

Marriages and Coronations

As monarchs' selections of their consorts had far-reaching national and international ramifications, they usually attempted to make choices on the basis of sound diplomatic, financial, and hierarchical criteria. In examining how Henry VII and Henry VIII chose and wed their consorts, this chapter points out that special circumstances, the Wars of the Roses, the death of Arthur, prince of Wales, and the controversy surrounding Henry VIII's attempt to have his marriage to Katherine of Aragon dissolved led both kings to adopt strategies that deviated from traditional patterns of royal courtship and marriage. How the five English wives advanced to this office are addressed here before those of the two foreigners. Finally, this chapter compares and contrasts the coronations of Elizabeth of York, Katherine of Aragon, and Anne Boleyn.

In 1483, amid rumors circulating about the whereabouts of Edward IV's sons, Edward V and Richard, duke of York and Norfolk, Margaret Tudor, countess of Richmond, entered into marriage negotiations with the boys' mother, Elizabeth. Lady Richmond's physician, Lewis Caerleon, who studied at the University of Cambridge, carried messages between the two that led to their agreement that when her son, Henry Tudor, an exile in Brittany, succeeded Richard III as king, he would wed the queen's namesake daughter. Lady Richmond's servant, Hugh Conway, delivered information about this alliance to Henry, who on Christmas morning 1483, at the cathedral of Vannes, swore to marry Elizabeth. This important promise won for him Yorkist support, attracting Richard's enemies but siphoning off some of his allies as well.¹

This proposal might have occurred to Lady Richmond because after political crises, monarchs, like Edward III in 1330, usually sought to reconcile the divided factions. After recovering his kingdom from his mother, Isabella, and Roger Mortimer, earl of March, Edward moved to lessen the hostility between his mother's supporters and her opponents. He decided against pursuing vigorously his father Edward II's rebels and murderers. The young king did, it is true, agree to March's execution, but after 2 years of secluding his mother, he permitted her to resume control of her property, and he meanwhile refused to support attempts to have his father revered as a saint. As Mark Ormrod noted, his "official policy" was "low key."²

A more recent political development that might have served as an example for Lady Richmond's intrigue could have been the secret wedding in 1464 of Elizabeth, widow of Sir John Grey, to Edward IV. By this marriage, the first Yorkist king could have hoped to win Lancastrian support. Elizabeth, sometimes reviled as a *femme fatale*,³ was the daughter of Jaquetta of Luxembourg, dowager duchess of Bedford, by her second husband, a Lancastrian, Richard Woodville, Earl Rivers. It is noteworthy that Lady Bedford witnessed her daughter's royal marriage. The dowager's first husband, John of Lancaster, duke of Bedford and brother of Henry V, had ruled as the French regent of his nephew, Henry VI, with her uncle, Cardinal Louis of Luxembourg, bishop of Thérouanne and bishop of Ely in commendam, serving as his French chancellor. The widow of this respected Lancastrian nobleman, who endowed her with great wealth, Lady Bedford possessed a high social status in her own right as a member of the Order of the Garter.⁴

From Edward's accession in 1461, his conciliatory policies had included pardoning some Lancastrians, including Rivers. Many have condemned his marriage to Elizabeth partly because she was a widow, but the marriage of a king to a widow was not a forbidden tradition. Henry IV, for example, wed as his second wife Joanne of Navarre, widow of John de Montford, duke of Brittany. That Edward's marriage to Elizabeth outraged some Yorkists while failing to placate many Lancastrians was not his only unsuccessful effort at reconciliation. He failed to win over Lady Richmond's uncle, Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, who led his forces against Edward at Tewkesbury in 1471, the final Lancastrian defeat in the Wars of the Roses.⁵

Royal marriages usually represented diplomatic developments. The union of Elizabeth and Edward led to a change in England's foreign

policy since it involved his rejecting Louis XI's sister-in-law, Bona of Savoy, whom Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, had sought as the royal bride. Edward preferred a family relationship with Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, that might lead to an alliance with him. The king had earlier sent envoys to the duke, whose empire included Luxembourg, seeking to wed his niece, Katherine of Bourbon, but Burgundy declined the offer from concerns, which proved true in 1470, that Edward had insufficient control of his realm.⁶ Next Edward proposed to marry the widowed Mary of Guelders, another of the duke's nieces, whose marriage had confirmed an alliance between James II and Burgundy.⁷ Seeking friendship with Burgundy seems to have been the major reason Edward married the daughter of Bedford's dowager, whose brothers included Louis de Luxembourg, count of St. Pol, and Jacques de Luxembourg, seigneur de Richebourg.⁸ In 1465, as Burgundy's representative, the seigneur attended Elizabeth's coronation. Two years later, Edward negotiated a treaty with Burgundy's heir, Charles the Bold, who subsequently wed the king's sister, Margaret of York. Edward's union with Elizabeth, a granddaughter of Luxembourg, was not the first occasion on which an Englishman's marriage sought to strengthen a Burgundian alliance. Although it had not worked out as Bedford intended, he had wed Jaquetta in 1433, hoping to preserve Burgundy's enmity against France.⁹

Edward's alliance with Elizabeth alienated some of the king's powerful Yorkist supporters, especially Warwick, because their union furthered a Burgundian rather than a French alliance. This earl, along with his former ward, the king's brother, George Plantagenet, duke of Clarence, succeeded in relieving Edward momentarily of his throne in 1470. Many scholars, who have mostly ignored the Burgundian initiative, have dismissed Edward's marriage as a love match.¹⁰

Some writers have also condemned Henry VII's treatment of the heirless Elizabeth of York. Joanna Laynesmith, for example, has questioned why Henry, who won the Battle of Bosworth Field in August 1485 and scheduled his coronation in October, delayed marrying her until January 1486 and waited until November 1487 to hold her coronation. Laynesmith concluded that Elizabeth's "claim to sovereignty threatened his position," leading him to postpone her coronation to avoid issues of joint rule.¹¹ This is a problematic analysis in an otherwise significant book on medieval queenship, since in 1485 no one expected that a woman should or could succeed as queen regnant. In 1534, Henry VIII withdrew England's church from obedience to the Roman confession in

order to obtain an annulment of his marriage to Katherine of Aragon in hopes of siring a son with a new wife because he feared that their only legitimate child, Mary, would be unable to succeed him. In 1650, Sir Anthony Weldon explained in his *Chronicle of the English Kings* that he had omitted Elizabeth I and Mary I because he had “nothing to do with women” and wished he “never had.”¹² As late as 1689, Parliament favored the male with the lesser royal claim over females with better claims. The Bill of Rights named William and Mary as joint monarchs but limited regal power to William, third in line to the throne after his wife, Mary, and her sister, Anne.

In England in 1485, when ignoring gender issues, Henry’s mother possessed the best Lancastrian claim, but she sought the crown for her son; later, in 1509, at her month’s mind, John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, claimed that she had wept with joy at his coronation. Even so, some scholars have questioned whether she tried to usurp her daughter-in-law’s social place as consort. Noting that in 1499, she signed her name as “Margaret R” instead of “M. Richmond,” Michael Jones and Malcolm Underwood have wondered whether the “R” might have meant “Regina” and whether Elizabeth resented the “aura of regality” around her mother-in-law.¹³ More likely Lady Richmond adopted this signature to emphasize her higher status as the king’s mother over her status as countess. From early in the reign, as the king’s mother, her name stood first in a list of noble ladies, including duchesses. If she had relied on her title of countess, this would have been an impossible placement.¹⁴ A precedence for her status as the king’s mother and thus as a princess existed. At Edward IV’s court, his mother had gained recognition as “Cicelie mother to the kinge.”¹⁵ By contrast, Elizabeth of York signed her name as “Elizabeth ye Queene.”¹⁶

Why, then, did Henry delay the public marriage? After defeating Richard, Henry still had to establish control of his divided kingdom. He summoned Elizabeth from Yorkshire, where Richard had sent her, and prepared to call a parliament to signal national recognition of his rule. Customarily new kings did not summon their first parliaments until after their coronations, and indeed Henry’s ritual was a hurried affair, less ceremonial than usual and without the customary procession through the city of London. His first parliament resolved various lineage issues: it reenacted the 1397 statute that legitimized his mother’s Beaufort ancestors, but it did not include the 1407 statement that denied their claim to the throne, and it repealed Richard’s *Titulus Regius* that declared

Edward IV's children illegitimate, a necessary precursor to Henry's public wedding to Elizabeth. His own right to the throne did not depend entirely on his Beaufort lineage. It also derived from "*veum Dei iudicium*"—that is, "God's judgment at Bosworth."¹⁷

Just before Parliament's dissolution in December 1485, Sir Thomas Lovell, speaker of the Commons and Henry's treasurer of the chamber, sent to the Lords a petition addressed to the king, requesting that he marry Elizabeth, as he had sworn to do. The Lords stood, and with heads bowed, they asked him to keep that promise. This did not constitute a parliamentary demand but was a staged event, approved by Henry, to show a display of legislative enthusiasm for his public wedding to Elizabeth.¹⁸ It otherwise would have been an improper request; even in Henry VIII's reign, parliaments debated his marriage and the succession only at his request. His daughter Elizabeth forbade her parliaments to discuss both her marriage and the succession.

