Barrett-Graves

For further reading

"Alice Arden of Feversham: Executed with her lover Mosbie and Others in the Year 1551 for the Murder of her Husband." *The Complete Newgate Calendar* Vol. 1. University of Texas at Austin. Tarlton Law Library, 2007.

Dolan, Frances E. *Dangerous Familiars: Representations of Crime in England, 1550–1700*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1994: 72–77.

Hyde, Patricia. "Arden, Thomas (ca. 1508–1551)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2015.

ELIZABETH BARNES (d. 1637)

In April of 1637, Elizabeth Barnes was executed at Tyburn for the murder of her eight-year-old daughter, Susan. Elizabeth and Susan lived near Fulham in the county of Middlesex on a small estate Elizabeth inherited after her husband died. Following her husband's death, Elizabeth took Richard Evans, a tailor from Battersey, as her lover. Elizabeth spent much of her inheritance on Evans, who soon left her after Elizabeth discovered she was pregnant.

Elizabeth's fears of poverty and that she would never marry again began to manifest themselves as thoughts of killing her daughter and of taking her own life. For a month, Elizabeth was tormented by her murderous thoughts before she planned Susan's death. On 24 March 1637 Elizabeth lured Susan from home under the pretense of visiting a relative. For the journey, Elizabeth prepared a country picnic of apple pie, a herring pie, and other fruits. Once they were four miles into Wormwall Wood, Elizabeth and Susan stopped to enjoy their picnic. Upon finishing their meal, Susan lay down to rest. Around noon when Susan was fast asleep, Elizabeth cut her daughter's throat. Regretting her actions, then Elizabeth turned the knife on herself. After attempts to kill herself failed, Elizabeth left her daughter's body in the woods and fled to Kensington where she was discovered hiding in a barn belonging to a man by the last name of Disney. When Disney discovered Elizabeth, he took her to the local justice to whom she confessed her crime.

Found guilty of murder, Elizabeth was moved to Newgate prison to await her execution at Tyburn. As the chaplain of Newgate prison, Henry Goodcole heard Elizabeth's confession and later published her story in *Natures Cruell Step-Dames* (1637). Elizabeth initially claimed that the devil tempted her and was to blame for Susan's death. When Goodcole pressed for further details, Elizabeth told him of her financial woes and troubling thoughts leading up to Susan's murder. Goodcole berated Elizabeth's neighbors who ignored a desperate woman in her time of need. Elizabeth Barnes was hanged for her act of desperation on 26 April 1637.

Megan Spruell

For further reading

- Dolan, Francis E. *Dangerous Familiars: Representations of Domestic Crime in England: 1550–1700*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1994.
- Goodcole, Henry. *Natures Cruell Step-Dames: Or, Matcheless Monsters of the Female Sex*. London, 1637.
- Martin, Randall. *Women, Murder, and Equity in Early Modern England*. New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Staub, Susan C. *Nature's Cruel Stepdames: Murderous Women in the Street Literature of Seventeenth Century England*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne UP, 2005.

MARY BAYNTON (b. 1518)

In 1533 Mary Baynton, daughter of Thomas Baynton of Bridlington in Yorkshire, was 18 years old when she went to Boston in Yorkshire and proclaimed herself Henry VIII's daughter Mary. Mary Baynton explained that her father the king had put her out in the world where she would have to make her own way. She stated that in this hard time she remembered being with her aunt Mary, the French queen, and her godmother. Baynton claimed that her aunt was reading a book, apparently of prophecies, and looked upon her niece saying, "Niece Mary, I am right sorry for you, for I see here that your fortune is very hard. Ye must go a-begging once in your life, either in your youth or in your age." Baynton assured people she had thus decided to beg in her youth, so that she could raise funds to leave England and seek protection and support from her cousin, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. An acute listener might have realized that Mary Baynton was not Henry's daughter, because she misidentified her aunt as her godmother. In truth, Princess Mary's godmothers had been her great-aunt, Katherine Plantagenet, Countess of Devon; Agnes Howard, Duchess of Norfolk; and Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury.

We do not know if Mary Baynton was a conscious impostor running a con or a delusional woman who had truly come to believe herself the king's daughter. Soon after the birth of Princess Mary's half sister Elizabeth, Mary Baynton was arrested and examined by Nicholas Robson, Thomas Brown, and Robert Pulvertoft. Unfortunately, this examination is all we have about Mary Baynton. Because there is no evidence of her punishment, perhaps Baynton recanted and then disappeared from history.

Carole Levin

For further reading

- Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*. Vol. 6 (1533). Ed. James Gairdner. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1888.
- Levin, Carole. "Mary Baynton and Anne Burnell: Madness and Rhetoric in Two Tudor Family Romances." *Political Rhetoric, Power, and Renaissance Women*. Eds. Carole Levin and Patricia A. Sullivan. Albany: SUNY P, 1995: 173–187.

ANN BRIDGESTONE (fl. 1650)

Ann Bridgestone is shown in *Englands Grievance Discovered* wearing a "brank," also known as a scold's bridle. While the first recorded use of the brank occurs in the sixteenth century in Scotland, its use occurred with the greatest frequency in the seventeenth century in areas where the Scottish and English closely interacted with one another. Robert Plot describes the brank in his account of *The Natural History of Stafford-shire*, and he accompanies his description with illustrations of the iron device.

Robert Sharp, the officer in charge of carrying out Ann's punishment, actually violated English statutes in doing so, because women labeled as scolds were typically submerged in a lake or other substantial body of water through the use of a conveyance known as the "ducking-stool." The public

display would continue until the woman showed obvious signs of humiliation or distress. One of the complaints against ducking a female scold, according to Plot, was that she could rail at the officers and the crowd upon being lifted out of the water.

While the reason for Ann's unusually harsh punishment remains a mystery, it does occur shortly after 1649–1650, when a witch-pricker who had been recruited from Scotland to identify witches was charged with condemning innocent women for personal monetary gain. In the 1650s enough harsh punishments occurred that did not conform to established charter laws and actually seem to have been condoned by Newcastle officials that a local observer was moved to complain in writing about how "repugnant" he found such punishments. The iron gag thrust into the woman's mouth could be sharpened or have a spiked barb to prevent the woman being punished from speaking. It also had the horrific potential of lacerating the woman's tongue.

The primary reason for placing the brank on a woman's head was intended to tame her unruly tongue. In addition to scolds being punished with the device, other forms of public speaking likewise incurred the wrath and punishment of local officials. A few years later, the Quaker Dorothy Waugh caused such a spectacle in Carlisle for preaching in public that the mayor imprisoned her and placed a scold's bridle on her head to silence her tongue.

Debra Barrett-Graves

For further reading

- Adams, Norman. "Tongue, ye lied!" *Scotland's Chronicles of Blood: Torture and Execution in Bygone Times*. London: Robert Hale, 1996: 35–54.
- Boose, Lynda E. "Scolding Brides and Bridling Scolds: Taming the Woman's Unruly Member." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 42.2 (1991): 179–213.
- Ingram, Martin. "'Scolding Women Cucked or Washed': A Crisis in Gender Relations in Early Modern England?" *Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England*. Eds. Jenny Kermode and Garthine Walker. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1994: 48–80.
- Plot, Robert. *The Natural History of Stafford-Shire*. Oxford, 1686.

MABEL BRIGGE (d. 1538)

On 7 April 1538, Mabel Brigge was executed for attempting to kill King Henry VIII and Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, by performing a "black fast." Allegedly, Mabel had attempted a fast in order to kill a man once before, and shortly after the completion of the fast, the man broke his neck.

Mabel Brigge was a 32-year-old widow who lived in Holderness and worked as a servant in the house of John Lokkar of Reysome Grange. Not much is known about Mabel's life before she was accused of treason for performing a three-day fast against the king, also referred to as St. Trinian's fast. In the spring of 1538, Isabel Buck, another woman in Mabel's town, supposedly hired the widow to perform a black fast against the king and the Duke of Norfolk. When John discovered Mabel's intentions, he had her removed from his household. Agnes Lokkar, John's wife, stated that Mabel had confessed her treacherous plan. Agnes stated that Mabel fasted for three days with the goal of killing the king and the "false Duke."

When the state authorities began investigating Mabel and Isabel, both women denied that the purpose of the fast had been to kill or harm the king. Sir Ralph Ellerker, who led the investigation against all of the parties involved, thoroughly questioned both the women. The women insisted that Isabel gave Mabel wheat and linen in exchange for her help in finding lost money by fasting. Isabel also maintained that the local chantry priest, Sir Thomas Marshall, gave Mabel permission to fast, because at the time Isabel had been too weak to fast herself because she had recently lost an infant. Marshall confirmed Isabel's statement concerning the permission of her priest. Both Isabel and

Mabel were found guilty. In addition to the convictions of the two women, William Buck, Isabel's husband, was found guilty for attempting to bribe the men investigating his wife. Although all three parties associated with the fast had been found guilty, Mabel received the most severe sentence. In April 1538, Mabel Brigge was executed at York.

Alyson Alvarez

For further reading

- Elton, G.R. *Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1972.
- Jansen, Sharon. *Dangerous Talk and Strange Behavior: Women and Popular Resistance to the Reforms of Henry VIII*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.
- Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*. Vol. 13 (1538). Ed. James Gairdner. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1888.
- Van Patten, Jonathan. "Magic, Prophecy, and the Law of Treason in Reformation England." *American Journal of Legal History* 27.1 (January 1983): 1–32.

MARGARET CHEYNE BULMER (d. 1537)

Margaret Cheyne Bulmer was burned at the stake 25 May 1537 at Smithfield. She was convicted for high treason for her involvement in the Pilgrimage of Grace, a response to King Henry VIII's church reforms. Margaret may have been the illegitimate child of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, which would have made her distantly related to the royal family. Margaret probably married Sir John Bulmer in 1534; both had been previously married, Margaret to William Cheyne of London, and Bulmer to Anne Bigod. Bulmer and Margaret had two children prior to their marriage.

