

Introduction



The Lady Anne Clifford was Countess of Pembroke, Dorset and Montgomery by marriage,¹ and by birth Baroness Clifford, Westmorland, and Vesey, Lady of the Honour of Skipton in Craven and the High Sherifffess of Westmorland. She was a descendant of the ancient Clifford family founded in the twelfth century by Margaret de Toeni, heiress of Clifford Castle in Herefordshire. Her mother, Margaret Russell, was a member of the powerful Russell family, Earls of Bedford, which included Anne Russell, Countess of Warwick, gentlewoman of Elizabeth I's privy chamber and one of the Queen's closest intimates. Her father was George, 3rd Earl of Cumberland, renowned for his daring sea voyages and as champion to Queen Elizabeth. He was later a member of James I's privy council. Anne began her life with the expectation that she would live the typical and prescribed life of a seventeenth-century aristocratic woman – marrying into an important family and working behind the scenes to advance the interests of that family (and her own). Instead with the death of her brother Robert in 1591, the one-year-old Anne became sole heir of the vast Clifford hereditary estates in Westmorland and north-west Yorkshire. However, her status as heir was soon compromised by her father, who began legal manoeuvres to place his own brother Francis as heir.² This and George Clifford's infidelities led to great strains in his marriage to Margaret Russell, which Anne describes in detail in the 1603 Memoir. In this early part of Anne's life she lived as a fledgling courtier, often sleeping near Queen Elizabeth in her aunt Anne Russell's chamber. From this vantage point she witnessed the exercise of political power that would inform her own practices and decisions later in life.

George Clifford died in 1605 and by his will left the Clifford hereditary estates of the North³ to his brother Francis Clifford, 4th Earl of Cumberland, with the stipulation that, should his brother leave no direct male heirs, his daughter

1 She married first Richard Sackville, 3rd Earl of Dorset, in 1609; and second Philip Herbert, 1st Earl of Montgomery and 4th Earl of Pembroke, in 1630.

2 Anne Clifford, *Great Books of Record*, ed. Jessica L. Malay (2015), pp. 660–668.

3 These included much of Westmorland, including the castles of Brougham, Brough, Pendragon and Appleby, as well as the manor and castle of Skipton and other properties in the region of Craven, in North Yorkshire.

Anne would inherit these estates.⁴ He pleaded with his wife Margaret and to Anne to accept his will, writing in his last letter to her: 'I beg of thee thou wilt take as I have meant in kindness the course I have set down for disposing of my estate'.⁵ Anne was to receive £15,000 upon her marriage according to the will, but only on the condition that the will was not contested. Anne's mother, Margaret, was scornful of this settlement, complaining that it was 'a portion that many merchant's daughters have had' and telling Anne that 'your ancient inheritance from your forefathers from a long descent of ancestors is richly worth a hundred thousand pounds'.⁶ Margaret Russell refused to accept the will and this ignited an inheritance dispute that would last for decades, with repercussions that rumbled on for over a century.

Anne's mother led the battle to regain her daughter's inheritance in the early years of the lawsuit. She designed the legal and political strategies that achieved early success.⁷ Margaret Russell was able to secure documentary evidence that proved the Clifford hereditary lands continued under a Crown entail because they had been given to the Cliffords by the Crown through a letter patent.⁸ This meant the land returned to the Crown should the direct heirs (the male or female children of the holder of the land) die. Having proved the Crown interest in the Clifford hereditary lands, Margaret was incredulous that James I did not side with Anne in this case. She wrote to Edward Bruce, Lord Kinloss, that 'Baronies, Honours, Dignities of Office I have found and laid at his Majesty's feet'.⁹ This may be why after considering a number of possible marriages for Anne, she finally settled on Richard Sackville, 3rd Earl of Dorset. There was a long-standing affection between the two, and by 1609 Richard was a favourite of Prince Henry. Margaret hoped that the prince would use his influence with his father to allow the Clifford hereditary lands to descend to Anne, which would have left the Crown entail intact.¹⁰ Unfortunately Prince Henry died in 1612 and the court case between Anne and her uncle Francis continued for another five years until the King's Award settled the matter in 1617.

