

ART. VIII – *Patronage and Pietas: the monuments of Lady Anne Clifford*

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ON 2 April 1616, Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, bade farewell to her mother at the point where the drive from Brougham Castle meets the road from Penrith to Appleby. They were never to meet again. On 17 April Margaret Russell, Countess Dowager of Cumberland, was taken ill, and on 29 May, Anne Clifford, having returned to Knole and the miseries of her marriage to Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset, learned that her mother had died on 24 May.

In 1656, Lady Anne, by then Countess Dowager of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery, put up a monument at the spot where she had parted from her mother. It takes the form of a pillar, with sundials on three faces, and an inscription on the fourth:

This Pillar was Erected Anno 1656 By ye R. Hon^{ble} Anne Countess Dowager of Pembroke & Daughter & Sole Heire of ye R^t Hon^{ble} George Earl of Cumberland &c For a Memorial of her last Parting in this place with her good & Pious Mother ye R^t Hon^{ble} Margaret Countess Dowager of Cumberland ye 2^d of April 1616. In Memory whereof she also left an Annuity of Four pounds to be distributed to ye poor within this parish of Brougham every 2nd day of April for ever upon ye stone table here hard by.

Laus Deo

The pillar is only one of three memorials erected by Anne Clifford in memory of her mother (the others are the almshouses for widows at Appleby, and a tomb). It is, however, in many ways the most interesting, and I would like to consider it, and Anne Clifford's motives for erecting it, at some length.

It may first be helpful to give a brief summary of the life of this complex and fascinating woman. She was born in 1590, and was the only child of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, to survive childhood, her two elder brothers both dying in their fifth year.¹ Her parents' marriage was unhappy, possibly because of the death of the male heirs, and Anne Clifford was virtually rejected by her father, so that her closest ties in childhood were with her mother's family, the Russells. She was given a fine education in a highly literary atmosphere (Samuel Daniel was her tutor, and her mother's household for a time included Aemilia Lanyer, whose *Description of Cookham* appended to *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1609-10) celebrates the Countess of Cumberland).² When George Clifford died in 1605, he left his estates not to his daughter, but to his brother, who succeeded him in his Earldom, with the proviso that if the male line from his brother failed, the estates should revert to Anne Clifford. The Countess of Cumberland devoted the rest of her life to establishing that her daughter was the rightful possessor of the estates, turning herself into an antiquarian in the process. Lady Anne's dedication to this cause poisoned her first marriage and may have contributed to the failure of her second. She resisted immense pressures to give up her claim, which ranged from her husband's barring her from contact with her daughter and denying her any social life, to direct orders from King James VI and I. Eventually, in 1646, the male line

failed, and she succeeded to her inheritance at the age of 56. The civil war prevented her from going to her estates until 1649, but once in the north, she never left them. The last thirty years of her life (she died in 1676) were ones of great satisfaction, despite a number of painful bereavements, and she spent her time travelling round her estates, rebuilding her ancestral castles, and putting up churches, visited numerous times by her two daughters and many grandchildren. So potent was her reputation that when, shortly after the Second World War, her descendant Lord Hothfield proposed to install electricity in the almshouses in Appleby which Lady Anne had established in memory of her mother, his offer was declined, on the grounds that "Lady Anne would not have liked it".³

She is generally perceived as a formidable woman, but the affection in which she was held by her family is shown by their numerous and extended visits to her, and by their regular correspondence – at the end of her life, her former son-in-law, the Earl of Northampton, the widower of her younger daughter, and now remarried, seems to have been writing to her at least one a fortnight and frequently once a week. He had his daughter's interests to further (she was a less frequent correspondent), but such diligence argues devotion rather than duty, and other, more closely connected family members were also frequent correspondents. Her accounts of the reception of her frequent guests indicate a great deal of kindness, and a fair degree of informality, and the tone of the funeral sermon preached for her by the Bishop of Carlisle is one of deep affection. Although she held out against all the pressures put on her to renounce her inheritance, her early *Diaries* show that she paid a terrible psychological price for doing so: she was clearly suffering from depression for a long period, and was subject to fits of weeping. The impression given by the *Diaries* is rather of a naturally timid and shy woman who forced herself to do what she believed to be right, than of the battleaxe of legend.

Lady Anne's closest relationship was with her mother. The diaries of her old age are full of memories of the Countess of Cumberland, and she never visited Brougham without recording its associations:

And the 17 day of August being Thursday, in the forenoone after I had layn in my Castle of Brougham in Westmerland in the Chamber wherein my Noble Father was borne and my blessed Mother dyed ever since the 14th of October last . . . I took my Horslitter in which I ridd by the Pillar that I erected in memory of my last parting there with my Blessed Mother . . . (*Diary extract from 1671, recording a journey from Brougham to Appleby*).⁴

She was close to her own daughters, the Countesses of Thanet and Northampton, and to several of her grandchildren, but her mother's memory remained vivid to her until death, and it was by her mother, in Appleby Church, that she chose to be buried.

The Countess's Pillar is, then, a monument with many facets. At the most superficial level, it is a monument to the Countess of Cumberland, sited at the gate to the castle where she died, and with the charitable connections which her daughter felt were appropriate to her. But the dole is to be held, not on the anniversary of the Countess's death, but on the day of her daughter's last view of her, and this is a more complex commemoration. Since the two women did not meet again, it may be felt that that parting was the moment at which the Countess died for her daughter: not only did she not see her mother again, but, as far as may be ascertained from her diary, she received no more letters from her, only letters from members of the

Countess of Cumberland's household describing her final illness. The pillar marks the end of their relationship, and as such is a commemoration, not simply of a person, but of an emotional tie.

It is also a monument to a moment. The "grievous and heavy Parting"⁵ of 2 April 1616 was charged with emotion: Lady Anne had seen little of her mother since her marriage in 1609, as Lady Cumberland had retired to live on the northern estates, mainly, it seems, to safeguard her daughter's interests, and Lord Dorset had refused to let his wife visit her there until February 1616 – the visit of which the pillar marks the end. With her death, Lady Anne lost the only person who was prepared to help her in her fight for her inheritance: for thirty years she would struggle on alone.⁶

However important this parting with her mother it was but one in a life filled with bereavement: Lady Anne lost five sons, two husbands, a daughter and numerous grandchildren in the course of her long life, and no other moment in it is commemorated in this way. The existence of the monument suggests the importance that Anne Clifford gave, not only to her mother, but to her own emotional life. She memorialises a moment in her own life; the end of a relationship, a moment, moreover, that was extremely painful to her. The pillar has utility: it marks a point on the road, and tells the time of the day, but it also has symbolic meaning associated with the relationship. The pillar stands for immortality, after the pattern of the obelisks and pillars seen on so many tombs of this date, but it is also one of the objects most closely associated with the Passion (the pillar to which Christ was bound for the Flagellation). It is an attribute of Samson, who destroyed the Philistines by tearing down the pillars of their temple, and of the martyr St. Sebastian.⁷ The associations of the pillar with the sufferings of martyrs, and also with the eventual triumph of the righteous over the Philistines make it an appropriate symbol of both the Countess of Cumberland and Lady Anne Clifford. The sundials, as well as serving a useful public function for any traveller passing them on a sunny day, refer to the passage of time – the time that had passed between that last meeting and its commemoration, and the time which had brought about Lady Anne's triumph over her enemies. She might well see herself as Truth the daughter of Time.

Lady Anne's pillar is not crowned, but it is worth remembering that she spent her childhood at a court where the crowned pillar was a potent symbol: that of Elizabeth I, with whom she was evidently something of a favourite,⁸ and with whose cult, of which the crowned pillar formed a part, her father was intimately involved, succeeding Sir Henry Lee as Queen's Champion in 1590. The pillar, as Frances Yates and Roy Strong have explained,⁹ was a symbol of power, and also of Astraea, the virgin identified with Justice and with Truth the daughter of Time, and used as a symbol by Elizabeth I. Lady Anne's pillar, appropriately enough for an object erected in memory of a woman who had been an important member of the Elizabethan Court (the Countess of Cumberland had been one of those who watched over the corpse of the Queen before her funeral¹⁰) brings the symbolism of the late sixteenth century into the late seventeenth. It stands for the power which she had finally attained over her Northern lands, and the triumph of a female justice and truth over her enemies. The Countess's Pillar, therefore, celebrates a complex union of themes.¹¹

The monument to the Countess of Cumberland which Lady Anne erected in Appleby (St. Laurence) Church seems to be the first which she commissioned. It is

of exceptionally fine quality, and has not implausibly been attributed to Maximilian Colt. It was put up in 1617, a year after the Countess's death. On the ends of the chest are the coats of arms of Clifford and Russell, while the sides bear inscriptions. That on the south reads

Heere lyethe interred the Bodeye of the Ladye Margaret Conntesse Dowager of Cumberland Youngest Childe to Francis Russell Seconde Earle of Bedford, Married to George Clifford Third Earle of Cumberland, Shee Lyved his wife XXL[X]? Yeeres and dyed his wyddowe at Brougham Castle, the XXIII of May MDCXVI tenn yeares and seaven monethes after his decease. Shee had yssue by him two sonnes Franncis and Robert whoe bothe dyed yonngge and one daughter the Ladye Ann Clyfford married to Richard Sackville Third Earle of Dorset whoe in memorye of her Religious Mother Erected this Monvmen. A° Dni MDCXVII.

The north side (facing her daughter's tomb) has a poem:

Who Fayth, Love, Mercy, Noble Constancie
To God, to virtue, to Distress, to Right,
Observd, Exprest, Shewd, held Religiously.
Hath here this monument thou seest in sight
The Cover of her Earthly Part but Passenger
Know Heaven and Fame Contaynes the Best of her.