In 1485, the best male Yorkist claimant was Edward, earl of Warwick, son of the duke of Clarence, whom Edward IV had attainted, thus legally depriving him of the right to succeed. Although Richard III had also attainted Henry Tudor, he became king anyway. If Warwick, imprisoned in the Tower of London, could not succeed, then his cousin, John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, son of Edward IV's sister, Elizabeth, duchess of Suffolk, was available. If Lincoln had defeated Henry at the Battle of Stoke in 1487, he most likely would have claimed the throne for himself, rather than have permitted the accession of the commoner, Lambert Simnel, who pretended to be Warwick and who had been crowned king of Ireland.

Other reasons could have delayed Henry's and Elizabeth's public wedding. They needed a papal dispensation, as they were related in the fourth double degree of consanguinity. Henry had requested one from Innocent VIII in March 1484, but from concerns that it might be challenged as "insufficient," he asked for another one. A second one, dated January 16, 1486, conferred "irrefutable legal and religious authority on their union."¹⁹ Two days after it arrived, they were married publicly at Westminster Abbey. Little evidence has survived about the ceremony except that Thomas Bourchier, cardinal archbishop of Canterbury, officiated "in the sight of the Church,"²⁰ a statement that could have meant only the presence of the monks or perhaps a larger congregation. No reports of official festivities have survived. According to Bernard André, the blind poet, their subjects reacted to the news with joyousness.

Henry's ongoing concerns about challenges to this marriage led him to request the pope to waive the impediment of the fourth degree of affinity (relationship through marriage). Subsequently, in March and in July, two more bulls proclaimed their marriage valid.²¹

Some couples did marry publicly before a bull's appearance, but Henry required not only Innocent's approval of his union but also confirmation of his accession, since he needed to maintain a friendly relationship with the papacy, upon whose aid he depended in his struggle against rebels. In 1489 and 1495, both Innocent and his successor, Alexander VI, limited the privilege of sanctuary on which some of Henry's enemies had been relying to prevent their arrests.²²

Despite the public wedding's delay, Henry and Elizabeth almost certainly had exchanged private vows, as usually occurred in royal marriages. References to her as his "wife" can be found in a royal document in late 1485.²³ As to her delayed coronation, Sean Cunningham has emphasized the king's fragile position. At the age of 28, he had never experienced "the responsibility of authority" with which even English manor owners had become familiar.²⁴ Since his was not a peaceful accession, he had to attend to many more difficult crises than those that a new monarch usually encountered. As the *Crowland Chronicler* reported, their marriage did not prevent the "fury of some malignants."²⁵ In early March 1486, Yorkist rebels under the leadership of Francis, Viscount Lovell, Sir Humphrey Stafford, and his brother, Thomas, attempted to raise rebellions in Richmondshire and in the west Midlands. Henry's uncle, Jasper Tudor, recently ennobled as duke of Bedford, also moved to suppress disturbances in Wales. When the king went in person to pacify York, a city that had expressed loyalty to Richard, an assassin attempted to kill him.²⁶ The following September, Elizabeth gave birth to her son Arthur. It is possible that Henry did not wish to expose his queen in a public ceremony that would draw great, sometimes unruly, crowds during a time of so many disturbances. Indeed, by the winter of 1486, a serious conspiracy had emerged in Ireland where Yorkist conspirators supported Lambert Simnel. This conspiracy led to the only Irish invasion of England and, as noted earlier, to the Battle of Stoke.

Actually, a royal writ dated December 17, 1485, indicates that some preparations had begun for her coronation. The king granted her master of the horse, Roger Cotton, £40 to purchase "coursers" for the coronation of his "wife."²⁷ It is likely that the disturbances in 1486 and the serious conspiracy that emerged in Ireland when Lambert Simnel

claimed to be Warwick caused further postponements. The Simnel threat was defeated in June 1487. That September, plans moved forward for Elizabeth's coronation.

Contemporary evidence fails to support allegations that Henry caused these delays to avoid joint rule. Monarchs rarely manipulated important rituals with hierarchical protocols to express personal biases. Historians once claimed that Henry VIII's disappointment over Elizabeth's sex caused him to boycott her christening. He did not attend Edward's ritual either because godparents held the most important roles at them. To keep the Yorkists who had supported him loyal would have led Henry VII, one could argue, to treat his wife, a king's daughter, with public respect. In 1831, Samuel Bentley, editor of Henry's privy purse expenses, explained, "There is not a single one (entry) which justifies the generally received opinion...that he was miserly or...that he lived on terms of unkindness with his wife."²⁸ Polydore Vergil, who reached England in 1502, praised Elizabeth's intelligence and beauty and never hinted that Henry had dishonored her. Vergil also failed to note that Lady Richmond, "of sound sense and holiness of life," had negatively interacted with her daughter-in-law.²⁹ Indeed, it was Sir Francis Bacon's biography in 1622 that first claimed that Henry had delayed her coronation to avoid joint rule.³⁰

Now, turning to Henry VIII and his wives, how he chose three of his English consorts—Anne Boleyn, Jane Seymour, and Katherine Howard—although obviously different in some ways, seems to have followed similar patterns. These women had served as attendants to the queen from whom he wished to obtain an annulment. When he decided to replace a spouse, he began seeking a new English consort. The obvious place to look was his estranged wife's household where her maidens resided. After discussing his union with Katherine Parr, the only English match that he initiated while completely unencumbered by marriage, this chapter addresses his decision to wed two foreign-born women, Katherine of Aragon and Anne of Cleves, before turning to the coronations of Elizabeth of York, Katherine of Aragon, and Anne Boleyn.

His reasons for not seeking foreigners when he married his English subjects must remain somewhat speculative. Clearly, in 1527, he found Anne Boleyn attractive, but at 36 years of age, he also needed to wed quickly and set up his nursery. Marriage to foreigners that required diplomatic alliances could be a tedious, lengthy process. When he began courting Anne, who had connections to the French royal family in whose

court she lived from 1514 to 1521, he could not have anticipated that he would still be legally wed to Katherine in 1533. If he had wished to look abroad after obtaining the annulment of his first marriage, he would have had the difficult task of persuading royal fathers to send their young daughters to a foreign land to marry a man who had discarded his long-time, faithful wife. As he later discovered when he settled for Anne of Cleves, marrying into the most important royal families remained an elusive goal because they were all interrelated and Roman Catholic, meaning that their relatives had to obtain papal dispensations for any of their daughters to wed Henry. This proved to be an impossible goal in 1538, when Clement VII refused to provide a dispensation for the union of Henry with Christina, dowager duchess of Milan, a niece of Emperor Charles V.

All his English queens could trace their ancestry back to Edward I. Anne's mother was the daughter of Thomas Howard, second duke of Norfolk, and her paternal great-grandfather was also a nobleman, Thomas Butler, earl of Ormond, whose daughter, Lady Margaret, married Sir William Boleyn. Jane Seymour's mother, Margery Wentworth, was a descendant of Edward III. Katherine Howard's father, Edmund, was a son of the second duke of Norfolk, and Katherine Parr descended through the Beaufort line of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster.

Many facts about Anne Boleyn remain under dispute, including her age. William Camden, Clarenceux king of arms, a principal officer of the College of Arms, claimed she was born in 1507 and noted also that she was 16 years younger than Henry.³¹ Later, Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, stated that she was about 20 when she became a maiden of honor to Katherine of Aragon.³² This information would seem to place her return to court in 1527, the year of the first record of her presence there, after her earlier rustication because of the courtship of Lord Henry Percy, future fifth earl of Northumberland. Nineteen or twenty was a somewhat advanced age for a girl to gain appointment as a maiden. Often, in England, girls reached their midteens when selected for this honorable position, which they and their parents anticipated would provide them with opportunities to make a favorable marriage.³³

Describing Anne as a *femme fatale*, some writers have charged her with setting out to destroy Henry's marriage to Katherine of Aragon by refusing to become his mistress, as her sister, Mary, had done.³⁴ Had Katherine's sons lived, Henry would never have rejected her for a second wife. Clearly he sought to wed a young, chaste woman, hoping that

God would favor him with a live, healthy son. In 1527, when Katherine was 42 years old and had not conceived for 9 years, he decided that his dynasty's survival required him to seek a new wife.