4 NA, PROB/11/108, 'Will of George Clifford' written 1605, proved 1606.

5 CAS Kendal, HOTH Box 44, 'letter from George Clifford to Margaret Russell, the "Last Letter"', October 1605.

6 Portland MS 23, Letter, 1615, p. 77; Letter, 1615, p. 69.

7 Richard Spence, *The Lady Anne Clifford* (1997), pp. 48–56. *Great Books*, ed. Malay, pp. 739–758.

8 See *Great Books*, ed. Malay, pp. 697–706.

9 Portland MS 23, Letter, 1606, p. 40. James I seemed completely uninterested in maintaining this entail and in 1608 attempted to gift the Clifford hereditary lands in Westmorland and Skipton in Yorkshire to Francis Clifford. See *Great Books*, ed. Malay, pp. 734–738.

10 See Malay, 'The Marrying of Anne Clifford: Marriage Strategy in the Clifford Inheritance Dispute', *Northern History* 159.2 (2012), pp. 251–264.

During this early period of her life Anne entered into the Court life of Queen Anne of Denmark and her daughter the princess Elizabeth, and maintained a large circle of aristocratic friends and acquaintances. She attended plays and danced in masques designed by Inigo Jones and written by Ben Jonson, Samuel Daniel (her early tutor) and others. She became the mistress of Knole House (Kent) and Little Dorset House (London). She was a patron of writers and scholars, and she herself became a scholar and writer. And yet, all of her activities as wife, courtier, aristocrat, scholar and writer were dominated by her efforts to secure the Clifford hereditary lands. The death of her mother in 1616 was the final blow to these efforts and led to the King's Award of 1617, which awarded Anne's uncle Francis the Clifford hereditary estates. This is the subject of many of her entries in her diary of 1616, 1617 and 1619. Despite this setback, Anne continued to believe she would inherit these lands eventually. The King's Award followed George Clifford's will for the most part. It awarded Richard Sackville £20,000 as Anne's marriage portion.¹¹ It also placed Anne and her children (male or female) as heir to the Clifford hereditary lands should Francis's direct line of male heirs fail. In 1617, Anne's cousin Henry (son of Francis and later 5th Earl of Cumberland) had no living male children and so there was a reasonable possibility that Anne could inherit her father's estates, and she clung to this possibility.

After the death of her husband Richard in 1624 Anne, now the mother of Margaret and Isabella (her three sons having died in infancy), sought to secure her position as the likely heir of the Clifford hereditary lands. Her cousin Henry's last son, Henry, died as an infant in 1622 and it looked at this point incredibly unlikely that her cousin would have a male heir.¹² Still, Anne was concerned that Henry would somehow manage to circumvent the King's Award, and this, along with problems Anne was experiencing with her brother-in-law Edward, 4th Earl of Dorset, over her jointure and her daughters' inheritance, led to her marriage to Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery. This marriage was not particularly happy, but it served its purpose, with Philip always supporting

11 The tenants of Westmorland also paid a heavy price for this award as James allowed Francis to raise rents and fees above their customary levels in order to pay Richard the £20,000. A number of tenants fell into poverty, some were imprisoned when they could not pay and some died because of the privation caused by the King's Award. This is one of the reasons they were so resistant to Anne Clifford's attempts to reinstate her rights as landlord in Westmorland after 1643 as discussed in the 'Yearly Memoirs: 1650–1675' below. See John Breay, *Light in the Dales*, vols 2 and 3 (1996), pp. 117–126.

12 Henry Clifford's last child, a daughter, Frances, was born in 1626 but did not live into adulthood. This left Henry with only one daughter, Elizabeth, later Countess of Cork, as his heir. Spence, *Lady Anne Clifford*, p. 80.

Anne in matters pertaining to the Clifford hereditary lands. In 1643, at the age of fifty-three, after the death of her cousin Henry, Anne Clifford inherited these lands in the North after decades of legal battles, political manoeuvring and personal grief as told in great detail in the autobiographies¹³ that follow. Because of the civil wars of the 1640s she was not able to travel to her lands immediately, but in 1649 she finally arrived in the North and quickly began a rebuilding and restructuring campaign that is still visible in the landscape today.