The effigy shows the Countess in a attitude of prayer (she faces the altar), wearing a widow's cloak surmounted by a Countess's coronet.¹² She is not shown as the young woman, so closely resembling her sisters, whom we know from portraits, but as considerably aged (she was fifty-seven when she died).¹³ Lady Anne made her mother's memorial to the woman whom she remembered from their last meeting.

The memorial which Lady Anne put up to her father when she eventually came into her inheritance is strikingly different from the intimacy of her mother's tomb. In contrast to the speed with which she commemorated her mother it was not until she was established in her northern possessions that she put up this monument, commissioned from the local sculptor, John Ellis.¹⁴ She incorporated his tomb into a general celebration of the Cliffords, transforming the altar area of the church at Skipton in Yorkshire into what amounts to a Clifford family chapel. The altar steps, which take up almost the whole area of the chancel, are flanked by two great tomb-chests. That to the north is of the first Earl (d.1542), a chest with cusped quatrefoils, the black marble top of which is surmounted by a brass. The brass to the second Earl (d. 1570) is on the wall to the east of this monument. To the south is the third Earl; his monument, clearly intended to echo that of his grandfather, embellished with the coats-of-arms which show his family history. High on the east wall above the tombs are inscription plates explaining their significance. To the north:

Here lyes expecting the second coming of our Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ the body of Henry Clifford First Earl of Cumberland and of the family & Kt of the most noble order of the Garter who by right of inheritance from a long continued descent of ancestors was Lord Viterpoint Baron Clifford Westmorland & Vescy Lord of the Honour of Skipton in Craven & Hereditary High Steward of the County of Westmorland.

He had by his second wife Lady Margaret Percy Daughter to the Earl of Northumberland two sons & three daughters. His eldest son succeeded him [in] the Earldome & his eldest daughter was first married to John, Lord Scroope & second to Sir Richard Chomeley from whom Sir Hugh and Sir Henry Chomeley now living are descended.

This noble earle died in Skipton Castle y^e 22th day of April 1542.

And here lies also interred in this vault this Earles eldest sonne Henry Clifford Second Earle of Cumberland & his first wife the Lady Elianor Brandons Grace by whome he had one onely daughter

that lived y^e Lady Margaret Clifford afterwards Countesse of Darby.

And by his second wife Anne Dacres (who also lyes here interred) hee had his 2 sonnes George & Francis Successive Earles of Cumberland after him & Lady Frances Clifford wife to Phillip Lord Wharton & grandmother to Phillip Lord Wharton now liveing. He was also by decent Lord Viterpoint Baron Clifford Westmorland & Vescy Lord of y^e honor in Skipton in Craven & Hereditary High Sherrife of y^e Countess [sic] of Westmorland & dyed in Brougham Castle in that County yeth [sic] day of Ianuary in ye yeare of Lord God 1570.

To the south is the inscription

Here lies expecting the second coming of our Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ the body of George Clifford third Earle of Cumberland of that family and knight of the most noble order of the Garter who by right of inheritance from a long continued descent of ancestors was Lord Viterpoint Baron Clifford Westmorland and Vescie Lord of the Honor of Skipton in Craven & Hereditary High Steward of Westmoreland and was the last Heyre male of the Cliffords that rightfully enjoyed those ancient lands of inheritance in Westmerland and in Craven with the Baronies and Honors Appertayninge to them.

For he left but one legitimate child behind him his daughter & sole heyre the Lady Anne Clifford now Countess Dowager of Pembroke, Dorsett & Montgomery who in memory of her father erected this monument in 1654.

This noble George Earl of Cumberland was born in Brougham Castle Westmoreland the eighth day of August in the yeare 1558, & dyed penitently in the dutchy house by the Savoy att London the 30th day of Octobr 1605, & was buried in the vault here the 13th day of March following. Hee was the 17th of his blood Hereditary High Sherrif of Westmoreland and the 13th of his blood that was Lord of the Honor of Skipton in Craven and was one of the noblest personages of England in his time havinge undertaken many sea-voyages att his owne charge for y^e good & Honor of his cuntry.

Hee married the blessed and vertuous Lady Margaret Russell, youngest daughter to Francis Russell, Second Earle of Bedford of that name by whome hee had two sonnes that dyed yonge in his life tyme & one onely daughter above named that lived to bee his heyre.

Which Lady Margaret his wife (then Countess Dowager of Cumberland) dyed in Brougham Castle the 24th day of May 1616, and lyes buried in Appleby Church.

Both inscriptions are the work of Lady Anne. It is not clear to what extent she was responsible for the whole conception of the altar area. Repairs were carried out on the church in 1655, close to the time of the erection of the third Earl's monument, and the installation of the inscription tablets.¹⁵ Certainly the balancing of the tombs of the first Earl and her own brother, who lies in the smaller tomb-chest at his feet, with her father's great tomb, and the pulling together of the composition by the matching inscription tablets, must be of her devising.

There is a striking element of self-promotion on the part of Lady Anne in the monuments she put up for her father. The whole ensemble is designed to prove that he was the last rightful male possessor of the Clifford lands. The succession passes from the first Earl to the third Earl, and stops: the child who should have been fourth Earl is at his great-grandfather's feet, in a similar tomb – there is no sign of later male Cliffords. And although the tomb-chest of the third Earl owes its conception to that of the first Earl, there is no portrait of him: the first and second Earls are represented in brasses,¹⁶ but the third is not. This must have been a deliberate choice on the part of Lady Anne: it is true that there was resistance to representational monuments during the Commonwealth, but they were not unknown.¹⁷ It would have been possible for Lady Anne to have included a figure of her father on his tomb had she chosen to do so: her refusal gives an indication of her programme in conceiving it.

George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, is reduced by his tomb to a genetic conduit. He is the means by which the blood of the Cliffords has been passed down

to his daughter, but he is summed up as consisting merely of his ancestry. The shields on his tomb constitute a family tree. Of his personality, there is no sign. The tomb, in its tasteful medievalising (like all Lady Anne's exercises in the medieval style, it is very well done) is of course appropriate to Cumberland's involvement in the medievalising romance-cults of the Elizabethan Court,¹⁸ but the viewer would need to know Cumberland's biography to appreciate this, and the inscription does not mention this aspect of his career. His membership of the Order of the Garter is mentioned; his involvement in maritime ventures; we are told that he was "one of the noblest personages of England in his time", but in what his nobility consisted, besides his hereditary titles, we are given no indication.

Nor are we given any flavour of his personality. In contrast to the Countess of Cumberland's tomb, with its stress on her character, on the Earl's monument we are asked to understand that he was not wholly estimable. His notorious promiscuity is acknowledged in the implication that he had illegitimate children, that he had behaved in a way of which he should be ashamed in the information that he died penitently. His wife is mentioned as "blessed and vertuous", but his daughter gives him no such accolade. Nor are the causes for which he showed penitence detailed – he had wronged his wife and his daughter, although he seems to have been reconciled to them on his death-bed: certainly he sent a penitent letter to his wife just before his death, and both she and Lady Anne were with him when he died.¹⁹ His will showed that he knew that his daughter would resent the disposition he had made of the family lands.²⁰

The Earl of Cumberland's tomb is magnificent, but impersonal: a monument to his place in the family, rather than to his individuality. By building it, Lady Anne turned the chancel of Skipton Church into a Clifford chapel: they are raised above the congregation, guarding the access to the altar, and the wall-panels tell their story for all who care to read it. But this ensemble was constructed in the knowledge that the Earl of Cumberland would be the last male Clifford to hold the Skipton Estate, and it is fitting that his daughter chose to celebrate him in the visual language of a vanished age.

At the time that she erected her father's tomb, and the Countess's Pillar, Lady Anne arranged for the construction of her own tomb near her mother's in St. Laurence's, Appleby.²¹ It seems a pity that she chose not to celebrate herself with a figure-tomb to match her mother's,²² but to echo the heraldic design she had chosen for her father's monument. Here, however, we can see the extent to which aesthetic considerations governed her choice of style. While her father's tomb is essentially an exercise in Gothic,²³ to balance the earlier Clifford monument on the other side of the chancel, her own tomb encloses its heraldic theme in a contemporary design. The shields trace and explain the family history, and the inscription on the tomb-chest includes the incantatory listing of titles with which we have become familiar from Skipton.

Here lyes expectinge y^e second cominge of our Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ ye dead body of ye Lady Anne Clifford daughter & sole heire to George Clifford 3^o Earl of Cumberland by his blessed wife Margaret Russell Countesse of Cumberland which Lady Anne was borne in Skipton Castle in Craven ye 30th of January (beinge Fryday) in y^e yeare 1590 as y^e yeare begins on New Yeares day & by a longe continued descente from her Father & his Noble Auncestors, she was Baronesse Clifford Westmerland & Vescy High Sheriffesse of y^e County of Westmerland & Lady of y^e Honor of Skipton in Craven Aforesaid She married for her Firse [sic] Husband Richard Sackvile Earl of Dorsett & for her second

Husband Phillip Herbert Earle of Pembroke & Mountgomery, Leaving behind her onely 2 Daughters that lived w^{ch} she had by her Firste Husband the Eldest Margaret Countess of Thannett and the Younger Isabella Countess of Northampton.

Which Lady Anne Clifford Countess Dowager of Pembroke Dorsett & Mountgomery Deceased at her Castle of Brougham y^e 22nd Day of March in y^e year of our Lord 1675 Christainly Willingly and Quietly Havinge before her Death seene A Plentiful Issue by her Two Daughters of Thirteen Grandchildren and her body Lyes buried in this Vaulte.