The Pilgrimage of Grace started in October 1536 in the North Country; by December, Henry VIII granted several pardons while his men worked to control the rebellion. However, this did not appease some of the rebels, including Bulmer, who was arrested in January 1537. By late April, Margaret joined her husband in the Tower of London. Margaret was imprisoned because John Watts claimed she had goaded her husband to rebel.

Margaret's formal statement is the only record available of her account of the events. She admitted that she had indeed told Bulmer "the commons wanted a head," and she encouraged him "to flee" if there was no rebellion. She said fear of separation drove her to say these things. Margaret gave birth to a son in January 1537, which may have prompted this fear because she was a new mother.

Margaret, Bulmer, and other rebels were indicted on 14 May 1537. Margaret and her husband both pleaded guilty to "mak[ing] war against the king." Bulmer was sentenced to hang at Tyburn, while Margaret was to burn at Smithfield. Other women who had been more vocal in their involvement in the uprisings than Margaret were not executed; some of them most likely escaped punishment because of their higher social status. However, because Margaret was distantly related to the king, was considered to be of questionable moral character, and associated with leading rebels such as Robert Aske and Francis Bigod, she was not granted the same mercy.

Megan Benson

For further reading

- Anon. *London Chronicle of the Times of King Henry VII and King Henry VIII in Camden Miscellany*. Vol. 4. Ed. Clarence Hooper. London, 1859.
- Hall, Edward. *Hall's Chronicle; containing the History of England, during the reign of Henry the Fourth and the succeeding monarchs to the end of Henry the Eighth*. London, 1809.
- Sands, Katherine R. *Demon Possession in Elizabeth England*. Westport: Praeger, 2004.

Wriothsesley, Charles. *A Chronicle of the England during the Reigns of the Tudors, from ad 1485 to 1559*. Ed. William D. Hamilton. London, 1875.

ELIZABETH CALDWELL (d. 1603)

On 18 June 1603 Elizabeth Caldwell stood on the gallows to be hanged for the attempted murder of her husband. Elizabeth had a comfortable upbringing in Chester and her father provided her with a good dowry to marry Thomas Caldwell. Thomas frequently traveled abroad leaving Elizabeth at home; Jeffery Bownd, a neighbor of the Caldwells, became enamored with Elizabeth and knowing she was often alone, pursued a relationship. Although Elizabeth resisted Bownd's affections for some time, she finally relented in the spring of 1602 and became his lover.

Determined to have Elizabeth to himself, Bownd insisted that Thomas Caldwell be killed and employed Isabel Hall, a widow who received charity from him, to help carry out the deed. Even though Elizabeth warned Hall and Bownd of the repercussions for such a crime, she stood by as Hall mixed ratsbane into oat cakes intended for Thomas. Regretting her part in the crime, Elizabeth contemplated stopping her husband from eating the cakes. Unfortunately, Thomas and several neighbor children had already eaten the cakes by the time Elizabeth had a change of heart. Thomas was saved by vomiting up the cakes, but a neighbor's child, two dogs, and a cat died from the poison. Brought before the justices of the peace, Elizabeth confessed her involvement and also revealed Hall's and Bownd's roles in the crime.

Discovering she was pregnant, the court delayed Elizabeth's trial, and, soon after Bownd was pressed to death, Elizabeth delivered a boy. Elizabeth's story was recorded by Gilbert Dugdale who depicted Elizabeth as a godly woman who was concerned with the conversion of other prisoners rather than her own fate. Nearly 300 people visited her daily, and Elizabeth prayed constantly for forgiveness for her sins. While in jail, Elizabeth also wrote a letter partially blaming her actions on her neglectful husband whose absence left her vulnerable to seduction and sin.

At the scaffold Elizabeth challenged the king's authority by arguing that she deserved a pardon for her crime and demanded that a Bible be brought to her before her death. Leading the crowd in a hymn right before she was hanged, it seemed that although she could not speak up to stop the attempted murder of her husband, Elizabeth Caldwell had finally found her voice.

Megan Spruell

For further reading

Dolan, Francis E. "'Gentlemen I Have One More Thing To Say': Women on the Scaffolds in England, 1563–1680." *Modern Philology* 92.2 (1994): 157–198.

Dugdale, Gilbert. *A True Discourse of the Practices of Elizabeth Caldwell*. London, 1604.

Martin, Randall. *Women, Murder, and Equity in Early Modern England*. New York: Routledge, 2008.

Staub, Susan C. *Nature's Cruel Stepdames: Murderous Women in the Street Literature of Seventeenth Century England*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne UP, 2005.

REBECCA CHAMBER (d. 1571)

On 16 July 1571 Rebecca Chamber was found guilty of poisoning her husband, Thomas. She was tried and convicted at the Maidstone assizes and executed by burning on 17 July. Her execution is mentioned in the 1808 edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles* and in *A World of Wonders, A Masse of Murthers, a Covie of Cosonages* (1595).

Simone Chess

For further reading

- Dolan, Frances E. "Tracking the Petty Traitor across Genres." *Ballads and Broad-sides in Britain, 1500–1800*. Eds. Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini. Burlington: Ashgate, 2010: 149–171.
- Thomas, Catherine E. "Toxic Encounters: Poisoning in Early Modern English Literature and Culture." *Literature Compass* 9.1 (2012): 48–55.

MARY CHAMPION (d. 1647)

Sitting in prison and waiting to be tried, Mary Champion screamed from her cell that her child she had murdered by decapitation was appearing before her. Originally from Feversham, Mary married John Baptist, an honorable tradesman, and settled in Dover in the county of Kent. After Mary gave birth to a healthy child in 1647, John, a Presbyterian, wished for the child to be baptized in the Christian tradition a few days after the birth. When he shared his wishes with his wife, Mary surprised John by exclaiming that she would not allow the baptism to take place.

As an Anabaptist, Mary was deeply angered by her husband's request. About seven weeks after the birth of their child, Mary waited until John left home and then cut off her child's head. Upon John's return, Mary held up the severed head and exclaimed that John must now christen the child's head without a body. Horrified by his wife's actions, John started yelling and accused Mary of being an inhuman wretch. John and Mary's argument grew louder, and soon neighbors appeared. Seeing the bloody scene before them, the neighbors took Mary to the officers of the town where she was seized and put in prison. Throughout her imprisonment, Mary often cried out to express her regret for murdering her child and to claim that she saw her child appearing before her without a head. After her trial, Mary was sentenced to execution for her horrendous crime.

Megan Spruell

For further reading

- Bloody Newes from Dover: Being a True Relation of the Great and Bloudy Murder, Committed by Mary Champion*. London, 1647.
- Leonard, Amy E. and Karen Nelson, eds. *Masculinities, Violence, Childhood: Attending to Early Modern Women – and Men*. Newark: U of Delaware P, 2010.

ALICE CLARKE (d. 1635)

One afternoon in 1635, Fortune Clarke found his wife, Alice, alone in her chamber with her lover, Henry White; an intense physical fight ensued. Later that day, Alice Clarke bought the poison that would kill her husband. Fortune Clarke had beaten his wife so badly that she was still bruised a week later, when she was in jail awaiting execution.

According to the pamphlet *The Adultrresses Funerall Day* by Henry Goodcole, this was not the first time that Fortune had beaten Alice Clarke: he "used only to beat her with the next cudgel that came accidentally into his hand, but often tying her to his bed-post to strip her and whippe her, &c." After the beating, the pamphlet reports that White told Clarke that "it were better to be hanged, than to endure so discontented a life," and he gave her four tokens, which she used to buy mercury from an apothecary in Oxbridge. Goodcole reports with some doubt Alice's claim that her husband had poisoned himself after drunkenly searching in her pockets for drinking money. Alice further claimed that she begged her husband to take an antidote to the poison, but that he refused, saying "nay thou Strumpet and murderesse, I will receive no helpe at all, but I am resolv'd to dye and leave the world, be it for no other case, but to have thee burnt at a stake for my death."

The pamphlet includes reports of two separate confessions from Alice Clarke given while she was in jail. In the second confession, supposedly given on 10 May 1635, she admitted that she had only married Fortune Clarke under duress, after having been impregnated by her former master; she also admitted to another, weeklong affair with “one from Hillinden.” Clarke’s arraignment and trial were held on 11 May 1635. The *Middlesex County Records* reports that Clarke made a plea of pregnancy, but a jury of matrons did not find her pregnant. Clarke was found guilty and was burned on 20 May 1635 in West Smithfield. Goodcole’s pamphlet compares her to other murderous wives, particularly Alice Arden and Eulalia Page.

Simone Chess

For further reading

Goodcole, Henry. *The Adultrresses Funerall Day*. London, 1635.

Martin, Randall. *Women, Murder, and Equity in Early Modern England*. London: Routledge, 2007.

Stymeist, David. “Female Criminality in Henry Goodcole’s Murder Pamphlets.” *Genre* 36 (2003): 29–45.

ALICE COWLAND (fl. 1549)

On 16 November 1549 Alice Cowland, of the Tottenham Parish in Middlesex, broke into the house of John Stowe and stole items of enough value – about two pounds – for her crime to qualify as a capital offense. The list of stolen goods included a worsted frock worth 30 shillings, a worsted apron worth two shillings and eight pence, a pair of silver hooks and “tres assiculas argenti” worth four shillings and eight pence, and “three smockes, ten kercheves, ten raoles and, five neckerchevys,” worth 20 pence and 15 shillings. Alice pleaded guilty, but claimed pregnancy and was pardoned.

Stephanie Seketa

For further reading

Laurence, Anne. *Women in England, 1500–1760: A Social History*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1994.