On May 5, 1527, he danced with Anne in Katherine's apartments while his 11-year-old daughter, Mary, whom he was considering marrying into the French royal family, danced with Francis Turre, Viscount Turègne, the French ambassador.³⁵ Henry later ordered his lord chancellor, Thomas Wolsey, cardinal archbishop of York, to obtain an annulment of his union with Katherine. After she appealed to Clement VII for an official inquiry, the pope delayed making a decision, hoping to avoid an estrangement with Henry but also unwilling to anger Katherine's nephew, Charles V, whose troops had sacked Rome. To pressure Clement, Henry began attacking the independence of the church in England. One of the first victims was Cardinal Wolsey. Another victim was his successor as lord chancellor, Sir Thomas More. The major acts of the Reformation Parliament (1529–1536), which resulted in England's withdrawal from the Roman confession, cannot be addressed in detail here. During its sessions, Sir Thomas Cromwell emerged as Henry's principal minister, ultimately gaining the offices of secretary and then lord privy seal.

Meanwhile, in 1527, Clement agreed to permit Henry (if his marriage to Katherine were annulled) to marry the sister of a former mistress and also a woman who had entered into a contract of marriage that remained unconsummated. During the next 5 years, Henry favored Anne and sent to her still-extant love letters, especially when she suffered from the sweating sickness (probably a flu virus) in 1528. By that year, he had transferred her from Katherine's household to Durham Place, with her mother, Lady Elizabeth, serving as her chaperone. In 1531, he went on his summer progress, leaving behind Katherine, whom he later ordered removed to The More, Wolsey's old home.

On September 1, 1532, Henry granted Anne lands worth about £1000 annually and ennobled her as the marchioness of Pembroke in an elaborate ceremony, during which she wore splendid clothing and jewels. In October, he escorted her and her ladies to Calais to visit with Francis I. Upon their return home, the two surely exchanged private vows and consummated their union, perhaps on November 14, well before the beginning of Advent, when marriage and sexual intercourse were forbidden by church decree. It is possible that their confidence that the new archbishop of Canterbury would annul the king's first marriage led them to this step.³⁶

In August 1532, when William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, died, Henry had chosen as his successor Thomas Cranmer, who agreed with him that God had punished the king for marrying his brother's widow. They relied on an Old Testament verse, Leviticus 20:21, which stipulated that a man who took his brother's wife would be childless.³⁷ Of course, Henry did possess a daughter, but no woman had attempted to succeed to the English throne since Empress Matilda in the twelfth century. Henry's grandmother, Lady Richmond, had lived long enough to witness her grandson's coronation, offering him a personal reminder that his dynasty had begun with her son rather than with her.

On January 25, 1533, Henry married Anne, who was pregnant, probably in the West turret at York place, in the presence of Henry Norris and Thomas Heneage of the privy chamber and Anne Savage, later the wife of Thomas, Lord Berkeley. Roland Lee, the future bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, officiated at the service. The date and place of the wedding were kept so secret that scholars still disagree about where and when it occurred. After his April 7 prorogation of Parliament, which had passed the Act in Restraint of Appeals (1533: 24 Henry VIII, c. 12) making it impossible for individuals to appeal marital cases, among others, to Rome, Henry revealed that Anne was his wife. On April 12, the morning of Easter Eve, she accompanied him to high mass in the chapel royal, dressed in cloth of gold and wearing rich jewels, thus indicating her royal position to observers. At Dunstable in May, Cranmer led a formal inquiry into the validity of Henry's marriage to Katherine and declared it null and void, thus relieving the king of his bigamous status and validating his marriage to Anne.³⁸

Other than personal considerations, his courtship of her differed from that of his other English queens primarily because of the length of time it took to obtain the dissolution of the marriage to the immediate wife involved. The 6-year delay from 1527 to 1533 resulted from his attempts to work with the papacy. The Act in Restraint of Appeals officially removed that requirement, leaving Henry to deal with his marital issues in cooperation with his parliaments without needing to seek papal approval for his continuing attempts to marry a wife who could give birth to a healthy son.

Cranmer and other English churchmen also confirmed Henry's next two annulments. In 1536, amid rumors concerning Anne's January miscarriage of his son, Henry began paying special attention to Jane, the eldest daughter of Sir John Seymour of Wolf Hall. The first evidence of

a Mistress Seymour at court is in a 1534 manuscript listing New Year's gifts to Anne's ladies, but unfortunately, it omits their first names.³⁹ Jane did have two sisters named Elizabeth and Dorothy who also lived to adulthood.

Charles Wriothesley, the Windsor herald, described Jane as a "waiting lady" to Katherine and Anne, but no such office existed.⁴⁰ On July 11, 1536, Charles V's ambassador at Rome, Dr. Pedro Ortiz, informed Empress Isabella that he had heard from their English ambassador, Eustace Chapuys, that Jane, the new queen, had served as a maid, apparently meaning maiden of honor, to both Katherine and Anne. Unfortunately, the letter in which Chapuys allegedly made these comments has not survived.⁴¹ Jane could easily have served in Katherine's household, but her advanced age makes it difficult to accept the identification of her as Anne's maiden. Jane's biographers dated her birth about 1509, meaning she would have reached at least her twenty-fourth year in early 1534,⁴² an old age for maidens, who are routinely described as teenage girls. In 1537, for example, when Jane, as queen, had the opportunity to appoint a maiden, either Anne Basset, born circa 1521, or her sister, Katherine, born circa 1517–1519, she chose the younger sibling.⁴³

It seems likely that Jane joined Anne's household sometime before she became queen in 1533, perhaps as early as 1528, when she left Katherine's household for Durham House. Members of the royal family, such as her future stepdaughter, Mary, had female attendants to care for their needs from their infancy. Eustace Chapuys, whose information sometimes relied solely on rumors that cannot be corroborated, claimed that in July 1531, after Katherine's rustication and again in January 1532, that Anne had been collecting officials and many ladies as though she were already queen. These claims, if true, could offer other possible dates for Jane's appointment as Anne's attendant. Her father, Sir John, and brother, Sir Edward, belonged to a politically ambitious family and probably worked to obtain her membership in the household of the future queen. Later Anne might have planned to, or perhaps did finally, advance Jane to another office when her parents failed to arrange a marriage for her. For example, Queen Elizabeth I transferred her maiden, Mary Radcliffe, when she grew too old for a position held by teenaged girls, to the privy chamber, a more appropriate place for her, although its members normally consisted of wives or widows.⁴⁴ Perhaps Anne appointed Jane as her maiden sometime between 1528 and 1532 and then after 1534 moved her into the privy chamber.

Information in Chapuys's surviving dispatches, which contain most of the news that scholars have repeated about Jane at Greenwich in early 1536, do not resolve this issue. In February, he reported both Anne's miscarriage and Henry's presentation of expensive gifts to Mistress Seymour, identified only as a damsel of the court. It is not clear what Chapuys meant by this statement. Normally only never-married women at court attended the queen. In April, he noted that first Sir Thomas Eliot and then later Gertrude Courtenay, marchioness of Exeter, revealed to him that Henry had sent from Westminster a purse of sovereigns with a letter to Jane. She allegedly returned the purse and the letter unopened, replying that he could give her presents when she had an advantageous marriage. Chapuys also heard that Cromwell gave up a room in his Greenwich quarters to her, and that her brother, Edward, and his wife, Anne née Stanhope, acted as her chaperones. None of these claims, except for Anne's miscarriage and Jane's presence at court, can be corroborated. The rumor about the returned gifts, since two informants separately revealed it to him, sounds like an invented event to assure Chapuys of Jane's honor and to neutralize the earlier rumor about Henry's presenting her with gifts. Considering the Seymours' social status and political ambitions, surely they would not have permitted their female relative to refuse presents from the king.⁴⁵

Actually, Chapuys's surviving ambiguous statement about Jane's status at court seems to have been partially confirmed by the oral tradition repeated later by Thomas Fuller, who failed to name Jane as either Anne's or Katherine's servant. When she first arrived at court, Fuller noted that Anne hurt her hand when snatching a pendant from Jane's neck, only to discover it concealed a picture of the king that he had given her.⁴⁶

In 1536, when Jane would have reached her twenty-fifth year, if she remained a maiden, her single status must have distressed her, since her parents had found husbands for Elizabeth and Dorothy, her younger sisters. Before 1534, Elizabeth had wed the much older Sir Anthony Ughtred, who died that year, and Dorothy, perhaps in 1533–1534, gave birth to her son, John, by Clement Smith, who received a knighthood in 1547. The dates of their weddings are unknown.⁴⁷ Normally, in arranging marriages, parents privileged the eldest daughter over the younger ones. Since wives held higher social status than unmarried women, if parents did not match the eldest daughter with a husband first, they in effect demoted her from her superior status as the firstborn girl.