Anne Clifford lived during the reigns of four monarchs and two heads of state in her long life of eighty-six years. She experienced exile and isolation as well as great political power. She is best known to us as the writer of a number of autobiographies in different forms and styles that cover most periods of her life. These originally circulated in manuscript, but print extracts began to appear in the eighteenth century. For the modern reader it was Vita Sackville-West's 1923 edition of the 1603 memoir and 1616, 1617 and 1619 diary that brought Anne Clifford to the attention of a modern audience. Her autobiographies provide a vivid picture of her life as moves between moments of domestic joy, conflict, contentment and misery to the great political events of her time. She describes the death of kings and queens, civil wars, the Great Plague and the Great Fire of London. Through her writing we are shown the inner workings of great houses, great estates and great people, and we also get a glimpse of those individuals who lived more modest lives. We experience Anne's triumphs and also those moments of despair, when she sought solace in her religious faith. Anne Clifford was an avid autobiographical writer who believed it was important to record and reconsider (daily) the events, actions and people that added up to a life. And though only a small fraction of her autobiographical writing remains, as discussed below, the texts we have provide a rich view of the culture of early modern England and the life of this remarkable woman.

The title of this edition, *Anne Clifford's autobiographical writing, 1590–1676*, is intended to challenge twentieth-century assumptions about autobiography that have relied too heavily on Philippe Lejeune's 1973 definition of 'autobiography' as 'a retrospective prose narrative produced by a real person concerning his own existence, focusing on his individual life, in particular on the development

13 I use this as a collective term for the life-writing texts included in this edition. My intention here is to challenge Philippe Lejeune's 1973 definition of autobiography as a strictly crafted narrative of a person's life. Instead through the use of the plural I suggest that Anne Clifford wrote a number of narratives about her life, each with a particular purpose and a style designed for that purpose. Together these narrative come together to reveal Anne's own story from a variety of perspectives. For a detailed discussion of scholarship in early modern autobiography relevant to this edition, see below.

of his personality'.¹⁴ This approach privileged a strictly crafted narrative form that has been anachronistically applied to the early modern individual, generally male, resulting in the undervaluing, or indeed the inability to recognize, the autobiographical that exists in many types of texts from the period.¹⁵ Instead Felicity Nussbaum suggests that we should avoid too much reliance on previous scholarship that privileged the 'humanist tendency to model discourse [of the self] as cogent, univocal, gathered and controlled'.¹⁶ This approach has opened up possibilities for recognizing the creativity present in the way in which early modern individuals like Anne Clifford described their lives. Meredith Anne Skura believes that a fruitful engagement with autobiographical material of the period can come from a consideration of 'how and why people talked about themselves before "the modern autobiography" or "self" was culturally encoded', noting that 'a writer's way of telling a story can be at least as revealing as direct statements about herself'.¹⁷ Philippa Kelly and Ronald Bedford agree, insisting that self-representation in early modern England sought to 'creatively construct the meaning of a life' that was motivated by the 'evaluation' or 'sum' of one's actions.¹⁸ Adam Smyth suggests that early modern discourse of self-representation constructed a sense of self through 'a process of identifying, even overlapping with other figures, narratives and events, and by looking out into the world, rather than within'.¹⁹ Anne Clifford's autobiographies are generally, but not always, coherent. They can be fragmentary. They can be so finely focused as to identify the hair on her head and the fingernails of her hand,

14 Philippe Lejeune, *On Autobiography*, trans. Katherine Leary (orig. 1973; 1989). See also Meredith Anne Skura, *Tudor Autobiography: Listening for Inwardness* (2008), p. 2. Earlier, in 1969, Peter Delaney suggested that the way forward in approaching early modern autobiography was to 'frame a definition [of autobiography] which excludes the bulk of random or incidental self-revelation scattered through seventeenth-century literature' and prioritizes texts that were 'primarily written to give a coherent account of the author's life'. Delaney, *British Autobiography in the Seventeenth Century* (1969), p. 1.

15 Elizabeth Jane Bellamy, 'Afterward: Intention Redux: Early Modern Life Writing and Its Discontents', *Textual Practice* 23.2 (2009), 307–309. See also essays by Molly Murray, Kathleen Lynch, Suzanne Trill and Adam Smyth in *A History of English Autobiography*, ed., Adam Smyth (2016), pp. 41–100.

16 Felicity Nussbaum, *The Autobiographical Subject: Gender and Ideology in Eighteenth Century England* (1989), p. 22. See also Ronald Bedford and Philippa Kelly, *Early Modern English Lives: Autobiography and Self-Representation 1500–1660* (2007), pp. 1–9.