ELIZABETH CROFTE (fl. 1554)

On 15 July 1554, a teenage girl named Elizabeth Crofte stood upon a scaffold at Paul’s Cross during the Sunday sermon as part of her public penance for her crimes against the Marian government. Elizabeth confessed to the crowd that she had been the infamous voice in the wall that had captivated the citizens of London a few months prior. When the Council heard report of this sedition from the mayor, they sent the admiral, William Paget, and the captain of the Guard to arrest her. Elizabeth was first confined to Newgate and later moved to the prison on Bred Street.

Elizabeth claimed that she had been “enticed by lewd council” to emit strange whistles and seditious words from a house in Aldersgate Street where she had convinced many locals that she was a spirit, a bird, or an angel. According to Charles Wriothesley, the “young maiden” spoke “diverse things” against the queen and her husband, and also denounced Catholic teachings on confession and the Mass. Ambassador Simon Renard reported to the Holy Roman Emperor that when “the fraud” was asked, “‘What is the Mass?’ the voice replied ‘idolatry’; similarly, when someone said ‘God save Queen Mary!’ it answered not; but when they said, ‘God save the Lady Elizabeth!’ the voice replied, ‘So be it.’” Elizabeth Crofte was reportedly promised “many goodly things” for her performance and was aided by at least one male accomplice, who took his turn on the pillory later that month, and up to six “false knaves” whose names Elizabeth disclosed during interrogation.

Diarist Henry Machyn recorded that Elizabeth wept during her penance, begging mercy on her knees of God and the queen and bidding her audience to beware false teachings. Afterward, she returned to Bred Street prison where she was examined several times and eventually released. Renard claimed it was widely believed that the incident was “arranged in order to benefit the prisoners,” particularly Princess Elizabeth and the participants from Wyatt’s Rebellion, as well as to “excite the people against the Queen, egg on the heretics and plunge the realm into fresh troubles.” At least six of Crofte’s contemporaries recorded her moment of fame, and it has since been rehearsed by historians and propagandists as evidence of popular support for Protestantism and resistance to the Marian regime.

Jessica Walker

For further reading

Helme, William. *Curious Miscellaneous Fragments on Various Subjects, More Particularly Relative to English History from the Year 1050 to the Year 1701*. Brentford: P. Norbury, 1815.

Machyn, Henry. *The Diary of Henry Machyn*. Ed. J.G. Nichols. London, 1848.

Strype, John. *Ecclesiastical Memorials, Relating Chiefly to Religion, and the Reformation*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1822.

ALICE DAVIS (d. 1629)

On 29 June 1629, Alice Davis, or Davies, stabbed her husband, a locksmith, to death. In the two ballads recording this crime, each written in Davis’s voice, the couple is described fighting over money: “comming home he then did crave, / A Shilling of me to have . . . / vow’d he should no money get, and I my vow did keepe.” Following this argument, Davis stabbed her husband with her “fatal knife.” According to the ballad sources, Davis made an immediate confession to her neighbors and was arrested and jailed at Newgate. Following her trial and guilty verdict, Davis attempted to avoid the death penalty by “pleading the belly,” or claiming to be pregnant, but her plea was not allowed because the investigating jury of women found her not pregnant. Davis was burned at the stake on 12 July 1629.

The two ballads describing Davis’s murder claim to contain her dying words and are published with the stated intention of warning other wives to avoid her fate. Toward the end of “A Warning for All Desperate Women,” the speaker cautions, “Good wives and bad, example take, at this my cursed fall, / And Maidens that shall husbands have, I warning am to all: / Your Husbands are your Lords & heads, you ought them to obey.” While Davis’s warning to wives can be seen as a spiritual confession or repentance before death, recent scholarship has also considered the warning as an act of agency and as a demonstration of the didactic intent of these ballad sources.

Simone Chess

For further reading

Chess, Simone. “‘And I my vowe did keepe’: Oath Making, Subjectivity and Husband Murder in ‘Murderous Wife’ Ballads.” *Ballads and Broad-sides in Britain, 1500–1800*. Eds. Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini. Burlington: Ashgate, 2010: 131–147.

Dolan, Frances E. “Tracking the Petty Traitor across Genres.” *Ballads and Broad-sides in Britain, 1500–1800*. Eds. Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerini. Burlington: Ashgate, 2010: 149–171.

Kane, Stuart. “Wives with Knives: Early Modern Murder Ballads and the Transgressive Commodity.” *Criticism* 38 (1996): 219–237.

Walker, Garthine. *Crime, Gender, and Social Order in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003.

MARGARET DAVY [DAVIE] (d. 1542)

Margaret Davy's famous execution occurred on 17 March 1542; she was the first and only woman mentioned in Stow's *Chronicles* and Holinshed's *Chronicles* as being executed by boiling at Smithfield. Boiling was a new method of punishment for poisoning, of which Margaret was accused, and was instituted by Henry VIII in 1530. Poisoning was reclassified as homicide in 1547, with the new punishment being burning for women and hanging for men.

Contemporary sources give varying descriptions of Margaret's exact crime. In 1580, Stow said she poisoned three households, but by 1586 Holinshed contended she had killed "her mistress with whom she dwelt, and diverse other persons." The 1595 pamphlet *World of Wonders* claimed she had poisoned three householders.

In the *Compendious Collection of English Laws* (1676), renowned English jurist Sir Edward Coke explained the notoriety regarding Margaret's crimes: "To kill a man by poison is the most detestable of all, because it is most horrible and fearful to the nature of man, and of all others can be least prevented, either by Manhood, or providence." In addition to the public fear of being poisoned, Margaret's gender and status as a servant made hers a memorable case, not only in Tudor criminal law, but as representative of women who disturbed society and servants who rebelled against their masters. Whatever her reasons may have been for poisoning her mistress, and possibly others, Margaret's punishment earned her a place in English history.

Andrea Nichols

For further reading

Holinshed, Raphael. *The Third Volume of Chronicles*. London, 1586. STC (2nd ed.)/13569.

Martin, Randall. *Women, Murder, and Equity in Early Modern England*. New York: Routledge, 2008.

ANNIS DELL (d. 1606)

Annis Dell, innkeeper of Hatfield, Hertfordshire, was hanged with her son on 4 August 1606, for the murder of a young boy whose body had been discovered four years earlier. During this interim, mother and son were called to answer and face indictment at each of the court of assize sessions, but evidence against them every time was found insufficient for conviction. According to two surviving pamphlet accounts, this was changed by the direct intercession of God when a young, tongueless beggar girl happened to wander into town one day. Upon catching sight of Dell's inn, she flew into a fit of distress, gesturing wildly at passersby to both the house and to her disfigured mouth. The disturbance piqued the interest of local officials; although she was speechless, they were eventually able to understand from her gestures and behavior that she was the murdered boy's sister, and that they had met their tragic fates at the hands of the Dells.

Mother and son were again called to the next scheduled assizes, amid concern that the girl's silent testimony would still not constitute sufficient evidence. Before the trial, however, the girl's speech was suddenly, miraculously restored, despite the absence of her tongue. She was then able to testify to being delivered to the Dells by a band of thieves who, after robbing and murdering their wealthy parents, had handsomely paid the innkeeper and her son to dispose of the children. She implicated them in her brother's murder and her own mutilation, explaining that she was afterward left for dead in the woods and had in the four years since subsisted as a wandering beggar. Dell and her son denied the charges and pleaded not guilty, but were finally convicted and executed.

Geoffrey A. Johns

For further reading

The Horrible Murther of a Young Boy of Three Yeres of Age. London, 1606.

The Most Cruell and Bloody Murther Committed by an Inkeepers Wife. London, 1606.

Orlin, Lena Cowen. "A Case for Anecdotalism in Women's History: The Witness Who Spoke When the Cock Crowded." *English Literary Renaissance* 31.1 (Winter 2001): 52–77.

KATHERINE STAMFORD DOWNES (fl. 1643)

Civil-war gunrunning, extortion, adultery, theft, and double-dealing were all wrapped up in the notorious figure of Katherine Stamford Downes. In the fall of 1643, when William "Waterworks" Sandys – Queen Henrietta Maria's munitions agent at Dunkirk – made an agreement with a Mr. Alexander Downes for the royalist purchase of arms and ammunition, the transaction turned out to be unusual. Apparently, the deal was orchestrated by Katherine Stamford Downes, described at the time as the wife of Alexander Downes. By November of the following year, Alexander Downes had yet to be paid for the munitions, so Katherine wrote directly to the queen seeking compensation. In a letter of petition dated November 1644, which enclosed a copy of the agreement made between her husband and Sandys dated October 1643, Katherine requested the queen make good on the promissory note: 1,000 guilders to be paid immediately followed by a yearly pension of 4,000 guilders. From the queen's perspective, this was extortion, as Sandys had never received the munitions in the first place.

The story becomes even more intriguing in 1649 when Sandys wrote to Sir Edward Walker, the king's secretary at war, describing Katherine Stamford as the "widow to one Downes and now wife unto the Earl of Castlehaven," possibly Castlehaven's mistress. According to the letter, Sandys accused Katherine of having stolen many of his household goods and thereafter selling them. The last reference to the episode is found in a statement made by Sandys in 1649, in which he declared that Alexander Downes had contracted to sell the munitions to Sir Henry De Vic, the king's resident in Brussels, before he had made the same agreement with Sandys. Further, when Downes, "the scamp," made the deal with Sandys, the former was not even in possession of the munitions; nor were the munitions Downes's to sell, being the property of his employers Hill and Pannoyer.

Michelle White

For further reading

Herrup, Cynthia B. *A House in Gross Disorder: Sex, Law, and the Second Earl of Castlehaven.* Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999.

Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts [HMC]. *Fifteenth Report, Appendix, Part II. The Manuscripts of J. Eliot Hodgkin of Richmond, Surrey.* London, 1897.