It is also true that Jane's parents might have attempted unsuccessfully to find a husband for her. In 1532, Cromwell made a note to speak to the king for Mr. Seymour's daughter for a man named Elderton. Unfortunately, he did not state the daughter's first name. Moreover, Jane Dormer, who married Gómez Suárez de Figueroa y Córdoba, duke of Feria, and moved to Spain, later recalled that Sir Francis Bryan had attempted to arrange a marriage for Jane to Lady Feria's father, Sir William Dormer, but his parents preferred to match him with Mary Sidney. Calling Jane the niece of Bryan rather than his cousin, Lady Feria also believed that Bryan accompanied her to court to join Anne's household. Unfortunately, she offered no dates.⁴⁸

Reasons existed for failing to privilege the elder daughter besides the possibility of failing to find an appropriate suitor. In Anne Boleyn's case, for example, she lived abroad, where it was expected that her royal mistress would match her with a noble spouse. Meanwhile, in England, her younger sister, Mary, wed William Carey, merely a gentleman's younger son. When Anne returned home, her parents planned to marry her to a nobleman, Lord James Butler, future earl of Ormond. Other reasons for the younger girls to wed first might include that their eldest sister's betrothed unexpectedly had to delay their wedding while their parents found husbands for them. A severe illness could also cause the postponement of the eldest girl's matchmaking.

Little is known about Jane before early 1536, but Chapuys's references to her complexion when he saw her in May could be interpreted as evidence that she had recently recovered from an illness. He described her as over 25 years of age, as no great beauty, and so fair she appeared rather pale than otherwise.⁴⁹ Perhaps she had held a position in Anne's household but had left it because of illness or the lack of a marriage, and returned to court in 1536 for the New Year's celebrations.

In January, whatever her status, Jane certainly attracted the king's attention, and after Anne's miscarriage, perhaps by March, he decided to marry her. During that month, he probably ordered Cromwell to leak information to Chapuys, providing proof of her chaste and modest behavior to offset earlier rumors of his having presented her with gifts. He himself had little time for wooing Jane at Greenwich, since on February 4 at Westminster, he attended the opening of the final session of the Reformation Parliament. He could and did alternate between Greenwich and Westminster, but during the last days of February and in March, the press of parliamentary business often kept him occupied.

After dissolving Parliament in April, he returned to Greenwich for the Easter celebrations.

In early May, after Anne's imprisonment, Sir Nicholas Carew escorted Jane to Beddington, his home near Croydon, and on May 14 to Chelsea. Three days later, Cranmer annulled Henry's marriage to Anne. One day after her execution on May 19, Henry and Jane, whom Cranmer dispensed from the required banns and from the third degree of affinity, as they were fifth cousins, were betrothed, probably at York Place, and on May 30, they were married in the queen's closet there. On June 4 at Greenwich, Henry had her proclaimed queen, and she processed with him to the chapel royal. Later that day, they dined in state in her presence chamber. On Corpus Christi Day, June 15, they rode in a procession with her ladies, numerous churchmen, crown officials, and members of Parliament from York Place to Westminster Abbey, where they heard mass. A "great multitude" of their subjects rejoiced at the sight. Henry planned to hold a coronation for her and had actually begun finalizing arrangements for it to be held on the Sunday before All Hallows day in 1537, but by then she had died after childbirth.⁵⁰

Although Henry had sired a son with Jane, he sought another wife, hoping for more sons, and decided to wed a foreign-born bride, marrying Anne of Cleves in January 1540. As he could not consummate this marriage, he chose to woo her young English maiden of honor, Katherine Howard, who was probably then 17 years old. Scholars have sometimes credited factional politics for her appointment to Anne of Cleves's household. Allegedly, her conservative uncle, Thomas Howard, third duke of Norfolk, an ally of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, brought her to court to gain Henry's favor. No surviving evidence proves the two lords acted as allies. The influence of her paternal step-grandmother, Agnes Howard, dowager duchess of Norfolk, with whom she resided, more likely secured the court position for her. Lady Norfolk probably paid for the costs of her appointment as a maiden in December 1539 since the girls' families had to supply bedding and expensive clothes suitable for their royal position. After he decided to marry Katherine, the duchess sent 500 marks to Henry with a bond requiring a refund if her step-granddaughter died before the wedding.⁵¹

Little is known about Henry's courtship of Katherine, to whom he gave two gifts in April and May 1540. As the first gift included the forfeited goods and chattels of two murderers, which mirrored a present to Katherine of Aragon, as the princess of Wales, in June 1509, it probably

meant that he had decided by then that she was to become his new wife as soon as he was divorced from Anne of Cleves.⁵² As to the beginning of his interest in her, Lady Norfolk claimed that he had been attracted to her from the first moment he saw her, some weeks before the arrival of Anne of Cleves in England. In late June 1540, he returned Katherine, who had kept her premarital sexual liaisons a secret, to Lady Norfolk's Lambeth home while rustivating Anne at Richmond. At least twice Henry visited Katherine in late June at Lambeth. They were married on July 28 at Oatlands, like his other weddings to his subjects, without public festivities. On August 8 at Hampton Court Henry introduced her as queen, and on August 15 he had morning prayers said in the churches for him, Katherine, and Prince Edward.

The attendance at court of Katherine Parr is even less well documented than Jane's, since the earliest evidence for her presence is in a letter dated June 20, 1543, which John Dudley, Viscount Lisle (future duke of Northumberland), sent to her brother, William, Lord Parr (future marquess of Northampton), revealing the presence of Katherine and her married sister, Anne Herbert, at Greenwich with the king's daughters.⁵³ In her biography of Katherine, Susan James alleged that a paid tailor's bill for clothing purchased for her unnamed daughter represents a money gift from Henry to Katherine, who was still the wife of John Neville, Lord Latimer, for clothes she had purchased for Princess Mary. It was dated February 16, some two weeks before the March 2 funeral of Latimer, her ailing second husband. David Starkey has correctly noted that after becoming queen, Katherine belatedly paid the clothing bill for her stepdaughter, Lady Margaret Neville. Sir Thomas Arundell, her chancellor as queen, authorized the payment.⁵⁴ No surviving evidence proves that in February she flirted with Henry at court or had any association with her future stepdaughter, Mary.

Another controversy concerns Katherine's relationship to Sir Thomas Seymour, whom she married after Henry's death. She wrote to Seymour in the spring 1547 that she did not want him "to think that this honest goodwill" to him "proceeds of any sudden motion or passion;... my mind was fully bent, the other time I was at liberty, to marry" him "before any man I know. Howbeit, God withstood my will therein most vehemently for a time," finally causing her to denounce her "own will" and "follow his will."⁵⁵ Scholars have apparently ignored two salient facts in her statement. First, she explained that when she was last "at liberty" to marry, she selected Seymour above all others. The modern allegation

that she considered marrying two different men, Henry and Seymour, before her husband's death in 1543 greatly dishonors her. Second, she wished to inform Seymour that her interest in him was not "sudden" since those feelings had developed earlier. By these words, she seems to have implied that she had not revealed to him her earlier "goodwill." Why else would she have felt the need to inform him in 1547 of those feelings?

In 1543, she probably decided to visit her sister, Anne, and her husband, William Herbert, (future earl of Pembroke), a gentleman of the king's privy chamber at court, then at St. James Palace, during the celebrations after Easter, which fell on March 25. The Herberts had surely joined her in mourning the death of Latimer, whose funeral took place at St. Paul's Cathedral on March 2 and could have extended an invitation for her to accompany them to court, a convenient destination for Katherine, as she then resided in a London townhouse. The new widow, perhaps eager to remain in court society, found Seymour attractive, perhaps because of his looks and demeanor, but perhaps also because of his kinship to the future Edward VI. As Katherine belonged to a politically ambitious family, she must have thought it would be opportune for her and her relatives if she wed the future king's uncle. By her testimony, God forced her instead to marry the future king's father.