17 Skura, pp. 3, 8.

18 Bedford and Kelly, p. 2.

19 Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (2010), p. 11. Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker also invite scholars of early modern self-representation to eschew inherited models of autobiography that privileged 'coherence and explanation' in *Writing Lives: Biography and Textuality, Identity and Representations in Early Modern England* (2008), p. 25.

while at other times Anne collapses years into a few sentences. There is often a repetition which creates a cadence marking the reader's movement through a text. Her texts at times ignore a strict chronology, as she takes her reader from her chamber in Brougham, to a walk through Hardwick Hall decades earlier. More than 1100 people appear in her autobiographies – from the young Arthur Swindin, once her fisher boy, to the princes and princesses of Europe, and all manner of local folk. There is no easy way to characterize these fragments of a life knitted together in a variety of ways, in different autobiographical forms, as she recorded her experience of her life. And while this book claims to be the first complete edition of Anne Clifford's autobiographical writing, many other texts she produced also have a claim to being autobiographical, including her account books, her books of heraldry, her carefully preserved collection of letters and her *Great Books of Record*.²⁰

Anne Clifford's surviving autobiographical writing reveals her deep commitment to maintaining a record or account of her life. In this she was not unlike many early modern men and women who saw their existence as not simply a walk across a stage, with its entrance and exits, but as a life imbedded within a rich community of the past that was also leading into an unknowable future existence. The autobiographical texts early modern writers produced reveal the ways in which they attempted to understand their lives in this larger context, charged by both religious expectations and their worldly hopes for their descendants.

The Texts

The 1603 memoir and the 1616, 1617 and 1619 diary²¹ almost always appear together in the surviving manuscripts. The use of the term memoir and diary in reference to these two texts follows the practice of scholars and previous editors, and these are useful and appropriate terms. Joseph Brooker describes a memoir as 'a piece of writing about oneself which evades the demands of comprehensiveness: giving itself licence, for instance, to focus on certain chosen periods while leaving others undiscussed' and sheds 'light not only on the writer, but

20 This edition makes some use of these texts, and includes information in the notes that more fully develops subject matter mentioned in the diaries.

21 There is no room here to enter into a lengthy discussion of the wider definition of these two terms. The use of the word memoir is appropriate to the narrative structure here which is temporally sequential, but does not record the minutiae of daily life. The use of the term diary in relation to the autobiography of the years 1616, 1617, 1619 is appropriate given the labelled day-by-day recording of events that is reproduced in this autobiography.

on his or her surroundings, or on some specific aspect of one's life'.²² This is the case in the 1603 memoir where Anne focuses on the events surrounding the death of Queen Elizabeth and the early months of King James's reign. The term 'diary' in relation to the autobiography of the years 1616, 1617 and 1619 generally fits given the labelled day-by-day recording of events that is reproduced in this text.

This memoir and the diary have the most complex textual history of Anne Clifford's autobiographical writing. The earliest reference to these in print is in Thomas Pennant's *A Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides*, 1772 (1776). William Seward's *Anecdotes of Some Distinguished Persons* (1795) includes an extract from the memoir of 1603. Several manuscript copies containing extracts from the memoir and diary were also circulating in the late eighteenth century.²³ Margaret Cavendish Bentinck, Duchess of Portland (1715–1785), produced the earliest and most complete transcription of the memoir and diary we possess to date. Her manuscript copy was produced some time between 1770 and 1780.²⁴ The source for her copy was the original manuscript produced by Anne Clifford, the Gower manuscript (now lost), that was in the possession of Admiral Hon. John Leveson-Gower (d. 1792).²⁵ Leveson-Gower was the son of Mary Tufton, Anne Clifford's great-granddaughter. The 1603 memoir is a summary of events for a particular year and bears a close resemblance to the yearly memoirs Anne produced after 1649. The 1616, 1617 and 1619 diary appears closer in structure to the Daybook of 1676, with its daily entries and greater detail. Without the Gower manuscript it is impossible to know if Anne Clifford prepared this work as a single manuscript containing the memoir and diary, or if it was part of a larger manuscript book. However, the subject matter suggests Clifford saw the years 1603 and 1616, 1617 and 1619 as key periods in her early life. The 1603 memoir contains evidence of her relationship with Queen Elizabeth and the heady days in the first year of James I's reign. The 1616, 1617 and 1619 diary records the story of her struggles against King James, her husband and the most important men of the realm, as Anne sought desperately to retain her claim to the hereditary Clifford lands in the North.

22 'Around 2000: Memoir as Literature', in *A History of English Autobiography*, ed. Adam Smyth (2016), pp. 374–387 (375).