If there was some justification for her regarding her father as a conduit for genes, it seems a pity that she did the same for herself. Nevertheless one notices the same attempt as at Skipton to impose her view of family history on posterity. At Skipton the claim of her uncle and cousin to the Clifford lands is dismissed as unrighteous – George Clifford was “the last Heyre male of the Cliffords that rightfully enjoyed those ancient lands of inheritance . . .”. Here Lady Anne is her father’s sole heir, with no mention of the relatives who intervened between his and her tenure of the estate. With a care for detail which would do credit to the College of Arms, her titles by marriage are listed in order of the creation of the Earldoms: Pembroke (1551), Dorset (1604) and Montgomery (1605), thus dividing Philip Herbert in two. The black-and-white tomb-chest echoes that of her mother, though it is much plainer in design, and the curved frame for the wall-mounted heraldic panel harmonises with the tomb of the Countess. Not only Lady Anne’s ancestry, but also her descent, are traced on the family tree. From her tomb it is possible for the later viewer to learn what happened to the Cliffords, and to whom their inheritance went.

Lady Anne may have felt it of less importance to personalise her tomb in that she had already in 1646 commissioned an unusual monument²⁴ to mark the acquisition of her inheritance. This is the “Great Picture” now hanging in the Hall of Appleby Castle, a striking work, attributed to Jan van Belcamp, which combines a history of the Clifford family with an explanation of Lady Anne’s own life. It cannot be fully read until all the inscriptions are deciphered, as they explain some of the more puzzling aspects of the work. The piece is triptych, the central panel showing members of the Clifford family, flanked by portraits of Lady Anne as she was when her father died and she should have inherited, and as she was when she actually came into her inheritance, forty-one years later. It would seem that she is absent from the centre panel, but its inscription makes it clear that she is not. In this panel, which is edged by a family history in annotated shields, the Earl of Cumberland and his wife stand with their hands outstretched to the two little boys to whose early deaths Lady Anne owed her inheritance.²⁵ Behind them, on the wall of the architectural space in which they stand, hang pictures of Lady Anne’s four aunts. The source of these portraits is explained in one of the inscriptions:

These 8 Pictures conteyned in this Frame, are copies drawn out of the Originall Pictures, of these Hon:ble Personages, made by them, about the begening of June, 1589, and weare thus finished by the appointment of Ann Clifford, Countess of Pembroke, in memoriall of them, in 1646. When these originalls weare drawene did Georg Clifford, E. of Cumberland, with his worthy Wife, and there twoe sonnes lie in the Lo. Phillip Wharton’s hous, in Chanell Row, in Westminster, wheare the sayd worthy Countess conceyved with Child, the first of May, Ano. Dom. 1589, with hir onely daughter, the Lady Ann Clifford, whoe was borne the 30th of January following, in Skipton Castle, in Craven, in Yorkshire, shee afterwardees beeing the onely Childe of hir Parents, and is now Countess of Pembroke. – Psa: 139 [O Lord, thou hast searched me out, and known me. Verse 12: For my reins are thine: thou hast covered me in my mother’s womb].

What the inscription makes clear is that Lady Anne is present in the picture *in utero* – there can be no other reason for the specificity of the dates. It is perhaps significant that the four books shown in this section of the Great Piece are the Holy Bible, Seneca's Works in English, The Psalms of David (shown in the hand of the Countess) and "A written hand Booke of Alkumiste Extractios of Distillations and excellent Medecines". The books indicate the family interests – literary, scientific and religious – with the Countess given, as it were, a bonus for piety – which were to influence Lady Anne from the moment of her conception.

The choice of the time when Lady Anne's mother was in early pregnancy as the point for the depiction of those of her family who were going to have the most influence on her also allows her to be "shown" with her eldest brother, who died about six weeks before she was born, on 10 or 11 December 1589. If the inscription on the Great Picture is correct, and the family portraits on which the centre panel was based were indeed painted in the early summer of 1589, it looks as though Cumberland may have commissioned a set at about that date. The occasion may have been his wife's pregnancy (which must have looked at the time as though it was going to make the succession to the title absolutely secure), it may have been to commemorate his command of a ship at the defeat of the Spanish Armada the previous year, or it may have been to mark his succession to Sir Henry Lee as Queen's Champion, which took place in 1590, but which must have been arranged earlier. In support of this, it should be noted that in the Great Picture Cumberland is shown wearing the Star Armour which he wears in the Hilliard miniature which does seem to celebrate his role as Queen's Champion: although some writers have argued that the figure of Cumberland is based on that miniature, not on a portrait painted in 1589, and Roy Strong argues that the portrait of the Countess, at least, and probably therefore of the Earl, were based on portraits painted in 1585.²⁶

Besides her brothers and parents, the persons represented in the four portraits at the back of the centre panel are Lady Anne's four aunts: two maternal and two paternal. The care with which she has selected the figures for this piece, which amounts to a psychological autobiography, is indicated by the absence of her uncles. The people in the central panel represent those of her immediate family who had a decisive influence on the course of her life: her parents, her brothers (only one of whom she barely knew, as he died when she was a baby, but whose deaths put her in the position which was eventually to lead to the commissioning of the Great Picture) and the four aunts who were a major influence on her childhood.

Each of the aunts has a short biographical note under her portrait. It is clear that some of the eulogies must have come from Lady Anne's mother. Lady Margaret Clifford, Countess of Derby, for instance, the elder half-sister of lady Anne's father, who was the grand-daughter of Mary Tudor, Duchess of Suffolk, died 29 September 1596, and so Lady Anne can have remembered little about her, but the painting assures us that

shee was a virtuous and noble kind-harted lady, and full of goodness [sic] a deere lover of hir brother by the halfe-blood George, Earl of Cumberland, and his worthy wife and their children.²⁷

Cumberland's other sister must have been even less known to Lady Anne, for she died on 16 April 1592,²⁸ and the inscription is less fulsome – she was "a woeman of great witt, and much esteemed for virtue" – but her daughter, Margaret Wharton, is

mentioned beneath her mother's picture as important to Lady Anne. And, unsurprisingly since her relationship to her own mother was so important to her, Margaret Wharton's closeness to Lady Francys Clifford, wife to Philip, Baron Wharton, is mentioned

But hir eldest and deerest childe, Margaret Wharton, borne in Skipton Castle, is now widdow to the Lo. Wooton, a woeman of great goodness and worth.

Again, it is worth mentioning that the picture traces the descent from the aunts, but neglects to mention any relatives descended from the omitted uncles, although we know from her *Diary* that Lady Anne remained on good terms with her cousin's family, even while deploring his possession of her inheritance,²⁹ as she did with her male Russell cousins and their descendants.

Lady Anne knew her Russell aunts better than her Clifford ones, and her inscriptions on their portraits are consequently both fuller and more personal. Anne Russell, Countess of Warwick (after whom Anne Clifford must have been named, although she does not mention this) was a particular favourite:

She was buried at Cheynis in Buckinghamshire, wher she Founded an Almehouse; she served Q.Eliz. most part of hir life, was deerly beloved and favoured by her, whom she out-lived not a full yeere. Shee was a most virtuous and religious lady, and yet an Excellent Courtier; shee was a mother in affection to her younger brothers and sisters, and to their children, espetially to the Lady Ann Clifford. This Ann, Countess of Warwick, and hire twoe yonger sisters, Elizabeth, Countess of Bath, and Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, whose Pictures are all 3 heere, was the 3 sisters of the greatest for honor, and goodness, of any 3 sisters that lived in their tyme in this kingdom.

Of Elizabeth Russell, having included her in her eulogy of Anne Russell, Lady Anne Clifford writes less, but under this portrait she mentions her favourite cousin, Frances Bouchier, the Countess of Bath's only daughter.

. . . she had one daughter, hir first child, and 3 sonnes, wch. first child was the Lady Francys Bouchier, one of excellent witt, and goodndness [sic], She died a mayd at Sutton in Kent, and was buried at Cheneys, in Co: Buck . . .

Of the Countess we learn only that

she was a virtuos and good woman, and lived for most pte. a country life, all hir children being borne in Tavestock Hous.

The four immediate members of Lady Anne's family also have biographical notices appended to them. The Earl's is less personal than the Countess's. It tells of his ancestry, his marriage, his sea-voyages, the death of his sons, and his appointments to office by Elizabeth and James (although his being Queen's Champion is not mentioned). The disputes after his death and his widow's fight for her daughter's rights are also summarized. His character is thus summed up:

This Earle George was a man of many naturall perfections, of a great witt and judgement, of a strong body, and full of agility, of a noble mind, not subject to prid nor arrogancy, a man generally beloved in this kingdom. he died of the Blody Flix [sic], caused as was suposed by the many wounds and distempers he recyved formerly in his sea viages. He died penitently, willingly, and christanly, the 30 of October 1605.

Citations follow to Job 1, vii – "Is there not an appointed time to man upon earth? are not his dayes also like the dayes of an hireling?" – and to Ecclesiastes 8, vi –

“Because to every purpose there is time, and judgement; therefore the misery of man is great upon him”.

The sketch of the Countess is longer, more detailed, and the biblical citations of which it is full are more charitable than the rather double-edged ones accorded the Earl. After an explanation of her parentage and upbringing, we are told of her marriage, children, and lawsuits and antiquarian researches on behalf of her daughter, including the fact that

she brought to light the then unknown Title which her daughter had to the Ancient Baronies, honors, and Lands of the Vipounts, Cliffords, and Veseyes. – Ro: 1, Cap 4, Vers. 22 – The last words thereof [sic].³⁰ Esay. 38 Cap. Vers 16 [“O Lord, by these things men liue: and in all these things is the life of my spirit, so wilt thou recouer me, and make me liue”]. – Soe as what good shall accrew to her daughter’s posterity by the sayd Inheritance must, next under God, be attributed unto hir. – Prov. 31, Ves 28, 29 [“Her children arise up and call her blessed: her husband also, and he praiseth her. Many daughters have done vertuously, but thou excellest them all”] She was of a greate naturall witt and judgement, of a sweet disposition, truly religious and virtuous, indowed with a large share of those 4 morall virtues – Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temporance. The death of hir two sonnns died [sic] soe much afflict hir as that ever after the booke of Jobe was her daly companion.