She must have previously met Henry, although no record of it survives. The nobility formed a small community, the members with whom Henry was mostly acquainted. After Latimer's return to favor, after his participation in the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536, he attended the House of Lords in 1539, 1540, and 1542. At those times as in 1542, he probably escorted his wife to their London townhouse and possibly to some social functions. She might also have achieved a kind of celebrity status because some rebels in January 1537 had held her and her two stepchildren as hostages. Henry's desire to marry her, if they only met sometime after March 2, 1543, would seem hurried, but scholars have defamed the character of this pious woman when they claim that she flirted with two men at court while at home her husband lay dying.⁵⁶

In early June 1543, the king left for Harwich while she prepared for their wedding. On June 20, as noted, she attended the court at Greenwich, which Henry had reached the previous day. Like his earlier marriages to his other subjects, theirs was a private affair. On July 10, Cranmer dispensed with the banns, and 2 days later, in the queen's privy chamber at Hampton Court, Gardiner officiated, utilizing the Sarum

rite. The 20 witnesses included the king's two daughters; Katherine's sister, Lady Herbert; and her sister's husband, William.⁵⁷

Of his weddings to the two foreign-born brides, the one to Katherine of Aragon followed a pattern similar to those of the Englishwomen primarily because she had remained in the realm after her husband Arthur's death in 1502. Monarchs usually betrothed and sometimes had their heirs married at young ages, as had Henry VII when choosing Arthur's wife. After the prince's death, his father had negotiated an arrangement for his second son, the future Henry VIII who was born in 1491, to marry Katherine, who was born in 1485 and who was therefore 6 years older than him. On March 25, 1503, they were betrothed. That same year, Julius II issued a bull dispensing with the impediment of affinity in the first degree collateral (her marriage to Arthur). For diplomatic reasons, on June 17, 1505, Henry VII required his son secretly to renounce his betrothal. After his accession in 1509, one of his first important decisions was to wed Katherine.⁵⁸ They were quietly married on June 11 at the oratory of the Franciscan Observants just by the wall of Greenwich Palace, but their oaths did contain diplomatic references. Henry answered, "I will" to the following question: "Most illustrious prince, is it your will to fulfill the treaty of marriage concluded by your father... and the parents of the Princes of Wales...and, as the Pope has dispensed with this marriage, to take the Princess who is here present for your lawful wife?" Katherine also swore but with words expressed slightly differently as "Most illustrious princess."⁵⁹

He credited his dying father with advising him to wed her. Lady Richmond surely approved of the marriage, for at her month's mind, Bishop Fisher claimed that she had viewed Arthur's marriage to Katherine as a "great triumph." The new queen was, after all, the child of Isabella, queen of Castile, and Ferdinand, king of Aragon, and possessed a substantial dowry of 200,000 crowns.⁶⁰ Henry VII, who had wooed other brides for himself after his consort died in 1503 and also for his heir, could easily have concluded that Katherine was the best candidate for his son. As Lucy Wooding noted, Henry VIII married the "woman who had secured his father's most diplomatic achievement" and to whom he might also have been "attracted."⁶¹ From the beginning of his reign, furthermore, Henry VIII sought diplomatic agreements with Ferdinand in preparation for warfare against France. In April 1509, John Stile, the English resident ambassador in Spain, claimed that he had received two letters from Henry VII supporting this marriage.⁶² Edward

Hall's chronicle also explains that Henry's councilors had encouraged the union because of her large dowry.⁶³ Public festivities did accompany their shared coronation but not the wedding.⁶⁴

Henry's union with Anne of Cleves represents the closest parallel of his six marriages to other diplomatic ones in early modern Europe.⁶⁵ In 1537, after Jane's death, as Henry's councilors began discussing the selection of a foreign wife for him, Cromwell ordered agents abroad to assemble a candidate pool, of which three noblewomen gained the king's attention: Mary of Guise, Christina of Denmark, and Anne of Cleves. He soon dropped Mary from consideration because Francis I had promised her to James V. Henry next turned to Christina, a niece of Charles V, but she would not marry Henry without a papal dispensation that he could not obtain.

The alliance of Francis and Charles in 1538 and Paul III's publication of the renewed bull of excommunication against Henry in 1539 led him to consider seriously Anne of Cleves's candidacy. Although John, duke of Cleves, had entered into antipapal alliances, including marrying his eldest daughter, Sybilla, to a Lutheran, John Frederick, duke of Saxony, Cleves had outlawed Lutheran doctrine in his duchy. Actually, Henry's decision was not an unusual diplomatic move. Later, when Charles and Francis repudiated their alliance, the French king himself turned to Cleves for a peace treaty. In 1539, the Cleves negotiations followed some usual procedures. Ambassadors Nicholas Wotton and Richard Beard discussed the match with William, Anne's brother and their father's ducal successor. The Englishmen arranged for Hans Holbein the Younger to paint portraits of Anne and her sister, Amelia. Wotton praised as a good likeness the portrait of Anne, whom he described as a beauty. After viewing it, Henry decided to pursue marriage with her. At first her brother proved reluctant to enter into these negotiations because of the expected dowry's size, but also because his father had signed a treaty with Antoine I, duke of Lorraine, which promised William control of Guelders on the condition that Anne wed Lorraine's heir, Francis. Finally William sent an embassy of Cleves and Saxon diplomats to England.

After the representatives signed the marriage treaty on October 6 that set the amount of the dowry, the procedures for Anne's travel to England, and clarification of her inheritance rights, two unusual events occurred. Two male procurators, representing Anne, married her to Henry with the usual vow of *per verba de praesenti*, but no reference was made to the traditional procedure of the groom's proxy also marrying

the bride at her home. Henry next waived the dowry of 100,000 gold florins (25,000 English marks), recognizing Cleves's impoverished treasury. On November 26, Anne began an overland journey. On December 11, she reached Calais, where storms stranded her until December 27. Once in England, a number of aristocratic greeters welcomed her, as was the usual procedure. They escorted her north and arrived on New Year's Eve at the Bishop's Palace in Rochester, where Henry made his now famous incognito visit. This was an expected event since before their public meetings with their foreign spouses whom they had not yet met, early modern kings first sought private meetings with them. Louis XIV was the last ruler to perform this ceremony.

Despite his unfavorable initial impression of Anne, Henry proceeded with her scheduled reception at Greenwich, the only public demonstration, as Anne arrived during the holy days of Epiphany. Twelfth Night was one of the religious holidays for which written royal procedures specified the rituals to be followed for the drinking of wassail and for the eating of spices.⁶⁶ The waived dowry and the shortness of time for preparations before her expected arrival might also have influenced this decision. Attended by his councilors and other royal officials, the king, along with numerous representatives of the English aristocracy, rode their horses onto Blackheath Common to welcome their queen in an impressive ceremony.

Henry briefly delayed the wedding after discovering that the Cleves ambassadors had failed to bring a copy of Anne's marriage contract with Lorraine's heir for his churchmen's determination of her marital status. Finally, worried about a possible Franco-Imperial crusade against him, Henry requested that Cranmer, who must have issued a license dispensing with the prohibition of marriage and sexual intercourse on holy days, married them in the king's closet at Greenwich on Epiphany. She wore a dress of cloth of gold, and a coronel of gold and precious stones entwined with a garland of rosemary, a Cleves addition, symbolizing remembrance and constancy. After mass, they returned to their separate quarters before feasting at the usual wedding dinner. Anne then attended evensong, as no afternoon functions were scheduled. At the evening supper, a masque formed part of the entertainment. Usually elaborate public celebrations for diplomatic marriages occurred over several days.

Both of these Tudor kings failed to follow the traditional diplomatic marriage practices that were embodied in treaties and accompanied by public rituals and celebrations. Henry VII needed to wed Elizabeth to

gain the support of her Yorkist allies and hoped thereby to end the civil wars. Henry VIII's motivation for marrying his English consorts derived in great part from personal preference, but after he had his union with Katherine of Aragon annulled, marriage with the daughters of prestigious royal dynasties that remained Roman Catholic proved impossible to arrange. Because after Arthur's death Katherine had stayed in England, Henry decided to wed her in a ceremony without the usual pomp and circumstance of diplomatic unions. Whether the primary motive was the size of her dowry, his father's last wishes, his own private preferences, or his desire to build an alliance against the French remains uncertain. Perhaps all these issues combined to form his decision. Finally, his marriage to Anne of Cleves, partly because she brought no dowry and perhaps also because she arrived during the Christmas holy days, led him to provide her with an official greeting but no further public celebrations.