ANNE DREWRY [DRURIE, CALFIELD] (d. 1573)

On 13 May 1573 Anne Drewry, known as also Anne Drurie or Anne Calfield, was executed at Smithfield for being an accomplice to the murder of George Saunders and his servant John Beane. Mrs. Drewry was bribed by a George Browne to convince George Saunders's wife, Anne Saunders, to have an affair with him. When Browne decided to murder his lover's husband, he convinced Mrs. Drewry to help him. She sent her servant Roger Clement to follow Saunders, and then she sent Browne information on Saunders's whereabouts the night he was murdered. Browne sent back word that the deed was done via Clement.

When the crime was committed, Anne was a widow and had at least one child, a daughter. At some point in her life she had been in service to Henry Stanley, Earl of Derby. In her confession to

Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, Mrs. Drewry denied many crimes, including poisoning her own husband, witchcraft, and sorcery. She also denied being the cause of the separation between the Earl of Derby and the Countess Margaret during her service to him.

Anne Drewry, the literary character, was based on the actual Mrs. Drewry. After her execution, two pamphlets, a ballad, and a play based on the events were published. The first pamphlet, *A briefe discourse of the late murther of master George Saunders a worshipfull Citizen of London* (1573), was reprinted later in Richard Simpson's *School of Shakespeare* (1878). The second was *A Cruell Murder Donne in Kent* (1577). The ballad was titled "The wofull lamentacon of Mrs. Anne Saunders, which she wrote with her own hand, being prisoner in Newgate, justly condemned to death," and in 1599, a play was published titled *A Warning for Fair Women*.

Stephanie Seketa

For further reading

Marshburn, Joseph H. "'A Cruell Murder Donne in Kent' and Its Literary Manifestations." *Studies in Philology* 46.2 (1949): 131–140.

Simpson, Richard. *School of Shakespeare*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1878.

ELIZABETH EVANS ["CANBERRY BESS"] (d. 1635)

On 17 April 1635, as the criminal Elizabeth Evans, known as "Canberry Bess," was about to be executed, she not only had to face her death but also the fact that afterward her body was to be publicly anatomized at the Barber Surgeons Hall, after which her skeleton would go on display. Bess was born in Shropshire and came from a good family. When she was young, her parents sent her to some friends in London, who helped her get settled into a place of good service. But while there, Bess met a young man with whom she had an affair. As a result, she lost her place and was then abandoned. For the next four years she lived as a prostitute. Then she met Thomas Shearwood, known as "Country Tom," and the two became inseparable. They would go out to the playhouses and alehouses and find a man who was drunk. Then Bess would approach him and claim that she knew him. After flattering him, she would suggest they meet in a secret place in the Clerkenwell fields. Tom would be there to rob him, and in some cases he murdered the man as well. The two were arrested in 1635 and lodged in Newgate prison. They were put on trial, found guilty, and sentenced to die. The surgeons asked to have Bess's body afterward for a public dissection. Henry Goodcole, the chaplain of Newgate prison, heard both of their confessions and was a witness to their deaths.

At the scaffold Bess was clearly nervous and said that she wished to God she had never seen this place of her death. Bess then told the women in the audience that they should be sure to marry an honest man, even if he were poor, because an honest man could turn an evil woman away from her wicked ways, but an evil man would not. Bess was no doubt thinking of the evil Thomas Shearwood. But ironically, even in death they stayed together, as his skeleton as well as hers was displayed at the Barber Surgeons Hall.

Carole Levin

For further reading

Goodcole, Henry. *Heavens speedie hue and cry sent after lust and murther. Manifested upon the suddaine apprehending of Thomas Shearwood, and Elizabeth Evans, whose manner of lives, death, and free confessions, are heere expressed*. London, 1635.

Martin, Randall. *Women, Murder, and Equity in Early Modern England*. New York: Routledge, 2008.

Nunn, Hilary M. *Staging Anatomies: Dissection and Spectacle in Early Stuart Tragedy*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2005.

MARGARET FERNESSEDE (d. 1608)

On the way to Peckham to identify her husband's body, Margaret Farneseede encountered an acquaintance who expressed that misfortune such as the death of her husband might lead one to weep excessively, to which she responded, "Tut sir, mine eyes are ill already and I must now preserve them to mend my clothes, not to mourn for a husband." Comments like this in reaction to her husband's murder helped solidify her conviction for the crime. Although she never confessed to the crime and the evidence presented against her was largely circumstantial, she was sentenced to death after the testimony of a servant, several neighbors, and two sailors. Farneseede confessed to living her life as a prostitute, bawd, and receiver of stolen property, but maintained her innocence in the matter of her husband's death.

Margaret had spent her early life as a prostitute and, as she grew older, became a bawd and brought other women into the trade. She admitted that she persuaded married women to work for her by convincing them that their husbands did not love them. The money from this work permitted her to buy a house in Irongate to carry on her business. The sailors who testified against her, according to the pamphlet about the event, encountered her husband at this house and gave incriminating statements about the couple's tumultuous relationship and Margaret's threatening behavior. The representation of her questionable character, shrewish behavior, and emasculation of her husband served as sufficient evidence to convict her of stabbing her husband in the throat on 20 April 1607. Although circumstantial, these details, like the pamphlet author's accounts of the crime, led to Margaret's execution by burning for her husband's death in February 1608.

Mary Mechler Bogdan

For further reading

The Arraignment and Burning of Margaret Farneseede for the Murder of her late Husband. London, 1608.
Henderson, Katherine Usher and Barbara F. McManus. *Half of Humankind: Contexts and Texts of the Controversy about Women in England 1540–1640*. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1985.
Martin, Randall. *Women, Murder, and Equity in Early Modern England*. New York: Routledge, 2008.

KATHERINE FERRERS FANSHAWE (1634–1660)

There were actually two Katherine Ferrers who made history in the middle of the seventeenth century in England. The first is found in the legend surrounding the "wicked lady," a notorious highwaywoman, who was married off at the age of 14 by her mother's second husband, Simon Fanshawe, to keep the Ferrers's estate within his own family. According to the legend, Katherine was bored with her marriage to Simon's nephew Thomas Fanshawe, who was frequently away fighting on behalf of King Charles I during the English Civil War. Instead, she took up with a farmer named Ralph Chaplin, and together they robbed stages on their way to and from London, in addition to burning houses and slaughtering livestock. After Chaplin was captured and hanged, Katherine continued on with the life of a highwaywoman, keeping her true identity secret until she was shot during her final robbery, when she crawled back to die at Markyate Cell, the Ferrers family estate in western Hertfordshire. Following her death in 1660, legends grew concerning the supposed whereabouts of her treasure trove, while it has long been rumored that her ghost continues to haunt Markyate, even to this day.

The actual historical Katherine Ferrers is much more mundane. Like the legendary "wicked lady," Katherine was a youthful heiress to the Ferrers family lands and fortune in and around Markyate, Hertfordshire, and became the ward of her stepfather following her mother's death, who married her to his nephew Thomas. As committed royalists, the Fanshaws progressively sold off the Ferrers family

holdings in order to contribute to Charles I's war chest. Markyate in fact had already been sold off in 1657 to the Coppin family, which contradicts the legend that Katherine died there after being shot. Very little, in fact, survives in the historical record to describe Katherine's life at all, much less her legendary career as a highwaywoman. What is intriguing is that parish records only list the date of her burial, and not of her death, lending credence to a legend that has continued relentlessly down to the twenty-first century in the local folklore of Hertfordshire.

Charles Beem

For further reading

Baker, Doris Jones. *Tales of Old Hertfordshire*. Newberry: Countryside Books, 1987.

Barber, John. "Katherine Ferrers – the Wicked Lady." *Markyate Past 19: Journal of the Markyate Local History Society* (2010): 29–38.

KATHERINE FRANCIS (d. 1629)

On the evening of 8 April 1629 in Cowcrosse, Middlesex County, Katherine Francis and her husband Robert had a fight, and Katherine stabbed her husband in the neck with a pair of scissors. The Middlesex County Records report that "he then and there died instantly." According to the ballad account of her crime, Katherine and Robert Francis had a history of fighting violently, and they had been drinking for most of the day. When they returned home that night, Katherine sent another woman out for a pot of beer and committed the murder before this woman returned.

The ballad claims that "she long had thirsted for his blood / (even by her owne confession)." After confessing her crime to a neighbor, Francis was sent to New prison for the night, then to Newgate prison, where she awaited trial. Once condemned, she was burned at the stake at Clarkenwell Green in London on 21 April 1629. Her death and its resonance in popular culture are credited with ushering in a period of great interest in women who murdered their husbands.

Simone Chess

For further reading

Chess, Simone. "'And I my vowe did keepe': Oath Making, Subjectivity and Husband Murder in 'Murderous Wife' Ballads." *Ballads and Broadides in Britain, 1500–1800*. Eds. Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini. Burlington: Ashgate, 2010: 131–147.

Clark, Sandra. *Women and Crime in the Street Literature of Early Modern England*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Dolan, Frances E. "Tracking the Petty Traitor across Genres." *Ballads and Broadides in Britain, 1500–1800*. Eds. Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini. Burlington: Ashgate, 2010: 149–171.

Kane, Stuart. "Wives with Knives: Early Modern Murder Ballads and the Transgressive Commodity." *Criticism* 38 (1996): 219–237.

Walker, Garthine. *Crime, Gender, and Social Order in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003.

MARY FRITH ["MOLL CUTPURSE"] (ca. 1584–1659)

Mary Frith, more famously known as "Moll Cutpurse," earned widespread notoriety as a social deviant and a criminal. Her most visible affront could be seen in her choice of attire, for she insisted on striding about town dressed in breeches rather than wearing a skirt. Refusing to behave in a socially acceptable manner, Moll frequented taverns and plays, drank to excess, and became enmeshed in the local criminal scene.

First a pickpocket, Moll later turned to the trade of fencing stolen goods, at which she was so successful that she is credited with having amassed a fortune. Known for her blaspheming and cursing, Moll gained such infamy that Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker wrote a play about her called *The Roaring Girl, or Moll Cutpurse* (c.1605/11), a performance of which Moll attended. After the performance concluded, Moll climbed onto the stage, played the lute, and sang some bawdy songs, creating yet another unseemly public spectacle, especially because women were forbidden to appear on the public stage.

