

**'sche that schuld be medyatryce (mediatrice) In thyr (these) matars':
Performances of Mediation in the Letters of Margaret Tudor,
Queen of Scots (1489-1541)**

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the letters of Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scots (1489-1541), and explores how and why Margaret performed the role of diplomatic intercessor through her personal correspondence. The analysis explores some of the linguistic, material, and communicative strategies Margaret employed in her correspondence. It shows that Margaret often performed the role of peace-maker for her own personal empowerment and in return for political and financial favour. This study further demonstrates that Margaret and her personal correspondence were regarded as valuable resources by her male contemporaries, and could be drawn upon when formal diplomatic relations between England and Scotland were strained.

Margaret Tudor's surviving correspondence comprises a collection of 233 letters and memorials (diplomatic instructions): 110 holograph documents (written in Margaret's own hand), 87 scribal compositions, and 36 copies of original documents (both holograph and scribal) often preserved in sixteenth-century letter books. Margaret's letters were sent between 1503 and 1541 and are written in both English and Scots. The correspondence is directed to a variety of recipients including Henry VIII, Thomas Wolsey, Thomas Howard, Thomas Dacre, Thomas Magnus, Thomas Cromwell, Anne Boleyn, Katherine of Aragon, Henry Percy, John Stewart, Duke of Albany, the Lords of Scotland, and a number of Margaret's personal messengers including Patrick Sinclair and Adam Williamson. The majority of Margaret's surviving correspondence is diplomatic or political in nature, often dedicated to organising a renewal of Anglo-Scottish peace.

The thesis is structured around five communicative episodes, ordered chronologically, each of which explore a different aspect of Margaret Tudor's diplomatic and communicative practices. A small subset of letters are consulted in detail in each episode (c. 5-20 letters), although references are made throughout to letters and macro-trends in the larger corpus. A qualitative, pragmatically-oriented methodology is adopted which pays close attention to the manuscript sources themselves. This multi-layered methodology investigates the linguistic and material composition of the correspondence, as well as how the correspondence was composed, transmitted, and delivered, and the specific socio-political context in which the documents were produced.

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Editorial practices

From the outset of this project, it was my intention to produce transcriptions of all of Margaret Tudor's correspondence for a diplomatic edition. As a result, I have produced diplomatic transcriptions of Margaret Tudor's correspondence which preserve the spelling, orthography, spacing and punctuation employed in the original manuscripts. These transcriptions have been produced using Extensible Markup Language (XML), as this is the main transcription format of large digital manuscript projects, and can include tags to note additional information about a transcript such as material observations, annotations, additions and deletions.¹ Having transcriptions in this format will ensure that my material can be easily transferred for use in future digital projects.

For ease of reading, I have not included the original XML transcriptions in the main text of this thesis. Instead transcriptions are provided which follow the editorial conventions below. As the language of Margaret's letters frequently employs archaic terms, unusual spellings, and Scots lexis, each extract is paraphrased and glosses are provided for key terms. Text extracts included in the thesis preserve the original spelling and punctuation of Margaret's letters (such as the use of virgules </>), and superscript letters are maintained and not expanded. With the exception of superscript letters, all contractions and abbreviations are expanded and additional letters provided. Supplied letters are underlined, for example 'command'. Yogh is represented using the symbol <ȝ>, and y-thorn is transcribed as <y>. Deletions that can be deciphered are signalled using strikethrough, for example '~~the~~'. Deletions which cannot be deciphered are represented as [deletion]. Ampersand is signalled using the '&' symbol. Insertions are signalled as 'the ^{said} letter'. Damage to any manuscripts are signalled as [damage]. Original lineation is not preserved in the extracts quoted in the thesis.

¹ Manuscript projects such as 'The Bess of Hardwick Correspondence Project' ('Transcription Policy: XML Transcripts and Transformations', Bess of Hardwick's Letters website, April 2013), 'Early Modern Manuscripts Online' (EMMO) ('Early Modern Manuscripts Online: Text Encoding', Folgerpedia 2016) and the Oxford Text Archive (OTA) all utilise XML as their main transcription method.

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Abbreviations

Electronic and reference sources:

CEEC Corpus of Early English Correspondence

DSL Dictionary of the Scots Language

OED Oxford English Dictionary

Manuscript references:

In the contents of the thesis, manuscripts are referred to using abbreviations of their archival references such as (CCBI fol. 126). An explanation of each abbreviation is provided below.

Fol. Folio

MS Manuscript

SP State Papers

CC Cotton MS Caligula

CV Cotton MS Vespasian

Add MS Additional Manuscripts

Other abbreviations:

SAV Speech act verb

SAVs Speech act verbs

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1. Research focus

your grace may consydar vhat dyscontentyng and dyspleswr It Is to me to se syk [such] gret seh sclawhtars [slaughters] brynyngs [burnings] herschipys [plunderings] and othars In estymabyl sketh [harm; damage] as ar dayly dwn on the subgets [subjects] of beth [both] the rawlmys [realms] and as to me your grace and thay that has atorykte [authority] and gydyng onder the sam may viel [well] consyder and know gyff [if] I as sche that schuld be medyatryce [mediatrice; female mediator] In thyr [these] matars vald [would] at all tymes hafe [have] stopyd and pwt remed ther In tyl [to] as far as I myght and hath labord dyvars tymes to your grace In the same

(Margaret to Henry VIII, 24th June 1524, CCBI fol. 174).

The above quotation appears in a letter sent from Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scots, to her brother, Henry VIII, King of England, on the 24th June 1524. In this letter, Margaret complained of the personal discontent ‘dyscontentyng’ and displeasure ‘dyspleswr’ she felt towards the great damage and violence ‘sketh’ caused to English and Scottish subjects during raids on the Anglo-Scottish borders. These raids took place in June 1524 during a period of political tension and discord between England and Scotland. In order to put an end to these casualties, Margaret implored Henry VIII to allow her to be ‘medyatryce’ (mediatrice; female mediator) and ‘labo[r]’ for peace between the two realms. Though this is the only time Margaret referred to herself explicitly as ‘medyatryce’ in her correspondence, performing the role of diplomatic mediator between England and Scotland is one of the most common subjects of Margaret Tudor’s surviving letters. By mediator, I refer to the OED definition: ‘A person who intervenes between two parties, esp. for the purpose of effecting reconciliation; an intercessor; a person who brings about an agreement, treaty, etc., or settles a dispute by mediation.’ (OED mediator, n., sense in use from c.1410).

Though sister to one of the most infamous kings in English history, Henry VIII, Margaret Tudor has been largely omitted from historical narratives. In the brief attention that she has received from Victorian biographers, Margaret has been characterised as an ‘inconstant queen’ (Green 1846: 264), and as having ‘no education, scarcely any religion, and...guided entirely by her instincts’ (Strickland 1850: 267). Though some recent studies have begun to revisit the figure of Margaret Tudor (including Beer 2014, Fradenberg 1998, McIntyre 2002, Williams 2016 and Wingfield forthcoming), until now no detailed study of her personal correspondence has yet been undertaken.

Furthermore, little attention has been paid to how Margaret sought to perform the role of peace-maker or diplomatic intercessor during her lifetime through written communication. This thesis aims to use Margaret Tudor's surviving correspondence to answer the following questions: how did Margaret Tudor perform the role of diplomatic mediator through her correspondence, and why?

In order to answer these questions, this thesis pays close attention to the linguistic and material composition of Margaret's correspondence, the agents entrusted to composed, deliver, and perform the diplomatic communication, and the specific socio-political context in which the correspondence was produced. Through this analysis, I show that Margaret went to great lengths to present herself as a willing and effective peace-maker in her correspondence, as a means of gaining greater favour and influence in a time in which female power was undermined and seen as 'illegitimate and unnatural' (Dixon 1992: 211). Furthermore, whilst this thesis highlights the potential advantage this role could hold for Margaret personally, it also foregrounds how the male political agents in Margaret's social networks could use and occasionally even exploit her familial connections between the kings of England and Scotland, and her royal correspondence in general, for their own personal gain.

Comprised of over 110 holograph letters (written in Margaret's own hand), 87 scribal letters (written by an amanuensis), and 36 copies of original documents (copies of original documents, often preserved in the letter-books of Margaret's correspondents), the corpus of Margaret Tudor's correspondence is one the largest collections of surviving holograph correspondence in English or Scots for any late medieval or early modern British queen.² In comparison, for Elizabeth I and the 3000 letters which make up her epistolary archive, only 97 holograph compositions survive. For Margaret's sister, Mary Tudor Brandon, Queen of France, 10 holograph letters in English survive (Sadlack 2011). For Margaret's granddaughter, Mary Queen of Scots, only 5 holograph letters in Scots survive (those some few hundred survive in French) (Lobanov-Rostovskii 1844). For Katherine Parr, Henry VIII's sixth wife, nine holograph letters in English survive (Mueller 2011). With regards to Margaret Tudor's female predecessors, there are no known surviving holograph letters for her mother Elizabeth of York.

² As mentioned above, this is currently the largest known collection of holograph material written in English or Scots for any medieval or early modern British Queen. This information has been ascertained through a detailed examination of the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, catalogue records of the British Library's Cotton MS collection, and Additional MS collections, and the State Paper MS collections at the National Archives at Kew. I have also investigated all surviving catalogues of the National Library of Scotland and National Records of Scotland. The results from this search are discussed in further detail on p. 21, though I have thus far located only one copy of a letter sent from Margaret to her lawyer Robert Galbraith in 1531/1532.

The survival of such a large collection of holograph material in the Margaret Tudor corpus provides an excellent opportunity to conduct a detailed qualitative analysis investigating the specific material, linguistic and communicative strategies Margaret employed in trying to perform the role of diplomatic mediator through her correspondence. As there is significantly less evidence available for the epistolary activities of earlier medieval British queens, the corpus of Margaret Tudor's letters can potentially shed new insights into the letter-writing practices of these earlier queens.

Due to the size of the Margaret Tudor corpus, it is impossible within the scope of this thesis to examine each letter in detail, and pay attention to the particularities of the socio-political and historical context in which each letter was produced. As a result, I have chosen to focus on five communicative episodes during Margaret's life (discussed in chronological order), each of which examines a different dimension of Margaret's diplomatic, linguistic and communicative practices.

This thesis adopts historical pragmatics as its main methodology, and privileges close, pragmatically-orientated, qualitative readings of a selection of Margaret Tudor's correspondence. Close attention is paid to manuscript sources themselves, and I regularly draw upon methods from a variety of disciplines beyond historical pragmatics including manuscript studies, court studies, archival enquiry, palaeography, and material culture in order to fully understand how Margaret Tudor's letters functioned as communicative performances and played such an intrinsic part in her role as Anglo-Scots diplomatic mediator.

The analysis of each communicative episode situates Margaret's correspondence in their wider discourse sequence (including replies and wider correspondence), paying close attention to how socio-political context affected their composition and how the documents were received by contemporary recipients. As diplomatic mediation and peace-making were inherently political activities, and Margaret's correspondence was sent at times when she possessed different levels of political power and influence, paying attention to such context is essential in the analysis of the overall linguistic design and communicative function of these letters.

Close attention is thus paid to the interplay between the linguistic composition, material design and palaeographical features in my analysis of Margaret Tudor's letters. Attention is also paid to how these historical documents were composed, transmitted and delivered, all of which I show are central to the understanding of how Margaret performed the role of peace-maker through her correspondence. Such an approach allows for a highly nuanced and detailed understanding of Margaret Tudor's diplomatic activities and communicative practices.

The rest of this introduction will offer an overview of Margaret Tudor's life, followed by a description of the Margaret Tudor corpus and the archival material which forms the main data source of this thesis. I then provide a review of existing research of medieval and early modern queens as diplomatic mediators, and a review of previous scholarship on Margaret Tudor. This is followed by a more detailed discussion of the methodological approach of this study, and a summary of each of the five communicative episodes which form the basis of the chapters that follow.

1.2. The history of Margaret Tudor

Born at Westminster Palace on the 28th November 1489, Margaret Tudor was the eldest daughter of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York. Unfortunately, no formal record survives detailing the education Margaret received as a young princess at the court of Henry VII. Buchanan, one of Margaret Tudor's most recent biographers, articulates this issue:

How far she advanced in other areas of her education is hard to determine. She shared the tutors who instructed her brothers, who included some of the most intelligent men in England. Among them were Thomas Linacre, John Cole, and William Grocyn, leaders of the northern renaissance who were attracted to the cultured court of Henry VII...She certainly learned to read and to write, although her handwriting was atrocious, baffling not only to later scholars but even her contemporary correspondents³...She doubtless attained at least a smattering of foreign languages, especially French, which she would need to use living in Scotland, a country which had so much intercourse with France. (Buchanan 1985: 11)

As suggested by Buchanan, Margaret would probably have shared some of the tutors of her brothers Arthur and Henry, including Linacre, Cole and Grocyn, who would have instructed Margaret in basic writing and language skills. Despite Buchanan's criticism of Margaret's 'atrocious' handwriting, Margaret's hand is comparable with, if not neater than that of her brother, Henry VIII, or her younger sister, Mary, Queen of France. My analysis of Margaret's correspondence sheds additional light on Margaret's education. Margaret was taught to read and write proficiently (in both English and French), had a detailed knowledge of different royal communicative genres and their respective functions and performative effects (as will be explored in Chapters Two and Four), and could use anaphoric language and legal terminology more commonly associated with the rhetorical training of official scribes (as discussed in Chapter Two).

³ In my analysis of the material explored in the chapters of this thesis, I have not yet found any evidence to support Buchanan's suggestion that Margaret's contemporaries found her handwriting 'baffling' or 'atrocious'.

Discussions for a potential marriage between the young princess Margaret and James IV, King of Scotland, began on the 5th May 1496 and the marriage treaty was formalised on the 24th January 1502 (Eaves 2004). In early July 1503, the thirteen year old princess and her impressive retinue left England and travelled to the Scottish court in preparation for Margaret's marriage to the Scots king. On the 8th August 1503, Margaret and James IV were officially married at Holyrood Palace, formalising the Treaty of Perpetual Peace which served to secure peaceful relations between the two previously warring countries. Margaret went on to have five children with James IV, one of whom lived to adulthood to become James V, King of Scotland (Chalmers 2012).

For the next ten years peace continued between England and Scotland, through the death of Henry VII, and the succession of his son, Henry VIII, to the English throne. James IV and Henry VIII even wrote personal holograph letters to one another which contained conventional terms of regard and affection, such as 'kind hart' and 'good hart' (James IV to Henry VIII, 11th June 1509, CVFIII fol. 36). However, in an attempt to advance his status in Europe, Henry VIII signed the Treaty of Westminster in November 1511. This treaty saw England form an alliance with the Holy Roman Empire and Spain, against France (who were in the process of invading Italy at the time). When Henry VIII and his army attacked France in summer 1513, Margaret's husband James IV chose to honour the Auld Alliance between France and Scotland (first established in 1295), and proceeded to invade England on Flodden Hill (Northumberland) in early September 1513 (Chalmers 2012). On the 9th September 1513, James IV was killed by Henry VIII's army (led by Thomas Howard)⁴ and his body was taken to the English court as proof of the defeat.

According to James IV's will, upon his death Margaret was to become regent of Scotland, responsible for governing on behalf of her seventeen-month old son James V. This move situated Margaret in an unusual position of autonomous power for a late medieval and early modern queen, but was contingent upon Margaret remaining a widow. However, Margaret's first regency was short-lived. When Margaret secretly married Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, in August 1514, the Lords of Scotland saw the opportunity to replace Margaret with another male descendent of the Stewart line, John Stewart, Duke of Albany.

When Albany arrived in Scotland from his home country of France in May 1515, Margaret refused to surrender the custody of her two children James V, King of Scotland, and his younger brother Alexander Stewart, Duke of Ross, (son of James IV, born after his death) to the new Scottish regent. However, Margaret was quickly forced to abandon the care of her sons to Albany and the Lords of

⁴ This was the father of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey (3rd Duke of Norfolk from 1524) who was a regular recipient of Margaret's letters, and is mentioned regularly throughout this thesis.

Scotland. Margaret's antipathy towards Albany during this period was probably because his arrival forced her to the margins of the Scottish government, and to a position of significantly less influence and power than she had held as governing regent. During this period, Margaret claimed that Albany prevented her from seeing her children, and even forced her to subscribe letters to the English court against her will which requested a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty (explored further in Chapter Two). When a secret plan to abscond to England with James V and the Duke of Ross failed in September 1515, Margaret (who was eight months pregnant with the Earl of Angus' child at the time) fled to England and sought refuge at the court of Henry VIII until May 1517 (Eaves 2004).

Margaret agreed to return to Scotland in May 1517 on condition that Albany returned to France. However, Margaret's hostility towards Albany did not continue indefinitely. Over the next few years, Margaret struggled to secure the rents and payments from her dower lands and often wrote to Henry VIII complaining of poverty. Sometime in 1521, Margaret wrote to the king of France requesting that Albany return to Scotland to resume his regency directly. Margaret seems to have made such a move as Henry VIII repeatedly ignored her requests for financial and political assistance, and would not permit her to flee Scotland and seek refuge at the English court. Forming an alliance with Albany thus offered Margaret the potential for greater respect and financial support in Scotland than she would have received as his opponent. Upon his return to Scotland in November 1521, Albany travelled straight to Stirling castle where Margaret was stationed. The pair then rode in unison to meet the young king James V at Edinburgh castle. Here, in a ceremonial display of unity, Albany was presented with the keys to Edinburgh castle. Emond notes that 'Albany [then] handed the keys to Margaret, signifying that she had free disposition of the control of her son; Margaret immediately gave them back to Albany, symbolising her trust in his rule.' (1988: 290). This visual exchange signalled a new period of political unity between Margaret and Albany.

In December 1521, Margaret petitioned Henry VIII, on behalf of the Duke of Albany, for a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty that was due to expire at Candlemas in February 1522 (this exchange is discussed in detail in Chapter Three). Henry VIII rejected Margaret's appeals for peace, noting that her actions were unbecoming for an early modern queen and even going as far as to suggest that Margaret was engaged in a clandestine affair with Albany, despite still being married to the Earl of Angus.

However, Margaret and Albany's political and diplomatic alliance was short-lived. In autumn 1523 when Albany had returned to France for a second time during his regency, Margaret turned her interests to England. During Albany's absence, a committee of Scottish noblemen (the earls of Arran, Huntly, and

Argyll and the French deputy Antoine Gonzolles (Bonner 2006)) were elected to govern on behalf of James V. During this time, Margaret continued to occupy a marginal position at the Scottish court. In June 1523, Margaret wrote to Henry VIII, and his border warden Thomas Dacre, to see if she might mediate to secure peace between England and Scotland. Whilst Margaret's correspondence in autumn 1523 presents her as working in conjunction with the governing lords of Scotland to organise peace with England, Margaret was also covertly acting as a spy for the English faction by sending secret information to Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, regarding the planned return and military action of the Duke of Albany (this topic and issues of epistolary secrecy are explored in detail in Chapter Four).

Despite his return to Scotland in September 1523, Albany was keen to return to France again by early 1524. Bonner notes that Albany wrote to Louise of Savoy (the French queen dowager) on the 22nd January 1524 'informing her that he had been on the point of embarking for France when he received her request to stay in Scotland' (Bonner 2006). Albany's desire to leave Scotland provided an opportunity for Margaret to redeem some of the previous power and status she had held during her brief tenure as governing regent between September 1513 and May 1515. After repeated requests from Albany, the Lords of Scotland agreed that he would be granted a licence to return to France for three months, as long as he promised to return to Scotland by the 31st August 1524 (Bonner 2006). In July and August 1524, Margaret, with the support of the Hamilton family and the Earl of Arran, launched a coup d'état 'which formally ended Albany's regency and on 26 July invested James V with full ruling authority' (Eaves 2004). Though the twelve year old James V was declared to be an independent king in name, in reality Margaret ruled Scotland on his behalf, thus marking the beginning of her second regency. Such a move placed Margaret in a more formal position of power and influence than she had occupied for the previous ten years, and had significant implications for how she sought to organise another renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty in November 1524 (as will be explored in Chapter Five).

By 1518/1519, strains had begun to appear in Margaret's marriage to Angus, and Margaret even petitioned Albany to help her secure a divorce from her estranged husband.⁵ Between 1522 and 1524 Angus was exiled in France, though he managed to escape to the English court before returning to

⁵ Margaret first complained of Angus in a letter to Henry VIII sent sometime in 1518 or 1519, in which she wrote 'I am soor (sore) troblyd byth my lord of angus syn (since) my last comyng In to scotland and euey day morre and more so that vee hafe not bene togythar thys half 3ere' (Margaret to Henry VIII, 1518/1519, CCBI fol. 232b). Eaves also notes that 'Margaret had continued to urge Albany to use his influence at Rome to help her obtain a divorce from Angus' (Eaves 2004). A letter sent from Margaret to Albany in March 1528, thanks Albany for his help in her matters at Rome (i.e. helping her to secure a divorce from Angus) (Margaret to Albany, 12 March 1528, see Teulet 1853: 72-75).

Scotland in November 1524. Upon his return, Angus rallied to gain support from the Lords of Scotland in an attempt to oust Margaret from her position as governing regent. He succeeded in February 1525, and from this point on James V was placed under the care of a rolling regency. A select group of Scottish lords would each act as guardian for James V for three months at a time, at which point the teenage king would move to the care of another Scottish nobleman. When his turn arose, Angus saw the opportunity to seize complete control of the Scottish crown, and violated the terms of the rolling regency by keeping James V under his supervision until May 1528 (though against James V's desire).

For the next few years, Margaret continued to write to Henry VIII and his political agents, complaining about Angus and seeking their support for the release of James V, though to little avail. Though an Anglo-Scottish peace treaty of February 1526 sought to ensure that she would retain full control of her conjunct fee lands (confirmed to Margaret as part of her marriage to James IV), Angus refused to relinquish control of her lands (and the rents accrued from them) (Eaves 2004; Emond 1988: 492). As mentioned above, during her stale-mate with Angus, Margaret enlisted Albany to 'use his influence at Rome [with the Pope] to help her obtain a divorce from Angus' (Eaves 2004). Margaret's divorce from Angus was finally concluded by Pope Clement VII in March 1527, though news of the 'decree did not reach Scotland until April 1528' (Thomas 2004), upon which Margaret swiftly married her third husband Henry Stewart (future Lord of Methven).

In May 1528, James V finally escaped from Angus' control and established himself as independent King of Scotland. With her son now fully grown and in active control of the Scottish crown, Margaret had little direct influence in Scottish governance during this period. Eaves notes that whilst James V sought Margaret's 'advice on the rebuilding or renovation of royal castles...in matters of government [he] took counsel elsewhere' (Eaves 2004), and did not value his mother's input in Anglo-Scottish politics.

However, in October 1534, Henry VIII sent one of his noblemen, Lord William Howard (half-brother of Thomas Howard) to James V, inviting him to be present at a diplomatic meeting due to be held the following year between the kings of England and France (akin to the Field of the Cloth of Gold of June 1520). Whilst Margaret was relatively removed from Anglo-Scottish politics during her son's adult reign, in December 1534 James V requested that Margaret act as communicative mediator and write to her brother, Henry VIII, to organise the details of the proposed diplomatic meeting. Margaret eagerly accepted this task, and over the next eighteen months wrote to Henry VIII, Thomas Cromwell, and Thomas Howard, to finalise the details of this meeting. This sequence of correspondence marks the final mediative episode in Margaret Tudor's life, before her death in 1541 (and is explored in Chapter 20

Six). In the final years of her life, Margaret continued to write to Henry VIII to inform him of the marriage of her son James V to a French princess, with continued complaints of her poverty, and of her desires to gain a divorce from her third husband Henry Stewart, Lord Methven. On the 18th October 1541, Margaret died at Methven Castle of a suspected stroke (Eaves 2004).

1.3. Data: The Margaret Tudor corpus

1.3.1. The surviving correspondence

Prior to this study, no one has ever produced an edition or even hand-list of the surviving correspondence of Margaret Tudor, let alone investigated in detail Margaret's linguistic, material and communicative practices. During the data collection phase of this PhD, I manually searched the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, and the catalogue records of the British Library (Cotton MS and Additional MS collections), the *State Papers* catalogues at the National Archives at Kew, and the catalogues of The National Library of Scotland and the National Records of Scotland to locate all known surviving correspondence of Margaret Tudor. This process revealed that the majority of Margaret Tudor's surviving letters are preserved in English archives, and only a few letters survive in Scottish and French archives. The corpus is comprised of: 110 holograph documents, 87 scribal documents and 36 copies of documents (often preserved in the letter-books of Margaret's recipients).

The majority of Margaret's correspondence is held in the British Library and the National Archives, in the following collections:

The British Library:

- Cotton Caligula BI, BII, BIII, BV, BVI, BVII and BVIII (126 letters).
- Cotton Vespasian FIII and FXIII (7 letters).
- Additional Manuscripts 24,965 and 32,646 (30 letters).
- Royal Manuscripts 13 B II (6 copies of Latin letters)

The National Archives:

- State Papers 1 (SP 1) - Henry VIII, General Series (5 letters).
- State Papers 49 (SP 49) - State Papers Scotland Series I, Henry VIII (53 letters).

One further holograph letter is also located in the Bodleian's Tanner Manuscript 90 collection in Oxford. A copy of part of a letter sent by Margaret to her advocate (lawyer) Robert Galbraith on the 26th April 1532/2 is preserved in the minutes of the Scottish council.⁶ One letter sent to the Duke

⁶ See Scottish Record Office 1532 CS 5/43 f.168r and Finlay (1999:168).

of Albany on the 12th March 1528 is also preserved in a French archive (Teulet 1853: 72-75).⁷

1.3.2. Data collection:

This data was collated in a spreadsheet (to create a handlist of Margaret's surviving writing) detailing the following information: sender and recipient, date of sending, the hand the document was written in (scribal or holograph), place of writing, archival reference, and a brief description of the contents of each letter. I then produced xml diplomatic transcriptions of each surviving letter written in English or Scots (both scribal and holograph). I chose to produce the transcriptions in xml as this is the main transcription format of large digital manuscript projects and can include tags which detail additional information about a transcript such as material observations, annotations, additions, and deletions.⁸ I chose to transcribe all surviving letters of Margaret Tudor as this provided me with a good overall understanding of the archive, and because I intend to use the transcriptions to produce a printed edition of Margaret's correspondence in the future.

For the material consulted in the five communicative snapshots of this thesis, I visited each letter in person to verify my transcriptions and record the material composition of each letter. This included recording the size of paper used, orientation of the letter, how the letter was folded and sealed, and if any of the original seals survive, which seal was used (including size and imagery). This information was collected in a separate spreadsheet for reference. I chose to collect this information as the methodology adopted in this thesis required close analysis of the material format of each letter.

The holograph status of Margaret's correspondence was verified using a number of different methods. Firstly, through transcribing the entire corpus of Margaret's known surviving correspondence, I became very familiar with her idiosyncratic handwriting style. Margaret also often uses meta-communicative comments to signal the holograph status of her writing. For example, in the Margaret's first surviving letter sent to her father Henry VII in August, Margaret concludes a holograph section of a scribal letter with the phrase 'wrytyn wyt the hand of your hu[damage]ble (humble) douter margaret', which clearly signals that this section was written in Margaret's own hand. Finally, I have also conducted a multi-genre analysis of Margaret's personal handwriting. For example, I have analysed holograph subscriptions in

⁷ This document is probably preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, but further research is required to clarify this.

⁸ Manuscript projects such as 'The Bess of Hardwick Correspondence Project' ('Transcription Policy: XML Transcripts and Transformations', Bess of Hardwick's Letters website, April 2013), 'Early Modern Manuscripts Online' (EMMO) ('Early Modern Manuscripts Online: Text Encoding', Folgerpedia 2016) and the Oxford Text Archive (OTA) all utilise XML as their main transcription method.

Margaret's surviving books of hours (see Newsome 2017, Macfarlane 1960, and Wingfield forthcoming), as well as Margaret's surviving letters, and another genre of communication known as the diplomatic memorial (discussed in greater detail in Chapters Three and Five). All of these methods have enabled me to identify instances of Margaret's holograph writing with confidence.

1.3.3. The nature of the archive:

For the most part, Margaret's correspondence is addressed to English recipients including Henry VII and Henry VIII, as well as Henry VIII's chief advisors Thomas Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell, and the noblemen Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey (later Duke of Norfolk) and Thomas Dacre. A few letters also survive which are directed to Margaret's personal servants, including Patrick Sinclair (who is discussed in Chapter Four) and Adam Williamson. These highlight another (more personal) dimension of Margaret's original communication networks. Copies of some of Margaret's correspondence sent to recipients within Scotland also survive in English archives. These are letters directed principally to the Lords of the Scottish Council, and John Stewart, Duke of Albany.

Margaret's surviving correspondence was sent over a period of 38 years. The first letter was sent to her father, Henry VII, shortly after her arrival in Scotland in August 1503, and the final letter was sent to her brother, Henry VIII, on the 12th May 1541, five months before her death in October 1541. The surviving evidence suggests that Margaret did not send letters at a consistent rate during this 38 year window. Figure 1.1, below, shows the distribution of letters sent each year between Margaret's arrival in Scotland in 1503 and her death in 1541.

After the first letter sent by Margaret to Henry VII in August 1503, we can note a seven year gap before the next surviving letter sent in 1510. Such a gap may simply be explained by the fact that Margaret did not send any further correspondence to England during this period (an unlikely event), but is more likely a consequence of archival survival. For example a proportion of the Cotton manuscript collections were destroyed in the fire of 1731, and a letter dated the 15th January 1618/1619 notes that "the banquetting house at Whitehall was on Tuesday night set on fire...All the records of the signet and privy seal offices are burnt." (quoted from Otway-Ruthven 1936: 83). Alternative explanations may include the fact that Margaret's letters may have been of little political and administrative importance during this period, and thus were not preserved. Peaks in Margaret's correspondence – in particular between 1523 and 1525 and between 1534 and 1537 – seem to accord with periods in which Margaret exercised greater involvement in Anglo-Scottish diplomacy, during her second regency, and the negotiations of a diplomatic meeting between James V and Henry VIII.

In terms of communicative function and content, the majority of Margaret's correspondence focusses on political and financial topics including the negotiation of Anglo-Scottish peace, requests for political and financial assistance, and appeals to flee Scotland due to financial hardship and a lack of support. Little of Margaret's surviving correspondence is dedicated to the discussion of personal matters, with the exception of a few letters. These include Margaret's August 1503 letter to Henry VII in which she wrote that she 'wishse (wish) I would I wer wyt (with) your grace now' (Margaret to Henry VII, August 1503, CVFXIII fol. 61b), and a personal letter sent to Henry VIII on Margaret's journey to the English court in April 1516, in which she writes 'I... am moost desirous now to com to your presens and to haue sight of your person' (Margaret to Henry VIII, 27 April 1516, CCBI fol. 206). The lack of significant surviving personal correspondence in the Margaret Tudor archive is probably due to the fact that this type of communication was ephemeral, and it was Margaret's political Anglo-Scottish correspondence that was of most importance and thus worth preserving. This pattern in itself foregrounds the importance Margaret Tudor held in early sixteenth-century Anglo-Scottish politics and diplomacy.

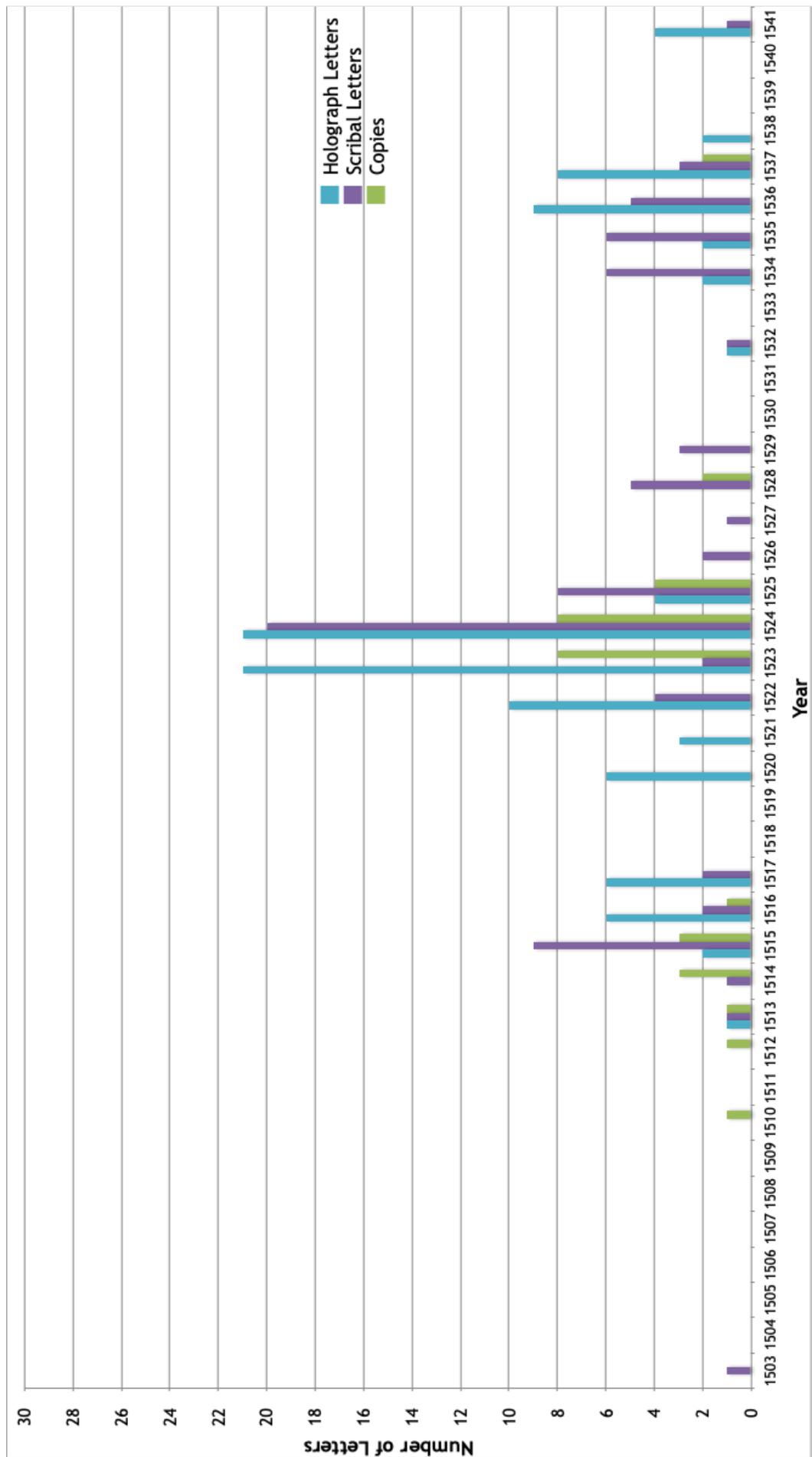


Figure 1.1: Distribution of surviving letters sent by Margaret Tudor each year between 1503 and 1541.

1.3.4. An incomplete network?

In the previous section, I noted that the majority of Margaret Tudor's surviving correspondence is directed to English recipients, and discusses mainly political and diplomatic matters. But why is this the case? Did Margaret send personal, affectionate correspondence? Did she write to recipients in Scotland – such as her husband James IV, or son, James V? On the survival of historical documents, Labov notes that:

The fundamental methodological fact that historical linguists have to face is that they have no control over their data. Texts are produced by a series of historical accidents; amateurs may complain about this predicament, but the sophisticated historian is grateful that anything has survived at all. The great art of the historical linguist is to make the best of this bad data – “bad” in the sense that it may be fragmentary, corrupted, or many times removed from the actual productions of native speakers. (Labov 1972: 100).

In light of Labov's comments, it is important to consider what proportion of an individual's historical correspondence collection has not survived, to gain a more comprehensive understanding of their original communicative networks and letter-writing practices.

As seen in figure 1.1, above, the increase seen in Margaret's epistolary output from 1513 onwards may be explained by the death of her husband, James IV, at the Battle of Flodden in September 1513. Before this point, Margaret would have had less need to write directly to the English court to petition for peace, and request financial and political support from Henry VIII. Instead, Margaret would have been provided for by her husband James IV, and it is James IV who would have been primarily responsible for administering the intricacies of Scottish politics and diplomacy.⁹ Before James IV's death, one of Margaret's main roles as Queen of Scots would have been as royal mother, responsible for bearing healthy heirs for the Scottish throne. After James IV's death at Flodden in 1513, Margaret could no longer fulfil this role and instead her position as Anglo-Scottish mediator would have been one of the main avenues through which she could gain influence and favour. This change in position – and the need to use letters to perform the role of diplomatic intercessor – may explain the apparent increase in Margaret's epistolary output from 1513 onwards.

As Margaret was such a prolific writer to the English court, it is likely that she also sent some correspondence to Scottish recipients, in particular her husbands, her son, and the Scottish lords who assisted Margaret in her

⁹ *The Letters of James IV, 1505-1513* (Hannay 1953) details multiple letters that were sent between James IV, Henry VII and Henry VIII discussing Anglo-Scots peace specifically, as well as other political and diplomatic matters.

political endeavours. With the exception of Margaret's 1531/2 letter to Robert Galbraith discussed above, and despite extensively searching the catalogues of major Scottish archives (in particular the National Library of Scotland and the National Record of Scotland), I have not yet located any other surviving letters sent by Margaret to Scottish recipients contained in Scottish archives. This pattern of survival may be explained by the fact that some Scottish archival records were sent to England during the interregnum. When the records were returned to Scotland, '[o]ne of the two ships carrying the archives, the "Elizabeth", sank in a storm off the Northumbrian coast with the loss of all the papers and parchments on board.' (NRS 'Our History' 2018). Furthermore, though the records were then stored in Laigh Parliament House in Edinburgh, the archives were exposed to damp and vermin (NRS 'Our History' 2018). If any of Margaret's correspondence was included in these original archives, they may have been lost or damaged.

However, comments included in surviving correspondence and treasury accounts offer some clues to the extent of Margaret's original correspondence networks. For example, Margaret makes a number of explicit remarks in her own correspondence that she had sent letters to her son, James V.¹⁰ A further note is made of the delivery of a letter from Margaret to her husband James IV in 1504 in the Scottish Treasurers Accounts.¹¹ Furthermore, a reference is also made to Margaret sending letters to her sister, Mary Tudor, during her brief tenure as Queen of France.¹² This again shows that Margaret sent personal correspondence to her family (beyond Henry VIII, and the single surviving letter to Henry VII), though these documents do not survive to the present day.

1.4. A brief survey of Margaret Tudor's letter-writing and material practices

In the following section I will provide a brief overview of Margaret Tudor's holograph and scribal writing practices – including her handwriting, and the material features of these documents. First of all, I should note that there are two main types of royal correspondence: holograph letters, written in the hand of the monarch themselves (elsewhere referred to as autograph letters), and scribal letters, which are written in the hand of an amanuensis or scribe. However, in the Margaret Tudor corpus, scribal documents can also sometimes include the use of a holograph section or postscript (as is seen in Margaret's

¹⁰ For example, Margaret notes writing to her son James V in a letter sent to Henry VIII on 8th March 1537 (Add MS 32,646 f.109).

¹¹ See Green (1857: 108) and Williams (2016: 7).

¹² Referenced in the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, Dacre to the Lords of the Council, 14 July 1515, R.O. <<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol2/pp174-190>> [accessed 10 October 2018]

earliest extant letter to Henry VII, sent in 1503). Evans suggests that these main two types of royal writing can be used for different communicative functions:

A scribe was typically used for letters concerned with business or administrative matters, formal or official in purpose...Autograph [holograph] letters were typically used for more personal and intimate topics, and a letter written in the author's own hand had a greater social and interpersonal value. (Evans 2016: 37)

However, Allinson also notes that the sending of holograph correspondence was a common practice between early modern monarchs, and 'was a particularly effective way of securing amity' and could facilitate 'the smooth operation of diplomacy between courts.' (2012: 74).

Figure 1.2, below, shows the inner leaf of a holograph letter sent by Margaret to Thomas Howard on the 24th November 1523 (SP 49/2 fol. 62). As with the majority of Margaret's holograph letters, this document is written with portrait orientation on the first page of a bifolium sheet (half of a full folio sheet, and roughly comparable to modern A4 standards). Though the original seal of this document does not survive, Margaret's holograph letters were generally sealed with one of her smaller personal seals (of which there are four).¹³ Though research on the different uses and functions of royal seals has yet to be fully explored, it would appear that Margaret used these smaller seals for 'informal purposes' (New 2010: 47), and to signal that she was 'acting as a private individual rather than in an official capacity' (New 2010: 87). Figure 1.3 shows an impression of one of Margaret's personal seals, of the kind that may have been used to secure Margaret's 24th November 1523 holograph letter to Thomas Howard (SP 49/2 fol. 62). This small signet seal measures 2.2 cm in diameter and shows a shield with Margaret's coat of arms (featuring the arms of her husband, James IV, and her father, Henry VII), topped with an intricate crown.

Margaret's hand develops somewhat over the course of her lifetime, but for the most part appears to be in an early Tudor secretary style. Margaret makes little use of abbreviations: generally only the use of a macron to supply an extra <m> or <n> in a word such as 'commend', or the occasional use of superscript letters (though variations from this norm are discussed in detail in Chapter Six). Though the use of blank space in early modern correspondence has been noted to have been used as a material signal of deference to a recipient, or to demonstrate the affluence of the sender who could afford the expense of paper (Daybell 2012: 98), the use of significant space is somewhat variable in Margaret's holograph correspondence. At times, Margaret used

¹³ Research into the overall distribution and function of seals (and folding mechanisms) across the Margaret Tudor corpus will be the focus of future research.



Figure 1.3: Personal seal of Margaret Tudor (SP 49/2 fol. 54).

Figure 1.4, below, shows the inner leaf of a scribal letter also sent by Margaret to Henry VIII on the 24th December 1536 (SP 49/5 fol. 155). On this occasion, Margaret's scribal letter is written landscape on a full folio leaf, and leaves lots of blank space on the page. Margaret's 'official' scribal correspondence (for example, sent to negotiate peace treaties and request safe-conducts for messengers) often follows this format, though some variation can be seen across the scribal corpus (some letters are written portrait and/or on bifolium-sized sheets of paper).

Though the original seal of this scribal document does not survive, the remaining wax residue suggests that it was sealed using one of Margaret's larger signet seals. These seals generally appear to have been reserved for when Margaret was acting in 'an official capacity' (New 2010: 87) as the Queen of Scotland. Figure 1.5 below, shows an impression of Margaret's main signet seal. Measuring 3.6 cm in diameter, this signet seal features the same shield as seen in figure 1.3, and is topped with a crown featuring fleurs-de-lis and pearls (Birch 1905: 89). A legend (motto) encircles the shield and reads 'IN. GOD. IS. MI. TRAIST'. In terms of hand, multiple scribal hands appear across the Margaret Tudor corpus. Though the earliest documents (discussed in Chapter Two) appear to be written in the hand of Margaret's secretary James Inglis, the specific hands of Margaret's scribal corpus have not yet been formally identified.

Right excellent Right honorable and most honorable Prince and our dearest brother in our most hartie and tender maner I do commend me unto you
 and your grace. As your grace is our general protectour and our familiar comforter both in our adversities and in our prosperities so we have
 of late beene your grace's benefitted and comforted in our most hartie and tender maner. We have also your grace's favour and favour of justice
 without hurt to our selves or to any other. And we have your grace's favour and favour of justice in our most hartie and tender maner. And we have your
 grace's favour and favour of justice in our most hartie and tender maner. We have also your grace's favour and favour of justice in our most hartie and tender maner.

Your humble servant
 M. Carey
 1536

your humble servant
 M. Carey

156 End.

Figure 1.4: Scribal letter from Margaret to Henry VIII, 24 December 1536, SP 49/4 fol. 155



Figure 1.5: Signet seal of Margaret Tudor (SP 49/4 fol. 87)

1.5. Critical context:

1.5.1. Queens as mediators

Mediation was an integral aspect of medieval and early modern queenship, and has been the focus of extensive scholarship (including Downie 1999; Earenfight 2013; Parsons 2004; Strohm 1992; and Wilkinson 2009, to name but a few). Earenfight notes that ‘mediation and intercession were part of a dynamic of contending ideas on queenship and monarchy that was well-understood by medieval viewers and readers’ (Earenfight 2013: 208). Medieval and early modern subjects would thus have seen mediation as being one of the key roles a queen would perform in her daily life and rituals. This ideology can be further seen in the work of the fourteenth-century female noblewoman Christine de Pizan, who wrote extensively about the roles queens should play in late medieval European politics and diplomacy. In *The City of Ladies*, Pizan writes:

The proper role of a good, wise queen or princess is to maintain peace and concord and to avoid wars and their resulting disasters. Women particularly should concern themselves with peace but men by nature are more foolhardy and headstrong, and their overwhelming desire to

avenge themselves prevents them from foreseeing the resulting dangers and terrors of war. But woman by nature is more gentle and circumspect. (Pizan 1405, quoted from Earenfight 2013: 194)

Pizan thus emphasised that one of the main vocations of a medieval queen or princess was to maintain ‘peace and concord’, and that women were particularly well-suited to the role of peace-maker due to their gentle and cautious temperaments. Finished by 1405, Pizan’s *The City of Ladies* was widely distributed across Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and was printed in a variety of languages including French, English, Portuguese and Dutch. Whilst it is not clear if Margaret would have personally owned a copy of Pizan’s book, she would probably have been aware of the teachings contained in the text.¹⁴ At the very least, Pizan’s writings would, to some extent, have reflected contemporary medieval ideologies that queens were ideally suited to perform the roles of intercessor and peace-maker. Intercession could describe a variety of queenly activities: including mediating between a king and his courtiers in political disputes, requesting patronage and financial support for those in need, as well as appealing for peace between the leaders of European countries. Letter-writing was one of the key mediums through which medieval and early modern queens could perform these activities – especially when writing to foreign leaders, or if their husband or son was away at war – though little early medieval material of this kind survives today. My study of Margaret Tudor’s letters, a relatively unprecedented archive of medieval and early modern queenly correspondence, may thus be able to tell us more about how historical royal women sought to achieve these actions through their correspondence.

Whilst great value was placed in the roles that royal women could play in their marriages to foreign kings (Downie 1999: 138), this responsibility was not without its own challenges. For example, Downie writes that the role of royal wife and queen:

was one of communication, of influence, of persuasion, of mediation, and it was a role that these women were expected to play throughout their married life. (Downie 1999: 138)

As a result of her marriage to James IV in August 1503, Margaret would have been expected to act as communicative intercessor and diplomatic mediator between the kings of England and Scotland for the rest of her life. It is of no surprise then that Margaret’s correspondence is dominated by the topic of mediation, and the expressed desire to be regarded as an effective diplomatic and communicative intercessor. Margaret’s role as peace-maker between

¹⁴ No records survive which clearly record the books Margaret would have owned, however, Wingfield (forthcoming) has begun to explore Margaret’s patronage of Scottish authors in the sixteenth-century, and her ownership of a selection of Books of Hours.

England and Scotland was also echoed by her contemporaries, such as in the poem 'The Thrissil and the Rois' [The Thistle and the Rose] written by the Scots poet William Dunbar. In this poem, Dunbar directly describes Margaret as the 'peax' [peace] of Scotland in the phrase 'Our peax, our play, our plane felicité' (ln. 181), and shows that Margaret, through her marriage to James IV, was conceptualised as the bringer of peace to the two realms by her sixteenth-century subjects.

Though little is known about the type of education Margaret would have received in preparation for her marriage to James IV, she would certainly have received adequate training to enable her to perform the role of Queen of Scots with success. Indeed, Downie highlights that it was 'unlikely that royal families would have pursued long-term marriage policies which rested firmly on the abilities of their daughters without also training them for their future roles' (1999 :134). Thus, Margaret would probably have received training in the ceremonies and rituals of queenship from her family (including her mother, Elizabeth of York, and her paternal grandmother, Margaret Beaufort), as well as from experienced governesses and courtiers. Margaret would also have received some instruction in how to write persuasively, and how to use different types and genres of communication effectively.¹⁵ As she was stationed over 400 miles from her original home in London, and returned to the English court only once during her adult life (between 1516 and 1517), Margaret relied heavily on the medium of epistolary communication (and trusted messengers) in her attempts to perform the role of Anglo-Scottish diplomatic mediator. The value of the letter genre, and previous scholarship on women letter-writers and written correspondence will be explored later in this introduction.

Despite the extensive research that has been undertaken on medieval and early modern queens as mediators and peace-makers, few scholars have explored exactly how these royal women used the epistolary genre to achieve and perform the role of diplomatic mediator on a practical basis. For example, what language and persuasive devices did these writers use? What did their letters look like? Who did they choose as messengers? In addition to shedding new light on the understudied figure of Margaret Tudor, this thesis will explore the specific linguistic, material and communicative strategies that Margaret used in her correspondence to try and perform the role of diplomatic intercessor. In seeking to conduct such an investigation, this thesis will ask questions such as: What linguistic and communicative strategies did Margaret use to persuade her recipients to agree to an Anglo-Scottish peace? Were these appeals successful? What role did Margaret play in these

¹⁵ An initial analysis of Margaret's holograph letters suggests that she does not regularly use tokens of rhetorical amplification (such as tricolon or anaphora for example), or complex metaphorical references in her holograph writing.

diplomatic negotiations? And, finally, why did Margaret mediate – for the benefit of others, or perhaps for more personal reasons?

1.5.2. Previous scholarship on Margaret Tudor

Despite being part of one of the most famous royal dynasties in British history, sister to the notorious Henry VIII, aunt to the iconic virgin queen Elizabeth I, and grandmother of the infamous Mary, Queen of Scots, Margaret Tudor has received relatively little scholarly attention. Furthermore, whilst some historians have read some of Margaret Tudor's correspondence to report on her life and character, to date no in depth study has investigated this material with the intention of gaining a better understanding of Margaret's linguistic and communicative practices, and to explore how Margaret used letter-writing as a means of gaining greater political and diplomatic influence.

One of the earliest biographers of Margaret Tudor was the nineteenth century archivist and historian Agnes Strickland, who wrote about Margaret in the volume *Lives of the Queens of Scotland* (1850).¹⁶ Whilst Strickland appears to have consulted original manuscript material in the production of this biography, Williams emphasises that this biography (among others) is 'Victorian and moralistic in focus' (2016: 111), and does not offer a fair or objective discussion of Margaret's life and character. For example, Strickland offers a number of severe critiques of Margaret's character and actions, noting that she 'had no education, scarcely any religion and was guided entirely by her instincts, which was not of an elevated character' (Strickland 1850: 267). Strickland even goes as far as to blame Margaret for the 'terrible calamities which befell her descendants' (Strickland 1850: 267), presumably the early deaths of her son, James V, and granddaughter Mary, Queen of Scots.

In his edited collection of female royal correspondence, Green described Margaret as 'the inconstant queen' (1846: 264), and Strickland mirrors this interpretation in the following passage:

Thus her influence [in Anglo-Scottish politics] was, as usual, put up at a price for the best bidder, past benefactions being ever blank in Margaret's computation. When she had received all she could obtain from her brother and England, she then stretched out her rapacious hands to Albany and France; and this course she pursued until, like many other greedy persons, she lost her market, owing to the utter contempt into which she sank in the estimation of all parties.
(Strickland 1850: 155-156)

¹⁶ This volume was produced in conjunction with her sister, Elizabeth Strickland, who was not originally named on the title pages of the publication (Mitchell 2004).

From the above extract, it would seem that Strickland interpreted Margaret's frequent changing of position in Anglo-Scottish politics and offers of alliances with different political agents, as a feature of Margaret's supposed greed and fickleness. Emond further echoes this judgement, describing Margaret as 'politically inept...[i]mpulsive, greedy and lacking sound judgement' (1988: 628). Such an interpretation also appears to have been shared by some of Margaret's contemporaries, including the Prioress of Coldstream, who noted that Margaret was 'right fikle / therfor consall [council] the man ye knowe not to take on hand ouer moche [much] of hir credence' (William Bulmer to Thomas Howard, 7th October 1523, CCBIII fol. 59). Over the course of this thesis, I will interrogate these readings and suggest that Margaret's regular changes in political faction were a symptom of the difficult situation in which she lived, and in fact served as a tactic to try and ensure her own financial and political security.

More recently, scholars in a variety of fields have sought to gain a better understanding of Margaret Tudor. Fradenberg (1998), for example, challenges previous critical historical accounts of Margaret's life and character. McIntyre (2002), on the other hand, explores the role Tudor family politics played in Margaret's political career and authority, and highlights the difficulties Margaret experienced as a result of being a female political agent in a patriarchal world. Wingfield (forthcoming), is currently exploring Margaret Tudor's book ownership, and the role she played in the patronage of Scottish literature in the sixteenth century.

Beer (2014) in her study of Margaret Tudor and her sister-in-law Katherine of Aragon, explores the role ritual and servants played in performances of early modern queenship for these two figures. Whilst Beer notes that Margaret played the role of 'mediato[r] of patronage' (2014: 219) to obtain favour and financial reward for her personal servants, she does not explore how Margaret performed the role of diplomatic mediator in her correspondence or queenly rituals more specifically. Finally, Williams (2016) has recently conducted one of the only linguistic studies of Margaret Tudor's correspondence to date, investigating the use of markedly Scots and English linguistic features in a small corpus of Margaret's correspondence (approximately 30 letters). He suggests that Margaret's use of particular dialect features corresponded with her political leaning at the time of composition, but notes that further work is required in this area. I will refer to Williams' article in more detail in Chapter Six of this thesis.

1.6. Methodology

For the last fifty years, there has been growing interest in the study of medieval and early modern correspondence – in particular women’s letter-writing – from scholars in a wide range of disciplines including literary studies, history, gender studies, linguistics, and pragmatics. In the following section I will provide an overview of some of the recent studies and methodological approaches adopted in the analysis of historical letters, before outlining the method of analysis that I will adopt in my investigation of diplomatic mediation in the letters of Margaret Tudor.

1.6.1. Historical and literary approaches to early modern women’s correspondence

Historical and literary studies of medieval and early modern women’s correspondence have revolutionised our understanding of the day-to-day lives of historical women, and have explored the types of education such women received, the roles they played in the family, and the influence they could exert in the more traditionally patriarchal spheres of business and politics. Barbara Harris, one of the founding historians in the study of women’s letters, emphasises the value of studying women’s correspondence:

Early Tudor aristocratic women’s letters open an invaluable window into their lives and into their culture and society. In a period before they wrote journals or biographies, their correspondence was one of the few sources to record their emotions and recount the detail of their endeavours as wives, mothers, and, most unexpectedly, perhaps, their involvement in politics. Aristocratic women were active participants in the patronage networks that stretched from their households and neighbourhood to the royal court and council. (Harris 2016: 32)

Daybell has also stressed that the early modern letter was one of the main avenues through which women could ‘exert power and influence’ (2006: 3), an observation which underlines the value of studying Margaret Tudor’s letters as a means of gaining a better understanding of her involvement in sixteenth-century Anglo-Scottish politics and diplomacy.

Watt, in her study of the correspondence of the Paston family, has shown that Margaret Paston used the letter genre to negotiate family business, as well as ‘challeng[e] the politically powerful’ (1993: 135). Magnusson, in her analysis of the rhetoric of Elizabethan women’s suitors letters, highlights the linguistic sophistication and political impact early modern women’s letters could have, being ‘a genre in which women’s written production was prolific, various, at times linguistically sophisticated, political and often consequential’ (2004: 51-52). Finally, Sadlack, in her study of the letters of Margaret Tudor’s

younger sister, Mary Tudor Brandon, Queen of France, has also observed that Mary drew on different rhetorical tropes and persuasive strategies in her epistolary communication in an attempt to persuade Henry VIII to allow her to marry of her own volition (2011: 97). Whilst these historical and literary studies have highlighted the influence medieval and early modern women (and queens) could wield through written communication, they do not often explore in detail how this was achieved on a linguistic level.¹⁷

1.6.2. Historical linguistic approaches to early modern correspondence

Early modern correspondence has also been approached from a historical linguistic perspective – using both quantitative and qualitative methods – to investigate a variety of topics including language change, sociolinguistic variation and the pragmatics of early modern English. Some of the founding studies in quantitative linguistic approaches to early modern correspondence have been produced from analysis of the Corpus of Early English Correspondence (CEEC) developed at the University of Helsinki in the 1990s. The original CEEC corpus totals over 2 million words, incorporating over 6000 letters composed between the early fifteenth and late seventeenth centuries, and was ‘originally set up to test how methods developed by sociolinguists of present-day languages could be applied to historical data’ (CEEC 2012).

Whilst studies based on this corpus have been invaluable in identifying macro-trends across early modern correspondence, and have contributed greatly to our understanding of the history and development of the English language (for example see Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 1996 and 2003), such large-scale studies cannot easily account for the micro-level variation that may be present in the practices of individual letter-writers. Furthermore, adequately attending to the specific historical, social, cultural, and political contexts in which a text was produced, sent, and received, is considerably more challenging with very large collections of data. Fitzmaurice and Taavitsainen have highlighted such challenges:

The engagement with corpora of historical linguistics supplies us with ample sources of form; what corpora subsume but rarely make manifest is the context in which texts and their forms occur, and so it remains up to the historical pragmatician to go beyond and negotiate the meaning of form by examining it in its context assuming a richly informed construction of context (Fitzmaurice and Taavitsainen 2007: 25-26).

In order to overcome these challenges, some studies in historical linguistics have sought to combine quantitative and qualitative methodologies, to ensure

¹⁷ With the exception of Lynne Magnusson (2004) who draws upon theories from pragmatics in her analysis of Elizabethan suitors letters.

that their analyses of historical texts are contextually sensitive and well-informed.

Such studies include Evans (2013) and, more recently, Marcus (2018). Evans' (2013) historical sociolinguistic analysis of the features of Queen Elizabeth I's written idiolect, in particular, focuses on the role Elizabeth I played in language change in early modern England. To date, Evans has been one of the only scholars to have investigated the language of royal writing in any significant detail, though other scholars have paid some attention to the subject area (for example, see Nevalainen (2002) and Williams (2016)). In her analysis of the use and development of a selection of linguistic variables in Elizabeth's writing (using mainly corpus linguistic methods), Evans also emphasises the importance of paying close attention to the 'interactive, localised situations of texts' (2013: 23), highlighting the effect situational context can have on the linguistic composition of historical texts.

1.6.3. Historical pragmatics and Margaret Tudor's letters

As a relatively new field of historical linguistics (developed over the last twenty five years), historical pragmatics 'focuses on language use in past contexts and examines how meaning is made' (Fitzmaurice and Taavistainen 2007: 13) in historical documents. One of the key theoretical concepts in historical pragmatics derives from the work on *politeness theory* developed by Brown and Levinson in 1987. Detailed surveys of the various branches of historical pragmatics, and a detailed discussion of Brown and Levinson's *politeness theory* are provided in Fitzmaurice and Taavistainen (2007: 11-36) and Williams (2013: 10-14), though a brief introduction is offered below.

The approach adopted in this thesis accords mainly with the branch of historical pragmatics defined by Jacobs and Jucker (1995) as *pragmaphilology*, which studies language use specifically in relation to the 'contextual aspects of historical texts, including the addressers and addressees, their social and personal relationship, the physical and social setting of text production and text reception, and the goal(s) of the text' (Jacobs and Jucker 1995: 11). This method of analysis, Jacobs and Jucker also note, pays attention to the 'production processes' of historical documents, as well as the physical features of historical texts to produce a 'faithful account not only of the syntactic/lexical level but also the physical and orthographical level' (1995: 12).

In light of this, throughout this study, I pay close attention to the specific context in which Margaret's correspondence was produced, considering issues including the tenor of Anglo-Scots relations at the time of composition, the political position that Margaret occupied at a particular historical moment (being regent of Scotland, or relatively excluded from Scottish politics), the dynamics of Margaret's interpersonal relationships with her addressees (but

also surrounding agents), and the effect that these factors may have had on the function, language, and material form of Margaret Tudor's correspondence.

My thesis also, where possible, attends to 'text reception' (Jacobs and Jucker 1995: 11), the importance of which is emphasised by Culpeper and Kadar who note:

[O]ur (im)politeness interpretations need to be guided by evidence in the text. That is, the hearer/recipient's evaluation of certain utterances, and not by our own intuitions, because those intuitions are likely to reflect our present-day assumptions...exploration of the hearer's evaluation of certain utterances requires the presence of a co-text, and ideally one not separated in time (Culpeper and Kadar 2010: 18)

Culpeper and Kadar thus foreground the importance of ensuring that we do not impose our present-day judgements on our analysis of a historical text which was produced in a different cultural, ideological, social, and political context from the present day. Where appropriate, I thus seek to situate Margaret's letters in their original communicative sequence – paying attention to replies (or lack of replies) – to evaluate how Margaret's epistolary appeals were received by her recipients (especially relevant in Chapter Three). Furthermore, analysis of the surrounding discourse context, looking to letters written about Margaret but not sent directly to her, also provides a valuable insight into how Margaret's letters were actually perceived by her recipients (explored in Chapter Four in particular).

1.6.4. Key concepts in Historical Pragmatics

This thesis draws upon specific concepts and terms from the field of historical pragmatics including face, face threatening acts, speech act verbs, and address forms. The concept of *face* was first proposed by Goffman, and defined as:

the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes (Goffman 1967: 5).

Face is thus essentially an individual's perceived social self-image. Brown and Levinson applied Goffman's analysis of face to their analysis of politeness – primarily *positive face* and *negative face*. Positive face is described as an individual's desire 'to be approved of' (Brown and Levinson 1987: 13). Negative face on the other hand, is described as an individual's 'desire to be unimpeded in one's actions' (Brown and Levinson 1987: 13). Acts which make

an imposition on an individual's positive or negative face are often referred to as 'face-threatening acts' (Brown and Levinson 1987).

Brown and Levinson suggest that in order to attend to our different face wants and needs, we often employ strategies of *negative politeness and positive politeness*. These terms refer to:

forms of (linguistic) behaviour that pay respect to the addressee's positive or negative face wants, in particular in situations where one or the other of these are threatened. (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2013: 115)

An example of employing negative politeness practice is the use of indirect requests and hedging, for example 'Could you perhaps close the door?', in place of issuing a command such as 'Close the door!'. Formulating this directive as an indirect request serves to mitigate, or reduce, the face threat that the request poses to the hearer's negative face. An example of positive politeness may be employing a token of endearment to address someone, such as 'My love'.

Research in historical pragmatics has also sought to explore the formulation and politeness practices encoded in address formulae. Address formulae can include first, second, and third person address forms, in both nominal and pronominal forms (Jucker and Taavistainen 2013: 73). Address forms can be regarded as positive or negative tokens of politeness. The phrase 'my lord', for example, would be regarded as a token of negative politeness which shows deference to an individual's formal status. The phrase 'my beloved', for example, would be regarded as a token of positive politeness, as it emphasises a close and affectionate bond shared between two people. Address formulae were an intrinsic aspect of early modern letters and are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two of this thesis.

This thesis also draws upon previous historical pragmatic research on the topic of speech act verbs. Speech act theory derives from the work of J.L. Austin and John Searle. Austin proposed that we should analyse spoken utterances (or 'speech acts') on multiple levels. First, 'an utterance is an act of uttering certain words, and as such it is a locutionary act, as he called it' (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2013: 92). Secondly, an utterance may be described as 'an act of doing something' (Jucker and Taavistainen 2013: 92), for example, asking for a coffee at a restaurant. This act is referred to as an illocutionary act. Finally, the utterance 'may have an intended or unintended effect on the addressee' (Jucker and Taavistainen 2013: 92). For example, a recipient may be convinced or persuaded by an utterance. This effect is referred to as a perlocutionary act.

John Searle then designed a 'taxonomy of illocutionary acts' (Searle 1979: Chapter 1, quoted in Jucker and Taavistainen 2013: 92). The study of speech

acts has often focussed on speech act verbs, being specific verbs which seek to perform and realise a speech act. For example the verb *apologise* in the phrase ‘I *apologise* for losing your dog’, would be regarded as a speech act verb which seeks to linguistically perform an apology. The study of historical speech act verbs has received some attention from a number of scholars (including Kohnen (2002) Traugott (1991), Williams (2013)), and will be discussed in greater detail in Chapters Two and Three.¹⁸

1.6.5. Interdisciplinary approach

On one hand, this study pays attention to linguistic variables discussed elsewhere in historical pragmatic research, for example speech act verbs, pronouns, anaphoric language, clause structure, morphological inflections, and meta-linguistic commentary. However, I also employ methods from other disciplines which are drawn upon less frequently in the field of historical pragmatics.¹⁹ These disciplines include political history, textual and editorial scholarship, court studies, archival enquiry, manuscript studies, authorship analysis investigations, and material culture.

For example, studies which explore the materiality and transmission of early modern correspondence are particularly relevant to this study. In the last twenty years, historians and material culture scholars have explored the effect that the material form of early modern correspondence could have on how a recipient read and understood a letter (for example, see Daybell 2012, Gibson 1997, Stewart 2008). Attention to the visual and material features of correspondence has also informed the development of digital humanities manuscript projects such as Bess of Hardwick’s letters (developed at the University of Glasgow; P.I. Alison Wiggins), and the Early Modern Manuscript Online (EMMO) project at the Folger Shakespeare Library (P.I. Heather Wolfe).

Daybell, in one of the first detailed investigations of the material features of early modern epistolary communication, highlights the complex social meanings that could be ‘encoded’ into the physical features of historical letters:

Social and cultural meaning was encoded into the very fabric of a letter, inscribed into the physical features of correspondence. Social hierarchies are established in complex ways by the nature of handwriting, the scribal status of a letter, the size of paper it was written upon and by the way in which the manuscript page itself was laid out. Seals, folding, watermarks and ink all provide further clues to

¹⁸ See Jucker and Taavitsainen (2007) for discussion of other studies of the history of speech act verbs.

¹⁹ Some historical pragmatics studies have begun to implement methodological principles from other disciplines in their analysis of historical texts. These include Fitzmaurice (2008) and (2015), Marcus (2018), Smith and Kay (2011), Wiggins (2016), Williams (2013).

the ways in which letters worked and the significant meaning they generated. (Daybell 2012: 107)

In my investigation of Margaret Tudor's letters, I show that an analysis of the material features of these documents – in particular hand choice, abbreviations and punctuation, page size, orientation, seals, and folding mechanisms – is essential to gaining a full understanding of how Margaret operated as political and diplomatic intercessor through a written medium. Wiggins echoes Daybell's observations, but also highlights the importance that 'accompanying personnel' (2016: 10) could have on the overall communicative function of early modern letters:

The communicative function of a letter was intricately intertwined with the precise etiquettes of its material forms, which included its visual appearance, physical dimensions, associated items, such as enclosures or gifts, and accompanying personnel. (Wiggins 2016: 9-10)

Throughout this thesis I also show that analysis of the specific individuals entrusted to carry and perform the contents of Margaret Tudor's letters, were also central to Margaret's peace-keeping actions in the early sixteenth century.

Such an approach allows for a nuanced and comprehensive understanding of Margaret Tudor's mediative epistolary appeals. This multi-dimensional analysis reveals new aspects of Margaret's intercessory activities (in particular the symbolic value Margaret as mediator held to her male associates) and provides new insights into how her correspondence was composed, transmitted, and received – information which would not be revealed through analysis of the language of her letters alone.

1.7. Structure

Due to the size of the Margaret Tudor Corpus (some 230 documents in total), it is impossible to conduct a detailed, contextually-sensitive, multi-modal analysis of each letter in the Margaret Tudor Corpus within the scope of this thesis. As a result, I have chosen to focus my analysis and each chapter on five separate communicative episodes, each of which explore a different aspect of Margaret's diplomatic practices. Organised in chronological order, each chapter employs a slightly different methodological focus depending on the material contained within each episode. Specific methods and relevant secondary literature are discussed in more detail in each chapter in turn.

1.8. Chapter summary

Chapter Two focuses on a selection of scribal letters sent in Margaret's name to the English court in August 1515 which were written to arrange a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty after the arrival of the new governing

regent of Scotland John Stewart, Duke of Albany. Despite being signed with Margaret's signature – a traditional epistolary symbol of authority and approval – Margaret claimed that these scribal letters were sent against her will, that she was forced to subscribe some letters, and that her secretary forged her signature in others. She claims:

the said duke caused my secretary to make writings whiche for fere I subscribe and oder [other] was subscribed by my said secretary fenyng [feigning] my hande wherunto I was neuer aggreable (Margaret to Jean de Plains, 6 October 1516, CCBVI fol. 125)

In order to examine the truth of these claims, Chapter Two conducts an authorship analysis on a subcorpus of scribal and holograph letters to Henry VIII's border warden Thomas Dacre. Variables investigated include address formulae, speech act verbs, clause structure and anaphoric language (linguistic tokens used to structure a text, e.g. compound adverbs). This chapter draws upon the work of recent authorship analysis research (in particular Williams 2013, Evans 2016, Wiggins 2016, and Marcus 2018), but also demonstrates new qualitative methods which may be applied in such investigations – in particular, the use of specific keywords and collocations in the articulation of key topics (such as peace-keeping).

The results of this analysis show that Margaret's August 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre – which presents Margaret as willing diplomatic mediator between England and Scotland – is significantly different stylistically to her holograph correspondence to Dacre. Such a result suggests that Margaret was not actively involved in the composition of this scribal letter, and that it was probably sent against her will. This highlights that Margaret's pro-mediation letters held significant value to the Scottish faction (the Duke of Albany, and the Lords of Scotland), who went to great lengths to force Margaret to sign letters, or have her secretary forge her signature.

Chapter Three examines a collection of correspondence sent by Margaret to her brother, Henry VIII, between December 1521 and February 1522. On the 9th December 1521, Margaret sent a holograph letter to Henry VIII, on behalf of the Duke of Albany, which requested another renewal of the peace treaty between England and Scotland. This chapter investigates the linguistic and material strategies Margaret utilised to try and persuade Henry to agree to her requests: including the effect peace (or war) would have had on Margaret personally, claims of Margaret's 'trust' in Henry's actions, and the material and pragmatic value of royal holograph correspondence. This chapter explores how Margaret adapted her communicative techniques after her initial holograph letter was ignored, instead employing the use of an alternative communicative genre: the early modern memorial.

This chapter also surveys the agents who were involved in the delivery of Margaret Tudor's correspondence, the different impacts and functions different communicative genres could have on recipients, and the intricate processes involved in gaining an audience with Henry VIII. Overall, this chapter investigates how Margaret Tudor exercised epistolary creativity and resourcefulness – utilising different linguistic strategies, genres of correspondence, and material features – to try and successfully perform the role of diplomatic mediator, and persuade Henry VIII to agree to Anglo-Scottish peace. This chapter also highlights that Margaret agreed to perform the role of peace-keeper in return for the political and financial support of the Duke of Albany.