Only three Tudor consorts gained the honor of a coronation ceremony. Often monarchs scheduled them near the beginning of their public recognitions as queens, as were Katherine of Aragon's and Anne Boleyn's. The differences in the three rituals, beginning with Elizabeth of York's, will be discussed, but first an examination of monarchs' coronations provides a context for their consorts' rituals. According to tradition, for a man already reigning as monarch to assume his royal status in the most complete sense and to receive God's grace to perform his kingship, he had to be inaugurated into his position by legal and ecclesiastical rites.⁶⁷ These signified the continuity of ancient ceremonies and represented the received version of them. As public demonstrations that embodied dimensions both legal and religious, the latter making them reminiscent of bishops' consecrations, the coronations offered opportunities for kings to appear not only publicly as God's favored ones but also as reflections or images of divinity.⁶⁸

These ceremonies furthermore publicly confirmed the monarchs' relationship to their subjects through the royal oath and their nobles' positive acclamations to their accessions. Thus, they effectively bonded the royal dynasty hierarchically to their nobility. Through their participation, noblemen could emphasize the honorable and ancient heritage of their families and their places in the social hierarchy. Their strong desire to participate led kings to establish claims courts that confirmed the traditional rights of their male subjects to perform various coronation functions. This service proved also to be lucrative. The barons of the Cinque Ports, for example, who bore the canopy over the head of the monarch

to Westminster Abbey, could claim as their fee the canopy itself. London merchants likewise profited from these occasions because of the crown's need to purchase expensive items, including jewelry and clothing, and because they usually included royal entries into their city.⁶⁹ In addition, the rites provided entertainment for the masses and rewards for some of them, as the royal almoner distributed to the poor a part of the ray (striped) cloth on which the royal procession marched from Westminster Palace to the abbey. Finally, the pageantry could impress foreign powers with the realm's wealth and magnificence.

By contrast, the queens' coronations demonstrated divine approval of their marriages and celebrated their status as the kings' wives, but not as authority figures. The anointing and crowning of queens seems to have arisen because of the emergence of the hereditary royal succession. The coronation publicly not only designated her as his legitimate wife but also as the possible mother of his future heirs. Laynesmith has convincingly argued that the coronation may be seen "as the construction of the queen as a part of the king's public body, both its presentation of a series of ideals through which her role might complement his, and the ritual by which she shared in the emblems of his divinely ordained position."⁷⁰ They presented the women as exemplars of female chastity and conferred a "sanctity of character" on them as the mistresses of the royal households.⁷¹ Surviving written instructions describe how the king and his councillors should greet a foreign queen. Her English escort's duty was to meet her at the seashore and lead her to the king, who awaited her for his public greeting at the place where the wedding was to occur. With that ceremony accomplished, she was then to proceed to her coronation. Thus, these instructions, although without stating the reasons for the coronation to take place shortly after the marriage, would seem to confirm Laynesmith's explanation.⁷²

Queens' coronations also called for the participation of representatives of the entire population since ladies as well as gentlemen held roles in them.⁷³ While claims courts confirmed noblemen's traditional functions on these special days, the queens still required the assistance of noblewomen and the ladies of their household. Despite the importance of the coronations to the queens, at various stages in the process, some of the rituals clearly indicated their subordination to their husbands. Unlike kings, they neither swore a traditional oath defining their authority nor participated in a kind of election process when the archbishop of Canterbury requested a "formal acclamation" of the new king's reign

by the noblemen present. During their anointing with holy oil, reminiscent of Old Testament usage and representing the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the archbishop touched queens with the sign of the cross only in two places, the brow or forehead and breast, but he touched kings on the head, breast, shoulders, hands, and elbows. The monarchs' ritual included more ornaments and clothing than their consorts'. These had been housed at Westminster Abbey since the twelfth century, when Prior Osbert of Clare had gained the right by citing a forged document for the monks to keep and protect the regalia, said to have belonged to St. Edward the Confessor.⁷⁴

By tradition coronations were held on saints' feast days or Sundays, but in practice kings usually chose feast days, although Henry VIII and Anne chose a Sunday, Whitsunday, second only to Easter as a holy day.⁷⁵ Earlier in 1487, Henry VII scheduled Elizabeth's coronation for November 25, the feast day of St. Catherine, who was venerated as a patron of virginity and purity and also of philosophers and universities. On November 7, the common council of London voted her a gift of 1000 marks and began preparations for her arrival for the coronation.⁷⁶ The ceremonies began with a new tradition: she was the first queen to journey before her coronation by barge from Greenwich to the Tower of London. Accompanied by the king's mother and other ladies and lords, Elizabeth wore royal apparel. The lord mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, and members of the London crafts welcomed her party in barges decorated with banners and streamers adorned with insignia identifying their crafts. On one huge barge, the Bachelors' Barge, a red dragon, an allusion to the Welsh red dragon, spit flames into the river. Some other barges presented unspecified "pageants" for her entertainment. Trumpeters and minstrels accompanied the procession and announced her arrival at Tower Wharf, where Henry greeted her.⁷⁷

The next day, following the tradition since 1399, Henry created knights of the bath, his numbering 14. On Saturday, November 24, the queen left the Tower, attired in white cloth of gold damask with her sister, Lady Cecily Plantagenet, carrying her train and with a bejeweled circlet of gold on her head. With her blonde hair hanging down her back, as was customary, as it symbolized her future fertility, she rode in a litter under a canopy of cloth of gold. All other participants wore splendid and ornate clothing representing their social status. This and other traditional ceremonies presented the royal family amid numerous other people who could be identified by their dress. As R. Malcolm Smuts pointed

out: "Few things expressed the majesty of kinship more vividly than the sight of hundreds of brilliantly dressed men and women, walking or riding with solemn dignity around an even more resplendent monarch."⁷⁸

The leaders of Elizabeth's train included the knights of the bath and other knights and esquires, the Garter king of arms, heralds, and pursuivants, some noblemen, esquires of honor, the mayor of London, the marshal, the constable (Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby, the king's stepfather), the great chamberlain, and the high steward, (Jasper Tudor, duke of Bedford). Sir Roger Cotton, master of her horse, followed her litter, leading a riderless horse of estate on which was placed a sidesaddle of red cloth of gold. After him came six henchmen and the queen's ladies. Along the newly cleansed streets, they encountered members of the crafts dressed in their liveries and singing children costumed either as angels or virgins. At the conduit in Cornhill and in Cheapside, red and white wine flowed.⁷⁹ Finally, after arriving at the palace, she enjoyed a void, a drink of wine accompanied by spices or comfits, and retired to her chamber.

The coronation on the 25th seems to have followed the *Liber Regalis*, a text of the fourth recension of the coronation *ordo*, written in 1308.⁸⁰ It began with the procession to the abbey from the palace; Elizabeth wore purple velvet clothing with a train borne by her sister, Lady Cecily, and with a circlet of gold with pearls and precious stones on her head. Each queen possessed her own personal circlet, a gift from her husband, which did not form a part of the royal regalia in the jewel house, as did the crown later placed on her head by the archbishop of Canterbury.⁸¹ Various members of the aristocracy led the procession: esquires, knights, and knights of the bath, noblemen, and churchmen, including abbots and the monks of Westminster Abbey. One of the 15 bishops present carried St. Edward's chalice and another his paten for the offertory. Following them came the archbishop of York, the Garter king of arms, the mayor of London, the constable, and the earl marshal. Two noblemen carried the queen's ivory rod with a gold dove on the top, recalling the pastoral duties of a shepherd's crook, and the silver-gilt scepter, a symbol of royal authority, with a dove representing the Holy Spirit. That the scepter was made of silver gilt indicated her "inferiority" in rank to the king, whose scepter was made of gold, the more precious metal.⁸² Next came the great chamberlain and the high steward, who carried the crown for the coronation.⁸³ The queen's crown, according to inventories, would have been a closed imperial crown, set with sapphires,

rubies, and pearls, weighing altogether three pounds.⁸⁴ In stocking feet and escorted by two bishops, she walked under the purple silk canopy held by the barons of the Cinque Ports with her ladies trailing behind her. Although the heralds and sergeants attempted to keep the crowd back on either side, it surged forward, disturbing the ladies' procession to obtain pieces of the ray cloth, causing in the rush the death of several commoners.