23 Including BL, Add. MS 75384, 1603 Memoir, transcribed by Rachel Lloyd and BL, Add. MS 34105, extracts by William Horword.

24 Longleat Archives, Wiltshire, Portland MS 23. This manuscript has been called the Portland MS and this term will be used to identify it here.

25 See BL, Add. MS 34105, where William Horword relates that in 1780 he took his extracts from the 1616, 1617, 1619 diary out of 'a manuscript copy in the possession of the Duchess Dowager of Portland in 1780, from the original in possession of Lord Gower', fol. 62.

Internal evidence suggests that the Gower manuscript is also the source for three nineteenth-century manuscript copies of the memoir and diary.²⁶ The earliest of these was produced about 1807 (according to the watermark) by Sarah Bazett Capel, Countess of Essex (d. 1838), wife to George Capel-Coningsby, 5th Earl of Essex. Sarah Capel was a gifted artist who specialised in producing watercolour copies of sixteenth-century portraits.²⁷ The manuscript where the memoir and diary appear also includes transcriptions of other historical documents relating to women.²⁸ The next manuscript of the memoir and diary is often called the Knole diary. It was produced by Elizabeth (and probably her sister Mary) Sackville of Knole House in Kent in about 1826 according to watermark evidence.²⁹ Elizabeth was heir to her father John Frederick Sackville, 3rd Duke of Dorset. She married in 1813 George West, 5th Earl De La Warr, who assumed the name and arms of Sackville, becoming George Sackville West. The diary remained in the hands of their descendants. The Knole Diary served as the base text for the first print edition of the memoir and diary in 1923, edited by Vita Sackville-West, great-granddaughter to Elizabeth Sackville. It was also the source text for D.J.H. Clifford's 1990 edition of Anne Clifford's autobiographies.³⁰ The third nineteenth-century manuscript of the memoir and diary was produced by the Countess Catherine Vorontsov who also became the Countess of Pembroke upon her marriage with George Herbert, 11th Earl of Pembroke, in 1808. She completed her copy of the memoir and diary on 7 February 1828, dating the final page of the manuscript.³¹

Both the Bodleian MS and the Clanwilliam MS are attractively presented in bound covers. The Bodleian MS is bound in dark blue leather. The title, *Curious*

26 These are noted in the text as they occur.

27 More than a hundred of these were printed in Lucy Aikins, *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth* (1818).

28 Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Eng. misc. d. 133. Capel's manuscript was purchased by the Bodleian Library, in the early twentieth century. This manuscript will be referred to as the Bodleian MS in this edition.

29 Unfortunately this manuscript, held at the Kent History and Library Centre, Maidstone (MS U269/3/3/5), has disappeared and I have had to rely on a microfilm copy. Katherine O. Acheson was able to examine the actual manuscript, and the watermark evidence is taken from the introduction to her edition of *The Diary of Anne Clifford: 1616–1619*, New York: Garland, 1995, p. 18. Acheson also provides in this work a detailed comparison of the Knole diary with Portland MS, and a discussion of the contributions of Elizabeth and Mary Sackville to the Knole diary manuscript.

30 Vita Sackville-West, *The Diary of the Lady Anne Clifford* (1923); D.J.H. Clifford, *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford* (1990). This manuscript will be referred to as the Knole diary in this edition.

31 Belfast, Northern Ireland, PRONI, D3044/G/5. This manuscript is now in the Clanwilliam/Meade Papers in the Public Records office of Northern Ireland, and will be referred to as the Clanwilliam MS in this edition.

Manuscripts, is stamped in gold on the spine, and above it is the monogram of Sarah Capel, Countess of Essex. The memoir and diary are found on fols 57–185. It is a fair copy – in a neat nineteenth-century hand. The Clanwilliam MS is bound in red leather. The title, *The Diary of Anne Countess of Dorset Pembroke & Montgomery Daughter & Heiress to George Clifford Earl of Cumberland*, is embossed in gold on the front cover. Underneath the title is the monogram of Catherine, Countess of Pembroke. Again the manuscript is in fair copy in a neat hand. The Knole diary has the least finish, and is found in three hand-stitched paperbooks. The handwriting is much less legible and has more of an amateur or draft quality about it. It also contains many transcription errors and is the least complete. It leaves out twenty-two of the entries that appear in the margins of the Portland MS. The Clanwilliam MS leaves out seventeen and the Bodleian MS has fifteen fewer marginal entries than the Portland MS.³²