Chapter Four focuses on a collection of correspondence sent by Margaret to the nobleman Thomas Howard in autumn 1523. This episode explores issues of epistolary secrecy, specifically how Margaret operated two separate channels of communication with Howard during this period. One channel – the 'overt' route – was used to convey letters to Howard which requested peace with England, and were sent with the knowledge and approval of the Scottish government. These documents present Margaret as willingly performing the role of diplomatic intercessor through her written correspondence. The second channel – the 'covert' route – sees the despatch of secret correspondence, sent without the knowledge of the Lords of Scotland. These documents see Margaret acting as a spy, reporting important Scottish military information to Howard, and also requesting permission to leave Scotland and seek refuge at the English court. Whilst this episode presents Margaret acting as a double-agent, it also shows that Margaret could use the pretence of willing mediator as a strategy of personal protection in the event that her requests to come to England were denied, and she was forced to stay in Scotland. This chapter also highlights new strategies of epistolary secrecy used in early modern correspondence, hitherto unstudied.

Chapter Five focuses on the concept of the Diplomatic Bag, and examines how a change in political status and power affected Margaret's diplomatic negotiations during her second regency in November 1524. This episode warrants a comparison with the January 1522 memorial and accompanying letters of credence discussed in Chapter Three. This analysis compares the linguistic design (including address forms and pronouns) and material composition of the diplomatic correspondence in each episode, as well as the use of different agents to convey and perform the material at the English court. I conclude that Margaret used more formal and official strategies and agents of communication during her second regency than when she occupied a less-influential and marginal position at the Scottish court. Over the course of this chapter, I further investigate the under-studied memorial genre, and offer

discussion of the genre's stylistic features, communicative function, and how it might have been delivered and performed in the sixteenth century.

Chapter Six focuses on the final mediative episode in Margaret Tudor's life when she sought to personally organise a diplomatic meeting between her son, James V, and brother, Henry VIII, in December 1534. This episode explores why a holograph letter sent by Margaret to Henry VIII on the 12th December 1534 (SP 49/4 fol. 70) is significantly different – stylistically, materially and palaeographically – to her wider holograph correspondence. Analysis of this holograph document reveals that these changes were probably a result of external involvement in the composition and production of the letter.

This chapter further demonstrates the value paying attention to the palaeographical and material format of correspondence as well as its linguistic composition can have in authorship investigations. Palaeographical variables discussed include the use of abbreviations, punctuation, and different letter forms (such as the use of <3> and <y>). Linguistic variables explored include the use of specific pronouns (*I* vs *royal we*), marked Scots and English verbal and nominal inflections, and relative pronouns. On one hand, this episode shows that Margaret, and her diplomatic correspondence, were valuable to her son James V, as an independent adult king. However, on the other hand, presence of external input in the production of Margaret's 12th December 1534 holograph letter, suggests that Margaret was not fully trusted to compose this letter independently, and that her role as communicative mediator was probably more symbolic than practical in this period.

Overall, this thesis seeks to provide new insights into the character, communicative strategies, and diplomatic practices of Margaret Tudor. This thesis demonstrates how Margaret Tudor sought to practically perform the role of peace-keeper through her personal correspondence, by consciously adapting the linguistic and material format of her diplomatic correspondence, employing a variety of communicative genres (most notably the diplomatic memorial) with different performative effects, and utilising different messengers and channels of communication dependent on the particular context in which she was writing. It also demonstrates that political status and influence, and the role Margaret played in Anglo-Scots politics, had a significant effect on the format and delivery of Margaret's diplomatic correspondence. Such analysis sheds new light on the epistolary and diplomatic practices of medieval and early modern queens, for whom little archival material survives, and highlights that letter-writing was one of the primary mediums through which royal women could exercise diplomatic and political influence.

This thesis also explores the reasons for which Margaret Tudor sought to perform the role of diplomatic mediator. Firstly, mediation is shown to have been one of the main avenues through which Margaret could gain influence, and emphasise her political and diplomatic value to the kings (and political leaders) of England and Scotland. This demonstrates that Margaret not only sought to actively organise Anglo-Scottish peace for the benefit of the leaders of England and Scotland, and for the greater good, but because it also helped to secure her own political and financial position during times of hardship. Secondly, this thesis also demonstrates that Margaret's mediation and diplomatic correspondence was a valuable resource for her male contemporaries, and did not simply fulfil a symbolic function. Margaret was called upon to act as communicative and diplomatic mediator in a variety of situations when relations between England and Scotland were strained, but also in times in which Anglo-Scots peace was secured. This underlines the integral role royal women played in medieval and early modern diplomacy and communication.

Finally, this analysis provides new insights into the character of Margaret Tudor. Despite being branded as an 'inconstant queen' (Green 1945: 264), and described as 'politically inept...[i]mpulsive, greedy, and lacking in sound judgement' (Emond 1988: 628) by scholars and biographers, this thesis provides evidence for an alternative view. Whilst Margaret regularly changed political allegiance (for example working in conjunction with the Duke of Albany in 1521, and then turning against him in autumn 1523), this thesis demonstrates that she did so in order to secure the wellbeing of herself and her son in a turbulent political climate. Margaret is shown to have exercised shrewd political acumen, and simply mirrored the practices of her male contemporaries. For example, Henry VIII frequently changed his political and diplomatic allegiances, depending on what was on offer from each faction. This, in turn, highlights the gendered bias of previous interpretations of Margaret Tudor, and shows that in reality Margaret was no more fickle than her male associates.

Chapter Two - 'I am constrayd to doo a gan my vyl': Questioning the authenticity of royal scribal letters August - October 1515

2.1. Chapter Outline:

This chapter explores the issue of authorship attribution in royal scribal letters. In August 1515 a collection of scribal letters were sent in Margaret Tudor's name to Henry VIII, and his border warden, Thomas Dacre. In these scribal letters, Margaret requested a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty, and signalled her approval of the new governor of Scotland, John Stewart, Duke of Albany. These letters thus present Margaret as seeking to actively perform the role of diplomatic mediator, and were sent with the intention of trying to secure peace between England and Scotland.

From a surface appearance, these letters appear to be completely legitimate and authentic royal scribal letters. However, in late August/early September 1515 Margaret also sent a holograph letter and a number of verbal messages to Thomas Dacre that undermined the written authority and authenticity of these scribal letters. Despite being signed with Margaret's signature – a traditional epistolary symbol of authority and approval – Margaret claimed that these scribal letters were sent 'expressedly against her woll (will) and mynde' (Thomas Dacre to Henry VIII, CCBVI fol. 80), that she was forced to subscribe these documents, and that on one occasion her secretary even forged her signature.

But does any linguistic evidence survive to support Margaret's claims? Over the course of this chapter I conduct an authorship analysis investigation on a subcorpus of Margaret's correspondence to Thomas Dacre to examine the truth of these accusations. The analysis reveals that Margaret's 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre is considerably different to the stylistic 'norm' of her wider holograph correspondence. This suggests that this scribal letter was written without Margaret's direct involvement, and thus supports her claims that this document was sent against her 'woll (will) and mynde' (CCBVI fol. 80). This therefore raises the question: if this letter was sent against her wishes, and with little involvement from Margaret herself, why was it sent at all?

I conclude that this letter was commissioned and sent by the Duke of Albany and the Lords of Scotland in an attempt to maintain peace with England. This shows that not all of the letters sent in Margaret's name which sought to facilitate Anglo-Scottish peace were trustworthy and legitimate. Furthermore, this episode also highlights the value Margaret as mediator and her royal correspondence held to the Scottish faction, and were integral to maintaining positive relations with England. This chapter draws upon the work of recent authorship analysis research (in particular Williams 2013, Evans 2016, Wiggins

2016, and Marcus 2018), but also demonstrates new qualitative methods which may be applied in such investigations – in particular, the use of specific keywords and collocations in the articulation of key topics (such as peace-keeping).

2.2. Historical Context:

Upon the death of her husband James IV of Scotland at the battle of Flodden in September 1513, Margaret Tudor was elevated to an unusual position of power for a sixteenth-century queen. As governing regent of Scotland, Margaret was elected to rule on behalf of her seventeen-month old son, James V. In this role, Margaret occupied a central position in the Scottish government, and was responsible for making important political and diplomatic decisions (in conjunction with the Lords of Scotland) for the Scottish realm. However, the will of her late husband James IV ruled that this position was contingent upon Margaret remaining a widow. Despite this stipulation, in August 1514 Margaret secretly married the Scottish lord Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus (Merriman 2006). As a result, the Lords of Scotland decided to remove Margaret from the regency and replace her with a male descendant of the Stewart line, John Stewart, Duke of Albany. Albany (son of Alexander Stewart, younger brother of James III, King of Scotland) arrived on the coast of Scotland to take up his regency in May 1515 (Bonner 2006).

In late July/early August 1515 the Duke of Albany sent four Scottish lords to Stirling Castle to remove Margaret's children (James V and the Duke of Ross) from her care. A letter from the border warden Thomas Dacre sent to the English council on 1st August 1515 summarises the events that took place, noting that the 'duke [of Albany] be thadvice (the advice) of his counsaile commoned (communicated) in the parliament house who shuld haif (have) the reull and keping of the younge king and his broder' (CCBII fol. 341). A group of Scottish lords were then sent to visit Margaret at Stirling castle, to ask that she surrender her children (James V and the Duke of Ross) to Albany's care. Dacre writes that Margaret then 'caused the portcoles (portcullis) be lattyn (let) down And made annsuer...that hir said late husbände [James IV] had made her protetrix (protector) and gevenn (given) his Auctorite (authority) to haif (have) the keping and gouernan(illegible) (governance) of his saide childrenn wherfor she couthe (could) in noowise (no way) deliver themm to any personne' (CCBII fol. 341). This letter portrays Margaret as a determined and committed mother, who was very reluctant to deliver the care of her children to the Duke of Albany. During this time, secret plans were also being made (mainly orchestrated by Thomas Dacre) to remove Margaret and her children from Scotland, and bring them to the English court.

Six days later, Dacre sent another letter to the English council, confirming that Margaret had been forced to surrender her children to Albany and the Lords of Scotland. He writes that '(t)he same duke accompayned (accompanied) with the mooste parte of all the temporall lordes...rode and come to Striveling (Stirling) on setterday (Saturday) the iiiijth daie' (Dacre to English council, 7 August 1515, CCBII fol. 369). Dacre then notes that 'all the other menn that were in the castell fledd furthe (forth) of it for fere (fear) of the proclamacions made be the duke and for fere of losing ther lyves' (CCBII fol. 369), leaving Margaret alone at Stirling castle with little protection and support. As a result, Dacre reports that Margaret was 'left desolate without comferte wherupon she caused the king her sonne deliver the keys to the duke' (CCBII fol. 369). This gesture symbolised Margaret submitting to Albany's authority, and the relinquishment of her children to his care. Overall, these documents present Margaret as being staunchly opposed to Albany's authority as the new governing regent of Scotland, and suggests that she surrendered to his requests only because she was abandoned by her male supporters. However, a selection of scribal letters sent in Margaret's name to Henry VIII and Thomas Dacre later in August 1515 present a very different scene, instead portraying Margaret as willing advocate of peace on behalf of Albany and the Lords of Scotland.

2.3. The August 1515 scribal letters:

Between 20th and 31st August 1515 four scribal letters were sent in Margaret's name to Henry VIII and Thomas Dacre (three letters to Henry VIII SP 49/1 fol. 50, 51 and 53; one letter to Thomas Dacre CCBVI fol. 78). These letters requested a continuation of peace between England and Scotland and claimed that Margaret was content with how Albany was caring for her children. These letters show a sharp contradiction against Dacre's earlier claims that Margaret was reluctant to abandon the care of her children to Albany for fear that doing so would result in the 'vtter (utter) distroccionn (destruction) of the king and prince' (Thomas Dacre to Margaret Tudor 1st September 1515 CCBVI fol. 81).

In spite of these claims, the August 1515 scribal letters to Henry VIII and Thomas Dacre appear to be completely legitimate and authentic, as they carry Margaret's holograph signature. Figure 2.1, below, shows the inner leaf of one of the scribal letters sent to Henry VIII on the 20th August 1515 (SP 49/1 fol. 50). While the main body is written in a scribal hand (that of Margaret's secretary James Inglis), the closing subscription and signature '3our lufeng (loving) syster Margaret R' is penned in Margaret's own hand. In this letter, Margaret notes that:

1) I haue presence of my childir (children) at my ples^r (pleasure) and entres (opportunity to leave or enter) yam quhen (when) euir (ever) I

will // Brodir (brother) I am deliberat (resolved) yat I and my said
 cousing sall (shall) tak ane (one) part for I ken (know) It is maist (most)
 for my profit...My cousing ye king of france has send me wryting by yis
 berar and prayis (prays) me yat I will Intreit (entreat) and do my
 deligence (diligence) to keipe ye peax (peace) betuix (between) ye
 Realmes / ye quhilk (which) I pray 3ow to do Inlikwis for my request (SP
 49/1 fol. 50)

In this extract, Margaret noted that she was free to see her children whenever she pleased, and that she was resolved to work in collaboration with the Duke of Albany. This letter also requested that Henry VIII agree to preserve peace between England, Scotland and France. Daybell notes that ‘autograph [holograph] signatures (which most letters contain) attest to women’s review and reading of their letters...and that they were satisfied with the contents of correspondence that was sent out in their name’ (2006: 85). The use of a holograph signature in this document (and the three other August 1515 scribal letters), thus served as an authenticating device to her recipient, Henry VIII, that this letter had been sent under Margaret’s commission and approval, and was a legitimate appeal for peace.



Figure 2.1: Margaret to Henry VIII (scribal), 20 August 1515 (SP 49:1 fol. 50).

2.3.1. 'against hir woll (will) and mynde': Undermining the legitimacy of Margaret's August 1515 scribal letters

Shortly after the despatch of the four scribal letters to Henry VIII and Thomas Dacre – which requested that Henry VIII agree to keip (keep) ye peax (peace)' (SP 49/1 fol. 50) – Margaret sent a holograph letter and a series of verbal messages (via trusted messengers) to Thomas Dacre to signal that these scribal letters had been sent against her will. On the 7th September 1515 Thomas Dacre and Thomas Magnus wrote to Henry VIII noting that:

2) the quene of scottes lately...aduertised me be credence of the Chambrelain that the duke had enforced hir (her) [deletion] to subscribe sundry letters directed to the popes holynes yor highnes and the frenche king...And therfor seyng the said subscribing was expressedly against hir woll (will) and mynde (CCBVI fol. 80)

This letter states that Albany had forced Margaret to 'subscribe' multiple letters to important European leaders including Henry VIII, the King of France, and the Pope; actions which Dacre and Magnus were 'expressedly against her [Margaret's] woll (will) and mynde' (CCBVI fol. 80). Margaret corroborates this story herself in a letter sent to the French ambassador Jean de Plains (stationed in Scotland) on the 6th October 1515:

3) Trewly wehnn I was in Edinburghe the said duke caused my secretary to make writinges whiche for fere I subscribe and oder (other) was subscribed be my said secretary fenyng (feigning) my hande wherunto I was neuer agreeable (CCBVI fol. 125)

Margaret thus claimed that she was forced to sign the August 1515 scribal letters out of 'fere' (fear), and that her signature in one of these letters was even forged by her secretary.

Sometime in late August/early September 1515, Margret sent a brief holograph letter to Thomas Dacre to signal to Dacre that the August 1515 scribal letters sent in her name were not to be trusted, and that Dacre was not fully informed of the truth of Margaret's predicament. Figure 2.2 shows the inner leaf of this holograph letter, and a full transcript is provided below.

4) My lorde dakers I comand me to 3ou as hartly as I can and I haue seen 3our vryteng and ondarstands at length and I parcayue (perceive) that 3e ar novht (not) sykerly (securely; truthfully) Informyd In vhat stat I stand In for 3e trow (trust) that I may pas vhar euer I vyl vysche (which) Is nowht trw (true) but thes (this) berrar can schaw 3ou the trawht (truth) of all and vhat my mynd Is and how I am constrayd to doo a gan (against) my vyl and I pray 3ou gyf (give) hm (him) kredens as

3e valde (would) doo to my selfe for It Is ovr (over) lang to vryt for I
haue gret trast In thes man and send me 3our vter mynd and ansuer In
all thynge and god kype 3ou vryten vy^t my hand thes monday

3ours frend

Margaret R

In the above holograph letter, Margaret writes that she had been ‘constrayd (constrained) to do a gan (against) my vyl (will)’ and that Dacre had not been ‘sykerly (securely; truthfully) Informyd (informed) In vhat (what) stat (state) I stand In’ (CCBVI fol. 85). Margaret then notes that the bearer entrusted to carry this holograph note could ‘schaw (show) 3ou (Dacre) the trawht (truth) of all and vhat (what) my mynd Is’ (CCBVI fol. 85), and presumably relate further details of Margaret’s predicament to Dacre verbally. A summary of the credence sent with this messenger Robin Carr survives, and notes that the Duke of Albany held Margaret at Edinburgh against her will, and that she was not permitted to ‘send to the king and prince hir (her) childre (children) nor to other her frendes for her relese and comfote’ (CCBVI fol. 85).

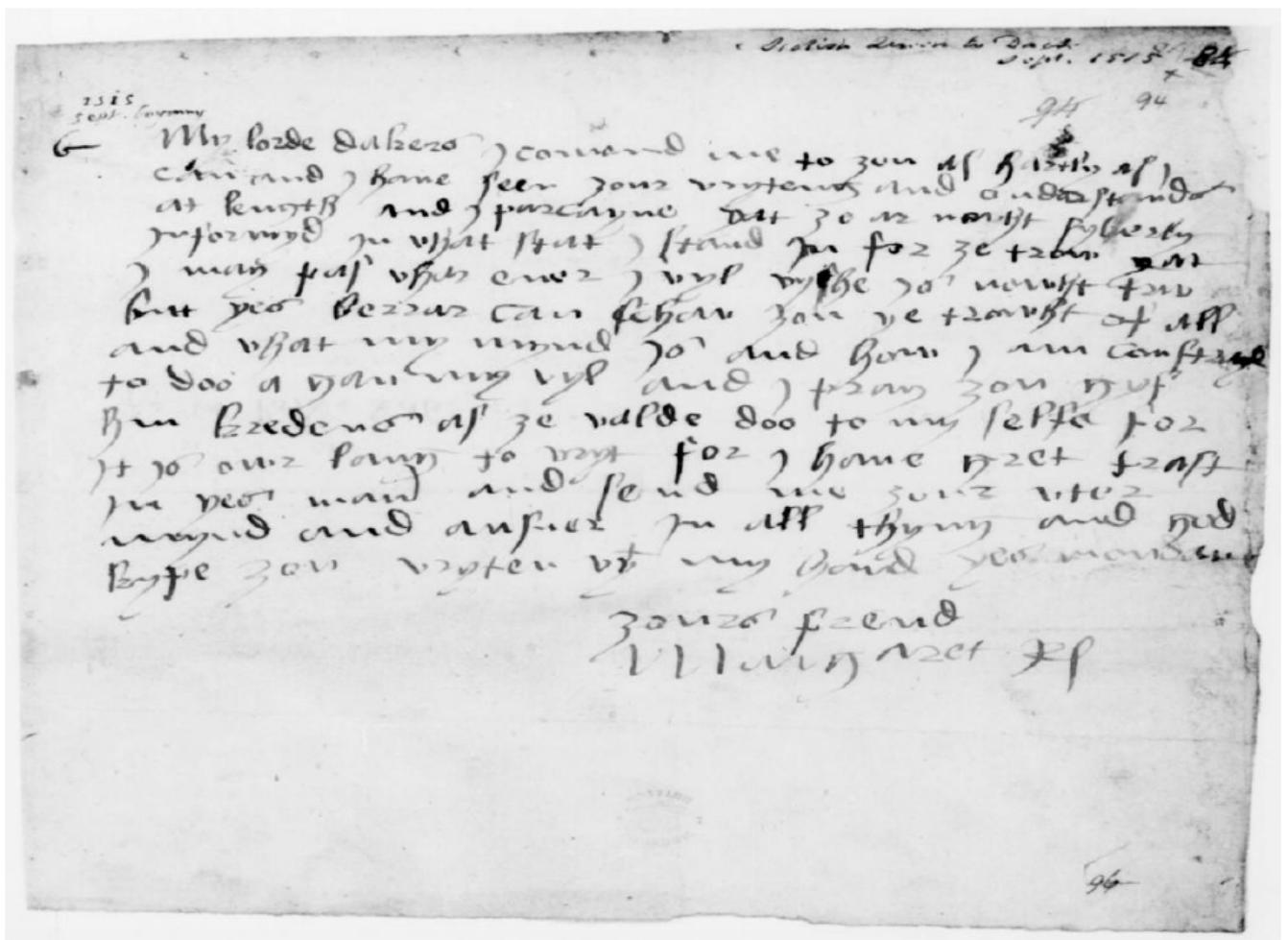


Figure 2.2: Margaret to Thomas Dacre (holograph), August/September 1515 (CCBVI fol. 84).

Studies in the field of early modern correspondence have discussed the various reasons for which a writer might choose to send a holograph letter instead of a scribal letter. One of the most common reasons was familial obligation, where taking the time to write a letter oneself held ‘greater... interpersonal value’ (Evans 2016: 37) and was a means of signalling ‘obedience and respect’ (Daybell 2001: 69) to an intended recipient. Also, as mentioned in the introduction, a royal ‘holograph exchange was a particularly effective way of securing amity’ (Allinson 2012: 74). Secrecy might also affect a sender’s choice of hand, and dispensing with the services of a scribe could ensure some degree of epistolary privacy (Daybell 2006: 86). To some extent, the issue of secrecy must have influenced Margaret’s choice in sending the above holograph letter to Thomas Dacre in August/September 1515. If Margaret was indeed being held against her will in the Scottish court, employing a third party to write a letter that threatened to undermine Albany’s actions and authority would have posed further risk to Margaret’s safety. Writing this letter in her own hand would thus have offered Margaret some protection from potential detection. Furthermore, Margaret’s note that ‘thes berrar can schaw (show) 3ou the trawht (truth) of all and vhat my mynd is’ (CCBVI fol. 84), shows that Margaret was also sending verbal messages with her bearer to further offer herself a greater level of secrecy and protection in case her letter was intercepted.

However, Margaret’s choice to send a holograph letter was probably also influenced by another important reason. As mentioned previously, the presence of an autograph signature in a scribal letter served as a common epistolary indication that a letter was authentic and could be trusted. However, this particular case study throws this practice into question. If the August 1515 scribal letters to Henry VIII and Thomas Dacre were written and sent against Margaret’s will, how might she signal this to her allies – principally the border warden Thomas Dacre and her brother Henry VIII – and inform them of her true condition? Through sending the brief August/September 1515 (CCBVI fol. 84) letter in her own hand and overtly signalling its holograph status through the metalinguistic comment ‘vryten (written) vy^t (with) my hand’ Margaret signalled that this letter could be trusted. Whilst it might have been easy to forge Margaret’s signature on a scribal document, being able to convincingly replicate her handwriting for an entire letter would have been a considerably more challenging task, especially as Margaret’s own script was very different to the formal secretary hand used by scribes. By writing the entire letter in her own hand Margaret therefore signalled to the intended reader (Dacre in this case) that this letter was to be trusted, and not the preceding scribal letters also sent in her name.

2.4. Authorship analysis of Margaret Tudor's letters

Whilst the above material evidence seems to support Margaret's claims that the August 1515 scribal letters to Thomas Dacre and Henry VIII were sent 'against hir (her) woll (will) and mynde' (CCBVI fol. 80), does the linguistic evidence also point to this conclusion? In order to examine the truth of these claims, the rest of this chapter will focus on an authorship analysis of a small corpus of Margaret's holograph and scribal correspondence to Thomas Dacre (22 holograph letters, and 3 scribal letters).

Crucial to this analysis is the concept of *idiolect*. By *idiolect* I refer to Coulthard's definition that 'every...speaker [and writer] has their own distinct and individual version of the way that they speak and write' (2004: 431-432). Coulthard goes on to note that an individual's idiolect 'will manifest itself through distinctive and idiosyncratic choices in texts' (2004: 431-432). In line with this theory, we would therefore expect Margaret Tudor to have a 'distinctive and idiosyncratic' set of lexical preferences, collocations and rhetorical tropes that she would regularly draw upon in her written correspondence.²⁰ Examining whether these holograph preferences occur in Margaret's scribal letters (in particular those sent in August 1515) can potentially be used to examine whether Margaret was actively involved in their composition. In the following section I will review previous methodologies applied in authorship attribution studies, before outlining the approach that I will adopt in my analysis of a subcorpus of Margaret Tudor's letters to Thomas Dacre.

2.4.1. Previous authorship attribution studies

The study of authorship attribution in historical correspondence has received attention from scholars in a variety of fields – including history, literary studies, corpus linguistics, computational linguistics, historical pragmatics and variationist sociolinguistics – all of which adopt different approaches in seeking to conduct such an analysis. For example, the historian Barbara Harris offers some comments on how one might go about searching for the 'voice' of an early modern writer, but also highlights the challenges such enquiries may pose to the researcher:

Without explicit evidence of this kind,²¹ scholars' judgements about the authorship of aristocratic women's letters rest on intangible factors. When women wrote a number of holograph letters with similar styles and phrasing, they were probably responsible for composing as well as physically writing them. Similar criteria can be used to ascribe the

²⁰ A writer's linguistic preferences (*idiolect*) may change over time, or in different contexts.

²¹ For example, meta-linguistic comments that note whether a writer has directly dictated a letter themselves, or copied a scribal draft in their own hand.

wording of dictated letters to the women who signed them. The conclusion is even stronger when holograph and signed letters by the same woman survive, as they do for Henry VIII's sister, Mary Tudor, Queen of France; Katherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk; Elizabeth, Lady Burgh; and Lady Elizabeth Lucy. In another variant, although scribes wrote the letters of Elizabeth, Duchess of Norfolk, the estranged wife of the third duke, she occasionally added holograph paragraphs or post-scripts to them. The voice in her letters is remarkably consistent and strongly suggests that she was responsible for their phraseology or had read and approved them before they were dispatched (Harris 2016: 25)

Daybell also notes that:

A woman's writing may, for example, have been made distinct by the use of certain common words or phrases, or by the fact that she displayed a particular confidence and self-assurance in her letters, or that she showed a discernible personal intimacy with an addressee (Daybell 2006: 81).

In seeking to conduct such an analysis then, Daybell and Harris note that we should look for 'the use of certain common phrases', 'a particular confidence and self-assurance in her letters', 'a discernible personal intimacy with an addressee' and 'similar styles and phrasing' between a woman's holograph and scribal letters. However, Harris does note that such an analysis can 'rest on intangible factors'. Whilst these observations have their own merit, they do not suggest how we might operationalise an authorship analysis on a linguistic level. Exactly what linguistic features and lexical items would one examine in such analysis? Interpreting Daybell and Harris' observations from a linguistic perspective, we might look for the frequency of particular idiosyncratic expressions, the degree of (in)formality of address forms used, and the prevalence of key words in a selected corpus, in seeking to conduct such an analysis.

Daybell also argues that the social status of a recipient, the function of a letter, and the interpersonal relationship shared between a sender and addressee could significantly affect the language and style of an early modern letter. He notes that 'to ensure consistency' in an authorship analysis investigation:

one must compare only letters of the same type written to the same person: the tone of business letters may differ significantly from more intimate letters to family. Further problems arise, in that a woman's style may have changed between dictating a letter and writing one herself. (Daybell 2006: 81-82)

Daybell raises a number of important points here: mainly that a sender's dictation and holograph writing styles may be different, as well as the need to remove as many variables as possible that may affect the tone and style of a sender's letter before conducting an authorship analysis. Social status, for example, is known to have had a significant effect on the register, politeness tokens and language employed in early modern letters. In the socially-stratified context of the early sixteenth century, a writer would have been expected to use very different politeness forms and address terms when writing to a personal servant in comparison to penning a letter to a monarch.

Numerous scholars have also approached the topic of authorship attribution of historical correspondence from a linguistic perspective, though with significantly different methodologies. Ninni (2018), for example, uses computational 'frequency-based stylometric methods for authorship attribution' (2018: 625) – specifically using n-grams analysis – to compare the use of specific strings of words in a collection of documents (in this study Ninni examines the letters of Jack the Ripper). He notes that each writer/author will have 'their own idiosyncratic set of lexical choices' (2018: 625) (i.e. idiolect) to articulate a specific communicative topic/act. Recurrence of the same chain/sequence of words in different texts can be used as a positive indicator that the texts were produced by the same author. Whilst this type of analysis can be very productive and allow large collections of data to be searched, in this chapter I will highlight the value that qualitative analysis – in particular paying attention to how specific topics are articulated in Margaret Tudor's holograph and scribal letters – can also be a productive line of enquiry in authorship analysis studies.

Marcus (2018), in her study of the letters of the early modern noblewoman Bess of Hardwick, analyses the use of specific lexical bundles (similar to Ninni's n-gram analysis) to compare the stylistic composition of Bess of Hardwick's holograph and scribal corpora. Though Marcus observes that there are significant stylistic differences between Bess' holograph and scribal correspondence, and that 'the person who copies the letter appears to have a tangible effect on which bundles are used' (2018: 295), she does not use this analysis to explore issues of authorship attribution in the texts. However, Marcus does identify that such an analysis may be the focus of future research 'to tell us about textual practices, especially dictation, during the early modern period' (2018: 329). Williams (2013) also seeks to conduct a comparative analysis of the holograph and scribal letters of Joan Thynne: exploring differences in palaeography, orthography and material presentation, as well as lexico-grammatical items such as compound adverbs and anaphoric language (2013a: 31-63).

Of particular importance to this study is Evans's (2016) investigation of two of Elizabeth I's scribal letters. In this study, Evans seeks to explore if any

evidence survives through which we could measure Elizabeth's involvement in the production of scribal documents. This analysis investigates a variety of features including address forms, pronoun selection, compound adverbs, negation, and spelling. However, Evans notes that 'spelling evidence offers minimal evidence to support Elizabeth's involvement in the letter' (2016: 43), and is not a particularly productive point of analysis in authorship investigations of scribal correspondence. Wiggins (2016) also addresses the issue of authorship in the analysis of some of Bess of Hardwick's holograph correspondence, though this will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Six of this thesis. In the following sections I will survey the different methods via which early modern scribal correspondence was produced and the potential challenges of using holograph writing as a reference corpus, before outlining the data collection and specific methodology that I will adopt in my analysis of Margaret Tudor's letters to Thomas Dacre.

2.4.2. Production of scribal correspondence

Early modern scribal correspondence could be produced in a variety of ways, with different levels of involvement from the named sender. Daybell notes that:

For example, letters could have been either dictated orally, or written from notes that a woman provided. Alternatively, secretaries might have used model or form letters, which they tailored for specific situations according to a woman's requirements. (Daybell 2006: 80).

An author's involvement in the production of scribal letters can therefore be placed on a continuum. At one end of the spectrum, if a scribe copied Margaret's dictation word-for-word, we would expect this scribal letter to be stylistically similar to Margaret's own holograph writing (see Evans 2016: 37). However, if a letter was written simply from a set of notes, or from the dictation of another individual (such as the Duke of Albany), we would expect this letter to be linguistically somewhat different to Margaret's holograph letters.

Furthermore, even if written verbatim and directly from a sender's immediate dictation, a letter written in the hand of a third party will probably contain traces of the linguistic variety of the scribe in question. In their discussion of scribal copies of Middle English manuscripts, Benskin and Laing note that a scribe could 'do one of three things':

- A. He may leave the language more or less unchanged, like a modern scholar transcribing such a manuscript....
- B. He may convert it into his own kind of language, making innumerable modifications to the orthography, the morphology, and the vocabulary...

C. He may do something somewhere between A and B. (Benskin and Laing 1981: 56)

Benskin and Laing's classification primarily applies to the production of scribal copies of physical texts, not the production of scribal letters through dictation. However, the principles laid out in the study help to consider how a late medieval or early modern letter might have been produced. For example, when producing a scribal letter an amanuensis may replicate word-for-word the direct dictation of a sender, even if this required using features that were not part of their own regional variety. On the other hand, a scribe might replace terms used by the named sender with alternative morphological or lexical forms from their own variety. For example, even if Margaret used the marked English lexical item *much*, a Scots scribe may choose to use one of their own regional lexical preferences such as *mickle*. Finally, if a scribal letter was produced from dictation and not from a holograph draft of the named sender, we would not expect the sender to have any influence on the spellings and orthography used by the amanuensis.

In light of these observations, my own analysis of Margaret Tudor's letters will focus on linguistic features that were most likely to have been affected by dictation: primarily individual words, specific phrases, lexical collocations, syntactic structure and the articulation of specific topics. In comparison, subtle differences in pronunciation or morphological inflection would have been less likely to have been accurately detected by a scribe. For example, an amanuensis probably would not have noticed if Margaret used the 'English' *-ed* past tense marker in her dictation instead of the 'Scottish' *-it* past tense inflection as both would have sounded quite similar when said aloud. In light of this, I will primarily focus on an analysis of lexical items in this study.

2.5. Methodology and data of this study

Though the overall aim of this chapter is to examine whether any evidence survives to suggest that the four scribal letters sent to Henry VIII and Thomas Dacre in August 1515 were sent without any active input from Margaret Tudor, it is beyond the scope of this study to conduct a detailed authorship analysis (using primarily qualitative methods of investigation) for each of these documents. Furthermore, as factors such as social status and the interpersonal relationship between a sender and addressee could have a significant effect on the language of a text, I have chosen to focus my analysis on letters sent to a single addressee. As the Dacre subcorpus is of a size most suitable for qualitative analysis – in comparison to Margaret's 88 surviving letters to Henry VIII – this will form the main focus basis of my analysis. Results from this investigation will then be used as an indicator to ascertain the truth of Margaret's claims that the August 1515 scribal letters to Henry VIII and Dacre were sent against her will.

2.5.1. The Dacre subcorpus:

Thomas Dacre (1467-1525) was a border warden and political agent of Henry VIII, and lived on the northern English marches from the early sixteenth century until his death in 1525. Margaret regularly wrote to Dacre between 1515 and 1524 requesting his advice and assistance in Anglo-Scottish politics. Whilst Margaret often complained of Dacre's 'sharp' letters, she relied heavily on his advice and influence with the Lords of Scotland and the Duke of Albany. In total, 27 of Margaret's letters to Dacre survive, written between January 1515 and July 1524. Two of these letters survive as copies of Margaret's original correspondence in Thomas Dacre's letter book (Add MS 24965 fols. 162 and 304). As there is no way to tell how faithful these copies are to the originals, they will not be included in this analysis. Of the remaining 25 letters, 3 are scribal compositions and 22 are holograph letters. The holograph corpus totals a little over 13,000 words. The scribal corpus is 1,025 words in length. The three scribal letters are as follows:

1. **Margaret to Thomas Dacre, 22nd January 1515 (CCBI fol. 28)** - discusses leaving Scotland and requests financial assistance.
2. **Margaret to Thomas Dacre, 20th August 1515 (CCBVI fol. 78)** - informs Dacre that her children has been placed in the care of selected Scottish lords, with her consent.
3. **Margaret to Thomas Dacre, 1st April 1524 (CCBIII fol. 141)** - requests that Dacre forward her messenger to Henry VIII, and complains that he has not written to her.

Margaret showed a clear preference for sending holograph letters to Thomas Dacre, with 88% of the total surviving subcorpus being holograph compositions. For the most part my analysis will focus on the Dacre subcorpus, however on occasion I will refer to the wider corpus of Margaret's holograph correspondence to clarify if certain linguistic features are a regular feature of Margaret's holograph idiolect.

2.5.2. Methodology:

In terms of methodology, this analysis will focus on three of Margaret Tudor's scribal letters sent to Thomas Dacre on 22nd January 1515 (CCBI fol. 28), 20th August 1515 (CCBVI fol. 78) and 1st April 1524 (CCBIII fol. 141). Margaret's holograph letters to Dacre will be used as a reference corpus as this is the only surviving material most indicative of Margaret's holograph lexical preferences (though the potential limitations of this method are discussed below). I will then compare each letter, across a variety of linguistic features, against Margaret's holograph corpus, to try to ascertain the extent to which Margaret was involved in the production of each scribal letter. If a scribal letter is stylistically similar to Margaret's holograph preferences, this would

suggest that she was actively involved in the composition of the scribal document, and probably dictated it word-for-word. If a scribal letter is stylistically dissimilar to Margaret's holograph preferences, this would suggest that the document was produced with very little input from Margaret herself.

Though the main focus of this study is on Margaret's 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre (CCBVI fol. 78), the two other surviving scribal letters to Dacre are included for comparison. If the 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre (CCBVI fol. 78) is markedly different from Margaret's holograph writing, and more so than the other two scribal letters explored in this study, this would provide evidence to suggest that the August 1515 scribal letter was composed with little direct involvement from Margaret herself and was indeed sent 'against her woll (will) and mynde (mind)' (CCBVI fol. 80).

The approach of this analysis is primarily qualitative, though I also use the corpus search tool AntConc to locate key terms across the Margaret Tudor corpus. I will investigate features that have shown to be productive in previous authorship analysis studies including pronouns, address forms, tokens of anaphoric language, and clause structure. However, this investigation also promotes the use of new methods that may be applied in authorship studies more widely, in particular how prominent topics are articulated using key words and collocations. Each feature will be discussed in isolation, after which a discussion will be offered summarising the results of the analysis. The analysis section will thus be structured as follows:

1. Address forms (including the opening address of a letter, nominal address forms, pronouns, and the closing subscription of each letter).
2. Formulation of directives (speech act verbs)
3. Clause structure and anaphoric language
4. Prominent topics and keywords

2.5.3. Using holograph correspondence as a reference corpus

Though this investigation makes use of Margaret Tudor's letters to Thomas Dacre as a reference corpus, there are some potential challenges with this method. As noted by Daybell a woman's holograph writing style may be different to the style and language choices she may have used when dictating a letter to a scribe. Furthermore, holograph writing can also bear signs of involvement from external agents, and may not have been composed by a writer in isolation. For example, Wiggins notes that Bess of Hardwick's holograph writing 'was not hermetically sealed off from scribal writing or scribal influence' (2016: 31). This topic is discussed in more detail in Chapter Six, in which I investigate evidence for external input in a holograph letter

sent by Margaret to Henry VIII in December 1534. Akrigg also observes similar practices in the holograph letters of James VI:

One cannot always assume that letters that survive in King James's own hand were composed by the monarch himself. Wishing to pay an eminent person the compliment of a letter in the royal hand but shirking the labour of authorship, James was not above having an underling compose a letter which he would then copy out himself. (Akrigg 1984: 26)

Whilst this method is thus not perfect, Margaret Tudor's holograph letters are the only surviving material available with which we might seek to conduct such an analysis as we do not have access to original recordings of Margaret's dictation style.

2.6. Analysis:

2.6.1. Address Formulae:

As a component part of all medieval and early modern letters, address formulae (located in the opening salutation, main body and closing subscription of letters) provide a point of direct stylistic comparison between Margaret Tudor's scribal and holograph letters to Thomas Dacre. As previous research in the field of historical pragmatics has noted, the etiquette of how to address an intended recipient in historical correspondence was primarily affected by social status (see Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1995; Raumolin-Brunberg 1996; Nevala 2004). Whilst these quantitative studies have highlighted the pragmatic uses of address forms on a macro-level across a collection of late medieval and early modern letters, they do not account for potential variation that may be present on a micro-level, for example in the scribal and holograph letters of Margaret Tudor.

Opening Address:

In all but one of her surviving holograph letters to Thomas Dacre, Margaret addresses her recipient as simply 'my lord dakers' or 'my lord dakar3' (including some spelling variations), for example:²²

5) **My lorde dakers** I comand me to 3ou as hartly as I can and I haue seen 3our vryteng and ondarstands at length (August/September 1515, CCBVI fol. 84)

6) **My lord dakars** I command me hartly to you and vyt 3e sen my last vryteng to you I gat (get; obtained) a vryteng fre (from) my lord gowarnor (13 October 1520, CCBI fol. 247)

²² The opening of one of Margaret's holograph letters to Dacre is damaged (September 1517, CCBI fol. 244) and it is impossible to decipher the original opening address of this document.

7) **my lord dakar** I haue ondarstand by my lord gowarnor of thy
ravlme It that 3e haue sent to hym In my lord of sowray name and the
pawr (power) that the kyng grace my brothar ha3 gyfne (given) you alls
viel (as well) of the gowarnyng of the border3 as to Intret pece (3
January 1524, CCBI fol. 234)

In this stylistically-simple and direct phrase, Margaret addresses Dacre by his formal title of ‘lord’ and his last name ‘Dacre’. The lack of variation in Margaret’s opening address formulae not only shows that Margaret was consistent in her epistolary practices, but would further suggest that this phrase was a feature of Margaret’s personal holograph idiolect. However, the same stylistic consistency is not present in Margaret’s three surviving scribal letters to Dacre:

8) **Traste cusynn** I comand me hartlye to 3ow & I haue ressauit 3our
Instructionn Direct fra (from) 3ou (22 January 1515, CCBI fol. 28)

9) **Wielbelouit (well beloved) cousing** I commend me hartlie to 3ow
Plesit 3ow wit (know) I haue writtin to my bruthir the king of Ingland
(20 August 1515, CCBVI fol. 78)

10) **My lord** I commend me hartlie to 3ow and wyt 3e that I haf send
this present berrer to the kinges grace my bruderer for certane Erandes
(1 April 1524, CCBIII fol. 141)

In the two scribal letters sent on 22nd January 1515 and 20th August 1515 (examples 9 and 10), Margaret addresses Dacre using the kinship term ‘cousin’, pre-modified by the adjectives ‘traste’ (trust) and ‘wielbelouit’ (well-beloved) respectively. In their analysis of royal correspondence, Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg note that:

the standard form of address used by kings and queens of England in their official dispatches was *(right) trusty and (right) well-beloved*. The word *cousin* was added as a headword in the letters sent to the highest levels of the nobility (*OED*, s.v. *cousin*). (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1995: 578).

Whilst the full phrase ‘trusty and well-beloved cousin’ is not used in Margaret’s scribal letters to Dacre, component parts of this conventional formulae are found in the opening of both 1515 scribal letters. Though these utilise the formulaic address scripts regularly found in official royal Tudor and Stuart dispatches to social inferiors and equals, they differ significantly from Margaret’s more neutral and stylistically-simple holograph preference opening address of ‘my lord dakers’.

As mentioned previously, Margaret preferred to write letters to Dacre in her own hand (88% of the time to be exact). With regard to her first two scribal
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letters sent in January and August 1515 (CCBI fol. 28 and CCBVI fol. 78), Margaret offers no explicit comment as to why she has chosen to send these letters as scribal instead of holograph compositions. Over the next 9 years of their epistolary exchange, Margaret sent only holograph letters to Dacre with the exception of her final April 1524 (CCBIII fol. 141) scribal letter, which was written by an amanuensis because she was too sick to pen the letter herself. In the 1st April 1524 scribal letter, Dacre is addressed using the opening phrase ‘My lord’ (example 10). Whilst this phrase does not include a reference to Dacre’s surname, it shows more stylistic concordance with Margaret’s holograph preference of ‘my lord dakers’ than the two, more formulaic opening address forms found in the 22nd January 1515 and 20th August 1515 scribal letters.

In-text nominal address forms: ‘my lord’:

Another potential point of comparison between the two subcorpora is the use of in-text references – specifically nominal phrases used to address the recipient, Thomas Dacre.²³ In her holograph letters to Dacre, Margaret frequently addresses Dacre using the phrase ‘my lord’ (57 uses) and ‘my lord dakars’ (6 uses), with one instance of the phrase ‘my good lorde’. For example:

11) vhare 3e say that I am rewlyd (ruled) be the counsel that vol neuer do me good not honowr **my lord** I dyd neuer dyshonor to my selfe nor them that I am com of (1 March 1521, CCBVI fol. 232)

12) and vhare that I haue vryten ofton and dyvar3 tyme3 tyll (to) hy3 grace In syke (such) mattar3 consernyg (concerning) the vel (wellbeing) of beth (both) the ravlmy3 (realms) and desyrd to [deletion] ondarstand hy3 mynd In the same 3et I cawd (could) newer get answar of the samyn vharefor **my lord dakars** I pray you schav (show) hy3 grace that I thynke It ryght heffy and on kyndly (unkindly) consydering I haue not faylyd on my part (19 May 1524, Add MS 24965 fol. 246)

13) and **my good lorde** remembyr that vee (we) had neuer soo good atyme for ows (us) for other schal vee (we) haue all the rwlle (rule) or ther schal be som trobyl soo that 3e kype a good part to ovs (us) and owr frendes gyfe (if) vee (we) nede (August/September 1517, CCBI fol. 244)

²³ As part of my analysis of in-text address forms, I explored the use of the second person pronouns ‘ye’ and ‘you’ in Margaret’s holograph and scribal letters to Thomas Dacre. Whilst historically ‘ye’ was used in subject position and ‘you’ in object position of a clause, Nevalainen and Raumolin Brunberg (1996) note that morphological levelling occurs over the course of the sixteenth century with ‘you’ gradually coming to replace ‘ye’ in all positions. Such levelling is not present in Margaret’s holograph and scribal correspondence to Dacre and thus does not provide any noteworthy discussion for this comparative analysis.

Whilst we can see some consistency in the use of the use of nominal in-text address forms in Margaret's holograph letters to Dacre (of 'my lord', 'my lord dakars', and 'my good lord'), these address forms are not used on any occasion in Margaret's January 1515 and August 1515 scribal letters to Thomas Dacre. In the January 1515 and August 1515 scribal letters, Dacre is simply addressed using the second person pronoun 'you'. In contrast, the nominal address 'my lord' is used on two occasions in Margaret's 1st April 1524 scribal letter to Dacre:

14) I haf send this present berrer to the kinges grace my bruderer for certane Erandes and **my lord** I trast ʒe will forderer (further) on of myn / quhar for (wherefore) I pray ʒow **my lord** that ʒe will caus himer to be souerlie (surely) conweyt (conveyed) to the kinges grace my broderer (1 April 1524, CCBIII fol. 141)

Presence of this address form in the 1st April 1524 scribal letter to Dacre suggests that this document (unlike the other two 1515 scribal letters) shows some linguistic concordance with the in-text nominal forms used in Margaret's holograph letters to Dacre.

On a side note, this feature can also potentially shed further light on how the 1st April 1524 scribal letter to Dacre was composed. For the most part, Margaret did not use punctuation in her holograph letters to signal breaks between clauses. Instead, she often used address forms such as the phrase 'my lord' as a structuring device to signal the beginning of a new clause. For example:

15) **my lord** as towchyng to the band that my lord of angus made to you for me and the powr that ʒe send to me the parssons that ʒe comyted the powr to that vyl not non of axsept It and refusdyt (refused it) all be forr my self and ther for **my lord** ʒe most (must) make me a nve (new) powr and put In som specyal man of law mastar Robart cabreth and patryk synklar (Margaret to Thomas Dacre, 1520, CCBI fol. 230)

A similar trend can be found in Margaret's 1st April 1524 scribal letter. While the amanuensis who produced Margaret's 1st April 1524 scribal letter made use of a single virgule to divide the prose and signal the beginning of the new utterance 'quhar for I pray ʒow my lord...' (see figure 2.3, below), no other punctuation is present in the letter. However, the in-text address 'my lord' is used to indicate the initiation of a new clause: 'and my lord I trast ʒe will forderer on of myn', a practice found in Margaret's own holograph writing. This congruence may provide evidence to suggest that Margaret directly dictated the contents of this April 1524 scribal letter. In contrast, the absence of this

feature in Margaret's January 1515 and August 1515 scribal letters may suggest that she was less involved in their composition.²⁴

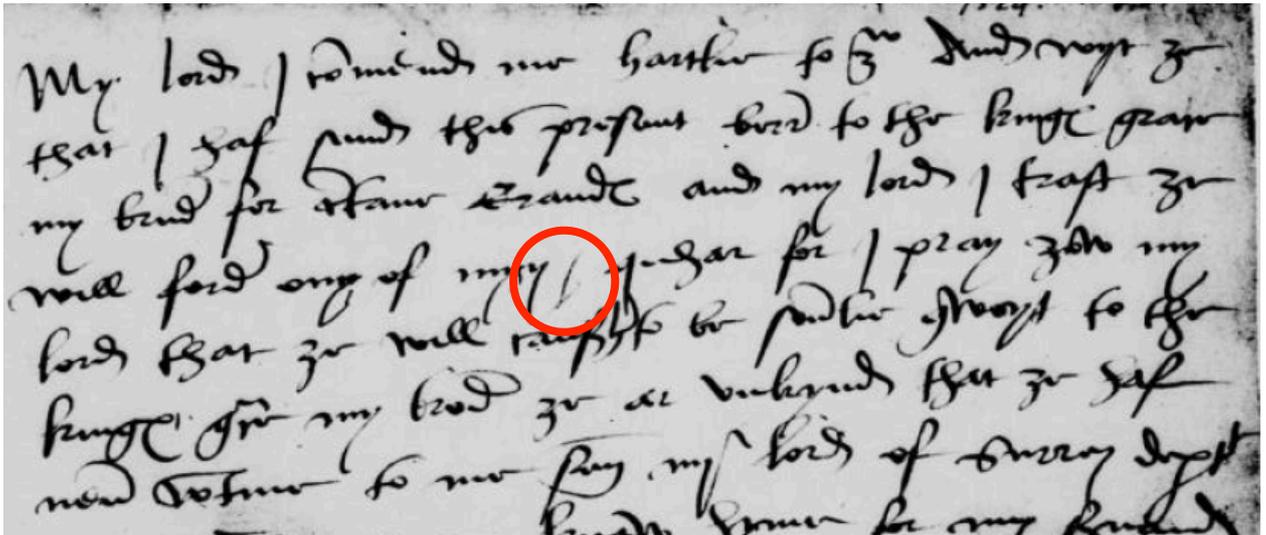


Figure 2.3: Virgule used in scribal letter from Margaret to Thomas Dacre, 1 April 1524 (CCBIII fol. 141).

First person pronouns:

Evans (2016) notes that the presence of first person singular pronouns in the royal scribal correspondence of Elizabeth I may indicate that a royal scribal letter was based on an original holograph composition:

Firstly, the letter uses the first-person singular pronoun *I*, rather than the conventional plural form *royal we* found in much of her official correspondence. The first-person singular is a consistent feature of Elizabeth's autograph correspondence and accords with the more personal and intimate qualities of a hand-written letter. Because scribal letters very rarely use *I*, this may indicate that the copy is based on an autograph original (Evans 2016: 41).

From an analysis of the first person pronouns present in Margaret Tudor's holograph and scribal letters to Thomas Dacre, it would seem that Margaret exhibits somewhat different linguistic habits than her niece, Elizabeth I. Both Margaret's scribal and holograph letters to Dacre use the singular first person pronoun variants 'I' and 'me', and the possessive pronoun 'my' as the dominant first person pronoun forms. Where plural first person pronouns are used in Margaret's holograph letters, they do not function as *royal we* but are instead instances of *exclusive we*. For example:

16) and vhare 3e bade me In your last vryteng and I cat (get) not the rwle of the raume (realm) and the kypeng of my soon not to trust to no

²⁴ No punctuation is used in the January 1515 scribal letter to Dacre, however, virgules are used in the August 1515 scribal document to signal new clauses.

assystens In Ingland my lorde vhan **vee (we)** haue thys It Is not soo gret nede of helpe as to helpe **ows (us)** Is too It now for and my brother vould not take pees vy^t owt that I haue my sonne and the rewl of the rawme be cause he vase (was) takyn of forse from me vysche (which) var (were) hys honor to do consyryng (considering) I am hys syster and than **vee (we)** vould get mony (many) frendes to take **owr (our)** part (1517, CCBI fol. 241)

Described by Wales, *exclusive we* refers ‘exclusively’ to the speaker and a third party (1996: 58), and in this extract the plural pronoun seems to refer to the collective group of Margaret, and probably her husband, the Earl of Angus, and her son, James V. Any other instances of the plural first person pronoun present in Margaret’s holograph letters to Dacre are all cases of *exclusive we*. For the most part then, Margaret’s holograph correspondence uses the first person singular pronoun as we might expect of royal holograph letters more generally and as evidenced in the writing habits of Elizabeth I.

In light of Evans’ observations, we might expect Margaret’s scribal letters to make use of *royal we* as the main self-reference pronominal form. However, plural first person pronouns for the most part are absent from Margaret’s scribal letters to Dacre, with the exception of the following phrase in Margaret’s 20th August 1515 scribal letter:

17) And desires ʒow hartlie to furthir It Inlikwis at ʒour power / and to furthir this berar in his lourney as **our** traist Is In ʒow (20 August 1515, CCBVI fol. 78)

This plural pronoun is also an instance of *exclusive we*, referring to the collective identity of Margaret and John Stewart, Duke of Albany, who convey their trust that Dacre will act as they desire. In conclusion, it would seem that there is little stylistic difference with regard to pronoun selection between Margaret’s holograph and scribal letters to Thomas Dacre: both use the singular first person pronouns as the dominant pronominal form, and any plural first person pronouns present are not examples of *royal we*. On this occasion this feature is not particularly useful tool in measuring Margaret’s involvement in the production of her scribal letters to Thomas Dacre.²⁵

Closing subscription and signature:

Another direct point of stylistic contrast between Margaret’s holograph and scribal letters to Thomas Dacre can be seen in the closing subscriptions and signatures of each letter. In sixteen of the surviving twenty-two holograph letters to Thomas Dacre (77.3% of the time), Margaret concludes the letters

²⁵ Analysis of first person pronoun forms is, however, shown to be a productive point of investigation in the authorship analysis of Margaret’s 12th December 1534 holograph letter discussed in detail in Chapter Six.

with the closing subscription ‘your friend Margaret R’ (including spelling variants such as ‘your frend’ and ‘your frynd’). In early modern correspondence the term ‘friend’ was used somewhat differently to its present day function of referring to a close, affectionate relationship between two people. Instead, in the sixteenth century ‘friend’ was often used to refer to political allies, senders and recipients who were in fact distant acquaintances, and could even be used as a rhetorical technique to script and thus encourage a closer relationship with the addressee.

In the three remaining holograph letters to Dacre, Margaret ends the letter with the simple closing address ‘yours Margaret R’. Whilst Margaret was relatively consistent in signing just over three quarters of correspondence to Dacre using the phrase ‘your friend Margaret R’, she does exhibit some variation in the linguistic formulation of her closing formulae. Similar variation can also be seen in Margaret’s three surviving scribal letters to Thomas Dacre. Whilst Margaret’s 20th August 1515 letter concludes with the simple subscription ‘yours Margaret R’ (CCBVI fol. 78), her 22nd January 1515 and 1st April 1524 letters are concluded with ‘your frend’ (CCBI fol. 28) and ‘your frynd’ (CCBIII fol. 141). As both of these closing formulae are present in Margaret’s holograph letters to Dacre, we can note little stylistic difference between the two subcorpora with regard to this particular linguistic feature.

2.6.2. Formulating directives:

For the most part, Margaret Tudor’s surviving letters were written with the communicative goals of requesting financial aid, political support and seeking to organise repeated renewals of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty. An analysis of directives in her correspondence to Dacre may therefore offer a productive point of comparison: are there any linguistic and pragmatic differences in how requests are formulated in Margaret’s holograph and scribal letters to Dacre?

Speech act verb: ‘pray’:

Overall, ‘pray’ is by far the most common performative directive in Margaret’s holograph correspondence to Thomas Dacre, occurring 36 times in the 22 letter subcorpus. For example:

18) I haue send vryteng to the gowarnor wyth a sarwand of my lord maxvelys for sykk (such) matars as he hath a dw vylke (which) Is towschyng (touching) benyfys (benefices) vharfor I **pray** ^you^ my lord that he may haue swr (sure) pasage on troblyd (untroubled) be the vay (February 1516, CVFXIII fol. 74)

19) In the men (mean) tyme I **pray** you to cawse all ewellys and skethys (harm, damag) to sees (cease) and to be stopyd conformad (conforming) to your gwd mynd to the viel (good) of pece vylke (which)

vol helpe gretly to bryng the matar to a gwd end (24 June 1523, CCBI fol. 250)

20) I **pray** you efektwsly (effectuously) that at my reqwest and desyr that 3e vol schaw you In thy3 matar viel (well) Inclyned not to defar to gyff (give) a trw3 (truce) vylke (which) Is desyrd and forspokyn vhol (while) the fest of saynt Ion at mydsomar (3 January 1524 CCBI fol. 234)

For the most part, Margaret generally used the speech act verb ‘pray’ in letters directed to social inferiors. When writing to social superiors (predominantly Henry VIII), Margaret often used the more negatively-polite performative directive verb ‘beseech’, for example:

21) I vald be ryght glad and desyra3 (desires) that I myght helpe and tret (treat) an pece vnyvarsal vylke (which) vald be gret pleswr to god and gret honowr to me vhare In [deletion] I **beseke (beseech)** your grace hwmbly that 3e vol schav you kyndly to me In thy3 be halfe (Margaret to Henry VIII 4 April 1524 CCBI fol. 76)

This directive pattern follows the epistolary practices of other sixteenth-century letter writers such as Joan and Maria Thynne (see Williams 2013: 133-148). The speech act verb ‘pray’ is also used twice in Margaret’s 22nd January 1515 and 1st April 1524 scribal letters to Dacre:

22) quharfor (wherefore) I **pray** y^u (you) to aduertysse the kynge off the samynn & to send me expensis as he thinkes expedient (22 January 1515 CCBI fol. 28)

23) quhar for (wherefore) I **pray** 3ow (you) my lord that 3e will caus him to be souerlie (surely) conweyt (conveyed) to the kinges grace my broder (1 April 1524 CCBI fol. 141)

The presence of the performative speech act verb ‘pray’ in both Margaret’s holograph letters to Dacre, as well as her 22nd January 1515 and 1st April 1524 scribal letters to the same recipient, show that these documents seek to formulate directives in a similar linguistic manner. Whilst the speech act verb ‘pray’ is not used as a present tense performative in Margaret’s 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre, it is used in a present perfect construction in the phrase ‘I haue **prait (prayed)** my bruthir to manteine the samyne’ (CCBVI fol. 78).

Speech act verb: ‘desire’:

In his study of the letters of Joan and Maria Thynne, Williams observes that the verb *desire*, while at times a little ambiguous in its pragmatic function, can be used in a performative sense by a sender to request that a recipient

perform a specific directive action (2013: 142-144).²⁶ On one occasion the speech act verb *desire* is used in Margaret's 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre, requesting that he further her requests of peace to Henry VIII:

24) And Inlikwis has mencionat (mentioned) how the king of france has writtin to me effectuuslie / exhorting me to do my diligence to keip peax (peace) betuix the Realmme³ Quhar / for (wherefore) I haue prait (prayed) my bruthir to manteine the samyne / And **desires** ³ow hartlie to furthir It Inlikwis at ³our power / and to furthir this berar in his lourney as our traist Is In ³ow (20 August 1515 CCBVI f. 78)

In the phrase 'And **desires** ³ow hartlie to furthir It Inlikwis at ³our power', we can note that the subject of the speech act verb 'desire' is absent. Whilst it is not immediately clear who the agent of this verb might be, the most likely candidate is Margaret herself as she is the subject of the preceding utterance 'I haue prait my bruthir to manteine the samyne'. If this is the case, the speech act verb 'desires' exhibits the use of the Northern Personal Pronoun Rule (Smith 2012: 46). Use of the Northern Personal Pronoun Rule can be seen in both Margaret's holograph and scribal writing, specifically in the term 'understands':

25) I haue resayued your vryteng and sene the artyklys (articles) and **ondarstandys** (understands) them at length vysche (which) ar ryght scharpe (Margaret to Thomas Dacre (holograph), 6 January 1522, CCBVI fol. 232)

26) I knaw and perfitlie **vnderstandis** (understands) The Ententis (intents) and myndis (minds) of the lordis of this realm quhilk (which) will erar (rather) for litill ocasionne follow the desires and ways of fraunc(damaged) (france) (Margaret to Henry VIII (scribal), 23 January 1525, CCBVIII fol. 18)

As this feature can be found in both Margaret's holograph and scribal correspondence, it was probably a feature of Margaret's personal idiolect as well as of the scribes who produced Margaret's scribal correspondence.

Though 'pray' is the main performative speech act verb that is used by Margaret in the formulation of requests in her holograph correspondence, on occasion, she also uses the speech act verb 'desire'. For example, in a letter to Thomas Howard sent sometime in 1537, Margaret wrote:

27) I **desyr** (**desire**) to haue some specyal sarwand (servant) of your that I may spek (speak) vyth (CCBI fol. 191)

²⁶ Can also be clouded by attitudinal aspects to do with 'wishing', 'longing', 'craving'.

Presence of this speech act verb in Margaret's wider holograph correspondence, as well as the 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre, may therefore suggest that Margaret had some involvement in the production of this scribal letter.

2.6.3. Clause structure and anaphoric language:

Clause structure:

In addition to lexical features, an analysis of clause structure can also be productive when investigating the authorship and compositional context of early modern documents. If, for example, Margaret's holograph letters exhibited a significantly different clause structure from her scribal letters, this might suggest that an amanuensis did not compose a letter from dictation, faithfully copying every word uttered by Margaret, but perhaps instead composed the scribal document independently, with little involvement from Margaret.

In his survey of historical Scottish documents, Smith observes that two main types of clause structure are used: *parataxis* and *hypotaxis*. Paratactic prose generally makes use of coordinating conjunctions and 'is characterised by loosely connected clauses not placed in an explicitly causal relationship' (Smith 2012: 61). Hypotactic prose, on the other hand, 'is characterised by the extensive use of subordination, allowing for explicit relationships of meaning between clauses' (Smith 2012: 61).

For the most part, the syntactic structure of Margaret's holograph and scribal letters to Thomas Dacre is very similar. Both sub-corpora make use of simple coordinating conjunctions such as 'and', 'but' and 'or', as well as subordinating conjunctions including 'for', 'sen' (since), 'as', and compound adverbs 'vhare for' (wherefore) and 'vhare In' (wherein), and thus exhibit a combination of both paratactic and hypotactic styles of clause structure.²⁷ As a result, a more detailed analysis of the lexical components (for example compound adverbs) that can affect overall syntactic organisation is necessary to identify more discrete differences (or indeed similarities) between Margaret's scribal and holograph writing.

Anaphoric language:

In his analysis of the holograph and scribal correspondence of Joan Thynne, Williams notes that 'anaphoric language' was typically a feature of early modern scribal correspondence (2013: 57-60), and was 'a much more frequent occurrence in legal statutes than in other types of texts throughout late

²⁷ Note: variations of the compound adverbs *wherefore* and *wherein* are present in both sub-corpora, however they occur with the Scots 'qu-' spelling in Margaret's scribal letters to Thomas Dacre. Though the terms have different orthography, there would have been little phonetic distinction between the different spellings.

middle and early modern English' (2013: 57). By anaphoric language, I refer to linguistic terms that are used as 'reference markers' (Williams 2013: 57) to help structure a text, and to 'insure that a subject [is] not be misinterpreted' (Williams 2013: 57). Tokens of anaphoric language may include compound adverbs, and terms such as "herby", "therof", "thereto" (Williams 2013: 57). The following sections will focus on analysis of the prevalence of anaphoric language terms in Margaret Tudor's holograph and scribal correspondence, to evaluate whether this is a useful point of analysis in authorship attribution investigations.

'Inlikwis' (in like wise):

In the 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre (CCBVI fol. 78), the anaphoric term 'inlikwis' (in like wise) is used on two occasions:

28) And **Inlikwis (in like wise)** has mencionat (mentioned) how the king of france has writtin to me effectuoslie / exhorting me to do my diligence to keip peax (peace) betuix (between) the Realmme³

29) Quhar / fore (wherefore) I haue prait my bruthir to manteine the samyne / And desires ³ow hartlie to furthir It **Inlikwis (in like wise)** at ³our power

Though 'inlikewis' is used six times in Margaret's entire scribal correspondence, it does not feature in either the 22nd January 1515 (CCBI fol. 28) or 1st April 1524 (CCBIII fol. 141) scribal letters sent to Thomas Dacre. Furthermore, this term is not used on any occasion in Margaret's holograph writing to Dacre, or in the wider holograph corpus. This pattern would indicate that the term 'inlikwis' (in like wise) was not part of Margaret's holograph epistolary idiolect, and was instead a feature of the linguistic repertoire of the scribe who produced the 20th August 1515 scribal document in her name (CCBVI fol. 78). This may therefore provide some evidence to suggest that the 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre was not produced from Margaret's direct dictation.

Other examples of anaphoric language:

Whilst the anaphoric term 'inlikwis' (in like wise) is absent from Margaret's holograph writing, a surprising number of other 'legalistic' terms (such as compound adverbs) regularly feature in her holograph letters. For example, Margaret makes use of the compound adverb 'vhare of' (whereof) six times in her holograph letters to Dacre:

30) bot I tevastyd (testified) that It stode as I vasse (was) Intretyd In to scoland and awnsuerd of my conlovfeftment (conjunct lands) for I thynke the dwke nor the rawlme schuld ^{^not^} haue pees vyth the kyng my brother and I be not veel (well) Intretyd for It vyll not be hys

honowr consydeyng that I am hys syster and he made the vay now betwxt th[amage] dwke and the lordes and me & that I schuld be ~~obayd~~ don to the lyke hys syster **vhare of (whereof)** I haue vryten to you at length hov I haue bene avnsurde (answered) syn (since) my comyng (20 September 1517, CCBI fol. 239)

31) and now caver Is comyn too edynbrah (Edinburgh) and sayth that the pes (peace) Is ~~na~~ contynvyd (continued) for ij 3erys (years) be twext (between) the kyng my brother and my soon **vhare of (whereof)** I pray you my lorde that I may knav (know) the trowht (truth) and the manor how It Is for all the comfort that I haue Is In the kyng my brothe and In hys helpe (20 September 1517, CCBI fol. 239)

32) I haue ressayved your vrytengs and ass thowgeng²⁸ the ressayvend (receiving) of the frence orrator the lordes vas not content of hys mesenge (message) nov tovk (took) not veel (well) vyth It be caus It vas a gaynss (against) the dwk **vhare of (whereof)** thay haf (have) send anwsuer bot haf haldyn (held) the frence man styl as thys berar schal schau (show) yow (1520, CCBI fol. 230)

33) I haue resayved your letar from vilyam adryngton and ondarstandys (understands) syk (such) thyngs as he hath schawn to me on your behalfe **vhareof (whereof)** I thanke you ryght hartly and that ye ar se viel (well) myndyd and Incklynyd to the viel of pece betwxt (between) thyr (these) tway (two) rawlmys (realms) (24 June 1523, CCBI fol. 250).

In these extracts ‘vhare of’ (whereof) functions as a subordinating conjunction, introducing a subordinative clause that articulates requests, an opinion, or further information in relation to a previous utterance. Margaret also makes use of the compound adverb ‘vhare in’ (wherein) in a holograph letter sent to Dacre in March 1521:

34) I haue resayved your vryteng and sene (seen) the artyklys (articles) and ondarstandys (understands) them at length vysche (which) ar ryght scharpe and specyaly at the endyng of them **vhare In (wherein)** In apart I se haue schawn my mynde at length to thys berar be cause It var (were) ovr (over) longe to vryt (1 March 1521, CCBVI fol. 232)

Whilst the compound adverb ‘vhare of’ (whereof) is absent from Margaret’s surviving scribal letters to Thomas Dacre, a ‘qu-’ variant of the adverb ‘vhare in’ (wherein) can be found in Margaret’s 22nd January 1515 scribal letter to Dacre:

²⁸ I cannot find any entries in the OED, Middle English Dictionary, or the Dictionary of Scots to define this term.

35) I haue ressauid (received) 3our Instructionns Direct fra (from) 3ou be the advyce of the king & the cunsolle (council) **quharin (wherein)** I persafe the grete lufe & favo^r that the king & his said cunsell (22 January 1515, CCBI fol. 28)

From an initial analysis of the chosen subcorpora, we can thus see that some compound adverbs such as *wherein* ('vhare in'/'quhar in') and *wherefore* ('vhare for'/'quhar for') are present in both Margaret's scribal and holograph correspondence to Thomas Dacre. In early modern correspondence more generally the use of compound adverbs has 'been linked to more formal and legalistic styles of letter-writing' (Williams 2013b), and was more likely to have been a feature of formal scribal writing than personal holograph writing.

In light of this, the prevalence of compound adverbs in both Margaret Tudor's holograph and scribal subcorpora to Thomas Dacre is somewhat unusual, especially in comparison to the writing of other early modern women. For example, Williams notes that compound adverbs are predominantly absent from the holograph writing of Joan Thynne and Bess of Hardwick (with the exception of one token of 'where of' in a letter from Bess) (Williams 2013: 59 and 2013b).

On one hand, unlike the anaphoric term 'inlikwis' (in like wise), an analysis of the use of compound adverbs provides little definitive evidence to help evaluate whether Margaret was directly involved in the composition of her scribal correspondence directed to Thomas Dacre, as the features occur in both of her holograph and scribal letters to Dacre. However, on the other hand, the fact that anaphoric tokens such as 'vhare in' and 'vhare for' were part of Margaret's holograph writing not only shows that they formed part of her personal idiolect, but also potentially sheds light on the epistolary and legalistic education Margaret must have received as a child.

2.6.4. Prominent topics and keywords in Margaret Tudor's letters

Whilst previous authorship analysis studies have explored how lexical features (such as address terms and anaphoric language) can be useful points of contrast between holograph and scribal documents, scholars have not yet focused on how a qualitative analysis of the articulation of specific topics can also be useful in authorship attribution investigations. In the following section, I will explore how a selection of key topics that recur throughout Margaret Tudor's correspondence are formulated linguistically: what exactly did Margaret write about in her letters, and what keywords and phrases did she use to articulate these topics? Such an analysis will not only allow us to investigate the communicative function of Margaret's correspondence, but also gain a better understanding of her personal holograph lexical preferences.

The following analysis will focus on three key topics that occur in both Margaret's holograph and scribal letters to Thomas Dacre: how Margaret sought to negotiate peace between England and Scotland, how she requested assistance from Dacre (including for her financial difficulties), and how she requested a 'sure' (safe) passage for her messenger travelling to England. If Margaret dictated any of the three surviving scribal letters to Thomas Dacre word-for-word, or was closely involved in their composition, we would expect the scribal letters to contain keywords, phrases and collocations that are present in Margaret's holograph correspondence.