One of the most notable accounts of Moll's public penance is her punishment for continuing to wear male attire in public. After one arrest, in 1612, Moll was subjected to public ridicule and forced to stand in the public square in order to confess aloud her unbecoming, disorderly conduct. While she put on a good show of contrition, weeping and promising to behave in a more modest and sober manner hereafter, one cynical account states that the excessive amount of drink she consumed prior to her public declaration of guilt aided the penitential tears she wept.

In her criminal careers as a pickpocket and a much sought-out fence for stolen goods, Moll dabbled in property crimes. She frequently ran afoul of the local authorities, who branded her hands for being a pickpocket, placed her in jail, convicted her of criminal behavior, and ultimately condemned the frequent offender to death. Because Moll had curried familiarity with the local jailers, she managed to bribe her way to freedom. As a fence for stolen goods, Moll endeavored to turn a profit from both thieves and victims alike; they would turn to her either for assistance in buying their stolen goods or in locating their stolen property.

Moll seems to have enjoyed greater financial prosperity under the reign of Charles I than she did under the new government run by Oliver Cromwell. The 1662 publication of *The Life of Mrs. Mary Frith* romanticizes Moll's actions, crediting her with triumphs scored against anti-royalists, such as turning to highway robbery with a band of thieves operating under her guidance and enlisting an expert forger in order to divert funds from the parliament into her hands. In spite of difficult circumstances, Moll managed to continue her trade as a fence and a cheat.

While it remains difficult to disentangle fact from fiction, Moll Cutpurse certainly lived the life of a notorious criminal for several decades. From her early penchant for preferring to roughhouse with boys, to her disdain for female attire, to her introduction into the art of the pickpocket, and to her establishment as a well-known fence, Moll insisted on living an independent life. In her will, she declared her wish to be buried as she had lived, wearing her breeches.

Debra Barrett-Graves

For further reading

- Dekker, Thomas and Thomas Middleton. *The Roaring Girl*. Ed. Elizabeth Cook. London: Methuen, 1997.
- Griffiths, Paul. "Frith, Mary (1584x9–1659)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2015.
- Todd, Janet and Elizabeth Spearing. *Counterfeit Ladies: The Life and Death of Moll Cutpurse & The Case of Mary Carleton*. Washington Square: New York UP, 1994.
- Walker, Garthine. "Women, Theft, and the World of Stolen Goods." *Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England*. Eds. Jenny Kermode and Garthine Walker. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1994: 81–105.

ANNE GREENE (b. 1628, HANGED 1650, d. 1659)

In 1650, 22-year-old Anne Greene, a maid employed by Sir Thomas Read in Oxfordshire, was hanged to death, but she did not die. Greene was sentenced to death because she had been found guilty of murder after giving birth to a premature, stillborn son. Greene, who claimed that she had been seduced by her employer's grandson, Jeffrey Read, and that she had not known she was pregnant,

concealed the body in the privy, and was therefore arrested and arraigned for murder. Under a 1624 statute, single women who concealed their infant's deaths could be presumed guilty of infanticide; thus, even though the examination of the fetus showed that it was extremely premature, Greene was still guilty according to the statute.

Greene was hanged on 14 December 1650; because she wanted a speedy death, she asked her friends to pull her body up and down and beat her chest, but the sheriff stopped them, fearing the rope might break. Once presumed dead, Greene's body was brought to the College of Physicians for dissection. When the coffin was opened, Greene took a breath, which rattled in her chest. The doctors stopped the dissection and tried to resuscitate her using various methods and finally placing her in a warm bed. After several hours, Greene was awake and able to speak. According to one pamphlet account of her miraculous revival, her first words upon waking were, "Behold God's providence in raising me from death to life."

Greene eventually recovered, although she lost her memory of the execution and resuscitation. The authorities granted her a reprieve, determining that she had been given a divine pardon and was not guilty. Confirming the notion of divine intervention, Greene's greatest accuser, her employer Thomas Read, died three days after her hanging.

During her recovery, Anne saw visitors, and her father may have charged admission for these visits; this income paid for her apothecary bill and the legal fees associated with her pardon. Greene later recuperated with friends in the country, taking her coffin with her. She married and had three children before dying in 1659.

Greene's recovery was celebrated in several pamphlets, most claiming a miracle of divine intervention proving her innocence. Her detailed medical case study was published in the pamphlet *News from the Dead*, which also included poems from 41 scholars on Greene's experiences. The popularity of Greene's story of revival and legal pardon is credited as part of a turn in legal attitudes toward infanticide.

Simone Chess

For further reading

Burdet, W. *World of Wonders. Being a faithful narrative and true relation of one Anne Green*. London: John Clowes, 1651.

Mandelbrote, Scott. "William Petty and Anne Greene: Medical and Political Reform in Commonwealth Oxford." *The Practice of Reform in Health, Medicine, and Science, 1500–2000: Essays for Charles Webster*. Eds. Margaret Pel-ling and Scott Mandelbrote. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005: 125–149.

Staub, Susan. "Surveilling the Secrets of the Female Body: The Contest for Reproductive Authority in the Popular Press." *The Female Body in Medicine and Literature*. Eds. Andrew Mangham and Greta Depledge. Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2011: 51–68.

Watkins, Richard. *News from the Dead or a True and Exact Narration of the miraculous deliverance of Anne Green*. Oxford, 1651.

ANNE GUNTER (b. 1584)

Anne Gunter met King James I of England on 27 August 1605, the first of four meetings that year. She had been taken to meet the king by her father Brian, who through his connections at Oxford was able to arrange the meeting. Gunter was unhappy with the outcome of a trial on 1 March 1605 of two women, Mary Pepwell and Elizabeth Gregory, who had been acquitted of bewitching Anne. The king delegated the case to Richard Bancroft and Samuel Harsnett, and Dr. Edward Jorden was asked to examine her. Anne was taken to stay with Harsnett, and it was at this time, away from her father's influence, that she confessed to pretending to be bewitched and acting in fear of her father.

Anne was born in May 1584 in Hungerford and was the youngest of five children. Her neighbor Nicholas Kirfoote told the Star Chamber that her father “made very little reckoning of her and disliked her so much that . . . [in] making his will, would have bequeathed her only ten pounds for her portion.” Her father also beat her so much that she experienced suicidal thoughts because “her state of life was so odious and loathsome to her.”

During the summer of 1604, Anne became sick and her illness was diagnosed as hysteria. She became ill again in the fall, experiencing contortions and trances, and vomited pins and other odd objects; her clothing would become inexplicably twisted and misshapen. Her parents consulted several doctors but no natural cause for her illness was found.

Anne publically blamed three women, Elizabeth Gregory, Agnes Pepwell, and her daughter Mary, for causing her illness. Her accusation of Elizabeth Gregory was most likely because of a fight at a football match in 1598, in which the Gregory family accused Brian Gunter of killing John and Richard Gregory. Agnes Pepwell had a reputation of being a witch, which is probably what led to Anne's accusation. Anne claimed she could see the familiars of the three women: a black rat, a mouse with a man's face, and a white toad. Anne also claimed to experience sickness and pain when Elizabeth Gregory did, experiencing pregnancy symptoms when Elizabeth was giving birth.

Even before the trial of the three women, people did not believe Anne's story. One skeptic was Thomas Hinton, a distant relation to Anne's father, although he had trouble convincing others of his doubts. However, the women were found not guilty of bewitching Anne, except for Agnes, who had fled. Despite the verdict, Anne's symptoms continued. By November 1605 she was thought to be dying. In an attempt to save her, Anne was given an unusual concoction that included some of Elizabeth's burnt hair and thatches from her house, a remedy that seemed to work.

Following her confession on 10 October 1605, there was a trial in the Star Chamber in February 1606. Anne and her father were charged with making false accusations and found guilty. Anne asked the court to have mercy, considering that she was acting under the orders of her father who tormented her with drugs and beatings. Brian Gunter was jailed. Following her trial, Anne is mentioned by King James as having fallen in love with one of Richard Bancroft's servants with the surname Ashley, but no further documents record what happened to Anne Gunter.

Megan Benson

For further reading

Ewen, Cecil L'Estrange. *Witchcraft in the Star Chamber*. London, 1938.

Jorden, Edward. *A Discourse of Natural Bathes and Mineral Waters*. London, 1669.

Sharpe, James. *The Bewitching of Anne Gunter: A Horrible and True Story of Deception, Witchcraft, Murder and the King of England*. New York: Routledge, 2000.

ANNE HAMTON (fl. 1641)

In the scathing account of her crime of murder in the 1641 broadside titled *Murther, Murther*, Anne Hamton, or Hampton, was described as the proud and wasteful wife of the patient and meek Richard Hamton. The author sensationalized her story even further by hinting that the gossipy Anne was bisexual as well. Although her husband's death was indeed cause for suspicion, Anne's trial was much less dramatic than the broadside led readers to believe.

Unhappy in her marriage, Anne confided in her widowed landlady, Margaret Harwood, who suggested that Anne was responsible for her own situation by allowing what she called a villainous husband to live. Initially resistant to the idea of murdering her husband, Anne ultimately agreed, allegedly buying enough poison to kill 10 men. She mixed the poison in Richard's food and left

him swelling in exceeding agony while she went to seek Harwood's help. Upon returning, the two women found Richard burst open and dead. Their screams attracted the neighbors as well as the police. Hamton was immediately imprisoned on suspicion of murder on 13 September 1641. The coroner's inquest reports note that poison was found all around Richard's heart, and when tested in a Venetian glass, the poison shattered the glass. Despite the damning "evidence" produced by the broadside, the Middlesex County Records note that on 17 September 1642 Anne was found not guilty.