The textual and transmission history of Anne Clifford's later autobiographies is less complex. Anne included her 'Life of Me the Lady Anne Clifford' (1589–1649) and her yearly memoirs (1650–1675) in her *Great Books of Record*.³³ The *Great Books* recount the story of Anne's ancestors – the Veteriponts and Cliffords of the North. The Clifford hereditary lands that eventually came to Anne descended from these two families. This story of Anne's ancestors is told through legal documents initially collected for the great lawsuit, and later documents discovered by Anne Clifford and her antiquarian associates.³⁴ And while the *Great Books* are certainly a historical narrative, they are also very much Anne's story of herself – of where she came from and who she saw herself to be. Thus it was perfectly logical for her to end the *Great Books*, with its stories of her ancestors, with her own story – her own autobiography. And she does this in three different ways. She includes the important legal and administrative documents relating to her life in her section of the *Great Books* – these are mainly the legal records of the lawsuit over the Clifford lands. She follows the records of her life with a longer memoir, her 'Life of Me'.³⁵ And one might expect that

32 This suggests that Sarah Capel and to a lesser extent Catherine Vorontsov and the Sackville sisters made choices concerning what to copy, what words and grammatical constructions to change and what to omit.

33 The *Great Books of Record* which Anne Clifford designed and produced between 1648 and 1653 is an imposing work of just over 635,300 words, written on double or elephant folio sheets (approximately 26 by 17 inches) bound in three large volumes. Four sets were produced, while a planned set in vellum was never completed. Three sets remain survive, see CAS, Kendal, WDCAT/16; WDHOTH/10 (two sets).

34 These included Roger Dodsworth, Charles Fairfax, William Dugdale, Simonds D'Ewes and others.

35 In the *Great Books* Anne included short biographies of all her ancestors and longer ones for her parents after the records of each individual.

this is where the *Great Books* would end, with Anne Clifford's depiction of her triumphant tour through the lands of her inheritance in 1649 that ends the 'Life of Me'. However, she continued to add yearly memoirs to the *Great Books*, summarizing and putting into context the events and details of each year.³⁶ She constructed these yearly memoirs from her daybooks, letters, accounts, news reports and her own memories.

Anne Clifford's accounts provide useful details about the way the yearly memoirs of 1650–1675 were managed, and the importance of this autobiographical project to Anne. Each year the first part of the yearly summary would be composed in the autumn and then copied into the third volume of each set of the *Great Books* by one of Anne Clifford's secretaries, generally Thomas Strickland. The final entries for the year would be copied into the *Great Books* at the end of December or in early January. If extra paper was needed it was inserted in the autumn. The three sets are remarkably similar in the entries for each year until 1663 when one set was sent to her daughter, Margaret Sackville, in the South-east of England. In this set³⁷ Anne Clifford's usual headings for each year, in her own hand, are not found after 1663. This set also lacks the biblical references that appear in the other two sets that were inserted by Anne.³⁸ The yearly entries in this set are often shorter and it is missing material that is in the other two sets. The pages are not paginated, and there is a section appearing between the 1668 and 1669 entries which is a retrospective of the visits Margaret Sackville made to Anne Clifford. These were taken from previous entries covering 1653–1669. In Anne Clifford's accounts she pays Allan Strickland and William Watkinson to make copies of the yearly memoirs. These were likely commissioned and sent to London to be added to the set that Anne's daughter had in the south.³⁹ The two surviving sets that remained in the North during Anne's lifetime⁴⁰ are nearly identical, with notes and additional material in Anne Clifford's hand continuing to appear throughout. Anne Clifford's accounts show she dedicated significant resources to the production and updating of her yearly autobiographical memoirs. She clearly saw these as part of the larger story of the Clifford dynasty in the North. The last yearly memoir is for the year 1675 and is followed by an elegy written by her grandson, Thomas Tufton. Fortunately the survival of

36 In this edition the yearly memoirs are collected together under the title 'The Lady of the North, Yearly Memoirs, 1650–1675'.

37 WDHOTH/10, Hothfield set.

38 This set is also likely the source for Fisher's copy of Anne Clifford's autobiography, BL, Harley 6177, which was the source text for D.J.H. Clifford's edition of Anne Clifford's autobiographies.

39 See CAS, Kendal, JAC 495–497, Anne Clifford's accounts, 1669–1675.

40 WDHOTH/10, Skipton set; WDCAT/16.

Anne's daybook for the last three months of her life, the Daybook of 1676, fills in with stunning detail the last days of Anne Clifford's life.