The account of the Countess’s death is accompanied by a reference to Rev. Chap. 14, Vers. 13. [And I heard a voyce from heauen, saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth, yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours, and their workes do follow them].

The two little brothers are accompanied by the typical eulogy given to the dead child at this date.

When this yong Lo: Francys Clifford, and his Brother Robert lay in Channell Row by Westminster, with their Father and Mother, the spring befor this yong Lo: death, 1589, he was admired by those that knew him, for his goodnes and devotion, even to wonder, considering his childish yeares.

Mr Robert Clifford was

a child endowed with many perfections of nature for so few yeares, and likely to have made a gallant man.

Their births, deaths, and the places of their burials (the Cliffords tended to have intestines buried at one place, and bodies at another) are recorded.

The central portion of the Great Piece, therefore, shows the genealogical, moral, and social milieu, into which Anne Clifford was to be born. The shields which border this section of the picture trace her descent, and also the acquisition and fate of the lands which she now holds (the small cartouche by her younger brother, for instance, records her cousin’s sale of one of the oldest parts of her inheritance). Her parents and their achievements and characters are discussed, as are the four aunts who, she felt, had the most influence on her early years (although some of this influence came from their relationship to her mother). The intellectual interests of the household are indicated by the books shown in the room.

The left-hand panel shows Lady Anne at the age of fifteen, when she should have come into her inheritance on the death of her father. The little girl (she was in any case a small woman, and here is clearly not fully grown) is shown under the gaze of the two persons who supervised her education, whose portraits are hung on the wall behind her: Samuel Daniel the poet, and Mrs Anne Taylor, her governess. The cartouche-shield held by Francis Lord Clifford in the central panel has now passed

to her as the heir, and hangs on the wall, above her arms, displayed in a lozenge. An hour-glass on the table marks the passage of time, and reminds her that this stage of youth is fleeting. She is surrounded by objects indicating her interests and the course of her education. Among other objects are a viola da gamba³¹ and a music book; and some embroidery – Lady Anne’s *Knole Diary* mentions the making of a great number of cushions of “Irish Stich Work”.³² The books which form her reading at this time are incorporated, some shelved neatly under the portraits of her teachers, others tumbled on the floor. They are a well chosen library for an intellectual teenager, balancing theology (the Bible, St. Augustine, etc), philosophy (Epictetus, Boetius) and classical literature (Ovid), with modern works (Montaigne, *The Courtier*, *The French Academy*, *Don Quixote*), and modern English writings (Camden, Sidney’s *Arcadia*, Edmund Spenser’s *Complete Works*) and works on science, history and geography. Samuel Daniel is represented by both his *Complete Poems* and his prose *Chronicle of England*. At the age of fifteen Lady Anne was a well-educated young woman, serious-minded and complete – the implication being that with such an education she would have been well-able to take on the estates which she should have inherited at this point.

The right-hand panel bears the image of Lady Anne at the age of 56, when she finally came into her inheritance. The young girl in her silver-green dress (the colour is almost certainly emblematic) has turned into a serious woman in elegant black (an elegance which she was soon to discard – the eccentricity of her habitual choice of dress in her later years is remarked upon by at least two commentators³³). Although alone, she is not lonely, as she has two pets, a handsome black-and-white cat, which reflects her own colour-scheme, and a pretty white whippet.³⁴ Whereas in the picture of her girlhood the room she is shown in is rather austere, with rush matting on the floor, a plain table-cover, and none of the sumptuous hangings shown behind her parents, now she stands on a Turkey carpet, her table-cloth is of richer material, and she too has sumptuous hangings in her room.

Behind her hang portraits of her two husbands, both evidently copied from pictures painted towards the end of their lives. The biographical information given about them is balanced, with an evident preference for the Earl of Dorset. He

was by nature of just minde, sweet disposition, and very valliant in his own pson, and attayned to be a great scholler for his ranke, when he lived at the University of Oxford. He was so bountifull to souldiers, schollers, and others, which were in distress that thereby he much emparied his Estate. he was a zealous Patriot to this Kingdome, and the onley builder and one of the Cheefe Founders of the Hospitall at East Grinsted in Sussex, and truly religious in his latter tymes.

Most of the evidence about the unhappiness of the marriage of Lady Anne and the Earl of Dorset comes from the *Knole Diary*, covering the years 1616-1619, when Lady Anne was under the greatest pressure to renounce her inheritance. It seems that in later years she and her husband came to a better understanding, and that she remembered him with fondness.

Nothing is said of the character of Philip Herbert (who was alive, although separated from his wife at the time of the picture’s execution), but her second marriage seems to have been even more disastrous than her first, and biographers and commentators (including her secretary George Sedgwick, who knew both Lady Anne and the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery intimately) have been baffled as to

why she married Philip Herbert, of all people. Indeed, she seems, in retrospect, to have been somewhat puzzled herself:

After the earl of Dorset's death, she continued a widow five years; having a large jointure of £3400 a year.

In her first widowhood (as I have heard her say) she resolved, if God ordained a second marriage for her, never to have one that had children, and was a courtier, a curser and swearere. And it was her fortune to light on one with all these qualifications in the extreme.³⁵

However, she did owe much to Herbert – including part of the concept of the Great Picture, which, as has been frequently remarked, must derive from Van Dyke's magnificent *Herbert Family* at Wilton in which Lady Anne sits in black, looking separated from the overwhelming Herberts, and bitterly unhappy. Herbert was, on Sedgwick's evidence, practically illiterate – although his brother had been tutored, like Lady Anne, by Samuel Daniel, all attempts to make education stick on Philip Herbert failed. But he was also the man whose aesthetic judgement Charles I trusted most, a great builder, and a discerning patron of the arts. Lady Anne's aesthetic taste may well have been refined during the period of her marriage; they shared an interest in the arts, and if Lady Anne chose an artist inferior to Van Dyke for her Great Picture, the time at which it was executed was not propitious for the arts in England. It may be over-ingenious to see, in the three sections of the triptych, a sense of the changes that had come in artistic convention as well as in furnishings in the fifty-seven years which it spans: the folds of the curtain behind the adult Lady Anne are much more baroque than the comparatively straight hang of the one behind her parents, which is how curtains were painted in 1589, while the pets add another note of movement which means that, although the poses are essentially identical, the portrait of her aged fifteen has a stiffness entirely compatible with a painting of 1605, which the picture of her in 1646 lacks.

By 1646 the music, and the embroidery with which she tried to fill the desperate boredom of her empty days at Knole, have vanished: she need no longer display feminine accomplishments. What remains are her books, well-read, tumbled on the shelves (another element of informality in the latest event of the triptych), and a selection perhaps more suited to an elderly woman than a young girl. There is more emphasis on philosophy and theology: modern poetry is represented by Donne, Herbert, Jonson, and Fulke Greville;³⁶ there are sermons by both Donne and Dr King, Bishop of London, Plutarch (in French), a Bible,³⁷ and *Sir Henry Wootton his Booke of Architecture*. Altogether an accurate reflection of the probable library of a woman of whom Sedgwick wrote.

She could give a good account of most histories that are extant in the English tongue. Indeed she was an indefatigable reader, and had a library stored with very choice books, which she read over, not cursorily, but with judgement and observation.

The Great Picture traces the family history and emotional and psychological development of its central subject (for as a baby in the womb, she is central to the centre panel). So far Lady Anne's monuments to herself and her parents have been examined. The four other monuments which she is known to have commissioned all relate to persons mentioned or represented in the Great Picture.

Frances Bouchier, the daughter of the Countess of Bath, was Lady Anne's

favourite cousin, their intimacy springing from an incident in their childhoods:

A little before this my Mother & I, my Aunt of Bath & my cousin Frances went to North Hall, my Mother being extreme angry with me for riding before with Mr Mene, where my Mother in her Anger commanded that I should lie in a Chamber alone, which I could not endure. But my Cousin Frances got the Key of my Chamber & lay with me which was the first time I loved her so well.³⁸

Frances Bouchier died young and unmarried (she is shown kneeling by the side of her parents' tomb at Tawstock, obviously depicted at the age of her death), and was buried at Chenies, where Lady Anne Clifford erected a striking tomb to her memory.³⁹ Frances Bouchier died in 1612, and the design is indeed striking in its purity and restraint. It is tempting to suggest that it may be the work of Colt, the most revolutionary sculptor working in England at the period,⁴⁰ and whom Lady Anne probably used for the tomb of the Countess of Cumberland. Its design may owe something to the early-sixteenth century convention of a plain slab held on columns over a transi-figure, such as may be seen in Abbot Islip's memorial in Westminster Abbey,⁴¹ and which Colt was himself to adapt (in collaboration with Simon Basil) for the great tomb of Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury (d. 1612) at Hatfield, Hertfordshire.⁴²

In this, which may be the first of the seven funerary monuments which she is known to have commissioned, Lady Anne was displaying a refined artistic sensibility. She may even have influenced her cousin, the fifth Earl of Cumberland, in the design which he devised and commissioned from Nicholas Stone, for the monument to his mother in All Saints', Londesborough, Yorkshire (1631), and which was repeated in his wife's tomb in York Minster.⁴³

The two remaining funerary monuments are to the poets Spenser and Daniel. Probably the last to be erected was that to Samuel Daniel, her beloved tutor,⁴⁴ in St. George's Church, Beckington, Somerset, where he died in 1619. It must be post-1650. The other poetic tomb which is ascribed to Lady Anne is the monument to Michael Drayton, also in Westminster Abbey, and by Edward Marshall,⁴⁵ but it was her sister-in-law, the wife of the fourth Earl of Dorset who was the patron of this monument.⁴⁶