'I am not awnsuerd (answered) of no part of my lyfeng (living)': Margaret's financial difficulties

In addition to mediating diplomatic affairs between England and Scotland, Margaret Tudor often used the medium of epistolary communication to complain about being in dire financial situations. On occasion, Margaret even claimed that she was forced to pawn her plate and jewels, or dismiss her servants. This topic is the main focus of a number of Margaret's holograph letters to Thomas Dacre, as well as the scribal letter sent to him on 22nd January 1515 (CCBI fol. 28). In the 22nd January 1515 scribal letter, Margaret complains that:

36) I must do as my lordes cunsellis (counsel) othirwyss (otherwise) I may not defende me & that is onlye for fawt (fault) of money to make mynn Expensis (expenses) quharfor (wherefore) I pray 3^o to aduertys (advertise) the kyngs off the samynn & to send me expensis (expenses) as he thinkes expedient for it is not his honor that I & my childern (children) shuld lack (CCBI fol. 28)

A similar passage can be found in one of Margaret's holograph letters to Thomas Dacre, sent sometime in 1520 (CCBI fol. 230):

37) I get not my lyfeng (living) awnsuerd (answered) me bot I am trobyld dayly nor I haf (have) no thyng to spend bot I most (must) nedys (needs) leff (leave) scotland for fawt (fault) that I haf (have) no thyng to hold my expenses and I am payn to put away both my lwels (jewels) and sych (such) thyng as I hafe (have) vysche (which) is nowht (not) to the honovr of the kyng my brother nor of them that I am comyd (come) of that I saihul (shall?) haf (have) sych (such) nede and I haf complaynd to you ofton tymes bot I gat (get) neuer no remedy...my lord I pray you to see som hasty remedy for me for eelys (else) I most (must) seke (seek; look) to them that vas (was) ever my foos (foes) and do vhat thay vyl (will) byd me and I to take vhat thay [deletion] vol (will) gyf (give) (CCBI fol. 28)

Whilst these two passages are not the same word-for-word, they share a striking number of similarities with regards to focus and the reasons with which Margaret justified her requests for asking for Dacre's assistance in her financial quandaries. Both complain that Margaret lacked *expenses* (written as 'expensis' and 'expenses'), that such a predicament was not to the *honour* ('honovr' and 'honor') of the king her brother, and that Margaret was forced to do as her enemies ('my foos' (my foes)) or the Lords of Scotland ('my lordes') bid her in order to gain some financial support.

To some extent, there are also some linguistic similarities between the two texts. Both feature the use of the term 'expenses' and 'expensis' to refer to Margaret's financial requirements, as well as the use of the modal auxiliary 'must' to articulate the necessity that she must seek financial assistance from her enemies. Though Margaret's holograph 1520 description of her financial affairs is more detailed than that offered in the 22nd January 1515 scribal letter to Dacre, the use of the same justifications of her actions in both letters might suggest that Margaret was actively involved in the composition of the 22nd January 1515 scribal letter. If she did not dictate the letter word for word, it would seem that Margaret at least provided explicit instructions for the reasons and justifications that should be included in this scribal letter.

'I sal (shall) labar (labour) on thys syde that thar (there) may be gwd (good) pece (peace) and concord': Negotiating Anglo-Scottish peace

Throughout her life Margaret Tudor dedicated significant time and energy to performing the role of diplomatic mediator, writing countless letters to her brother, Henry VIII, and his political agents to negotiate peace between England and Scotland. As such, a large collection of Margaret's correspondence is devoted to achieving this communicative function, including part of the 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre (CCBVI fol. 78). The rest of this section will explore the keywords and phrases that regularly co-occur with this topic in Margaret's holograph correspondence to Dacre in contrast to those employed in the 20th August 1515 scribal letter (CCBVI fol. 78) to investigate if any evidence survives to suggest Margaret was actively involved in the composition of this scribal letter.

Sent on 20th August 1515 (CCBVI fol. 78), Margaret Tudor's scribal letter to Thomas Dacre reported Margaret's approval of the Duke of Albany's conduct towards herself and her children, before concluding with a request that the Anglo-Scottish peace be continued:

38) I haue writtin to the bruthir (brother) the king of Inghland shewing (showing) him...how I am deliberat (deliberate; resolved) that the governour and I sall (shall) take ane (one) afald (single; sincere) part / and has desirit (desired) my said bruthir to send sum (some) wise man fra (from) him to the effekt to make ane (one) hartlie sikir (secure)

way and concord be / tuix (between) me and my said lord duke / And Inlikwis has mencionat (mentioned) how the king of france has writtin to me effectuuslie (effectuously; earnestly) / exhorting me to do my diligens (diligence) to keip peax (peace) betuix (between) the Realmme³ (realms) Quhar / fore (wherefore) I haue prait my bruthir to manteine the samyne (same) / And desire ³ow hartlie to furthir It Inlikwis as our traist (trust) Is In ³ow (CCBVI fol. 78)

The following analysis will conduct a comparison of how Margaret articulated a request for peace, and framed her role and involvement in Anglo-Scottish peace negotiations in her holograph letters and 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre.

When describing the topic of peace itself, Margaret used a number of different lexical terms. As we might expect, ‘peace’ is the most popular keyword occurring 32 times in the holograph subcorpus to Dacre alone. However, Margaret also used the term ‘truce’ on five occasions and the collocation ‘peace and concord’ on four occasions, as well as more complex phrases such as ‘abstinence of war’, ‘amity and peace’ and ‘a good way betwixt the two realms’. Variations of the phrase ‘betwixt the tway realms’ (also ‘betwixt both the realms’) occur six times in collocation with the keyword ‘peace’ in Margaret’s holograph letters to Dacre, for example:

39) ³e hafe ne (no) powr to take **pece** bot (but) gyfe (if) I myght be my gwd medytacyons and vays stop the gret [deletion] Inwacyons (invasions) now (illegible) alls viel (as well) on the ten (one) syde as on the tohard vhol that som gwd commencanse (communication) myght be had **betwyxt (between) the tway (two) rawlmes** It var (were) to me a gret honowr & repwtacyon (reputation) (3 September 1522, CCBVII fol. 146)

40) I vass (was) ewer at thys poynt of be foor (before) as my vrytengs bery³ (bears) for **pece** (peace) and concord **betwxt (between) beth (both) the rawlmes (realms)** and do my part ther In (20 August 1522, CCBVII fol. 144)

41) I thanke you ryght hartly and that ³e ar se viel (well) myndyd and Incklynid to the viel (wele; good) of **pece (peace) betwxt (between) thyr (these) tway (two) rawlmys (realms)** (24 June 1523, CCBI fol. 144)

Similar phrasing can be seen in Margaret’s 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre, in the utterance ‘do my diligens (diligence) to keep **peax (peace) betuix (between) the Realmme³ (realms)**’ (CCBVI fol. 78). Analysis of this particular collocation shows that there is some stylistic concordance

Margaret's holograph writing and the 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre.

One of the most noticeable collocations in descriptions of 'peace' in Margaret's holograph writing is the term 'labour', often used by Margaret to foreground her own active involvement in the Anglo-Scottish peace negotiations. For example:

42) My lord dakars for the gret affekcyon & desyr that I haff (have) of thys matar and that It towschys (touches) me so nere as ewery man knawys (knows) I vald (would) **labor (labour)** and procwr (procure) gwd pece (peace) and concord betwxt (between) the kyng kyng my brothar and the kyng my son (3 September 1522, CCBVII fol. 146)

43) I may tret (treat) the pece betwxt (between) thyr (these) tway (two) rawlmes (realms) I sal (shall) **labar (labour)** on thys syde that thar (there) may be gwd pece (peace) and concord (30 August 1522, CCBVII fol. 144)

Margaret uses this term in the sense 'To strive or endeavour strenuously to accomplish, bring about, or do something; to exert oneself for an end' (OED 'labour', v., first recorded usage in 1425). Used 18 times in the holograph subcorpus to Dacre alone (and 69 times in the entire holograph corpus), 'labour' was a component lexical item that Margaret repeatedly utilised when discussing diplomatic mediations in her written correspondence. In the 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre, Margaret reported that the French king exhorted her 'to do my diligens (diligence) to keip (keep) peax (peace) betuix (between) the Realmme³ (realms)'. References to Margaret and her second husband, Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, doing their 'diligence' in diplomatic negotiations can be found in a number of Margaret's holograph letters, for example:

45) I sal **dw my delygens (diligence)** ꝛ and **labor (labour)** starkly at my lord gowarnors hand In syk (such) lyk that the Inbasytors (ambassadors) that sal (shall) gange (so) sal (shall) haue ne mare to dw bot tyl (to) ratyfy and solem the trws and pees (Margaret to Henry VIII, 6 January 1522, CCBVI fol. 197)

46) deryst brothar I haue sen (seen) your vryteng towschyng (touching) my lord of angus vysche (which) as your grace vryty³ (writes)...that he hath desyrd that ther may be a pece labord betwyxt (between) thy³ (these) tvay (two) ravlmy³ (realms) and that he vol (will) dw hy³ **labor (labour)** and **dylygens (diligence)** to the sam (Margaret to Henry VIII, 14 July 1524, CCBI fol. 211b)

47) my lord of norfolke I command me hartly to you and vyt (know) 3e aftar the comyng of the erl of casyly the lord of bavyry mastar edam otyrborne the lord3 sat In counsel and calyd them befor to se how thay had dwn...my lord 3e may parsafe my gret **dylgen3 (diligence)** and **labor (labour)** and gyff (if) I haue not revlyd (ruled) me for the plesyr of the kyngs grace my brothar and for the viell (wellbeing) of the kyng my son therfor I trast that hy3 grace vol consydar the sam (Margaret to Thomas Howard, 13 October 1524, CCBI fols. 285-292)

While ‘diligence’ is used on three occasions in Margaret’s holograph letters to refer to the actions she (and the Earl of Angus in example 46) had taken in diplomatic negotiations, this term never occurs in isolation. Instead, it always occurs in collocation with the term ‘labour’, itself a constituent part of Margaret’s holograph epistolary idiolect. On one hand, the presence of the same phrase ‘dw my diligens’ (do my diligence) in both the 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Dacre (CCBVI fol. 78) and Margaret’s holograph memorial to Henry VIII sent in January 1522 (CCBVI fol. 197) (seen in example 45) might suggest that Margaret perhaps dictated the 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre. However, on the other hand, the absence of the keyword ‘labour’ from this scribal letter – a term which occurs in the majority of Margaret’s holograph letters that mention peace negotiations – provides more convincing evidence to suggest that Margaret in fact had little direct input in the composition of the 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre (CCBVI fol. 78).

Further contrast can also be found between Margaret’s holograph correspondence and the 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre in how Margaret stylised herself in the role of diplomatic mediator. In the 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre, Margaret is presented as being ‘deliberat (deliberate) that the governour (governor) and I sall (shall) take ane (one) afald (single; sincere) part’ (CCBVI fol. 78), determined that she and the Duke of Albany were united as one party in their actions and desire for peace with England. However, at no point in her holograph correspondence does Margaret ever describe herself as taking ‘one part’ with Albany. Whilst she would often work on behalf of Albany and petition her brother to agree to another Anglo-Scottish peace treaty, Margaret was always very careful with how she framed her own role in these negotiations. For example, in a letter to Henry VIII’s chief political advisor Thomas Wolsey sent on 4th April 1524, Margaret wrote:

48) I vol (will) pray you my lord to labor for me In that matar as my trast Is In you and to get me the kyngs grace my brothar[damage] mynde and plesswr In the sam vyth thy3 berar my sa’wad and as to my lord gowarnors part I trast that the grace and 3e knawth the gwd mynd

that he beryth for the pece and that Is mynde contynvyth (continues) In the sam porpo3 (purpose) se (so) that It myght be brawht (brought) to pa3 and that lyeth mykyl (much) In your handy3 to labor vysche (which) I traste 3e vol not leffe (leave) on dwn (undone) for the pleswr of god abwff (above) (CCBI fol. 185)

In this extract, Margaret situated herself in the role of communicative gatekeeper, requesting to know her brother's 'mynde (mind) and plesswr (pleasure)' towards the Anglo-Scottish peace, whilst also relaying the Duke of Albany's perspective to Wolsey, 'as to my lord gowarnors (governor's) part I trast (trust) that the (king's) grace and 3e knowth (know) the gwd (good) mynde (mind) that he beryth (bears) for the pece (peace)'. Whilst Margaret used the representative speech act verb 'trast' (trust) to emphasise her confidence in Albany's actions, at no point in this letter and her holograph correspondence more widely is Margaret described as working in 'one part' with Albany. Instead, Margaret went to great lengths to carefully present herself as being a neutral agent between the elected leaders of England and Scotland, her brother, Henry VIII, and the Duke of Albany.

In light of this analysis, Margaret's 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre seems a little unusual. Instead of working on behalf of Albany, and emphasising her independent and impartial role as diplomatic mediator, the 20th August 1515 scribal letter describes Margaret as being 'deliberat (deliberate) that the governour (governor) and I sall (shall) take ane (one) afald (single; sincere) part' (CCBVI fol. 78). Not only does this stance differ from that presented in Margaret's holograph letters, but the language used to articulate this image is also strikingly different from Margaret's usual holograph preferences. At no point in Margaret's entire collection of holograph writing is the verb 'deliberate' used, or the term 'afald'. Furthermore, 'deliberate' is used only once in another of Margaret's scribal letters also sent on 20th August 1515 to her brother, Henry VIII (SP 49:1 f. 50). This would suggest that these particular terms and phrases were not part of Margaret's personal holograph idiolect and were instead features of the scribe's own linguistic repertoire, evidence which further suggests that Margaret was not closely involved with the composition of the 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre.

'I pray 3ow (you) my lord that 3e will caus him to be souerlie (surely) conweyt (conveyed)': Requesting a 'sure' passage for messengers

Stationed on the Anglo-Scottish borders, Thomas Dacre often acted as a communicative gatekeeper between England and Scotland, and monitored the correspondence passed between the two nations. In order to send a message to her brother, Henry VIII, Margaret would generally have had to send her correspondence to Thomas Dacre, who would then have forwarded these

letters on to the intended recipient (though he often opened and read Margaret's correspondence to the English court). On the 1st April 1524, Margaret sent three letters to England via Thomas Dacre: two letters to be conveyed to Thomas Howard and Henry VIII, and one letter directed to Thomas Dacre himself (CCBIII fol. 141). This scribal letter functioned as a letter of credence written to ensure that Margaret's messenger gained a secure entry into England. Of the three, the scribal letter to Dacre is the most brief, and is written in a scribal hand because Margaret was 'ryght (right) syke (sick)' (Margaret to Thomas Howard, 1 April 1524, CCBI fol. 209) and unable to write herself. This subsection will examine the key words and phrases that Margaret used to request that Dacre grant her messenger a secure passage to England, to further explore the extent to which Margaret was involved in the production of the 1st April 1524 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre (CCBIII fol. 141).

In this scribal letter, Margaret made the following requests:

49) I haf (have) send (sent) this present berrer to the kinges grace my bruder for certane Erandes and my lord I trast (trust) 3e will furder (further) on of myn (mine) / quhar for (wherefor) I pray 3ow my lord that 3e will caus him to be souerlie (surely) conweyt (conveyed) to the kinges grace my broder (CCBIII fol. 141)

While the phrase 'I trast (trust) 3e will furder (further) on of myn (mine)' does not occur elsewhere in any of Margaret's holograph or scribal letters, the phrase 'I trast (trust) 3e vol (will)' does. This particular phrase occurs nine times in Margaret's wider holograph correspondence, for example in a letter to Thomas Howard sent on the 3rd September 1524: 'my lord I trast (trust) 3e vol (will) send the mvny (money) vyth (with) thy³ (this) berar (bearer)' (CCBVI fol. 402). In contrast, the phrase 'I trast (trust) 3e vol (will)' is not present in any of Margaret's scribal letters, with the exception of the 1st April 1524 scribal letter to Dacre detailed above. This pattern of occurrence suggests that the phrase 'I trast (trust) 3e vol (will)' was an attribute of Margaret's holograph idiolect. Its presence in the 1st April 1524 scribal letter alone (and in no other surviving scribal correspondence) would therefore suggest that elements of this document (including this key phrase) were dictated by Margaret directly, and were copied verbatim by the scribe responsible for penning this letter.

Other specific collocations and key phrases present in the 1st April 1524 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre provide further evidence to support this hypothesis, such as the co-occurrence of the keywords 'trust' and 'errands'. Firstly, it should be noted that although the phrase 'certane (certain) Erandes (errands)' features in the 1st April 1524 scribal to Thomas Dacre (CCBIII fol.

141), it is not used in any other holograph or scribal letter in Margaret Tudor's surviving correspondence. This might indicate that this particular phrase was probably a feature of the linguistic repertoire of the scribe who produced the 1st April 1524 letter to Thomas Dacre, and not a feature of Margaret's own personal idiolect. This would therefore suggest that certain linguistic elements of this 1st April 1524 scribal letter were supplied by the scribe, and this document was not necessarily composed entirely from Margaret's dictation alone.

However, the collocation of the key terms 'trust' and 'errandes' in the 1st April 1524 scribal letter also provides further evidence to suggest that Margaret was actively involved in the composition of this scribal letter. With the exception of the 1st April 1524 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre, 'errands' occurs in collocation with 'trust' in Margaret Tudor's holograph writing only. For example:

50) my lord I marvel that lame (James) doge (Dogg) my sarva[damage] (servant) Is not delyvard (delivered) fre (from) you bot **(but) I trast (trust) my lord 3e vyl** (will) sped (speed) hy3 (his) **erand** (errand) for [deletion] I haue gyfne (given) mvny (money) In that behalfe (Margaret to Thomas Howard, 13 October 1524, CCBI fols. 285-292)

51) I haue sent thys sarwand (servant) to the kyngs grace my brothar vyth (with) my vryteng (writing) prayeng (praying) you **as my trust Is In you** that 3e vol (will) helpe my sarvand (servant) to syche (such) **erandes** (errands) as I haue sent to the kyngs grace vyth (with) good expedycon (expedition) agayn (again) that I may haue good answar (answer) of my mateers (matters) **as my trast (trust) Is In you** (Margaret to Thomas Cromwell, 30 January 1532, CVFIII fol. 17)

As the 1st April 1524 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre is the only scribal document in the entire scribal corpus to make use of this collocation, yet it is used on two occasions in Margaret's holograph correspondence, this may further suggest that Margaret directly dictated extracts of the 1st April 1524 scribal document to Thomas Dacre.

Finally, the most compelling piece of evidence to support my developing hypothesis that Margaret Tudor was closely involved with the composition of the 1st April 1524 scribal document to Thomas Dacre – perhaps even dictating it word-for-word in parts – is the collocation of the terms 'surely' and 'conveyed'. In the 1st April 1524 scribal letter to Dacre, Margaret requested that he ensure her messenger was 'souerlie (surely) conweyt (conveyed) to the kinges (king's) grace my broder (brother)' (CCBIII fol. 141). On three occasions in holograph letters sent by Margaret to Thomas Howard, Margaret used the terms 'surely' and 'conveyed' in close proximity:

52) I pray you and cawse (cause) the priore³ (prioress) of calstra[*damage*] (coldstream) to send **swrly (surely)** the answar to me of thy³ (this) byl (bill) and send her vord (word) that ³e vol do for her and kype (keep) her from trobyl (trouble) so that sche (she) vol(will) be tr[*damage*] (true) to me for thayr (there) Is non that may do It so viel (well) and **swrly (surely)** as sche (she) may to **convoy (convey)** letar[*damage*] (letters) betwxt (between) (Margaret to Thomas Howard, 24 November 1523, CCBI fol. 279)

53) my lord of arren vyl (will) **convoy (convey)** hym **swrly (surely)** to me and I sal (shall) cawse (cause) hym to be **swrly (surely) convoyd (conveyed)** agayn to you (Margaret to Thomas Howard, 8 August 1524 CCBVI, fol. 382)

Aside from the 1st April 1524 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre (CCBIII fol. 141), this lexical pairing is not used in any of Margaret's other scribal letters. This pattern of occurrence would therefore suggest that this collocation was a feature of Margaret's idiolect, and further suggest that she either dictated or closely supervised and scripted the composition of the 1st April 1524 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre (CCBIII fol. 141).

2.7. Discussion:

The main focus of this chapter has been to examine whether any linguistic evidence survives to corroborate Margaret Tudor's claims that the scribal letter sent in her name to Thomas Dacre on the 20th August 1515 was sent 'expressedly (expressly) against her woll (will) and mynde (mind)' (Thomas Dacre to Henry VIII, CCBVI fol. 80). In seeking to answer this question, I have conducted a comparative analysis of a subcorpus of Margaret's correspondence to Thomas Dacre made up of 22 holograph letters and 3 scribal letters. The three scribal letters to Dacre were included in this analysis to ascertain the extent to which Margaret was involved in the production of each letter.

The above authorship analysis highlights that the linguistic evidence one might consult in seeking to explore how an early modern scribal document was composed does not always provide clear and conclusive results. Analysis of features such as the similarity in syntactic clause structure, use of the same first person pronouns in both the holograph and scribal corpora to Dacre, and the presence of compound adverbs in both letter collections would suggest that there is little stylistic difference between Margaret Tudor's holograph and scribal correspondence to Thomas Dacre. However, the analysis does show that other linguistic variables can potentially offer more compelling evidence into the compositional practices of Margaret Tudor's scribal correspondence.

A number of features found in the 1st April 1524 scribal letter sent to Thomas Dacre (CCBIII fol. 141) suggest that Margaret was closely involved in the wording and production of this document. Firstly, unlike Margaret's 22nd January 1515 and 20th August 1515 scribal letters to Dacre, this scribal document uses the stylistically-simple opening address 'my lord dakers' and nominal address phrase 'my lord' in the main text of the letter. These address terms are the same as those used in the majority of Margaret's holograph letters. Furthermore, the document makes use of the performative speech act verb 'pray', the dominant performative directive verb also used in Margaret's holograph correspondence to the border warden.

However, the most compelling evidence to suggest that Margaret was directly involved in the composition of this scribal letter is the co-occurrence of keywords in Margaret's request that Dacre ensure her messenger had a secure passage into England. This is the only scribal letter in the surviving collection of Margaret's scribal correspondence that uses the phrase 'I trust he will', and features the collocations 'trust' and 'erandes', as well as 'surely' and 'conveyed'. While these phrases and collocations are used on a number of occasions in Margaret's holograph writing, in terms of the scribal corpus, they only appear in the 1st April 1524 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre. This pattern thus suggests that Margaret was intimately involved in the composition of her 1st April 1524 scribal letter to Dacre, and probably dictated sections of the document word-for-word.

The evidence produced in this authorship analysis suggests a slightly different conclusion for Margaret's 22nd January 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre (CCBI fol. 28). On one hand, the use of the opening address form 'traste cusynn' instead of Margaret's holograph norm 'my lorde dakers' would suggest that this letter was not dictated verbatim by Margaret herself. However, the presence of the directive speech act verb 'pray', similarities in the reasons and focus of Margaret's appeals for financial assistance from Dacre, and use of the keywords 'expenses' and 'mast' (must) – features which appear regularly in Margaret's holograph correspondence – can all be found in the 22nd January 1515 scribal letter. Though there are not enough common lexical and phrasal correlations in the 22nd January 1515 scribal letter and Margaret's holograph writing to propose that she dictated the entire contents of this letter directly, the similarities that are present would indicate that Margaret at least provided explicit instructions for the points and justifications that should be included in the 22nd January 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre.

Finally, we turn to the main focus of this chapter, the scribal letter sent to Thomas Dacre in Margaret's name on 20th August 1515 (CCBVI fol. 78). While the above analysis suggests that Margaret Tudor was probably closely involved in the composition of her 22nd January 1515 and 1st April 1524 scribal letters to Thomas Dacre (though to different degrees), the same cannot be said for

the 20th August 1515 scribal document. To some extent, the presence of the phrases ‘dw my delygens’ and ‘peax betwxt the Realmme³’ in discussions of Anglo-Scottish peace, and the use of the speech act verb ‘desire’, shows some concordance between the 22nd August 1515 scribal document and Margaret’s holograph correspondence.

However, the presence of a number of significant linguistic differences suggests that this document was likely written without Margaret Tudor’s direct involvement and approval. Firstly, the keyword ‘labour’ – a key lexical feature of Margaret’s holograph peace negotiations – is missing from the 20th August 1515 scribal document. Secondly, lexical items which do not occur in Margaret’s holograph writing such as ‘deliberat’, ‘afald’, and the anaphoric term ‘inlikwis’ are used in the 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Dacre. Finally, the role Margaret is framed as playing in the 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Dacre is significantly different to that generally seen in her holograph correspondence. Whereas Margaret is presented as taking ‘ane (one) afald (single) sincere part’ with Albany in the 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Dacre, elsewhere in her holograph correspondence Margaret went to great lengths to foreground herself as being a neutral mediator between the elected leaders of England and Scotland. Overall, such disparities seen in the linguistic design and stance of the 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre and Margaret’s overall holograph writing would appear to suggest that Margaret was not closely involved in the phrasing and framing of this scribal document. This conclusion thus seems to support Margaret’s claims that she was forced to sign letters ‘whereunto I was neuer (never) agreeable (agreeable)’ (CCBVI fol. 125), and that the 20th August 1515 scribal letter was composed and sent against her will.

Here, we return back to Benskin and Laing’s 1981 framework that suggested a scribe could do one of three things:

- A. He may leave the language more or less unchanged, like a modern scholar transcribing such a manuscript...
- B. He may convert it into his own kind of language, making innumerable modifications to the orthography, the morphology, and the vocabulary...
- C. He may do something somewhere between A and B. (Benskin and Laing 1981: 56)

While these groupings are helpful in understanding the compositional context of scribal documents, none of Margaret’s three surviving scribal letters to Thomas Dacre fit neatly into these groups, as they were probably produced from dictation instead of copying an exemplar written text.

Instead, we can place each of these three scribal letters on a spectrum charting authorial involvement in the composition of each document (see figure 2.4). At one end of the spectrum are letters that copy an author’s dictation verbatim. In the middle of the continuum, are letters that have been composed from written instructions provided by the named sender. At the other end of the spectrum, are letters that have been produced with no input from the named sender, and are instead composed independently by the scribe (or perhaps using model letters). At the left hand side of the spectrum, we would expect to see lots of linguistic similarities between a scribal letter and the named author’s holograph writing, as can be seen in the 1st April 1524 scribal letter (CCBIII fol. 141). At the right hand side, we would expect the scribal letter and sender’s holograph correspondence to be stylistically disparate, as can be seen in the 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Dacre (CCBVI fol. 78). I have positioned the 22nd January 1515 scribal letter to Dacre (CCBI fol. 28) at the centre of the scale, as the evidence suggests that this document was produced using some detailed instructions from Margaret Tudor, but does not appear to have been dictated word-for-word by Margaret herself.

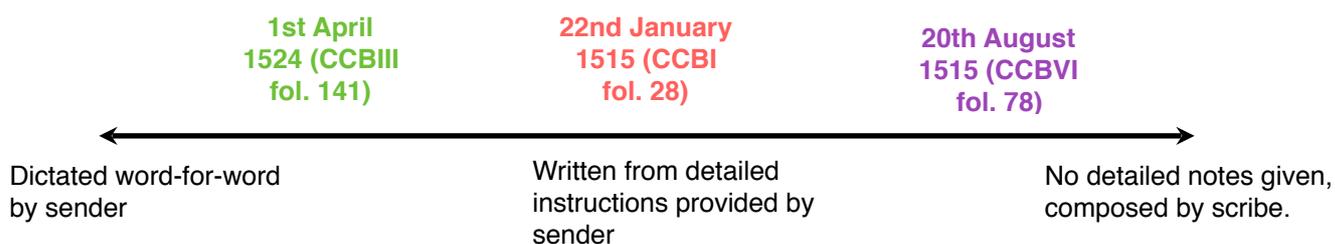


Figure 2.4: Scale measuring author involvement in the composition of scribal letters.

2.8. Wider discourse context:

As the linguistic evidence suggests that Margaret Tudor was not closely involved in the composition of her 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre, who was responsible for its composition? One potential candidate might be the individual who replaced Margaret as governing regent of Scotland, John Stewart, Duke of Albany. However, upon investigation it would seem that there are very few linguistic similarities between his scribal correspondence and Margaret’s August 1515 scribal letter to Dacre. Furthermore, the documents are written in different hands, with Albany’s scribal correspondence for the most part written in the hand of one individual, probably that of his secretary. In addition, it would seem that Albany only sent holograph correspondence in French, and even signed his scribal letters to Dacre with the French subscription ‘votre bon cousin, Jehan’ (see figure 2.5), probably suggesting that Albany did not have a sufficient

grasp of English and Scots to be responsible for dictating or composing the 20th August 1515 sent in Margaret Tudor's name entirely himself.²⁹

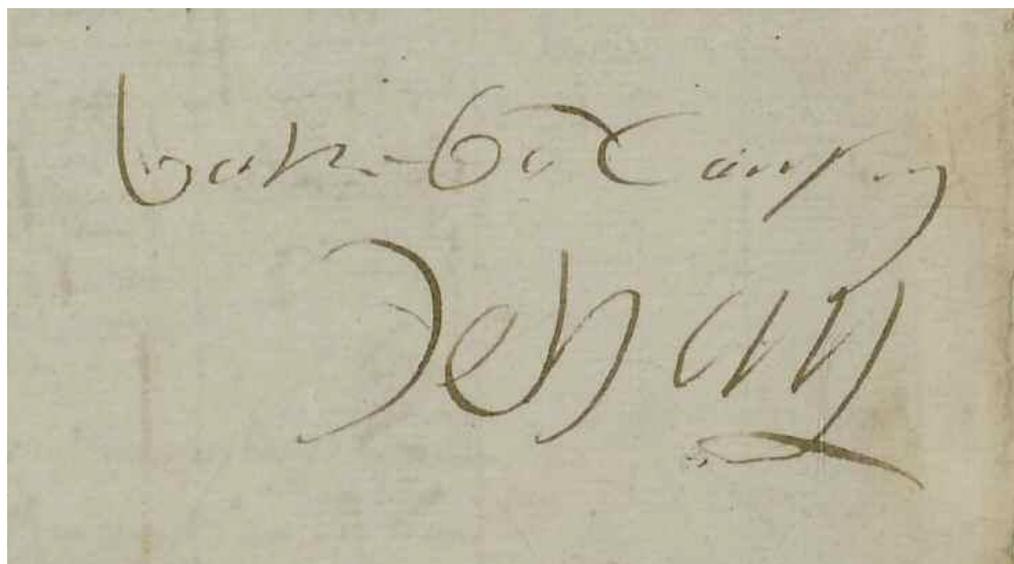


Figure 2.5: Closing subscription of a scribal letter sent from John Stewart, Duke of Albany to Thomas Dacre 14 August 1515 (SP 49/1 fol. 37)

Whilst Albany might not have been responsible for the specific wording of Margaret's 20th August 1515 letter, comments revealed in a letter sent to Thomas Dacre on 14th August 1515 suggest that it was Albany who may have prompted the sending of Margaret's August 1515 scribal correspondence to Dacre and Henry VIII. The passage in question reads:

54) the said lady [Margaret] Is ry^t wele contentit (contented) of the seruice I haue done to the king hir son my Lord / and to his broder / In maner th^at I traist sche (she) sal (shall) mak (make) the samyn to be knawin (known) to the king 3our maistir (master) / and to 3ou (SP 49/1 fol. 37)

Sent before Margaret's August 1515 scribal letters were even composed, this document preempts Margaret's next epistolary moves that she will write to her brother and Dacre to show that she is content with Albany's conduct. Such a comment would suggest that Albany probably commissioned the production of the August 1515 scribal letters sent in Margaret Tudor's name. In this case, Margaret's secretary James Inglis, or another Scottish scribe was probably responsible for composing these August 1515 scribal letters.

2.9. Conclusion:

On the face of it, Margaret Tudor's 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre (and the other August 1515 letters to Henry VIII) presents Margaret as willingly performing the role of diplomatic mediator, content with Albany's

²⁹ Many thanks to Dr Bryony Coombs for her thoughts and expertise in this topic.

actions in Scotland, and earnestly requesting that Dacre promote their appeals for peace to Henry VIII. However, examination of the linguistic composition and wider discourse context of the 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre (CCBVI fol. 78) suggests that this document bears little similarity to Margaret's holograph idiolect, and was probably written and sent with little or no direct input from Margaret herself. Whilst I have only been able to explore Margaret's 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre in detail in this chapter, these results may indicate that the three other scribal letters sent to Henry VIII in Margaret's name in August 1515 (SP 49/1 fols. 50, 51 and 53) were also sent without any direct involvement from Margaret Tudor. Future research might seek to conduct an authorship analysis investigation into Margaret's August 1515 scribal letters to Henry VIII to see if similar results are also found in this material.

The evidence provided in the above analysis thus indicates that Margaret's claims that these scribal documents had been sent 'expressedly against her woll (will) and mynde' (Thomas Dacre to Henry VIII, CCBVI fol. 80) were probably true. Why then were the August 1515 scribal letters sent in the first place? The most compelling answer to this question is that it was probably the Scottish faction (made up of Albany and the Lords of Scotland) who commissioned the production and despatch of these scribal letters in Margaret's name in August 1515. This highlights that Margaret's portrayal as willing diplomatic mediator through her own correspondence was integral to Scotland maintaining peace with England. If Henry VIII and Thomas Dacre received letters signed by Margaret herself (or a convincing forgery by her scribe), sealed with her own personal seal, and which communicated Margaret's approval of Albany and her desire that peace be secured between the two realms, this would probably have served to encourage the English faction to be more inclined to maintain positive relations with Scotland.

This episode thus underlines the value of studying performances of mediation in the letters of Margaret Tudor more generally, but also shows that Margaret as diplomatic intercessor was regarded as a valuable commodity by Margaret's contemporaries, such as the Duke of Albany and the Lords of Scotland. On this occasion the Scottish faction sent Margaret's mediative letters against her will, but for their own political and diplomatic gain. This case study also shows that whilst royal scribal letters which bear a signature may appear to be trustworthy and authentic documents, they could be produced with little involvement from the named sender.

This chapter also demonstrates a new qualitative method of investigation – specifically that the articulation of key topics in correspondence (such as negotiations of peace, requests for a secure passage for a messenger, or appeals for financial assistance) – can prove to be a useful tool in authorship attribution studies. Key to this method of analysis is identifying the lexical

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items and collocations an individual would commonly use when articulating a specific topic in their holograph writing. Co-occurrence of these key terms, or the notable absence of these terms in a scribal letter, can provide valuable insights into how the scribal document was composed. The replication of key terms and collocations in an individual's holograph writing in a scribal letter would therefore suggest that this document was probably produced from direct dictation or detailed instructions provided by the named sender. In contrast, a lack of stylistic concordance between the scribal document and a sender's holograph writing – as seen in Margaret Tudor's 20th August 1515 scribal letter to Thomas Dacre (CCBVI fol. 78) – provides evidence to suggest that the named sender was not actively involved in the composition of the given scribal text. Chapter Six demonstrates how this method can also be used to explore how holograph sources are produced.

'The 'wider discourse context' section of this chapter (pp. 86-87) has also shown that paying close attention to the wider discourse context in which Margaret's 20th August 1515 scribal letter was produced is particularly useful in trying to ascertain if this scribal letter was sent against Margaret's will. Reading Albany's surviving letter sent to Dacre sent on the 14th August 1515 shows that he was probably responsible for commissioning the sending of Margaret's August 1515 scribal correspondence to Dacre and Henry VIII which presented her in the role of willing mediator of Anglo-Scottish peace. In addition, Margaret's holograph letter sent to Thomas Dacre sent in late August/early September 1515 (CCBVI fol. 84) claiming that he was not fully informed of the true state of her situation, and the use of her own holograph hand to authenticate the contents of this message, also corroborates Margaret's story that the August 1515 scribal letters were sent against her will.

Finally, this chapter also sheds further light on the education and wider epistolary practices of Margaret Tudor in comparison to those of other early modern women. The presence of tokens of anaphoric language in Margaret's holograph writing – language which was more typically associated with 'more formal and legalistic styles of letter-writing' (Williams 2013b) – suggests that Margaret was educated in how to use legalistic terminology in her own writing. When the sixteenth-century noblewoman Joan Thynne sought to ask her son to provide a dowry for her daughter, she enlisted the skills of a trained scribe, and the legalistic terminology and authority associated with scribal correspondence to try to legitimise and add weight to her requests (Williams 2013a: 43). In comparison, Margaret Tudor dispensed with the services of an amanuensis and simply incorporated tokens of legal diction (such as compound adverbs) into her own holograph writing. Such a move shows that Margaret Tudor had sufficient confidence in the ability and authority of her own holograph writing, and that it could achieve the

communicative goals she required. This action which might explain Margaret's general preference for sending holograph letters to Thomas Dacre instead of scribal compositions.

Chapter Three - 'I may labor a gwd and loweng vay be twxt you': Actively performing the role of diplomatic mediator
December 1531 to February 1522

3.1. Chapter outline:

Chapter Three focuses on a collection of correspondence sent by Margaret Tudor to her brother, Henry VIII, between December 1521 and February 1522. In contrast to Chapter Two, this chapter sees Margaret willingly performing the role of diplomatic mediator through her personal correspondence. On the 9th December 1521, Margaret sent a holograph letter to Henry VIII, on behalf the Duke of Albany, seeking to organise another renewal of the peace treaty between England and Scotland. However, when Henry VIII did not reply to this initial mediative letter, Margaret adapted her communicative technique to employ a different epistolary genre – the early modern memorial – to try and solicit a more positive response from Henry VIII.

This memorial was to some extent more successful than Margaret's initial December 1521 holograph letter as it at least provoked a reply from Henry VIII. However, Henry VIII again rejected Margaret's appeals for peace, and even accused her of planning to divorce her second husband and 'mary (marry) the duk (duke) [of] albanye' (Margaret to Henry VIII, 11 February 1522, CCBI fol. 166) who had commissioned Margaret to entreat for peace in the first place. Despite this criticism, Margaret did not abandon her epistolary pursuit and on the 11th February 1522 she sent a final scribal letter to Henry VIII to again request that he agree to renew the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty.

In this chapter, I apply the multi-layered method of analysis adopted in this thesis to explore the specific linguistic, material and communicative strategies Margaret used in her correspondence to try and successfully perform the role of diplomatic intercessor. This analysis reveals that Margaret had a detailed knowledge of the functions and performative impacts of different communicative genres, and could adapt her epistolary approach depending on the response she received from her recipient. Finally, this chapter also explores the reasons for which a medieval or early modern queen might seek to perform the role of peace-keeper. In the case of Margaret, being regarded as an efficient and effective mediator helped her to ensure her own political and financial security.

3.2. Historical context:

Shortly after the despatch of the August 1515 scribal letters discussed in the previous chapter, Margaret fled Scotland and sought refuge at the court of Henry VIII until May 1517. Margaret only agreed to return to Scotland under the condition that the Duke of Albany leave the country and return to his native land of France. However, during Albany's absence from Scotland

(between 1517 and 1521), Margaret appears to have received little favour from the Lords of Scotland, and seems to have been in some financial difficulties as she did not regularly receive rent payments from her dower lands. In a letter to Thomas Dacre sent in July 1520, Margaret noted that she had ‘often (often) times vryten (written) beth (both) to the kyng my brothar and to my lorde cardynall and you / how be It I gat (get) no remedy’ (CCBII fol. 195). In this letter, Margaret noted that she had written to Henry VIII, and his political agents, requesting their help and assistance in her difficulties, but had ‘gat (got) no remedy’ (CCBII fol. 195).

Whilst Margaret was initially hostile to Albany’s presence in Scotland – because he deprived her of the power and prestige of the Scottish regency – this animosity did not last forever. Margaret even wrote to the King of France sometime in 1520 to campaign for Albany’s return to Scotland in the hope that he would offer her some financial and political security. In the same letter to Thomas Dacre sent in July 1520 (CCBII fol. 195), Margaret confessed that she had sent such a letter (under the commission of the Lord of Scotland) requesting that Albany return to Scotland to resume his regency directly:

my lorde thayr (there) vhas (was) a letar (letter) vryten (written) In to frence (French) to the kyng of france from me be the specyal desyr of the dwke (duke) and the lordys (lords) vysche (which) I myght not deny / for thay sayd It vas (was) for the veel (well-being) of the kyng my soon (son) and hys rawlme (realm) (CCBII fol. 195)

Albany returned to Scotland on the 18th November 1521. A memorial sent to Henry VIII from Margaret’s estranged husband the Earl of Angus notes that upon his arrival Albany immediately travelled to Stirling castle to meet Margaret in person. They then rode ‘bath (both) in company to gidre (together) and so till (to) Edenburghe (Edinburgh)’ (Angus and others to Henry VIII, 14 December 1521, CCBVI fol. 204). When they arrived at Edinburgh castle (where James V was stationed), Angus reported that:

And ther the captain [of Edinburgh castle] deliuered the kees (keys) to the duke And he deliuered them to the quene (queen) to dispone (exercise authority over) / At her pleasure / And so she gaf (gave) them to the duke...for the keping (keeping) of the kinges (king’s) person (CCBVI fol. 204)

These ceremonial gestures – of Margaret and Albany riding together to James V, and passing the keys of Edinburgh castle to one another – served to visually demonstrate and symbolise that a new political allegiance had been forged between the two former adversaries. Rumours circulated regarding the nature of this union, and Angus wrote to Henry VIII speculating that Margaret and Albany were engaged in an illicit affair, and that Albany intended to help Margaret secure a divorce from Angus (Angus and other to Henry VIII, 14 92

December 1521, CCBVI fol. 204). Dacre also corroborated this story, noting that:

ther is merueillous (marvellous) grete (great) Intelligence / betwene her [Margaret] And the duke aswele (aswell) all the day as miche (much) of the night / And in maner they sett not (care not) by who knowe it / And if I durst (dare) say it for fere (fear) / of displeasure of my souerain (sovereign) they Ar ouer tendre (Dacre to Henry VIII, December 1521, CCBVI fol. 205)

In this document, Dacre suggested that Margaret and Albany were ‘ouer (over) tendre (tender)’, involved in some kind of romantic relationship instead of a purely political alliance. Whilst we will never know the truth of these allegations, they were probably invented by Margaret’s opponents in an attempt to undermine any status and influence she might have gained through forming an allegiance with Albany. Indeed, this intelligence appears to have been one of the reasons for which Henry VIII rejected Margaret’s epistolary appeals for peace between December 1521 and February 1522. Similar practices can be seen in the figure of Isabeau of Bavaria (c.1370-1435) who was accused of having an affair with her brother-in-law Louis of Orleans when she tried to form a political allegiance with him (Adams 2009: 17).

Shortly after his arrival in Scotland, Albany commissioned Margaret to write to her brother Henry VIII and request a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty which was due to expire in February 1522. Between December 1521 and February 1522, Margaret sent three set of documents to Henry VIII in which Margaret sought to actively perform the role of diplomatic mediator and persuade him to agree to a renewal of Anglo-Scottish peace. These documents are as follows:

1. A holograph letter sent from Margaret to Henry VIII on the 9th December 1521 (CCBI fol. 187).
2. A holograph memorial sent by Margaret to Henry VIII in early January 1522, which was to be conveyed to the English court by one of Margaret’s personal messengers (unnamed) (CCBI fol. 197). This memorial was accompanied by two holograph letters of credence addressed to Henry VIII and Thomas Wolsey (CCBI fol. 276 and CCBI fol. 204).
3. A scribal letter sent from Margaret to Henry VIII on the 11th February 1522 (CCBI fol. 166).

In the following analysis I will explore each stage of this epistolary exchange in turn. This analysis will investigate the linguistic and material persuasive strategies used by Margaret at each point of the discourse, the specific genre of communication used, and the agents used to deliver (and perform) the

correspondence. I will also discuss how Henry VIII's response (or lack of reply) informed Margaret's next epistolary moves.

3.3. Analysis:

3.3.1. Step one: 9th December 1521

Material features and messengers

The first stage in this epistolary exchange sees Margaret send a holograph letter to Henry VIII on the 9th December 1521, requesting a continuation of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty (CCBI fol. 187). This letter is written portrait on four leaves of a bifolium booklet, though the outer address leaf does not survive. Figure 3.1, below, shows the first and final leaves of the letter. As mentioned in Chapter Two, the sending of holograph correspondence in the early modern period could communicate a variety of messages through the very physicality of the communication: including expressions of intimacy between a sender and recipient, for purposes of secrecy, as a demonstration of respect and obedience to a recipient, and to signal that the letter was authentic and trustworthy. Allinson also notes that 'a holograph exchange was a particularly effective way of securing amity' between royal correspondents (2012: 74).

However, Evans notes that in early modern royal correspondence '(a) scribe was typically used for letters concerned with business or administrative matters, formal or official in purpose' (2016: 37). As Margaret's 9th December 1521 letter to Henry VIII focussed on the negotiation of Anglo-Scottish peace, and Margaret would have had ready access to scribes during this period, we might therefore have expected her to send a scribal composition to Henry VIII. It is therefore significant that Margaret took the time and effort to personally compose the 9th December 1521 letter to Henry VIII. Through this action, Margaret materially signalled her affection and respect for Henry VIII, but also her commitment to performing the role of diplomatic mediator and securing a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty through her own personal holograph correspondence.

In the closing lines of this holograph letter, Margaret requested that Henry 'gyfe (give) faworabyll (favourable) awdyens (audience) to thys berar ross harold (herald)' (CCBI fol. 187) who had carried her letter to the English court on this occasion. Ross Herald was a Scottish royal messenger who carried Margaret's letters on a number of occasions (the earliest recorded instance being in July 1516, CCBI fol. 266). Analysis of other correspondence sent to Henry VIII during this period reveals that Ross Herald travelled to the English court in December 1521 with a larger Scottish party who had been sent to discuss the issue of Anglo-Scottish peace with Henry VIII in person (Bishop of Douglas to Wolsey, 31 December 1521, SP 49/1 fol. 128, and James V to Henry

VIII, 9 December 1521, SP 49/1 fol. 76). Albany's secretary, the Abbot of Glenluce was also part of this party, and was presumably sent by Albany to act as his proxy and discuss issues of peace with Henry VIII personally. This party does not appear to have been an official ambassadorial embassy, as Margaret makes reference in the 9th December 1521 letter to Henry VIII that official ambassadors would be despatched after this initial group (CCBI fol. 187). Whilst Margaret's holograph 9th December 1521 letter to Henry VIII is written using her own hand, and seeks to personalise the Anglo-Scottish peace negotiations (as will be discussed in the following section), this correspondence would have been seen as a prominent aspect of the Duke of Albany's official appeals for peace.

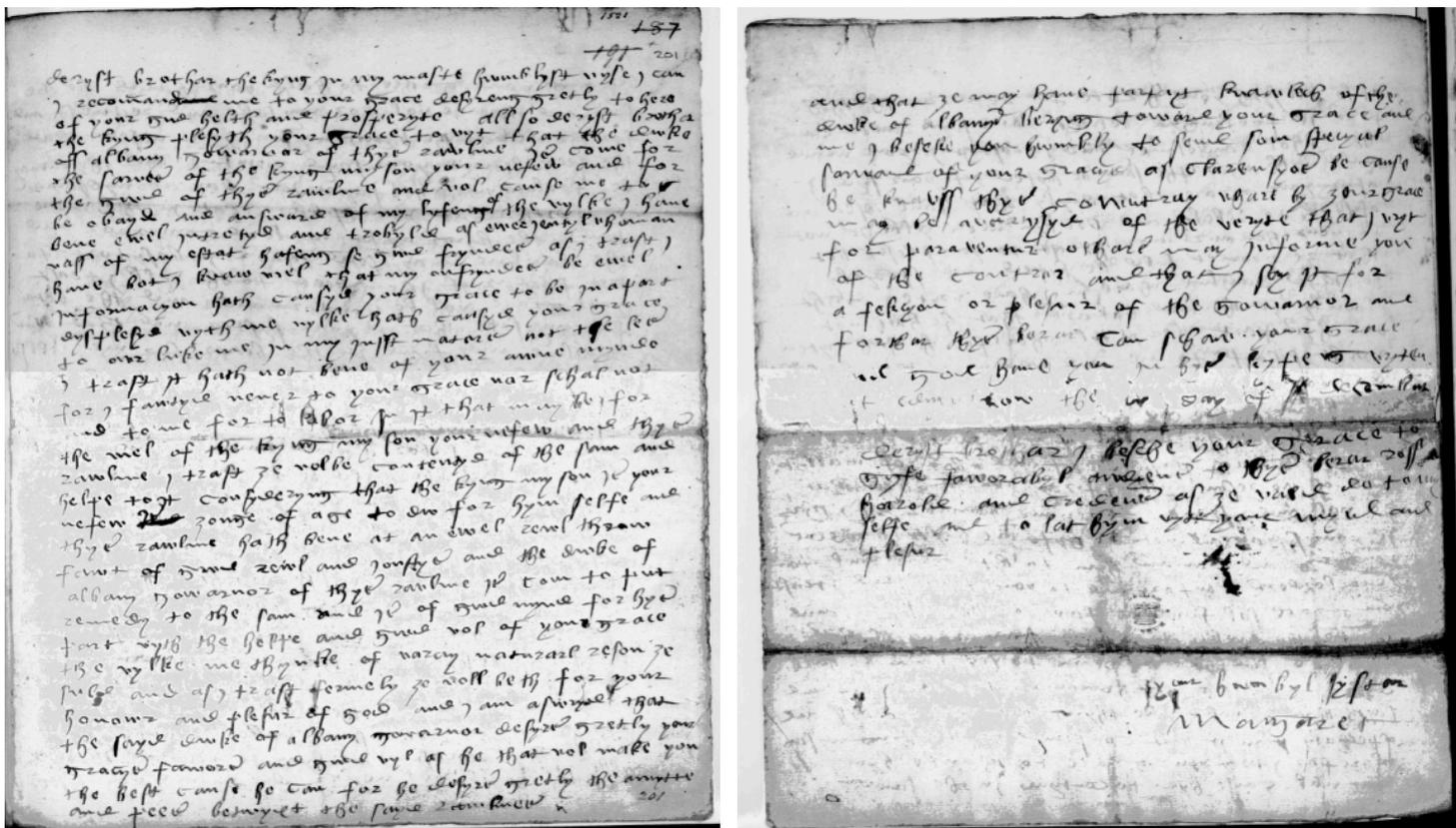


Figure 3.1: Margaret to Henry VIII holograph letter, 9th December 1521, CCBI fol. 187.

Linguistic strategies of persuasion

To some extent, the overall directive function of this letter (requesting peace between England and Scotland) potentially constituted a threat to Henry VIII's negative face, and his desire to act freely without any imposition. It was thus important for Margaret to frame her requests in such a way as to mitigate this threat. In the following sections, I will discuss some of the linguistic and rhetorical strategies Margaret utilised in her 9th December 1521 holograph letter to try fulfil the communicative goal of persuading Henry to agree to a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty.

‘besekyng (beseeching) your grace to hald (hold) your hand to the sam (same)’: Asking Henry VIII to agree to peace

The below extract summarises the main directive focus of Margaret’s 9th December 1521 letter to Henry VIII, reporting Albany’s goodwill towards Henry and his commitment to peace, before requesting that Henry VIII co-operate in the ongoing peace negotiations.

1) I am aswyrd (assured) that the sayd dwke of albaney gowarnor desyrs gretly your gracys fawors (favours) and gwd (good) vyl (will) as he that vol (will) make you the besy cause he can for he desyrs (desires) gretly the amyttte (amity) and pees (peace) betwyxt (between) the sayd rawlmes (realms) beskyng (beseeching) your grace to hald (hold) your hand to the sam...that the pees (peace) betwxt (between) your sayd rawlme (realme) and thys may be prolongyd vhol (while) saynt lons (John’s) day (CCBI fol. 187)

The above extract sees the use of an extended directive phrase, which seeks to persuade Henry VIII to agree an extension of Anglo-Scottish peace. Though this request could have been articulated in the considerably shorter phrase ‘besekyng (beseeching) your grace...that the pees (peace) betwxt (between) your sayd rawlme (realm) and thys may be prolongyd (prolonged)’, Margaret employs a number of additional persuasive strategies to attempt to increase the likelihood that her request will be fulfilled.

Whilst the main performative speech act verb of this extract is the directive ‘besekyng’ (beseeching), which explicitly asks Henry VIII to reciprocate Albany’s devotion to ensuring Anglo-Scottish peace, Margaret initiates this request using the past participle *assured*. This past participle accords with the OED definition 8c ‘To have confidence, trust, rely’ (OED ‘assure’, v., sense in use c1374). By using this term Margaret expresses a strong confidence in the Duke of Albany’s commitment to the proposed peace. By foregrounding her own trust in Albany, Margaret seeks to persuade Henry VIII to follow her lead and reciprocate Albany’s tenures for Anglo-Scottish peace.

Margaret then goes on to further assert that:

the sayd dwke of albaney gowarnor desyrs gretly your gracys (grace’s) fawor (favour) and gwd (good) vyl (will) as he that vol (will) make you the best cause he can for he desyrs gretly the amyttte (amity) and pees (peace) (CCBI fol. 187).

In this utterance, Margaret frames Albany as being almost submissive to Henry VIII, eager to receive Henry VIII’s ‘gwd vyl’ (good will) to the extent that he was willing to make Henry VIII the ‘best cause he can’. By the ‘best cause’, it would appear that Margaret refers to the sense ‘A fact, condition or matters, or consideration, moving a person to action; ground of action; reason for

action, motive.’ (OED ‘cause’, n., sense first used c.1225). Through this strategy, Margaret presents Henry as being the most dominant agent in the peace negotiations, and that he could potentially even profit from Albany’s offers. By framing her request in this way, Margaret seeks to provide more motivation to induce Henry VIII to agree to the continuation of peace between England and Scotland.

Familial ties

Reference to familial obligation are one of the most common persuasive strategies employed in Margaret Tudor’s correspondence as a whole. In the 9th December 1521 holograph letter to Henry VIII, Margaret makes six separate references to familial duty, and emphasises the personal effect that the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty would have on herself and her son. In one particular example, Margaret highlights the negative ramifications she would personally suffer if the Anglo-Scottish peace was not agreed:

2) otharvays (otherwise) It vol (will) be ryght effe (heavy) to me and trobles (troubles) consydering the tene (one) of them Is my brothar and the tothar (other) Is my son and therfor I beseke (beseech) your grace to pardon me that I vryt (write) se (so) playnly (plainly; candidly, frankly) for It toches (touches) me right nere (near) and be ther not kyndnes betwxt (between) your grace and the sayd dwke of albany It vol (will) be gret ocasyon to hym to tret (treat) me the var (war; wicked, cruel, harsh) vylke (which) I trast (trust) 3e vol (will) neuer dw (do) to me your systar (CCBI fol. 187)

In this extract, Margaret highlights her own personal involvement in the Anglo-Scottish peace negotiations as sister to ‘tene (one) of them’ (Henry VIII) and mother to ‘the tother (other)’ (James V). Through this reference, and making the emotive appeal to Henry VIII that a lapse in the peace treaty would be ‘ryght (right) effe (heavy)’ to Margaret and cause her emotional distress, Margaret seeks to pull on Henry VIII’s heart strings and remind him of the familial connections he has to her and her son the king of Scotland. Margaret thus seeks to utilise the personal blood relations she shared with England and Scotland as a strategy to personalise these political negotiations and persuade Henry VIII to agree to the renewal of Anglo-Scottish peace.

Margaret also uses hyperbole in this extract to try and further persuade Henry VIII to agree to peace. She writes that ‘[if] be ther not kyndnes (kindness) betwxt (between) your grace and the sayd dwke of albany It vol (will) be great ocasyon to tret (treat) me the var (war; wicked, cruel, harsh)’. Through using this phrase, Margaret suggests that if the peace treaty is not confirmed Albany would have more cause to treat her unkindly, and perhaps even threaten her safety. As Henry VIII would have been morally responsible for ensuring his sister’s wellbeing (even if in reality he chose to ignore Margaret’s

pleas for help), by emphasising the physical threat a lapse in peace could have on her personally, Margaret sought to appeal to Henry VIII's brotherly duty and thus further coerce him into agreeing to renew the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty.

'naturarl (natural) reson (reason)'

The final persuasive strategy that I will discuss in detail in this section concerns how Margaret presented her requests for a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty as being the most reasoned and logical choice Henry VIII could make in this scenario. For example, in the 9th December 1521 holograph letter to Henry VIII, Margaret reported that:

4) the dwke (duke) of albanie gowarnor of thys rawlme Is com to put remedy to the sam and Is of gwd (good) mynd for hys part vyth (with) the helpe and gwd (good) vol (will) of your grace and vylke (which) me thynke of varay (very) naturarl (natural) reson (reason) 3e suld (should) and as I trast (trust) fermly 3e voll (will) beth (both) for your honowr (honour) and plesur of god (CCBI fol. 187)

In this extract, Margaret stressed that Henry VIII should agree to a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace, because it was of 'varay (very) naturarl (natural) reson (reason)'. Here, 'natural' most likely accords to the sense '[e]xisting or present by nature; inherent in the very constitution of a person or thing' (OED 'natural', adj.) and 'reason' to the sense '[t]he fact or quality of being in accordance with reason; the view of things or manner of proceeding which seems wise, logical, or correct.' (OED 'reason', n.1). Through describing her request in such a way, Margaret foregrounded that agreeing to Anglo-Scottish peace was the most logical and legitimate course of action that Henry VIII could take. Through this construction, Margaret thus implied that if Henry VIII denied her request, he would have been acting in an unreasoned and unnatural manner; an outcome particularly undesirable for an early modern king.

Margaret also highlights that agreeing to peace would be of further benefit to Henry VIII's personal 'honowr' (honour) and also to the 'plesur (pleasure) of god'. By making reference to Henry's 'honowr' (honour), Margaret refers to his 'glory, renown, fame' reputation, good name' (OED 'honour', n.), and implies that agreeing to Anglo-Scottish peace would be of benefit to Henry VIII's reputation and name.³⁰ Through framing her directive as being in accordance with the 'plesur (pleasure) of god', Margaret draws on divine authority to add weight to her request. Margaret thus implies that if Henry VIII failed to agree to the Anglo-Scottish peace, he would violate the wishes of

³⁰ Reference to Henry VIII's international reputation is particularly relevant on pp. 113-115.

god. These two devices are thus also used by Margaret to try and entice, but also coerce Henry VIII into agreeing to her appeals for Anglo-Scottish peace.

Preliminary conclusions

The above analysis highlights that Margaret Tudor drew upon a number of different material and linguistic strategies in her 9th December 1521 holograph letter to try and persuade Henry VIII to agree to a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty. Firstly, by taking the time to compose the diplomatic letter in her own hand, Margaret visually and materially demonstrated her personal devotion to Henry and to the Anglo-Scottish peace. On a linguistic level, Margaret also sought to personalise the official negotiations by referring to the effect peace (or a lack of peace) would have had on her personally, as well as constructing emotive appeals requesting Henry's assistance to protect her from 'var' (war; wicked, cruel, harsh) treatment from the Duke of Albany. Margaret also framed her requests in such a way as to make the agreement of peace seem like the most logical course of action, that would be of personal benefit to Henry VIII.

3.3.2. Step two: 4th-6th January 1522

Whilst the previous section shows that Margaret went to some lengths both materially and linguistically to try and successfully perform the role of diplomatic mediator through her correspondence, these strategies were not sufficiently persuasive to elicit a response from Henry VIII let alone his agreement to a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty. In a letter sent to Henry VIII on the 6th January 1522, Margaret noted that 'as 3et 3e haue (have) not plesyd (pleased) to make answar (answer)' (CCBII fol. 276), highlighting that Henry VIII had not replied to her 9th December 1521 holograph letter. Whilst this lack of reply may have simply been a result of a delay in the transmission (such as a problem with messengers, or a letter getting lost or intercepted), it is more likely that Henry chose to ignore Margaret's 9th December 1521 letter.

Early modern epistolary etiquette required that a recipient should reply to a letter in a timely fashion. Daybell notes that 'failure to write could issue a slight; epistolary silence could be viewed as a snub; delay or irregularity in writing could be interpreted as a lack of respect' (2006: 160). To delay or even fail to reply to a letter might therefore be regarded as a sign of disrespect to the sender, and potentially signalled disapproval or rejection of the contents of the letter in question. This epistolary 'snub' thus signalled that Henry disapproved of Margaret's attempt to perform the role of diplomatic mediator under the commission of the Duke of Albany, and that her letter was not sufficiently persuasive to convince him to agree to peace with Scotland. So what did Margaret do next? Analysis of the genre of communication used by Margaret in January 1522 suggests that she altered

the form and performative impact of her correspondence in the next stage of the epistolary exchange to try and elicit a more positive response from Henry VIII.

In early January 1522 Margaret produced four documents directed to Henry VIII, and his chief advisor Thomas Wolsey, which again requested a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty due to expire in February 1522.

These included:

1. Holograph letter of credence to Henry VIII, 6th January 1522, CCBI fol. 276
2. Holograph letter of credence to Thomas Wolsey, 6th January 1522, CCBI fol. 204
3. Holograph memorial to be presented/performed to Henry VIII and Wolsey, 4th January 1522, CCBI fol. 197)
4. Scribal copy of memorial, 6th January 1522, CCBVI fol. 208

Instead of simply sending another holograph letter to Henry VIII, Margaret chose to utilise a different type of written communication: the early modern memorial. This was conveyed and performed to Henry VIII via one of Margaret's personal messengers, though he is unnamed. Two holograph letters were also sent in conjunction with this memorial to help Margaret's messenger gain an audience with Henry VIII and Wolsey. In the following sections, I will discuss the communicative function and pragmatic effect of the memorial genre, as well as the reasons for which Margaret may have chosen to send this type of document instead of a simple letter.

The early modern memorial

On 4th January 1522, Margaret composed a holograph memorial to be sent in conjunction with two letters of credence with a personal messenger to her brother, Henry VIII (CCBI fol. 197). This document is written portrait, on eight pages of a bifolium booklet, and is concluded with Margaret's holograph signature and the closing subscription 'vryten (written) vyth (with) my hand margaret R'. Figure 3.2, below, shows the first and last leaves of this document.

To date, little attention has been paid to the memorial genre and no scholars (to my knowledge) have yet offered a detailed investigation into the communicative function, linguistic features and delivery practices of this genre.³¹ The OED defines a memorial as being reserved for 'diplomatic use', being 'any of various informal state papers giving an account of the matter under discussion, esp. one presented by an ambassador to the state of which

³¹ A detailed survey of the memorial genre is provided in Chapter Five of this thesis.

he or she is accredited, or by a government to one of its agents abroad' (OED memorial, n.). Early modern memorials thus appear to have functioned as a set of instructions or points regarding a specific diplomatic issue, such as negotiations of peace, trade agreements or royal marriages. A proxy or ambassador would then use these points as the basis of a discussion with a foreign monarch (or someone of similarly high status).

Sixteen memorials survive in the Margaret Tudor Corpus, written between September 1515 and July 1528: two of these are holograph documents, the rest are either scribal compositions or copies of Margaret's original memorials. Margaret refers to this genre by a variety of names including 'memoryal' (memorial) (CCBI fol. 234), 'artykels' (articles) (CCBI fol. 197), and 'Instrwkayons' (instructions) (CCBI fol. 204). Shneider notes that early modern memorials:

were letters in their authorized...epistemological function to relay information, but were spoken by the trusted bearer of the party intended – a medium of communication somewhere between the officially inscribed warrant of the epistle and the immediacy of oral delivery. (2005: 28)

In light of Schneider's comments, it would thus appear that early modern memorials were performed verbally by a carefully chosen messenger or ambassador in front of a host monarch.³² Due to the situated performative nature of the memorial genre, sending a memorial to Henry VIII in early January 1522 would thus have had a more immediate and dynamic impact, with a greater perlocutionary force than Margaret's earlier 9th December 1521 holograph letter.

Furthermore, the bearer entrusted to deliver and perform Margaret's memorial could also have added additional paralinguistic cues – such as physical gestures (for example emphatic arm movements, or the raise of an eyebrow), changes in amplitude, pitch, intonation and the use of additional emphasis – all of which could have been employed to make the contents of Margaret's January 1522 memorial more engaging than a simple holograph letter. Furthermore, Margaret's messenger would probably have had some experience in diplomatic communication, and would have been able to modify the phrasing and focus of the January 1522 memorial to frame it in such a way as to be more persuasive to Henry VIII. Finally, by sending a personal messenger with a memorial directly to Henry VIII to discuss the Anglo-Scottish peace in a face-to-face meeting, and who could report back on how the contents of the memorial was received Henry VIII, Margaret would have had a

³² The nature of the verbal performance of memorials is discussed in detail in Chapter Five, but concludes that memorials would probably have served as a list of points to be discussed by a messenger (or ambassador), and were not simply read aloud verbatim.

better idea of how her requests for a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace had been received by Henry VIII.

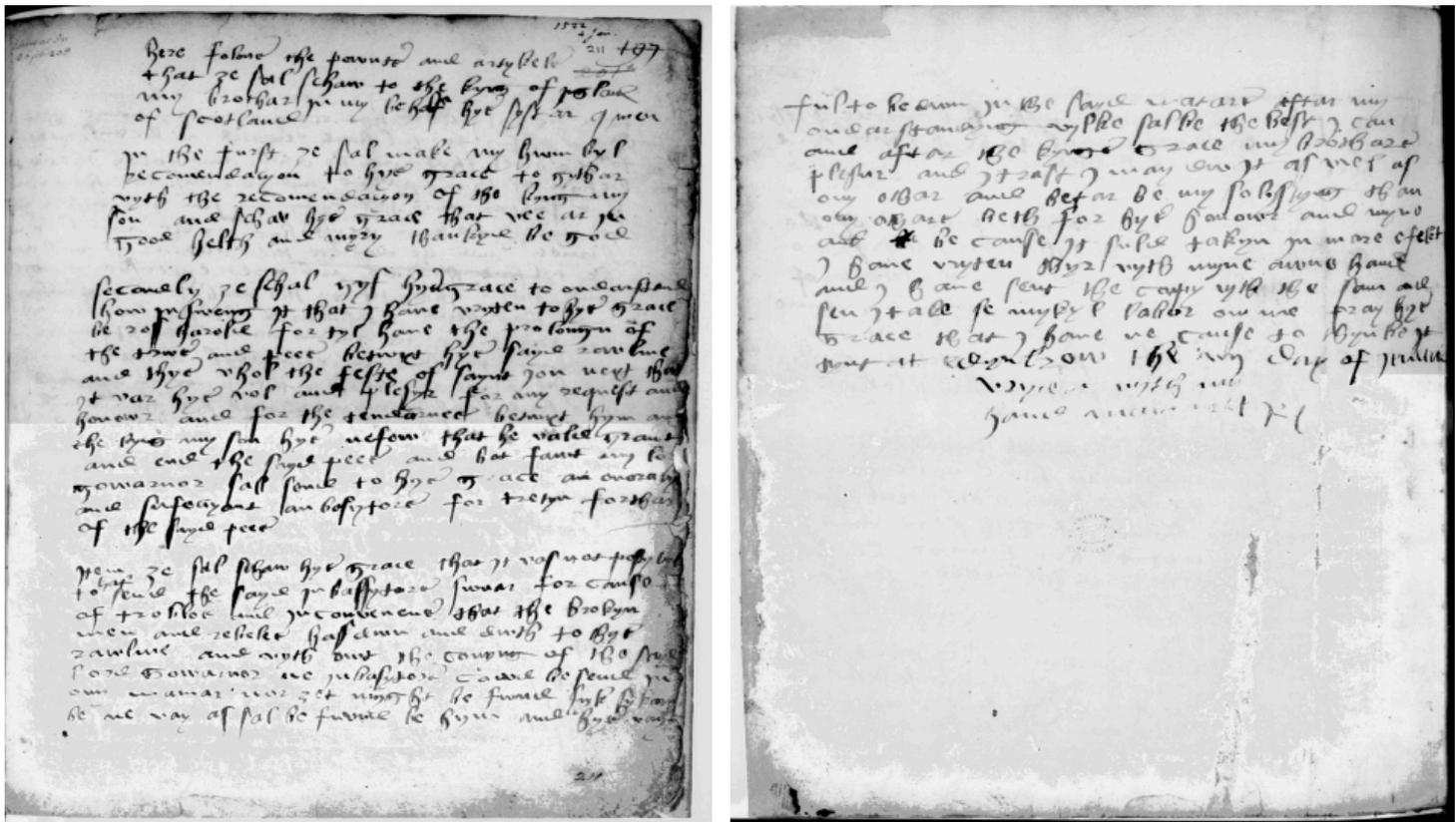


Figure 3.2: Holograph memorial from Margaret to Henry VIII, 4 January 1522, CCBI fol. 187.

In addition to sending a personal messenger to act as her proxy, to directly represent and perform her requests to Henry VIII, Margaret also chose to send this memorial as a holograph composition. Whilst little has been written on the memorial genre in general, from my observations of memorials present in the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, it would seem that diplomatic instructions or ‘memorials’ were often scribal compositions. However, on this occasion, Margaret chose to write the 6th January 1522 memorial and accompanying letters of credence in her own hand (as she does in the December 1521 letter). She also makes an unusual meta-linguistic comment in the concluding sections of the memorial:

5) be cause It suld (should) be takyn In mare (more) efektt I haue vryten (written) thyr (these) vyth (with) myne awne hand (CCBI fol. 197)

The phrase ‘for mare (more) effektt (effect)’ might have had a number of possible functions. On one hand, ‘for mare (more) effect (effect)’, might refer to the authority of royal holograph documents, acting as an authenticating device to increase the chances of Margaret’s personal servant being granted an audience with Henry VIII and Wolsey. On the other hand, as mentioned in the first text, the holograph status of this manuscript may be seen to have ‘mare (more) effektt (effect)’ in persuading Henry and Wolsey to

be more open-minded towards Margaret's requests for peace, as she had taken the time and effort to compose this memorial and accompanying letters of credence in her own hand.

From step one to step two of this epistolary sequence, it therefore appears that Margaret adapted the format of her correspondence (from a letter to a memorial) to upgrade the pragmatic performance and perlocutionary force of her communication as her initial 9th December 1521 holograph letter had been ineffective. In the rest of this section I will explore some of the linguistic strategies that Margaret employed in her 4th January 1522 holograph memorial in an attempt to try and further persuade Henry VIII to agree to peace with Scotland.

Linguistic strategies of persuasion

Similar strategies of persuasion used in Margaret's 9th December 1521 holograph letter to Henry VIII can also be seen in the 4th January 1522 holograph memorial. For example Margaret also makes emotive pleas to emphasise her personal investment in the Anglo-Scottish peace, as well as staking her name and reputation on reassuring Henry VIII of Albany's commitment to the proposed peace.

'for loff (love) of me and my son': Emotional persuasion

In the 4th January 1522 memorial to Henry VIII, Margaret again seeks to personalise the Anglo-Scottish peace negotiations and emphasise the personal impact peace (or a lack of peace) would have on Margaret and her son James V. For example, Margaret instructed her messenger to tell Henry:

6) Item 3e sal (shall) schaw (show) hys grace that gyff (if) hys mynd be to haue gwd (good) pees (peace) frenchyp (friendship) and concord betwxt (between) thyr (these) tway (two) rawlmes (realmes) for loff (love) of me and my son that he vol (will) gyfe (give) the sayd prolongacyon of trwss (truce) (CCBI fol. 197).