Jaime Jordan

For further reading

Dolan, Frances E. "Tracking the Petty Traitor across Genres." *Ballads and Broadides in Britain, 1500–1800*. Eds. Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini. Burlington: Ashgate, 2010: 149–171.
Martin, Randall. *Women, Murder, and Equity in Early Modern England*. New York: Routledge, 2008.
Murther, Murther. Or, A bloody Relation how Anne Hamton . . . by poison murdered her deare husband Sept. 1641 being assisted and counseled thereunto by Margeret Harwood. London, 1641.

JANE HATTERSLEY (d. 1609)

In 1609, Jane Hattersley was found guilty of delivering, killing, and conspiring to hide the bodies of several illegitimate children, born to her through her decade-long affair with her married master, Adam Adamson. According to the pamphlet *The Bloudy Mother* (1610) by Thomas Brewer, Adamson seduced Hattersley and promised her that he would marry her when his wife died.

Hattersley's crime of infanticide was first discovered when she was living with and working for the King family in East Greensted. Unbeknown to the Kings, she was hiding a pregnancy, because "she so cunningly blinded the eyes of people, in the time that her sinne must needs appeare, with loose lacing, tucking, and other odde tricks that she used . . . none could perceive she was with childe." One day, Mrs. King returned home earlier than planned and found Hattersley in labor. When she returned with witnesses, Hattersley denied the labor, yet they soon found a living baby wrapped in her apron. The pamphlet reports that as soon as Hattersley was alone with the baby she smothered it, although her guilt was not proven at that time. The baby was reportedly buried by its father, Adamson, in an orchard he had sold to Edward Duffel.

The pamphlet further claims that Hattersley delivered an unknown number of babies, killing at least three. One was delivered at the home of her sister, and this child was put to nurse and survived to be fostered. Hattersley and Adamson might have escaped discovery of this serial infanticide, which continued for over a decade, had neighbors not overheard details about the baby buried in the orchard during a loud quarrel. When an investigation revealed the bones of an infant, Adamson and Hattersley were arrested and jailed. Adamson was able to make bond and later to avoid arraignment, and he promised Hattersley that he would help her to be pardoned. Instead, she was found guilty and hanged, not realizing until the last minute that her pardon would never come. According to *The Bloudy Mother*, Adamson was later plagued by worms and lice, as evidence of his guilt.

Simone Chess

For further reading

T.B. (Thomas Brewer). *The Bloudy Mother, or, the most inhumane murthers, committed by Jane Hattersly upon diverse Infants*. London, 1610.

PETRONELLA BRIGHTRED HAYWARD (fl. 1580s)

After four years of living in prison, Petronella Brightred was pardoned for the poisoning of her husband in 1587. Petronella was originally from Chittingstone and, after marrying her husband, took a lover named Thomas Hayward. Desperate to be together, Thomas and Petronella conspired to kill their respective spouses so they could then marry each other. Petronella carried out the crime by poisoning her husband and Thomas's wife with ratsbane in the spring of 1583.

Petronella was convicted in March of 1583 and was to be executed by hanging, but a jury of matrons discovered that Petronella was pregnant in July, so her execution was delayed. It is uncertain if Petronella ever gave birth or if the pregnancy was fabricated to postpone her execution; regardless, the excuse of a pregnancy, known as "pleading pregnancy," allowed Petronella to not only delay her execution but to obtain a pardon in 1587. Even though it had been four years since they first conspired to kill their spouses so they could be together, Petronella and Thomas Hayward were finally married following Petronella's release from jail in 1587.

Megan Spruell

For further reading

Capp, B.S. *When Gossips Meet: Women Family and Neighbourhood in Modern England*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003.
Cockburn, J.S. *Calendar of Assize Records, Home Circuit Indictments*, Elizabeth I and James I, Vol. 11. London: HMSO, 1985.
Levin, Carole and John Watkins. *Shakespeare's Foreign Worlds: National and Transnational Identities in the Elizabethan Age*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2009.

JOAN HELLIKER (fl. 1603)

We know nothing of Joan Helliker's life other than a single trace of it in the Bridewell records. On Monday, 3 May 1603, she was accused of theft. The single line entry reads: "Joan Helliker for stealing milk from the cow in Islington fields, being with child was not punished but delivered." On this occasion, the court seems to have had some regard for the child she carried.

Duncan Salkeld

For further reading

Bridewell Governors' Court Minute Book Vol. 4.
Salkeld, Duncan. *Shakespeare among the Courtesans*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2012.

FRANCES HOWARD DEVEREUX CARR, COUNTESS OF ESSEX AND SOMERSET (1592–1632)

Frances Howard, Countess of Somerset, attracted controversy throughout her adult life and was at the center of scandals that included charges of witchcraft, poisoning, adultery, and murder. Frances's first marriage to Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex, in January 1606 was a political match between two powerful families; at their wedding, a masque commissioned from Ben Jonson, *Hymenaei*, was performed. But their marriage was not consummated at the time because of their young age. Essex departed for a three-year continental tour, but upon his return the marriage was still not consummated, apparently because of his antipathy for his wife. The potential for political damage to the reputations of both families was immense, but with the consent of both sides in 1613 Frances petitioned the ecclesiastical courts for an annulment.

In his deputation Essex admitted impotence, but said he had no such difficulties with other women. This led the courts to consider whether Frances had used witchcraft upon him, but while this accusation was eventually dropped, the suggestion did not help her future reputation. The court ordered that Frances be searched by a number of matrons to discover if she was indeed a virgin, or if there was any physical reason why she could not have intercourse. She passed this ordeal in spite of rumors, because by this time she had formed a rather public relationship with Robert Carr, a favorite of James I. There was some speculation about Frances's request for permission to veil her face during the examination to spare her embarrassment, given concerns that this would allow a substitute to be presented in her place, a possibility said to be alluded to in the popular Jacobean play, *The Changeling*. Following pressure from the king, the marriage was nullified on 25 September 1613, and three months later Carr and Frances were married.

Their marriage led to yet more notoriety for Frances when it emerged two years later that during the summer of 1613 she had been involved in the plot to murder Sir Thomas Overbury, who was imprisoned in the Tower of London at the time. Overbury had been Carr's friend and had helped his burgeoning romance with Frances, but he was opposed to her annulment, and it had become clear that Overbury was a threat to her desire to remarry. When a lieutenant at the Tower, Sir Gervase Elwes, revealed in 1615 that he had been aware of a plot to poison Overbury, enemies at court of both Carr – who was made Earl of Somerset on his wedding – and the powerful Howard families quickly moved to ensure that the trail leading back to Carr, Frances, and her waiting woman Anne Turner resulted in official court proceedings.

It was at this time that publications began to appear calling the countess, as she now was, “a maid, a witch, a Countess and a whore.” The Somersets were imprisoned in October 1615 and brought to trial the following January. Their only child, a daughter Anne, was born in prison in 1615. The countess confessed her part in the plot in May 1616, for which the king granted her a pardon. However, the couple was not released from the Tower until 1622, perhaps because her husband did not confess his guilt.

Frances Howard, Countess of Somerset died at Chiswick on 23 August 1632, possibly of uterine cancer.

Sara Read

For further reading

Bellany, Alastair. “Howard, Frances, Countess of Somerset (1590–1632).” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004–2015.

Lindley, David. *The Trials of Frances Howard: Fact and Fiction at the Court of King James*. London: Routledge, 1993.
Semple, Edward le Compe. *The Notorious Lady Essex*. Tonbridge: Robert Hale, 1970.

AGNES COTELL HUNGERFORD (1470–1523)

During the Victorian period, the beautiful Agnes Cotell was rumored to haunt her final resting place, Christ Church in Greyfriars. According to the legend, when Agnes became aware of another specter, Queen Isabella, she became jealous of her beauty, and the two began fighting with such vehemence that they scared the night watchman away.

Agnes was not a stranger to violence during her lifetime, either. Little is known about her early years, except her marriage to John Cotell, who knew or worked for Sir Edward Hungerford of Heytesbury, Knight. Although not as high ranking as Sir Edward, John Cotell was most likely a gentleman; however, Agnes apparently wished to be with a man of a higher rank. While on a visit to Sir Edward's Castle of Farley in July 1518, John Cotell was strangled with his own linen neckerchief

by William Mathewe and William Inges, who then put his body in the kitchen furnace. Within five months' time, the two Williams and Agnes were in residence at Farley Castle, the latter as Lady Hungerford.

No one knows how or when Hungerford's first wife Jane died, but Edward and Agnes shared a great deal of trust during their short marriage, as evidenced by the fact that Hungerford named Agnes as the sole executrix of his will to the exclusion of his son by his first wife, Walter Hungerford. Agnes and the two Williams remained safe from accusation during Sir Edward's lifetime, protected by his rank and position as sheriff of the county in which the murder occurred. However, seven months after Sir Edward's death in January 1522, Lady Agnes was summoned to parliament, accused of procuring her first husband's death as well as comforting and aiding the murderers afterward. All of her possessions were forfeited to the king and later returned to her stepson, Walter Hungerford. Agnes Cotell Hungerford was hanged alongside William Mathewe at Tyburn on 20 February 1523 and subsequently laid to rest in the church at Greyfriars. William Inges was hanged six months later.

Jaime Jordan

For further reading

Hardy, William John. "Lady Agnes Hungerford." *Antiquary: A Magazine Devoted to the Study of the Past* 2 (1880): 233–236.

Marks, Alfred. *Tyburn Tree: Its History and Annals*. London: Brown, Langham, 1908: 124–132.

Nichols, John Gough and Rev. John Edward Jackson. "Inventory of the Goods of Dame Agnes Hungerford, attainted of Murder 14 Hen.VIII." *Archaeologia* 38 (1859): 353–359.

MARY RYDER LAKE (1575–1643)

Mary Ryder Lake was placed in the Tower of London in January 1619 after she, her husband Thomas, and her daughter Ann, Lady Ros had been found guilty of slandering Frances Brydges Smith Cecil, Countess of Exeter. The Lakes were told they had to admit their wrongs and apologize to the countess before they would each be released. Before the year was out, her husband and daughter had made their submissions, but Mary adamantly refused; although she was most likely guilty, she also stayed true to herself, a self who was outspoken and often quarrelsome.