The two poetic monuments have a common general conception. I shall deal first with that to Daniel, because his was the closest relationship to Lady Anne. The monument was greatly admired by Pevsner, who totally misunderstood its date:

Samuel Danyel, [d.] 1619, a most interesting hanging monument; interesting because, if made shortly after his death, the first monument in the county designed in a fully understood classical taste. For not only are there volutes and garlands and an open segmental pediment, but the man represented in the bust in the pediment wears a kind of Roman toga and a wreath.⁴⁷

Even if Pevsner did misdate the monument by at least thirty years, his remarks about the fully understood classical taste of the design are still just, and Michael McGarvie misreads the monument, when he describes it as "a curious metamorphosis for a gentle Somerset yeoman".⁴⁸ Daniel is shown as a poet laureate (which he never was), and the classical elegance of the design is a tribute both to his learning and to the status of his poetry. His monument is a (very late) gesture in the sustained battle by sixteenth and seventeenth century poets to assert the dignity of English as a language capable of sustaining a classical literature. It is pleasing to recall that Lady Anne's second husband was the nephew of Sir Philip Sidney, at the heart of that fight

(perhaps that was among his attractions for her). The inscription has words familiar from the northern memorials:

Here lyes expecting the second comming of our Lord Sauour [sic] Jesus Christ ye Dead Body of Samuell Danyell Esqr that Excellent Poett and Historian who was Tutor to the Lady Anne Clifford in her youth she was sole daughter & heire to George Clifford Earle of Cu[m]berland who in Gratitude to him erected this Monument in his Memory a long time after when she was Countesse Dowager of Pembroke Dorset and Mou[n]tgomery he dyed in October 1619.

There is no doubting the sense of personal obligation that lies behind this monument: even if, as has been frequently remarked, more lines are devoted to Lady Anne than to Samuel Daniel, he is described as an “Excellent Poett and Historian” before his being her tutor is mentioned, and gratitude to a teacher is indeed great if it is still strong after thirty years. Gratitude links the monuments to Frances Borchier and Samuel Daniel – the kindness of the teenage Frances to a miserable cousin lies at the back of her monument just as Daniel’s teaching of an intellectual child, who retained her intensely literary tastes throughout her life, accounts for his. As with the Great Picture, we see Lady Anne celebrating her close relationships: these are people who were important to her intellectual and personal development.

An intellectual gratitude too, probably accounts for her decision to pay for a monument to Edmund Spenser.⁴⁹ Spenser’s *Works* are prominent in her youthful library in the Great Picture, and his combination of antiquarianism and poetry, his celebration of an idealised British past, must have appealed to her taste. Spenser had been buried near Chaucer in 1599, in a moving funeral ceremony at which his fellow-poets cast their elegies and the pens with which they wrote them, into his grave,⁵⁰ but no monument was erected – Spenser’s major patrons all pre-deceased him, except Raleigh, who was chronically in debt, and as his own fortune was destroyed when his house was burnt down, there was presumably no family money left to pay for such an expensive item. Elizabeth I ordered a monument for him, but it was never made.⁵¹ In 1620 Lady Anne Clifford commissioned a monument for him from Nicholas Stone.⁵² It is consistent in style with that to Daniel, which suggests that the design was dictated by Lady Anne, rather than by the sculptor. Unlike the monument to Daniel, it has no portrait. No authentic portrait of Spenser seems to survive, and this omission is probably therefore due to Lady Anne’s desire for authenticity as much as for aesthetic reasons. The bust of Daniel is known to have been based on a surviving portrait. The monument as we see it is an exact copy of the original, made in 1778, when the 1620 monument had fallen into decay.⁵³ It had originally been freestone, but is now marble. Lady Anne paid Stone forty pounds for it.⁵⁴ The simplicity of the design was not for reasons of economy. The elaborate pedestal monument to Francis Holles, of 1624-1627,⁵⁵ also in the Abbey, cost fifty pounds: the design of the Spenser monument is dictated by aesthetic considerations.

The eighteenth-century reproduction seems to be faithful in most respects, except in the absence of a Latin inscription, which was unreadable by 1708, and which was presumably on the base. The inscription in the upper section is in Lady Anne’s characteristic style:

Heare lyes (expecting the Second comming of our Saviour Christ Jesus) the body of Edmond Spenser the Prince of Poets in his tyme whose Divine Spirrit needs noe othir witnesse then the works which He left behinde him. He was borne in London in the year 1553 and died in the year 1598.

The dates on the original were recorded in 1708 as 1510 and 1596, and these were silently corrected on the replacement. The Latin inscription was illegible by 1708.⁵⁶ The monument is austere: the tablet, framed by plain columns, is surmounted by a pediment, with garlands falling to each side. The base is equally plain. Again, the classical simplicity of the design sorts well with Spenser's poetic programme to be the English Virgil: to give an English poet such a monument claims classic status for the works he wrote and for the language in which he wrote them. There is no laurel-crowned bust, but the laurel wreaths carry the same message: the style of the monument shows how Lady Anne viewed Spenser's poetry, just as the retro-medieval monument she built for her father showed how she regarded him.

That Lady Anne was not alone in feeling that a classical style was the most appropriate for the commemoration of a poet may be seen by a comparison with Inigo Jones's memorial to George Chapman (d. 1634) in St. Giles-in-the-Fields in London, which is in the form of an upright Roman tombstone. However, it should be pointed out that Lady Anne's tomb to Spenser pre-dates that to Chapman, emphasising once again both her finely developed aesthetic sensibility and her taste for innovation in art.

The final monuments which will be discussed are the two pillars at the top and bottom of the main street in Appleby. They have been altered since their erection, but they are undoubtedly the work of Lady Anne.⁵⁷ The High Cross bears the inscription, "Retain your loyalty Preserve your Rights". It is tempting to associate the crosses with the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660, which Lady Anne greeted with great joy,⁵⁸ but the inscription applies as well to her long struggle for autonomy and her inheritance as to the royal right to the Kingdom. The Crosses are in the form of Tuscan columns, with similar tops to that of the Countess's Pillar, which leads to the speculation that they may not be associated with the Restoration at all, but date from 1656, and relate solely to Lady Anne's possession of her own estates, although a monument put up in the Commonwealth by a noted Royalist with such an inscription must have had associations beyond the merely personal.

This survey of Lady Anne's monuments has been necessarily brief and superficial. But because of the number of monuments which she put up (her architecture and her patronage of literature have not been touched on) she provides an interesting study of patronage of commemorative art: the impulse behind the erection of the monuments, and the particular form she chose for each one. She is known to have been someone for whom monuments were interesting – her Diary twice records visits to Westminster Abbey to see the monuments.⁵⁹ John Weever, writing in 1631 (and quoting Camden), defines the impulses behind the erection of church monuments as threefold

in them love was shewed to the deceased, memorie was continued to posteritie, friends were comforted, and the Reader [of Epitaphs] put in minde of humane frailtie: and indeed the frequent visiting, and advising reviewing of the Tombes and monuments of the dead . . . with the often reading, serious perusal, and diligent meditation of wise and religious Epitaphs or inscriptions, found upon the tombes or monuments, of persons of approued vertue, merit and honour, is a great motive to bring us to repentance.⁶⁰

This might be summed up as commemoration, consolation and instruction. Putting up a monument is seen as an act by which the bereaved may show their affection for the deceased, an act which will bring them consolation. The memory of the

deceased will be preserved by the tomb, and the epitaph of a virtuous person will provide an example for posterity to follow.

Weever has other observations which may be helpful in examining Lady Anne's monuments. He defines a monument as

a thing erected, made, or written, for a memoriall of some remarkable action, fit to be transferred to future posterities. And thus generally taken, all religious Foundations, all sumptuous and magnificent Structures, Cities, Townes, Towers, Castles, Pillars, Pyramides, Crosses, Obeliskes, Amphitheaters, Statues and the like, as well as Tombes and Sepulchres, are called Monuments.⁶¹

He also demands that a monument should be appropriate

Sepulchres should be made according to the qualitie and degree of the person deceased, that by the Tombe every one might bee discerned of what ranke hee was living.⁶²

By Weever's definition, we can see that in all her patronage, architectural as well as funerary, Lady Anne was memorialising herself and her ancestors, but that his ascription of monuments to notable events covers her three non-funerary monuments; the Countess's Pillar, the Appleby Crosses, and the Great Picture. His demand that monuments should suit the nature of the person or event commemorated can also be seen to cover her activities as a monumentaliser.

All her monuments are fitted to the type of person commemorated – her mother's fashionable, modern tomb, with the effigy dressed as befitted her rank, and her personal qualities celebrated fits the personal nature of their relationship: this is a tomb to someone who is to be remembered as a woman, as well as a Countess. Her father's tomb, with its neo-medievalism, both fits the setting in which it is placed, and also pays homage to his ancient lineage, while acknowledging that the line has now finished – it belonged to the past, and the style of the tomb fixes it there. The neo-medievalism also fits Cumberland's role as Queen's Champion, itself a Gothic anomaly in a Renaissance Court. Meanwhile the anonymity of the design, tracing the lineage rather than celebrating the person, reflects Lady Anne's relationship with her father. In affirming on his tomb what he had sought to deny her, she was, in a way, turning the tomb itself into an act of posthumous defiance.