Whilst Margaret makes repeated pleas to Henry VIII that a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace is for the 'viel (wellbeing) of the kyng my son' (CCBI fol. 187) and herself in the 9th December 1521 letter (CCBI fol. 187), Margaret upgrades the emotional intensity of these requests in the 4th January 1522 memorial (CCBI fol. 197). Instead of requesting that Henry VIII agree to peace simply to ensure the safety of herself and her son, or Henry's personal honour, Margaret requests that Henry renew the peace for 'loff (love) of me and my son'. In this phrase, Margaret presents the political negotiations of peace as being inherently linked to the familial connection she and James V share with her brother Henry VIII, and emphasises that Henry should agree to this diplomatic arrangement simply because of the affection and and 'loff' (love) he bore towards Margaret and James V. By framing this request in such a way,

Margaret thus foregrounds that that if Henry VIII did not agree to the Anglo-Scottish peace, that he would show that he did not care for his sister and nephew. Through using this image, and again further personalising the Anglo-Scottish peace negotiations, Margaret sought to emotionally manipulate Henry VIII into agreeing to a renewal of the peace treaty.

‘I am a swryd (assured)’: Margaret’s confidence in Albany’s commitment to peace

As discussed in the previous section, Margaret used the past participle ‘assure’ in her 9th December 1521 holograph letter to Henry VIII to highlight her confidence that the Duke of Albany was trustworthy and committed to maintaining Anglo-Scottish peace. She did so in order to persuade Henry VIII to reciprocate Albany’s diplomatic offers. A similar strategy is also employed in Margaret’s 4th January 1522 holograph memorial to Henry VIII, as can be seen in the following extract:

7) hys grace...can desyr nethyng (nothing) that is not ganstandyng (opposing) to my lord gowarnors consyens (conscience) and hys honowr (honour) bot that he vol (will) dw (do) It In se (so) far as I am a swryd (assured) and takyth (take) on my honowr (honour) and sal (shall) answar to hys grace to the end of thys forsayd (CCBI fol. 197)

In this extract, Margaret requests that the messenger entrusted to perform the contents of her memorial to Henry VIII, tell Henry that she was confident that he and Albany’s minds and political desires were aligned and not ‘ganstandyng’ (opposing). Margaret then goes on to further reinforce her own trust in Albany’s commitment to peace, even going so far as to stake her own name and reputation on his actions, through the phrase ‘takyth (taketh) on my honowr (honour) and sal (shall) answar to hys grace (Henry VIII) to the end of thys forsayd (forsaid)’. Here, Margaret essentially says that she will be held responsible for Albany’s actions if he failed to deliver on his commitment to the peace. This phrase, in collocation with the past participle ‘a swryd’ (assured), is used as a token of epistolary sincerity, to convince Henry VIII that Margaret sincerely believes that Albany is reliable and trustworthy.³³ Though use of the past participle ‘assured’ shows some stylistic similarity between Margaret’s 9th December 1521 holograph letter to Henry VIII (CCBI fol. 187) and the 4th January 1522 holograph memorial (CCBI fol. 197), Margaret amplifies the persuasive elements employed in the latter text to more emphatically persuade Henry VIII to agree to Anglo-Scottish peace. She thus implies that if Henry VIII has trust in her, he should thus trust Albany and agree to their requests to confirm peace between England and Scotland.

³³ For further discussion of performances of epistolary sincerity see Williams 2012.

‘the matars that 3e com for ar plesant and agreabyll to the kyngs grace my brothar’: Persuading Henry VIII to listen to Margaret’s January 1522 memorial

Whilst it is important to consider how the linguistic composition of a letter may have influenced a recipient to agree to its directive function – such as persuading Henry VIII to agree to a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty – this was not the first stage of the communication process. First, one had to ensure that the recipient would accept the chosen letter or memorial. Despite their sibling connection and the fact that Margaret took the time to personally and painstakingly compose the 4th January 1522 memorial in her own hand, as well as ensure its safe delivery with her own (unnamed) personal messenger, these steps did not guarantee that Henry would agree to listen to Margaret’s messenger and memorial. As Henry VIII did not respond to her 9th December 1521 letter, Margaret clearly anticipated that this may happen again. Margaret thus provided explicit instructions in the concluding section of her 4th January 1522 memorial detailing how her messenger might gain an audience with Henry VIII. She wrote:

8) Item 3e and the kyngs grace my brothar vol (will) not gyff (give) awdyens (audience) and credens to the berar 3e sal (shall) come be foor (before) hys grace and present hys grace my sayd vrytengs (writings) and say to hys grace that 3e hafe (have) to schaw (show) hym on my be halfe (behalf) syk (such) matars as I trast (trust) he vol (will) be contenyd of and to hys honowr (honour) besekyng (beseeching) hys to asyng (assign) a tyme to you that 3e May schaw (show) the sam (same) and gyfe (if) hys grace plesys I desyr my lord cardynal to be present to here (hear) my reasonabyll desyrs

Item and 3e may not get presens of the kyngs grace my brothar 3e sal (shall) pass to my lord cardynal (cardinal) and apon the letars (letters) of credens send to hym pray hym on my name to caus you to haue awdens (audience) ^&^ that the matars that 3e com for ar plesant and agreyabyll (agreeable) to the kyngs grace my brothar and hym (CCBI fol. 197)

In these instructions, Margaret notes that if Henry will not give audience and credence to her messenger, that they should then pass to Henry VIII’s chief political advisor, Thomas Wolsey to request permission to speak with Henry VIII directly. In an attempt to persuade Henry and Wolsey to listen to the contents of her memorial, Margaret bid her messenger to advise them that ‘the matars that 3e com for ar plesant and areyabyll (agreeable) to the kyngs grace my brothar and hym [Wolsey]’ and that she was making only ‘reasonabyll desyres’ and requests. Through using meta-linguistic comments to describe

her requests as ‘reasonaby’ (reasonable), ‘plesant’ (pleasant), and ‘agreyaby’ (agreeable), Margaret sought to convince Henry and Wolsey that her requests for an extension of the Anglo-Scottish peace were fair and would not cause them any offence. This was used by Margaret as a device to try and ensure that her messenger secured an audience with Henry VIII and Wolsey, an essential first step in seeking to achieve the communicative function of the 4th January 1522 memorial.

‘I sal dw (do) my delygens (diligence) and labor starkly (determinedly, emphatically) at my lord gowarnors hand’: Margaret as ‘labor[er]’ and negotiator of peace

One of the most significant changes between Margaret’s 9th December 1521 holograph letter to Henry VIII and the 4th January 1522 holograph memorial, is the way in which Margaret described herself as active mediator of the Anglo-Scottish peace negotiations. In her 9th December 1521 letter to Henry, Margaret emphasised that she was eager to personally perform the role of peace-maker and ‘labor (labour) a gwd (good) and loweng (loving) vay (way) be twxt (between) you’ [Henry VIII and Albany] (CCBI fol. 187). As mentioned in Chapter Two, the keyword ‘labour’ was frequently used by Margaret when discussing the topic of diplomatic mediation in her written correspondence.

In the 4th January 1522 memorial this presentation is intensified. Margaret not only describes herself as being an agent who is capable of orchestrating a peace, but insists that she is the *best* and most *effective* mediator for the diplomatic task in hand. Throughout the memorial, Margaret made three overt references to her status as mediator, including the superlative example in (9) below:

9) I sal (shall) dw (do) my delygens (diligence) ꝛ and labor starkly (determinedly, emphatically) at my lord gowarnors hand In syk (such) kynd that the Inbasytors (ambassadors) that sal (shall) gange (gang; go away, depart) sal (shall) haue ne (no) mare (more) to dw (do) bot (but) tyl (to) ratyfy (ratify) and solem (solemn; to honour with appropriate rites and ceremonies) the trws (truce) and pees (peace) that salbe (shall be) takyn In syk (such) manar ꝛ as hys grace vol (will) dewys (devise) desyrenge ne (no) thyng that may redand (redound; of disadvantage) to my lord gowarnors dyshonor (CCBI fol. 197)

In a similar manner to the 9th December 1521 letter, Margaret notes that the proposed Anglo-Scottish ‘pees (peace) salbe (shall be) takyn In syk (such) manar (manner) ꝛ as hys grace vol (will) dewys (devise)’. This extract builds up Henry VIII’s status in the negotiations to imply that he is the only agent with power and authority, and who is able to organise the conditions of the peace in accordance with his own personal desires. From this, Henry VIII is intended to infer that it will be easy to accede to Margaret’s requests for a

renewal of Anglo-Scottish peace and that this will constitute no threat to his free will or authority. Such a device is used by Margaret to further increase the chances that Henry VIII will agree to her requests and confirm peace with Scotland.

However, by far the most important aspect of this extract is how Margaret chose to present herself as a mediator and facilitator of the Anglo-Scottish peace. In this extract, Margaret claims that she will ‘labor’ (labour) for peace so ‘starkly’ (determinedly, emphatically) that any official English ambassadors sent to Scotland to negotiate the treaty will have ‘ne (no) mare (more) to dw (do) bot (but) tyl (to) ratyfy (ratify) and solem (solemn; honour with appropriate rites and ceremonies) the trws (truce) and pees (peace)’. Through this image, Margaret foregrounds that she will do all the work in organising the specific conditions of a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty. Margaret thus shows that Henry VIII’s official ambassadors would only need to formally sign the treaty in person, an act of far less imposition than having to painstakingly negotiate each element of the treaty. In this extract Margaret thus presents herself as being an unparalleled diplomatic negotiator: the most effective, dedicated and persuasive mediator capable of orchestrating the Anglo-Scottish peace.

However, presenting herself in such a light would probably have had little direct effect on Henry VIII’s ultimate decision of whether to confirm or reject the Anglo-Scottish peace, as he would have been most interested in the specific details of the treaty and the political benefits he would receive from any arrangements, rather than the specific agent who orchestrated the peace. Why then does Margaret place so much emphasis in the 4th January 1522 memorial on being regarded as the most effective diplomatic mediator in the Anglo-Scottish peace negotiations? The answer to this question seems to be that Margaret’s desire to perform this peace negotiation was primarily for her own personal benefit and need, rather than for the benefit of England and Scotland.

As mentioned in the introduction, after the death of her husband James IV at Flodden in September 1513, Margaret regularly complained that she was impoverished and did not receive the full rents from her dower lands. This, and the lack of support she received from Henry in these matters, induced Margaret to write to the King of France and request that Albany return to Scotland. By agreeing to write to Henry VIII to request a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace on behalf of Albany, Margaret sought to gain Albany’s favour and financial support. In the 4th January 1522 holograph memorial, Margaret makes explicit reference to such actions, noting that Albany:

10) for hys part syklyke (suchlike) gyfes (gives) me mvnne (money) of
hys coffars (coffers; chest in which valuables are kept) seand (seeing)

that I vas (was) troblyd be (by) my lord of angus and hys fryndys
(friends) and not answard of my lyfeng (living) (CCBI fol. 197)

It would therefore seem that Margaret took great efforts to present herself as being such an effective diplomatic negotiator in the January 1522 memorial not simply to persuade Henry to agree to the peace, but to encourage him to organise the peace via her own personal mediation. Through doing so, Margaret could prove that she was of political and diplomatic value to both Henry VIII and the Duke of Albany. Such a move would have increased the chances that Margaret would have receive political and financial support from England and Scotland, as she would have been regarded as a valuable asset in ensuring smooth communication and diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Preliminary conclusions

The 4th January 1522 memorial (CCBI fol. 197) discussed above thus marks the second step in Margaret Tudor's epistolary exchange with Henry VIII. This stage sees Margaret modify her previous communicative approach in an attempt to try and engage a more positive response from Henry VIII to her requests for a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty. To some extent, we can note that Margaret recycled some of the linguistic persuasive strategies employed in her first 9th December 1521 holograph letter (CCBI fol. 187) in an attempt to again persuade Henry VIII to agree to peace: drawing upon familial obligation, using emotive pleas to emphasise the effect peace (or war) would personally have on Margaret and her son James V, as well as assuring Henry VIII that the Duke of Albany was committed to peace and whose actions could therefore be trusted.

However this analysis also shows that when her first 9th December 1521 holograph letter to Henry VIII was not successful in achieving its epistolary function, or even receiving a reply from Henry VIII, Margaret decided to use a different form and genre of communication in the second stage of her epistolary pursuit. By sending one of her personal messengers to the English court in January 1522 with a holograph memorial containing detailed instructions of how he could gain an audience with Henry VIII or his advisor Thomas Wolsey, and labelling the contents of the memorial as being 'reasonabyl' (reasonable) and 'agreyabyl' (agreeable), Margaret went to some lengths to try and increase the chances that Henry VIII would at least pay some attention to her diplomatic requests. Then, by using a genre that utilised verbal delivery and had a greater perlocutionary force than a simple letter, as well as employing a messenger would could add additional persuasive phrasing and paralinguistic gestures to the contents of the memorial, Margaret sought to make her second appeal for Anglo-Scottish peace more immediate, engaging and persuasive than her first 9th December

1521 holograph letter. By slightly adapting her previous communicative approach, Margaret again sought to persuade Henry VIII to at the very least pay attention to her epistolary requests, but hopefully also encourage him to agree to a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty.

3.3.3. Step three: 11th February 1522

In early 1522, Henry VIII finally broke his epistolary silence and sent a reply to his sister's repeated requests to renew the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty. On the surface, this might suggest that Margaret's second epistolary appeal involving a holograph memorial delivered in person to Henry VIII at the English court was successful, as it prompted a written response from Henry VIII (unlike the 9th December 1521 holograph letter (CCBI fol. 178)). However, Henry did not agree to the proposed peace and went on to critique Margaret's conduct as being unbecoming for an early modern queen. Whilst Henry's reply no longer survives, a scribal letter composed by Margaret on the 11th February 1522 complains of Henry's 'scharp (sharp) & vnkyndlie (unkindly) writing' and notes that Henry's reply accused Margaret of being deceived by the Duke of Albany's 'ewill (evil) and fals (false) nerracionn (narration) & informacionn (information)' (CCBI fol. 166). Henry also further charged Margaret of being engaged in a romantic affair with Albany, that he thought would cause 'danger & perell (peril)' (CCBI fol. 166) to Margaret's son, James V.

Despite these criticisms, Margaret sent one final letter to Henry VIII on the 11th February 1522, again requesting that Henry agree to a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty. In the final section of this chapter, I will explore how Henry's 'scharp & vnkyndlie (unkindly) writing' informed Margaret's next epistolary moves, including how Margaret attempted to defend her reputation against Henry's accusations, whilst also continuing to pursue her role as diplomatic mediator and secure peace between England and Scotland.

Material features

In contrast to the 9th December 1521 letter and the 4th January 1522 memorial, the letter sent by Margaret Tudor to Henry VIII on the 11th February 1522 is a scribal composition (CCBI fol. 166). This document is written in portrait on an eight-paged bifolium booklet, and concludes with a signature in Margaret's own hand. Figure 3.3, below, shows the first and final leaves of this letter.

In the two previous documents explored in this chapter, we can see that taking the time to compose a letter and memorial in her own hand was probably used by Margaret Tudor as a means of showing her respect and devotion to Henry VIII, as well as materially signalling her dedication to performing the role of diplomatic mediator through her own personal correspondence. Of the sixteen surviving documents sent by Margaret

between 1521 and 1522, only four documents were scribal compositions. One of these scribal documents was a copy of Margaret's January 1522 holograph memorial (CCBVI fol. 208), and on another occasion Margaret used a scribe as she was ill and physically unable to compose a letter in her own hand (CCBVI fol. 270). Of the two surviving scribal letters, one is a letter sent by Margaret to the Lords of Scotland regarding the care of her son, James V (CCBII fol. 268) and the final letter is the 11th February scribal letter to Henry VIII (CCBI fol. 166). Notably, of the seven letters sent by Margaret to Henry VIII in 1521 and 1522, the 11th February 1522 letter written in reply to Henry's 'scharp (sharp) & vnkyndlie (unkindly) writing' (CCBI fol. 166), is the only stand alone scribal composition.³⁴

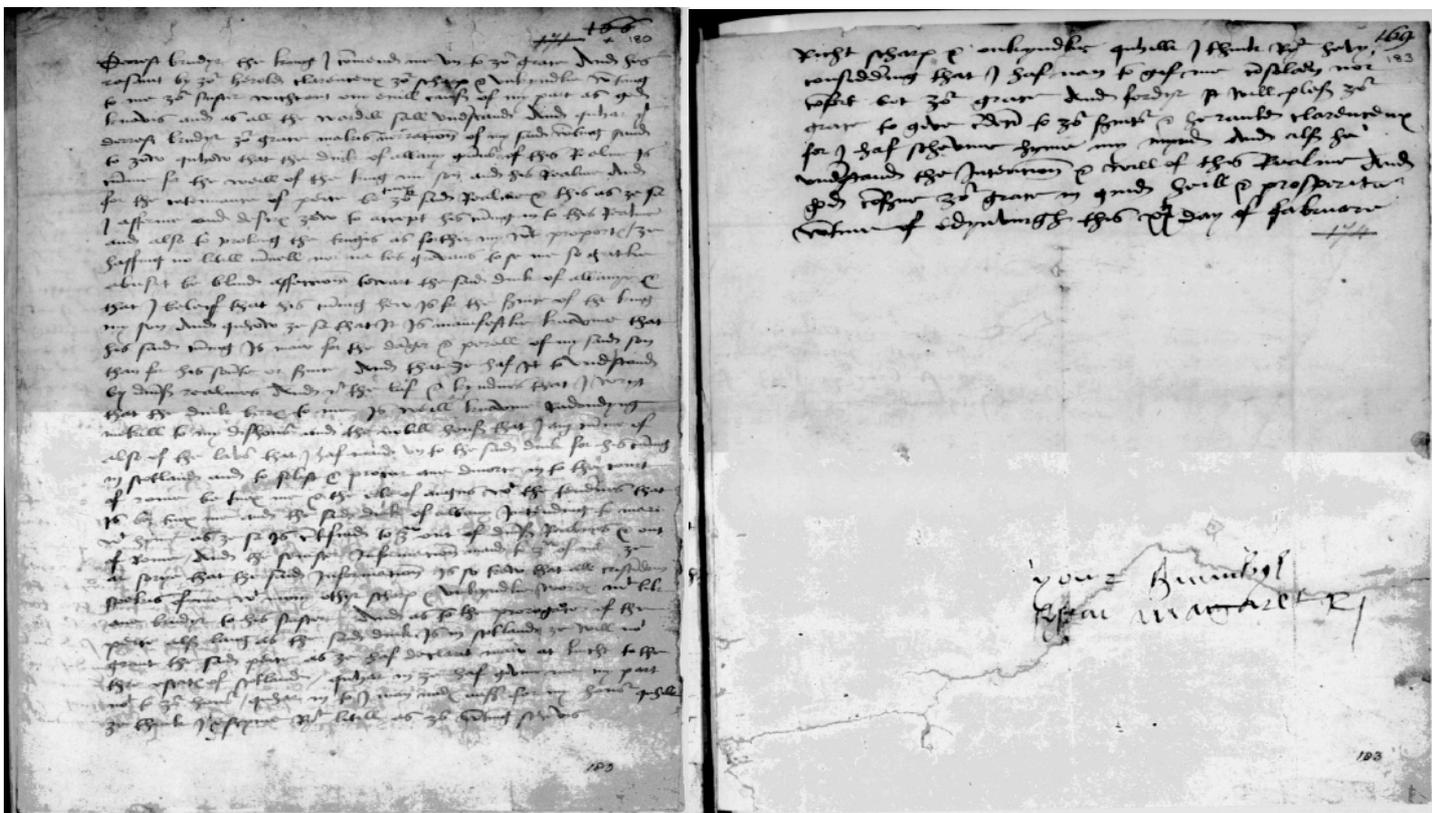


Figure 3.3: Scribal letter from Margaret to Henry VIII, 11th February 1522, CCBI fol. 166

For a writer who explicitly stated that royal holograph correspondence had 'mare efekt' (more effect) (CCBI fol. 197) than scribal correspondence, Margaret's choice to send a scribal letter to Henry VIII on the 11th February 1522 is significant. Williams suggests that the use of a scribe could 'communicat(e) emotional distance, formality and/or (a desire for) legalistic authority' (2013: 220). Through sending a scribal letter instead of a holograph composition on this occasion, Margaret materially signalled her disapproval of Henry VIII, and sought to 'communicat(e an) emotional distance' by denying

³⁴ The second scribal document to Henry VIII is the scribal copy of Margaret's January 1522 holograph memorial (CCBVI fol. 208).

him the privilege and intimacy of correspondence written in her own hand. Margaret perhaps also employed the hand of an amanuensis on this occasion to add a sense of greater ‘legalistic authority’ (Williams 2013: 220) to her petitions for peace, a decision which also appears to have affected some linguistic elements of the 11th February 1522 scribal letter and will be discussed further below.

In the final sections of this chapter I will explore how Margaret altered the persuasive strategies she employed in her 9th December 1521 holograph letter and 4th January 1522 holograph memorial in the composition of the 11th February 1522 scribal letter which was written in response to Henry VIII’s negative reception towards her previous mediative appeals.

Linguistic features:

‘It had bene yo^r part derrest brothyr to haf (have) ben my deffendor’: Undermining the authority of Henry VIII

In terms of communicative function, the final letter in this exchange is somewhat more complicated than Margaret’s December 1521 holograph letter and January 1522 memorial. As discussed above, the first two documents in this epistolary exchange were written with the simple directive goal of persuading Henry VIII to agree to a continuation of the Anglo-Scottish peace. Whilst the final section of Margaret’s 11th February 1522 scribal letter is also devoted to achieving this original peace-keeping goal, the first five pages of the letter act as a defence against Henry’s accusations that Margaret was deceived by Albany’s ‘ewill (evil) and fals (false) nerracionn (narration) & informacionn (information)’ and engaged in a romantic affair with the governor. In this defence, Margaret challenges Henry’s accusations of her misconduct, and in turn questions the sincerity and authority of Henry VIII’s own judgement, despite him being the King of England.

One of the ways in which this letter seeks to undermine Henry VIII’s accusations is through the verb ‘allege’. This verb occurs eight times in Margaret Tudor’s wider scribal correspondence, though four of these instances occur in the 11th February 1522 scribal document alone (CCBI fol. 166). In this letter, ‘allege’ conforms most closely to the OED sense 4: ‘*trans.* To claim (something unproven) as true; to assert or affirm without proof, or pending proof; to make an allegation about someone or something.’ (OED allege, v.1, in use from a1400). The below extract critiques Henry VIII for believing false rumours about Margaret’s activities with Albany:

11) It had bene 3o^r part derrest brothyr to haf (have) ben (been) my deffendor in all ewill (evil) raportes (reports) and no^t to haf (have) **allegi^t** (alleged) wranwislie (undeservedly, without justification) dishono^r to me quhilk (which) sall (shall) preve (prove) of the self fals &

contrair (the contrary) And quhar (where) that 3or grace **allegis** (alleges) plainlye in 3or writing that my mynd is to mary the duk of albanye and desyres diuorce to that Intent that was neuer my Intent nor in his as It wilbe weill (well) knaine (known) (CCBI fol. 166)

In this extract, Margaret makes use of variants of the verb 'allege' on two occasions, in the accusations that Henry VIII 'allegit' (alleged) wranwislie (undeservedly, without justification) dishonor' to Margaret and that he 'allegis (alleges) plainlye in 3or writing that my mynd is to mary the duk of albanye and desyres diuorce'. In these statements, Margaret frames Henry VIII's accusations as being hollow, false, and made 'without proof'. Margaret also makes use of the term 'wranwislie' in collocation with the term 'allegit'. The Dictionary of Scots Language notes that 'wranwislie' can be defined as 'In a manner contrary to right, justice, fairness or the (moral) law. b. With reference to the action of accusing, reporting, etc.: Falsely.', and was also used in legal contexts: 'In a manner contrary to the law of Scotland; against justice, good order or fairness of treatment.' (DSL 'wrangwisly, adv.'). By using the term 'allegit' in collocation with the term 'wranwislie', Margaret not only seeks to question the authenticity of Henry VIII's accusations, but also appears to be drawing upon the legal connotations of these terms to imply that Henry's allegations were against legal justice.

Analysis of the corpus of Margaret Tudor's correspondence shows that the terms 'allegit', 'allegis', and 'wranwislie' do not occur at any point in Margaret's holograph writing, and were thus probably not part of Margaret Tudor's holograph idiolect. Instead these terms were probably features of the linguistic repertoire of a second party, most likely the amanuensis who produced the 11th February 1522 scribal letter (CCBI fol. 166). This would suggest that this 11th February 1522 scribal letter was produced in collaboration with a scribe who had training in the use of some legalistic terminology and who could therefore add 'formality and/or (a desire for) legalistic authority' (Williams 2013: 220) to this document. Margaret thus appears to have employed the services of a scribe in the composition of the 11th February 1522 letter to Henry VIII to both materially signal her disapproval to Henry, but also linguistically to try and challenge the authority of the claims he made against Margaret in his 'scharp (sharp) & vnkyndlie (unkindly) writing'.

'I had laboryt (laboured)...at your hand': Framing for optimal persuasive effect

In the holograph memorial sent to Henry VIII on the 4th January 1521, Margaret noted that she would organise a peace treaty in accordance with Henry VIII's personal wishes as he 'vol (will) dewys (devise)'. In this document, Margaret sought to present Henry in a position of superior power in

the peace-making process. However in her 11th February 1522 scribal letter, Margaret alters the framing of her peace-making activities to present Henry as being indebted to her mediating activities. For example, Margaret writes:

12) Also 3or grace micht (might) haf (have) said better^{er} ap^on rason (reason) nor 3e haf (have) w^{ri}tine of me 3or suster (sister) consid^{er}ing that I had laboryt (laboured) that was in me at 3or hand for gwd (good) peice (peace) & concord be tuix (between) 3ow and my sonnⁿ the kyng yo^r nepheu & his realme And solist (solicit) the duik gou^{er}nor of this realme to be sic (such) lik[amage] for his part (CCBI fol. 166)

In this extract, Margaret recounts her activities as diplomatic mediator of peace between England and Scotland, though she notes that she had ‘laboryt’ in ‘3or hand’ (i.e. Henry’s hand). Through this phrase, Margaret presents herself as having performed the role of peace-keeper as a result of Henry VIII’s request and commissions, and thus suggests that Henry VIII was indebted to her. However, in reality, Margaret requested peace under the direction of the Duke of Albany. Through this subtle shift in perspective Margaret sought to present herself as working for Henry VIII’s benefit, a strategy perhaps employed to attempt to convince Henry to agree to the peace as Margaret had acted so selflessly on his behalf.

**‘3e will no^t tak rason (reason) but trowis (trust) ewill and fals nerracionⁿ’:
Henry as an ‘unreasoned’ king**

In her first 9th December 1521 holograph letter, Margaret described her requests and perspective as being of ‘naturarl reson’ (natural reason), subtly implying that if Henry VIII failed to fulfil her requests and align with her perspective that his actions would be regarded as unreasoned and illogical. Whilst Margaret made use of the term ‘reason’ on two occasions in the 9th December 1521 holograph letter to Henry VIII (CCBI fol. 187), Margaret intensifies this argument in the 11th February 1522 scribal letter (CCBI fol. 166) and uses variants of the term ‘reason’ six times. These include:

13) 3e will no^t tak (take) rason (reason) but trowis (trust) ewill and fals nerracion & informacionⁿ

14) Also 3or grace micht (might) haf (have) said better^{er} ap^on (upon) rason (reason)

15) Quhar (where) for derryt brothyr me think of gwd (good) rason (reason) and for 3or awne (own) hono^r 3e suld (should) haf (have) parfitlie (perfectly) kend (known) the treucht (truth) & no^t grondyt (grounded) 3ow ap^on malice to haf (have) maid manifest suche mony (many) wrangis (false, lying; unjust, immoral) & inluryous (abusive, insulting) raportes to my dishono^r

16) I put my trust (trust) in 3o^r grace to haf (have) beⁿn my help & diffendor as 3e suld (should) be of rasonn (reason)

17) of rason (reason) I haf (have) maid 3o^w (you) na (no) caus of displesur nor schall (shall) no^t in my default as god knovis (knows)

18) Also quhar (where) 3o^r grace Is so hevelye (heavily) displesyt (displeased) w^t me for laboring for the bringing of the dwk (duke) of alban^y in scotland derrest brodyr I trastyt (trusted) fermlie of gwd (good) rason (reason) that It suld (should) no^t haf (have) ben displesur to 3ow

In three of these examples, Margaret describes her own conduct as being of 'rason' (reason) and 'gwd rason' (good reason) (examples 14, 16, and 17). However, in the other three examples, Margaret explicitly states that Henry VIII has chosen to not 'tak rason' (take reason) (examples 12, 13, and 15). Margaret thus uses this term to establish an overt contrast between herself and Henry VIII, framing herself as the more reasoned, logical, and wise agent in contrast to presenting Henry VIII as being irrational and illogical.

Whilst in the 9th December 1521 holograph letter (CCBI fol. 187) Margaret noted that she thought that it was of 'naturarl reson' (natural reason) that Henry VIII should agree to her perspective, and that the rumours surrounding her conduct were of 'no reson' (no reason), she did not use this term to explicitly highlight that Henry VIII was acting in an illogical manner. Instead, she used the term to subtly imply that her perspective desiring an Anglo-Scottish peace was the more sensible and intuitive option, and thus one that Henry VIII should agree to. However, we can see that Margaret changes her epistolary strategy in the 11th February 1522 scribal letter to directly critique Henry VIII, framing him as unable to act according to 'rason' (reason) and do his brotherly duty to defend Margaret's honour and name. Such a direct accusation would have constituted a significant threat to Henry VIII's face and monarchical authority.

This change in style may be a result of the scribal format of the 11th February 1522 letter to Henry VIII, being a genre with more formal and authoritative connotations, and which established some epistolary distance between Margaret and Henry VIII. Such a change in format would have potentially allowed Margaret to launch a more direct and intensified attack on Henry VIII's conduct. Overall, analysis of use of this key term in Margaret's 9th December 1521 holograph letter to Henry VIII in comparison to the 11th February 1522 scribal letter highlights a noticeable change in the tone and authority of Margaret's epistolary style in the latter scribal document.

‘And for my part god & the wardill (world) will know (know) the verite of the vntrew raport (report) that is maid of me’: Worldwide ramifications of Henry’s conduct

Finally, one of the most face-threatening strategies adopted by Margaret in the 11th February 1522 scribal letter to coerce Henry VIII into agreeing to Anglo-Scottish peace is the threat that the truth of Margaret’s honest and ‘reasonable’ conduct and Henry’s malice towards his sister will be exposed to the world. In a time in which reputation and honour were an individual’s most prized traits, such an action could have had considerable consequences for Henry’s name and reputation abroad. Margaret employs this strategy on a number of occasions in the 11th February 1522 scribal letter, for example, in the phrase ‘And for my part god & the wardill (world) will know (know) the verite (verity; truth) of the vntrew (untrue) raport (report) that is maid (made) of me’. In this phrase, Margaret warns Henry VIII that divine authority and the wider world will eventually learn of the false accusations that he had chosen to believe surrounding Margaret’s reported conduct with Albany.

Use of the threat of the international knowledge of Margaret’s mistreatment by Henry VIII as a coercive strategy – perhaps almost to even blackmail Henry VIII into agreeing to an Anglo-Scottish peace – can be seen in the following extract:

19) I beseche (beseech) ʒou as I ʒoʀ hummble (humble) sustir (sister) to luk (look) weill (well) and discretlie apou thir (these) materes...and refus no^t rasonabill (reasonable) wais for ʒe doand (do) the contraty (contrary) It welbe (will be) tho^t (thought) amang (among) all cristin (christian) princes supos (suppose) ʒe wryt (write) neuer sa (so) weill (well) that ʒe dissir (desire) the distrucion of my son and his realme and thar (there) apou makys (makes) ane (one) wrangwis (unjust, unlawful) querell (quarrel)

In this extract, Margaret warns that if Henry refused Albany’s ‘rasonabill’ (reasonable) requests for peace that ‘all cristin princes’ (all Christian princes) will think that Henry desired the ‘distrucion’ (destruction) of his nephew, James V. Such a rumour and accusations of intended regicide, whilst somewhat hyperbolic, could potentially have had a devastating effect on Henry VIII’s reputation abroad. Margaret thus appears to employ this somewhat dramatised image as a strategy to try and intimidate Henry VIII to agree to a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace, as failure to do so could have significant ramifications on Henry’s reputation and his ability to conduct future diplomatic, economic and political negotiations with foreign ‘cristin’ (Christian) princes.

Preliminary Conclusions

Whilst all three documents in this epistolary exchange to some extent share the same communicative function – written to persuade Henry VIII to agree to a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace – Margaret’s final 11th February 1522 scribal letter shows a significant shift in her epistolary style and approach. Instead of humbly beseeching Henry VIII to agree to her requests, and making emotive appeals for his help, Margaret’s final scribal letter applies more direct and face-threatening linguistic strategies in a final attempt to manipulate Henry VIII to agree to a continuation of peace between England and Scotland.

One of the most striking features of this final text is how Margaret switches from a holograph to a scribal letter to add more authority and formality to her epistolary voice, in an attempt to not only achieve the original directive goal of her letter, but to also chastise Henry VIII. Whilst I have only explored a few features of Margaret’s 11th February 1522 scribal letter in this initial analysis, it would seem that at times Margaret draws upon the rhetorical skills of the amanuensis to add linguistic impact and authority to her attack of Henry’s conduct. Furthermore, analysis of the material form of the letter shows that Margaret used a scribal hand strategically; visually signalling her disapproval to Henry by denying him the privilege of an intimate and affectionate letter written in her own hand.

3.4. Conclusion

On one hand, this analysis highlights some of the linguistic strategies Margaret Tudor employed in her personal correspondence to try and persuade Henry VIII to agree to a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty. These include drawing on the familial connections Margaret shared with Henry VIII, and emphasising the effect a lapse in Anglo-Scottish peace would personally have on Margaret and her son James V, as well as seeking to frame her requests in such a way as to be most appealing to Henry VIII.

However, this chapter also illustrates that adopting a multi-layered analytical approach in the analysis of this December 1521 to February 1522 communicative episode – paying attention to the linguistic and material features of Margaret’s correspondence, as well as the genre of communication used – reveals new aspects of Margaret Tudor’s diplomatic epistolary practices that would not be revealed by linguistic analysis alone. In particular, analysis of the specific genre of communication used shows that when her initial 9th December 1521 holograph letter to Henry VIII was not successful in eliciting a response, let alone persuading Henry to agree to a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty, Margaret adapted her communicative technique to employ the more interactive and dynamic memorial genre. This not only shows that Margaret had a detailed knowledge of the various performative

impacts and functions of different communicative forms, but also shows that Margaret was a creative and resourceful agent who would utilise different epistolary tools to try and successfully achieve the directive aim of her diplomatic correspondence.

Finally, this chapter highlights some of the reasons for which a medieval or early modern queen might seek to perform the role of diplomatic mediator through their personal correspondence. In comparison to Chapter Two in which Margaret was staunchly opposed to the Duke of Albany and had to be forced to sign mediative correspondence sent in her name to Dacre and Henry VIII, Chapter Three sees Margaret acting in conjunction with Albany and willingly performing the role of peace-keeper with England in accordance with his request. It would appear that Margaret did so in return for Albany's political and financial support. This thus suggests that Margaret did not go to great lengths to persuade Henry VIII to agree to peace in her mediative correspondence sent between December 1521 and February 1522 simply for the 'greater good' and for the sake of maintaining good relations between her brother and her son, but also as a means of ensuring her own personal success and security.

**Chapter Four - ‘for goddes sake kepe my writing secrete for it is my
destruction’: Investigating Epistolary Secrecy in Margaret Tudor’s Letters
September - October 1523**

4.1. Chapter outline

In Chapter Three, I focussed on a series of documents sent to Henry VIII between December 1521 and February 1522 in which Margaret Tudor sought to actively perform the role of diplomatic mediator, working on behalf of the governor of Scotland, John Stewart, Duke of Albany, to persuade her brother, Henry VIII, King of England, to agree to a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty. This chapter explored how Margaret utilised a variety of linguistic and material strategies, and different communicative genres in an earnest pursuit of peace between the two realms. However, less than two years later, a collection of letters sent by Margaret to Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, in Autumn/Winter 1523, represent a sharp contrast with Margaret’s earlier diplomatic endeavours as explored in Chapter Three.

Chapter Four therefore concentrates on a sequence of letters sent by Margaret Tudor to Thomas Howard between September and October 1523. In these letters Margaret presents two, somewhat contrasting, epistolary personas: one that appeared willing to continue to perform the role of diplomatic mediator and to organise a peace between England, Scotland and France, and a second in which Margaret acted as an informer (perhaps even a spy), secretly reporting Scottish military information to English agents, as well as desperately seeking permission to flee Scotland and seek refuge at the English court. But why did Margaret present two different epistolary personas in letters to the same recipient? Whilst the calendar records make little distinction between these documents – they were all sent to the same recipient, at the same period in time – analysis of the specific agents and routes of correspondence used in this episode reveals that Margaret despatched letters to Thomas Howard using two separate channels of communication. One channel – the ‘overt’ route – was used to convey letters to Howard which requested peace with England and France, and were sent with the knowledge and approval of the Scottish government. The second channel – the ‘covert’ route – sees the despatch of secret correspondence and verbal messages which offered reports on Scottish military preparations, and which were sent without the knowledge of the Lords of Scotland.

Over the course of this chapter, I will examine how this strategy allowed Margaret Tudor to use the pretence of willing mediator to ensure her own personal protection in the event that her requests to come to England were denied, and she was forced to stay in Scotland. I also explore the different stages and individual agents involved in Margaret’s intricate communication network with Howard. Finally, this episode will provide an extraordinary

insight into the writing and mediation practices of early modern queens – showing that beyond using invisible ink, sending verbal messages, and hiding letters in covert places – queens such as Margaret Tudor, could operate multiple channels of communication to maintain their epistolary privacy, and also protect themselves in high-risk political negotiations.

4.2. Historical and critical context

4.2.1. Anglo-Scottish relations in 1523

In 1523, England and Scotland were at a political stalemate; Scotland would agree to peace with England only if France were included in the treaty, whereas England would only agree to peace if the Duke of Albany was removed from the role of governing regent of Scotland, an act many Scottish lords staunchly refused. In October 1522, Albany left Scotland and returned to his home land of France for the second time during his regency, though with the promise that he would return to Scotland by 15th August 1523. In the meantime, Henry VIII had signed an alliance with the Papal States and the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, promising to protect them in the event that war broke out with Francis I, King of France. When Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, led a collection of English soldiers to Calais to launch an attack on France, Thomas Howard led a small army of English troops to the Anglo-Scottish border in the event of Scottish retaliation.

During this period, Margaret continued to sit on the margins of the Scottish government without any significant political influence, and continued to complain of financial destitution (as she did not receive regular income from the rents of her dowry lands - also known as the conjunct fee). With Albany out of the country and not likely to return to Scotland by the agreed deadline of 15th August 1523, Margaret saw an opportunity to regain the power and resources that she once had as governing regent of Scotland between 1513 and 1514. On 24th August 1523, Margaret wrote to Thomas Howard with a scheme to persuade the Scottish lords to abandon Albany, and instead allow her eleven year old son, James V, to rule without an elected regent (CCBII fol. 35). Such a move would have granted Margaret increased power and status, as well as greater influence to threaten the Scottish lords and tenants who refused to pay her conjunct fee. However, despite her best efforts, Margaret's requests were rejected and the Scottish lords instead granted Albany an additional month to return to Scotland, requesting his presence by the end of September 1523.

Upon his arrival in Scotland on the 20th September 1523, Albany proceeded to assemble an army to counter the English forces led by Howard. Over the next two months a series of small scale sieges took place on the Anglo-Scottish borders, and Howard, Dacre and the English army successfully destroyed the town of Jedburgh (Emond 1988: 353 and 365). On the 27th October 1523,

Albany's army moved forward to attack the eastern Anglo-Scottish border, focussing on the town of Wark (Emond 1988: 374). However, 'when news of Surrey's arrival reached him, he retreated to the Scottish side of the River Tweed and on 4 November disbanded the army altogether' (Emond 1988: 374), and no further military action was taken on either side.

4.2.2. Communicative agents in the Margaret Tudor - Thomas Howard correspondence network

In September and October 1523, Margaret sent ten letters and memorials directly to Thomas Howard as well as forwarding messages to Howard through letters to one of her personal servants, Patrick Sinclair. Whilst some of these letters made efforts to forge a renewal of peace between England and Scotland, others provided secret intelligence on Scotland's preparations for war, information that would prove useful in helping Howard to counter Albany's military movements. In addition to revealing two, opposing, epistolary personas of Margaret Tudor, this communicative episode provides an insight into how letters were conveyed between Margaret and Howard in Autumn/Winter 1523.

Research into the delivery and transmission of early modern correspondence has revealed that the identity of the messenger entrusted to deliver correspondence could be integral to how a letter was read and understood by a recipient.³⁵ On these lines, Stewart goes as far to suggest that 'the messenger [was]...part of the letter' and that 'who the messenger was mattered' (2008: 196). A messenger may, for example, read a letter aloud, or deliver an additional verbal message (often covert) beyond the information contained in the physical letter (Stewart 2008: 196). The identity of a messenger was also significant, and Wiggins notes that this was a role that could be 'occupied by a wide range of individuals...from across the social spectrum' (Wiggins 2016: 144). In Margaret's correspondence alone, we can thus see a variety of individuals charged with delivering her correspondence – ranging from formal royal messengers, to her priest, a knight, and the keeper of her wardrobe (as is discussed in more detail below). A hierarchy of bearers could also exist in a sender's retinue, with some messengers being regarded as more trustworthy than others. Mair, in her study of Lady Anne Bacon's letters, notes that on occasion Anne 'significantly altered' the contents of her letters if they were being carried by a messenger that she did not trust (Mair 2009: 77). In the case of Margaret Tudor, the following chapter highlights that Margaret had key messengers – most notably Patrick Sinclair – that she trusted with such confidence that she enlisted them to convey potentially treasonous information to Thomas Howard in autumn 1523.

³⁵ For further discussion of the identity of early modern messengers, and the roles they could play in the delivery of correspondence see Akkerman 2018, Daybell 2012, Mair 2009, Stewart 2008, and Wiggins 2016.

From an analysis of the meta-linguistic comments and names referenced in Margaret's letters, it would seem that multiple agents and stages were involved in the transmission and delivery of Margaret and Thomas Howard's correspondence in autumn 1523. On Howard's side of the exchange, it would appear that he used a number of unnamed spies to deliver some of his letters to Margaret and have her letters brought to him (Howard to Wolsey, 22 September 1523, CCBI fol. 179), as well as an individual named messenger, James Rodgerforth (Margaret to Howard, 23 November 1523, CCBI fol. 194).

Margaret employed a diverse collection of individuals as her personal messengers (many of whom seem to have had additional occupations beyond the role of bearer), as well as a number of additional external agents to deliver her letters to Howard. These included: a gentleman names James Dogg (also known as 'Jammy Dogg'), an individual listed as the keeper of Margaret's wardrobe in accounts of her household from 1511 (Beer 2014: 186), Patrick Sinclair, who was described as both a messenger and master of hunting in James V's account books (Thomas 1997: 331), and John Cantley, recorded to be a 'priest' in a letter from Howard to Wolsey in November 1523 (Howard to Wolsey, 13 November 1523, SP 49/2 fol. 56). In addition, Margaret also sent letters to Surrey via Isabella Hoppringle, Prioress of Coldstream, a Scots religious woman who often acted as a spy on behalf of the English court (Margaret to Surrey, 24 November 1523, SP 49/2 fol. 62).

Simply from this list of names, it is clear that Margaret was operating an intricate network of communication with Howard, a network far more complex than simply using a single messenger to convey letters between the two correspondents. In the rest of this chapter, I will focus on the characters of James Dogg, Patrick Sinclair, and the Prioress of Coldstream, and explore how these individuals were involved in the transmission of Margaret Tudor's 'overt' and 'covert' correspondence with the English nobleman, Thomas Howard.

4.2.3. 'Secret' letters in the early modern period

Issues of secrecy and confidentiality were a prime concern for many writers in the medieval and early modern periods, especially those writing about delicate political or diplomatic matters. A variety of methods could be drawn upon by an early modern writer to try to protect the contents of their epistolary communication. Writers could focus on the material features of their letters: one might employ a cipher, use invisible ink made from lemon or orange juice that could be revealed only when a letter was exposed to water or heat, or even use complex sealing mechanisms to ensure that a letter was not easily tampered with. On the other hand, secret letters might be conveyed by covert means, for example being 'sewn into collars, sleeves or other clothing; they were hidden in trunks, pots, barrels and staffs' (Daybell

2010: 56), or even conveyed as a verbal message by a trusted servant to ensure that no physical evidence of communication could be discovered.

Margaret Tudor's granddaughter Mary, Queen of Scots, was particularly notorious for sending secret letters during her incarceration with George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, and his wife, Bess of Hardwick. Durant notes that:

[Mary's] letters and answers in secret went and came with surprising freedom. Sometimes her letters were written completely in code and others had the vital and revealing names substituted by seemingly innocent alternatives. At Sheffield, where Mary was taken in December, the Earl's servants found secret letters hidden under stones and once a message was found inside the hollow staff of a visitor; there was no end to the ingenuity employed by Mary and her friends and it required all the wits the Earl possessed and the absolute loyalty of his servants to forestall Mary in her plottings. (Durant 2008: 75)

Mary, Queen of Scots, clearly employed a variety of creative methods in an attempt to conceal her treasonable correspondence: regularly using cipher, omitting incriminating names, and resorting to somewhat extraordinary means in an attempt to hide her letters. To date, no scholar has examined the letters of Margaret Tudor for any similar signs of epistolary concealment and secrecy. As far as the surviving documentation suggests, Margaret does not appear to have made use of cipher or invisible ink in her own letters. However, an examination of this communicative episode shows that Margaret did in fact make use of alternative methods of epistolary secrecy, such as conveying verbal messages and simultaneously operating 'covert' and 'overt' channels of correspondence, as will be examined in more detail in the rest of this chapter.

4.3. Case study one: 8th September 1523 (CCBI fol. 170)

Margaret operating dual epistolary identities

On the 8th September 1523, Margaret Tudor sent a holograph letter to Thomas Howard (CCBI fol. 170) (see figure 4.1). In this letter Margaret thanked Howard for the money he had sent to her, and emphasised her confidence that he would support her needs: '3e vyl (will) not fayl me In my [deletion] nede' (CCBI fol. 170). After this opening, Margaret issued the first request of the letter:

1) and as to my part I vol (will) make the best caws (cause) that I can to the plesur of the kyngs grace trostyng (trusting) that hys grace vol (will) be my helpe and swply (supply) and to lecons (licence) me to com In to hys sayd rawlme (realm) consydeyng that I may nothar (neither) do for my son nor my selfe prayeng you my lord as my trast (trust) Is In you that I may be swrly (surely) avartysyd (advertised) vyth (with) th patryk synklar that I make me redy ther afttar for now the tyme may

be best for me and gyf (if) It be not hys gracys pleswr (pleasure) to lycens (licence) me to come In hys sayd rawlme (realm) I vald (would) be avarty[damage] for than (then) I am constraynd to make of my onfryndys (unfriends; enemies) fryndys (friends) (CCBI fol. 170)

In this passage, Margaret requested the help of her brother, Henry VIII, desiring his 'lecons' (licence) to come to England and seek refuge in the English court, as she had done in the autumn of 1515. In the event that she was forced to remain in Scotland, Margaret warned that she would be compelled to 'make of my onfryndys (unfriends; enemies) fryndys (friends)' and make allegiance with her enemies. Whilst Margaret shows herself as being keen to work in conjunction with the Duke of Albany to promote peace with England in her memorial and letters sent to Henry VIII between December 1521 and February 1522 (as explored in Chapter Three), this letter (sent on the 8th September 1523) shows a significant departure from this previous epistolary characterisation. Instead, Margaret shows preference for the English court, desiring to abandon her home in Scotland and live under the care of her brother, Henry VIII.

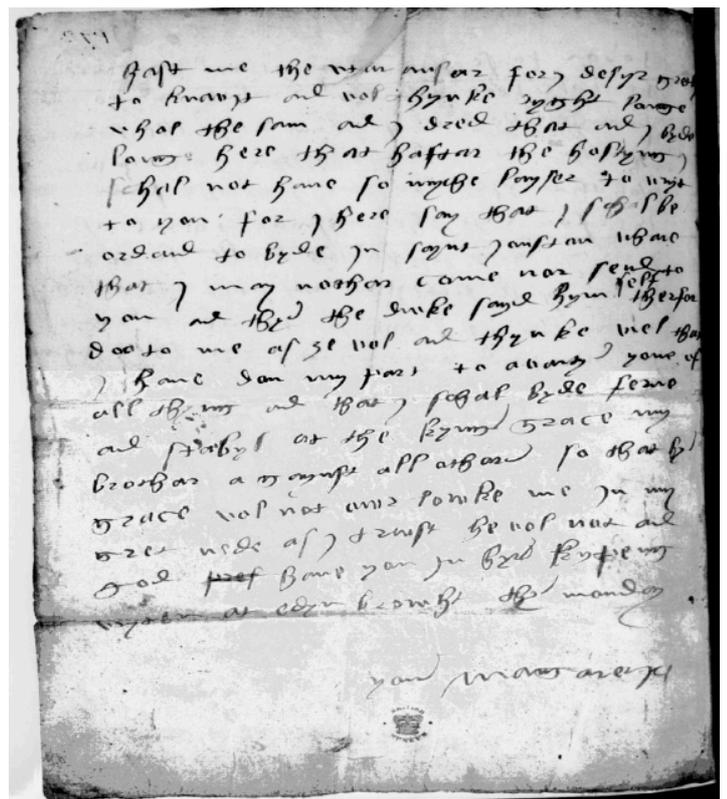
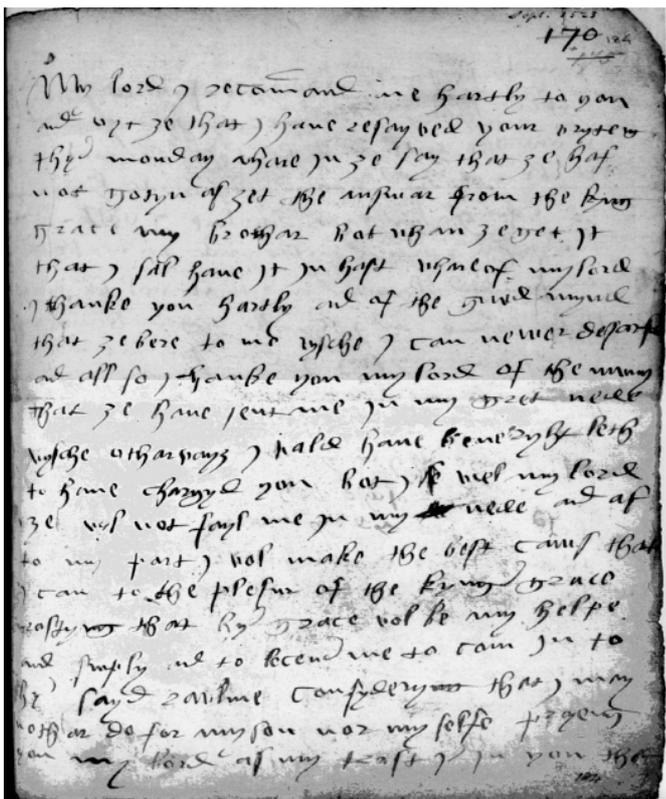


Figure 4.1: Margaret to Thomas Howard, 8 September 1523, CCBI fol. 170

However, later on in the same document, Margaret further complicates this characterisation:

2) I most (must) of force send a sarwand (servand; servant) of myne to you vyth (with) my vryt[damage] (writing) to you to se gyf (if) that 3e vol (will) be content to take pece (peace) vyth (with) thys rawlme

(realm) and to lat (let) france be compryendyd (comprehended) In the sam or elys (else) not and thys the gowarnor vol (will) that I send to you for the sam therfor vryt (write) the answar to me as I may schaw (show) It to the dwke (duke) so that he may lay ne (no) fawt (fault) In to me and vryt (write) In the sayd vryteng (writing) to me that van (when) ewer (ever) ony (any) pece (peace) be takyn betwxt (between) the rawlmes (realms) that It sal (shall) be takyn be me and be non othar (CCBI fol. 170)

In this extract, Margaret explains that the Duke of Albany had requested that she send a letter to Howard with one of her personal messengers with a request for peace to be made between England, Scotland and France. Albany thus wanted Margaret to again perform the role of diplomatic mediator through her writing, as she had done previously in the December 1521-February 1522 letters and memorial. However, Margaret does not present herself as willing to perform the role of peacemaker in this letter to Howard, instead she wrote that she had been compelled to make this request 'of force'. The Dictionary of the Scots Language (*DSL*) suggests two relevant interpretations of the phrase 'of force', the first 'by violence, forcibly', the second 'of necessity, necessarily' (*DSL* 'force, n.'). Whether Margaret was threatened with violence, or simply pressured into sending a request of peace by Albany and the Lords of Scotland, through using the phrase 'of force' Margaret foregrounds to Howard that she was not a willing advocate of peace.

In this letter we can therefore see that Margaret is to some extent operating as a double agent, presenting contrasting epistolary personas to the Scottish and English divisions. To the Scots – by noting that she would send a letter to Howard with her own personal messenger that requested peace (instead of using an unnamed bearer employed by the Scottish government) – Margaret appeared to be willingly acting as peacemaker between England and Scotland. Furthermore, through requesting a reply from Howard that Margaret 'may schaw (show)...to the dwke (duke) so that he may lay ne (no) fawt (fault) In to me' (CCBI fol. 170) – allowing her to preserve the impression that she was keen to facilitate peace – Margaret scripts a reply that would allow her to maintain this pretence to Albany and the Scottish government.

But why did Margaret go to such lengths to maintain the illusion of being a willing mediator to the Scots, when she in fact wanted to escape to England? I would argue that this was a strategic epistolary move, designed to secure her protection in the event that Henry VIII denied her requests to come to England, and she was forced to 'to make of my onfryndys (unfriends; enemies) fryndys (friends)' (CCBI fol. 170) and make allegiance with the Duke of Albany. While the presentation of two, somewhat paradoxical, epistolary personas may explain why historical biographers such as Green have branded Margaret as 'the inconstant queen' (1846: 264), such a move actually allowed Margaret

to safeguard her reputation in Scotland whilst also secretly scoping out possible opportunities to flee to England.

Two channels of communication: physical letters and verbal messages

Meta-communicative comments present in the 8th September 1523 letter to Howard (CCBI fol. 170) show that Margaret's efforts to maintain different epistolary presentations with her Scottish and English audiences, and the need to protect herself from detection by the Scottish court, also affected the medium through which she chose to communicate with Howard. In addition to her requests that Howard send physical replies which Margaret could show to the Scottish faction to prove her commitment to the Anglo-Scottish peace, Margaret also requested that Howard convey secret information to her via verbal messages sent with a trusted messenger:

3) and vhat (what) 3e thynke that 3e vald (would) I dyd **send me vord (word) vyth (with) patryk synklar** bot (but) not vyth (with) the othar for takyng be the vay (way) bot (but) **schaw (show) secretly your mynde to my sarvand** (servant) for he is a trw (true) sarwand (servant) to me and hath bene vyth (with) me sen (since) I com forst (first) In to scotland **bot (but) send the vryteng (writing) that I may schaw (show)** It (CCBI fol. 170)

Firstly, through the use of the directive 'send the vryteng (writing) that I may schaw (show) It', we can see that Margaret again repeats the request that Howard send a written reply to her letter which she could show to Albany and the Lords of Scotland, and which presented Margaret as willingly performing the role of diplomatic mediator. Though Margaret Tudor would have been the only named recipient in Howard's reply, her note that she would 'schaw' (show) the letter to Albany and the Lords of Scotland, emphasises the fact that early modern letters were often read by numerous individuals beyond the named recipient. This would have allowed Margaret to use this physical reply as evidence to corroborate her story to the Scottish government that she was acting with their best intentions in mind, and that her letters to Howard were sent only with the intention of seeking to organise an Anglo-Scottish peace.

However, this illuminating meta-communicative comment also shows that Margaret was operating another, more covert, channel of communication with Howard at the same time. Through the directives 'schaw (show) secretly your mynde (mynde) to my sarwand (servant)' and 'vhat (what) 3e thynke (think) that 3e vald (would) that I dyd (did) send me vord (word) vyth (with) patryk (patrick) synklar (sinclair)', Margaret requested that Howard send his honest response to her requests to leave Scotland via a verbal message with her 'trw sarwand' (true servant) Patrick Sinclair. Such a practice was a common

strategy of epistolary secrecy during the early modern period, as noted by Daybell:

Writers were often apprehensive about committing confidences to paper, which in turn affected the nature of composition and the manner in which letters were dispatched. Secrets often remained unwritten, and were instead consigned to safe keeping to the memory of the letter bearer who would deliver them orally, a fact that is frustrating in its historical irretrievability. (Daybell 2006: 127)

During this period Margaret was anxious that her letters would be intercepted, noting to Howard that ‘ther (there) Is a vayt (weight) layd (laid) for to get my vrytengs (writings)’ (Margaret to Howard, 4 November 1523, CCBI fol. 281). To circumnavigate the threat of discovery and exposure, Margaret therefore relayed verbal messages (which probably contained sensitive and potentially incriminating information) to Howard via her most trustworthy messenger. Through such an act, and ensuring that Howard sent scripted written replies that presented her in a positive light, Margaret could maintain an epistolary artifice to the Scottish government that showed that she was sincere in her attempts to organise a peace between the three realms, when in reality she was covertly scheming against the Scottish government. This measure would thus have helped to ensure Margaret’s epistolary secrecy and protect her from potential accusations of treachery from Albany and the Lords of Scotland.

Indeed, such a move was probably necessary when we consider Margaret’s wider conduct during this period. Whilst Margaret was keen to be seen by both England and Scotland as a willing advocate of peace at certain points of her letter-writing life (such as can be seen in Chapter Three December 1521-February 1522), between August and November 1523 Margaret shows clear allegiances to the English government. In a letter sent to Howard on the 25th September 1523 (Bod Tanner MS 90 fol. 41), Margaret acted as an informer, providing intelligence on Scottish military affairs:

4) also vyt (know) 3e that ther Is com vyth (with) the dwk (duke) sent be (by) the kyng the french kyng vl^m fwt (foot) men a hvndreth (hundred) men of army³ (arms) twa (two) hondreth (hundred) lyght hor³ (horse) and thyr (these) ar comm by thaym (them) that var (were) here afoor (before) therfor lok (look) the betar a bowht (about) beth (both) at the vest (west) border and the eest for thay volbe (will be) doyng som thyng ryght swn (soon) for thay may not half (have) them lang (long) for the expensys Is gret I avartys (advertise) you of all thyng I knaw (know) (Bod Tanner MS 90 fol. 41)

In this letter, Margaret informed Howard of the military preparations being made by the Duke of Albany for his impending invasion of England, detailing the number of men and horses that had arrived from France and offering advice that Howard should look to both the ‘vest’ (west) and ‘eest’ (east) borders for Albany’s attack. Providing such information to the head of the English army sees Margaret explicitly writing against Scottish interests, and even acting as a spy for the English faction; an act which Margaret herself noted might be regarded as ‘tresson’ (treason) (Margaret to Patrick Sinclair, 24 October 1523, SP 49/2 fol. 44) and result in her ‘destruction’ (Margaret to Patrick Sinclair, 13 October 1523, Add MS 24965 fol. 94b). Establishing two channels of communication with Howard would therefore have allowed Margaret to maintain two epistolary personas – willing mediator to the Scottish government, and useful spy to the English government – and offered Margaret some level of protection from accusations of duplicity and treason from the Scottish faction. Figure 4.2, below, shows a visualisation of the two channels of communication between Margaret and Howard as described in this letter.

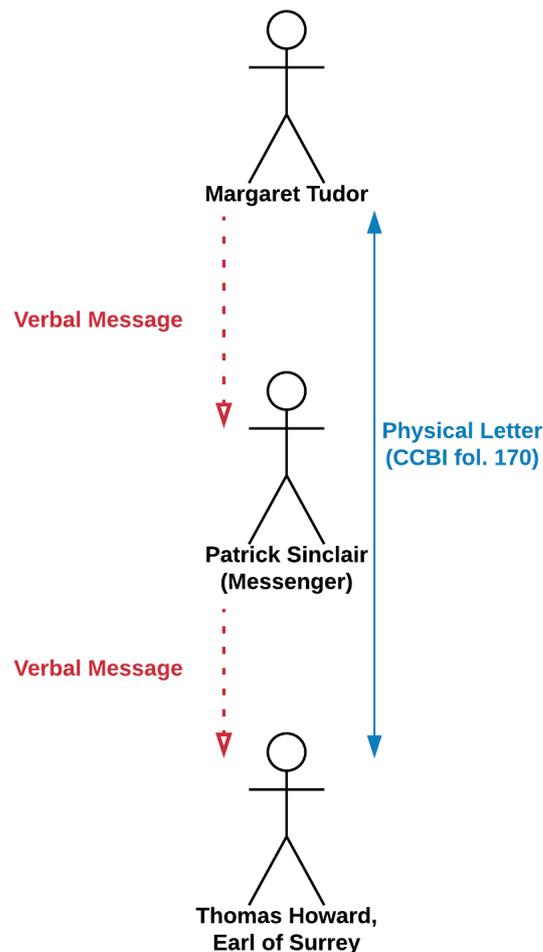


Figure 4.2: Communication Pathways in Margaret Tudor’s Correspondence 8th September 1523 (CCBI fol. 170)

Additional advantages of sending a personal messenger

Whilst sending her own messenger, Patrick Sinclair, to Howard in September 1523 would have shown the Scottish faction that Margaret was willingly performing the role of diplomatic mediator on their behalf, it would also have had additional benefits for Margaret herself. In particular, Margaret's trusted messenger Patrick Sinclair could report back on how her letter was received by Howard and give her a better idea of whether her requests to come to England would be approved, and if Howard's offers of assistance were sincere. Indeed, though Howard's replies to Margaret implied that she would be permitted to come to England, his letters to Wolsey present a strikingly different perspective:

5) Also considering that I see noo proufigthe (profit) shuld (should) come of hir (her - Margaret) being here but great costes and chargis (charges) / wherefor vnder the kinges high correccion and yo^r graces me think it were as proufitable and more good shuld come thereof to haue hir remayne in scotland than too come into England / if she maye be soo conv[damaged] w^t (with) good perswasions (persuasions)
(Thomas Howard to Thomas Wolsey, 1 October 1523, CCBVI fol. 284)

In reality, it would seem that Howard (and indeed others) felt that it would be more 'proufitable' (profitable) and involve less 'costes and chargis' (costs and charges) if Margaret were to remain in Scotland. Despite her repeated appeals for assistance over this period Margaret in fact never came to England again during her life. By sending her own personal messenger to Howard then, Margaret would have had a better understanding of how her requests to leave Scotland were received by Howard than if she had simply sent a letter to him with an unknown, and untrusted, messenger.

4.4. Case study two: 19th-21st October 1523

On the 19th October 1523 – foreseen by Margaret in her 8th September 1523 holograph letter to Howard (CCBI fol. 170) – Margaret was commissioned by the Duke of Albany and the Lords of Scotland to send a letter to Thomas Howard which sought to arrange peace between England, Scotland and France (CCBI fol. 268). However, on the same day, Margaret also sent a second letter to Howard. This letter again claimed that Margaret was compelled to write this letter 'of force', and requested that she 'be excwsyd (excused) of (this) vrytyng (writing)' (SP 49/2 fol. 38). Whilst case study one examined how Margaret used verbal messages to convey secret information to Howard in September 1523, this second case study will explore how Margaret established two separate, physical channels of communication to convey the two 19th October 1523 holograph letters to Thomas Howard. In this section I will explore some of the individual agents involved in these communication pathways, and further consider how this practice allowed Margaret to

continue to present different epistolary personas to her Scottish and English audiences.

4.4.1. Letter one: Margaret to Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, 19th October 1523 (CCBI fol. 268)

Margaret Tudor - a willing mediator?

The first letter sent by Margaret to Thomas Howard on the 19th October 1523 (CCBI fol. 268) is a two-page holograph document (see figure 4.3 below). This letter presents Margaret as actively performing the role of diplomatic intercessor, by reporting to Howard that she had requested that the Duke of Albany be well-inclined to peace with England. I will refer to this letter as the 'mediation letter'. It reads:

6) I haue spokyn at length vyth (with) my lord gowarnor and fyndys (finds) hym of gwd (good) mynde and a mangst (amongst) all othar matars I prayd hym for gwd (good) pece (peace) to be had betwxt (between) the rawlmy³ (realms) vnyvarsaly (universally) and he answard (answered) me that he va³ (was) ewer (ever) of gwd (good) mynde to the sam (CCBI fol. 268)

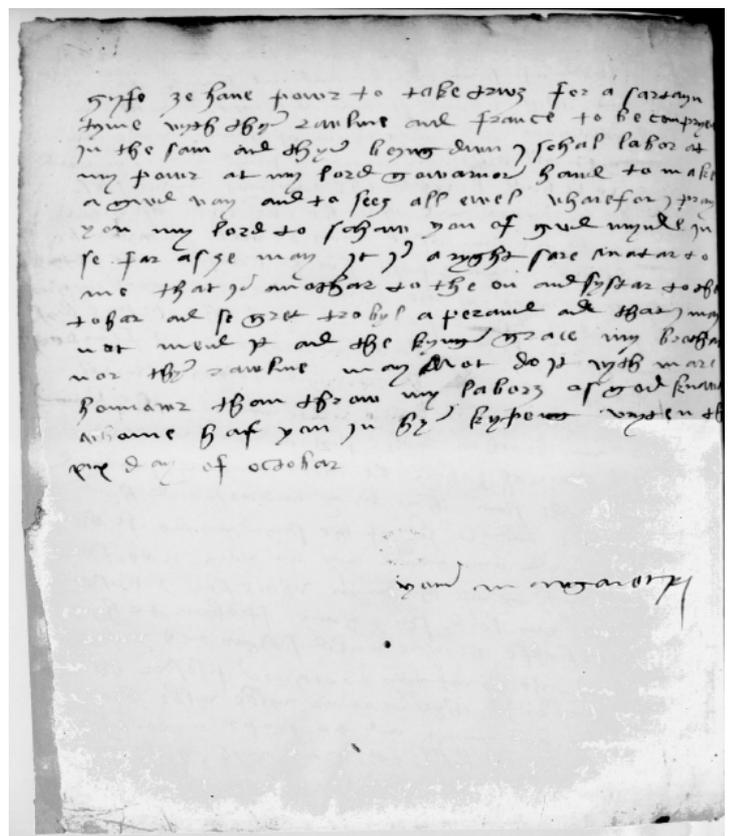
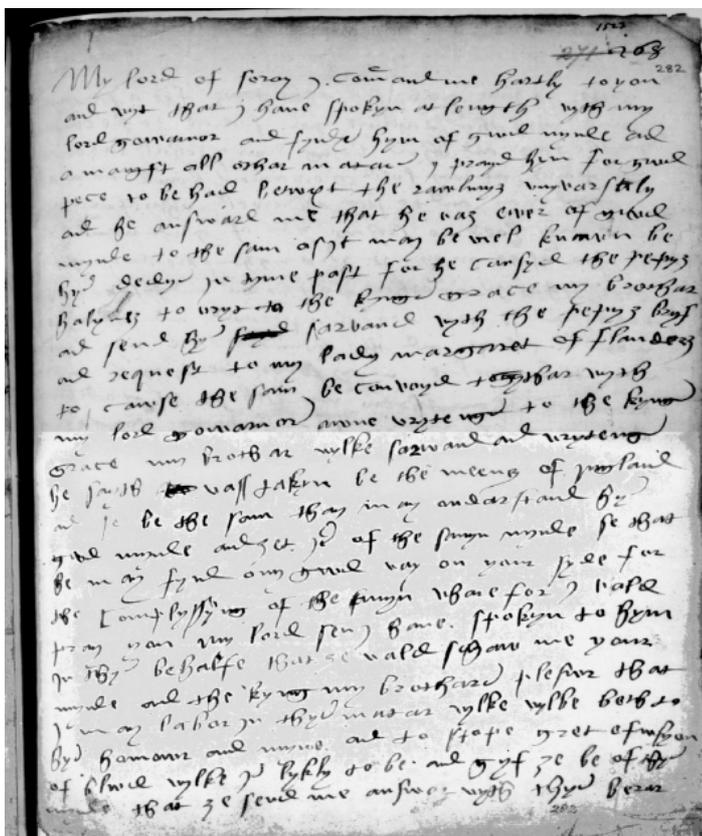


Figure 4.3: Margaret to Thomas Howard, 19th October 1523, CCBI fol. 268

Throughout the rest of the letter, Margaret utilises persuasive strategies employed in her other authentic written appeals for peace (such as those discussed in detail in Chapters One and Two). For example:

7) I haue spokyn to hym In thys behalfe that 3e vald (would) schaw (show) me your mynde and the kyng my brothars pleswr (pleasure) that I may labor In thys matar vylke (which) vylbe (will be) beth (both) to hys honnowr (honour) and myne and to **stope gret efwsyon (effusion) of blwd (blood)** vylke (which) Is lykly to be and gyf (if) 3e be of thys mynde that 3e send me answer vyth (with) thys berar...and to see³ (cease) all ewel (evil) vharefor I pray you my lord to schaw (show) you of gwd (good) mynde In se (so) far as 3e may **It is a ryght sare (sore) matar to me that Is mothar to the on (one) and systar to the tothar (other)** (CCBI fol. 268)

As mentioned above, this extract sees the use of a number of persuasive strategies that regularly occur in Margaret Tudor's holograph writing: use of the keyword 'labour' in combination with descriptions of Margaret performing a peace, appeals to Henry VIII's honour as a persuasive strategy to coerce him into agreeing to a truce, emphasising the personal damage war would do to herself 'that Is mothar (mother) to the on (one) and systar (sister) to the tothar (other)', and the use of hyperbole in referring to the 'gret (great) efwsyon (effusion) of blwd (blood)' that would result if the Anglo-Scottish peace was not agreed. Unlike the 20th August 1515 scribal letter (CCBVI fol. 78) examined in Chapter Three – a letter which bears little resemblance to the language and tone employed in Margaret's holograph correspondence – the above holograph letter sent to Howard on 19th October 1523 shows stylistic similarity to Margaret's wider holograph writing. From the perspective of the Scottish government, this letter would therefore seem to have been a genuine appeal for peace.