We know that Anne habitually for many years kept daybooks, where she carefully recorded or dictated the details of each day. One of her principal gentlemen, George Sedgewick, wrote in his own autobiography, 'she kept in a large folio paperbook a diary or journal, wherein she caused to be entered the occurrences of the day, and all the strangers [visitors] that came to her house, whether upon visits or business'.⁴¹ George Williamson, Anne's early twentieth-century biographer, believed the 1616, 1617 and 1619 diary may have been an early form of her daybooks.⁴² We know that at her death many of her daybooks survived. Anne's secretary, Edward Hasell, wrote at the end of the Daybook of 1676:

Thus far of this book and a great many more of the same kind, answerable to as many several years last past successively as containing a continued thankful commemoration (as my Honourable Lady hath often said), of God's great mercies and blessings to her and hers, were written altogether by her Ladyship or [by] her directions.⁴³

Unfortunately, there is no evidence that any other daybook survives. Williamson believes these were destroyed by Thomas Tufton in the early seventeenth century, but he makes this assumption on the basis of Thomas Whitaker's report, written in 1805, that 'among the evidences of Skipton are several memoranda of large parcels of papers sent away by order of Thomas, Earl of Thanet'.⁴⁴ However, Whitaker also states the belief that these manuscripts had been taken to Hothfield, in Kent, the home of the Earls of Thanet, Anne Clifford's descendants, not that they were destroyed.⁴⁵ Still, the survival rate of manuscripts related to Anne Clifford is quite high, so it is unusual that, except for the Daybook of 1676, no other volume of what must have been several volumes of daybooks has come to light. It may be then that the other daybooks were destroyed.

The Daybook of 1676 survives because Edward Hasell had it in his possession when Anne died and the final entry is made by him. He never returned it to Anne's family. The manuscript was preserved by his descendants and is now in

41 CAS, Carlisle, DLONS/L/12/2/16, 'George Sedgewick, A Summarie or Memorial of my owne Life', p. 77. For a printed version see Joseph Nicholson and Richard Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland*, vol. 1 (1777), p. 303.

42 George Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford* (1922), p. 83.

43 See p. 263.

44 Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford*, p. 361.

45 Whitaker, *History of Craven* (1878), p. 390.

a private collection. It is written in Hasell's hand⁴⁶ and shows that he prepared in advance the pages to be written upon each day. Each page was laid out in two columns and some text was pre-entered. It appears that entries were made throughout the day and all spaces on the page, including the left hand margin, could be used if the events of the day required, with writing generally horizontal on the page, but at times vertical (see Figure 1). Two nineteenth-century publications printed extracts from this manuscript: Robert Southey in his *Southey's Commonplace Books* and William Jackson in his *Papers and Pedigrees*.⁴⁷ In 1922 Williamson printed a much larger portion of it,⁴⁸ which was followed by D.J.H. Clifford's edition in 1990 which is extensive but does not include all material found in the manuscript, and thus the first complete edition of this manuscript is printed in this edition.

Editorial Principles and Practices

The purpose here is to provide an edition of the autobiographies that is useful for scholarship, while at the same time providing an accessible text for the modern reader. The spelling has been modernized throughout, though archaic forms and uses of words have not been modernized. Punctuation has been regularized, but aims to maintain the structure and flow of the original texts. The base text for the 1603 memoir and the 1616, 1617 and 1619 diary is the Portland MS. Significant variations between this manuscript and each of the nineteenth-century manuscripts are identified in the notes. Material which appears as marginal notes in the four manuscripts of the memoir and diary is integrated into the text, with a footnote indicating this. I have included marginal material in the text in order to maintain the narrative flow, as did Anne Clifford in her later autobiographical writing. In the 'Life of Me' and the 1650–1676 memoirs she inserts commentary and additional information directly into the main text. Thus the inclusion of the marginal notes in the main text in the earlier memoir and diary is consistent with Anne Clifford's later practice. It is also likely that marginal notes in the 1603 memoir and 1616, 1617, and 1619 diary retain echoes of their original layout in Anne Clifford's daybooks (see Figure 1), where the page was divided into different sections, and material placed in the left-hand

46 Only three insertions are in Anne Clifford's unique hand – the date headings for each month.

47 Robert Southey, *Southey's Commonplace Books: Analytical Readings*, 3rd Series, ed. John Wood Warter (1859), pp. 502–504; William Jackson, *Papers and Pedigrees Mainly Relating to Cumberland and Westmorland* (1892), pp. 54–58.