Her own tomb, erected at the same time as her father's, but next to her mother's, is an act both of affirmation and denial of her own importance – a paradox which echoes her character as described with affection by Edward Rainbow, Bishop of Carlisle, in the funeral sermon which he preached over her, taking as his text Proverbs, xiv, 1: "Every wise Woman buildeth her House".⁶³ Rainbow points out her intense interest in her own life

she had such a desire to know, review, and reflect, upon all the occurrences, passages, and actions of her life . . .⁶⁴

while stressing her complete lack of personal self-importance

It was apparent that the virtue which this lady most studied and practised was *Humility*.⁶⁴

The tomb, imageless, but tracing in its family tree who she was and what she achieved – the restoration of her ancestral castles, and the churches near them, the transmission of flourishing estates to the the two lines of her descendants – reflect this paradox in her personality, and the two strands of her parental inheritance; the genealogy echoes her father's tomb, but without the neo-medievalism which places

him as a relic of a finished age, while the materials from which the tomb is made, and its position, link her with her mother, the person to whom she was closest.

The tomb of her cousin Frances Bouchier again reflects the quality of the person commemorated. Frances Bouchier's life had been a blank sheet – she died unmarried, she achieved nothing. She was commemorated on her parents' tomb in Devon, along with her three brothers, two of whom had died in early childhood, and the youngest of whom became Earl of Bath. But Lady Anne remembered her in the context of her mother's family, the Russells.

All this time we were merry at North Hall. My Coz Frances Bouchier & my Coz. Francis Russell [4th Earl of Bedford, 1593-1641] & I did use to walk much in the Garden & were great one with another.⁶⁶

Frances was buried at Chenies, and it was there that Lady Anne Clifford erected her simple, austere monument, its only decoration the shields which trace her descent, and the inscription recording her cousin's grief. The simple black and white is appropriate in its purity, and contrasts with the elaborate contemporary Russell tombs. Its testimony to a cousin's grief is the more poignant by its contrast with the magnificence which surrounds it.

The monuments to the two poets are different again. Although by different artists their classical style, with its incorporated laurels, shows that Lady Anne understood the conflicts which had been going on about the status of English poetry, and firmly aligned herself with those who proclaimed its classical status. The monument to Daniel is more personal, as befits her tutor, but the simplicity of Spenser's tomb, and its size, firmly attest to the status to which Lady Anne believed Spenser entitled.⁶⁷

The three pillars are appropriate as marking great events. Rainbow mentions the Countess's Pillar alone among her monuments, and links it to Biblical precedent:

Indeed, one of the first things . . . which she built, was (what *Jacob* had first done) a *Pillar*. She built a *Pillar*, a Monument which stands in the High-way, at the place where her endeared Mother and she last parted, and took their final farewell. And as *Jacob* did, *she poured oyl upon this pillar*, the oyl of Charity, pouring down then, and yearly since . . .; and withall to be as a precious ointment to perfume her pious Mother's Memory, that her good name, and their mutual clearness of Affection, might be engraven, and remembered by their Posterity and the Poor to all generations.⁶⁸

Jacob set up four pillars in Genesis, and all may have bearing on the Countess's Pillar. The first was at Bethel, where he had the vision of the ladder, with the Angels of God ascending and descending:

And Jacob rose up early in the morning, and tooke the stone that hee had put for his pillowes, and set it up for a pillar, and powred oyle upon the top of it.

And hee called the name of that place, Beth-el, but the name of that city was called Luz at the first.

And Jacob vowed a vow, saying, If God will be with me, and will keepe me in this way that I goe, and will give me bread to eate, and raiment to put on:

So that I come againe to my fathers house in peace: then shal the LORD be my God.

And this stone which I have set for a pillar, shall bee Gods house: and of al that thou shalt give mee, I will surely give the tenth unto thee.

(Genesis xxviii, 18-22)

The second pillar was to mark the parting agreement between himself and Laban after God has commanded him to return to his ancestral home (Genesis xxxi, 13):

And Jacob tooke a stone, and set it up for a pillar.

And Jacob said unto his brethren, Gather stones: and they took up stones, and made an heape, and

they did eate there upon the heape. And Laban called it Jegar-Sahadutha: but Jacob called it Galeed. And Laban said, This heape is a witness betweene me and thee this day. Therefore was the name of it called Galeed,

And Mizpah: for he said, the LORD watch betweene me and thee when wee are absent one from another. (Genesis, xxxi, 45-49)

The third pillar marked the place (again at Bethel) where God told Jacob that he would found a nation:

And God said unto him, I am God Almighty: be fruitfull and multiply: a nation and a company of nations shall be of thee, and kings shall come out of their loynes.

And the land which I gave Abraham, and Isaac, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed after thee will I give the land.

And God went up from him, in the place, where he talked with him.

And Jacob set up a pillar in the place, where he talked with him: even a pillar of stone: and he powred a drinke offering thereon, and he powred oyle thereon. (Genesis, xxxv, 11-14)

The final pillar marked Rachel's grave:

And Rachel died, and was buried in the way to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem.

And Jacob set a pillar upon her grave: that is the pillar of Rachels grave unto this day. (Genesis xxxv, 19-20)

Rainbow does not specify which of Jacob's pillars he had in mind, but all can be applied to the Countess's Pillar. Indeed, if the two Bethel pillars are to be identified as the same, then the fact that Lady Anne set up three pillars may itself be significant.

Lady Anne's familiarity with the Bible is remarked upon by Sedgwick:⁶⁹ all Jacob's pillars might be seen as having personal application. The pillars at Bethel mark the spot where Jacob both left and returned to his ancestral lands, with years of exile between, and although Lady Anne did visit her inheritance between her parting with her mother and her return to take possession nearly forty years later, for her mother's funeral, it may well have seemed that her parting from her mother marked the beginning of her years of her exile, for after her mother's death, there was no one to look after her interests in the lands of her inheritance. When she returned, it must have seemed, with her daughters married, and her grandchildren numerous, that she would indeed be the ancestor of a great lineage (in fact, although her descendants still hold some of the lands, her grandchildren's generation was not reproductively efficient, and both parts of her inheritance eventually came to the line of the fifth son of her daughter Margaret, Countess of Thanet). The application of Rachel's memorial to a Pillar set up in memory of the Countess of Cumberland is obvious, as are the words of Laban to Jacob at their parting. If Rainbow applies the analogy of Jacob to Lady Anne, it is an analogy she was fully capable of making for herself.

The Countess's Pillar, marking as it does a moment in Lady Anne's emotional history, is also consistent with the importance which Rainbow says she put upon her own life. It is interesting that this woman had so strong a sense of her own identity, of her own interest and importance, that she felt herself to be worth commemorating, even if that commemoration was through monuments erected to others. She took control of her own life – Rainbow twice refers to her second husband's death as the moment from which dated her freedom, although she had already left him and moved to the North – and she impressed herself upon the landscape to a degree unparalleled even by Bess of Hardwick. The monuments with

which this paper has been concerned are the most minor of her works, although they have survived in a way that much of her building has not. Rainbow and Sedgwick both emphasise the way in which she used her building projects and her journeys from one castle to another as a way of producing prosperity in the area, and her recognition of the economic importance of the great families extended to her determination to buy only local produce (her Diary records an ongoing struggle with her wine merchant, from whom she several times threatened to withdraw her custom, but whom she seems to have gone on using).⁷⁰ She felt that her life had importance, and was interesting, and so commemorated it. But what she commemorated was not only her rank, and her actions, but her emotional life, and those who had been emotionally important to her. So her tutor has a tomb, and although fifty-two years after his death she could still recall her last meeting with her first husband,⁷¹ no pillar at Knole marks the site of that event, as the Countess's Pillar stands where she last saw her mother.

The Great Picture that survives at Appleby had originally its counterpart at Skipton, so it seems clear that Lady Anne's original intention was that each of the branches of her family should have a copy, as a reminder of the source of their inheritance.⁷² If the tomb of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, marks the end of his line, the Great Picture celebrates the refounding of a new line by his daughter. And although George Clifford features in it, it is Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, already pregnant with Lady Anne, who stands at its centre, and it is she to whom the descendants of Lady Anne who examine the picture are reminded that they owe their present fortune. The Great Picture is both commemorative and celebratory, and as such, rightly depends on two types of model – the great Herbert family picture at Wilton, which celebrates a marriage, and so marks a new beginning for the family, and in which Lady Anne herself probably features, and the type of family triptych put up by families like the St. Johns', in churches. It is not a great work of art: probably because the availability of artists in London in the Civil War was limited – but its quasi-religious format serves to remind us of the devotion which Lady Anne felt towards her ancestors, and presents her descendants with an object of veneration. If one takes it as a religious image, then one is presented with a Holy Family (the mother in the centre) with two donors in the wings – but the centre of the Holy Family is the Countess of Cumberland, and the donors (or subsidiary saints) are Lady Anne herself. It is an image the implications of which the highly intelligent patron was fully able to realise.

Lady Anne's monuments display piety towards her family and those to whom she believed she had most cause to feel gratitude. It is likely, from the diversity of the designs, that most of her monuments were of her own specification. It is clear that each monument both expresses her own feelings about the person commemorated, and what she felt would best express their personality to those who came to look at the monument. In the Great Picture she not only performed an act of ancestral piety herself (centred, as her emotional life was, on her mother)⁷³ but has presented her descendants with a devotional object for the future, something which the religious format makes explicit.

There can be no better conclusion than the words with which Bishop Rainbow ended his Sermon at her funeral.