Furthermore, the holograph status of this document also acted as an indicator of its authenticity to Albany and the Lords of Scotland, signalling that Margaret was sufficiently willing to perform the role of diplomatic mediator as to dedicate the time and energy to personally compose a handwritten letter to Howard, instead of simply sending a signed scribal composition. An observation contained in a letter from Howard to Thomas Wolsey (sent on 23rd October 1523) also highlights that Margaret Tudor's 19th October 1523 letter to Howard (CCBI fol. 268) was conveyed via one of her personal servants:

8) And where in one lette (letter) is conteyned that she doth send her seruante (servant) vnto me for peace comprehending ffraunce (france) (Howard to Wolsey, 23 October 1523, CCBVI fol. 289)

As in the previous case study, sending this letter to Howard via one of her own trusted personal servants would have further persuaded the Scottish faction that this letter was a genuine request from Margaret that Howard do his best to secure the requested peace. From the perspective of the Duke of Albany and the Scottish government, by sending a letter written in her own hand, using language and persuasive strategies regularly employed in her wider holograph correspondence, and transmitting this letter via one of her personal servants, Margaret would have seemed to be a willing mediator, committed to working in allegiance with the Scottish faction to facilitate peace between England, Scotland and France. However, a second letter sent by Margaret to Howard on the same day significantly undermines this impression.

4.4.2. Letter two: Margaret to Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, 19th October 1523 (SP 49/2 fol. 38)

Margaret Tudor - less willing mediator?

On the same day, 19th October 1523, Margaret sent another (albeit shorter) holograph letter to Thomas Howard (SP 49/2 fol. 38) (see figure 4.4, below).

This letter is somewhat different in perspective to Margaret's 'mediation' holograph letter to Howard (CCBI fol. 268) also sent on the same day, and was transmitted to Howard using an entirely separate pathway of communication. This letter will be referred to as the 'anti-mediation' letter. It reads:

9) My lord of sowray (surrey) I haue sent you a olde trast (trust) sarwand (servant) of myne vyth (with) thys vryteng (writing) vham (whom) to I pray[deletion] you gyff (give) credens (credence) and to send me a gwd (good) and honest ansvar to my sayd vryteng (writing) that I may schaw (show) It to the gowarnor that he may ondarstand (understand) that my vryteng (writing) Is thankfoly (thankfully) takyn vyth (with) and that the kyng my brothar and you vol (will) do for me more than ony (any) othar and that vhan (when) any gwd (good) vay (way) Is that It schal (shall) be vrowht (wrought; performed, carried out) be (by) me and no nothar (other) not the le3 (less) to do as 3e knav (know) best the plesyr (pleasure) and vyll (will) of the kyngs grace my brothar and that I be excwsyd (excused) of my vrytyng (writing) In thys behalfe for I most (must) of force do as he vol (will) byd me or ely3 (else) get dyspleswr (displeasure) bot (but) 3e knaw (know) my mynd In all matars therfor do as my trast (trust) Is In you and god kype you vryten (written) thys xix^t day of octobar (October)

yous (yours) Margaret R

(SP 49/2 fol. 38)

In the closing sections of this letter, Margaret requested that she be ‘excwsyd’ for sending her 19th October 1523 mediation letter (CCBI fol. 268) to Howard, noting that she did so out of necessity. Margaret further notes that she was forced to send this letter under the ‘bid[ding]’ of the Duke of Albany, and she feared that she would ‘get [his] dyspleswr’ (displeasure) if she did not agree to his requests. Through this utterance, Margaret emphasised to Howard that her previous holograph letter also sent on 19th October 1523 (CCBI fol. 268) – which saw Margaret actively performing the role of diplomatic intercessor by requesting peace between England, Scotland and Wales – was sent under the direction of the Duke of Albany. Through this brief statement, Margaret signalled that Howard should not take these overtures for peace as sincere. Instead, Margaret reminded Howard that he ‘knew [her] mynd In all matars’ (SP 49/2 fol. 38) that he knew the truth of her desires, that she was loyal to England and was actually keen to leave Scotland.

Whilst Margaret used this brief phrase to signal that Howard should not trust the contents of the mediation letter (CCBI fol. 268), Margaret was also keen to ensure that the Scottish government continued to believe that she was a willing mediator of peace between England and Scotland. In the anti-mediation letter (SP 49/2 fol. 38), Margaret again requested that Howard send a ‘gwd (good) and honest answar (answer)’ [reply] that Margaret could show to Albany and the Lords of Scotland that would convince them that she was fulfilling their requests to secure peace with England.

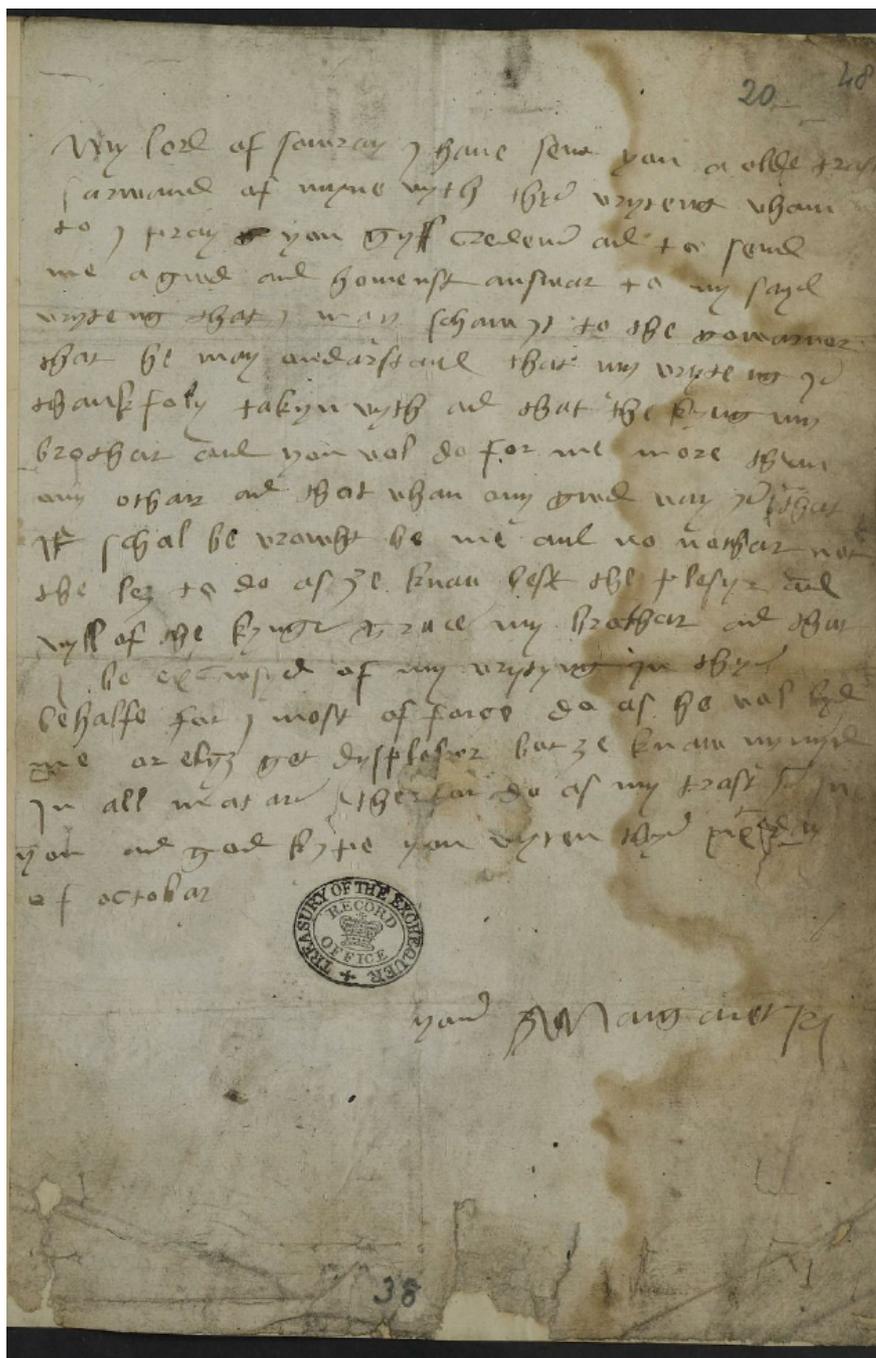


Figure 4.4: Margaret to Thomas Howard, 19th October 1523, SP 49/2 fol. 38

Conveying the 19th October 1523 letters to Howard

From the above analysis, we can see that Margaret’s two holograph letters sent on the 19th October 1523 to Thomas Howard were written to achieve somewhat different (perhaps even conflicting) communicative goals. The first letter (CCBI fol. 268), presented Margaret as acting in the role of willing advocate of peace between England, Scotland and France. In contrast, the second letter (SP 49/2 fol. 38) served to subtly undermine the contents and authenticity of CCBI fol. 268, and reveal that Margaret was compelled ‘of force’ to send the first letter under the direction of the Duke of Albany.

The sending of two separate written documents to Howard (both written on the same day) allowed Margaret to maintain the epistolary artifice of being a willing mediator of peace to the Scottish faction, whilst simultaneously signalling to the English nobleman that these motions were a charade, and that in reality Margaret desired licence to come to England. Further analysis of the intricacies of this communicative episode – in particular how these documents were transmitted to Howard – reveals that Margaret went to extensive lengths to maintain these two contradictory epistolary personas, even going so far as to establish two separate channels of ‘overt’ and ‘covert’ communication with Howard. Whilst Margaret’s two letters to Howard (CCBI fol. 268 and SP 49.2 fol. 38) were sent on the same day (19th October 1523), analysis of the surrounding discourse reveals that these letters were not received at the same time, or conveyed to Howard via the same agent.

The ‘overt’ channel of communication

In a letter to Thomas Wolsey sent on 23rd October 1523, Howard noted that:

10) vnto this day that I haue received dyvers lettres (letters) aswell fro (from) the quene of scottis fro (from) s^r william bulmer and others...and where in one lettre (letter) is conteyned that she doth send her seruante vnto me for peace comprehending fraunce / (CCBVI fol. 289)

This letter shows that Margaret’s 19th October 1523 (CCBI fol. 268) mediation letter arrived with Howard on the 23rd October 1523, and was conveyed via one of her personal servants. Unfortunately, this servant is unnamed and his/her identity remains lost to the archive. I will refer to this as the ‘overt’ pathway of communication, featuring letters sent by Margaret to Thomas Howard that the Duke of Albany and the Lords of Scotland were aware of, and that present Margaret as actively performing the role of diplomatic mediator.

The ‘covert’ channel of communication

In a second letter to Wolsey, Howard reported that Margaret’s shorter anti-mediation letter (SP 49/2 fol. 38) arrived the following day on the 24th October 1523, and was conveyed via another of Margaret’s personal messengers, an individual named Jammy Dogg. It reads:

11) Pleasith it yo^r grace to be aduertised that this present houre is come to me **lamy (jammy) dog** the quene of scottes seruante whom yo^r grace doth know ffor he hath ben (been) w^t (with) you and he hath broght (brought) me one lettre (letter) ffre (from) the seid qwene (queen) and one other wich (which) she hath sent sith (since) hys departure fre (from) her vnto patrik synkcler wich (which) lettres (letters) yo^r grace shall receyue (receive) w^t (with) this and be cause the one lettre (letter) sent to patrik synkcler is off (of)

great Importanncce if it be trew (true) (Howard to Thomas Wolsey, 24 October 1523, CCBVI fol. 311)

In addition to operating an ‘overt’ pathway of communication with Howard during this period (conveying mediation letters sent under the direction of the Scottish government), this extract reveals that Margaret was simultaneously operating a second, more ‘covert’ channel of communication with the English nobleman (see figure 4.5, below). On this occasion, the ‘covert’ channel of communication made use of one of Margaret’s ‘olde trast serwand’ – one of her oldest and most trustworthy servants, an individual named Jammy Dogg – to convey her anti-mediation letter to Thomas Howard (SP 49/2 fol. 38) without the knowledge of the Scottish government.

Though records of comparable practices are relatively scarce in early modern archives, a similar method was used by the seventeenth century queen, Elizabeth of Bohemia. Akkerman observes that:

Sir Balthazar Gerbier’s private notes reveal that the high-profile defender of English Protestantism abroad, Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, the exiled Winter Queen, who lived in the Hague from 1621 to 1661, often smuggled letters to London via the channels of the Taxis post. When writing from The Hague, the courtly capital of the Dutch Republic, Elizabeth and her supporters often reveal that they sent their mail to London via two separate routes, ‘by sea and by land’. This phrase is peculiar because evidently all letters to England from the Continent had to travel over land and cross the Channel. The question arises, then, through which mysterious, alternative channel did their letters pass? Gerbier’s manuscript treatise ‘Notes for a Resident att *Bruxeles* (sic)’ (1636), jotted down in a letter book riddled with ciphers, reveals that instead of dispatch via Calais, the so-called ‘letter by land’ would be sent to Ostend, the postal crossing in the Spanish Netherlands, by way of Brussels and Antwerp. In other words, at certain times the Queen of Bohemia and her courtiers took care to circumvent the regular postal channels in which letters were transmitted via Calais. Instead, they opted for an underground postal network, sending their letters unregistered by Ostend. (2011: 174)

In a similar fashion to Margaret Tudor, Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia and her supporters sent secret letters to England via an ‘underground postal network’, a transmission route which circumnavigated the official postal port of Calais and helped to protect their covert correspondence from falling into the hands of their enemies. Though this is a different communicative strategy to the use of ‘secret’ verbal messages as explored in case study one, the use of two separate channels of communication with Thomas Howard would have allowed Margaret to achieve a similar outcome. Sending official written petitions of

peace to Howard via the ‘overt’ route would have allowed Margaret to convince the Scottish faction that she was a willing mediator, acting with their best intentions in mind. However, sending an additional secret letter via the ‘covert’ route of communication using a different messenger entirely would have allowed Margaret the opportunity to inform Howard of her true intentions, without openly exposing her double-crossing actions to the Scottish government. Such a strategy would have again served as a means of safeguarding herself against accusations of treason, and helped Margaret to preserve positive relations with the Scottish government in the event that she was forced to remain in Scotland.

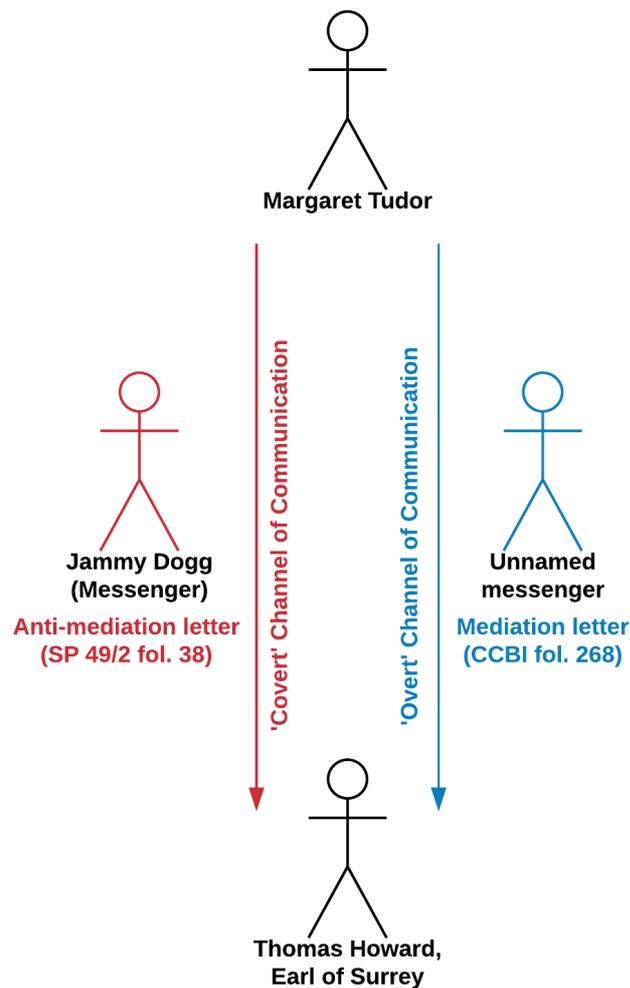


Figure 4.5: Communication Pathways in Margaret Tudor’s Correspondence 19th October 1523

4.4.3. Letter three: Margaret to Patrick Sinclair, 21st October 1523 (SP 49/2 fol. 44)

Patrick Sinclair as ‘spy’ and yet another channel of ‘covert’ communication

Further analysis of this communicative episode reveals that Margaret was also operating yet another level of secret communication with Howard during this

period, beyond the ‘overt’ and ‘covert’ channels of correspondence explored in the previous sections. On the 21st October 1523, one day after Jammy Dagg’s departure from Edinburgh to carry Margaret’s ‘covert’ anti-mediation letter to Thomas Howard (SP 49/2 fol. 38), Margaret also sent a brief holograph letter to another trusted messenger, Patrick Sinclair (SP 49/2 fol. 44). This document is transcribed fully below, and a copy of the inner leaf of this letter can be seen in figure 4.7.

13) patryk synklar I command me hartly to you and vyt (know) 3e for
veryte that edam (adam) donda3 Is passt (passed) to som of In gland
vyth (with) the frence kynys gret seel and ther for In qwyr (enquire) tyl
(to) vham (whom) It Is for I dred tresson and thys 3e do In all hast for
and I vyst (know) tyl (to) vham (whom) It var (were) I schwld (should)
schaw (show) It and thys 3e fayly (fail) not to dw (do) In all hast (haste)
vyth (with) answar of all matars and I pray you kype thys vryteng
(writing) sekret (secret) and dw (do) as my trast (trust) Is In you and be
not ovr (over) lange (long) a dolng bot (but) thys Is trowth (truth) that
I vryt (write) and god kype you vryten (written) thys vedynsday
(wednesday)

yours 3e vayt (know)

In this letter, Margaret requested that Sinclair gather intelligence about an individual named Adam Dondaz (‘edam donda3’), noting that Dondaz was reported to have passed into England with a letter sealed ‘vyth (with) the frence (french) kynys (king’s) gret (great) seel (seal)’ (SP 49/2 fol. 44). Use of the comment ‘thys (this) 3e do In all hast (haste)’, the urgent request that Sinclair ‘kype (keep) thys (this) vryteng (writing) sekret (secret)’ and Margaret’s confession that she ‘dred [dreaded] tresson (treason)’ emphasise the delicate, urgent and covert nature of this exchange. In addition to being entrusted to convey secret verbal messages to Howard (as examined on pp. 125-127), this letter shows that Margaret in fact employed Sinclair in a variety of roles beyond that of simple messenger. It would seem that in this episode Margaret used Sinclair as a spy or informer, an act which suggests that on occasion Margaret used her most trusted messengers for important and potentially dangerous political endeavours.

Conveying the Sinclair letter to Thomas Howard

Whilst the above letter is addressed to Patrick Sinclair alone (SP 49/2 fol. 44), this document was eventually conveyed to Thomas Howard, who then forwarded the letter to Thomas Wolsey, noting that it was a ‘lettre (letter)... off (of) gret (great) Importannce (importance) if it be trew (true)’ (CCBVI fol. 311). But how exactly did this letter come to be in Howard’s possession?

Analysis of the surrounding discourse reveals that Margaret's letter to Sinclair was transmitted to Howard via a complex, multi-stage chain of communication which involved at least three different agents.

First of all, Margaret's letter was sent to Sinclair the day after Jammy Dogg's departure from Edinburgh on Tuesday 20th October 1523 (see CCBVI fol. 311). Analysis of another of Margaret's surviving letters to Sinclair sent sometime around this period sheds light on how the 21st October 1523 letter (SP 49/2 fol. 44) may have been transmitted to Patrick Sinclair. In this 9th October 1523 letter to Sinclair, Margaret noted that:

14) I haue resayved (received) a letar (letter) fre (from) my lord of sowray (surrey) that Is answar to my last letar (letter) sent to you be (by) the priore³ (prioress) of calstram (coldstream) brothar (Margaret to Patrick Sinclair, 9 October 1523, CCBI fol. 269)

This comment suggests that Margaret Tudor somehow passed secret letters to the Prioress of Coldstream's brother, who then conveyed these letters to Patrick Sinclair. Isabella Hoppringle, Prioress of Coldstream, was a Scottish prioress who often acted as spy for the English government (Ewan et al. 2006: 169-170), and was an important agent in the transmission of Margaret's covert correspondence with England. Margaret herself articulated this in a letter to Howard sent on the 24th November 1523, noting that 'thayr (there) Is non that may do It so viel (well) and swrly (surely) as sche (she; The Prioress of Coldstream) may to convay (convey) letars (letters)' (Margaret to Howard, 24 November 1523, CCBI fol. 279).

Whilst the next stages of the transmission process are not entirely clear, Howard's letter to Wolsey sent on the 24th October 1523 notes that:

15) this present houre is come to me lamy (jammy) dog the quene (queen) of scottes (Scots) seruante (servant) whom yor grace doth know ffor he hath ben w^t (with) you and he hath broght (brought) me one lettre (letter) ffre (from) the seid qwene (queen) and one other wich (which) she hath sent sith (since) hys depart^ure fre (from) her vnto patrik synkcler (CCBVI fol. 311)

From this comment, it therefore appears that at some point between 21-24 October 1523, Margaret's letter to Sinclair came into the possession of Jammy Dogg. Dogg then conveyed Margaret's letter addressed to Sinclair (SP 49/2 fol. 44) to Thomas Howard, in addition to the 'covert' anti-mediation 19th October 1523 letter (SP 49/2 fol. 38). At some point then, Patrick Sinclair, or another agent must have rendezvoused with Jammy Dogg and requested that he deliver Margaret's letter to Patrick Sinclair (SP 49/2 fol. 44) to Thomas Howard.

From the analysis of the transmission of this letter, it would thus appear that Margaret Tudor had additional means of conveying ‘covert’ communication to Howard, beyond simply using Jammy Dogg. On this occasion, we can see that Margaret was operating a complex multi-stage chain of communication with Howard, employing the services of numerous agents including Jammy Dogg, Patrick Sinclair, Isabella Hoppringle, Prioress of Coldsteam, and Hoppringle’s brother, to ensure that her secret correspondence was securely conveyed to the English nobleman. This system would seem to have served as a second, alternative, and ‘urgent’ channel of ‘covert’ communication that Margaret could draw upon when her first ‘covert’ chain of correspondence with Howard – secret letters conveyed via Jammy Dogg – was not available. From this analysis, we can therefore see that between the 19th and 24th October 1523, Margaret was operating at least three separate avenues of communication with the English nobleman, Thomas Howard. These pathways of communication are visualised in figure 4.6 below. This practice appears to have offered an additional strategy of epistolary secrecy for Margaret Tudor, allowing her to send urgent secret letters to Howard providing vital intelligence on Anglo-French negotiations, whilst still taking precautions to ensure that her potentially ‘treasonable’ actions were not detected by the Duke of Albany and the Lords of Scotland.

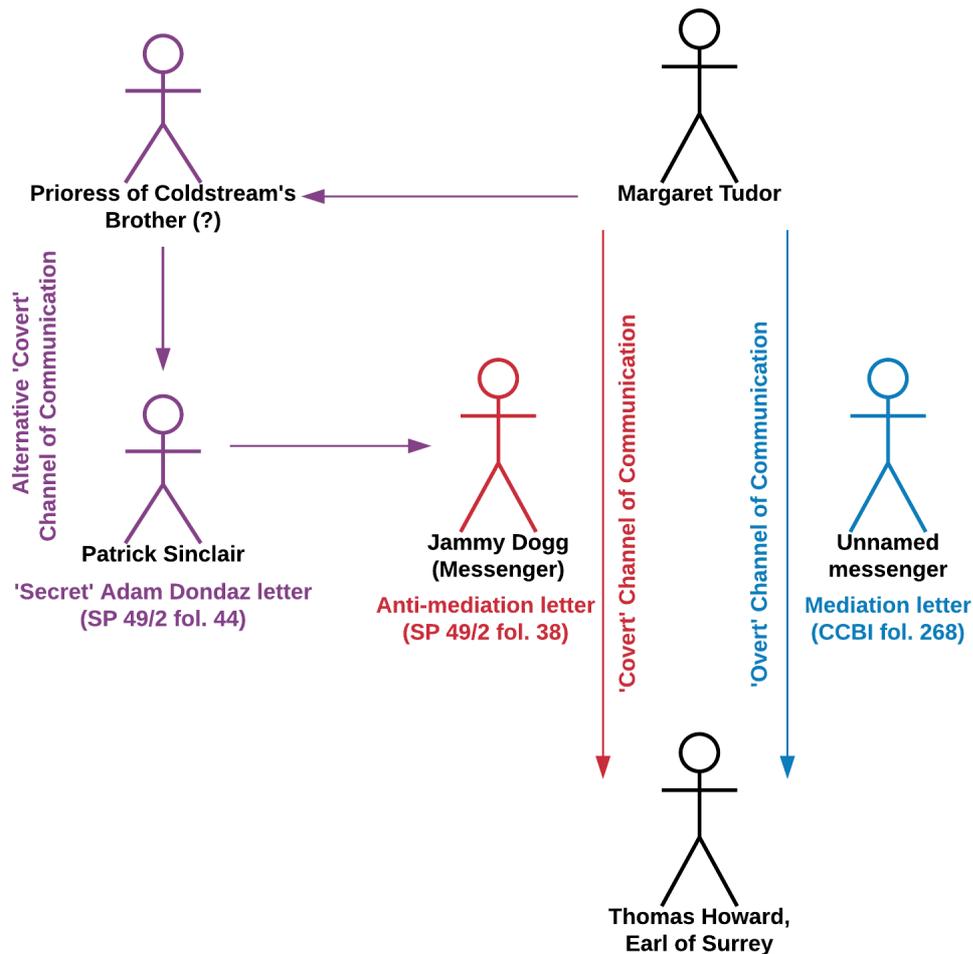


Figure 4.6: Communication pathways in Margaret Tudor's correspondence 19th-21st October 1523

4.4. Further material strategies of epistolary secrecy (SP 49/2 fol. 44)

For the most part, this chapter has focused on strategies of epistolary secrecy which affected the transmission of Margaret Tudor's correspondence to Thomas Howard in autumn 1523. However, fear of interception also affected the material form of Margaret's 21st October 1523 letter to Patrick Sinclair (SP 49/2 fol. 44). Figure 4.7 below shows the outer and inner leaves of Margaret's holograph letter to Sinclair. The most striking difference between Margaret's holograph letter to Patrick Sinclair sent on 21st October 1523, and the other letters explored in this chapter, is the absence of Margaret's concluding signature. Instead of signing the letter with her conventional signature 'Margaret R', Margaret instead concluded this letter to Sinclair letter with the phrase 'yours $\text{\textcircled{z}}$ e vajt (know)' (see figure 4.8 below). But why did Margaret do this?

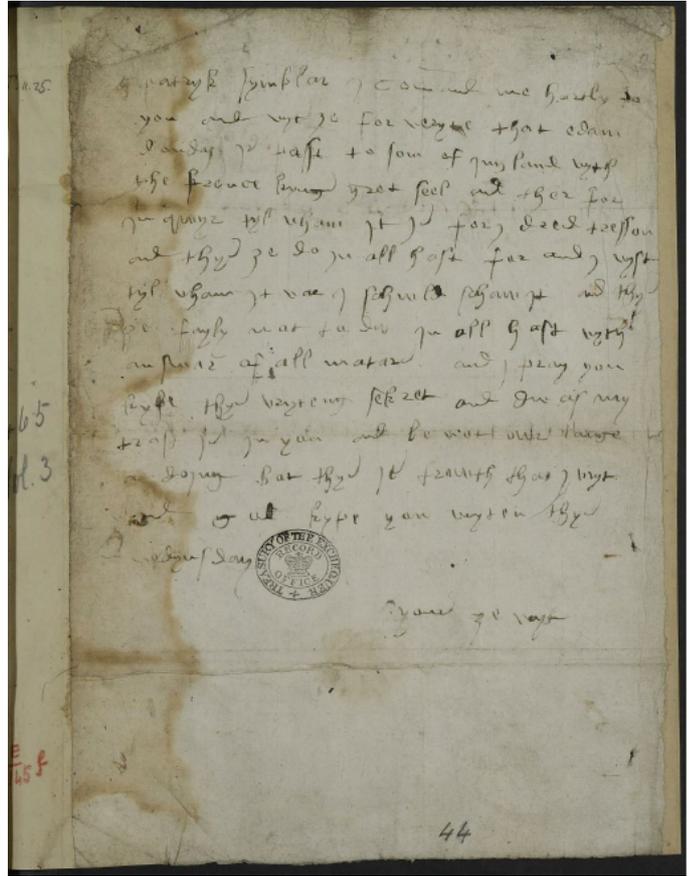
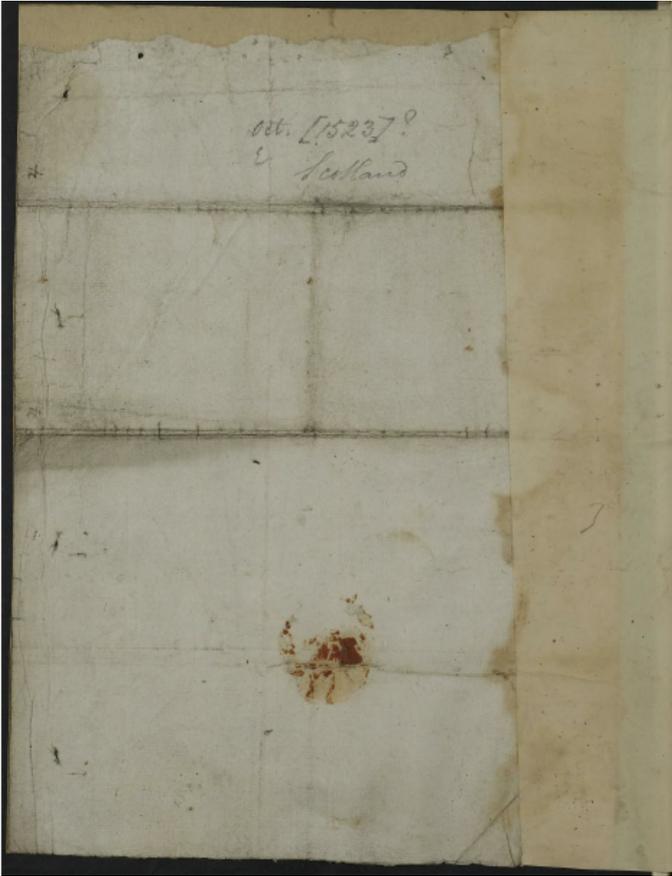


Figure 4.7: Margaret Tudor to Patrick Sinclair, 24th October 1523, SP 49/2 fol. 44

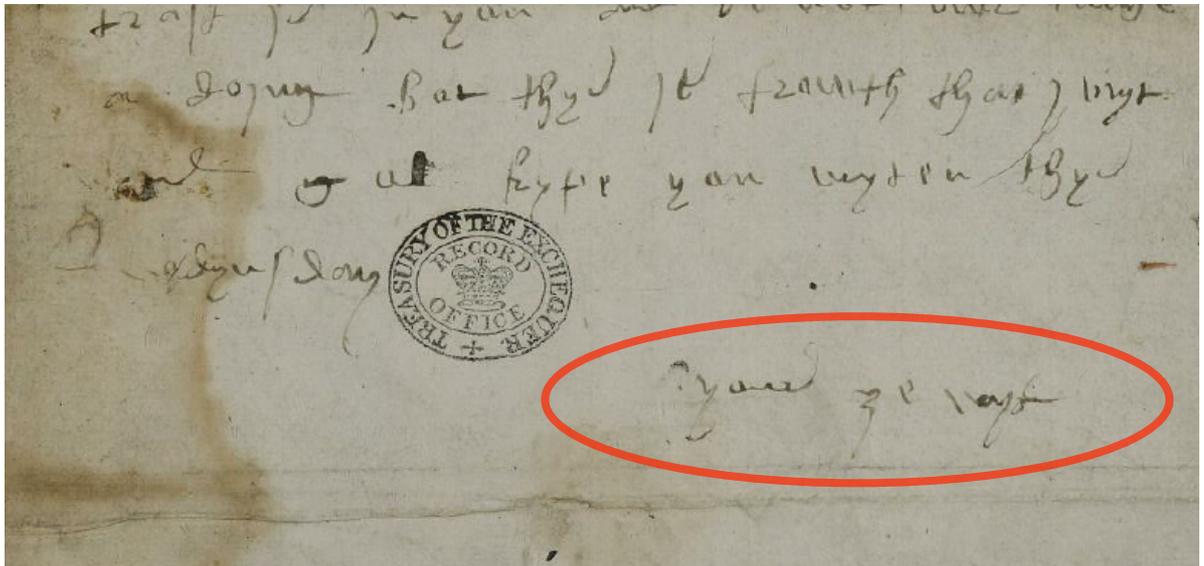


Figure 4.8: Margaret Tudor to Patrick Sinclair 24th October 1523, SP 49/2 fol. 44

As explored elsewhere in this thesis, sending a letter written in one's own hand could be used to ensure that the contents of the letter was kept secret, but could also be used as an authenticator to assure the reader that the contents of the letter was trustworthy. However, in this instance, the sending of a holograph letter without a concluding signature has an additional function. By sending a letter to Patrick Sinclair written in her own hand – a hand which would have been instantly recognisable to Sinclair – Margaret

could ensure that Sinclair understood that the letter was from herself and that its contents could be trusted. However, by refraining from signing her name 'Margaret R' and instead concluding the letter with the phrase 'yours 3e vayt' (otherwise saying 'yours 3e know') Margaret could ensure that if this letter fell into the hands of one of her enemies, she would not be immediately identified as the sender.

A similar strategy is used in a letter sent by the Abbot of Kelso to Thomas Dacre on the 8th September 1523 (Add MS 24965 fol. 77) (see figure 4.9). Kelso notes that he had written this letter with his own hand with the phrase '3e ken (know) the hand', but also refrained from concluding the letter with his signature. In both letters, it would seem that the absence of a signature, but use of a holograph hand for the main body of the letter, served as a strategy of epistolary privacy. With regards to Margaret's letter to Sinclair, this strategy was employed to protect Margaret's identity in case this letter fell into the hands of the Scottish government.

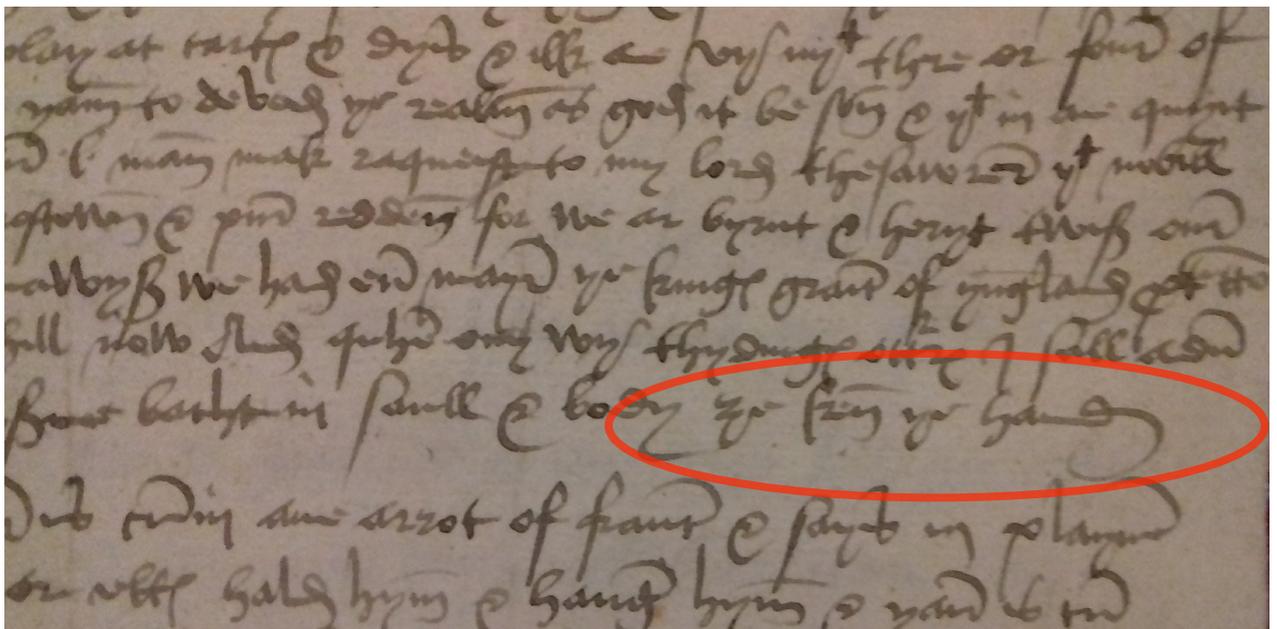


Figure 4.9: Abbot of Kelso to Thomas Dacre 8th September 1523 (holograph) (Add MS 24965 fol. 77)

4.5. Conclusion

As highlighted in the introduction of this chapter, medieval and early modern writers could draw upon a variety of different epistolary strategies to protect the contents of their correspondence from prying eyes. Whilst Margaret Tudor does not seem to have used some of the more common methods of epistolary concealment – such as the use of cipher or invisible ink – this chapter has revealed that Margaret could indeed employ more 'covert' means of communication when circumstances required.

For example, in case study one Margaret sent secret verbal messages to Thomas Howard via one of her most trusted messengers, Patrick Sinclair, but requested written replies from Howard that allowed her to maintain the pretence of peace-keeper to the Duke of Albany and the Lords of Scotland. In case study two, we see Margaret slightly develop her communicative strategies to utilise two separate channels of communication with Howard. Margaret's 'overt' correspondence, sent under the knowledge and direction of the Scottish government, was carried by an unnamed personal messenger and portrayed Margaret as a diligent advocate of peace. In contrast, Margaret's 'covert' correspondence, which was sent without the knowledge of the Scottish government, was carried by one of Margaret's most trustworthy and long-serving messengers, Jammy Dogg. Finally, further analysis of the intricacies of this communicative snapshot also reveal that Margaret had an additional, alternative, channel of 'covert' communication with Howard. This channel involved at least three separate agents, and could be drawn upon when Margaret needed to send an urgent message to Howard when her most trustworthy messengers were engaged on other errands.

At the beginning of this chapter I posed the question: why did Margaret Tudor present two different epistolary characterisations in letters to the same recipient, Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey? On reflection, I think that Margaret went to extensive lengths to establish separate avenues of correspondence with Howard ('overt' and 'covert' channels) as a safeguarding strategy. By sending 'overt' correspondence under the direction of the Scottish government that saw Margaret performing the role of willing mediator, and requesting replies from Howard that corroborated this presentation, Margaret sought to maintain good relations with the Scottish faction in the event that Henry VIII denied her requests to come to England. However, by having additional 'covert' avenues of communication with Howard, Margaret could also provide important intelligence to the head of the English army, and make efforts to persuade Henry VIII and Howard to allow her to come to England.

Analysis of the specific agents that Margaret used to carry her letters to Thomas Howard in autumn 1523 – through investigation of the meta-linguistic comments included in Margaret's own correspondence, and in references made in the surrounding co-texts – thus highlights a new aspect of Margaret Tudor's mediative practices that would not be apparent if we just read Margaret's letters in isolation. This analysis in fact reveals that not all of Margaret's epistolary appeals for peace were sincere, but that Margaret also used the role of diplomatic mediator as a safeguarding strategy to ensure that she maintained the support of the Scottish government if her requests to escape to England were denied by Henry VIII. Whilst this behaviour may have caused some biographers to describe Margaret as being 'double-minded' (Strickland 1850: d 188), and an 'inconstant queen' (Green 1846:

264), these manoeuvres actually offered Margaret some protection against financial and political ruin.

Finally, the use of multiple channels of communication as a strategy of epistolary secrecy has not been reported widely in studies of early modern correspondence. To date, the only similar example that I have found is Nadine Akkerman's discussion of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, who sent secret correspondence to England via an undercover postal network to avoid detection at the official postal port of Calais (2011: 174). However, my own analysis of Margaret Tudor's letters sent in autumn 1523 provides another extraordinary example of this communicative practice, though used a century earlier. Perhaps then, the unique survival of this information – which details the intricate operation and transmission mechanisms involved in Margaret Tudor's correspondence networks – provides evidence to suggest that such practices may have been more widespread in medieval and early modern writing culture than previously known. Furthermore, the fact that Margaret utilised these strategies in an attempt to maintain positive relations with two opposing heads of state, and to protect herself in high-risk political negotiations, suggests that the use of multiple channels of communication may have proved a useful tool for other queens (and indeed other monarchs) in issues of mediation and rule.

Chapter Five - The Diplomatic Bag: January 1522 and November 1524

5.1. Chapter outline:

In late May 1524, John Stewart, Duke of Albany left Scotland for the third time during his regency. In the wake of Albany's departure, Margaret saw yet another opportunity to regain the power she had held during her first regency of September 1513 to May 1515. In August 1524, Margaret obtained approval from the Scottish Council that James V should be granted his full ruling rights, and that Albany be removed as governing regent of Scotland. As mother to the Scottish king, James V, Margaret was the natural replacement for this position, and in August 1524 she was reinstated as regent of Scotland for the second time. Such a move theoretically situated Margaret in a position of more legitimate power and greater authority as the centre and head of the Scottish government (albeit for only nine months). This raises the question: what effect did this change in political position and power have on the performance of mediation in Margaret Tudor's written communication?

In order to answer this question, I will compare two performances of diplomatic mediation in Margaret's correspondence. The first will focus on communication sent by Margaret to the English court in January 1522 (also discussed in Chapter Three), in which Margaret sat on the edges of the Anglo-Scottish courts and offered her mediative services to the Duke of Albany in exchange for his financial and political support. The second will focus on a collection of documents sent by Margaret to Henry VIII and Thomas Wolsey during her second regency in November 1524. These documents were carried by an official party of ambassadors who were despatched to the English court to formally entreat for Anglo-Scottish peace.

Crucial to this analysis is the 'diplomatic bag': documents that were carried by Margaret's messengers or ambassadors on their diplomatic journey to the English court. These documents included letters of credence (which served as an authenticating device to confirm the identity of the messengers and the purpose of their visit), and the little-studied genre of the diplomatic memorial (these were instructions which outlined the points a messenger was to discuss with the host monarch). This chapter will pay close attention to the linguistic and material features of these diplomatic documents, as well as investigating how they were transported and performed by the chosen envoys at the court of Henry VIII. Adopting this multi-layered analytical approach reveals that a change in political status and power had a significant effect on the composition, appearance, and delivery of Margaret Tudor's diplomatic correspondence, and also had a fundamental effect in the role that that Margaret played in the Anglo-Scottish peace negotiations herself.

This analysis reveals that in January 1522, when she had little overt political power, Margaret made personal, intimate and humble appeals for Anglo-Scottish peace. In this period, Margaret sought to actively perform the role of diplomatic mediator herself, and presented herself as the key agent who would be personally responsible for facilitating the renewal of the peace treaty between England and Scotland. In contrast, this analysis shows that in November 1524, when Margaret was governing regent of Scotland with clear allegiances to the Scottish government, it was no longer appropriate for Margaret to personally perform the role of peace-maker through her own holograph writing as she did in January 1522. Instead, this analysis shows that in November 1524 Margaret employed the official communicative apparatus of the Scottish government, and became the ruling agent responsible for sending a formal embassy of ambassadors to England to entreat for peace on her behalf.

This chapter will be divided into four main sections: the contents of Margaret's January 1522 and November 1524 diplomatic bags and the role Margaret played in each of these Anglo-Scottish peace negotiations, letters of credence, memorials, and the performance and delivery of the diplomatic communication. In the first section, I will review previous literature on concept of the medieval diplomatic bag, discuss the documents contained in Margaret's January 1522 and November 1524 diplomatic bags, and examine how Margaret's role in the Anglo-Scottish peace negotiations changed between January 1522 and November 1524. In the second section, I will discuss the material and linguistic features of the letters of credence contained in the January 1522 and November 1524 diplomatic bags. In the third section, I will compare the material and linguistic features of Margaret's holograph and scribal memorials, as well as using this material to offer an overview of the function and format of the memorial genre more generally. Finally, I will then offer some discussion of how the contents of Margaret's January 1522 and November 1524 diplomatic bags were conveyed to and performed at the English court.

Images of the diplomatic letter bags are included in the appendix, as well as images of *models 2, 5, 7, and 11*. These have been included with this chapter in order to allow the reader to experience the visual impact of the original documents. Such a practice helps to visually and materially demonstrate how Margaret's mediative and communicative practices differed between January 1522 and November 1524. Each document has been reproduced, folded, and sealed as they were originally sent, and will be referred to throughout this

chapter as *model x* as detailed in the following sections on pages 152 and 153.³⁶

5.2. The contents of the diplomatic bag

The concept of the ‘diplomatic bag’ (also known as a ‘diplomatic pouch’) has been of particular importance since the medieval period. In the twenty-first century, official documents sent between government officials on diplomatic missions and their home government are afforded diplomatic immunity and protected from search or seizure by article 27 of the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations 1961). Whilst diplomatic correspondence in the medieval and early modern periods was not afforded the same level of privacy and protection – correspondence would often be intercepted or opened by spies – they offered historical ambassadors protection against prosecution, and helped to ensure that ambassadors were granted an audience with a foreign monarch (or important political or religious leader). Queller notes that a variety of documents might be included in a medieval ambassador’s diplomatic bag:

The most common letters and reports, however, include: letters of credence, letters of procuracy, instructions, evidentiary documents, letters of safe conduct, dispatches, reports, and the unique - or virtually unique - venetian relazioni. (1967: 110).

Of these options, Dickinson highlights that three key documents were often carried by medieval ambassadors on their diplomatic missions: a procuracy, a letter of credence, and a set of instructions. Procurations, Dickinson notes, were letters produced ‘under the great seal of France or of England, (which) would indicate the names of ambassadors, their competence, and the minimum quorum which might act on their behalf’ (Dickinson 1955: xvi-xviii). Procurations essentially gave the ambassador ‘power to act’ (Dickinson 1955: xvi), and reassured a foreign monarch that the named individuals were entrusted to act on behalf of their king or queen.

Dickinson then notes that a second document, a ‘letter of credence’, could be sent in place of, or in conjunction with the procuracy. Letters of credence were ‘short letters naming the ambassadors and asking that credence be given to them’ (Dickinson 1955: xviii). Letters of credence again served as authenticating devices, used to verify the identity of the named ambassadors and the purpose of their diplomatic visit, and were an essential requirement for ambassadors visiting foreign courts. Queller notes that ‘(as) a general rule it was stated that an ambassador should not be believed without letters of credence’ (Queller 1967: 111-112). Multiple examples of letters of credence

³⁶ The original seals used in Margaret’s January 1522 and November 1524 letters do not survive. I have therefore sealed the reproduction letters using a modern seal which should not be read as representative of the types of seal used in the original documents.

can be seen in Margaret Tudor's correspondence. For example, the letter seen in figure 5.1 below was sent by Margaret to Thomas Howard on the 20th September 1523 (Bod Tanner MS 90 fol. 41). This letter accompanied a set of instructions that Margaret's messenger, Patrick Sinclair, was to present to and discuss with Howard. In this letter, Margaret requested credence for her 'sarwand (servant) patryk synklar' and noted that she had sent Sinclair with 'vyth (with) [her] playn mynde and artykle3 (articles) to be schawn (shown) to you [Howard]'.

The third, and final, document that a medieval or early modern ambassador might carry on their diplomatic mission was a set of instructions, also known as a 'memorial' or a set of 'articles'. Various scholars (including Dickinson) have noted that these instructions may have simply been verbally relayed by a monarch to his/her ambassador, and that the ambassador would then relay these points to a host monarch from memory. However, written copies of diplomatic instructions (i.e. the memorial) became increasingly common and important in diplomatic negotiations during the medieval period. I will discuss this genre in more detail later on in this chapter.

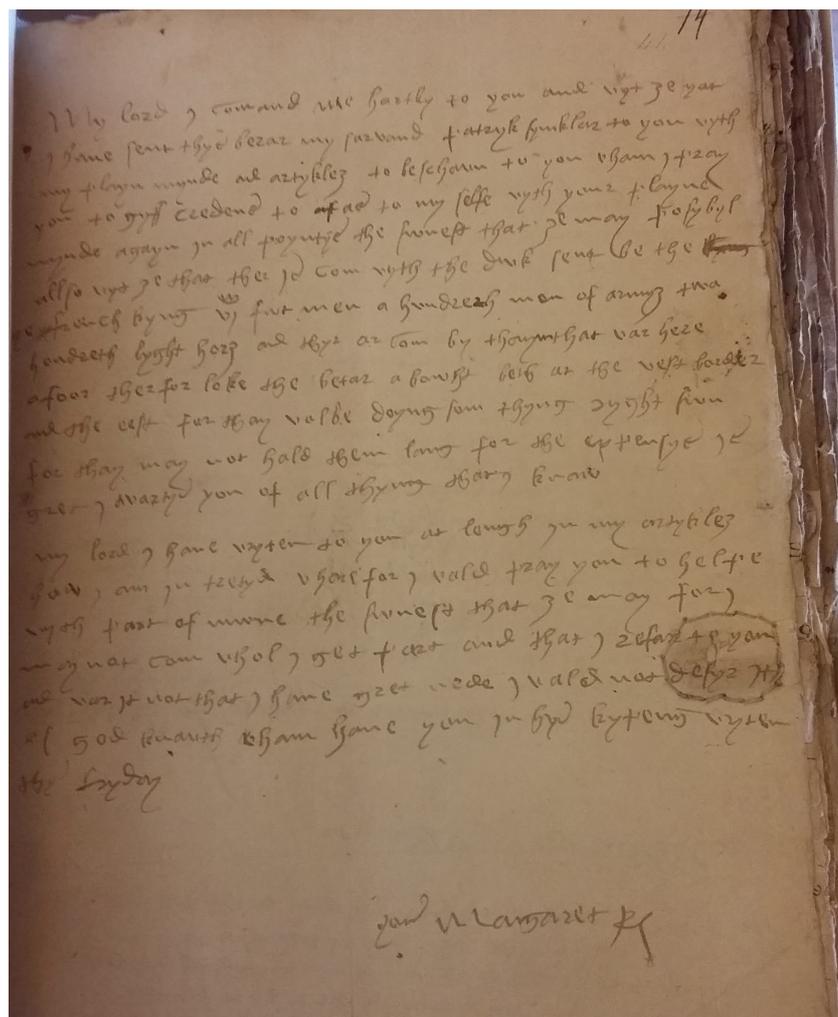


Figure 5.1: Holograph letter of credence from Margaret Tudor to Thomas Howard, 20 September 1523, Bod Tanner MS 90 fol. 41

5.2.1. Contents of Margaret Tudor's January 1522 diplomatic bag

As mentioned in Chapter Three, in January 1522, Margaret Tudor sent an unnamed messenger to the English court, seeking an audience with her brother, Henry VIII, and his chief advisor, Thomas Wolsey, to discuss the possibility of organising a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty. The documents that were sent in conjunction with the unnamed messenger are listed below. The model number of each reproduction document included in this chapter is also listed in italics.

1. 6th January 1522 - A holograph letter of credence from Margaret to Henry VIII, requesting credence for the bearer of her memorial (CCB II fol. 276). *Model 1.*
2. 6th January 1522 - A holograph letter of credence to Thomas Wolsey, desiring his help to secure an audience between her messenger and Henry VIII. (CCB I fol. 204). *Model 2.*
3. 4th January 1522 - A signed holograph memorial outlining the articles Margaret's unnamed messenger should discuss with Henry VIII and Wolsey (CCB I fol. 197). *Model 3.*
4. 6th January 1522 - As signed scribal copy of Margaret's 4th January 1522 holograph memorial (CCBVI fol. 208). *Model 4.*

5.2.2. Contents of Margaret Tudor's November 1524 diplomatic bag

During her second regency in November 1524, Margaret despatched an official envoy of ambassadors to the English court, three of whom are named in the accompanying letters of credence: Robert Cockburn, Bishop of Dunkeld, Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassillis, and Alexander Myln, Abbot of Cambuskenneth. These ambassadors were sent to England after a party of English ambassadors had been sent to the Scottish court to propose a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty. The documents included in this diplomatic bag included:

1. 27th November 1524 - Two signed scribal letters of credence to Henry VIII, requesting audience for the three named ambassadors (CCBVII fol. 50 and SP 1/32 fol. 183). *Models 5 and 6.*
2. 28th November 1524 - A signed scribal letter of credence to Thomas Wolsey, also requesting credence and an audience for the named ambassadors (CCBI fol. 254). *Model 7.*
3. 27th November 1524 - Two unsigned scribal memorials which detailed the points the Earl of Cassillis should discuss with Henry VIII to negotiate peace with Scotland (SP 49/2 fol. 152 and CCBVI fol. 191). For the most part, these memorials are very similar. However, CCBVI fol. 191 contains a

number of additional clauses in which Margaret complains of the arrival of her estranged husband in Scotland, and the proposed marriage between Margaret's son, James V, and Henry VIII's daughter, Mary Tudor. *Models 8 and 9*.

4. 26th and 27th November 1524 - Two signed scribal letters of credence from James V to Henry VIII, also naming and requesting credence for the three ambassadors who had been despatched to entreat for peace (SP 1/32 fols. 172 and 187). *Models 10 and 11*.

5.2.3. Correspondence sequences and requests for peace

It should be noted that whilst the January 1522 and November 1524 diplomatic documents were written to achieve the same overall communicative function – to facilitate a renewal of the peace treaty between England and Scotland – they constitute different stages in the diplomatic negotiation process. Margaret's January 1522 memorial and letters of credence sent to Henry VIII and Thomas Wolsey were sent as one of the first and informal stages in the peace negotiation sequence. On this occasion, Margaret had written to Henry VIII to request that he be willing to discuss a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace, and permit the sending of official Scottish ambassadors to England to further these negotiations. This correspondence was initiated by Margaret and the Duke of Albany, and was not sent in response to any earlier overtures regarding peace from Henry VII. In contrast, Margaret's November 1524 diplomatic documents were sent after Henry VIII had sent a party of English ambassadors to the Scottish court to officially entreat for peace. Margaret's November 1524 memorials and letters of credence were thus produced and sent at a later stage in the Anglo-Scots peace negotiation process than her January 1522 diplomatic documents.

5.3. January 1522 vs November 1524: Margaret as active mediator vs official commissioner of peace

One of the most notable differences between the January 1522 and November 1524 episodes, is the stance and role that Margaret was portrayed as playing in each Anglo-Scottish peace negotiation. I will outline these differences in the following section before proceeding to the comparative analysis of the material, linguistic and performative differences between the contents of Margaret's January 1522 and November 1524 diplomatic bags.

January 1522: Margaret as active mediator

In late 1521, the Duke of Albany returned to Scotland for a second time during his regency. As discussed in Chapter Three, upon Albany's request, Margaret sent a holograph letter to Henry VIII on the 9th December 1521, requesting that Henry agree to peace and refrain from making war with Scotland. When Margaret's holograph December 1521 letter went unanswered by Henry VIII,

Margaret sent one of her personal messengers with two holograph letters of credence, and two memorials (one holograph and one scribal) to actively petition Henry VIII to consent to a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty. In these January 1522 diplomatic documents, Margaret highlighted her enthusiasm to be the principle mediator responsible for facilitating the Anglo-Scottish peace.

For example, Margaret emphasised to Henry VIII that she was keen to personally take responsibility for organising Anglo-Scottish peace, and ‘gladly take payne (pain) a pon (upon) me to entartene (entertain; keep up, maintain)³⁷ gwd (good) pece (peace) and concord betwxt (between) your grace and the kyng my son your nefew’ (CCBI fol. 197). As discussed in more detail in Chapter Three, Margaret emphasised that she could independently and efficiently organise the details of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty to such an extent that Henry VIII’s official ambassadors would only need to ‘ratyfy (ratify) and solem (solemn; to honour with appropriate rites and ceremonies’ (CCBI fol. 197) the peace treaty in person. In the January 1522 diplomatic documents, Margaret thus sought to present herself as being an incredibly effective and successful diplomatic mediator; a strategy used to emphasise her use and diplomatic value to the heads of the English and Scottish courts.

November 1524: Margaret as official commissioner of peace

In the November 1524 diplomatic documents, we can note a subtle but significant shift in Margaret’s role in the Anglo-Scottish peace negotiations. In early August 1524, Margaret replaced John Stewart, Duke of Albany, as the governing regent of Scotland. The *OED* notes that the term ‘regent’ accords to a ‘person invested with royal authority...appointed to administer the affairs of a country or state during the minority, absence, or incapacity of the monarch’ (*OED* ‘regent’, n., in use from c1425). As governing regent, Margaret moved from the margins of the Scottish court to its very centre, and was granted increased political powers and authorised to govern Scotland under the royal authority of her young son, James V, King of Scotland. Instead of occupying a relatively neutral position between the courts of England and Scotland as she had done in January 1522 – which allowed Margaret to actively perform the role of peacemaker herself – in November 1524 we see Margaret’s allegiances and responsibilities notably shift to align with the Scottish faction. This in turn had a direct affect on the role Margaret played in the November 1524 Anglo-Scottish peace negotiations.

Although Margaret had sent her personal messenger to Henry VIII in January 1522 to entreat for peace, this was not regarded as a formal diplomatic move or procedure. In the scribal November 1524 memorial Margaret noted that

³⁷ *OED* ‘entertain’, v. sense I 1.a (recorded usage from c1452 onwards).

‘this ambassadores (ambassadors) ar the fyrst that euer I causit (caused) to be send [to England]’ (CCBVI fol. 191). In this utterance, Margaret shows that by replacing Albany as the governing regent of Scotland, she became the controlling agent responsible for commissioning the official despatch of ambassadors to England. Whilst Margaret also emphasised in this memorial that she had still made personal ‘sollesting (soliciting) and labor[s] (labours)’ (CCBVI fol. 191) in the Anglo-Scottish peace negotiations by initiating the despatch of the official ambassadors to England, Margaret does not describe herself as being the direct mediator and ‘labor[er]’ of peace in the November 1524 diplomatic documents.

‘the kyng my son, (*replaceable agent*), and the rawlme’: Who is the commissioner of peace?

Analysis of a key phrase that recurs in the chosen diplomatic documents also reflects this subtle change in Margaret’s position in the Anglo-Scottish peace negotiations between January 1522 and November 1524. As discussed in Chapter Three, on 9th December 1521 Margaret sent a holograph letter (CCBI fol. 187) to Henry VIII requesting that he agree to a truce between England and Scotland. This document acted as a precursor to the holograph memorial that Margaret sent in January 1522 when she received no reply to her original December 1521 letter. In this December 1521 letter, Margaret noted that:

2) In the mene (mean) tyme **the kyng my son my lord gowarnor (governor) and the rawlme (realm) may send thayr (their) In basytors (ambassaors) to the fardar (further) of the pees (peace)** (Margaret to Henry VIII, 9 December 1521, CCBI fol. 187)

In this extract, Margaret highlighted that it was the collective agency of ‘the kyng (king) my son my lord gowarnor (governor) and the rawlme (realme)’ – James V and the Duke of Albany, who acted on behalf of the realm of Scotland – who were responsible for the commissioning and sending of official ambassadors to entreat for peace with England. Margaret was not included in this description, an act which shows that during this period Margaret was not endorsed with sufficient legitimate authority and power to instigate official negotiations of peace herself. This presentation is further supported through the use of the possessive pronoun ‘thayr’ (their) in the phrase ‘thayr In basytors’ (their ambassadors) which linguistically excludes Margaret from this reference and the collective agency of James V, Albany and the realm of Scotland.

A very similar phrase occurs in Margaret’s scribal November 1524 memorial (CCBVI fol. 191), yet subtly reflects the transition in the role that Margaret played in the Anglo-Scottish peace negotiations during this period. In this memorial, Margaret discusses the potential marriage between James V and Princess Mary of England:

3) In the fyrst tweching (touching) the mariage that **the king my sone I and his realme** desyris (desires) quharby (whereby) that may grow daylie luff (love) and kindness betuex (between) the twa (two) realmes (Margaret's Instructions to Cassillis, 27 November 1524, CCBVI fol. 191)

In the phrase 'the king my sone I and his realme', use of the first person pronoun 'I' signals that Margaret was the second agent included in this phrase. Direct comparison with the similar phrase 'the kyng my son my lord gowarnor and the rawlme' included in Margaret's 9th December 1521 holograph letter, shows that in the November 1524 memorial Albany had been replaced by Margaret as the second agent in this phrase. This simple linguistic substitution shows that in November 1524 Margaret had replaced Albany as the head of the Scottish government, and was now the principle agent responsible for making important diplomatic and political decisions of behalf of her son, James V, and the people of Scotland. Furthermore, in the November 1524 memorial, Margaret also used the phrase 'our ambassado^{res}' (our ambassadors) (CCBVI fol. 191) instead of 'thayr In basytors' (their ambassadors) (CCBI fol. 187) as seen in her 9th December 1521 holograph letter to Henry VIII. This subtle change in pronoun shows that Margaret was now responsible for authorising the despatch of the official ambassadors of Scotland, and could now refer to ambassadorial party using the *royal we* possessive pronoun 'our ambassado^{res}'.

5.4. Letters of credence

In the preceding section I have briefly discussed how Margaret's role in the Anglo-Scottish peace negotiations developed between January 1522 and November 1524. In the following section, I will explore how this change is reflected in the material and linguistic composition of the letters of credence included in the January 1522 and November 1524 diplomatic bags.

Whilst studies that focus simply on the linguistic composition of early modern correspondence can make perceptive observations of historical language use, it is important to remember that early modern letters were physical objects. Wiggins notes that:

The communicative function of a letter was intricately intertwined with the precise etiquettes of its material forms, such as enclosures or gifts, and accompanying personnel. (Wiggins 2016: 9-10)

Thus, the visual features of Margaret's January 1522 and November 1524 letters of credence, and the agents entrusted to deliver them, in addition to the language contained within these documents, would have had a significant effect on how they were understood and interpreted by Henry VIII.

5.4.1. Material features of the January 1522 letters of credence

As mentioned previously, two holograph letters of credence were included in Margaret's January 1522 diplomatic packet, and were addressed to Henry VIII and his chief political advisor Thomas Wolsey. Margaret's holograph letter of credence to Henry VIII was written portrait, on a single bifolium sheet of paper. Figure 5.2, below, shows the first and second pages of this document (*model 1*). Unfortunately, the outer address leaf has not survived (probably removed for scrap paper), so I am unable to analyse the folding and sealing mechanisms used in this letter. However, the outer leaf does survive on Margaret's holograph letter of credence to Thomas Wolsey (CCBI fol. 204) (*model 2*), and this might give us some idea of how Margaret's letter of credence to Henry VIII would have been folded, sealed and addressed.

Figure 5.3, below, shows the first and fourth leaves of Margaret's bifolium letter to Wolsey (CCBI fol. 204), the centre two leaves are left blank. Written on the first leaf of a four leaf bifolium booklet, Margaret used the final leaf of this booklet as the outer address leaf of the document. The letter was then folded in four, vertically, before being folded in half to form a small letter packet. The letter was then sealed with a single slit, through which a triangular paper lock would have been threaded, and the ends were then secured with wax. Unfortunately, the original seal does not survive for this letter, but it would have probably been sealed with one of Margaret's smaller personal seals, such as that seen in the thesis introduction (p. 30). Margaret then addressed the outer leaf with the stylistically-simple holograph inscription 'to my lord cardynal'.

With regards to overall presentation, both of Margaret's January 1522 holograph letters of credence feature the use of corrections and deletions. For example, a deletion can be seen in line ten of Margaret's holograph letter to Henry VIII, and at the beginning of the second line of the same document, Margaret crossed out the letters 'hy' in preference for the spelling 'hwmblyst' (CCBII fol. 276). This would suggest that on this occasion, Margaret did not feel that it was necessary to send 'fair' copies of these letters of credence, and that formal presentation was not a pressing concern when these documents were produced and despatched.

Finally, one of the most noticeable material features of these January 1522 letters of credence is that they are written in Margaret's own hand. In theory, as Margaret's letters of credence were 'concerned with business or administrative matters, formal or official in purpose' and the negotiation of Anglo-Scottish peace, we might expect the documents to be written in a scribal hand in accordance with wider royal correspondence practices (Evans 2016: 37). However, despite apologising to Wolsey for 'trobyl(ing) (troubling) you vyth (with) my ewel (evil) hand' (Margaret to Wolsey, 6 January 1522,

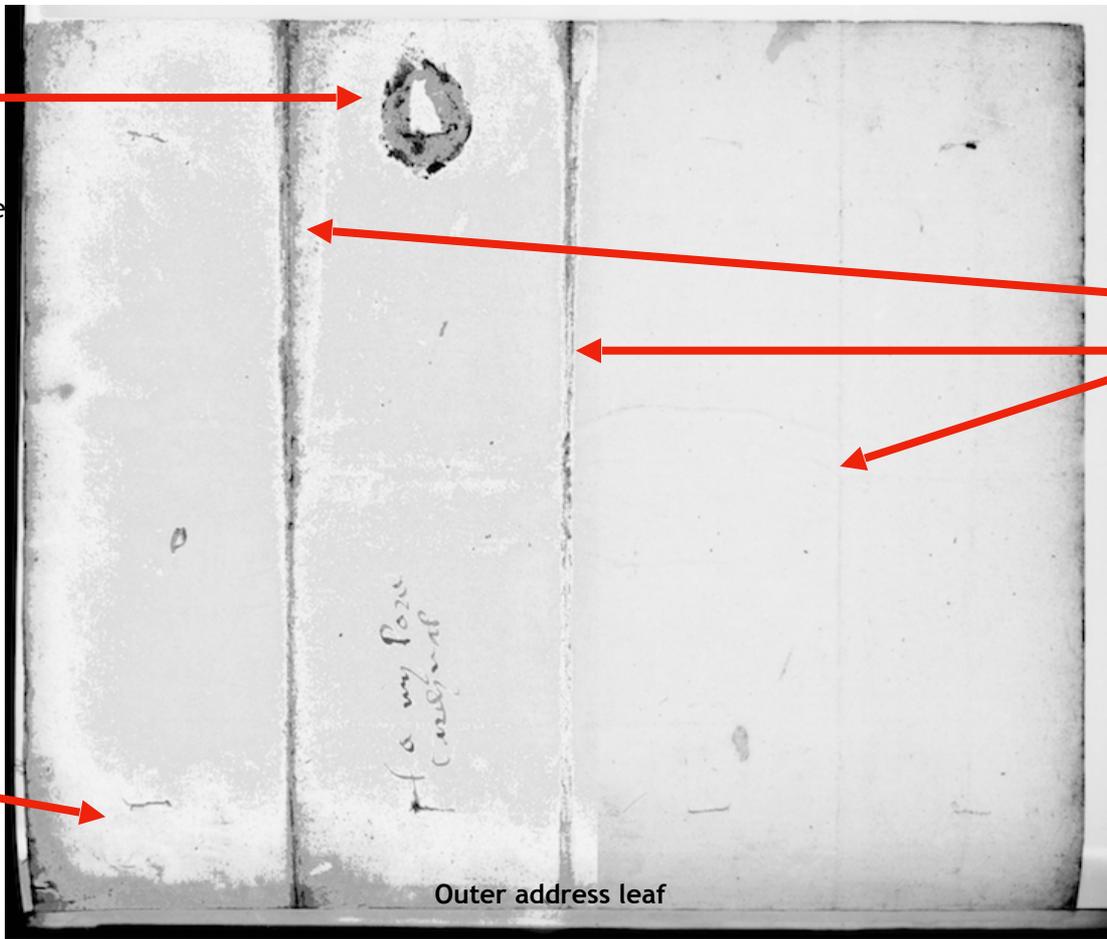
CCBI fol. 204), the fact that Margaret took the time to write the two letters of credence and an eight page memorial with her own hand in January 1522 shows that the holograph status of the composition in this context was more important to Margaret than following the genre conventions of royal diplomatic correspondence. By taking such time and effort to write these letters of credence in her own hand, Margaret materially signalled intimacy and respect to her recipients, and showed that she was devoted and committed to organising peace between England and Scotland through her own personal correspondence.

Whilst Margaret's January 1522 letters of credence to Henry VIII and Thomas Wolsey sought to achieve an important diplomatic task – helping her messenger to secure an audience with Henry VIII to discuss a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty – the overall impression of these two letters is that they were personal, intimate and perhaps even somewhat informal pieces of correspondence. The fact that these letters are composed in Margaret's own hand, include corrections and deletions in the main letter text, and were probably sealed using Margaret's personal seal, show that visually emphasising the *personal* element of these documents was important in how Margaret sought to perform the role of diplomatic mediator through this correspondence in January 1522.

Wax residue from personal seal. Blank space indicates triangular paper lock has been used here to secure the letter.

Slit through which triangular paper lock was inserted.

Letter folds.



Tear from paper lock being removed when letter was opened.

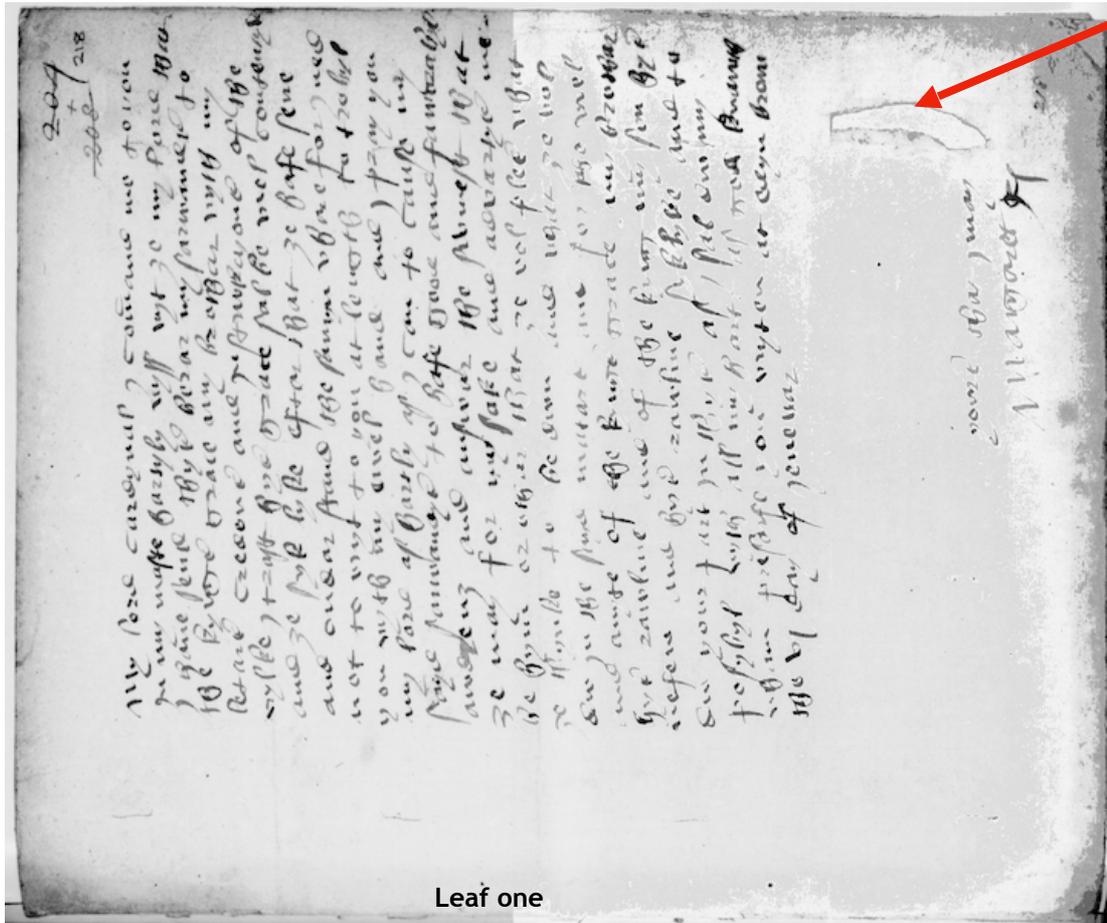


Figure 5.3: Letter of credence Margaret to Thomas Wolsey, 6 January 1522, CCBI fol. 204

5.4.2. Material features of the November 1524 letters of credence

Immediately upon opening the November 1524 diplomatic bag, one is struck by the sheer number of documents that are included in this letter packet. In the January 1522 diplomatic bag Margaret sent only two holograph letters of credence which humbly requested a favourable audience for her unnamed messenger. The November 1524 diplomatic bag, in contrast, contains five scribal letters of credence: two sent from Margaret to Henry VIII, one from Margaret to Wolsey, and two letters of credence sent to Henry VIII in the name of James V, King of Scotland. Due to limitations of space, I will focus on Margaret's scribal letters of credence to Henry VIII and Wolsey in this chapter, as this allows for direct comparison of the two collections. I will offer a discussion of the pragmatic significance and effect of James V's letters of credence being sent in conjunction with Margaret's correspondence later in this chapter.