The daughter of Sir William Ryder, once Lord Mayor of London, and a very successful and wealthy merchant, Mary was born in 1575. In 1591 she married Thomas Lake, who worked for Sir Francis Walsingham and had been appointed one of the clerks of the signet in 1589. They had five children: Thomas, Arthur, Ann, Bridget, and Elizabeth.

Although Mary was one of more than a dozen siblings, by the time of her father's death in 1611 she was his co-heir with her sister Susanna, widow of Sir Thomas Caesar. Ryder intended to divide his estate equally between the two women, but still they apparently disputed the terms of the will, suggesting Mary's combative nature. The Lakes eventually received property valued at £20,000.

Soon after Elizabeth I's death, the Council sent Mary's husband Thomas to Scotland to inform James VI/I about events in England. James was so impressed by Lake that he knighted him and often invited him to go hunting. After the death of Principal Secretary Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury in 1612, Lake took over much of the work but did not receive the title. Those at court thought this may have been because of suspicions that the Lake family was secretly Catholic; many concluded, however, it was because Lake's wife was a shrew.

In 1616 Thomas was finally appointed second principal secretary. The Lakes found themselves powerful enough to arrange a marriage between their daughter Ann and William Cecil, Lord Ros, grandson of Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter. But the marriage was unhappy, and the Lakes attempted

to force Lord Ros and his family to make a settlement for Ann by threatening to tell people that Lord Ros had an affair with his young step-grandmother, and that she, Frances, Countess of Exeter, had attempted to poison Ann. Instead the earl accused the Lakes of slander. Lord Ros fled England for Italy, where he died soon after. In early 1619 the charges and countercharges were finally heard in the Star Chamber with James I himself as head judge. He found for the Exeters, and the Lakes were heavily fined and sent to the Tower.

While Thomas and Ann soon confessed and were released, Mary refused. Instead, in November of 1619 she wrote to the countess telling her to search her conscience. James I was furious when he learned of this, but the following year he finally released Mary Lake on the condition that she would eventually do her submission. Mary's refusal to be submissive continued for the rest of her life. When she died in 1642, a poem about her was shared in manuscript that described her as a "shame to womankind."

Carole Levin

For further reading

Gardiner, Samuel R. *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War*. London: Longmans, Green, 1901.

Thomson, Elizabeth McClure, ed. *The Chamberlain Letters*. London: John Murray, 1965.

MARY OSBORNE (fl. 1580)

Mary was a prisoner in the Horsham Gaol from at least July 1581 to July 1585 and possibly longer. After finding herself in this situation, she may have decided to become pregnant in order to gain sympathy from the court or delay her execution. Whether it was planned or not, Mary was remanded for pregnancy in July 1581. When she was examined in March 1582, she was said to be quick with child, but there was no indication as to how long she had been pregnant at that time. Her son, Arnold, was baptized on 30 September 1584. Mary claimed the father was Raph Gelley, another prisoner in Horsham Gaol.

There are records in the Horsham parish of two women with the same name during this time frame who may have been the criminal Mary Osborne. The first one, Mary, or Marye, Osborne, daughter of Walter and Alys Osborne was baptized on 17 January 1555. The second one, Mary Osborne, daughter of John Osborne was baptized on 22 July 1565. The same records indicate a Mary Osborne as buried on 13 June 1583, but there is no indication as to which of the two women this was, except to describe her as "a poor mayde."

Stephanie Seketa

For further reading

Cockburn, J.S., ed. *Assize Records: Home Circuit Indictments Elizabeth I and James I*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1985.

Rice, Garraway R., ed. *The Parish Register of Horsham in the County of Sussex, 1541–1635*. London: Sussex Record Society, 1915.

EULALIA GLANFIELD PAGE (d. 1591)

In 1591, Eulalia Page was condemned and executed for conspiring with her lover George Strangwidge to kill her husband. Eulalia Glanfield, or Glandfield, had been forced by her parents to marry Page, a

wealthy local widower, although she already loved Strangwidge. According to the pamphlet *Sundrye strange and inhumaine Murthers, lately committed*, Eulalia tried for a year to poison her husband but did not succeed in killing him. She also apparently swore an oath that she would never bear Page's children, having before insisted that she would never "beare child of his getting that should prosper." She is reported to have had a stillbirth and another child who died.

Together with Strangwidge, Eulalia Page hired two murderers, Robert Priddis – one of Page's employees – and Thomas Stone. These men broke into Page's room at night and strangled him to death, breaking his neck in the process. The pamphlet reports that Eulalia Page pretended innocence about the murder, telling her husband's family that he was sick, not dead. When the family saw through her "counterfeit manner," they called for an investigation and discovered the truth of Page's violent death. Priddis was the first to be arrested, and then Stone, Strangwidge, and Page herself were implicated. Strangwidge confessed, claiming that he had sent a letter calling off the murder, but that it had come too late to stop the crime. Eulalia Page was questioned by Sir Francis Drake and a council of other Plymouth magistrates, and she confessed to the crime, saying that "she had rather dye with Strangwidge than to live with Padge."

In the end, all of the accomplices were jailed and then executed at Barnstaple instead of Devonshire; because of a plague in 1591, assizes were held at Barnstaple where the conspirators were listed in the parish register. The male conspirators were hanged, but Eulalia Page, having been found guilty of petty treason for killing her husband, was burned. This conspiracy and murder were popular fodder for broadside ballads, which generally include a warning about the dangers of forced marriage: "You Parents fond that greedy minded be, / And seeke to graft upon a golden tree: / Consider well, and rightfull Judges be." This murder was the likely topic of a now lost play, *Page of Plymouth*, probably written by Ben Jonson and Thomas Dekker in 1599.

Simone Chess

For further reading

- Chess, Simone. "'And I my vowe did keepe': Oath Making, Subjectivity and Husband Murder in 'Murderous Wife' Ballads." *Ballads and Broadides in Britain, 1500–1800*. Eds. Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini. Burlington: Ashgate, 2010: 131–147.
- Dolan, Frances E. "Tracking the Petty Traitor across Genres." *Ballads and Broadides in Britain, 1500–1800*. Eds. Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini. Burlington: Ashgate, 2010.
- Kane, Stuart. "Wives with Knives: Early Modern Murder Ballads and the Transgressive Commodity." *Criticism* 38 (1996): 219–237.
- The Sorrowful Complaint of Misres Page for causing her husband to be murdered, for the love of George Strangwidge, who were executed together*. Roxburge Ballads, Vol. 2. Ed. Charles Hindley. London, 1874.
- A true discourse of a cruel and inhumaine murder, committed vpon M. Padge of Plymouth the 11 . . .* The second of two tracts in *Sundrye strange and inhumaine murthers, lately committed*. London, 1591.

ELLEN PENDLETON [FLODDER] (d. 1616)

On 11 June 1615 in Wymondham, Norfolk, Ellen Pendleton, alias Ellen "Flodder," struck the first match of what would come to be known as "The Great Fire of 1615," setting nearly 300 houses ablaze in the historic town and exemplifying the seriousness and desperation of the commoner's plight in England during this period of intense social unrest. Characterized as a rogue and employed by Sir William Stanley, Pendleton led troupes of discontented peasants in attacks on Norfolk, Lincoln, Leicester, and Kent, burning the homes in which Protestants and Puritans lived.

Under the reign of King James I, England was facing dramatic religious upheaval and conflict between Catholics and Protestants, in addition to enormous national debt and financial instability.

Although she was a woman and a vagabond, Pendleton's misadventures were not unusual: they typified the widespread dissent that posed a threat to absolute monarchical power. During the summer of 1615, Pendleton was apprehended in Norfolk after Margaret Bix, a local woman, offered information about Pendleton's involvement in setting fire to the town. Although others of Pendleton's cohort had been arrested and executed, her death was postponed when officials discovered that she was with child, and instead she was held in the Castle of Norwich for questioning about the movements and future plans of the rogue army. A letter sent from the Privy Council on 27 August 1615 to the high sheriff of Norfolk ordered the postponement of Pendleton's execution because she was pregnant and indicated her cooperation in helping to apprehend her accomplices. However, a subsequent letter from the Council revealed that Pendleton furnished false information regarding the whereabouts of the vagabonds, and the stay of execution was lifted.

Sarah Whitt

For further reading

Acts of the Privy Council, 1542–1628. Ed. John R. Dasent. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1890–1949. Great Britain Public Record Office. "Examination of Helen Pendleton alias Floder, condemned for the burning of Wymondham." *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of James I, 1611–1618*. London: Longman, 1858.

Kelly, J. Thomas. *Thorns on the Tudor Rose: Monks, Rogues, Vagabonds, and Sturdy Beggars*. Jackson: U of Mississippi P, 1977.

JUDITH PHELPS (fl. 1594)

On 14 February 1594 Judith Phelps was whipped through the streets of London after being convicted of cozenage in which she used cunning to deceive a widow. Judith was married, but frustrated by her husband's poverty, she left him and traveled to Hampshire where she engaged in many acts of deceit.

In Hampshire, Phelps had a wealthy but gullible neighbor. Phelps set out to deceive him by appearing at his house as a fortune-teller who predicted that he had a great sum of silver and gold buried on his property. When he and his wife demanded proof, she instructed them to dig under a holly bush where they found a sixpence and a gold angel, which Judith had buried there the previous night. Convinced, he offered Judith a fee for helping him to find the rest of the treasure on his property. Judith asked for £14, five lit candlesticks each with a gold angel underneath, and a saddle and bridle. Judith saddled the man and rode on his back three times; she then instructed him and his wife to remain outside of their home while she went inside to meet with a Queen of Fairies. Judith took the gold angels, disguised herself as the Queen of Fairies, and left the house.