And while her Dust lies silent in that Chamber of Death, the Monuments which she had built in the Hearts of all that knew her, shall speak loud in the ears of a profligate Generation; and tell, that in this general Corruption, lapsed times decay, and downfal of Vertue, The thrice illustrious *Anne* Countess of *Pembroke*, *Dorset*, and *Montgomery*, stood immovable in her Integrity of Manners, Vertue, and Religion; was a well built Temple for Wisdom, and all her train of Vertues to reside in; is now removed and gone to inhabit a Building of God . . .⁷⁴

Acknowledgements

I have had a great deal of help from various people when writing this article, but would like to express my gratitude to three in particular. Lord Hothfield showed me the pictures connected with Lady Anne Clifford in his possession, lent me materials about her, and allowed me to copy the record of the inscriptions of the Great Picture in his possession. Dr the Lady Renfrew of Kaimsthorn encouraged me to transform the piece from a lecture into publishable form, and supplied me with much material relating to Lady Anne. Dr Adam White read a version of part of this paper and made many valuable suggestions, which I have incorporated into the present text where indicated. Any mistakes are, of course, my own.⁷⁵

Notes and References

- ¹ Her mother seems to have wanted a daughter (at the time of Lady Anne's birth, the younger of the Cumberlands' two sons was still alive). A letter of congratulation from Lord Cumberland to his wife on the birth of her daughter reads in part: "Swite mege as it hath pleased god thus to blesse thee with they longe desired wyshe . . . soe wth. mery harte and thoughtes cumforte thy selfe as thoue mayst the souner recover thy former strenthe . . ." (The elder son had died shortly before Lady Anne's birth). *Lady Anne Clifford 1590-1676* (Abbot Hall Art Gallery, Kendal, 1976) (exhibition catalogue), 46.
- ² Reprinted in Germaine Greer, Jeslyn Medoff, Melinda Sansone & Susan Hastings (editors), *Kissing the Rod: An Anthology of 17th Century Women's Verse* (London, 1988), 44 ff. Lady Anne herself and her mother were among the dedicatees of the work. See Elaine V. Beilin, *Redeeming Eve: Women Writers of the English Renaissance* (Princeton, 1987), 177-207 and 321-2. Dr Philippa Berry has produced an interesting commentary on Lanyer's work in an unpublished lecture. The dedication to Lady Anne includes an adjuration to live a Christian life in the words, which in view of Lady Anne's later building activities may be seen as prophetic: "He is the stone the builders did refuse/ Which you, sweet lady, are to build upon" (*To the Ladie Anne, Countesse of Dorset*, stanza 17, lines 1-2, in Aemilia Lanyer, *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*, (ed.), Susanne Woods (Oxford, 1993).
- ³ D. J. H. Clifford (ed.), *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford* (Stroud, 1992 corrected ed.), 270. The fullest account of Lady Anne's life is George C. Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford* (Kendal, 1922) (repr. 1967). Her personal generosity is emphasised in G[eorge] C. Williamson, "Lady Anne Clifford's Account-Book for 1665 and for 1667-8", *CW2*, xxiii, 84-102. I am grateful to Dr the Lady Renfrew of Kaimsthorn for bringing this to my attention.
- ⁴ D. J. H. Clifford, *op. cit.*, 208.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.
- ⁶ The only other person who seems to have been prepared to encourage her was Queen Anne of Denmark. See D. J. H. Clifford, *op. cit.*, 44-45. Lady Anne had taken part in *The Masque of Queens* on 2 February 1609, dancing as Berenice, and in *Tethys' Festival* on 5 June 1610, as the nymph of Ayr [the Aire, which runs through her ancestral lands]. See Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, 2 vols. (London, 1973), 1, 131 ff; 191 ff.
- ⁷ George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (Oxford, 1954), 178 and Jean Chevalier and Alain Gheerbrant, *A Dictionary of Symbols*, trans. John Buchanan-Brown (Cambridge Mass., 1994), 220-

225. Pillars and obelisks are discussed in Adam White, "England c.1560-c.1660: A Hundred Years of Continental Influence" in *Church Monuments*, VII, (1992), 34-74.
- ⁸ D. J. H. Clifford, *op. cit.*, 21.
- ⁹ Frances A. Yates, *Astraea* (London, 1975), *passim*; Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (London, 1977), *passim*.
- ¹⁰ D. J. H. Clifford, *op. cit.*, 21.
- ¹¹ For other associations of the pillar with Jacob as the founder of a nation, see p. 135 f.
- ¹² The tomb was initially sited in the centre of the chancel, directly in front of the altar, but was moved to its present site in the nineteenth century. See George C. Williamson, *op. cit.*, 409.
- ¹³ The expert on Lady Anne Clifford, Martin Holmes, believes that the face is "executed from a death mask" (Abbot Hall Art Gallery, exhibition catalogue, *op. cit.*, 25). For Lady Anne generally see Martin Holmes, *Proud Northern Lady* (London, 1984).
- ¹⁴ Information from Dr Adam White. For Lady Anne's patronage of local tradesmen after she came into her inheritance, see below, n. 69. Dr White suggests that "Ellis may well have made Lady Anne's own monument as well".
- ¹⁵ Nikolaus Pevsner and Enid Radcliffe, *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire: The West Riding* (Penguin Books, 1967), 485 f.
- ¹⁶ A nineteenth-century reproduction in the case of the first Earl: See George C. Williamson, *op. cit.*, 404.
- ¹⁷ The tomb to Sir Edward Spencer at Great Brington by John Stone was erected in 1656, and at some time after 1650, Lady Anne erected a monument to Samuel Daniel, which has a bust of the poet.
- ¹⁸ For these cults, see Francis A. Yates, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Roy Strong, *op. cit.*, *passim*, and Jean Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I* (Woodbridge, 1980), *passim*.
- ¹⁹ C. M. L. Bouch, F.S.A., *The Lady Anne: Hereditary High Sheriffess of the County of Westmorland and Lady of the Honour of Skipton-in-Craven* (Appleby, 1954), 9.
- ²⁰ Abbot Hall Art Gallery exhibition catalogue, *op. cit.*, 47-8.
- ²¹ Dr Adam White informs me that Lady Anne's monument was completed in the summer of 1657 having probably been started two years earlier when she built a vault for herself in the church and ordered repairs to the building. See D. J. H. Clifford, *op. cit.*, 133.
- ²² The will of her first husband, Richard, Earl of Dorset, makes provision for a tomb with figures of both himself and Lady Anne to be erected at Withyham, Sussex: the will was presumably carried out, but the tomb was destroyed in a fire in 1663, and no record of it seems to have survived. See George C. Williamson, *op. cit.*, 413-4.
- ²³ Adam White, who was kind enough to read an earlier draft of this paper, disagrees with my characterisation of the third Earl's tomb as "Gothic", arguing that there is "no gothic detailing on it, nor . . . anything specifically medieval about its general form", and that as "tomb chests without effigies have been erected in every century from the . . . fifteenth onwards" . . . "it is merely a simple and cheap way of commemorating a dead person, and allows room for a display of heraldry, as in this case". (Adam White, personal communication). However the monument seems so consciously retrospective in design that I wish to retain the term.
- ²⁴ Such family triptyches were, in fact, usually truly monumental. The three closest parallels – at Besford, Worcestershire to a Harewell child (last quarter of the sixteenth century) (See Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Worcestershire* (Penguin, 1968), 82-83; at Burford, Shropshire, to Richard Cornwall, d.1568, signed and dated by Melchior Salabuss, 1588 (See Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Shropshire* (Penguin, 1958) 91-2; and the St. John triptych of 1615 at Lydiard Tregoze, Wiltshire (See Nikolaus Pevsner, revised Bridget Cherry, *The Buildings of England: Wiltshire* (Penguin, 1975), 317 – are all funerary monuments. Lady Anne's maternal grandmother was a St. John (of Bletso, rather than Lydiard, but the families are closely related), and she may well have been aware of the Lydiard work, which is in the same county as Wilton, the Pembroke home. In its general conception – family history/celebration/memorial – it is close to her Great Picture. On the triptychs see Julian Litten, *The English Way of Death: The Common Funeral Since 1450* (London, 1991), plate 10, and Fig. 28, Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death* (London, 1991), 29-30, and Nigel Llewellyn, "Claims to Status through Visual Codes: Heraldry on Post-Reformation Funeral Monuments", in Sydney Anglo (editor), *Chivalry in the Renaissance* (Woodbridge, 1990), 145-160. For a recent discussion of the Great Picture, see Graham Parry, "The Great Picture of Lady Anne Clifford" in David Howard (editor), *Art and Patronage in the Caroline Courts: Essays in honour of Sir Oliver Millar* (Cambridge,