In this section, I will refer closely to the *model letters 5 and 7* (letter of credence to Henry VIII is *model 5*, letter of credence to Wolsey is *model 7*). Figure 5.4, below, shows the inner and outer leaves of Margaret's November 1524 letter of credence to Henry VIII (CCBVII Fol. 50). Unfolding the replica of this letter, you can see that the top and bottom sections of the letter are folded horizontally to the centre of the page. The outer edges are then folded in to make a square letter packet. A long, rectangular strip of paper (the paper lock) was then inserted through two slits in letter, the ends of which were secured with wax. While the original seal does not survive in this particular letter, a square paper slip would have been inserted on top of the wax, which would then have been imprinted with an impression of one of Margaret's seals. Analysis of the surviving traces of wax on the letter suggest that one of Margaret's larger signet seals – typically used for more official correspondence – was used to secure this letter.³⁸

One of the immediate visual differences between Margaret's holograph January 1522 letter of credence to Henry VIII and its November 1524 counterpart is the orientation and size of paper upon which the later letter is written. Whilst the January 1522 holograph letter to Henry VIII was written portrait on two leaves of a bifolium booklet, the November 1524 scribal letter of credence is written landscape on a significantly larger piece of paper - a full folio. This simple change gives Margaret's November 1524 letter to Henry VIII an immediately more impressive and imposing physical presence than Margaret's holograph January 1522 letter of credence to Henry. Large blank margins are also used to the left, above and below the main letter text as a material signal of deference and respect to Henry VIII (as paper was such an expensive commodity in the early modern period).

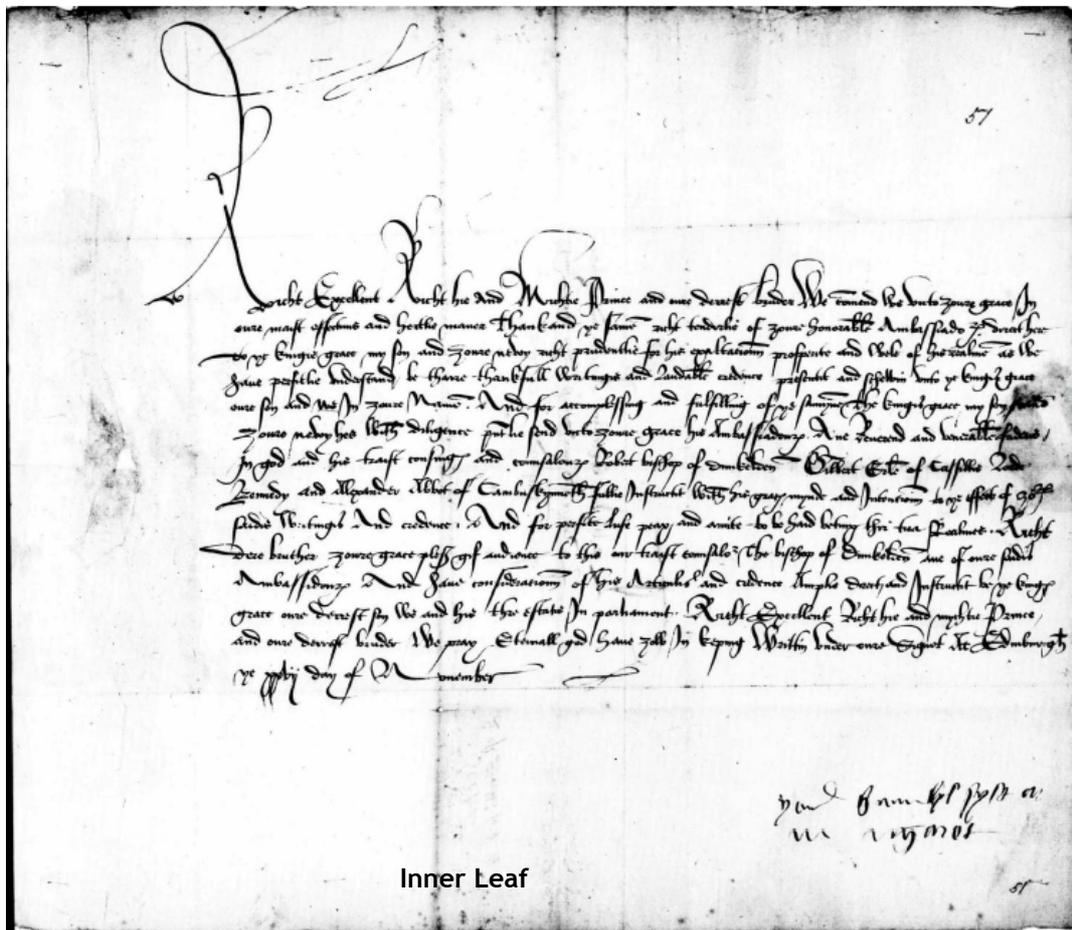
³⁸ An example of Margaret's larger signet seals can be found on p. 32 of the introduction.

In comparison to Margaret's November 1524 letter of credence to Henry VIII, her accompanying letter of credence to Thomas Wolsey is noticeably different in terms of orientation and overall paper size. As can be seen in *model 7* and figure 5.5 below, Margaret's November 1524 letter of credence to Wolsey is written on the first two pages of a four page bifolium booklet, and the final page is used as an outer address leaf to protect the inner contents of the letter from prying eyes. Sending a letter to Wolsey written on a smaller piece of paper, and using a different orientation (portrait) in comparison to Margaret's November 1524 scribal letter to Henry VIII, is used to materially acknowledge differences in social status between the two recipients.³⁹

Margaret's scribal letter to Thomas Wolsey (CCBI fol. 254) appears to have been sealed in a similar fashion to her letter of credence addressed to Henry VIII. Analysis of the outer leaf of this document suggests that the letter was first folded lengthways, and then the upper and outer edges were folded into the centre of the page to form a square letter packet. The letter was then sealed using the same two-slit and rectangular paper locking mechanism used in Margaret's November 1524 letter of credence to Henry VIII. Whilst the original seal also does not survive on this manuscript, traces of the original paper square placed on top of the wax seal to secure the two ends of the rectangular paper lock can be seen. The size of this residue suggests that this letter was also sealed using one of Margaret's 'official' larger signet seals.

Finally, the hand in which these two November 1524 letters of credence were written highlights a sharp contrast with Margaret's January 1522 material practices. Instead of choosing to write the November 1524 letters of credence in her own hand as she does in January 1522, Margaret instead assigns the task to a professional scribe. Such a move signals that the sending of holograph letters of credence in this particular context was not necessary or appropriate. Instead, Margaret conforms to the genre conventions of scribal correspondence as outlined by Evans above, and uses a scribal hand to signal that these letters of credence were 'formal or official in purpose' (2016: 37).

³⁹ The significance of orientation as a marker of social status is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five, pp. 192-200.



Inner Leaf

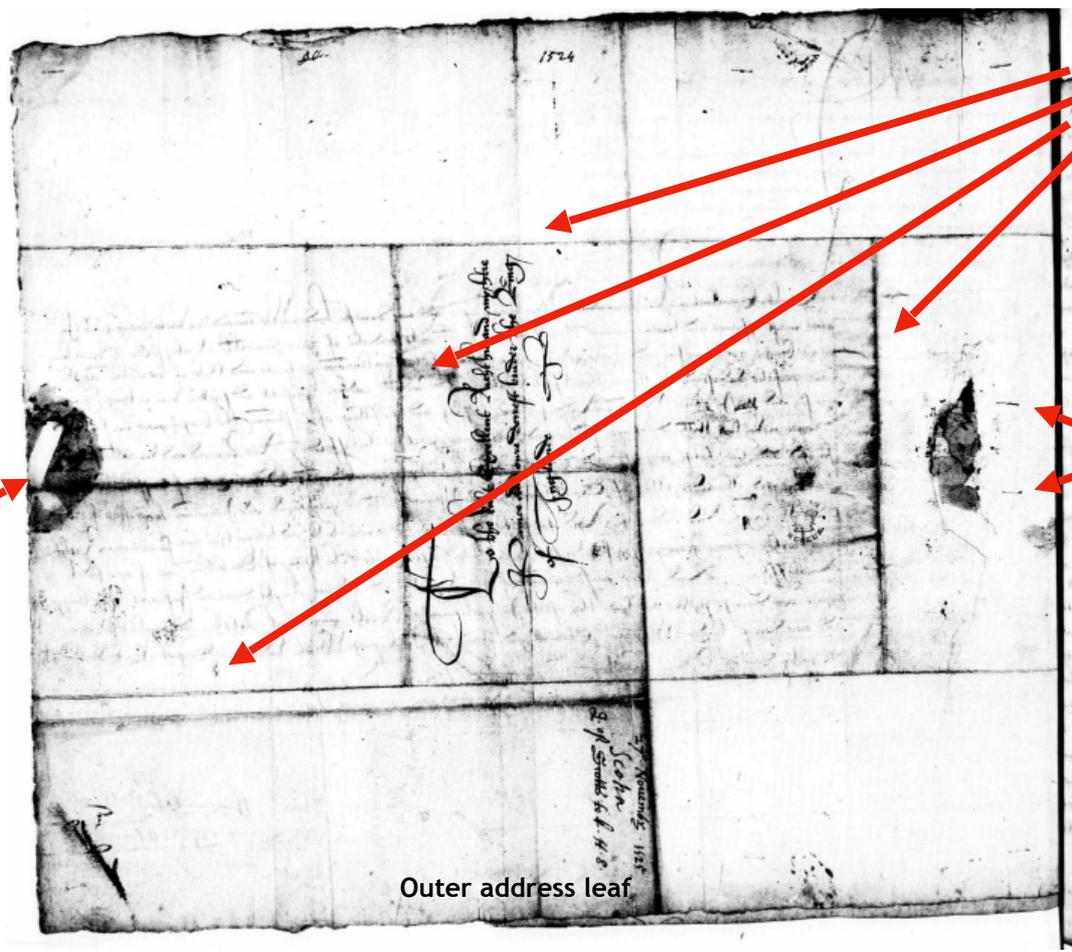
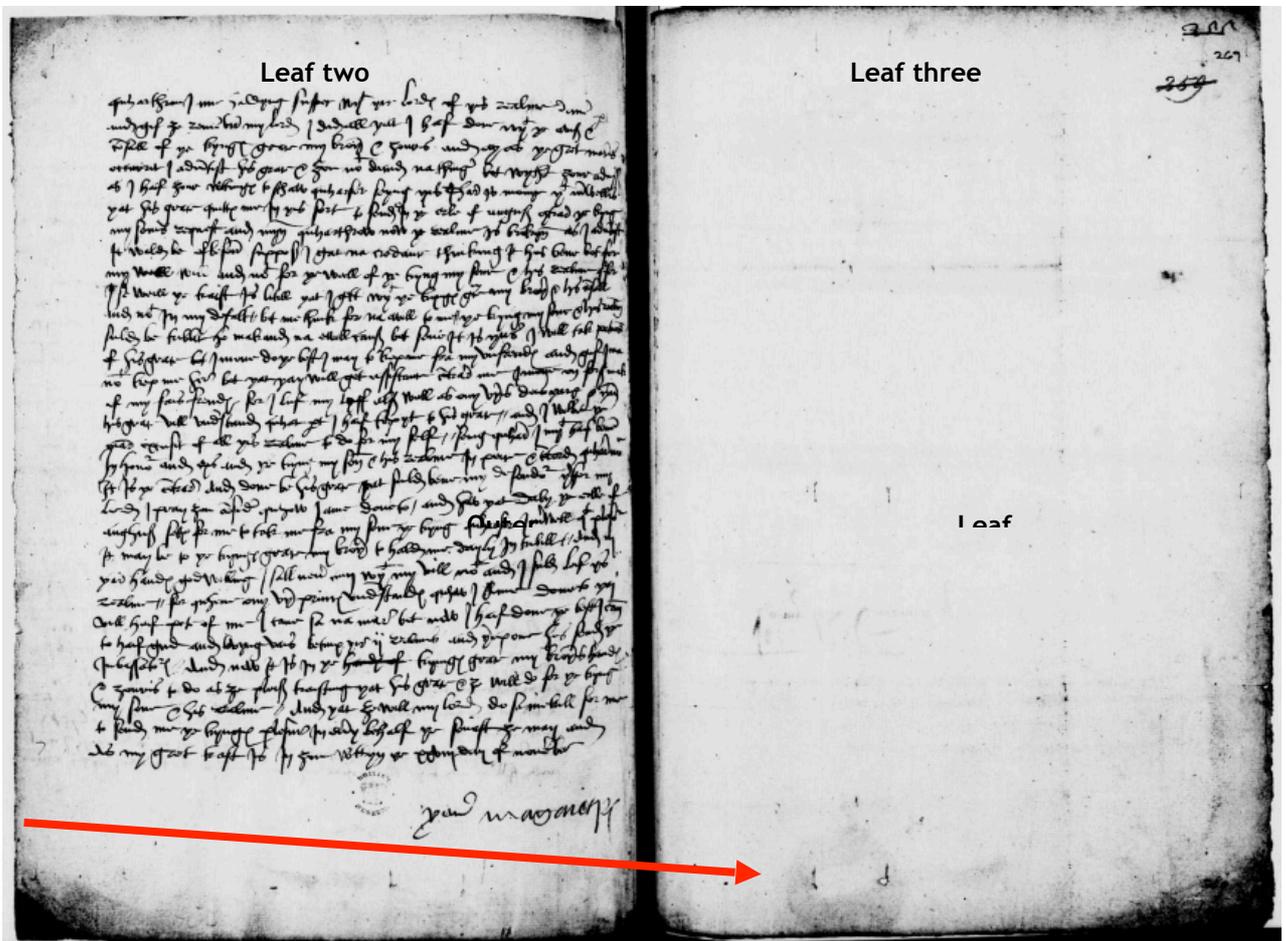


Figure 5.4: Letter of credence Margaret to Henry VIII, 27 November 1524, CCBVII fol. 50



Slits through which paper lock was inserted.

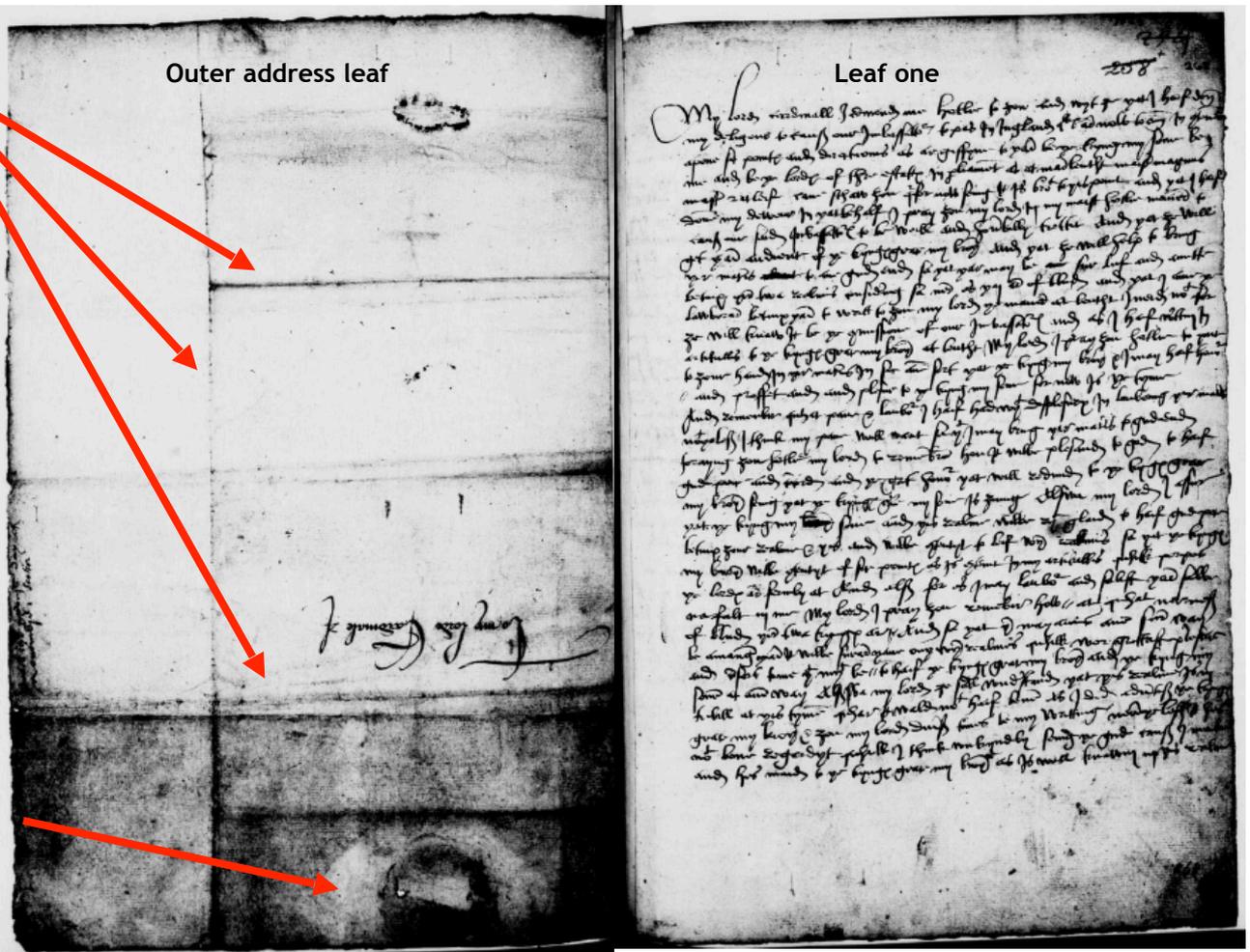


Figure 5.5: Letter of credence Margaret to Thomas Wolsey, 28 November 1524, CCBI fol. 254

Overall, a number of significant material differences can be seen between Margaret's January 1522 and November 1524 letters of credence. Firstly, the use of Margaret's larger 'official' signet seal to secure the two November 1524 letters of credence would have immediately signalled to Henry VIII and Thomas Wolsey that these documents were official, authoritative royal documents. Secondly, the use of significantly larger paper with a landscape orientation in Margaret's November 1524 letter of credence to Henry VIII in comparison to the November 1524 letter to Thomas Wolsey was used to formally acknowledge Henry VIII's superior social status and power. Finally, the use of a scribal hand in the two November 1524 letters of credence again visually shows that these letters were official, legitimate and authoritative royal despatches, which commanded respect and immediate attention.

The above analysis would suggest that Margaret's January 1522 and November 1524 letters of credence to Henry VIII and Thomas Wolsey would have had significantly different material impacts. Despite being produced to perform a somewhat formal communicative task – of seeking to organise a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty – Margaret's January 1522 holograph letters of credence are marked as visually intimate and personal pieces of correspondence. The material features of Margaret's November 1524 scribal letters of credence, on the other hand, visually signal that these documents were formal and official overtures for peace. One way through which we might further ascertain the differences in performative impact between these two collections of diplomatic correspondence is to investigate their linguistic composition. In the following section, I will explore the use of address terms and pronouns in Margaret's January 1522 and November 1524 letters of credence to explore how a change in political status affected the language of Margaret's diplomatic correspondence.

5.4.3. Linguistic differences

Address forms

One of the most distinguishable linguistic differences between Margaret's January 1522 and November 1524 letters of credence is the use of pronouns and address forms. In the holograph January 1522 letter of credence, Margaret addressed Henry VIII with the simple mixed-politeness (Nevala 2004) opening address 'deryst (dearest) brothar (brother) the kyng (king)' (CCBII fol. 276). This phrase formally acknowledged Henry VIII's official title as 'king' of England, whilst also using the positive politeness kinship term 'deryst brother' to emphasise the familial bond that Margaret and Henry VIII shared. However, through using the term 'deryst brothar' first in the opening address, Margaret foregrounded their sibling kinship before Henry's formal role as king of England. Such phrasing is typical of Margaret's holograph

writing to Henry VIII, and helps to make Margaret's correspondence with Henry VIII respectful, yet personal.

The November 1524 scribal letter of credence, in comparison, opens with the notably more amplified, negatively-polite and conventional scribal formulaic address 'Richt (right) Excellent Richt (right) hie (high) and Michtie (mighty) prince and oure (our) derrest (dearest) bruder (brother)' (CCBVII fol. 50). To some extent, the presence of variations of the phrase 'derrest brother' in both of Margaret's January 1522 and November 1524 letters of credence shows some similarities between the two documents, though the ordering of the address terms is notable. Where Margaret foregrounded her and Henry VIII's intimate blood relation before his formal role as king of England in her January 1522 letter of credence, in the November 1524 scribal letter to Henry VIII this order is reversed. Instead, this scribal document formally acknowledges Henry VIII's official status as 'prince' of England, over and above his sibling relationship as the 'derrest bruder' of Margaret Tudor.

Furthermore, instead of simply endorsing Henry's formal title via the phrase 'the kyng (king)' as seen in the January 1522 holograph letter of credence, this scribal November 1524 letter heavily pre-modifies the formal title 'prince' with the very flattering deferential phrase 'Richt Excellent Richt hie and Michtie prince'. Whilst this formal greeting was most likely a feature of the scribal genre rather than Margaret's personal idiolect, the use of this phrase still results in a letter of credence with a very different performative and pragmatic effect. The use of different opening address forms thus makes Margaret's November 1524 scribal letter of credence to Henry VIII feel more formal and ceremonial than the more personal and familial tone of her January 1522 holograph letter of credence.

Pronouns: *I* vs *royal we*

Analysis of the November 1524 scribal opening address 'Richt Excellent Richt hie and Michtie prince and oure derrest bruder' also reveals another notable linguistic contrast between Margaret's holograph and scribal letters of credence – the use of the *royal we* pronoun. The *OED* defines *royal we* as a pronoun '(u)sed by a sovereign or ruler' (*OED royal we, pron.*). Evans, one of the only scholars to date to have studied the pragmatics of *royal we* in any great detail in sixteenth century royal correspondence, notes that *royal we* was the dominant first-person pronoun form used in Elizabeth I's post-accession official scribal correspondence (2013: 144). She also goes on to suggest that an '*I* and *royal we*...autograph/scribal distinction' can be observed in the correspondence of other sixteenth-century monarchs (2013: 153). Based on Evans' suggestions, we might therefore expect royal holograph letters written in a monarch's own hand to primarily use the first person

singular pronouns *I*, *me* and *my*, whereas royal scribal letters produced by an amanuensis would generally use the plural first person *royal we* pronoun.

Evans associates the use of *royal we* with the theological idea of a king's 'body politic' vs 'body natural', that the *royal we* pronoun refers to and draws upon the additional authority of the royal establishment (including the government, court and royal household) beyond a king or queen's independent authority. Onions notes that this usage of *royal we* 'may have been seen in OE., where the King frequently in the early part of a document made use of *ic* = "I", and then went on with *wē*, meaning "I and my advisors", "I and my council"' (Onions 1971: 133). In light of these observations, use of the *royal we* pronoun in royal scribal documents could be used on occasions in which a monarch was writing or acting on behalf of his/her realm and council, and would have felt more linguistically authoritative than a royal holograph letter which made use of only the first person singular pronouns *I*, *me* and the possessive pronoun *my*.

Analysis of the pronominal self-reference terms in Margaret's January 1522 holograph letters of credence to Henry VIII and Thomas Wolsey reveals that Margaret only made use of the singular first person pronoun forms *I*, *me* and *my* in these documents. In this instance, Margaret's January 1522 holograph letters of credence thus accord with Evans' //*royal we* holograph/scribal distinction. Though Margaret sent these letters of credence under the commission of the Duke of Albany, by using only first person singular pronouns, Margaret signalled to Henry VIII that these letters were personal appeals for peace that did not draw upon the rhetorical authority of the Scottish body politic in an attempt to persuade Henry VIII to agree to peace. Again, the *personal* element of Margaret's peace-keeping efforts, and her attempts to fulfil the role of Anglo-Scots diplomatic mediator autonomously and successfully through her own personal holograph correspondence, are highlighted through her use of singular first person self-reference pronouns.

The same cannot be said for the scribal November 1524 letters of credence. For the most part, Margaret's scribal November 1524 letter of credence to Wolsey makes use of the first person singular pronouns *I*, *me* and *my* as the main pronominal reference forms, with the exception of the use of the plural *royal we* pronoun on three occasions in the phrase 'our Inbassatto^{res} (ambassadors)'. This phrase may have two possible interpretations: firstly that 'our' is simply a token of exclusive *we*, which Wales notes 'refer(s) "exclusively" to the speaker and a third party' (1997: 58), and thus would refer 'exclusively' to Margaret and her son, James V. However, I would argue that this phrase is actually a token of *royal we*, as it refers to the ambassadorial group chosen to represent not only James V, King of Scotland, but also the realm of Scotland – its people, lords, government, and council – the Scottish 'body politic'. Use of the *royal we* pronoun on this occasion

signals that in November 1524 Margaret was instead working in conjunction with James V, and the Lords of Scotland (essentially the body politic) to seek to facilitate peace with England.

Where Margaret's November 1524 scribal letter to Wolsey was composed using predominantly first person singular pronouns, her scribal letter to Henry VIII is written almost entirely using the *royal we* pronoun. For example:

4) Richt (right) excellent Richt (right) hie (high) and Michtie (mighty) Prince and **oure** (our) derrest bruder (brother) **We** commend **ws** (**us**) vnto 3oure grace In **oure** (our) maist (most) effectuus (effectuous; urgent, earnest) and hertlie maner Thankand (thanking) the same richt (right) tenderlie of 3oure honorable Ambassadors direct here to the kingis (king's) grace my son (CCBVII fol. 50)

Unlike Margaret's scribal letter to Wolsey, *royal we* does not occur with specific collocates such as 'our ambassadors' in the November 1524 scribal letter to Henry VIII. Instead, *royal we* is used in all but two phrases in the letter ('my son'), even in kinship terms such as 'our derrest (dearest) bruder (brother)'. Whilst use of *royal we* in this document might simply be a formulaic feature of the scribal genre – as suggested by Evans above – and not a feature of Margaret's own linguistic repertoire, the fact that Margaret's letter of credence to Henry VIII has been written in a scribal hand and makes use of the *royal we* pronoun has a significant effect on the performative impact of the letter. Use of a pronoun which draws upon the authority of the Scottish body politic thus results in a significantly more formal, ceremonial and authoritative impact in Margaret's November 1524 scribal letters of credence than the January 1522 holograph letters which use singular first person pronouns to make a personal and independent plea for peace.

5.5. Memorials

In the following section, I will focus on the second type of document found in Margaret Tudor's January 1522 and November 1524 diplomatic bags known as the 'memorial'. The *OED* defines a memorial as being reserved for 'diplomatic use', being 'any of various informal state papers giving an account of the matter under discussion, *esp.* one presented by an ambassador to the state of which he or she is accredited, or by a government to one of its agents abroad' (*OED memorial, n.*, first listed occurrence 1536). Sixteen memorials survive in the Margaret Tudor Corpus, written between September 1515 and July 1528. Two of these are holograph documents, and the rest are scribal compositions or copies of Margaret's original memorials. Margaret refers to this genre by a variety of names including 'memoryal' (memorial) (CCBI fol. 234), 'artykels' (articles) (CCBI fol. 197), and 'Instrwkayons' (instructions) (CCBI fol. 204).

To date, little attention has been paid to the memorial genre or offered a detailed investigation into the communicative function, linguistic features and delivery practices of this genre. In this section, I will offer an analysis of some of the material and linguistic features of Margaret's January 1522 and November 1524 memorials, and consider if a change in Margaret's political status and the role she played in the Anglo-Scottish diplomatic negotiations had any affect on the composition of these diplomatic documents. I will also explore what this material can tell us about the form and function of the memorial genre more generally, as well as how these memorials were performed. I will also attempt to answer the question: why send a memorial instead of a letter?

Dickinson makes a number of observations of the memorial genre that I will refer to in the following discussion, she notes:

The examples [of memorials] noted have usually a short heading stating that they are instruction to...ambassadors; they are usually in memoir form, each article commencing with 'item', and with no solemn preambles or conclusions...English instructions before and after the date of the Congress were frequently sealed under the great and privy seals and then signed, as for instance Henry V's instructions in 1418 to his ambassadors to France and in 1421 to his ambassadors in Germany. (1955: xx-xxi)

Queller also notes that memorials were addressed to the envoy and 'were not normally sealed' (1967: 123).

5.5.1. January 1522 vs November 1524 memorials

In the following section I will refer to *models 3 and 9* supplied in the reproduction diplomatic letter packets, and conduct a step-by-step analysis of their individual material features.

January 1522 holograph memorial (CCBI fol. 197)

On 4th January 1522 Margaret composed a holograph memorial (CCBI fol. 197) to send with an unnamed messenger to Henry VIII and Thomas Wolsey at the English court. Figure 5.6, below, shows the first and eighth leaves of the January 1522 memorial. This document was written on each side of four sheets of bifolium-sized paper, and has no signs of having been sealed. This may suggest that the memorial was consulted by the messenger on the way to the court of Henry VII (perhaps to rehearse the points he was to discuss with the king), or was inspected by other individuals (such as the border warden Thomas Dacre) before it reached its final destination and audience. In line with Dickinson's observations above, the January 1522 memorial begins with an instruction to the messenger: 'here folous (follows) the pownts (points) and artykels (articles) that 3e sal (shall) schaw (show) to the kyng of Inghland

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(England) my brothar (brother) In my behalf hys systar (sister) qwen (queen) of scotland' (CCBI fol. 197). Over the next seven pages, Margaret used a blank line to separate new points of information, and introduced each clause with the phrases 'In the furst (first)', and 'secondly', and then the term 'Item'.

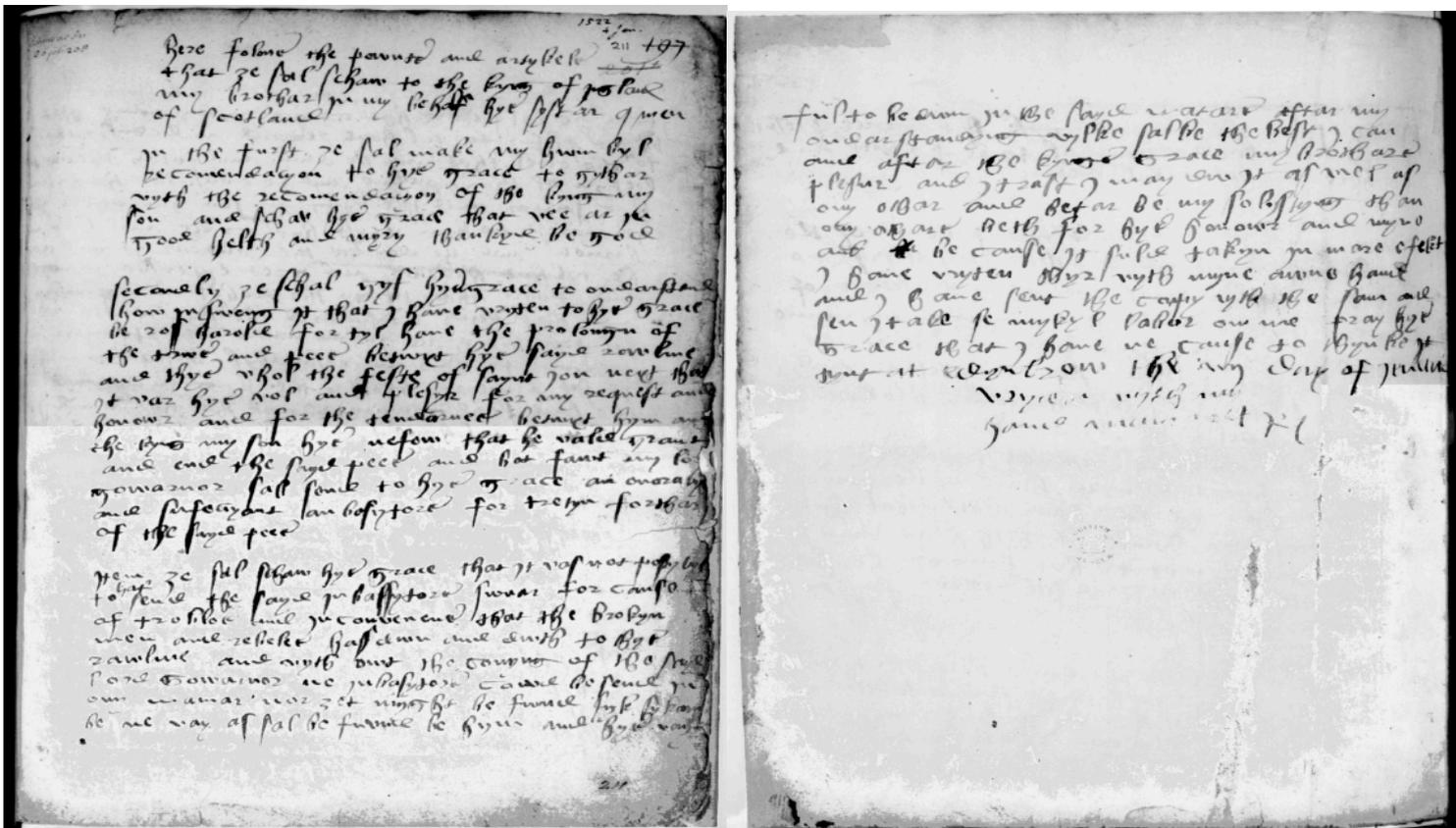


Figure 5.6: First and final leaves of Margaret's holograph memorial, 4 January 1522, CCBI fol. 197

November 1524 scribal memorial (CCBVI fol. 191)

On 27th November 1524 Margaret commissioned a scribe to produce a memorial specifying the points that Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassillis was to discuss during his diplomatic meeting with Henry VIII and Thomas Wolsey. Figure 5.7, below, shows the first and second leaves of Margaret's November 1524 memorial (CCBVI fol. 191). Written in a scribal hand on each side of four sheets of bifolium-sized paper, this memorial also bears no signs of having been sealed. This memorial begins with a preface, instructing Cassillis to discuss a list of points with Henry VIII:

Thir (these) ar the articules (articles) giffine (given) be (by) me mergret (margaret) quenne (queen) of scottis (Scots) to the erll of cassillis to schaw (show) in my namme and behalff to the kinges grace my bruthre (brother) desiring ansuring (answering) in euery point (CCBVI fol. 191)

Each clause of the memorial is also prefaced using a phrase such as ‘In the ferst (first)’, ‘To the second point’ etc. Use of this structuring device, and the visual separation of each point of information with a blank line would presumably have allowed the ambassador (or final recipient) to easily refer to specific points/terms of the memorial during delivery but also in later consultations with the foreign monarch. Overall, an analysis of the orientation, sealing (or lack of sealing), visual presentation and use of structuring devices employed in Margaret’s holograph January 1522 and scribal November 1524 memorials shows that these documents followed similar presentation and structuring guidelines, with the exception of hand choice.

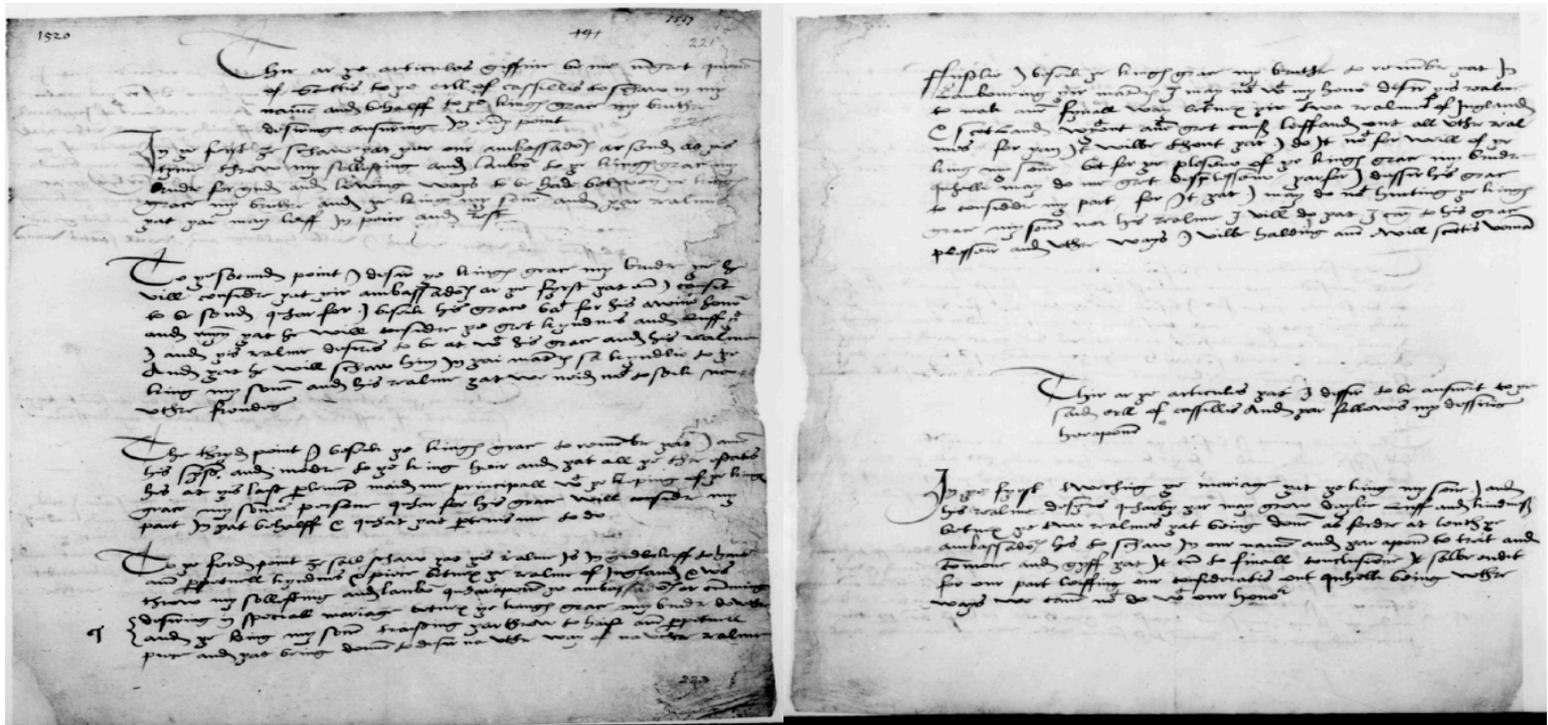


Figure 5.7: First and second leaves of Margaret’s scribal memorial, 27 November 1524, CCBVI fol. 191

5.5.2. Why send a memorial instead of a letter?

In both of the January 1522 and November 1524 memorials, Margaret made frequent use of the verb ‘schaw’ (show), nine times in the January 1522 holograph memorial, and eleven times in the November 1524 memorial. For example, in her January 1522 memorial to Henry VIII, Margaret begins the document with the direction ‘here followis (follows) the pointes and articulis (articles) that 3e sall (shall) schaw (show) to the kinges grace of Ingland my broder (brother) on my behalf his sister quene (queen) of scotland’ (Margaret to Henry VIII, 6 January 1522, CCBVI fol. 208). But what exactly does Margaret mean by using the verb *schaw*?

The *OED* notes a number of appropriate senses which might shine some light on the communicative and material functions of the memorial genre. Firstly, sense 6a. 'To produce (a legal document, passport, etc.) for official inspection; to exhibit (something) in order to prove that one possesses it.' (*OED* 'show', v. sense in use from 1325). This might suggest that a memorial was visually displayed to the intended audience, and offered as proof that the messenger was acting in line with the sender's wishes. Such a factor probably affected Margaret's decision to send a holograph memorial for 'mare efekt' (more effect) (CCBI fol. 170) in January 1522. The *OED* records another appropriate sense of the verb 'show': 'To communicate, announce declare, narrate, state, tell (a fact, news, a story, etc.); to describe, give an account of.' (*OED* 'show', v. sense in use from 1200). This sense would suggest that the memorial was performed verbally by a messenger or proxy in front of a host monarch. Further discussion of this verbal delivery is offered below.

Why might an early modern interlocutor send a memorial to be verbally performed by a proxy, instead of simply sending a letter? As mentioned in Chapter Three, sending a messenger or ambassador to perform a set of instructions verbally would have had a greater performative impact, immediacy and perlocutionary (persuasive) force than a written letter. The performer could employ a variety of additional paralinguistic tools, such as variations in intonation and volume, as well as facial expressions and physical gestures to emphasise particular points and make the contents of the memorial more interactive and engaging (and thus perhaps more persuasive) for the intended audience.

Schneider also suggests that the memorial genre was used in response to renaissance anxieties about the potential insincerity of written communication in comparison to face-to-face conversation. He proposes that the 'memorial is an instance of the early modern unification of oral and written modes, a method of moderating what I perceived as a sense of anxiety manifest in the early modern epistolary condition' (Schneider 2005: 28). Schneider's comment offers a potential explanation of why an early modern writer might choose to send a memorial instead of a letter. In contrast to a simple letter which would not have had any additional performative elements, an early modern writer could send a messenger to act as the proxy and verbally perform the contents of a memorial with the additional paralinguistic gestures that we might ordinarily expect of face-to-face communication. As a result, a memorial might therefore have been regarded as being more immediate, and perhaps a more believable and trustworthy genre of communication to an early modern audience than a simple letter.

An additional benefit of sending a personal representative to perform a memorial is that the messenger could observe how the contents of the

memorial were received by the intended recipient. Whilst this information could be reported back to the sender and offer an honest report of how a communication was received by the recipient, such paralinguistic cues could also be used by the messenger in the immediate context of the memorial performance. If the intended audience looked displeased at the content of the memorial, the ambassador might adapt the contents and focus of the memorial on the spot to try and ensure that the diplomatic negotiations proceeded more effectively.

Finally, the sending of an ambassador with a set of instructions to negotiate diplomatic issues such as a peace treaty or marriage agreement might have been used instead of a more standard epistolary exchange for the sake of efficiency. In a normal epistolary exchange, writers would have waited a number of weeks for a reply to a letter and would potentially have had to deal with issues such as letters being intercepted or lost. Such problems of exchange would mean that the ironing out of specific details in diplomatic negotiations via letters could take several months or even years. However, in the case of memorials, a monarch (or sender) could hold extensive discussions with an ambassador before their departure, including highlighting any potential concessions they were willing to make in the diplomatic negotiations. An ambassador would then present the points of a memorial to the host monarch, but was also entrusted to negotiate and confirm further points of a proposed peace treaty on behalf of their own monarch. Such an activity would theoretically advance and speed up the negotiation process, and might explain why medieval and early modern agents chose to send an ambassador and a memorial for the discussion of diplomatic matters, instead of simply resorting to a conventional epistolary exchange.

5.5.3. The verbal performance of memorials

Whilst early modern letters might have been read privately by a single individual, or read aloud to an audience, it appears that a messenger carrying a memorial would act as a proxy for the named sender and verbally declare the contents of a memorial to the chosen audience. Indeed, Schneider observes that memorials were ‘letters in their authorized...epistemological function to relay information, but were spoken by the trusted bearer of the party intended – a medium of communication somewhere between the officially inscribed warrant of the epistle and the immediacy of oral delivery (2005: 28), and Queller notes that the wording of diplomatic instructions ‘indicates that they were virtually to be read’ (1967: 125). Allinson also observes that Elizabeth I sent a memorial to Mary, Queen of Scots that was ‘to be read aloud by Shrewsbury and Robert Beale’ (2012: 89).

References to the verbal performance of memorials can be found throughout the Margaret Tudor Corpus. In 1515, Thomas Dacre reported that he had

‘herd’ (heard) a ‘credence...frome (from) the queyne (queen) of scottis (scots)’ (Margaret to Henry VIII, September 1515, CCBII fol. 368). In the January 1522 memorial, Margaret explicitly stated that ‘my lord cardynal (cardinal) be present vyth (with) the kynges (king’s) grace to here (hear) the sayd (said) artykels (articles)’ (Margaret to Henry VIII, 4 January 1522, CCBI fol. 197). In a memorial to the Lords of Scotland, Margaret acknowledged the receipt of a memorial which the Lords of Scotland had ‘direct to walter oglivy to say to me’ (Margaret to Lords of Scotland, May 1525, CCBVII fol. 23). Finally, Margaret refers to a memorial received from Thomas Howard, noting that ‘my lord vhare (where) your memoryal spekyth (speaketh) that ther (there) be lordy3 (lords) chosyn (chosen) to dw (do) lusty3 (justice)’ (Margaret to Thomas Howard, 3 September 1524, CCBVI fol. 402). But were memorials read verbatim and used virtually as a script for the envoy, or did they simply provide a list of key points that an envoy would embellish and adjust where appropriate?

‘3e schal (shall) gyf (give) hys grace to ondarstand (understand)’

On two occasions in the January 1522 holograph memorial, Margaret uses the phrase ‘3e schal (shall) gyf (give) hys grace to ondarstand (understand)’, as can be seen in the below extracts:

5) ...secondly 3e schal (shall) gyf (give) hys grace to ondarstand (understand) how In sweng (toil, labour) In that I haue vryten (written) to hys grace be (by) ross harold (herald) for tyl (to) haue the prolongn (prolonging) of the trws (truce) and pees (peace) betwxt (between) hys sayd ravlme (realme) and thys vhol (while) the feste (feast) of saynt Ion (john) (CCBI fol.197).

6) ...Item 3e sal (shall) gyfe (give) hys grace to ondarstand (understand) of the gwd (good) berayng (bearing) that my lord gowarnor (governor) hath toward me and put In my handys (hands) the byschop-ryke (bishopric) of dwnkel (dunkeld) now vakand (vacant) for the delykt⁴⁰ of hym that had it and hath gyffen (given) me the profets (profits) ther of (thereof) (CCBI fol. 197).

The *OED* notes that the phrase ‘give him to understand’ means ‘to impart to him information that will lead him to believe (etc.)’ (*OED* ‘give’, v. sense 29c, first recorded use in ?1566). This phrase essentially functions as a direct command to Margaret’s unnamed messenger to tell Henry ‘information that will lead him to believe’ the actions that Margaret had made in the peace negotiations, and of the good bearing Albany had shown towards Margaret. We would hardly have expected Margaret’s messenger to repeat this phrasing

⁴⁰ I cannot locate an appropriate definition for this term in the *OED*, Middle English Dictionary, or the Dictionary of the Scots Language.

word-for-word to Henry VIII, as it would not have been appropriate to address the king of England so directly. This phrase instead functioned as a prompt to the messenger that he should present these points to Henry VIII, but use his own creative licence to decide exactly how he would articulate these issues in person. Such an action shows that Margaret must have had great faith in the oratorical and diplomatic abilities of the unnamed messenger she entrusted to deliver her January 1522 memorial to Henry VIII.

‘3e sal (shall) come be foor (before) hys grace and present hys grace my sayd vrytengs (writings)’: Instructions on how to gain an audience with Henry VIII

As discussed in Chapter Three, Margaret’s January 1522 holograph memorial is particularly interesting as it included detailed instructions as to how Margaret’s unnamed messenger could secure an audience with Henry VIII. It reads:

7) Item 3e and the kyng grace my brothar (brother) vol (will) not gyff (give) awdyens (audience) and credens to the berar 3e sal (shall) come be foor hys grace and present hys grace my sayd vrytengs (writings) and say to hys grace that 3e hafe (have) to [deletion] schaw (show) hym on my be halfe syk (such) matars (matters) as I trast (trust) he vol (will) be contentyd (contented) of and to hys honowr (honour) besekeng (beseeching) hys to asyng (assign) a tyme to you that 3e May schaw (show) the sam and gyfe (if) hys grace plesys (pleases) I desyr my lord cardynal [Wolsey] to be present and to here (hear) my resonabyll desyrs

Item and 3e may not get presens (presence) of the g kyngs grace my brothar 3e sal (shall) pass to my lord [deletion] carynal (cardinal) and apou the letars of credens pray hym on my name to cause you to haue [deletion] awdens (audience) ^&^ that the matars that 3e com for ar plesant and agreabyll to the kyngs grace my brothar and hym (CCBI fol. 197)

In this passage, Margaret notes that if Henry VIII ‘vol not gyff awdyens’ (will not give audience) to her messenger, he was to ‘come be foor hys grace’ (come before his grace) and present him with Margaret’s ‘sayd vrytengs’ (said writings). The messenger was then to ‘say to hys (his) grace that 3e hafe (have) to [deletion] schaw (show) hym (him) on my be halfe (behalf) syk (such) matars (matters) as I trast (trust) he vol (will) be contentyd (contented) of’, to reassure Henry that he would be content with the contents of Margaret’s memorial and letters of credence. She then notes that if the messenger ‘may not get presens (presence)’ of Henry VIII, that he was to ‘pass to my lord [deletion] cardynal (cadinal)’, and request to have an

audience with Henry VIII. The messenger was then to tell Wolsey that the matters he had come to discuss with them were ‘plesant (pleasant) and agreabyll’ (agreeable).

Whilst this information would have been valuable to Margaret’s messenger in helping him to gain an audience with Henry VIII and Thomas Wolsey, it would be inappropriate for the messenger to have read these directions aloud. This therefore provides further evidence to suggest that Margaret’s unnamed messenger would not have repeated the entire contents of this memorial verbatim to his audience at the English court.

‘fordre (further) at lenth (length) the ambassado^{res} (ambassadors) hes (hef; have) to schaw (show) In our namme (name)’

Further evidence that the envoys charged with the verbal delivery of Margaret’s memorials did not simply repeat the contents of memorial word-for-word can also be seen in the November 1524 memorial. The extract reads:

8) In the fyrst (first) tweching (touching) the mariage that the king my sone I and his realme desyris (desires) quharby (whereby) thar (there) may grow daylie luff (love) and kindness betuex (between) the twa (two) realmes that being donne **as fordre (further) at lenth (length) the ambassado^{res} hef (hef; have) to schaw (show) In our namme** and thar (there) aponne (upon) to treit (treat) and commone (confer, commune) (CCBVI fol. 191).

In this extract, Margaret notes that the agreement of marriage between Margaret’s son James V, King of Scotland, and her niece, Mary, Princess of England, would increase good relations and confirm peace between England and Scotland. The phrase ‘as fordre (further) at lenth (length) the ambassado^{res} (ambassadors) hes (hef; have) to schaw (show) In our namme (name)’ essentially states that the ambassadorial party would discuss this issue further with Henry VIII, beyond the limits of this written memorial. Whether the Scottish ambassadors had additional instructions as to how they should proceed with this discussion we cannot know, but the presence of this clause further shows that Margaret’s ambassadors were trusted to use their own initiative in these discussions, and did not require a full script for their negotiations with Henry VIII.

Overall, the presence of these three features in Margaret’s January 1522 and November 1524 memorials suggests that although we would expect the chosen envoys to verbally perform elements of the written memorials to Henry VIII, it is unlikely that they would have repeated the contents of the memorials word-for-word. Instead, they probably would have used the written instructions as a prompt to remind them of specific topics and conditions to be addressed in their negotiations. They would probably also have

embellished and adjusted the phrasing of certain points, and amended or even removed some clauses depending on the mood and disposition of their target audience. Whilst these written memorials clearly had some additional material value – as can be seen with Margaret taking the time to hand write her holograph January 1522 memorial, and as discussed in the previous section – they would not have functioned as an accurate script and transcription of the diplomatic meeting. Instead, the above comments highlight that these two diplomatic meetings would have been very interactive events, far more so than a conventional letter exchange. And finally, this also highlights that the individuals responsible for delivering and negotiating the contents of Margaret’s two memorials would have been experienced and well-trained agents in diplomatic negotiations and the rhetorical arts. Such individuals would arguably not have needed to stick to a memorial script in their meetings with Henry VIII.

5.5.4. Second and third person address forms: The audience of memorials

In the following section I will offer some discussion of the notion of the ‘audience’ of early modern memorials: would we describe the ambassador or the host monarch as the ‘audience’ of Margaret’s January 1522 and November 1524 memorials? Below is an extract from the January 1522 holograph memorial (CCBI fol. 197), in which the second and third person pronouns and address forms have been highlighted:

9) Item **3e** sal (shall) aswre (assure) **hys (his) grace** that my lord gowarnor Inttarmetys (interferes, meddles) hym not vyth (with) the kyng my son nor vyth (with) hys sarwandys (servants) bot latys (lets) the matar be dresyd (arranged) be (by) the lordys (lords) (CCBI fol. 197)

Here we can note the use of the second person subject pronoun ‘3e’. This pronoun refers to Margaret’s unnamed messenger, and shows that on this occasion he is the named recipient of this memorial. In this extract, Henry VIII, is referred to in the third person by the phrase ‘hys (his) grace’. However, this distinction is blurred only a few lines later in the same memorial:

10) gyfe (if) It faylys (fails) It volbe (will be) of **your syde** vylke (which) I trast (trust) fermly **your grace** vol (will) not dw (do) for **your honowr (honour)** and for my sake that Is **your hwmbyl (humble) systar** and my son **your nefew** to cawse me to be the betar Intretyd (entreated) (CCBI fol. 197)

In this extract, we can see a change in the second person referent of Margaret’s memorial. Instead of simply continuing to be addressed to Margaret’s unnamed messenger, the use of the second person possessive

pronoun in the address term ‘your grace’, signals that the audience has switched to address Henry VIII (an unnamed messenger would not be addressed as ‘your grace’). In the subsequent clause the memorial reverts back to addressing the unnamed messenger via the second person pronoun reference: ‘Item **3e** sal (shall) gyfe (give) hys (his) grace to ondarstand (understand) of the gwd (good) berayng (bearing) that my lord gowarnor (governor) hath toward me’ (CCBI fol. 197).

This phenomenon can also be found in Margaret’s November 1524 scribal memorial. For example:

11) Thir (these) pointis (points) all being considerit (considered) I beseik (beseech) **his grace** to put remeid (remedy) In ony (any) thing that **3e** may mend doing hurt to ws (us) and to this realme // for **his grace** being In gud mynd and vill (will) to do for the king my sone and his realme as I trast (trust) **his grace** will / **he** monn (must) schaw (show) It in to deid //...and to the contrar (contrary) It wilbe (will be) thout (thought) bot (but) fair wordis (words) and to caus (cause) this realme to tyne (lose) thar (their) frendes quhilk (which) I trew (trust) not be **yo^r** (**your**) **gracis** (grace’s) mynd (CCBVI fol. 191)

In this extract, the use of the third person address ‘his grace’, suggests that the memorial is addressed simply to the Earl of Cassillis (the named ambassador charged with declaring the contents of this memorial to Henry VIII). Later in the same phrase, we then see the use of the second person subject pronoun ‘3e’. Cassillis cannot be the intended subject of this pronoun as he is not the one charged with ‘doing hurt’ to Margaret, James V, and Scotland. Instead, it is clear that Henry VIII is the subject of this address. The text then transitions back to using the third person address ‘his grace’ and the third person pronoun ‘he’ to refer to Henry VIII, in these sections, Cassillis is the implied second person. However, the text then again addresses Henry VIII using the second person phrases ‘yo^r gracis’ and ‘yo^r grace’. The interchange between addressing Henry via second and third person pronouns is indeed confusing here, but its presence in both the January 1522 and November 1524 memorials suggest that it was not an uncommon occurrence in early modern memorials.

But what is the significance of this feature? The shift in address systems seen in both of Margaret’s January 1522 and November 1524 memorials shows that these documents would not have been performed verbatim, as we would not expect the messenger(s) to address Henry VIII in the third person. It also highlights that early modern memorials had a more complicated type of audience, beyond a single named addressee. Drawing on Schneider’s definition of memorials being a type of ‘multiple-party letter’ (2005: 28), perhaps we should think about the audience of this type of document as being

‘multi-party’ or layered, which requires further classification. We might therefore make the following distinctions: Margaret was the ‘coder’ of the memorial, who decided on the points that should form the basis of the diplomatic discussion, the messenger or ambassador responsible for verbally discussing the contents of the memorial with Henry VIII might be defined as the ‘performer’ of the memorial. Finally, as Henry VIII was the final intended audience of the memorial, we might refer to him as the ‘audience’. Figure 5.8, below, shows a visualisation of the participant roles involved in the performance of a memorial.

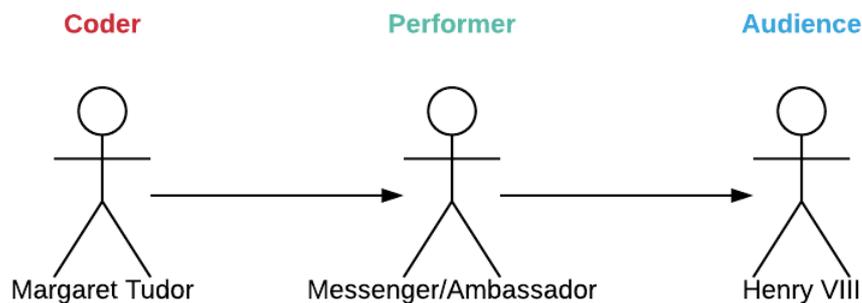


Figure 5.8: Participant roles in the production and performance of a memorial.

5.5.5. The material value of memorials

There has been some debate as to the intended function of early modern memorials: were they intended to be used for private consumption by an ambassador and as a prompt of specific points they should discuss with a host monarch, or were they immediately offered up for examination to the intended audience? Queller notes that ‘(m)any instructions, of course, were intended only for the eyes of the envoy, especially as the information-gathering function gained an importance’ (1967: 125). Dickinson also notes that it is often difficult to ascertain ‘whether or not such instructions were demanded by the other side for inspection’ (1955: xxi). However, numerous material and linguistic factors signal that despite generally being addressed to the ambassador alone, host monarchs would often demand to see a physical copy of the ambassador’s instructions.

By requesting to see a physical copy of an ambassador’s instructions, a foreign monarch could quickly ascertain the purpose of the diplomatic visit and the specific conditions/clauses included in the ambassador’s memorial. However, a visiting ambassador might also voluntarily offer a copy of their memorial as ‘a manifestation of friendly relations’ (Queller 1967: 125) and to build a positive interpersonal relationship with the host audience. In addition, the surrendering of a physical copy of a memorial by a messenger or ambassador could also function to signal that the bearer was honest and trustworthy. Furthermore, the fact that sixteen of Margaret Tudor’s memorials survive in

the archives of Henry VIII shows that Margaret's memorials may have been offered for visual examination to Henry VIII, but were certainly kept for future reference purposes.

Hand: holograph vs scribal memorials

To date, little discussion has been offered as to the use and value of scribal and holograph hands in the production of memorial documents. Margaret Tudor's January 1522 and November 1524 memorials mirror the hand used in their accompanying letters of credence: the January 1522 memorial is a holograph composition, and the November 1524 memorial a scribal composition. As discussed in Chapter Three, Margaret probably chose to send a holograph memorial to Henry VIII for a variety of reasons: to signal her devotion to and respect for Henry VIII, to show that the contents of the memorial was an accurate reflection of her desires, as well as materially showing her commitment to actively labouring Anglo-Scottish peace through her own personal correspondence.

In contrast, Margaret's November 1524 memorial is written in a scribal hand. This may simply be that Margaret did not have sufficient time to produce a holograph memorial as she was busy in her new role as governing regent, but it is more likely that this was the expected form of communication that should be employed by the head of the Scottish government. As with the accompanying letters of credence, Margaret thus sent a memorial produced by royal scribes, which again would have served to visually signal to Henry VIII that these documents were authoritative, legitimate appeals for peace, sent under the direction and authority of the Scottish government and body politic.

Analysis of other early modern memorials suggests that royal memorials were generally written in a scribal hand, and indeed this pattern is shown across the Margaret Tudor corpus where only two of sixteen surviving memorials are holograph documents. For example, figures 5.9 and 5.10 below, show two signed scribal memorials which were sent by Margaret's father, Henry VII, and her son, James V.

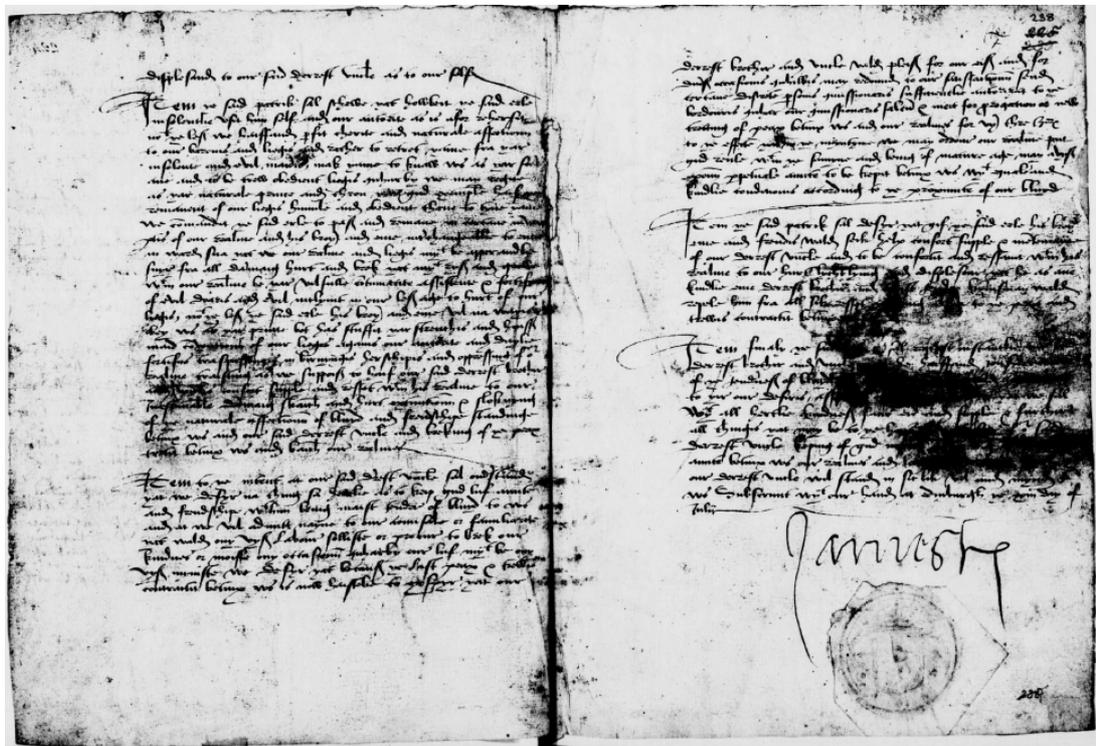


Figure 5.9: Memorial from James V to Henry VIII via Sinclair, 13 July 1528, CCBII fol. 224

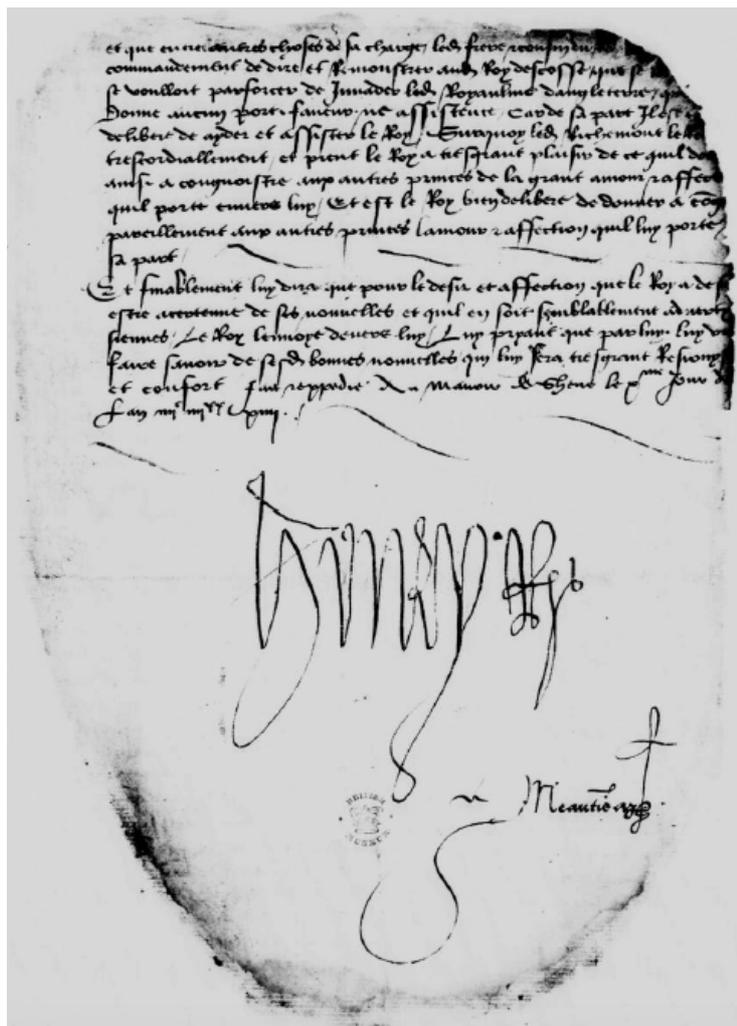


Figure 5.10: Henry VII to Charles VIII, King of France, via Clarencieux, 14 August 1494, CCDVI fol. 18

However, the sending of holograph memorials was by no means a unique occurrence and similar practices can be observed in Margaret's contemporaries. For example, Margaret thanked Thomas Howard for his holograph memorial 'a memorial of your hand' sent in autumn 1525 (Margaret to Thomas Howard, 3 September 1523, CCBVI fol. 402).⁴¹ Teulet also reports that Margaret's son, James V, King of Scotland, sent a holograph memorial to Pope Paul III in 1535 (Teulet 1853: vii). Finally, figure 5.11 shows a set of brief holograph instructions sent from Henry VIII's eldest daughter, Mary Tudor, Queen of England, to 'her ambassador Simon Renard...on how he ought to serve her husband, Philip' (Allinson 2012: 11) (Mary Instructions to Simon Renard, undated, CVFIII fol. 12). These examples, and Margaret's January 1522 holograph memorial, provide clear evidence that these memorials were 'schawn' (shown) in the physical sense to their intended audience. This therefore shows that royal early modern memorials were of some physical value to early modern audiences, and were not simply 'intended only for the eyes of the envoy' as Queller suggests (1967: 125).

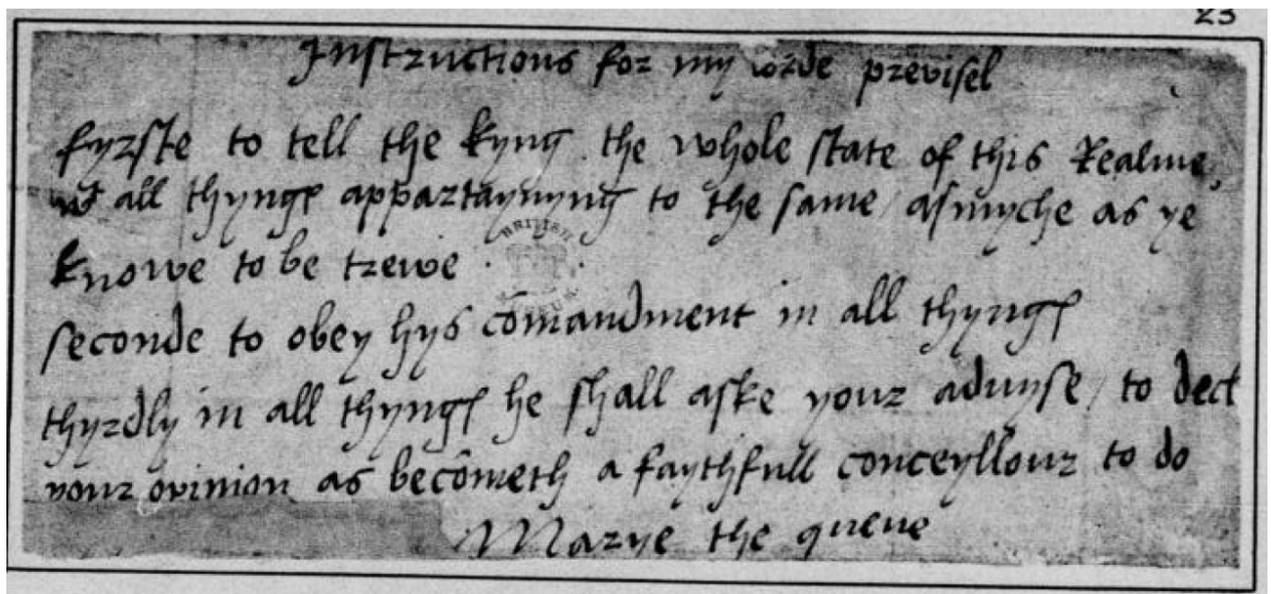


Figure 5.11: Memorial from Mary I to Simon Renard, undated, CVFIII fol. 12

Signatures

Another notable material difference between Margaret Tudor's January 1522 and November 1524 memorials is the use of a concluding signature. In her summary of the diplomatic instructions used in the Congress of Arras in 1435, Dickinson observes that English and French medieval memorials were often signed and endorsed by monarchs:

⁴¹ This is a particularly interesting example, as Margaret complains that Howard did not send a letter in conjunction with his holograph memorial. This would suggest that early modern protocol dictated that memorials should not be sent in isolation, and should instead be sent with accompanying letters of credence.