The man, discovering that he had been deceived, rode to Winchester after Judith where she was eventually found and punished. Judith did not learn her lesson, and with the help of two male accomplices she befriended a widow in the St. Nicholas Shambles, a parish of London. The two men found out many personal details about the widow so that Judith could read her fortune with great accuracy. Eventually, Judith conned the widow into giving her a great sum of money, but the widow caught on to Judith's plan and had her arrested. Judith was then whipped throughout the city.

Valerie Schutte

For further reading

The Brideling, Sadling and Ryding of a rich Churle in Hampshire, by the subtile practice of one Judeth Philips, a professed cunning woman or Fortune teller. London, 1595.

Brown, Pamela Allen. *Better a Shrew than a Sheep: Women, Drama, and the Culture of Jest in Early Modern England*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2003.

Ryrie, Alec. *The Sorcerer's Tale: Faith and Fraud in Tudor England*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008.

ANN LAKE CECIL RODNEY, LADY ROS (1600–1630)

In 1619 Ann Lake Cecil, widow of William Cecil, Lord Ros, with her parents Thomas and Mary Lake, was found guilty in the Star Chamber of slandering Frances Brydges Smith Cecil, Countess of Exeter. King James I called her father a second Adam, and Ann herself a second Eve, tempting him to do wrong, and the Lakes were sent to the Tower until they confessed. They also had to pay damages. Only three years earlier, the Lakes had been very pleased to negotiate a marriage between their daughter and the grandson of the Earl of Exeter; no one would have expected such an outcome.

Ann was born in 1600. Her father had been a minor official in Elizabeth I's reign but gained more status in the reign of James. In 1616 he became second secretary of state and he had gained enough status to arrange an aristocratic marriage for his oldest daughter. In February 1616, when Ann Lake married William, Lord Ros, grandson of Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter, she thought that her gentry family had achieved the ultimate reward for her father's hard work. But the marriage did not work out, and the attempts of Ann and her parents to get a settlement led to charges and countercharges.

The Lakes threatened to make public claims that Ann's husband had an affair with Frances, his step-grandmother, who was only a decade older. In 1617 Lord and Lady Ros reconciled and even lived with his grandparents. But the reconciliation did not last, and Lord Ros fled the country, only to die in Italy in 1618. In the meantime the Lakes pushed the Exeters further for a settlement, threatening they would tell not only about the affair but that the countess had attempted to poison Ann. But instead of paying off the Lakes, the earl claimed his wife had been slandered and begged the king for justice.

In January 1619 the case was heard in the Star Chamber. Ann claimed that the Countess of Exeter had confessed to her and she had a witness to prove it. But when her maid Sarah Swarton testified that she had eavesdropped from behind the hangings in the room at their palace at Wimbledon, James insisted they all go there and reenact the episode. The hangings came only to Sarah's knees and James triumphantly pointed out she would have been seen and thus must not be telling the truth. After the guilty verdict against the Lakes, Sarah was branded on her cheeks and imprisoned, although after her confession she was freed some months later.

By June, Ann, Lady Ros left the Tower after she confessed that the charges were all invented and begged for forgiveness, blaming everything on her parents. In November 1621 Ann married George Rodney and the two moved to Somerset, where the Rodney family had land. Ann died in 1630 at the age of 30. The memorial her husband put up for her described her as a good wife.

Carole Levin

For further reading

Bellany, Alastair. "Cecil, Anne, Lady Ros (1599x1601–1630)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2015.

Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury . . . : Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire. Ed. Richard Arthur Roberts, Edward Salisbury, Montague Guiseppi, and Geraint Dyfnallt Owen. London: HMSO, 1883–1976, Vol. 22.

Carte, Thomas Carte. *A General History of England*. London, 1747–1755, Vol. 4.

ANNE SAUNDERS (d. 1573)

On 25 March 1573, a London merchant named George Saunders was murdered on his way to St. Mary Cray. The murder was witnessed by a servant of Saunders's friend, John Beane, who was stabbed several times, but survived to implicate the killer, George Browne. As the facts of his murder came to light, it became clear that George Browne was in love with Saunders's wife, Anne, and had been hired to commit the crime. Although both she and her lover denied her involvement, ultimately Anne Saunders was found guilty of conspiring in her husband's murder, along with her friend Anne Drewry and Drewry's servant, Roger Clement, known as "trusty Roger."

According to Holinshed's *Chronicles*, George Browne received a secret letter from Anne Drewry, letting him know that Saunders would lodge at the house of his friend, Master Barnes in Woolwich, and then go on foot to St. Mary Cray the next day. George lay in wait and there killed him and injured John Beane's servant. John Beane was injured and appeared dead, but crept on all fours into Woolwich, where he gave "evident mark of the murderer." After committing the murder, Browne sent word to Drewry, who paid him and assured him that he could now marry Anne "whom he seemed to love excessivelie." After a search, Browne was apprehended in Rochester, and he confessed. He was arraigned on 18 April and was condemned and executed on 20 April. Browne insisted that Anne was not privy to this plan; up until his hanging he insisted on her innocence. Drewry and Roger confessed, and Anne, having just delivered a baby, was arraigned on 6 May at the Guildhall. Together, the three were tried for procuring and paying for murder. They pleaded not guilty but were condemned as accessories and hanged. Saunders's trial was delayed because she was pregnant, but she was executed on 13 May.

Adding to the scandal, in a pamphlet about the crime titled *A briefe discourse of the late murther of master George Sanders*, Arthur Golding reported that Anne Saunders, while in jail and proclaiming her innocence, seduced a suspended minister, George Mell, to the point where he tried to bribe Drewry to take the full blame and sued for a pardon on Anne Saunders's behalf. For his involvement, Mell was sentenced to the pillory, with a paper pinned to his breast to show that his punishment was for collusion with Anne Saunders. Golding's pamphlet includes a supposed confession and prayer by Anne Saunders, in which she admits "murtherous intent to procure my saide husbände to be breved of his life."

The murder of George Saunders and Anne's role in that conspiracy were recorded in Golding's pamphlet, Holinshed's *Chronicles*, Stow's *Annals*, and a ballad, as well as dramatized in the anonymous play *A Warning for All Women* (1599).

Simone Chess

For further reading

Bellamy, John. *Strange, Inhuman Deaths: Murder in Tudor England*. Westport: Praeger Press, 2006.

Golding, Arthur. *A briefe discourse of the late murther of master George Sanders*. London: Printed by Henry Bynnyman, 1573 and 1577.

Marshall, Joseph H. "'A Cruell Murder Donne in Kent' and Its Literary Manifestations." *Studies in Philology* 46.2 (1949): 131–140.

MARTHA SCAMBLER (d. 1614)

Martha Scambler appeared at the Old Bailey sessions of 18 and 19 July 1614 for the murder of an infant son that nobody, even her family, knew she had birthed. A neighbor of Scambler's relation near Bishopsgate with whom she lived opened their communal privy vault one day to release a trapped

dog and happened to discover a lifeless newborn, “lying all besmeared with the filth of that loathsome place,” as a surviving pamphlet account sensationally describes.

A panel of women organized to search out the child’s mother among the “loose livers and common harlots” of the community finally identified Scambler as a likely candidate. Upon examination, she confessed to delivering the child secretly and without aid of a midwife or any other person. Suggestions that she may have initially sought remedy to abort the child, to “make spoil of the bed of creation before it can receive true form,” are also levied by the pamphlet, as well as the imputation that she made her living as a prostitute. At length, Scambler pleaded guilty, admitting that the child had been born alive, and was hanged on the Tyburn Tree on 21 July alongside several other criminals. One of these others was John Arthur, a beggar and “London Cripple” accused of strangling a woman to death near Islington – a woman he was betrothed to marry. Although otherwise unrelated, both cases appear as subjects in the aforementioned pamphlet, asserting several thematic resonances between the crimes, including reputation, poverty, prostitution, “monstrous” domestic betrayal, and the supposed influence of the devil. The pamphlet concludes with two “sorrowful ditties” in ballad meter, purportedly written the night before the executions, by both Scambler and Arthur in which they admit their guilt and mournfully admonish others to avoid similar paths of sin.

Geoffrey A. Johns

For further reading

Deeds against Nature, and Monsters by Kinde. London: Edward Wright, 1614.

FRANCES BRYDGES THROCKMORTON (b. 1536–d. after 1559)

Frances Throckmorton remains largely absent from historical records until 1559 when she was imprisoned on the charge of witchcraft, specifically with respect to the attempted poisoning of her husband George Throckmorton. Frances was born about 1536 to John Brydges, Baron Chandos of Sudeley and his wife Elizabeth Grey. The date at which she married Throckmorton is not known.

A Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the alleged case of witchcraft and witnesses testified that Lady Throckmorton had sought by “many devices and devilish inventions” to bring about her husband’s destruction. Throckmorton charged the poisons had driven him “mad.” After Frances’s mother, Lady Elizabeth Chandos, made several appeals to high-ranking officials, including William Cecil, a second hearing convened where it was discovered that Throckmorton’s witnesses previously had given false testimony, having been bullied and threatened with imprisonment “if they would not confess and affirm that which he [Throckmorton] did recite.” Ultimately, the final judgment of the commissioners was that Lady Throckmorton, “being overmuch given to give ear to fantastical practices of palmistry and such like devices,” had resorted to the use of potions only out of the desire to win her husband’s love.

In the historical scholarship, Lady Throckmorton is often referred to as Mary but this seems incorrect. While several explanations have been offered, the most probable is that Mary was Frances’s older sister who happened to be George Throckmorton’s second wife. Although the date of Frances’s death is not known, most conclude that when Mary married George, she married her widowed brother-in-law. Regardless, it seems that the Lady Throckmorton in question here was Frances, and this is supported by at least one source that identifies Frances Throckmorton as being held in Fleet prison in 1559 on the suspicion of “bewitching her husband during seven years past.” That would place the date of marriage between Frances Brydges and George