48 Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford*, pp. 265–280.

And this morning about a clock after my dinner I went out of this Drugg-ham castle toward Eden Hall in Cumberland to my son-in-law Philip Musgrave. But he came back againe after att night.

The 4th Day And this morning I saw Thomas Wright the Quaker who lay here the last night passed in my chamber for 12: busshes of malt for store for my son, and I took him by the hand and talked with him and a little after he went away. And afterward I had m^r Dr. Christopher the Painter into my chamber and took him by the hand & talked with him, and gave him payed for drawing out 2 pictures of the picture of my son German Francis Esq. of Bedford and he dined without with my hostess and 14th m^r Thom. Gables my Sheriff and his wife and after dinner he went away.

I did by the way receive of the north come from London knew that the 4th of Janes had taken a wife from the King's eyes. And this morning by his message I found out that all the King's coffee houses or the sitting or the coffee pulling.

I went not out of the house nor out of my chamber all this day. Psa 120

And this afternoon I saw my housekeeper Richard for my comfort my daughter to my comfort of her not seen in 2 months before by reason of his great sickness. so I took him by the hand and talked with him.

The 5th Day And by a letter received this morning from my daughter dated the 30th of December I came to know that she is much troubled with some in her head but is all by Patience and rest and that her condition was married to her second wife Mr. Gellston the 21st day of last month being 21st Thomas Day, his first wife being my daughter who was blown up with gun powder in y^e 1st of y^e 16th of Jan.

I went not out of the house nor out of my chamber to day. Psa 23

The 6th Day Being hallow day I remembered how this day was: 54 years at night, at a Mask performed in the Kings Banqueting house at Whitehall & in the Dining hall there, did I see King James the Scotchman, and it was the last time I ever saw him, or he me. And this morning before I saw him did m^r Thomas Gables my Sheriff ride away on horseback from his wife and me, and us here, out of this Drugg-ham castle towards Appleby where the County Court is kept in the Moor hall there.

And this morning I set my hand to 3 good letters of M^r Gell's writing for me one to my daughter Anne one to my son Northampton home to m^r Somers & all in answer of letters I had from them by the last post.

I went not out of the house nor out of the house all this day. Psa 23

column throughout the day. Thus many marginal notes may have been material written the left-hand column of the original text, though many are clearly later insertions. All marginal notes are indicated in the footnotes, with additional information concerning their source and use in the manuscripts more fully explained when necessary.

The manuscript used as the base text for the 'Life of Me' and the 'Yearly Memoirs, 1650–1675' is the CAS, Kendal, WDCAT/16 set of the *Great Books of Record*, volume 3.⁴⁹ Generally there is great consistency between the three extant sets of the *Great Books*. Unique material from each set is included in the text with the source identified in the notes.⁵⁰ The Daybook of 1676 exists in only one manuscript – the original manuscript in the scribal hand of Edward Hasell (with monthly headings in Anne Clifford's hand). The page layout for this manuscript is idiosyncratic (see Figure 1) and is printed here as one continuous text, with no attempt made to reproduce the layout of the original manuscript. This at times leads to some degree of repetition, but also accurately reproduces the text in its entirety.

A glossary of persons has been included following the autobiographies, with useful information included for identifying the over 1100 people mentioned in this edition. Every attempt has been made to provide at least some information on even the most humble individuals. When an individual is identified only by his or her title in the text or if an individual needs further explanation to allow identification, a note provides the full name and other relevant information in order to facilitate the use of the glossary. Children who died in infancy are generally not included. It is not possible to provide even short biographies of each individual mentioned in this edition. The principle used both in the notes and the glossary is to show how the individual is related to the events, places, and actions recorded in the autobiographies.

49 In the notes the three sets are indicated as follows: WDCAT/16 as WD; WDHOTH/10, the Skipton set, as H1; WDHOTH/10, the Hothfield set, as H2.

50 For a detailed discussion of the manuscripts of the *Great Books of Record*, see Malay, 'Constructing Narrative of Time and Place: Anne Clifford's *Great Books of Record*', *Review of English Studies* 66.277 (2015), 859–875. For an original-spelling edition of these autobiographies with extensive collation notes, see Malay, ed., *Great Books*, pp. 795–906.