In the abbey, the queen moved through the choir to a platform, called a pulpit, and sat on her royal seat decorated with cloth of gold. During the ceremony, as she performed her parts, John Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, and other religious leaders said various prayers, psalms, litany, orisons, and collects in Latin. The choir also sang holy songs. Presently she descended from her throne and before the high altar prostrated herself on the floor, previously covered with carpet and cushions. Afterward, she knelt before Morton, who took the circlet from her head and anointed her brow with a special holy oil, the chrism, a combination of olive oil and balsam, which, according to tradition, had been given by the Virgin Mary to St. Thomas Becket, who had placed it in a golden eagle.⁸⁵ Morton also anointed Elizabeth with holy olive oil only on her breast. After she closed her gown, he blessed her ring, which recognized her roles as a supporter of the church and as "a leader of her household's spirituality," sprinkled it with holy water, and slid it on the fourth finger of her right hand. Before placing the crown on her head, which an attendant covered with a coif to protect the chrism, he blessed it and instructed her to seek wisdom and virtue. After receiving from the archbishop the scepter in her right hand and the rod in her left hand, she ascended to her seat, her ladies following her. When the offertory began, two bishops led her down to the high altar, her scepter and rod borne before her. After offering, she returned to her throne, and when the *Agnus Dei* began, Morton approached to bless her and she responded, "Amen." During the singing of the *Agnus Dei*, a bishop brought her the pax to kiss. She then descended to the high altar, where two bishops held a towel in front of her, and she "lowly inclining herself to the ground," confessed and received the sacrament. The queen returned to her throne until mass ended, when she again went down to the high altar.⁸⁶

Presently she followed Morton and others, who crossed over to the altar of the shrine of St. Edward. The archbishop put her crown on that altar and returned her circlet to her, as the crown was too heavy for her to wear during the subsequent festivities. On the right side of the abbey,

between the altar and the pulpit, stood a stage covered with cloth of arras. On it sat the king, his mother, and other ladies and gentlemen. Since kings had the highest social status, they usually did not participate in the rituals of their relatives, even the funerals of family members, for example, since chief mourners of the same sex as the deceased performed the prominent roles in that final ritual, as directed by heralds. This was also true of the behavior of the aristocracy generally.

The queen returned to the palace in procession and left for her chamber. Later she entered Westminster Hall, where the high steward, whose horse's trapping was decorated with a red rose and red dragons, the earl Marshal, and the constable rode on horseback to keep order amid the press of people. The participants sat at nine tables for the customary feast. After washing her hands, the queen sat at the center table, Morton to her right, and her aunt, Katherine Woodville Tudor, duchess of Bedford, and Lady Cecily to her left. Two countesses knelt on either side of the queen, holding a red kerchief before her as she ate dishes from the two courses. During the celebration, on a stage set in a window on the left side of the hall and decorated with arras, the king and his mother observed the feasting. Also witnessing the festivities, the Garter king of arms, other heralds, and pursuivants sat on a stage on the left side of the hall. At the end of the two courses, they descended, made their obeisance, and then proclaimed her as the queen three times in five places in the hall. During this saluting, the minstrels played music. Afterward, she dined on fruit and wafers; then she again washed her hands and went to the void. The mayor of London served her with ipocras and spices before she departed for her chamber.

Normally kings held tournaments to celebrate coronations, and Henry had issued an imprest of 100 marks in October for the preparation of jousts for hers, but as Parliament was still in session, he seems to have postponed them. The immediate celebrations included only a grand feast for the ladies on the 26th. First, the king, queen, and the king's mother attended mass in St. Stephen's Chapel, accompanied by 80 noble and gentle ladies. Afterward, these ladies dined in the parliament chamber with the queen. The king's mother sat on her right and Katherine, Lady Bedford, on her left. At two side tables sat the noble and gentle ladies. After dining, the ladies danced. The next day the queen returned to Greenwich.⁸⁷

The joint ceremony of Henry and Katherine of Aragon, scheduled for June 24, 1509, Midsummer's Day, was also the Feast of the Nativity of

St. John the Baptist. Before the shared coronation, the London commons voted to present the king with £1000, two-thirds of it for him and the other third, or some £333, for the queen.⁸⁸ In contrast, Elizabeth had received 1000 marks (£666), and Anne Boleyn received the same amount.⁸⁹ On June 22, according to Hall's chronicle, Katherine accompanied the king, who traveled on land across London Bridge to the Tower of London. As no previous king had participated in a river entry into London for his coronation, he must have decided to continue that tradition. On June 22, Henry created 24 knights of the bath, and the next day the royal couple processed to the palace. For the ceremonies, Henry relied on a device especially prepared for him, as did his father before him, that was based on the *Liber Regalis*.⁹⁰

Unlike Elizabeth, Katherine was obviously not the featured figure at this shared coronation; most of the attention seems to have focused on Henry. Edward Hall's chronicle notes that on their route to the palace they saw virgins, but he did not mention angels. He added that priests and clerks, dressed in rich copes and holding crosses and censers, censured the royal couple as they rode by them. Although Hall provided far less information about Katherine and her attendants than the king and his retinue, the chronicler did relate that she, who was "beautiful and goodly to behold," wore embroidered white satin, that her hair hung down to her shoulders, and that she wore on her head "a coronel with rich jewels."⁹¹

In their procession from the palace to the abbey, noblemen preceded her, carrying her crown, as well as an ivory rod topped by a gold dove and a gold scepter topped by a gold dove from St. Edward's regalia.⁹² Following tradition, the king and queen, both dressed in crimson, processed to the platform, where her throne sat to his left, a step or two lower than his. At their coronations, kings always wore a red parliament robe of silk and ermines that reached to their feet, while the queens, who were crowned alone, usually wore the customary purple outfit. When he descended for his anointing, she sat on a stool on the left side of the high altar. As he prostrated before the high altar, she knelt in prayer. After his crowning, he returned to the scaffold, and William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, then anointed her with holy olive oil only and crowned her. Apparently the chrism could only be used once during the ceremony. Before rejoining Henry on the scaffold, she "made a modest inclination before the king's majesty" in a gesture of reverence. Later she descended with him for the celebration of mass, then crossed over

with him to St. Edward's shrine, where Warham removed her crown and placed it on the altar. After she had changed her clothes for a purple outfit in a curtained-off area, Warham presented her with her coronel, and the royal couple and their attendants returned to the palace.⁹³

At the banquet for Henry and Katherine, Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, held the position of high steward. The participants sat at the usual nine tables, the king's on the right hand and the queen's on the left. Near the end of the feast, the mayor of London offered *ipocras* only to the king. After the void, as usual, the royal couple retired to their chambers.⁹⁴

The next day, before the customary jousts and tournaments took place at Westminster Palace, the king and queen entered a specially constructed pavilion adorned with rich cloth and tapestry. The palace also contained a fountain over which stood a castle topped by a closed imperial crown gilded with roses for Henry and pomegranates for Katherine. A gentlewoman acting as Lady Pallas came forward in a pageant car with a castle to offer eight "scholars" to the king for the purpose of defending against all challengers. Shortly thereafter, eight knights led by gentleman on horseback approached the queen, requesting that she permit them to do feats of arms for the ladies and fight the scholars of Lady Pallas. The jousts then took place.⁹⁵

The next day, the pageantry continued, with the knights of Lady Pallas appearing armed for battle. The challengers, now claiming to be servants of Diana, brought in a pageant car on which stood a park comprising artificial trees and shrubs. It had gates that were opened, letting some deer escape. Greyhounds then chased and killed the deer, which the knights presented to the queen and her ladies. Afterward, Katherine and her ladies requested that Henry decide whether the knights should once again compete against each other. He granted their request. The jousts were to commence, but first the servants of Diana asked that if Lady Pallas's knights won, they could claim the deer and the greyhounds that killed them, and if Diana's knights won, they could claim the swords of the vanquished only. When Katherine and her ladies sent this request to the king, he disliked the suggestion. After the jousts ended, each man instead gained the prizes he deserved.⁹⁶

That Hall's account of Anne's coronation in 1533 is more detailed than his narrative of the shared coronation of Katherine and Henry was partly because of the chronicler's age. Born in 1497, he was still a child in 1509 and had to rely only on others' sources for his comments.

Although his chronicle on the later parts of Henry's reign also reflects the use of documents, Hall was most likely a witness to Anne's coronation, which occurred some 24 years after Katherine's shared one. It clearly celebrated her queenship more elaborately than that of either of her two Tudor predecessors.⁹⁷

On May 29, 1533, in response to the king's command, the London crafts prepared a river welcome for Anne that included many more barges than at the entry of 1487, some 50 in all, and more elaborate entertainment. Anne, dressed in cloth of gold and accompanied by many ladies and gentlemen, including her father, Thomas Boleyn, earl of Wiltshire, set out for London from Greenwich. Another eyewitness account claimed the whole river was filled with boats. The "great dragon," color unspecified, remained a part of the entry, but he threw his fire from a foist, an armed barge, rather than the Bachelors' Barge. Another foist carried a mount on which stood a falcon crowned with "a root of gold environed with white roses and red," the queen's device. As usual, the king waited at the Tower for her arrival. The next day, he initiated the ceremonies that resulted in the knighting of 18 knights of the bath.⁹⁸