The originals must have been validated, although this section is often omitted in copies transcribed into formulary books and other collections which are our main source of information...English instructions before and after the date of the Congress were frequently sealed under the great and privy seals and then signed, as for instance Henry V's instructions in 1418 to his ambassadors to France and in 1421 to ambassadors to Germany. (Dickinson 1955: xx-xxi)

Indeed, such an act seems to have been common practice for medieval and early modern monarchs, including Margaret's father, Henry VII, King of England, and her son, James V, King of Scotland (as seen in figures 5.9 and 5.10 above). Of the sixteen surviving memorials in the Margaret Tudor corpus, seven are signed. The presence of a concluding signature at the end of Margaret's January 1522 holograph memorial would have served to further signal that this memorial had been personally written by Margaret, and was sent with her personal endorsement and authority. The absence of a concluding signature to Margaret's scribal November 1524 memorial may simply be because it was forgotten, or that it was not required due to the signed accompanying letters of credence. However, the absence of a concluding signature may also suggest that the official party of experienced ambassadors who were entrusted to deliver the November 1524 memorial had sufficient status to render a validating signature from their commissioner unnecessary.

5.6. Transmission and delivery of the diplomatic bag - single unnamed servant vs official ambassadorial convoy

In this chapter I have offered some discussion as to how Margaret's re-appointment to the role of governing regent of Scotland in August 1524 seems to have brought about a change in the linguistic and material composition of the documents contained in the January 1522 and November 1524 diplomatic bags. I have not, however, discussed the significance of the agents who were responsible for transporting and presenting the contents of the January 1522 and November 1524 diplomatic bags to Henry VIII and Thomas Wolsey at the English court.

Though Margaret did not explicitly name the messenger who carried her holograph memorial and letters of credence to the English court in January 1522, she did state that he was one of her personal 'sarwandys' (servants) (Margaret to Thomas Wolsey, 6 January 1522, CCBI fol. 204). In light of my earlier discussions on the delivery of memorials, Margaret's unnamed servant would have used the holograph January 1522 memorial as the basis of his diplomatic discussions with Henry VIII and Thomas Wolsey, but probably would not have repeated the memorial word-for-word. In the concluding section of her memorial, Margaret requested that only Henry VIII and Wolsey be present

to hear the contents of her memorial: 'I desyr that ther be nen (none) bot (but) the kyngs grace and my lord cardnal (cardinal) to here (hear) them' (CCBI fol. 197). Performed by a single messenger and to a select audience of only Henry VIII and his chief advisor Wolsey, this would have been relative small and intimate diplomatic performance and discussion.

Furthermore, whilst Margaret's unnamed messenger must have been a rhetorically-trained and educated individual with skill sufficient experience in diplomatic negotiations in order to have be entrusted to deliver and discuss the January 1522 memorial, at no point is this envoy given the official title of 'ambassador'. Though Margaret does use the term 'ambassador' four times in her January 1522 memorial, none of these are used to refer to the servant who delivered this memorial to Henry VIII. For example:

12) Item 3e schaw (show) hys grace that gyff (if) hys mynd be to haue gwd (good) pees (peace) frenchyp (friendship) and concord betwxt (between) thyr (these) tway (two) rawlmes (realms) for loff (love) of me and my son that he vol (will) gyfe (give) the sayd prolongacyon (prolongation) of trwss (truce) that In the mene (mean) tyme **Inbasytors (ambassadors)** may be send (CCBI fol. 197).

Use of the term 'Inbasytors' (ambassadors) in this extract presumably refers to the official despatch of trained diplomatic agents who had been selected by Albany and the Lords of Scotland to travel to the English court and officially entreat for peace. The fact that Margaret did not use this term to refer to her own servant – who was engaged in diplomatic negotiations very similar to ones 'official' ambassadors would have been involved in – foregrounds that Margaret's January 1522 petitions for Anglo-Scottish peace were not endorsed as 'official' and 'formal' diplomatic activities. Thus, whilst Margaret indeed employed the same fundamental documents used in official diplomatic negotiations (such as the memorial and letters of credence) in her personal January 1522 appeals for peace, it would appear that it was not appropriate for Margaret to address her messenger using the same linguistic currency.

In comparison, Margaret's November 1524 diplomatic documents and ambassadorial convoy would have had a very different performative effect and impact than her January 1522 peace-making efforts. Instead of being carried and delivered by a single unnamed messenger, three high-status, experienced diplomatic agents were commissioned with the transportation and discussion of Margaret's November 1524 diplomatic bag. Robert Cockburn, Bishop of Dunkeld, Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassillis, and Alexander Myln, Abbot of Cambuskenneth were all elite Scottish men, who had previously conducted important diplomatic missions in England and France, including organising the signing of the Treaty of Rouen (see Dowden 1912: 224, Wood

1933:123-140, Wikipedia 2018: 'Robert Cockburn'). In a letter to Thomas Wolsey sent on 3rd December 1524, Thomas Howard made the following request:

13) Also I beseche (beseech) yo^r grace to send vnto me by post the saufconduyte (safe conduct) for thabbot (the abbot) of Cambuskynnell (Cambuskenneth) named Alexandre (Alexander) Myll (Myln) and xxx^t personys (persons) w^t (with) hym (SP 49/2 fol. 144)

The fact that Howard requested a safe conduct for the Abbot of Cambuskenneth and 30 additional men suggests that the overall numbers of men travelling to London as part of the diplomatic party in late November 1524 was significantly greater than the three diplomats named in the accompanying letters of credence, perhaps totalling up to 100 people in size. Sending such a large ambassadorial party to England, and enlisting at least three experienced ambassadors to negotiate peace with Henry VIII and Wolsey in November 1524, would have had a far more imposing and formal impact than that of the single unnamed messenger sent by Margaret to the English court in January 1522.

Furthermore, these official ambassadors would have involved in the intricate ceremonial practices associated with medieval and early modern diplomatic conferences. Hamilton and Langhorne note that ambassadors would often have had a 'final audience' with their monarch (or commissioner), during which they would have 'received their documents – letter of credence...and their instructions' (1995: 47). Upon the envoy's arrival at their final destination, they would have been formally greeted by a welcoming party, and the ambassador(s) would then have been 'conducted into the presence of the head of state by the senior welcoming dignitary, to hand over his credentials, and, if appropriate, his powers.' (Hamilton and Langhorne 1995: 48). This was followed by 'an oration in which the ambassador explained why he had come' (Hamilton and Langhorne 1995: 48), a grand banquet and the subsequent formal diplomatic discussions (which may have taken place over a few days, or even weeks).

As Henry VIII had made the first moves to initiate a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty in summer/autumn 1524, he would have been prepared for the arrival of a large, official ambassadorial party from Scotland. He and his council would undoubtedly have held large banquets with these ambassadors, and engaged in lengthy, formal diplomatic negotiations, and the ceremonies associated with these discussions. In contrast, in January 1522, Margaret's unnamed messenger had to go to extensive lengths to gain a small diplomatic meeting with Henry VIII and Wolsey, and probably would not have been welcomed with the same grand ceremonies as those offered to Margaret's official ambassadorial party of November 1524.

Analysis of the specific agents and size of the diplomatic parties entrusted to convey and perform the contents of Margaret's January 1522 and November 1524 diplomatic bags, thus shows that whilst they both were sent to England to perform the same overall diplomatic aim – to organise a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty – they would have been very different occasions and experiences. The November 1524 meeting would have been far more official, imposing and authoritative than Margaret's January 1522 diplomatic efforts. As with the material and linguistic composition of her November 1524 diplomatic documents it would seem that this was related to Margaret's role as governing regent. As the formal head of the Scottish government and in light of Henry VIII's initial motions to organise a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty, it would only have been appropriate for Margaret to utilise the official ambassadors of the Scottish government to make a formal appeal for peace to Henry VIII in November 1524.

5.7. Conclusion

At the beginning of this chapter I posed the following question: What effect (if any) did a change in social status and political power have on how Margaret Tudor sought to perform the role of diplomatic mediator through her written correspondence? On one hand, we can see that Margaret employed the same overall communicative apparatus in the diplomatic bags of January 1522 and November 1524. Both featured the use of letters of credence and the memorial genre, and were conveyed and performed in front of the same audience of Henry VIII and Thomas Wolsey at the English court. However, on the other hand, the multi-layered analytical approach adopted in this analysis shows that significant linguistic, material and performative differences existed between these two diplomatic episodes. Three key reasons appear to have brought about these significant changes seen in Margaret Tudor's mediative communication between January 1522 and November 1524: the political role Margaret occupied in each period, the specific stage in the Anglo-Scottish negotiation process at which Margaret's correspondence and messengers/ambassadors were sent, and the tenor of Anglo-Scottish relations during each period.

In January 1522 episode, when stationed on the edges of the Scottish court with little formal status and power, Margaret sent personal holograph diplomatic correspondence, and a single unnamed messenger to the English court to hold a humble and intimate audience with Henry VIII and Thomas Wolsey to appeal for a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty. As Margaret was commissioned to send this correspondence and perform the role of diplomatic mediator by the head of the Scottish government, the Duke of Albany, why did she not employ the formal and official diplomatic apparatus of the Scottish government in the January 1522? In such a scenario, Margaret could have easily enlisted a scribe to produce all of her mediative

correspondence, and even used the format and language of official Scots royal scribal letters – in particular the *royal we* pronoun – to signal that her mediative activities were endorsed by Albany, and by extension, the Scottish government.⁴² Furthermore, by working in collaboration with Albany, Margaret would also theoretically have had access to experienced Scottish royal messengers to convey her mediative correspondence to England. In Chapter Three, I highlighted that Margaret spent time and effort producing holograph diplomatic correspondence in return for the financial and political support of the Duke of Albany. This factor will have had some influence on Margaret's personal holograph mediative performance in January 1522, but was not the only reason for this decision.

As rumours circulated in January 1522 as to the nature of Margaret and Albany's relationship, and Henry VIII was staunchly opposed to Albany being the governing regent of Scotland, the decision to send personal holograph diplomatic documents via one of Margaret's own personal messengers to Henry VIII and Thomas Wolsey was strategic. By choosing to produce holograph letters of credence and a memorial, making use of her personal seal to secure the letters of credence, using only singular first person pronouns in these documents, and seeking to emphasise the personal effect war would have on herself and her son James V, Margaret made a personal and intimate appeal for peace to Henry VIII in January 1522. Furthermore, through choosing to send this holograph correspondence conveyed by one of her personal servants, instead of royal scribal documents carried with a formal Scots ambassadorial embassy, Margaret could signal that she had chosen to send these documents independently and of her own volition. By doing so, Margaret could also signal that she was seeking to mediate Anglo-Scottish peace for the benefit of both realms, and not simply because Albany had asked her to.

Downie notes that medieval and early modern queens forged important and enduring communication networks through their royal marriages:

It could be argued that the real purpose of a marriage alliance was to create communication networks based on family ties which would continue to operate regardless of the success or otherwise of the political or economic alliance it represented. (Downie 1999: 130)

Margaret thus formed an important communicative link between England and Scotland, that could be drawn upon 'regardless of the success or otherwise of the political and economic alliance it represented'. In light of this, Margaret's personal diplomatic correspondence and approach adopted in the January 1522 episode is significant and Albany probably requested that Margaret send such correspondence due to the political tension than existed between

⁴² Margaret had access to scribes during this period as one of the memorials sent in the January 1522 diplomatic bag was a scribal copy of her holograph memorial (CCBVI fol. 208).

himself and Henry VIII during this period. By making a personal and intimate appeal for peace to Henry VIII and Wolsey using her own communicative resources, and framing the peace as being of benefit to both realms, Margaret sought to persuade Henry VIII and Wolsey to be more receptive to agreeing to a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace. If this was successful, Albany could have then despatched a team of official ambassadors to England, with the appropriate letters of credence and memorials, to formally entreat for peace. As in Chapter Two, this episode again highlights the value that Margaret as peace-keeper and her personal correspondence held for the Duke of Albany, and were valuable resources he could call upon in seeking to assist diplomatic relations with England.

In November 1524, when Margaret had resumed the role of governing regent for a second time, everything from the linguistic and material composition, to the transportation and delivery of her diplomatic correspondence changed. This is most likely a result of the change in Margaret's position in the Scottish government, but also the tenor of Anglo-Scottish relations in November 1524. As governing regent Margaret would have been expected and authorised to employ the official communicative apparatus of the head of Scotland. She thus commissioned royal Scottish scribes – who used the language and material features of official Scottish royal correspondence – to produce formal and authoritative diplomatic documents, which visually and linguistically signalled that they were sent with the authority of the Scottish government and body politic. Margaret also had these documents carried to the English court by a large embassy, composed of three official trained ambassadors to signal that these were formal requests for Anglo-Scottish peace.

However, Margaret's November 1524 diplomatic correspondence and agents were also sent in response to an official request for peace by Henry VIII. In November 1524, Margaret thus did not need to take the time and effort to personally pen holograph letters of credence and a memorial to try and persuade Henry VIII to agree to peace as he was already keen to do so. Instead, Margaret could simply authorise the despatch of a party of official Scottish ambassadors with the appropriate royal powers to travel to England to formally sign the peace agreement. Furthermore, as governing regent Margaret would automatically have had access to more financial resources and power than she possessed in January 1522 when she sat on the margins of the Anglo-Scottish court. Margaret would thus have had less need to take the time and effort to personally perform the role of diplomatic mediator through her own holograph correspondence as she did in January 1522 in return for the financial and political support of the Duke of Albany.

This analysis thus shows that multiple variables – beyond a simple change in political power and role – affected the design and impact of Margaret Tudor's

mediative correspondence (and the agents used to carry and perform these documents) in January 1522 and November 1524. Finally, this chapter has also used an analysis of Margaret's January 1522 and November 1524 diplomatic bags to shed light on the understudied memorial genre, which was a key genre of medieval and early modern diplomatic negotiations had very different pragmatic and performative features to the medieval and early modern letter.

Chapter Six - ‘or derrest son has effectuously (effectuously; earnestly) dyssyrit (desires) ws we wryt in his naym vnto yow’: Margaret’s final letters of mediation, 12th December 1534

6.1. Chapter outline

On the 12th December 1534, Margaret Tudor sent three letters (one holograph and two scribal) to Henry VIII, and his noblemen and political advisors Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Howard to organise the details of a face-to-face diplomatic meeting between her son, James V, King of Scotland, and her brother, Henry VIII, King of England (SP 49/4 fols. 70, 72 and 74). This set of documents marks the beginning of the final episode in which Margaret performs the role of diplomatic mediator before her death on the 18th October 1541. Analysis of Margaret’s 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70) shows that this document is markedly different – linguistically, materially, and palaeographically – to her wider holograph correspondence, even in relation to a letter produced only two weeks earlier (CCBI fol. 249).

This document marks the beginning of a period of change in Margaret’s holograph correspondence (of approximately eighteen months) which seems to coincide with the discussions of the proposed diplomatic meeting between James V and Henry VIII. Whilst gradual changes in writing practice are to be expected over the lifetime of an individual, such a sudden and dramatic change (virtually overnight) requires further investigation. The focus of this chapter will therefore explore how Margaret’s 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70) differs from her earlier holograph correspondence, but also question why Margaret’s letter writing practices appear to have changed so suddenly.

This chapter will be divided into three sections. First, I will provide a material-pragmatic analysis of the three 12th December 1534 letters sent to Henry VIII, Cromwell, and Howard, and evaluate how the material format of Margaret’s holograph letter encodes differences in social status, and mirrors the material practices of royal scribal correspondence. Secondly, I will conduct a comparative analysis of Margaret’s 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70) with another holograph letter sent to Thomas Cromwell two weeks earlier on the 28th November 1534 (CCBI fol. 249) to highlight the specific palaeographic, syntactic, and linguistic changes seen in Margaret’s 12th December 1534 holograph letter in contrast to Margaret’s wider holograph practices.

In the third section, I will investigate if any of the changes seen in Margaret’s 12th December 1534 holograph letter are the result of scribal influence. This section will suggest new ways in which we might approach the topic of

authorship attribution, in particular how analysis of the material and palaeographical features of documents, as well as their linguistic composition, can be productive in such an investigation. Finally, this chapter will demonstrate that although James V employed Margaret Tudor and her correspondence to perform the role of diplomatic and communicative mediator between him and Henry VIII, this role was more symbolic than practical. This chapter thus further illustrates the value Margaret as diplomatic intercessor held for her male relatives.

6.2. Historical and critical context

At the end of Margaret Tudor's second regency in spring 1525, it was agreed that James V would be placed under the care of a rolling regency. A select group of Scottish Lords would each care for James V for three months at a time, upon which the teenage king would move to the care of another Scottish nobleman. When the turn arose of Margaret's estranged husband, Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, he saw the opportunity to seize complete control of the Scottish crown, and kept James V in his care (against his will) for the next three years. In May 1528, James V finally escaped from the clutches of Angus and went on to receive his full ruling rights; an act which would allow James to rule independently and without the need of a governor. With her son now fully grown and in active control of the Scottish crown, Margaret once again moved from a central position of power to the margins of the Scottish court and government. Eaves notes that after receiving his full ruling rights, James V did not value Margaret's advice and input in political matters:

After 1528 relations between the young king and his mother were generally good, but they differed over foreign policy, Margaret favouring closer links with England, in contrast to James, who renewed the French alliance soon after assuming personal rule. He sought her advice on the rebuilding or renovation of royal castles, but in matters of government took counsel elsewhere, and it is noticeable that Margaret's name is entirely missing from her son's letters dating from after 1534. (2004)

However, in October 1534, Henry VIII sent Lord William Howard (half-brother of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk) to Scotland to inform James V that Henry VIII was 'greatly desirous / and nothing more covetethe (coveteth) then to see his persone / and especially to haue ^conferens and^ comunycacion w^t (with) ^hym^ his grace in matiers (matters)' (Instructions from Henry VIII to James V, via Lord William Howard, SP 49/4 fol. 57). Howard was to invite James V to be present at a meeting between the kings of England and France proposed to be held the following year (a meeting akin to the Field of the Cloth of Gold in June 1520). Henry VIII also suggested that if James V agreed

to this meeting, the two monarchs should meet in England before their voyage to Calais. It would seem that Henry VIII's offer was well received by James V, and Howard then presumably returned to England with James V's replies.

However, despite this agreement, James V and Henry VIII did not write to each other personally to organise the details of the meeting. Instead, Margaret Tudor was selected to be the mediator and agent chosen to communicate the details of this diplomatic conference. In a scribal letter to Thomas Cromwell sent on the 12th December 1534, Margaret outlined that James V had entrusted her with the 'conveyng (conveying) of this hail (whole) caus' (SP 49/4 fol. 72). In a holograph letter to Henry VIII, also sent on the 12th December 1534, Margaret notes that her 'derrest son has effectuosly (effectuously; urgently, earnestly) dyssyrit (desired) ws (us) we wryt (write) in his naym vnto yow (you) thir (these) wordys (words) followyng' (SP 49/4 fol. 70), before discussing the proposed details of the diplomatic meeting. Analysis of the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* suggests that there was no direct communication between James V and Henry VIII between Howard's visit in October/November 1534 and January 1535. This therefore raises the question: why was Margaret Tudor chosen to be the communicative mediator between James V and Henry VIII during this period, and why did the two monarchs not instead choose to write to each other directly?

One potential answer might be that Margaret simply shoe-horned herself into the negotiations, and persuaded her son to allow her to be the facilitator of the meeting (as she does so on various occasions in her correspondence) in order to gain access to greater power and status. For example, in a letter to Thomas Dacre sent on 3rd September 1522 (CCBVII fol. 146), Margaret requested that 'I myght (might) be (by) my gwd (good) medytacyons (meditations) and vays (ways) stop the gret (great) [deletion] Inwacyons (invasions)' taking place between England and Scotland, and that she might be the 'dwar' (doer; agent) of peace. Being entrusted to personally negotiate the terms of the diplomatic meeting would have again offered Margaret the chance of greater status and favour than she would otherwise have received on the sidelines of the court of James V. However, I will argue that Margaret was selected to perform the role of communicative mediator on this occasion because Margaret, her personal holograph correspondence, and the familial connections she shared with the English court held some value to James V during this period.

This episode marks the final mediative performance of Margaret Tudor's life, before her death on the 18th October 1541. On the 12th December 1534, under the direction of her son James V, Margaret thus sent three letters to the English court relating to the topic of the proposed meeting between James V and Henry VIII. On this day, Margaret sent one holograph letter to Henry VIII communicating James V's positive reception to Henry VIII's offers of a

proposed meeting (SP 49/4 fol. 70), as well as sending two scribal letters to Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, requesting their assistance in the speedy furthering of these matters (SP 49/4 fols. 72 and 74). Over the next eighteen months, Margaret continued to send letters to Henry VIII, Cromwell and Howard, regarding the proposed meeting, before it became clear in May 1536 that the meeting would not take place. Unlike the other chapters of this thesis, this correspondence was sent during a period of confirmed peace between England and Scotland, and does not explore how Margaret sought to try and organise a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty. Instead, this chapter will examine another dimension of Margaret's mediative practices, Margaret as communicative intercessor.

6.3. Material analysis of the 12th December 1534 correspondence

As mentioned in the introduction, recent studies in the materiality of early modern correspondence (for example, see Daybell 2012, Gibson 1997, Stewart 2008, and Wiggins 2017) have shown that significant social and interpersonal meaning was encoded in the very fabric of early modern letters. The type of ink used, the hand a letter was written in, the size of the paper it was written on, the use of blank space in a letter, the positioning of a signature, and the way a letter was folded and sealed – in addition to the text of the document – all influenced how a recipient read and understood an early modern letter. In the 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70), Margaret suddenly deviated from the usual material practices of her holograph writing. In the following section, I will identify these material changes, and discuss their significance and what they can tell us about how Margaret's 12th December 1534 letters to Henry VIII, Cromwell and Howard were composed and produced.

6.3.1. Hand

The decision to send an early modern letter written in a sender's own hand (a holograph letter), or employing the skills of an amanuensis to pen the letter (a scribal letter) could be affected by the communicative context and function of a letter, as well as the interpersonal relationship shared between the sender and recipient. As mentioned by Daybell, taking the time to compose and send a letter in one's own hand could function as a material expression of 'duty or obligation, demonstrating obedience and respect' (2001: 69). This practice applied to correspondence between family and friends, but was also a common practice for late medieval and early modern monarchs. As Allinson comments '(a royal) holograph exchange was a particularly effective way of cementing amity' (2012: 74), and was a key strategy employed by Margaret's royal relatives (including James IV, James V, Henry VII and Henry VIII) to maintain peaceful relations with foreign monarchs. In her study of sixteenth-century royal correspondence, Evans

observes that there were two main functional differences between royal holograph and scribal documents. She suggests that royal holograph letters were ‘typically used for more personal and intimate topics’ (Evans 2016: 37), for example, conveying personal affection or news. Royal scribal letters, on the other hand, were typically used for ‘business or administrative matters, formal or official in purpose’ (Evans 2016: 37), such as negotiating marriage contracts, peace treaties or trade agreements.

Margaret can be seen to adhere to these genre conventions during her second regency in November 1524, as discussed in detail in Chapter Five. During this period, Margaret moved away from her usual holograph epistolary preferences to send only scribal memorials and letters of credence to Henry VIII and Thomas Wolsey to initiate a formal negotiation of a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty. On the 12th December 1534, however, Margaret chose to send both scribal and holograph documents: a holograph letter addressed to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70), and two scribal letters to Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Howard (SP 49/4 fols. 72 and 74). To some extent, by enlisting the services of two scribes (note: the two documents are written in two separate hands) to produce letters to Cromwell and Howard, Margaret materially signalled to the recipients that these documents are formal and official in purpose, produced for the discussion of a diplomatic meeting between James V and Henry VIII. However, on the 12th December 1534, Margaret seems to have decided that sending a holograph letter to Henry VIII would be more appropriate than sending a formal scribal letter. Margaret’s decision to do so accords with the material choices explored elsewhere in this thesis (especially Chapter Three). By taking the time to send a holograph letter to Henry VIII, but not Cromwell and Howard, Margaret visually showed that she shared a more intimate interpersonal relationship with Henry VIII, and held him in higher esteem than his noblemen. By sending a holograph composition to Henry VIII Margaret again materially emphasised her personal devotion to securing a successful meeting between her son, James V, and her brother, Henry VIII.

Aside from employing different hands to materially acknowledge social status hierarchies or the interpersonal relationship Margaret shared with her recipients, this episode raises some questions as to how these three documents were composed and produced. As the three documents are all written on the same day, and to achieve the same overall communicative goal – to cement the details of the Anglo-Scots diplomatic meeting – were they produced in the same space, with the same agents, at the same time? With regards to the scribal letters: was Margaret actively involved in the production of these scribal letters? Did she dictate the contents word for word, provide detailed instructions of what was to be included in the letters, or simply instruct the scribes to produce the documents with little direct

input in their composition? Were the scribal letters produced as part of a collaborative composition between Margaret, and the scribes who penned the letters, or perhaps even other collaborators? In her study of Bess of Hardwick's letters, Wiggins observes that there was a 'general tendency to associate autograph (holograph) writing with a somehow more authentic voice of the sender' (2017: 31), but that holograph letters could in fact often bear signs of external input. In light of this, was Margaret's holograph letter to Henry VIII produced in isolation, by Margaret alone? Or, was the holograph letter produced with help from additional collaborators, or copied from a scribal draft into a neat holograph presentation text? Due to limitations of space, I will not be able to explore all of these questions in detail. However, in the rest of this chapter, I will explore the material, palaeographical, syntactical and linguistic features of Margaret's 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII to attempt to gain a better understanding of how and why Margaret's holograph writing practices change so significantly in this document.

6.3.2. Page size and orientation

In comparison to her earlier correspondence, two of the most noticeable changes in Margaret's 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70) are the page size and orientation of the document. As paper was an expensive commodity in the early modern period, sending letters on large sheets of paper with generous sections of blank space could be used as a material sign of deference to the recipient, or to signal the affluence of the sender who was able to afford such a luxury (Daybell 2012: 98). Whilst numerous scholars have commented on the significance of the size of paper in early modern correspondence, little discussion has been offered as to the significance of whether a letter was written using a landscape or portrait orientation. Comparison of the page size and orientation of Margaret's 12th December 1534 letters to Henry VIII, Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Howard highlight some key differences between the three documents. Figures 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3 below, show images of the inner leaves of the three documents.

As can be seen in figure 6.1, Margaret's holograph letter to Henry VIII sent on the 12th December 1534 (SP 49/4 fol. 70) is written landscape on a full folio page, with a small margin to the top and left-hand side of the page. Margaret filled the majority of the page with a neat version of her holograph hand, and left a small area of blank space between the letter text and her closing signature, as a subtle signal of deference to Henry VIII. Figure 6.2, shows two of the inner leaves of Margaret's 12th December 1534 scribal letter to Thomas Cromwell (SP 49/4 fol. 72). Unlike Margaret's holograph letter to Henry VIII, this scribal letter is written portrait on three leaves of a four-leaf bifolium booklet, the final leaf being used as the outer address leaf. Figure 6.3, shows the inner leaf of Margaret's 12th December 1534 scribal letter to Thomas Howard (SP 49/4 fol. 74), also written portrait on a single sheet of paper (what appears to be a leaf of a bifolium booklet).

One might suggest that the differences in orientation and page size seen in these three documents is simply because the letters to Howard and Cromwell were produced by two scribes, whereas Margaret produced the holograph letter herself, and thus that the writers simply employed different epistolary practices and preferences. However, using different orientations in the three documents – specifically using a landscape orientation in the holograph letter to Henry VIII – may be related to his superior social status as king of England, in comparison to his two noblemen Howard and Cromwell. In the following section, I will argue that the material features Margaret employs in her holograph 12th December 1534 letter to Henry VIII differ significantly from her usual holograph material preferences, to mirror the practices and material-pragmatic politeness conventions of royal scribal correspondence.

6.3.3. Material features of Margaret's holograph correspondence

In order to gain a better understanding of the material-pragmatic conventions of Margaret Tudor's holograph correspondence, and the effect recipient social status might have had on the format of Margaret's writing, I have analysed the page size and orientation of her wider holograph correspondence. This analysis shows that the majority of Margaret's holograph letters conform to a specific material format: written on a bifolium page (this may be part of a four page bifolium booklet, or a single sheet of paper cut from a bifolium booklet) with a portrait orientation. In these documents, Margaret generally did not distinguish between recipients of different social statuses with the use of larger or smaller pieces of paper. For example, on the 13th September 1523, Margaret sent three letters to her brother, Henry VIII, and his political agents Thomas Wolsey and Thomas Howard. Figures 6.4, 6.5, and 6.6 below show the first leaves of each letter. Whilst Thomas Howard and Thomas Wolsey were high status noblemen in sixteenth-century England, they were still of a lower standing than Henry VIII as King of England. However, comparison of these three letters shows that there is little notable visual

difference between the three documents. They are all written in Margaret's own hand, on the same size paper (a leaf of a bifolium booklet), with the same portrait orientation. On this occasion, and in the majority of her holograph correspondence, Margaret thus makes no attempt to visually differentiate between recipients of different social status in the material composition of her letters, and writes to them using the same standard holograph letter format.

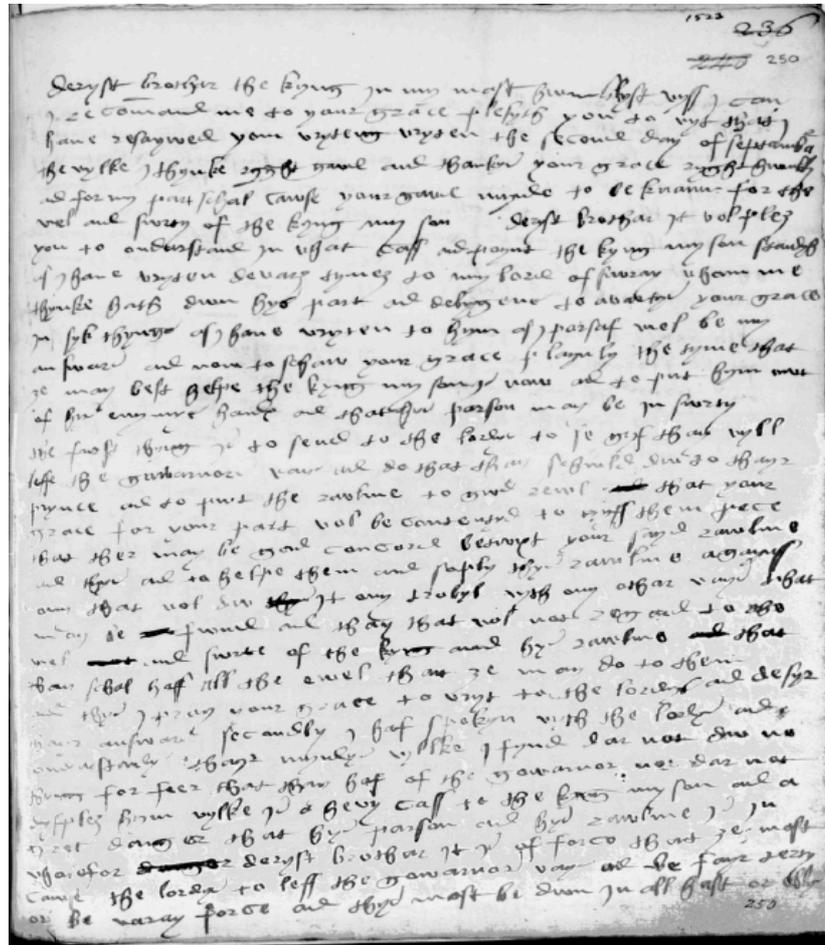


Figure 6.4: Margaret to Henry VIII, 13 September 1523, holograph (CCBI fol. 236)

However, on a few occasions, Margaret's holograph practices change. In a holograph letter to Thomas Dacre sent on the 14th of July 1520 (CCBII fol. 195), Margaret sent a letter written on a whole folio page with portrait orientation – almost twice the size of her usual holograph correspondence to Thomas Dacre. There are no clear contextual or pragmatic factors which seem to have influenced Margaret's decision to send a larger holograph letter on this occasion, and it appears to be an isolated incident in comparison to the other whole-folio texts which occur in Margaret's holograph writing.

Whilst Margaret was relatively consistent in the material format of her holograph letters, significant changes are found in her holograph correspondence between the 12th December 1534 and the 12th August 1536. Seven holograph letters during this period are written on whole-folio pages instead of the bifolium paper size usually used for Margaret's holograph writing. Analysis of these documents shows that these letters (written on full folio pages) were only sent to Henry VIII. This material choice thus appears to be connected to social status: the use of larger, more expensive and visually imposing sheets of paper are reserved for the recipient of the highest social standing, Henry VIII, King of England. But why do Margaret's material holograph practices change during this brief 18 month period?

6.3.4. Material features of Margaret's scribal correspondence

Between August 1503 and March 1541, Margaret sent scribal letters in a variety of formats: some written on small slips of paper, others on full-folios, written using both portrait or landscape orientations. Across the scribal collection, I analysed ten case studies which saw the despatch of scribal letters to multiple recipients on the same day, one of which included Henry VIII. Analysis of these case studies showed that in all but one example (in January 1515), Margaret's scribal letters differentiated between recipients of different social status by using either different sized pieces of paper, and/or by sending a letter via a different orientation.

For example on the 8th March 1528, Margaret sent three scribal letters to Henry VIII, Thomas Wolsey and Thomas Howard (SP 49/3 fols. 74, 75 and 76). Figures 6.7, 6.8, and 6.9, below, shows the inner leaves of these documents. Two material factors foreground Margaret's scribal letter to Henry VIII as being distinct from the scribal letters to Cromwell and Howard. Both scribal letters to Howard and Cromwell are written portrait on similar sized-pieces of paper (smaller than folio sized, but larger than a single bifolium leaf), with large margins of blank space above, below and to the left-hand side of the main letter text. However, when compared against the 8th March 1528 scribal letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/3 fol. 74) we can note that Margaret's scribal letter to Henry is written on a larger piece of paper with a landscape orientation, and a larger left-hand margin and piece of paper overall. In this example, we

can see that scribal letters use different orientations and sizes of paper to differentiate between recipients of different social status.

In light of this analysis, it leads me to question if the changes in Margaret's material practices between December 1534 and August 1536 (especially in the 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70) which is the focus of this chapter) were affected by scribal influence? As similar trends seen in Margaret's August 1534-August 1536 letters are found in scribal correspondence sent in Margaret's name, perhaps this might suggest that Margaret adapted her holograph material choices during this period under the direction of, or to conform to, scribal material-pragmatic conventions. I will discuss this idea in further detail in an analysis of the palaeographic, syntactic, and linguistic features of Margaret's 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70).

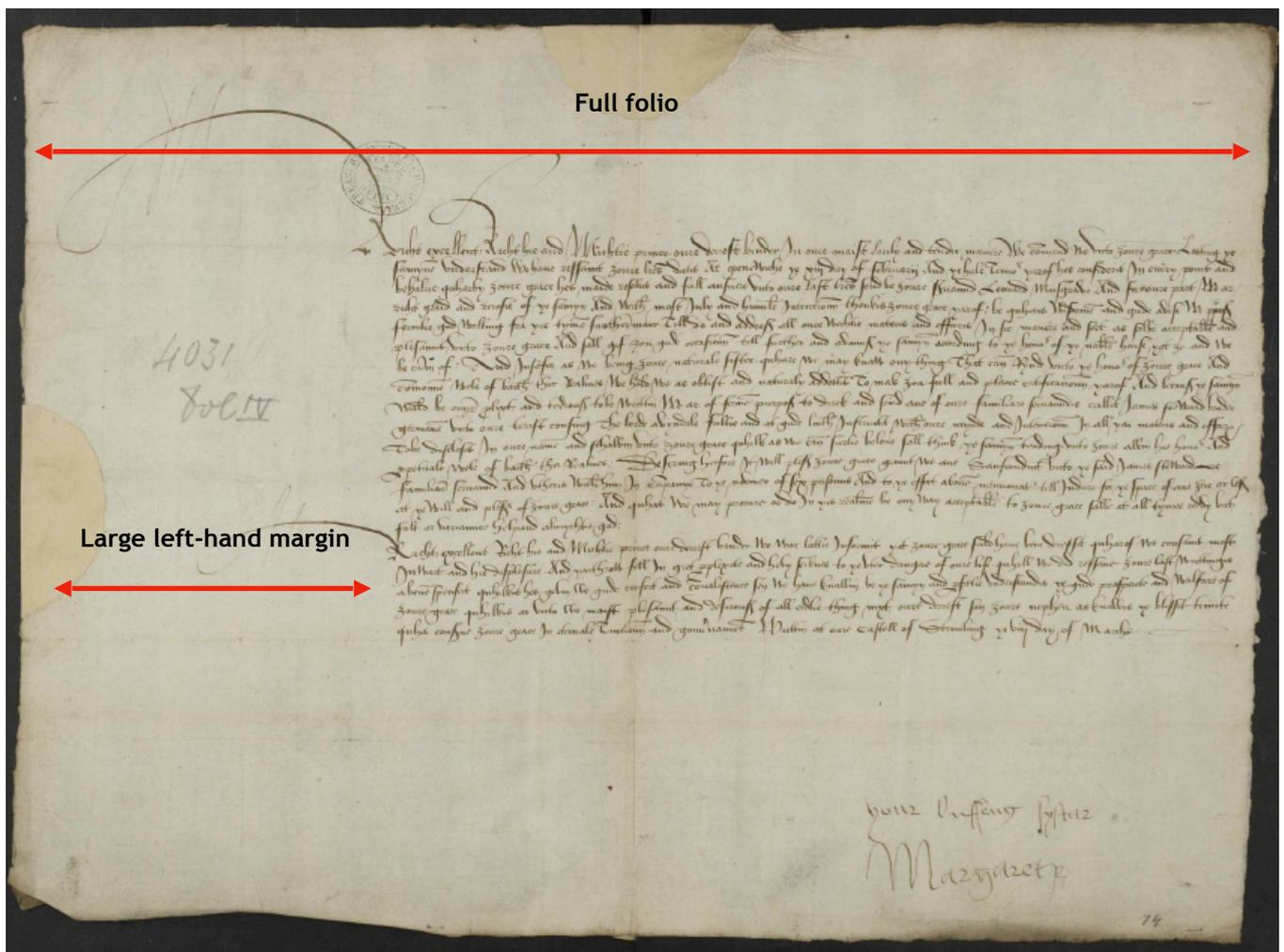


Figure 6.7: Margaret to Henry VIII, 8th March 1528, scribal (SP 49/3 fol. 74)

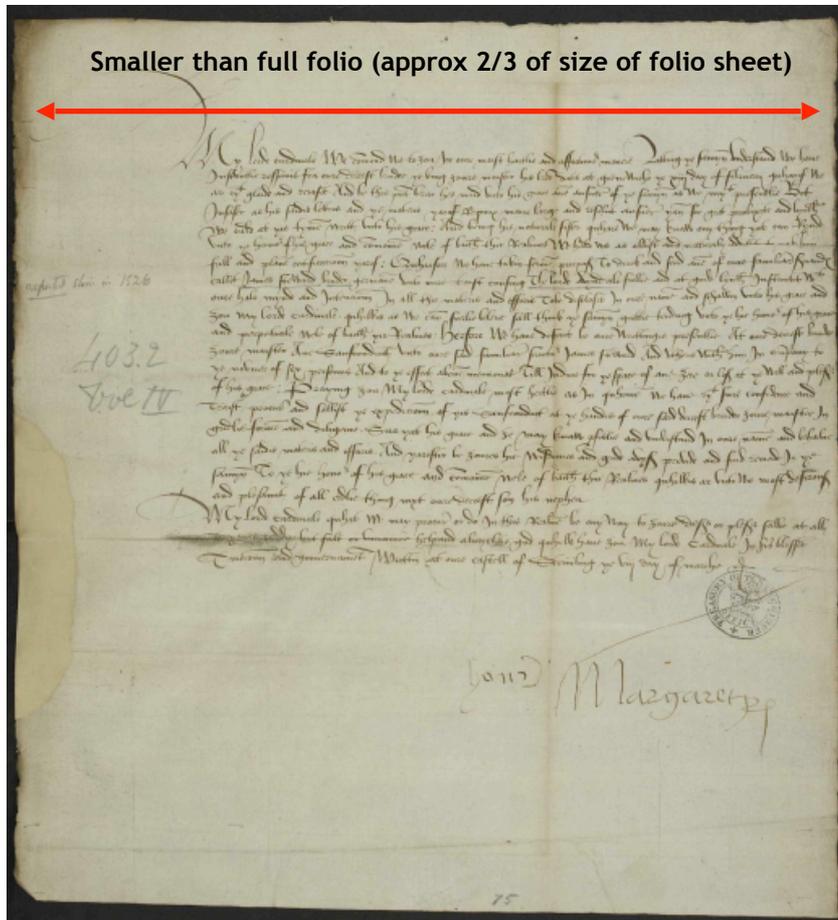


Figure 6.8: Margaret to Thomas Wolsey, 8th March 1528, scribal (SP 49/3 fol. 75)

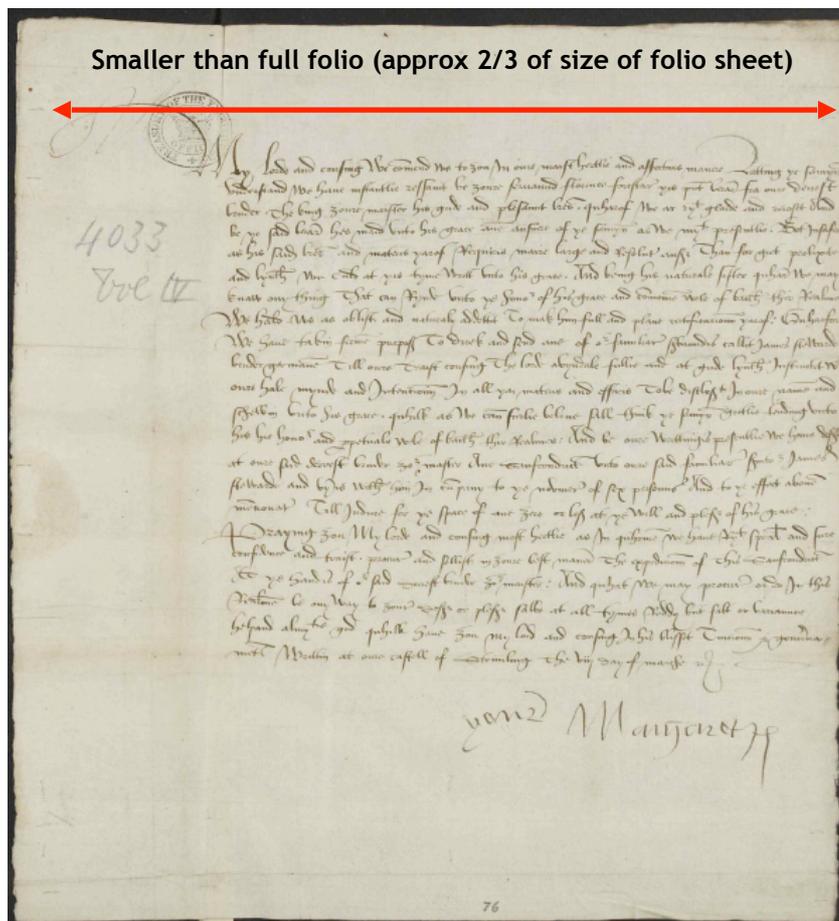


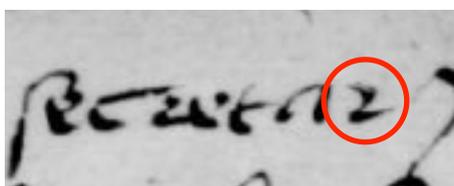
Figure 6.9: Margaret to Thomas Howard, 8th March 1528, scribal (SP 49/3 fol. 76)

6.4. Changes in Margaret's holograph epistolary style: 28th November 1534 and 12th December 1534

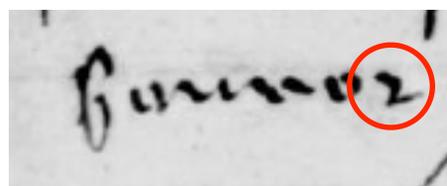
Two weeks before the despatch of her unusual 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70), Margaret sent another holograph letter to Thomas Cromwell on the 28th November 1534 (CCBI fol. 249) which followed the material format of her usual holograph correspondence. The palaeographical, morphological, syntactic, and lexical contrasts between these two documents is striking, in particular the use of markedly Scots linguistic forms in the 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII. But why did Margaret's holograph writing practices changes so dramatically in two letters written only two weeks apart?

6.4.1. Palaeographical comparison - different letter forms

A palaeographical comparison of Margaret's two holograph letters sent to Thomas Cromwell on the 28th November 1534 and Henry VIII on the 12th December 1534 reveals a number of differences in how certain graphemes were formed in the two letters. For example, Margaret consistently used the same realisation of the terminal <r> graph in her 28th November letter to Cromwell, as shown in figure 6.10 below. However, in the 12th December 1534 letter to Henry VIII, Margaret incorporated the use of an additional terminal <r> graph with an ascending tail as seen in figure 6.11 below in the term 'maner' (SP 49/4 fol. 70).

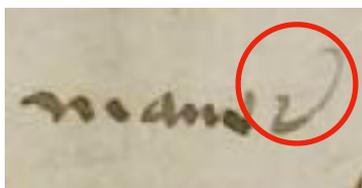


<secretar> (secretary)

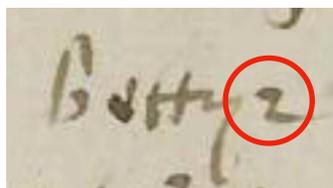


<honor> (honour)

Figure 6.10: Examples of terminal <r> graph in Margaret's holograph letter to Thomas Cromwell, 28th November 1534 (CCBI fol. 249)



<maner> (manner)



<bettyr> (better)

Figure 6.11: Examples of terminal <r> graph - Margaret to Henry VIII 12 December 1534 (SP 49/4 fol. 70)

The four examples seen in figure 6.12 illustrate the terminal <s> graph used in Margaret's 28th November 1534 letter to Cromwell (CCBI fol. 249). None of

forms can be found in Margaret's holograph 12th December 1534 letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70). Instead, Margaret makes use of two different forms of <s> as can be seen in figure 6.13.

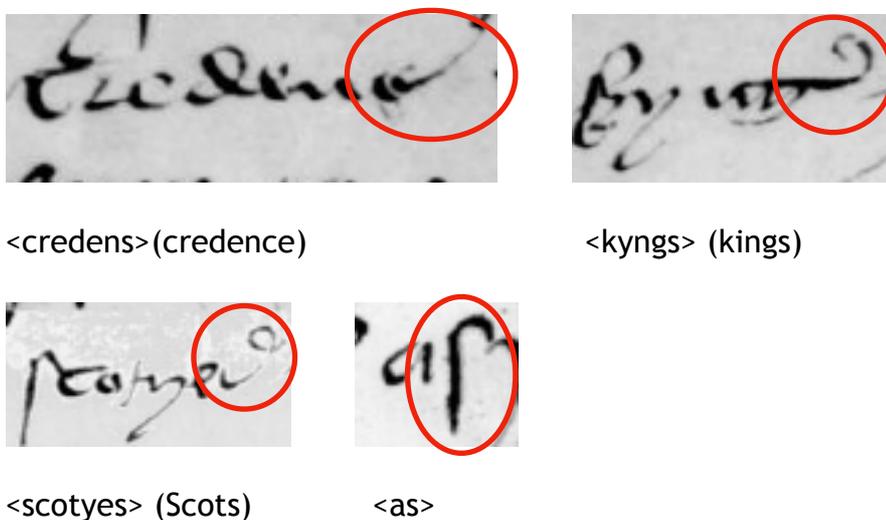


Figure 6.12: Examples of terminal <s> graph - Margaret to Thomas Cromwell, 28 November 1534 (CCBI fol. 249)

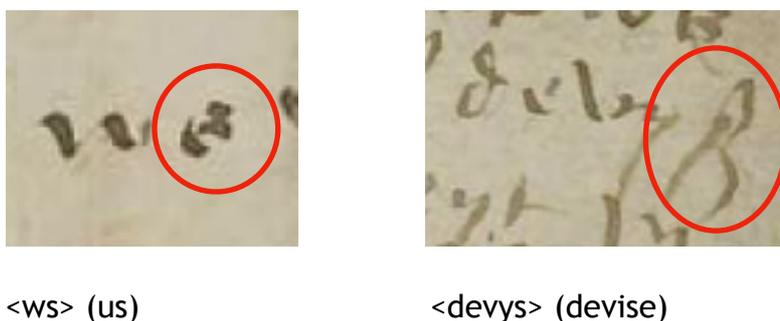


Figure 6.13: Examples of terminal <s> graph - Margaret to Henry VIII, 12 December 1534 (SP 49/4 fol. 70).

6.4.2. Palaeographical comparison - yogh and y-thorn

Another noticeable palaeographical difference between Margaret's 28th November and 12th December 1534 holograph letters, is the use of yogh. In Margaret's 28th November 1534 letter to Thomas Cromwell (CCBI fol. 249), Margaret made use of yogh <ȝ> only in the second person subject pronoun 'ȝe'. In this letter, Margaret formulated the second person object pronoun 'you' with a <y> graph and not yogh. For example, 'I command me hartly to **you** and vyt (know) ȝe that I haue resayved (received) the kyngs grace my deryst brothars vrytengs (writings)' (CCBI fol. 249). In the 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII, however, Margaret begins all second person pronoun forms with yogh, and in the case of 'you', we also see her spelling conventions change. This can be seen in the following example: 'plesitht (pleasit) ȝow (you) be aduertysyd (advertised)' (SP 49/4 fol. 72).

Here, Margaret spells the second person pronoun with <-ow> instead of the <-ou> spelling used consistently in the 28th November 1534 letter to Thomas Cromwell (CCBI fol. 249). In his study of Scots features in Margaret's holograph letters, Williams notes that 'use of yoghs and y-thorns' is a 'characteristically Scots' phenomenon' (2016: 98).

This 'Scots' versus more 'English' grapheme comparison can also be seen in the use of y-thorns in Margaret's 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70). For example:

1) also we haue consyderyt (considered) and avyssytly (advisedly) weyt (weighed) everry poynt of **ye** (the) credence schawin (shown) be (by) **yam** (them) vnto ws (us) yn (in) your grace naym // and conform **ye** (the) sam has don so consernyng **ye** (the) metyng betuex (between) your grace and o^r (our) derrest son yo^r (your) nephow (nephew) (SP 49/4 fol. 70)

In this extract y-thorn is used in the definite article (the) <ye> and the personal pronoun (them) <yam>. In the same letter, Margaret also uses y-thorn in <broyir> (brother), <yan> (than), <yat> (that), <yir> (these) (Scots (thir)), and <thar> (there). However, Margaret does not use y-thorns in her 28th November 1534 holograph letter to Thomas Cromwell, instead she chooses to use <th>. For example:

2) My lorde secretar (secretary) I command me hartly to your and vyt (know) **ze** that I haue resayved (received) **the** kyngs grace my deryst **brothars** vrytengs (writings) vysch (which) ar veray (very) hartly and onorabyll (honourable) and hys credens vyt (with) thys lentylman (gentleman) vhom (whom) I haue bene varray (very) playn to In all sortes confermyng (confirming) to **the** kyngs grace commandment (CCBI fol. 249)

6.4.3. Punctuation and syntactic structure

Analysis of punctuation and syntactic structure highlights further differences between Margaret's 28th November 1534 letter to Cromwell and the 12th December 1534 letter to Henry VIII. Punctuation in medieval and early modern letters could serve two main communicative functions. It could either be used for grammatical purposes, to distinguish between different grammatical units, or for rhetorical purposes, used for emphasis or to 'distinguish rhetorical periods' (Smith 2012: 33). In relation to the punctuation of Scottish texts, Smith notes that '[p]ractices of punctuation in older Scots texts vary widely, but in general they tend to reflect rhetorical structures rather than grammatical ones, i.e. they distinguish rhetorical periods', but also notes that lots of idiosyncratic variation existed between medieval and early modern Scottish writers (2012: 33). Figure 6.14, below,

shows the inner leaf of Margaret's 28th November 1524 holograph letter to Thomas Cromwell (CCBI fol. 249). In this letter – as in the majority of her holograph correspondence – Margaret does not use any symbols of punctuation, such as a virgule or full-stop. Instead, Margaret signalled the beginning of a new clause or syntactic unit with the use of conjunctions such as <and>, <bot> (but) and <for>, as well as relative pronouns <vysche> (which), <that> and <vhom> (whom). It would therefore appear that Margaret did not make regular use of punctuation marks as part of her everyday writing style.⁴³

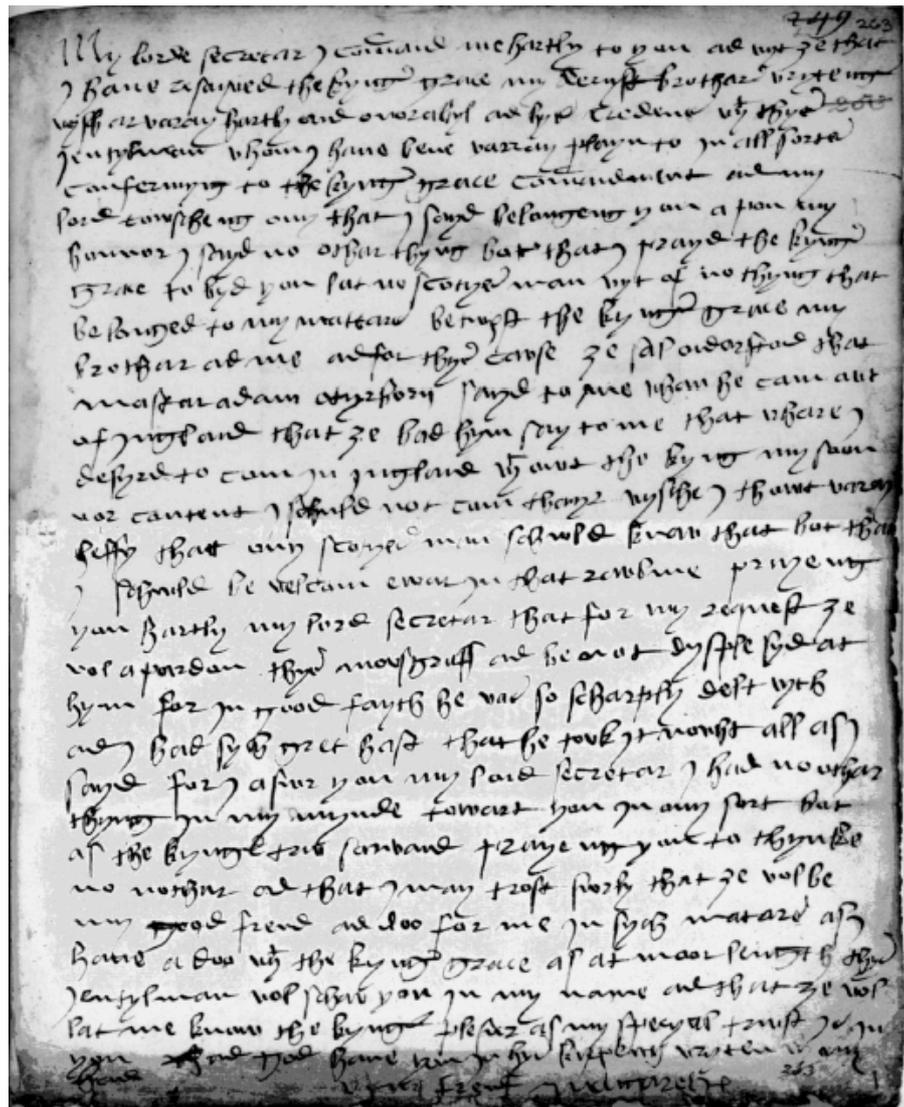


Figure 6.14: Inner leaf of Margret's holograph letter to Thomas Cromwell, 28th November 1534 (CCBI fol. 249)

In contrast, Margaret's holograph letter to Henry VIII sent on 12th December 1534 (SP 49/4 fol. 70) makes use of single, double, and even triple-stroke virgules to signal the beginning of a new grammatical unit. For example, in

⁴³ However, punctuation can be found in a small selection of Margaret's holograph letters, for example CCBI fol. 206, SP 49/4 fol. 93, Add. M.S. 24, 965, f. 246.

figure 6.15, we see the use of a double-stroke virgule to signal the beginning of another clause after the opening address '// Plesith (pleasit) 3ow (you) be aduertysyd //', followed by a relative clause '//quhihe (which) not only salbe (shall be) to or (our) honor //' (SP 49/4 fol. 70). Despite the notable visual difference between the 28th November and 12th December 1534 holograph letters in terms of the use of punctuation strokes, Margaret's holograph letter to Henry VIII makes use of similar conjunctions and relative pronouns as her 28th November 1534 holograph letter to Cromwell. For example the conjunctions <and>, <but> and <for>, as well as the relative pronouns <that> and <quhihe> (which). In terms of this structuring lexis, the two holograph texts are thus somewhat similar.

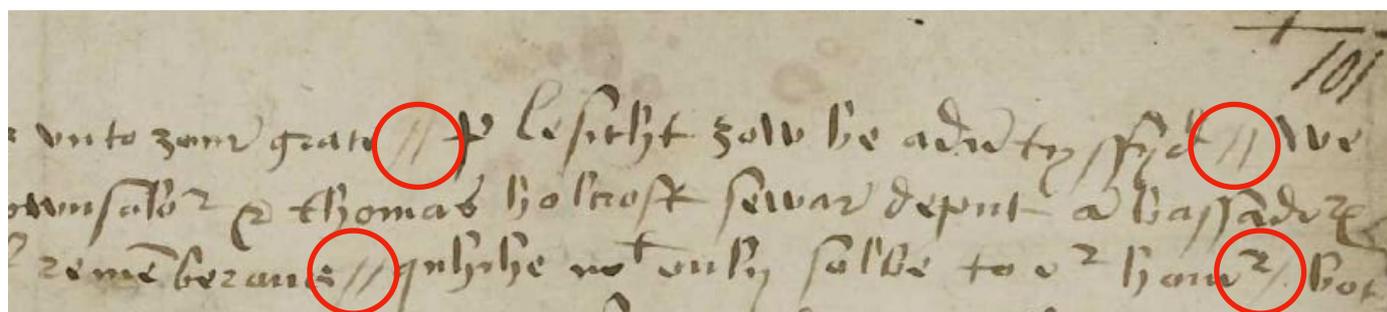


Figure 6.15: Use of virgules in Margaret's letter to Henry VIII, 12th December 1534 (SP 49/4 fol. 70)

6.4.4. Abbreviations

Another notable point of comparison between the 28th November 1534 letter to Cromwell and the 12th December 1534 letter to Henry VIII can be seen in the use of abbreviations in each text. For the most part, Margaret made use of few abbreviations in her holograph writing, with the exception of a few common forms. For example, in her 28th November 1534 letter to Thomas Cromwell (CCBI fol. 249), Margaret makes use of a macron above the <m> graph in the term <comand> to supply an additional <m> as <command>. She also makes use of the abbreviated form of 'with' featuring a superscript 't' <vy^t>, but does not make use of the common ampersand brevigraph <&> in this text. In total, in this letter, Margaret makes use of only four contractions and abbreviations.

In contrast, Margaret's 12th December 1534 letter to Henry VIII is filled with a much greater variety and concentration of abbreviations than the 28th November 1534 letter to Thomas Cromwell. These include <recommand>, <aduertysyd> (advertised), <interly> (entirely), <our> (our), and <perfyt> (perfit) (Scots for 'perfect'). Furthermore, we find that words which are spelt out fully in Margaret's 28th December 1534 letter to Cromwell, are abbreviated in the later 12th December 1534 letter to Henry VIII, for

example, <and> is realised as ampersand <&>, <brothar> as <broyer> (brother), and <deryst> as <derrest> (dearest).⁴⁴

Though these two holograph letters were sent only two weeks apart in 1534, the above analysis shows that the two texts differ significantly in terms of their use of orthography, punctuation and abbreviation. Whilst we would expect changes to occur in an individual's handwriting and communicative preferences over time, such a sudden change in these features of Margaret's writing practice seems unusual. In the following sections, I will compare morphological and lexical features of Margaret's 28th December 1534 and 12th December 1534 holograph letters to see if these contrasts are mirrored in other linguistic features of the two holograph documents.

6.4.5. Lexical and morphological differences

Analysis of the lexical and morphological features of Margaret's holograph letters to Thomas Cromwell and Henry VIII reveals a number of key contrasts between the two texts, in particular the use of more markedly Scots linguistic forms in the 12th December 1534 letter to Henry VIII versus the use of more marked English forms in the earlier letter to Thomas Cromwell. It would appear that Margaret's 28th November 1534 holograph letter to Thomas Cromwell was written during a period in which Margaret was keen to leave Scotland and seek refuge at the English court (something Margaret requested regularly during her life). In this letter, Margaret complained that Henry VIII would not allow her come 'to com In Inngland vy^t (with) owt (out) the kyng my soon (son) vor (were) content' (CCBI fol. 249). The stance Margaret occupies in this letter – showing more allegiance to England – may perhaps be relevant to her use of more markedly English linguistic forms in this document.

In his study of Scots linguistic features in Margaret Tudor's correspondence, Williams suggests that the use of markedly 'English' or 'Scots' features was linked to Margaret's pragmatic stance, and the 'socio-political and pragmatic context of her writing' (2016: 107). He argues that in periods in which Margaret was closely aligned with the Scottish government, she incorporated marked Scots features into her writing to index that she was a loyal Scots woman. On the other hand, when Margaret wanted to signal her allegiance to the English court and her brother Henry VIII – such as when she wanted to leave Scotland and return to England – we can observe an increase in the use of English linguistic forms in Margaret's holograph writing (Williams 2016).

⁴⁴ Though it should be noted that multiple realisations of the same term are present in SP 49/4 fol. 70. For example 'dearest' is realised as <derrest> and <derrest>. I have chosen to highlight the abbreviated forms for purposes of comparison.

Inflectional morphology: *-it/-ed* verbal inflections

One point of comparison that can be observed between Margaret's 28th November and 12th December 1534 holograph letters is the use of verbal inflections that are of marked Scots or English usage. Simpson highlights two main differences between early modern English and early modern Scots verbal inflections. He notes that in Scots 'the present participle commonly ends in - and (e.g. *sayand*, English *saying*) and the past tense and past participle ends in *-it* or *-yt* (e.g. *woundit*, English *wounded*).' (1986: 41). In the 28th November 1534 letter to Cromwell, Margaret only makes use of the English *-ed* past tense and past participle forms, for example in the phrases 'I haue **resayved** (received) the kynys grace my deryst brothars vrytengs (writings)', 'I **prayd** (prayed) the kynys grace to byd you lat (let) no scotyys (Scots) man vyt (know) of no thyng belonged to my mattars', and 'be not **dysplesyd** (displeased) at hym' (CCBI fol. 249). At no point does Margaret use the Scots *-it/-yt* past tense inflection in the holograph inner leaf of this letter. The outer leaf of this document, however, is written in the of a scribe hand and uses one Scots *-it* past-participle inflection: 'To oure Weilbelouit and special frende My lorde secretare' (CCBI fol. 249). This pattern exhibits a contrast in the morphological practices of Margaret and her scribe, showing that on this occasion Margaret opted to use more 'English' inflectional forms than the Scots *-it* inflection which was a feature of the native idiolect of her Scots scribe.

However, in her holograph letter to Henry sent just two weeks later on 12th December 1534, Margaret changes this practice and instead makes use of the Scots *-it/-yt* past tense inflectional suffix. For example, Margaret writes: 'We haue be (by) 3our trast (trust) and weylbelovyt (well beloved) s^rintor^{es} (servants) mastyr wylyyam barlow cownsalor (counselor) & thomas holcrost sewar (attendant) deput (deputy) ambassador^{es} **Resavyt** (received) 3our ryt (right) lovyng and effectous (effectuous; earnest) lettris (letters)' (SP 49/4 fol. 70). Here, we can see a direct lexical comparison with the 'resayved' (CCBI fol. 249) of Margaret's 28th November Cromwell letter. The November 1534 letter to Cromwell is marked with the English *-ed* inflection, whereas Margaret makes use of the Scots *-yt* inflection used in the 12th December holograph letter to Henry VIII. In the 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII, Margaret makes use of twelves Scots *-it/yt* past tense inflections, and only one marked English *-ed* past tense inflection as can be seen in the phrase 'plesitht (pleasit) 3ow (you) be **aduertyssyd** (advertised)' (SP 49/4 fol. 70).

Inflectional morphology: *-is/-s* nominal inflections

Further differences in morphology between the two holograph texts can be seen in the use of the nominal *-is/-s* inflection. Smith notes that the *-is/-es*

(also spelt as *-ys* in Margaret's correspondence) inflection 'is characteristic of Scots' (2012: 45), and that '(m)ost Older Scots *nouns* follow the following paradigm':

singular **king** singular possessive **kingis** plural **kingis**

(From Smith 2012: 45)

Analysis of Margaret's holograph 28th November 1534 letter to Cromwell (CCBI fol. 249) reveals that Margaret does not make use of the Older Scots *-is* inflection at any point during this letter. Instead she uses the early modern (and indeed present day) English *-s* form, for example: 'I haue resayved (received) the **kyngs** grace my deryst brothars **vrytengs** (writings) vysch (which) ar varay (very) onorabyll (honourable)' (CCBI fol. 249). However, in the 12th December 1534 letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70), Margaret uses multiple tokens of the Scots *-is* inflection, for example: 'We haue...Resavyt (received) **zour** ry^t (right) lovyng and effectous (efectuuous; earnest) **lettris** (letters)// wy^t (with) syndry (sundry) **tokkynys** (tokens) of rememberans', and 'or (our) derrest son has effectuously (effectuously; earnestly) dysyryt (desird) we wryt (write) in hys naym vnto **zow** (you) thir (these) **wordys** (words) follwyng' (SP 49/4 fol. 70).⁴⁵ In her 12th December 1534 letter to Henry VIII, Margaret does not make use of the English *-s* inflection to mark possessive or plural noun forms, instead she exclusively uses the Scots *-is* inflection.

***Qu-/Wh-* forms**

Another notable difference that can be seen between the two 1534 holograph texts is the use of Scots *qu-* relative pronouns, in comparison to English *wh-* forms. In the 28th November 1534 letter to Thomas Cromwell (CCBI fol. 249), Margaret uses three separate *wh-* relative pronoun forms (though spelt with a <v>) in <vysch> and <vysche> (which), <vhom> (whom), and <vhare> (where).⁴⁶ For example, '**vhare** (where) I desyrd to come In Inglad vy^t owt (without) the kyng my soon (son) vor (were) content I schuld (should) not cam (come) thayr (there) **vysche** (which) I thowt (thought) varay (very) heffy (heavy)' (CCBI fol. 249). At no point in the letter does Margaret use any relative pronouns with a markedly Scots *qu-* spelling.

However, this pattern once again changes in Margaret's holograph 12th December 1534 letter to Henry VIII, in which we see the use of four *qu-*

⁴⁵ Note - Margaret also makes use of the *-is* inflection to mark present tense verbs in SP 49/4 fol. 70, but this will not be discussed in detail in this chapter.

⁴⁶ Williams notes that Margaret's use of 'initial <v> for <w> is more typically Scots at this point in general orthographic practice, but the new spelling remains undeniably less marked' (2016: 112) than Scots relative forms such as <quhilk> and <quhihe> found in Margaret's holograph letter to Henry VIII 12th December 1534 (SP 49/4 fol. 70).

relatives, three of which are variants of the term ‘which’.⁴⁷ For example, ‘we besek (beseech) ʒour grace yat (that) ʒe Inlyk (in like) maner veryfe (verify) th[amage] sam In deid & word...ye (the) **quhilk** (which) our vndennty (undented) confydens Is ʒour grace vyll (will) do’ (SP 49/4 fol. 70). Here, <quhilk> is a variant of the same term <vysche> (which) found in Margaret’s 28th November 1534 letter to Cromwell, but is a more markedly Scots form than that employed in the holograph letter to Cromwell.

Comparison of the morphological inflections and spellings of Margaret’s 28th November 1534 letter to Thomas Cromwell with her 12th December 1534 letter to Henry VIII thus highlights a rapid switch in the use of more markedly English forms in the earlier 28th November 1534 letter (CCBI fol. 249), in comparison to the use of a greater concentration of Scots forms in Margaret’s 12th December 1534 letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70). The significance of this change will be discussed further in the following sections.

Pronouns

One of the most noticeable lexical differences between Margaret’s 28th November 1534 and 12th December 1534 holograph letters to Thomas Cromwell and Henry VIII is first person pronoun forms. As discussed in Chapter Five, Evans suggests that an ‘*I* and *royal we*... autograph/scribal distinction’ (2013: 153) can generally be observed in sixteenth-century royal correspondence. With this rule, we might expect royal letters written by a scribe to use the plural first person *royal we* pronoun, whereas letters written in a king or queen’s own hand might use first person singular pronouns only. For the most part, Margaret observes these distinctions in her own holograph writing. In the 28th November 1534 holograph letter to Cromwell Margaret makes use of the singular first person pronouns *I*, *me* and *my* as the main self-referential address forms. For example:

3) **my** lord towscheng (touching) ony (any) that I sayd belongeng (belonging) to you a pon (upon) **my** honnor I sayd no othar thyng bot (but) that I prayd the kyngs grace to byd you lat (let) no scotyes (Scots) man vyt (know) of no thyng that belonged to my mattars betwxst (between) the kyngs grace **my** brothar and **me** (CCBI fol. 249)

However, analysis of the pronominal reference forms used in Margaret’s 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70) shows a significant change in this pronominal paradigm. Below is an extract highlighting the pronouns used in Margaret’s holograph letter to Henry VIII:

4) also **we** haue consydyryt (considered) and avyssytly (advisedly) weyit (weighed) everry poynt of ye (the) credence schawin (shown) be (by)

⁴⁷ Three of these are variants of ‘which’, the final one is partially illegible due to damage on the manuscript.

yam (them) vnto ws (us) ʒn (in) ʒour grace naym //...atto^r (in addition)
o^r (our) derrest son has effectuosly (effectuously; earnestly) dyssyrit
(desired) we wryt (write) in hys naym vnto ʒow (you) yir (thir; these)
wordys (words) followyng // (SP 49/4 fol. 70)

As can be seen in the extract above, and throughout the rest of the letter (with the exception of one token of the first person singular <me> pronoun in SP 49/4 fol. 70) Margaret makes use of only first person plural self-reference pronouns such as (we), <ws> (us), and <o^r> (our). As Margaret was the only agent to have signed this letter, and did not send the letter in collaboration with a named co-writer, these plural pronouns are all tokens of *royal we*. This marks another significant change in Margaret's holograph writing style between 28th November 1534 and 12th December 1534.