- 1993), 202-219. This has an interesting discussion of the books in the picture, and makes the point that the embryonic Lady Anne is central to the composition.
- ²⁵ It was suggested to me by those present at the 1993 Cambridge University Interdisciplinary Seminar *Renaissance Afterlives* at which I delivered a version of this paper, that the Earl of Cumberland might be interpreted as gesturing at his wife's womb.
- ²⁶ Roy Strong, *National Portrait Gallery: Tudor and Jacobean Portraits* (2 vols, London HMSO, 1969), Vol. 1, 57 ff.
- ²⁷ She was Lady Anne's godmother. See George C. Williamson, *op. cit.*, 56.
- ²⁸ She bequeathed the Countess of Cumberland a house on Clerkenwell Green, in which Lady Anne spent part of her childhood. See George C. Williamson, *op. cit.*, 66.
- ²⁹ D. J. H. Clifford, *op. cit.*, 108, 160-1, 171.
- ³⁰ This is meaningless. The last words of I Chronicles, 4, 22, however, reads "And these are ancient things," which is probably the reference intended.
- ³¹ D. J. H. Clifford, *op. cit.*, 27, mentions being taught "to sing and play on the Bass Viol of Jack Jenkins my aunt's boy" while staying at North Hall in 1603.
- ³² D. J. H. Clifford, *op. cit.*, 37, 40, 41, etc. For embroidery as part of a young woman's education at this date, see Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the making of the feminine* (London, 1984), 60 ff.
- ³³ In her funeral sermon, the Bishop of Carlisle commented on her idiosyncratic dress – "not disliked by any, but imitated by none" (Abbot Hall Art Gallery exhibition catalogue *op. cit.* 16). Her secretary George Sedgwick, in his fond recollections of her, was less tactful: "She wore, in her latter days, always very plain and mean apparel, indeed far too mean for her quality. A petticoat and waistcoat of black serge was her constant wear, nor could any persuade her to wear others. She kept always two gentlewomen, who wore better clothes by far than their lady". George Sedgwick's Memoir, printed in Joseph Nicolson and Richard Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland* vol. i (London, 1777 – Republished 1976), 294-303. I am grateful to Dr the Lady Renfrew of Kaimsthorn for bringing this to my attention.
- ³⁴ It is perhaps unusual that the portrait of her as a young girl does not include a pet, as children are often shown with them at this date. See my article "The Noble Imp: The Upper-Class Child in English Renaissance Art and Literature", *The Antiquaries Journal* (1990), LXX Part II, 360-379, 364-366.
- ³⁵ Nicolson and Burn, *op. cit.*, 299.
- ³⁶ All of whom were personally known to her or to her mother. Donne described her as able to 'discourse of all things, from Predestination to Sleasilk' (D. J. H. Clifford, *op. cit.*, 60). Herbert enjoyed her friendship while he lived at Bemerton and she at Wilton during the period of her second marriage, and a letter from him to her survives (see below, note 73). Ben Jonson wrote masques in which she participated during her time at Court, and Greville's *A letter to an honourable lady*, is thought to be addressed to her mother the Countess of Cumberland (Fulke Greville, Baron Brooke, *Prose Works*, ed. John Gouws (Oxford, 1986), xxvii ff.
- ³⁷ Sedgwick remarks on how familiar Lady Anne was with the Bible: "She was well versed in the holy scripture, which she was able to quote upon any sudden occasion," Nicolson and Burn *op. cit.*, 302.
- ³⁸ D. J. H. Clifford, *op. cit.*, 25.
- ³⁹ Nikolaus Pevsner describes it as "Very noble. No effigy at all. Black slab with three shields. Four short white columns and a perfectly uncarved black top slab" (*The Buildings of Buckinghamshire* (Penguin, 1960), 86). It was copied in the nineteenth century for the tomb of the First Earl (Lord John) Russell.
- ⁴⁰ He was responsible for the monument to the infant Princess Sophia (d.1606), in Westminster Abbey, and, on the basis of this work, has been suggested as the most likely artist for the stunning tomb of the third Lord Mordaunt (d.1601) at Turvey, Bedfordshire, also austere, also black-and-white, representing a tomb-chest draped with a pall. (See Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Bedfordshire and the County of Huntingdon and Peterborough* (Penguin, 1968), 160. Adam White is dubious about the possible ascription to Colt, however (personal communication).
- ⁴¹ *Westminster Abbey: Official Guide* (London, revised edition, 1988), 56-7.
- ⁴² This monument also owes a great deal to Continental design, particularly the tomb of Count Englebert II of Nassau (between 1526 and 1538) in the Grote Kerk, Breda. See Nikolaus Pevsner, revised Bridget Cherry, *The Buildings of England: Hertfordshire* (Penguin, 1977), 163, and Adam White (1992) *op. cit.*

- ⁴³ Walter Lewis Spiers (editor), *The Note-Book and Account Book of Nicholas Stone* (Printed for the Walpole Society by Frederick Hall at the Oxford University Press, 1919) (Walpole Society Publications, Volume VII, 1918-1919, ed. A. J. Finberg), repr. 1969, 97-98.
- ⁴⁴ She was still talking about him in 1670: "After 18 years service with this good lady, she began to mind me of myself and my future well-being in the world; often repeating to me a verse of Mr Samuel Daniel the famous poet and historiographer, who had been her instructor in her childhood and youth:
 "To have some silly home I do desire,
 Loth still to warm me by another's fire . . ."
 Nicolson and Burn, *op. cit.*, 299.
- ⁴⁵ *Westminster Abbey*, *op. cit.*, 95.
- ⁴⁶ See Jean Wilson, "The Patron of the Monument to Michael Drayton in Westminster Abbey", *The Church Monuments Society Newsletter*, Vol. 9 No. 1 (Summer 1993), 16-17. Adam White nevertheless contends that the monument to Drayton "greatly influenced the Daniel memorial" (personal communication).
- ⁴⁷ Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: North Somerset and Bristol* (Penguin, 1958), 142. For a correction of Pevsner, see Michael McGarvie F.S.A., *St. George's Church Beckington* (Beckington, 1990), 2.
- ⁴⁸ Michael McGarvie, *op. cit.*, 2.
- ⁴⁹ Lady Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, was one of the dedicatees of *Fowre Hymnes* (1596). Daniel also addressed poems to her.
- ⁵⁰ *Westminster Abbey*, *op. cit.*, 95.
- ⁵¹ Edmund Spenser, *Poetical Works*, ed. J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (Oxford, 1912), xxxix.
- ⁵² Lady Anne Clifford was eventually to be remotely connected to Spenser through marriage: his wife, Elizabeth Boyle, was a kinswoman of Richard Boyle, first Earl of Cork, whose son the second Earl married Elizabeth Clifford, only surviving child of Anne's cousin Henry, fifth and last Earl of Cumberland. Adam White informs me that the date of 1620 for Spenser's monument, while perfectly possible, is without any hard evidence, being based on an unreliable nineteenth-century history of Westminster Abbey by Dean Stanley (personal communication).
- ⁵³ *Westminster Abbey*, *op. cit.*, 95. Adam White disputes my claim of stylistic similarity between the Spenser and Daniel monuments, "apart from the use of classical architecture", and believes that there is no really firm evidence that Lady Anne dictated the design of either. He believes that the classical character of Spenser's monument "may owe as much to . . . Nicholas Stone as to . . . Lady Anne", based on Stone's known interest in classical architecture and on the fact that at the probable date of the Spenser monument he was working on the Whitehall Banqueting house, designed by Inigo Jones. (personal communication).
- ⁵⁴ *Note-Book of Nicholas Stone* (1919), 54.
- ⁵⁵ See Adam White, "Classical Learning and the Early Stuart Renaissance", *Church Monuments*, Vol. 1, part 1 (1985), 23.
- ⁵⁶ *Note-Book of Nicholas Stone* (1919), 54.
- ⁵⁷ Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Cumberland and Westmorland* (Penguin, 1967), 220. Lady Anne seems to have set up other pillars on her lands: see *RCHM Westmorland* (London, HMSO, 1936), 163.
- ⁵⁸ D. J. H. Clifford, *op. cit.*, 144.
- ⁵⁹ February 1616, and May 1619. D. J. H. Clifford, *op. cit.*, 29, 74-5. See also Adam White, "Westminster Abbey in the Early Seventeenth Century: A Powerhouse of Ideas", *Church Monuments*, Vol IV (1989), 16-53, 16 and notes.
- ⁶⁰ John Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (London, 1631) (Thomas Harper for Laurence Sadler), 8-9.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 1.
- ⁶² *Ibid.*, 10.
- ⁶³ Edward [Rainbow] Lord Bishop of Carlisle: *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of the Right Honorable Anne Countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery: Who died March 22, 1675/6. and was Interred April the 14th following at Appleby in Westmorland. With some Remarks On the Life of the Eminent Lady* (London, 1677), 1.
- ⁶⁴ Edward Rainbow, *op. cit.*, 50.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 41.
- ⁶⁶ D. J. H. Clifford, *op. cit.*, 27.

- ⁶⁷ Adam White writes, "It might be worth pointing out that by erecting the Spenser monument where she did Lady Anne virtually founded Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey. The only earlier monument to a writer in that part of the building commemorates Chaucer, and by putting Spenser close by on the same wall a trend was started" (personal communication). In so juxtaposing the monuments, Lady Anne was also showing herself responsive to Spenser's own enormous perceived debt to Chaucer, which is acknowledged throughout his works.
- ⁶⁸ Edward Rainbow, *op. cit.*, 22.
- ⁶⁹ Nicolson and Burn, *op. cit.*, 302.
- ⁷⁰ D. J. H. Clifford, *op. cit.*, 241, 250, 260, 261. Adam White points out that this policy of patronising local people extends to her erection of monuments: while she was living in the south of England "she seems always to have employed London sculptors for the monuments she erected (Bourchier, Spenser, Countess of Cumberland)", while from the time she moved to the north "she seems to have employed only local people, at least for things erected locally, Samuel Daniel being the exception" (personal communication).
- ⁷¹ D. J. H. Clifford, *op. cit.*, 250.
- ⁷² The Yorkshire estates went to Alethea Compton, the only surviving child of her younger daughter Isabella, and James, third Earl of Northampton, but she died childless at the age of seventeen in 1678, and so the Yorkshire estates went back to the Tufton line.
- ⁷³ The importance of Lady Anne's mother to her, and the degree to which she must have been present in her thoughts and conversation, may be appreciated from a letter written to her by George Herbert, thanking her for a gift made while she was at Wilton (Herbert was connected to her through her marriage to his distant kinsman, Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery
- . . . In the mean time a Priest's blessing, though it be none of the Court style, yet, doubtless, madam, can do you no hurt: Wherefore the Lord make good the blessing of your mother upon you, and cause all her wishes, diligence, prayers and tears, to bud, blow, and bear fruit in your Soul, to his glory, your own good, and the great joy of, Madam, your most Faith Servant in Christ Jesu,
- GEORGE HERBERT
- George Herbert, *Works in Prose and Verse*, ed. Robert Aris Willmott (London, nd), 352-3.
- ⁷⁴ Edward Rainbow, *op. cit.*, 67-68.
- ⁷⁵ Alice T. Friedman's essay, "Constructing an Identity in Prose, Plaster and Paint: Lady Anne Clifford as Writer and Patron of the Arts", in Lucy Gent (ed.), *Albions Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660* (New Haven, 1995), 359-376, appeared while this paper was in press.