6.5. Discussion

From the above analysis it is clear that a number of significant palaeographical, linguistic and morphological differences existed between Margaret's holograph 28th November 1534 letter to Thomas Cromwell (CCBI fol. 249) and the holograph 12th December 1534 letter sent to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70). Returning to the question posed previously: why do Margaret's holograph writing practices change so dramatically in only a two-week period? Whilst changes in an individual's spelling systems, handwriting style, use of abbreviations and punctuation practices were to be expected over the course of their lifetime, Margaret's writing style changes significantly in a very short space of time. In the 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII, we see Margaret suddenly introduce the use of new graphemes such as <s> graphemes, the use of single, double and triple-stroke virgules as a system of punctuation, and the inclusion of a greater concentration of abbreviations, in comparison to the 28th November 1534 holograph letter to Thomas Cromwell.

In conjunction with the material analysis of the 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII, these changes might further suggest that an additional agent helped Margaret to compose the 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70), or that perhaps Margaret even copied a scribal draft into her own hand. If Margaret did indeed produce a holograph copy of a scribal draft, she may have reproduced palaeographical forms, abbreviations, spellings and punctuation practices that were part of the scribe's handwriting systems but not part of her own usual holograph writing preferences.

The presence of a significant increase of marked Scottish inflections, spellings and lexis in Margaret's 12th December 1534 letter to Henry VIII in comparison to their relative absence in the 28th November 1534 letter to Thomas Cromwell is more difficult to explain. As mentioned above, Williams has suggested that the presence of marked English or Scottish features in

Margaret Tudor's holograph texts is linked to pragmatic stance and 'the socio-political and pragmatic context of her writing' (2016: 107). By using an increased number of Scottish linguistic features in her writing, Margaret could signal her affiliation to the Scottish government, and vice versa with the use of English features. Based on the pragmatic context and communicative function of Margaret's 28th November 1534 and 12th December 1534 holograph letters, this hypothesis appears to stand true. In her holograph letter to Cromwell, Margaret requested that he keep her requests to come to England secret from 'scotyces (Scots) man' (CCBI fol. 249) and that she felt 'varay (very) heffy (heavy)' (CCBI fol. 249) that Cromwell disapproved of her desires to come to England without the approval of her son James V. In this letter (and presumably in letters sent before it which no longer survive) Margaret signalled a desire to leave Scotland, and thus showed greater affiliation with the English court. This Anglo-centric stance is reflected in the absence of marked 'Scots' forms in Margaret's 28th November 1534 holograph letter to Cromwell.

In contrast, by sending the 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII, Margaret exhibited a significant volte-face and took it upon herself to personally arrange the details of the proposed diplomatic meeting between James V and Henry VIII. As this letter was written under the request of her son, James V, it is likely that James or members of his council and secretariat (who produced the other two scribal letters sent alongside this holograph letter) would have seen and approved Margaret's holograph letter before it was sent to Henry VIII. As Williams notes, Margaret consciously used Scots in her letters during her second regency to 'signa(l) her appropriateness in ruling (here to an English audience, and any Scots ambassadors, bearers or interceptors privy to the contents of her letters)' (2016: 105). By incorporating the use of Scots linguistic features into her 12th December 1534 letter, Margaret linguistically signalled her allegiance to James V and Scotland. Furthermore, as Margaret was writing on behalf of James V, it would have been inappropriate to send a holograph letter in his name as King of Scotland (who would himself have written and spoken in Scots), and which reflected his 'wordys (words)' (SP 49/4 fol. 70), using marked English dialect features. In these circumstances, it would only have been acceptable for Margaret to use 'the language of the nation' (Emond 1988: 49, quoted from Williams 2016: 105) and write to Henry VIII using marked Scots linguistic forms.

If this was indeed the case, this case study presents Margaret Tudor as being an adept linguistic agent, who could quickly alter the socio-linguistic design of her letters to accommodate to different situations and audiences. However, an alternative scenario may explain the sudden switch in the use of marked English to marked Scots linguistic forms that occurs in Margaret's 28th

November 1534 and 12th December 1534 holograph letters to Thomas Cromwell and Henry VIII. If a Scottish scribe was enlisted to produce a draft of a letter, we would expect it to include Scottish morphological inflections, spellings and lexis, as these would have formed part of the Scots scribe's linguistic repertoire. If Margaret copied a scribal draft into her own hand, she may have replicated the linguistic forms chosen by the Scots scribe and transferred them to her holograph document. Thus, the use of marked Scots linguistic features in the 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII may simply be explained by Margaret copying them from a scribal text and not consciously adapting her language use in relation to political affiliation.

The final linguistic difference found between Margaret's 28th December 1534 and 12th December 1534 holograph letters as discussed in this chapter, is the use of different self-reference pronominal forms in each letter. As mentioned above, Margaret's holograph letters generally used the first person pronoun forms *I*, *me* and *my*. With the exception of the unusual selection of correspondence sent between December 1534 and July 1538, Margaret only uses *royal we* in holograph letters sent during her second regency, when she was writing and acting on behalf of her son James V, King of Scotland. On these occasions, it was thus appropriate for Margaret to use the royal *we* pronoun, as she was the acting Scottish head of state. Margaret's decision to use *royal we* in the 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII thus cannot be related to social status and political power, as Margaret held little influence in Scottish politics during her son's independent rule from 1528 onwards.

Margaret's use of *royal we* in the 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII may be explained by a number of reasons. Firstly, in the 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII, Margaret highlights that she was commissioned under direction from James V to write to Henry VIII, 'vryt (write) in hys naym vnto 3ow (you) yir (thir; these) wordys (words) followyng' (SP 49/4 fol. 70), and to convey James' positive response to Henry's offers of a diplomatic meeting. As Margaret was writing and acting under the royal authority of James V, use of the *royal we* pronoun in Margaret's holograph letter would linguistically show that this letter was endorsed with the formal and official authority of the King of Scotland. Alternatively, as royal scribal correspondence often made use of the *royal we* pronoun as can be seen in the accompanying two 12th December 1534 scribal letters sent to Howard and Wolsey, this pattern may be explained by Margaret simply copying the pronoun forms of a scribal draft.

As discussed above, various explanations may be put forward to account for the sudden palaeographical, material, morphological and lexical changes that take place between Margaret's 28th November 1534 and 12th December 1534 holograph letters to Thomas Cromwell and Henry VIII. However, the most

convincing hypothesis that accounts for all of the linguistic and material changes seen in Margaret's 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII is that Margaret had scribal assistance in the production and composition of this document. In the following section, I will compare Margaret's 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70), with the wider holograph and scribal corpuses, in particular the two scribal letters also sent to Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Howard on the 12th December 1534 (SP 49/4 fols. 72 and 74), to see if we can gain a better understanding of how Margaret's holograph letter to Henry VIII was produced.

6.6. Further analysis: investigating scribal influence in Margaret Tudor's 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70)

In the preceding sections, I have argued that the material, palaeographic and linguistic changes seen in Margaret Tudor's 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70) may be a result of 'scribal influence' (Wiggins 2017: 31) in the production of this document. In order to test this hypothesis more thoroughly, I will conduct a linguistic and palaeographical analysis of the 12th December 1534 holograph text (SP 49/4 fol. 70), in relation to the wider holograph corpus, and the two scribal letters sent on the same day to Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Howard (SP 49/4 fols. 72 and 74). This will allow me to further examine how Margaret's 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII compares to her wider holograph letter-writing practices, as well as investigate if any evidence survives to suggest that either of the two scribes who produced the accompanying 12th December 1534 scribal letters were involved in the composition of Margaret's holograph text.

In her analysis of the letters of Bess of Hardwick, Wiggins notes that editors and biographers have shown a 'strong general tendency to associate autograph (holograph) writing with a somehow more authentic voice of the sender' (2017: 31). As mentioned in Chapter Two, whilst holograph letters were written in the hand of the named sender, this did not mean that they were composed by the author alone. An early modern writer could, for example, copy a scribal draft in their own hand. This would have resulted in a holograph document with little relation to the named author's personal idiolect and usual writing practices. As mentioned in Chapter Two, such practices can be seen in the letters of James VI, King of Scotland, who Akrigg notes 'was not above having an underling compose a letter which he would then copy out himself.' (1984: 26).

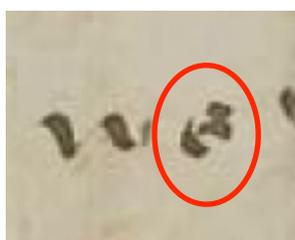
Wiggins notes that 'autograph (holograph) writing was not hermetically sealed off from scribal writing or scribal influence; rather, letters penned in Bess's own hand can be shown in some cases to have involved direct input from scribes and collaborators.' (2017: 31). In her analysis of Bess of Hardwick's

letters, Wiggins (2017: 54) suggests that we can investigate scribal input in holograph correspondence (a type of authorship analysis) through adopting a multi-layered analytical approach which pays attention to palaeographical features (such as the use of specific letter forms), punctuation, syntax, spelling conventions and the use of specific linguistic forms (such as anaphoric references and qualifying phrases).

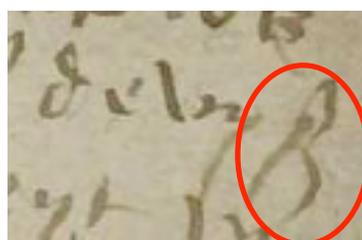
I will conduct a similar analysis in the following section – paying attention to a selection of features including orthography, punctuation, morphology, and lexical selection – to investigate if any evidence survives to suggest that Margaret’s 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII was a collaborative composition, and was produced with involvement from external agents. In particular, is there any evidence to suggest that either of the two scribes who produced the accompanying 12th December 1534 scribal letters to Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Howard, were involved in the composition of Margaret’s holograph letter to Henry VIII which was sent on the same day? Finally, in this analysis I will employ principles which proved productive in the authorship analysis of Chapter Two – analysis of how key topics were articulated in Margaret’s correspondence – to examine if this approach can be used in authorship attribution investigations of holograph documents.

6.6.1. Palaeographical comparison

In the previous section, I highlighted the key palaeographical differences that could be found between Margaret’s 28th November 1534 holograph letter to Thomas Cromwell (CCBI fol. 249), and the 12th December 1534 letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70). In particular, I suggested that the introduction of two new terminal <s> forms found in Margaret’s 12th December 1534 letter to Henry VIII – scharfes <s>, and kidney <s> – which were not present in the 28th November 1534 holograph letter to Thomas Cromwell, may suggest the presence of scribal input. Figure 6.16, again shows the terminal <s> graphs used in Margaret’s 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70).



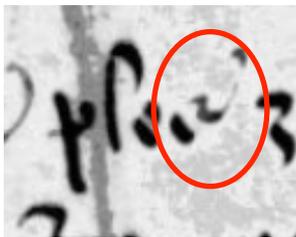
<ws> (us)



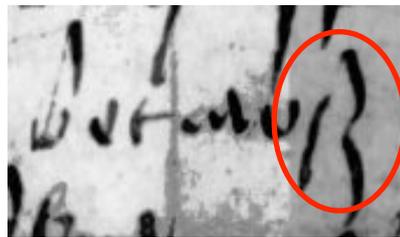
<devys> (devise)

Figure 6.16: Examples of terminal <s> graph - Margaret to Henry VIII, 12 December 1534 (SP 49/4 fol. 70)

In order to test this hypothesis, I looked to Margaret's next surviving holograph letter, sent to Henry VIII on the 6th March 1536. In this letter, Margaret makes use of the scharfes <s> character (as seen in the term <becaws> (because)) seen in the 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70), but also includes the use of a new terminal <s> character seen in the term <ples> (please) in figure 6.17 below. Whilst this character has some similarities to the kidney terminal <s>, it has an ascending tail/flick. Furthermore, at no point does the kidney terminal <s> occur in Margaret's 6th March 1535 letter to Henry VIII. It does, however, occur on a few occasions in a letter sent a few months later to Henry VIII on the 13th May 1535 (SP 49/4 fol. 93).



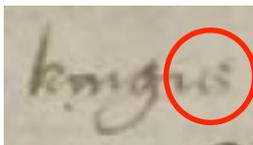
<ples> (please)



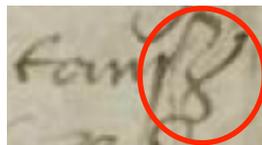
<becaws> (because)

Figure 6.17: Examples of terminal /s/ in Margaret's holograph letter to Henry VIII, 6th March 1535 (CCBI fol. 158)

Figures 6.18 and 6.19 below show the terminal <s> graphs used in the two accompanying scribal letters sent to Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Howard on the 12th December 1534.



<kingus> (kings)

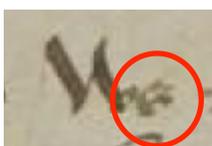


<caus> (cause)



<is> (is)

Figure 6.18: Examples of terminal /s/ in Margaret's scribal letter to Thomas Cromwell, 12th December 1534 (SP 49/4 fol. 72)



<ws> (us)



<as> (as)

Figure 6.19: Examples of terminal /s/ in Margaret's scribal letter to Thomas Howard, 12th December 1534 (SP 49/4 fol. 74)

The scribe responsible for producing the 12th December 1534 letter to Thomas Cromwell (SP 49/4 fol. 72), on occasion makes use of scharfe and

sigma /s/, though predominantly uses the kidney terminal <s> character. The scribe responsible for producing the 12th December 1534 letter to Thomas Howard (SP 49/4 fol. 74) uses both kidney and signal <s> in terminal position. Presence of the kidney terminal <s> graph in both scribal letters, as well as the scharfes <s> found the scribal letter to Cromwell, shows some palaeographical concordance with Margaret's 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70).

This concordance could suggest that there was some scribal influence in the palaeographical design of Margaret's 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII, with Margaret perhaps choosing to replicate some of the preferred graphemes of the scribal hand in her own holograph letter to Henry VIII. However, as lots of palaeographical variation can be seen across the Margaret Tudor corpus – especially with regards to the terminal <s> graph used in Margaret's holograph writing between 1534 and 1535 – this pattern may simply be a feature of natural variation in Margaret's personal handwriting style. Further research on palaeographical changes across the entire Margaret Tudor holograph corpus would be required to provide further clarification on this issue.

6.6.2. Punctuation

In the previous section, I noted that one of the most significant changes seen between Margaret's holograph 28th November 1534 letter to Thomas Cromwell and Margaret's holograph 12th December 1534 letter to Henry VIII was the introduction of visible punctuation marks in the letter to Henry VIII. The two accompanying 12th December 1534 scribal letters to Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Howard also make use of virgules as the main punctuation mark, though the two texts utilise different systems of punctuation. Firstly, the shorter and neater scribal letter to Thomas Howard (SP 49/4 fol. 74) makes use of a few, faint, single-stroke virgules, for what would appear to be a rhetorical function. The scribal letter to Thomas Howard, however, makes use of single- and double-stroke virgules to signify the beginning of a new grammatical unit, as well as for emphasis. For example:

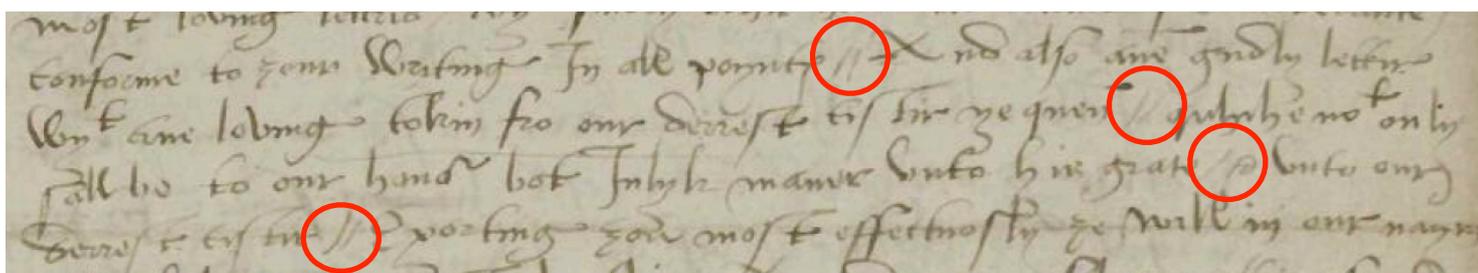


Figure 6.20: Example of virgules used in Margaret's scribal letter to Thomas Cromwell, 12th December 1534 (SP 49/4 fol. 72)

As Margaret's 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70) also makes use of single and double-stroke virgules for a primarily grammatical function – to signify the beginning of a new grammatical unit – we can thus see some similarities between this text and the punctuation systems used in the 12th December 1534 scribal letter to Thomas Cromwell (SP 49/4 fol. 72). These similarities, as well as the uncharacteristic use of punctuation marks in the 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII, may suggest that Margaret's letter-writing practices were influenced by an external agent on the 12th December 1534. Margaret may thus have copied a draft written by the scribe who produced SP 49/4 fol. 72 (or another agent) into her own hand to produce the 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII.

However, there are some differences that can be seen in the punctuation practices between Margaret's 12th December 1534 holograph letter (SP 49/4 fol. 70) and the scribal letter to Thomas Cromwell sent on the same day (SP 49/4 fol. 72). For example, see extracts from the two letters, below:

4) We haue be 3our trast (trusty) and weylbelovyt (well beloved) s'into^{res} (servants) mastyr wyllyam barlow cownsalor^r (counselor) & thomas holcroft sewar (attendant) deput (deputy) ambassado^{res} Resavyt (received) 3our ry^t (right) lovyng and effectous (effectuous; earnest) lettris (letters) // (SP 49/4 fol. 70)

5) We haue be our derrest brothires (brother's) ye (the) kingis (king's) s'into^{res} (servants) / mastir Wel3am (william) barlow prior and Thomas holcroft sewar (attendant) / resaut (received) the king our derrest broth^{res} (brother's) most loving lettris (letters) / (SP 49/4 fol. 72)

Firstly, extracts four and five above, though they occur in two different letters (the holograph letter to Henry VIII, and the scribal letter to Thomas Cromwell) are surprisingly similar in phrasing. Though this is the only instance where phrases recur in Margaret's 12th December 1534 holograph and scribal letters, it may provide some evidence to suggest that the same agent(s) were responsible for the wording of the two extracts, and thus that Margaret probably had some scribal input in her 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII.

In terms of punctuation, some similarities can also be seen between the two extracts: both documents use a virgule to mark the end of the two clauses after the term 'lettris' (letters) (though Margaret makes use of a double-stroke virgule and the scribe a single-stroke virgule). However, the scribe who produced the letter to Thomas Cromwell also used two other virgules to highlight the names of the ambassadors William Barlow and Thomas Holcroft. These punctuation marks are absent from Margaret's holograph text. Thus,

whilst there are some similarities that may be seen in the punctuation practices and phrasing employed in the two texts, there are also some notable differences. This may complicate the hypothesis that Margaret simply copied a scribal draft produced by the amanuensis who produced the scribal 12th December 1534 scribal letter to Thomas Cromwell to produce the 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII.

6.6.3. Abbreviations

Although abbreviations are used sparingly in the majority of Margaret's holograph correspondence, they are a regular feature of her wider scribal correspondence, including the two scribal letters sent to Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Howard on the 12th December 1534. Whilst the sudden increase in the number and variety of abbreviations found in Margaret's holograph 12th December 1534 letter to Henry VIII may be arbitrary, or due to a need to write with greater speed and urgency, this stylistic change is better explained by the presence of scribal involvement in the production of this holograph document. To support this hypothesis, a number of abbreviations can be seen to co-occur in Margaret's holograph letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70) and the scribal letter to Thomas Cromwell (SP 49/4 fol. 72). These include <o^r> (our), <fa^tfull> (faithfull), <broyer> (brother), <wy^t> (wyt/with), <hono^r> (honour), <3o^r> (your), <no^t> (not) and <s^rinto^r> (servant). Analysis of the occurrence of these terms across the Margaret Tudor holograph corpus, shows that these abbreviations appear in Margaret's holograph writing for the first time in the 12th December 1534 letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70). This would suggest that either Margaret's writing style suddenly changed overnight, perhaps to incorporate more abbreviations to speed up the process of writing, or, alternatively, that this letter was influenced by another external text, such as a scribal draft which made use of a large number of abbreviated forms.

Evidence to suggest the latter interpretation can be found in the occurrence of the abbreviation <s^rinto^r>, which seems to be a shortened variant form of the term (servant).⁴⁸ Analysis of this specific abbreviation shows that it occurs in two of Margaret's holograph letters: the 12th December 1534 letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70), and another letter to Henry VIII sent on 13th May 1535 (SP 49/4 fol. 93). However, analysis of the scribal corpus shows that this specific form of the 'servant' abbreviation is isolated, and only occurs in the 12th December 1534 scribal letter to Thomas Cromwell (SP 49/4 fol. 72). Use of the same abbreviation in Margaret's holograph letter to Henry VIII and scribal letter Cromwell (SP 49 fols. 70 and 72), but exclusion from other scribal letters, provides evidence to suggest that Margaret copied the

⁴⁸ I cannot find any definitions for this term in the *OED*, Middle English Dictionary or the Dictionary of the Scots Language.

abbreviated forms of a draft letter produced in the hand of the Thomas Cromwell scribal letter (SP 49/4 fol. 74) in the production of her holograph letter to Henry VIII.

6.6.4. Key topics and lexical collocates

In Chapter Two of this thesis, I conducted an authorship analysis of a selection of Margaret Tudor's scribal letters to Thomas Dacre to investigate the extent to which Margaret was involved in the composition of these scribal documents. If Margaret was actively involved in the composition of these scribal letters – such as dictating the letters word-for-word – we would expect there to be lots of lexical similarities with Margaret's wider holograph writing. A similar strategy can be applied to the analysis of Margaret's holograph letters, to investigate if there is any evidence to suggest scribal involvement in the production of holograph texts such as the 12th December 1534 letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70).

In the following section, I will focus on two prominent topics which recur throughout Margaret's holograph correspondence. These include reference to Margaret's 'labours' in diplomatic negotiations between England and Scotland, and complaints against people who sought to undermine Margaret's actions, authority and reputation. I will compare the stylistic composition of these extracts with the language employed in Margaret's wider holograph writing, as well as the two scribal letters sent to Cromwell and Howard on the 12th December 1534 (SP 49/4 fols. 72 and 74), to try and gain a better understanding of the conditions in which Margaret's holograph 12th December 1534 letter to Henry VIII was composed.

Extract one: Margaret as 'lawbawrar' (labourer) of peace

As mentioned throughout this thesis, Margaret regularly emphasised the personal labours and efforts she made as mediator of peace between England and Scotland in her holograph writing. Through doing so, Margaret sought to highlight her value as peacemaker to the leaders of England and Scotland. Whilst Margaret's 12th December 1534 letter is not specifically focussed on securing Anglo-Scottish peace and instead seeks to secure the details of a proposed meeting between James V and Henry VIII, Margaret still sought to foreground her role as diplomatic 'lawbawrar' (labourer) in these matters. The extract reads:

6) // and we 3our cystyr (sister) ar most tendir vnto 3ow (you) botht
(both) has beyn (been) the lawbawrar (labourer) herof to
veryfe[damage] (verify) & mak (make) clerly vnderstand to oꝝ (our)
deꝛrest son 3our nephow syk (such) lovyng mynd & most interly
(entirely) effectionn (affection) as proxymite of blw[damage] (blood)
reqwyritht (required)// (SP 49/4 fol. 70)

In this extract, Margaret reassured Henry of her mutual devotion to both him and her son, and that she had gone to great ‘lawbawr(s)’ (labours) to tell James V of the ‘lovyng mynd’ Henry VIII bore towards his nephew. Specific phrases which occur in this extract can be found elsewhere in the holograph correspondence of Margaret Tudor, for example the phrase ‘most tendir (tender) vnto (unto) ʒow (you) botht (both)’ also appears in a holograph letter to Henry VIII sent on 7th June 1537 in which Margaret declares that ‘I am moste (most) tendar (tender) to you both’ (both Henry VIII and James V (SP 49/5 fol. 22)). The term ‘labour’ was a key feature of Margaret’s personal idiolect, with variants of the term occurring 74 times in the holograph corpus. However, at no other point in the holograph corpus is the noun <lawbawrar> (labourer) used. The noun ‘labourer’ occurs in only two scribal letters sent by Margaret to Thomas Howard in April 1524 (CCBI fol. 209) and Thomas Wolsey in November 1524 (CCBI fol. 254). This would suggest that <lawbawrar> (labourer) was not an active feature of Margaret’s personal holograph linguistic repertoire, and provides evidence to suggest that an external agent influenced her lexical choice in this instance.

This reading is further supported by the use of the verb ‘veryfe’ (verify) in this extract. In total, ‘verify’ occurs 8 times in Margaret Tudor’s holograph and scribal correspondence. However, ‘verify’ occurs only twice in Margaret’s holograph writing, both of which appear only in this holograph 12th December 1534 letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70). Again, this pattern would suggest that this term was not part of Margaret’s personal written linguistic repertoire. Instead, we would probably expect Margaret to use another verb such as ‘schaw’ (show) (*OED* show, v.) ‘7. *trans.* To carry out (a deed, act, declared intention, etc.) openly; to be seen to do (a deed). *Obsolete.*’. This would suggest that a scribe assisted Margaret in the production of this 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII. However, as this term is not used in the 12th December 1534 scribal letters to Thomas Cromwell or Thomas Howard (SP 49/4 fols. 72 and 74), this does not provide conclusive evidence to suggest that either of these scribes assisted Margaret in the composition of her holograph letter to Henry VIII.

Next, we turn to the phrase ‘lovyng mynd’ (loving mind). Whilst variants of the term ‘mind’ recur throughout Margaret’s holograph correspondence (213 tokens in total), this is the only collocation of ‘lovyng mynd’ (loving mind) (SP 49/4 fol. 70) found in Margaret’s holograph writing. This specific collocation occurs 4 times in the scribal corpus, two of which occur in the 12th December 1534 scribal letter to Thomas Cromwell, in the phrases:

7) yar (there) culd (could) be no more ^plesand^ (pleasing) sicht (sight)
 In yis (this) erd (earth) of Weirdly (worldly) thing as we to se (see) our
 most derrest brothir & our most derrest brøy#r sone In propir (proper)

perso // nagis (person) to giddir (together) & of onn (one) **loving mynd**
// (SP 49/4 fol. 72)

8) And also ʒour gud & **loving mynd** vnto ws (us) his grace only cistir
(sister) (SP 49/4 fol. 72)

Occurrence of this particular phrase in this 12th December 1534 scribal letter to Thomas Cromwell, yet its absence from Margaret's wider holograph writing, would suggest that the scribe who produced this scribal document had some influence on the language of Margaret's 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII.

On one hand, some of the lexical forms and collocates discussed above show some stylistic concordance with Margaret's wider holograph writing. However, a greater number of features suggest that Margaret's 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII was probably composed with assistance from an external agent. However, none of the evidence examined thus far specifically suggests that it was either of the scribes who produced the accompanying letters to Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Howard (SP 49/4 fols. 72 and 74) who supplied this additional scribal input. In the following section, I will discuss how the final verb 'requirith' (required) seen in extract six above provides more conclusive evidence as to how Margaret's 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII was composed and produced.

'Reqwyritht' functions a past tense form of the verb 'require', marked with the *-it* Scots past tense inflection. A survey of Margaret's holograph letters shows that no other instances of 'requirith' are present in letters written in Margaret's own hand, and only one variant of the present tense verb 'reqwyres' can be found in a holograph letter from Margaret to Henry VIII sent some time in 1536 (SP 49/4 fol. 140). This highlights that the term 'reqwyritht' was not an active feature of Margaret Tudor's linguistic repertoire.

Analysis of the scribal corpus shows that four tokens of the past tense form of 'require' marked with the *-it* Scots past tense inflection are used in the Margaret Tudor scribal corpus. One of these examples occurs in a scribal letter to Thomas Magnus sent on 25th November 1528:

9) As suld (should) tend (intend) for ye (the) Intertening (entertaining)
of assurit (assured) gude (good) loif (love) and amitie as nature **Requirith**
(required) w^t (with) continuell peax (peace) (CCBVII fol. 107).

The final three examples are found in Margaret's 12th December 1534 scribal letter to Thomas Cromwell (SP 49/4 fol. 72), and feature the same *-tth* ending that occurs in her holograph 12th December 1534 letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70). For example:

10) howbeit we most (must) of our best mynd as our dewty (duty)
requiritht (required) dissir (desire) ʒou in our naym mak (make) this
Informationn vnto oʀ (our) derrest brothir (brother) (SP 49/4 fol. 72)

As this term occurs three out of four times in this one scribal letter sent to Thomas Cromwell on the 12th December 1534 and its only other manifestation in the holograph corpus appears in Margaret's letter to Henry VIII sent on the same day – both of which use the same spelling of the term – this would suggest that the scribe of the 12th December 1534 scribal letter to Thomas Howard (SP 49/4 fol. 72) had some influence in the composition and linguistic design of Margaret's holograph letter to Henry VIII sent on the same day (SP 49/4 fol. 70).

Extract two: Margaret's complaints of 'mysavysyt personys' (misadvised persons)

The final extract that I will investigate in this chapter focusses on Margaret's complaints of people who gossiped about her conduct to her brother Henry VIII. In the 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII, Margaret wrote:

11) // pleis (please) ʒour grace yat (that) howbeyt (how be it) in tym
bypast (past) sum mysavysyt (misadvised) personys (persons) maid
vnkyndly (unkindly) report of ws (us) vnto]ow (you) wy^tout (without)
caus or offence In ws (us) // (SP 49/4 fol. 70)

Analysis of the holograph corpus shows that the conjunction 'howbeyt' (*OED howbeit*: 'though, although. *Obsolete*') occurs regularly in Margaret's holograph writing and was used throughout her lifetime (in documents between 1517 and her death in 1541).

The pre-modifying adjective 'mysavysyt' of the phrase 'mysavysyt personys' also requires some discussion. This particular phrase does not occur in any other holograph letter in the Margaret Tudor corpus. However, a collocation of the adjective 'advised' and noun 'person' occur in one other holograph letter sent to Henry VIII on the 6th January 1522 in the phrase 'ewel (evil) a vyssed (advised) parsons (persons)' (CCBII fol. 276). On no other occasion are these terms used in collocation in Margaret's holograph writing, and furthermore the adjective 'mysavysyt' (misadvised) does not occur again in the holograph corpus. This would suggest that the term 'mysavysyt' (misadvised) was not a regular feature of Margaret Tudor's linguistic repertoire.

Furthermore, this phrase does not sound like Margaret's usual holograph tone and style. When critiquing her enemies in her wider holograph correspondence, Margaret generally made use of more vivid and hyperbolic phrases such as 'onfryndyʒ' (unfriends) (Margaret to Henry VIII, 7th November

1524, CCBI fol. 228), ‘falsse folke’ (false folk) (Margaret to Thomas Dacre, 6th January 1522, CCBII fol. 232) and often preferred the pre-modifying adjective ‘ewel’ (evil), as seen in the phrases ‘ewel vyllars’ (evil villars; villains) (Margaret to Henry VIII, 16th October 1537, SP 49/5 fol. 26), or ‘ewel folkys’ (evil folks) (Margaret to Henry VIII, September 1522, CCBV fol. 214). This would suggest that the phrase ‘mysavysyt personys’ (misadvised persons) was probably supplied by an external agent, and not a feature of Margaret Tudor’s lexical preferences.

Finally, we turn to the phrase ‘vnkyndly report’ (unkindly report). Whilst Margaret made use of the term ‘vnkyndly’ in other holograph letters (5 occurrences in total), on no other occasion elsewhere in the holograph corpus does Margaret use this term in collocation with ‘report’. Instead, Margaret generally chose to use this term in conjunction with the pre-modifying adjectives ‘ewel’ (evil) (Margaret to Henry VIII, 7 June 1537, SP 49/5 fol. 22), ‘vrangē’ (wrong) (Margaret to Henry VIII, September 1522, CCBV fol. 214), and ‘falz’ (false) (Margaret to Thomas Howard, 12 October 1524, CCBI fol. 285-292). This provides further evidence to suggest that Margaret’s lexical choices in her 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII were, to some extent, influenced by another agent. Furthermore, the other four instances in which ‘unkindly’ appears in the Margaret Tudor holograph corpus are consistently spelt as <onkyndly>. For example: ‘It Is ryght (right) onkyndly (unkindly) that your grace [deletion] dwn (done) thyz (this) to me your systar (sister)’ (Margaret to Henry VIII, 7th November 1524, CCBI fol. 228). As Margaret is consistent in her spelling practices of this term elsewhere in her holograph writing, the fact that she spells ‘vnkyndly’ differently in the 12th December 1534 letter to Henry VIII, perhaps further suggests that she copied the spelling preferences of another agent in the production of this holograph letter.

6.7. Discussion and conclusion

The original aim of this chapter was to investigate how and why Margaret Tudor’s 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70) differed so dramatically – materially, linguistically and palaeographically – from her earlier correspondence. Whilst some changes in this letter – in particular the use of Scots – might be explained by the communicative function and particular socio-political context in which the document was composed, or simply by change and development in Margaret’s writing style, these theories do not fully account for all of the significant changes that occur in this holograph letter. The only theory that really seems to account for these changes seen in the 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII is that Margaret received some external scribal input in the composition of this document, or that she copied a scribal draft in her own hand to produce

the fine presentation copy of the letter which survives today. If this was indeed the case, this would question the notion of the named 'author' of Margaret's holograph documents, and show that in some circumstances multiple agents may have contributed to the material and linguistic design of Margaret Tudor's holograph correspondence. Furthermore, this analysis also challenges the assumption that holograph documents were a more 'authentic' representation of the 'voice of the sender' (Wiggins 2016: 31), and that we should bear this issue in mind when researching historical holograph manuscripts.

This chapter also further demonstrates that adopting a multi-layered analytical approach can be particularly productive in authorship analysis investigations. In this episode, analysis of the palaeographical, material, and linguistic changes seen in Margaret's 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70) in comparison to her usual holograph writing preferences provides strong evidence of scribal input in the composition of this unusual holograph text. Such a compelling conclusion would not be provided by an authorship analysis which paid attention to only the linguistic composition of this document.

Due to restrictions of space, I have only been able to focus my analysis in this chapter on Margaret's 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70). This document, however, initiates a period of change of roughly two years in Margaret's holograph writing, in which the material features, handwriting, punctuation, abbreviations and linguistic composition of Margaret's holograph writing changes. Such changes include the production of holograph letters on full-folio pages (using both portrait and landscape orientations), an increased use of abbreviations and punctuation marks, and the use of the *royal we* pronoun, to name but a few. Further research is required in this collection of documents to better understand why these changes, among others, occur in Margaret Tudor's holograph correspondence during this period. However, the analysis conducted in this chapter does suggest that scribal influence may be one potential explanation for these changes.

Returning to the main theme of this thesis, how do the changes seen in Margaret's 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII relate to the topic of mediation? Throughout this thesis, I have shown that Margaret adapted the communicative strategies she employed in her epistolary correspondence in relation to the specific socio-political context and situation in which she was writing. In Chapter Three, when Margaret's first efforts to organise an Anglo-Scottish peace through a holograph letter were refused by Henry VIII, she adapted the form and genre of communication to use a memorial document to try and more effectively persuade Henry VIII to agree to a peace. In Chapter Five, following her return to the role of governing

regent of Scotland for the second time, we can see that Margaret switched to the use of more official communicative forms and agents in order to arrange a formal renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty. As Margaret's 12th December 1534 letter was sent to Henry VIII under the request of Margaret's son, James V – who by now ruled Scotland as a fully-grown, independent king – it begs to question if this had an effect on Margaret's mediative and communicative practice in December 1534. As it was James who had commissioned Margaret to write to Henry VIII in December 1534, he probably would have had a close hand in the production of the correspondence that Margaret sent in his name. If so, it would be likely that James V's scribes and political advisors, or even James himself, were involved in the production of Margaret's 12th December 1534 correspondence. Such a scenario could explain the linguistic, material and palaeographical changes in Margaret Tudor's 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII.

Finally, if Margaret's letters on this occasion essentially just served as a communicative vessel for the 'vordys' (words) of James V, why did James not choose to simply write to Henry VIII himself? As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, Margaret may have simply shoe-horned herself into these diplomatic negotiations and begged James V to allow her to arrange this meeting in pursuit of greater favour from both James V and Henry VIII. However, I would challenge this reading. As mentioned previously, scholarship on the history of queenship has highlighted the great cultural and diplomatic value medieval and early modern queens could hold in the role of diplomatic and communicative mediator. This value can be seen in Chapter Two in which the Duke of Albany and Lords of Scotland went to the lengths of forging the correspondence of Margaret Tudor in August 1515 to portray her as willingly performing the role of peace-keeper. If Margaret's mediative correspondence had no use in Anglo-Scottish political and diplomatic relations, they would not have gone to such efforts. Furthermore, Chapter Five also highlights that Albany commissioned Margaret to perform the role of diplomatic mediator through her own personal holograph correspondence and messenger, in an attempt to persuade Henry VIII to agree to a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace during a period of political tension between Albany and Henry VIII.

Perhaps then, James V, commissioned his mother, Margaret Tudor, to send this 12th December 1534 correspondence to Henry VIII, and his advisors Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Howard, as this complied with the tradition of royal diplomatic communication. By communicating through their shared relative, James could show that he was receptive to Henry's offer and valued the familial links they shared through Margaret. Margaret's role as communicative and diplomatic mediator in this exchange was thus more symbolic than practical. Furthermore, the presence of evidence of scribal input in Margaret's 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII would suggest

that although James V saw some value in Margaret's personal correspondence, he did not trust her to negotiate the details of the proposed meeting independently and in her own words.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

Whilst previous scholars have briefly mentioned Margaret Tudor's mediative activities between England and Scotland – Buchanan described Margaret as 'a most energetic advocate of peace' (1985: 69), and Marshall noted that Margaret 'saw herself as an important intermediary between her brother and her son' (2003: 96) – to date no one has investigated how Margaret performed this role through letter-writing, or the reasons for which she did so. This thesis has sought to shed light on this topic, and investigate how Margaret Tudor performed the role of diplomatic mediator through the medium of epistolary communication in the early sixteenth-century. In order to do so, I have adopted a qualitative, pragmatically-focused methodology which pays close attention to the manuscript sources themselves. Attention was paid to the interplay of the material and linguistic format of the correspondence, the genre of communication used, the agents responsible for the composition, transmission, and delivery of Margaret's correspondence, as well as the specific socio-political context in which the correspondence was produced and despatched. This multi-layered analysis has revealed new aspects of Margaret Tudor's diplomatic, linguistic and communicative practices that would not have been discovered through linguistic analysis alone.

This thesis makes three major claims. Firstly, it shows how Margaret Tudor sought to practically perform the role of intercessor through her personal correspondence. For example, Margaret regularly sent holograph correspondence, drew upon the familial bonds she shared with Henry VIII, made emotive pleas for assistance, and emphasised the devastating effect war would have had on her personally, as persuasive mechanisms to try and persuade her recipients (in particular Henry VIII) to agree to a renewal of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty. This thesis also shows that Margaret utilised multiple genres of communication, with different performative impacts – such as the early modern memorial – to try and elicit positive responses from her recipients when her initial epistolary efforts were ignored. Such evidence demonstrates that Margaret was a resourceful and persistent correspondent, who could draw upon different linguistic, material and communicative strategies to try and persuade her recipients to affiliate with her epistolary goals. As little manuscript material survives for other medieval queens, Margaret Tudor's extensive correspondence provides some insight into what the writing of earlier royal women might have looked like, and some of the strategies that they might have utilised in their epistolary pursuits.

Secondly, this thesis highlights some of the reasons for which Margaret Tudor spent so much time and effort seeking to successfully perform the role of diplomatic mediator through her personal correspondence. As mentioned in the Introduction, as both Queen of Scotland, and Princess of England, Margaret Tudor would have understood that performing the role of diplomatic

mediator between England and Scotland was a role that she was born to do. However, this thesis also illustrates the personal benefits mediation could hold for Margaret herself. In Chapter Three especially, we saw that Margaret sent holograph correspondence to Henry VIII, and eagerly encouraged him to agree to peace through her personal mediation, in return for political and financial favour from the Duke of Albany. Chapter Four also showed that Margaret could present the façade of willing mediator as a safeguarding measure, to protect herself and maintain positive relations with the Lords of Scotland in the event that her secret requests to come to England were denied by Henry VIII.

Such personal applications for the role of diplomatic mediator could prove useful to medieval and early modern queens in a society which often regarded female power as 'illegitimate and unnatural' (Dixon 1992: 211), and branded women as deceptive and untrustworthy. Margaret was directly subjected to similar derogatory stereotypes in her day-to-day life. For example, in a letter to Thomas Howard sent on the 1st August 1524, Thomas Wolsey commented that 'it is no foly for a good Archer to haue to (two) stringes to his bowe specially as onn (one) is made of thredes wrought by wemens fyngers' (CCBVI fol. 355). In this phrase, Wolsey highlighted that he did not fully trust Margaret's involvement in the Anglo-Scottish political negotiations, simply because of her gender. Instead, he preferred to place his trust in a male political agent. In light of such attitudes, this study demonstrates that the role of diplomatic and communicative mediator was a valuable commodity that medieval and early modern queens could utilise to highlight their value to male contemporaries in political and diplomatic negotiations, but which did not challenge established male authority. Such strategies could help royal women (such as Margaret Tudor) gain some power and influence in such negotiations. However, this thesis also demonstrates that royal women could present the façade of willing mediator to protect themselves from male deception and manipulation (as evidenced in Chapter Four).

In spite of the negative stereotypes and suspicions associated with female power in the sixteenth-century as evidenced by Wolsey's letter to Thomas Howard, this thesis also highlights the value that Margaret Tudor as peacemaker, her royal correspondence, and the familial connections she shared with the Scottish and English monarchies could have for her male contemporaries. For example, in Chapter Two we saw that the Duke of Albany and the Lords of Scotland even went as far as to have Margaret sign peace-keeping scribal letters against her will, and even have her secretary forge her signature in order to maintain peaceful relations with England. The comparative analysis conducted in Chapter Five also showed that Albany called upon the personal correspondence and mediation of Margaret Tudor in situations of heightened political tension, such as when Henry VIII was not

willing to agree to peace with Albany personally. In this episode, Margaret's role as communicative mediator between the two countries was the only avenue through which Albany could try and begin to persuade Henry VIII to agree to Anglo-Scottish peace. Furthermore, in Chapter Six I explored how Margaret's son, James V, commissioned Margaret to act as communicative mediator between himself and Henry VIII in December 1534 to organise the details of the proposed diplomatic meeting between the two monarchs. Whilst my analysis suggested that Margaret was not permitted to compose this holograph letter independently (as it contains evidence of external scribal input) James V clearly saw that Margaret, her personal correspondence, and the familial connection she shared with Henry VIII, could be very valuable in securing positive relations with England.

As a whole, this evidence demonstrates that while on one hand female power and authority was to some extent regarded as 'illegitimate and unnatural' (Dixon 1992: 211) in the sixteenth-century, on the other hand, female agency and mediation was clearly regarded as an integral aspect of medieval and early modern diplomacy, politics, and communication. Daybell notes that:

In traditional political narratives, women are marginal figures: their domain, the household or 'domestic' sphere, rather than the public, male world of business and politics; the roles they played are often consigned to footnotes. (Daybell 2004: 1)

Much work in recent years has sought to reconsider the role female agents played in these more traditional 'male' domains of business and politics. This thesis contributes to this discussion, and highlights that queens (and royal women more generally) such as Margaret Tudor played an intrinsic role in medieval and early modern politics and diplomacy.

Finally, this thesis provides new insights into the little-known character of Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scots. As highlighted in the Introduction, previous studies of Margaret Tudor have described Margaret as 'the inconstant queen' (Green 1846: 264), and as 'politically inept...[i]mpulsive, greedy and lacking sound judgement' (Emond 1988: 628). This thesis illustrates the opposite, and demonstrates that in reality Margaret was politically astute, and a creative and resourceful communicative and diplomatic agent who used correspondence to ensure the security and well-being of herself and her son in turbulent political situations. Furthermore, whilst Margaret has been branded by previous scholars and biographers as 'politically inept' and 'inconstant' as a result of her frequent changes in political allegiance, such behaviour was in fact mirrored by Margaret's male contemporaries. Henry VIII, for example, often changed his political and diplomatic alliances depending on what was on offer from each faction. Such practice thus highlights that previous

interpretations of Margaret Tudor have a strong gender bias, and in reality Margaret Tudor was probably no more fickle than her male associates. Finally, this thesis also demonstrates that Margaret Tudor was an integral agent in Anglo-Scottish politics and diplomacy in the early sixteenth-century, despite being ignored from many historical and political narratives of the period.

To reiterate, the written correspondence of Margaret Tudor is an unparalleled manuscript archive, featuring the largest surviving collection of holograph letters in English or Scots of any medieval and early modern British queen. Whilst this thesis has highlighted some of the research potential of this manuscript collection, many areas remain unexplored. For example, one might conduct a more systematic detailed survey of Margaret Tudor's writing practices and linguistic preferences across the whole archive. For example, how did Margaret use abbreviations, spelling and punctuation, as well as lexical selection and phrasing in her letters, and how does this relate to the writing practices of Margaret's siblings, Henry VIII and Mary Tudor? This could provide scholars with a more detailed understanding of the education and epistolary practices of the Tudor siblings. Another productive avenue of research with this material would be to investigate the scribal hands used in the Margaret Tudor corpus, and the messengers employed to convey Margaret's correspondence. This would provide a valuable insight into the agents involved in the production and delivery of female royal correspondence; areas of study which have received relatively little attention to date.

Future research might also expand the focus of Chapter Six of this thesis, and conduct authorship attribution investigations into all of Margaret's holograph letters sent during the 1530s which are notably different to her usual holograph practices. Such an analysis might ask questions such as: are the changes present in the 12th December 1534 holograph letter to Henry VIII (SP 49/4 fol. 70) found in other holograph letters sent during the same time? Is there any additional evidence to suggest that any specific scribes were involved in the production of Margaret's holograph correspondence during this period? One might also conduct a comparative analysis with the correspondence of Margaret's son, James V, to investigate if there is any evidence to suggest that he was directly involved in the composition and phrasing of Margaret's unusual 1530s letters. Such analysis might shed further light on the relationship Margaret shared with her son, James V, but also the processes and agents involved in the production of Margaret Tudor's correspondence. Finally, Chapters One and Five also highlighted that analysis of the articulation of key discursive topics can be useful in authorship attribution investigations. These principles might be applied in a larger scale study across the Margaret Tudor corpus, or other correspondence collections, to see if such methods can be used more widely in authorship investigations.

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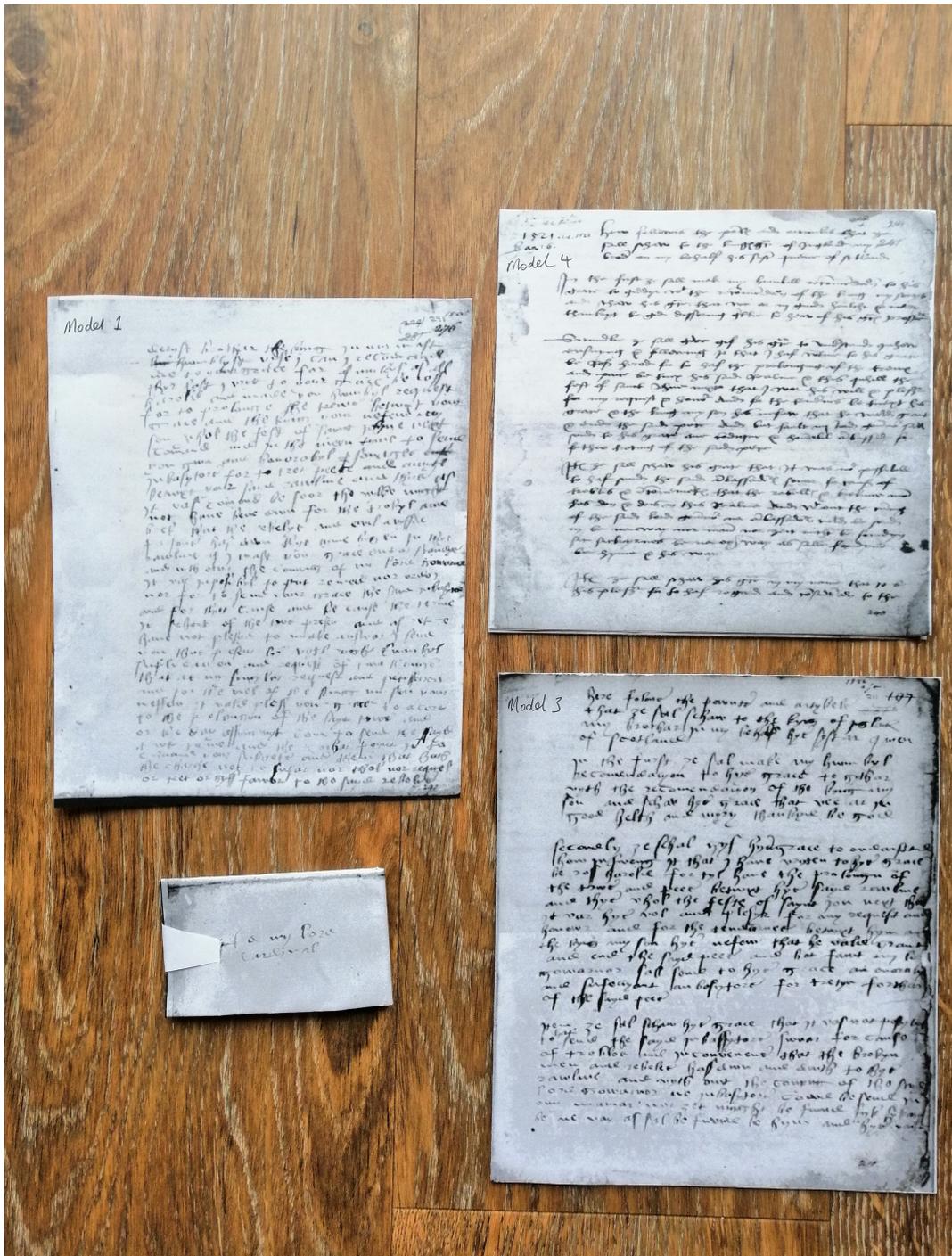
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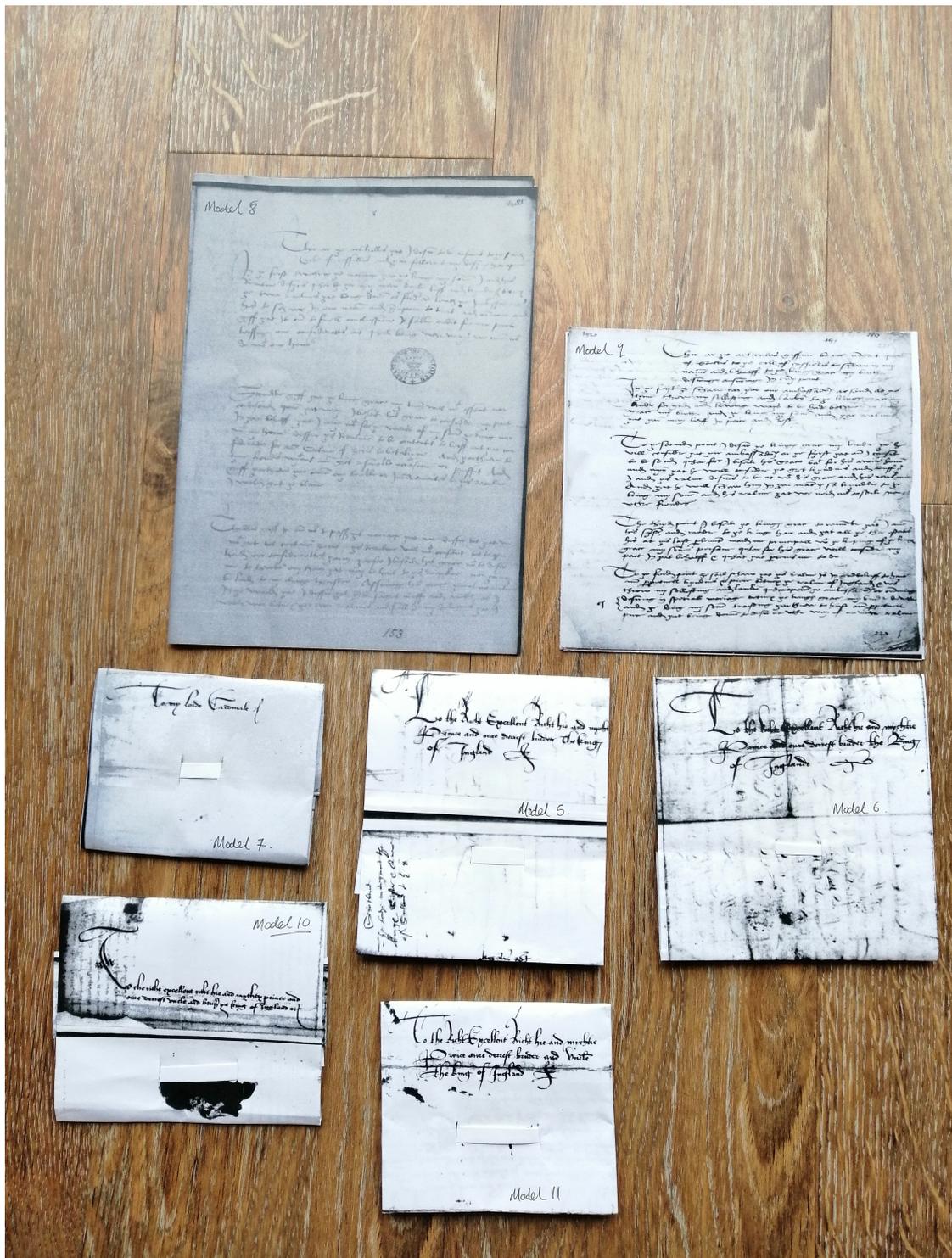
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Appendix: January 1522 and November 1524 replica diplomatic bags

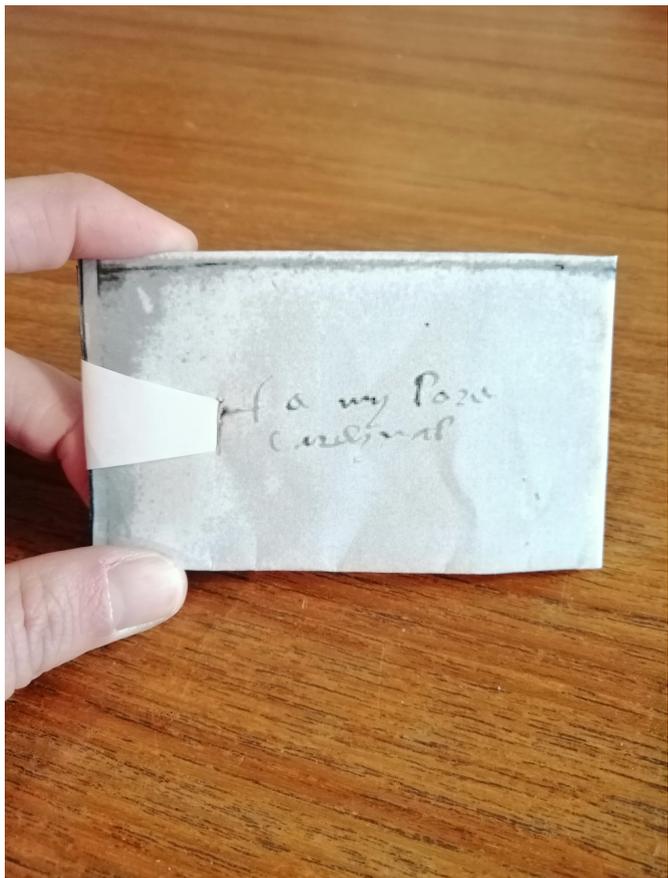
1. Contents of January 1522 Diplomatic bag



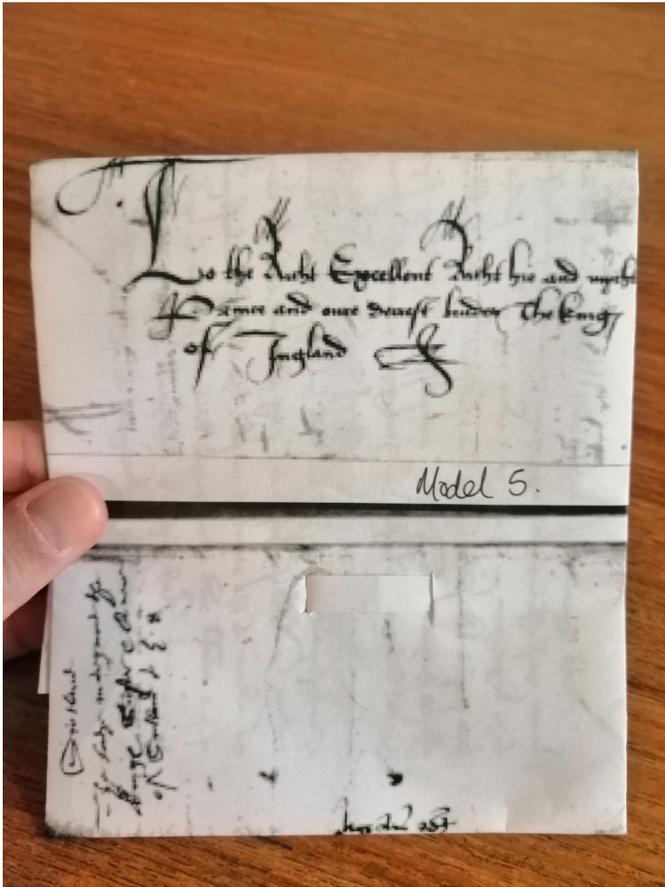
2. Contents of November 1524 Diplomatic bag

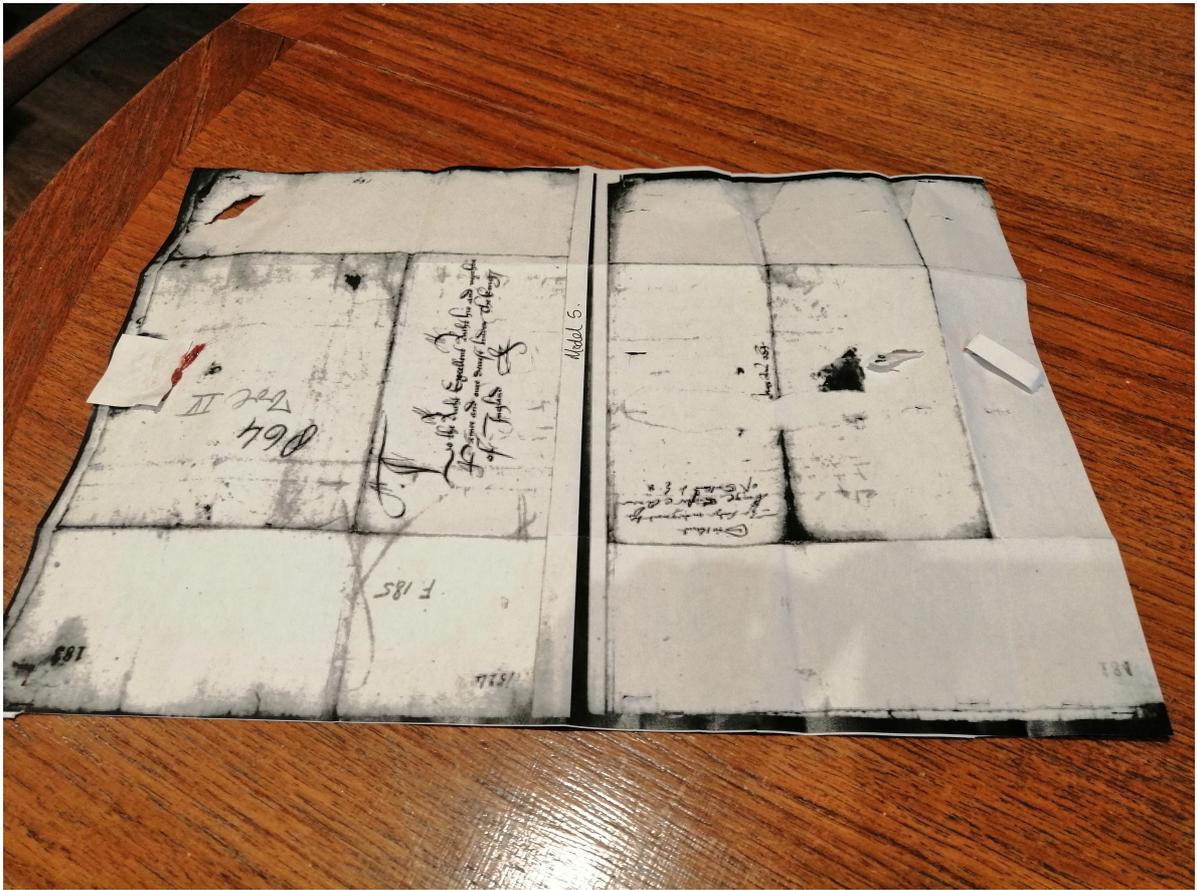
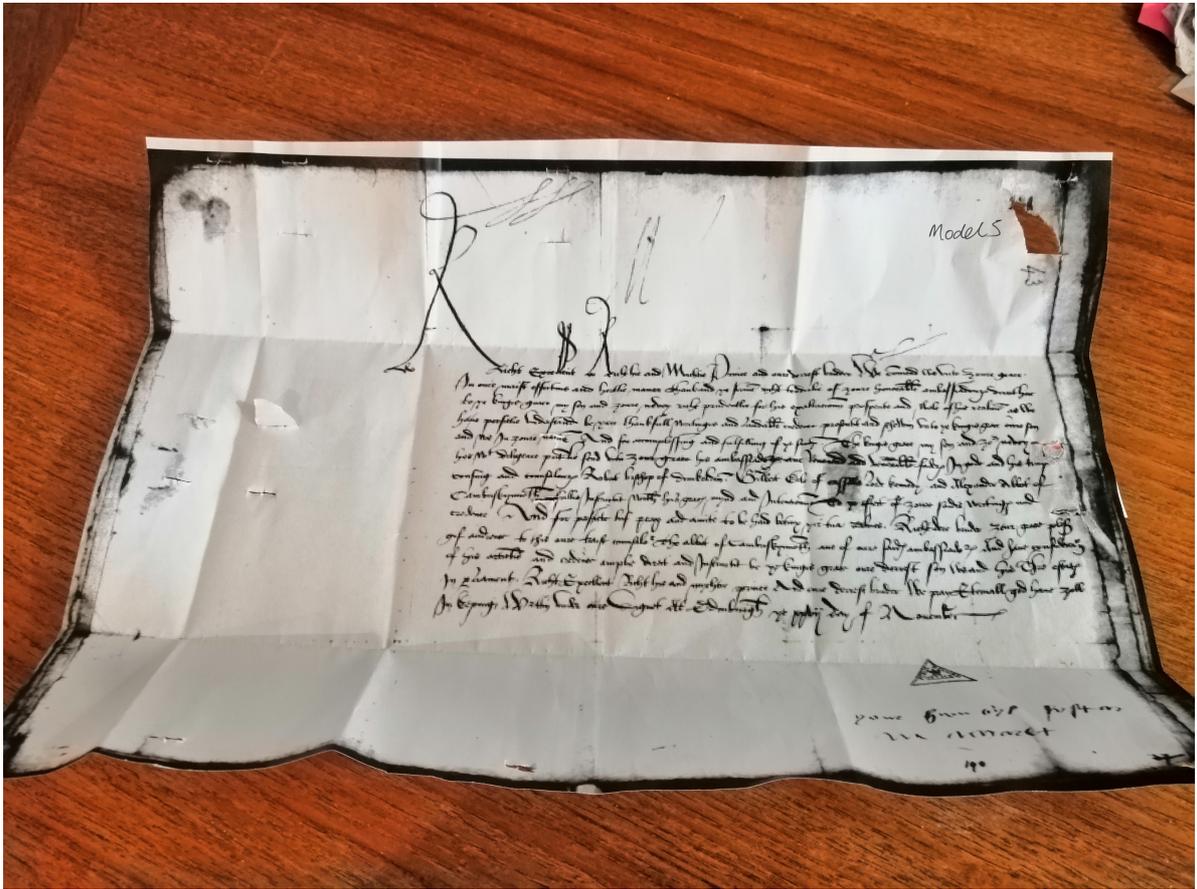


3. *Model 2*: Letter of Credence, Margaret to Thomas Wolsey, holograph,
January 1522

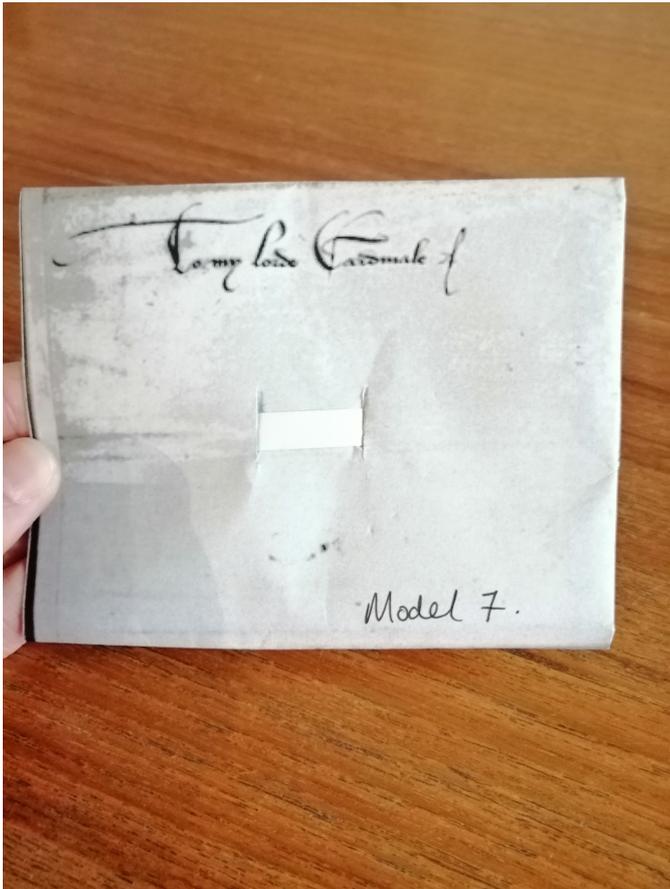


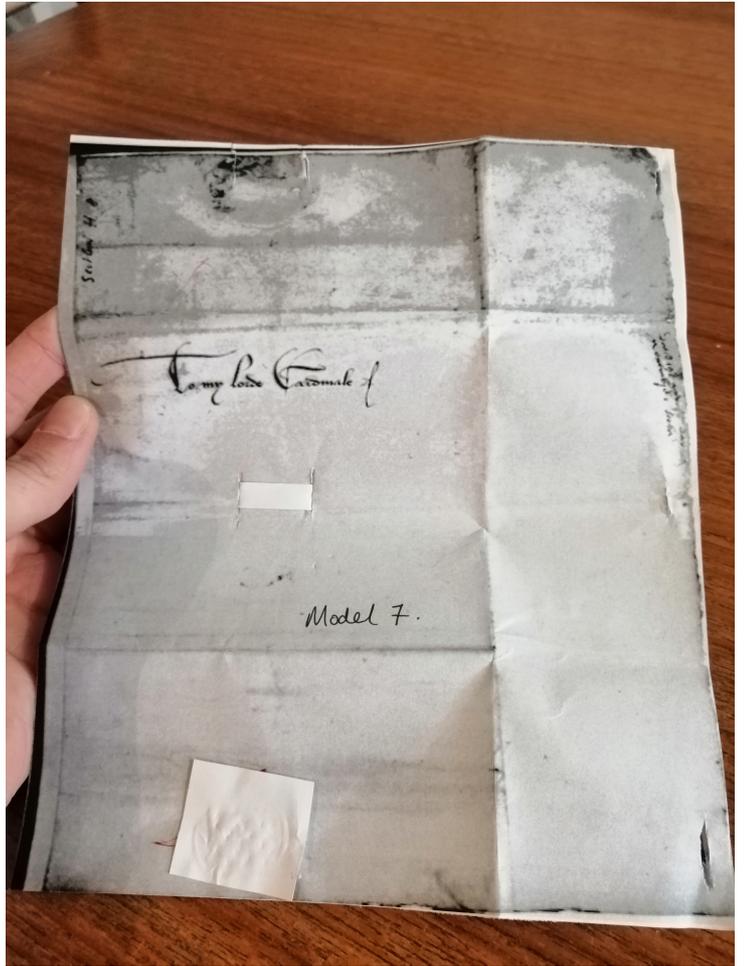
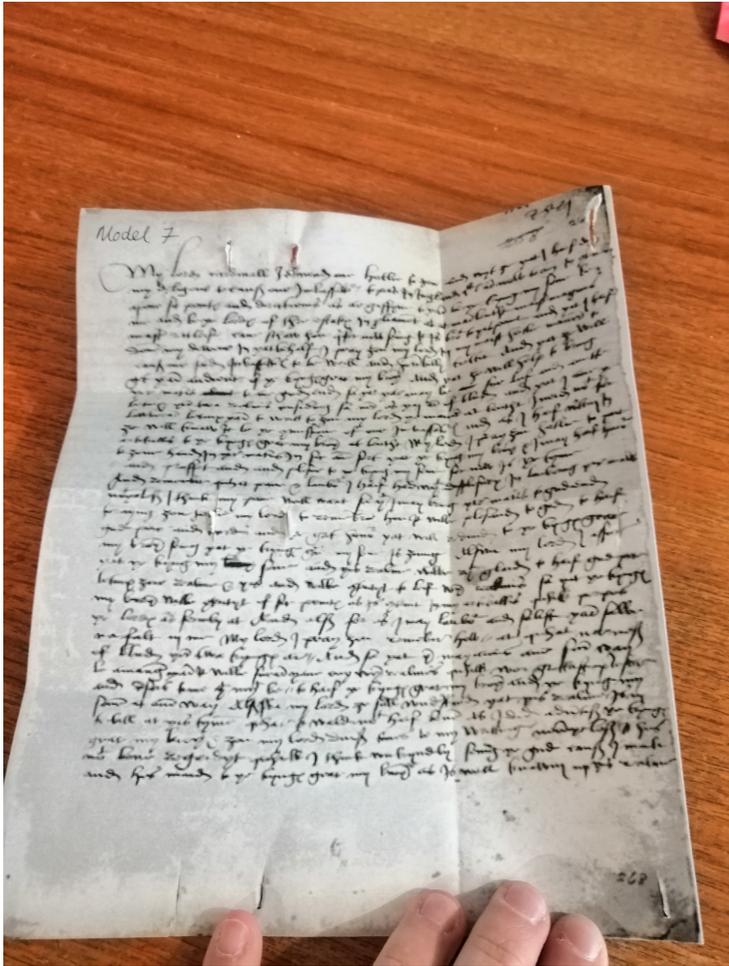
4. Model 5: Letter of Credence, Margaret to Henry VIII, scribal, November 1524





5. Model 7: Letter of Credence, Margaret to Thomas Wolsey, scribal,
November 1524





6. Model 11: Letter of Credence, James V to Henry VIII, scribal, November 1524