On May 31, dressed in white cloth of tissue with her hair hanging down and wearing a circlet with rich jewels, Anne rode in a litter carried by 16 knights from the Tower to Westminster Hall on streets the citizens had prepared with gravel and with colorful tapestries and streamers. That some participants in her entry differed from those of her predecessors had political and diplomatic repercussions. Leading the procession were 12 Frenchmen representing the ambassador, Jean de sieur de Polizi, bailly of Troyes, who processed with Carlo Capello, the Venetian ambassador. Also marching in her procession were two squires representing the duchies of Normandy and Guyenne (Aquitaine), heretofore present only at a king's or shared coronation; perhaps their presence reemphasized England's imperial claims as expressed in the recently passed Act in Restraint of Appeals statute.⁹⁹

At 12 sites along the way, Hall gave detailed information about the pageants and entertainment.¹⁰⁰ Only a few will be addressed, and it should be noted that their magnificence did not meet the standards of the London entry for Katherine in 1501, which will be described here in Chap. 6, when she arrived to marry Arthur. In 1533, children at Fenchurch, dressed as merchants, recited verses to Anne in French and in English. At the Steelyard, the Hanseatic League presented a pageant

with Mount Pernassus and with the Helicon fountain, from which four streams of wine met together in a little cup above it. This and several other sites had running wine in their pageants. The Leaden Hall pageant featured red and white roses and a falcon on which an angel placed a closed imperial crown of gold. This same pageant also featured St. Anne, the patroness of women in labor, and her issue. One of three children gave an oration on the fertility of the saint, who, of course, gave birth to the Virgin Mary, and trusted that Queen Anne, who was pregnant, would bear fruit; presumably her unborn child was expected to be a “type of saviour.” As Richard Osburg has noted, while some of the pageants did have classical motifs, this pageant at Leaden Hall, the one at Paul’s Gate, and the one at Fleet Street appropriated a medieval theme signified by Anne’s badge (the crowned falcon); St. Anne, the *veni amica coronoberis* (Come my love, thou shalt be crowned) pageant, and the Tower, the cardinal virtues, respectively. These produced the theme of the queen “as the ‘virga Jesse,’” providing a religious type for her.¹⁰¹ Finally, her procession reached Westminster Hall, where after receiving the void of spices and ipocras, which she shared with her ladies and lords, she left for Whitehall.

On June 1, Whitsunday, Anne arrived at Westminster Hall clad in purple velvet with a circlet on her head. Only those events that differed from the previous Tudor queens’ coronations are addressed here. At the beginning of the procession, after the knights and esquires, marched the London aldermen. Of London citizens, usually only the lord mayor, who had preceded the officers of arms, participated in this event. Immediately before the queen went two noblemen carrying an ivory rod with the dove and a scepter, as in Katherine’s procession specified as gold. Instead of the high steward, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk (the king’s brother-in-law), carrying the queen’s crown, John de Vere, fifteenth Earl of Oxford and the great chamberlain, gained that honor.

Inside the abbey, the ritual proceeded as usual until the crowning, when Cranmer placed the crown of St. Edward on Anne’s head. Traditionally archbishops crowned only kings with St. Edward’s crown. After the choir sang *Te Deum*, Cranmer removed the crown, which weighed about five pounds, from Anne’s head and replaced it with another crown.¹⁰² Normally when the *Agnus Dei* began, the queen prostrated herself before the high altar for a second time. Hall noted only that she knelt before the altar to receive the holy sacrament. After mass ended, she went to St. Edward’s shrine, perhaps by way of the high altar

as usual, and gave an offering there. She next retired “to a little place... on the one side of the choir.” She did not exchange her clothes there, as did Katherine of Aragon, or her crown, as did both her predecessors.

In the hall, Anne, like Elizabeth, sat at the middle table with the archbishop to her right. Anne de Vere, dowager countess of Oxford, was one of two ladies who held a cloth before her as she ate. Unlike at Elizabeth’s dinner, between the archbishop and the countess stood the earl of Oxford, with a white staff. The servers delivered three courses, one course more than at Elizabeth’s feast. Before the third course, the Garter king of arms cried “Largess” for the queen. On the right side of the hall, out of the cloister of St. Stephen, was a little closet in which the king with two ambassadors, rather than relatives, stood to watch the feasting.¹⁰³ Only the high steward and the marshal rode about the hall. The crowds acted in a more orderly fashion than they had at Elizabeth’s feast because Hall described them as “cheering” the participants. After the third course, those dining had wafers and ipocras and washed, after which they rose and stood in their places. When the queen had consumed her wafers and ipocras, she washed and then walked into the middle of the hall, where a nobleman brought a void of spice. The lord mayor of London provided her with a refreshment in a cup of gold, from which she drank and then returned the cup to him as a gift to thank him for his and his brethren’s troubles. Then she departed to her chamber.

Most of the changes at Anne’s feast were probably meant to heighten the seriousness of the ceremony and to legitimize the hereditary position of her and her unborn child.¹⁰⁴ This process had begun in earnest with the pageants in the procession from the Tower to Westminster Hall, in which she was saluted as the “virga Jesse.” For the triumphant queen, who had been consort-in-waiting for almost 6 years, the unprecedented command for all to rise and stand in their place as she ate and washed represented their personal acceptance of her as their king’s consort.

The ceremonies had the overall effect, in association with convocation and parliamentary actions, of validating Henry VIII’s supremacy over the English church and his kingdom as an empire, as expressed in the Act in Restraint of Appeals. They also embodied a salute to his European allies and the London citizens. Nowhere was the king’s religious dominance more expressly stated than by the deliberate decision to have the archbishop place on her head St. Edward’s crown, the second most sacred ornament of the regalia after his chalice at Westminster Abbey. This event honored Anne, of course, by utilizing a king’s crown,

but it also demonstrated Henry's power over the English church when he instructed the abbot to alter the usage of the traditional regalia, going back to the twelfth century, which the monks had otherwise jealously controlled. Henry's imperial stance was also reiterated by the unprecedented appearance at a queen's coronation of squires representing the duchies of Normandy and Aquitaine, territories once controlled by the king's predecessors. The participation of the French and Venetian ambassadors in the London procession and at the feast identified them as his allies and showed their support for his queen. Like Elizabeth and Katherine, Anne possessed European allies. He also honored the London citizens, who, with his officials' help, presented a magnificent display of pageantry during her procession through their city. They had, in fact, only about a fortnight to design and produce these events. Consequently, the aldermen, for the first time, as well as the mayor, marched in the procession to the abbey and enjoyed the feast. Finally, to honor London's citizens, Anne returned the cup of gold to the mayor as a gift to the city after she had drunk from it at the end of the feast.¹⁰⁵

The next day, Henry invited the major and aldermen to watch the jousts at the tilt before the king's gate. Hall claimed that very few spears were broken because the horses would not go near the tilt. This seems to be the only extant discussion of the activities following the coronation, which apparently were not as impressive as those held after the shared coronation in 1509, except that the chronicler also pointed out that the king met with the mayor and his "brethren" at Westminster on Wednesday to thank them again for their contributions.¹⁰⁶

On June 9, just days after Anne's coronation, Sir Edward Baynton, her vice chamberlain, wrote to her brother, George, Lord Rochford, who was away in France, about the reaction of the queen's ladies to that event. This letter has been cited as evidence for associating Anne and her attendants with courtly love. Baynton actually wrote, "As for pastime in the Queen's chamber was never more. If any of you that be now departed have any ladies that they thought favored you, and somewhat would mourn at parting of their servants, I can no whit perceive the same by their dancing and pastime they do use here." This letter indicates the rejoicing of the queen's ladies, who did not mourn because they had been left behind. Lord Rochford was, of course, a married man, and the queen was then 6 months pregnant. While admitting they were dancing, the vice chamberlain did not claim that the queen was a participant or that the ladies' partners were men; women often danced

with other women at celebrations, as they did after Elizabeth's coronation. Another, more sensible interpretation of Baynton's letter is that he meant to assure Rochford that his sister's coronation had been such a great success that her ladies were still celebrating a week later.¹⁰⁷

Finally, to summarize, these three coronations differed somewhat, even the individual ones of Elizabeth and Anne. Elizabeth's followed basically the traditional ritual, but the river entry to London offered a new public recognition of queenship. The tournaments that usually accompanied coronations were postponed, if not called off. The main theme of her coronation seems to have been the celebration of the end of the civil wars, as Henry had recently won the Battle of Stoke. In contrast, Anne's coronation in almost every way appeared far more elaborate than Elizabeth's. It validated her unborn child as the legitimate royal successor, reveled in the kingdom's imperial stance and Henry's victory over the English church, recognized their foreign allies, and rewarded the citizens who produced the pageants.

Katherine's coronation no doubt pleased her, but it was a shared coronation. From the less valuable London gift to the clothing to the ritual itself, hers was less impressive than those for the consorts only. The anointing for queens in shared rituals omitted the use of the chrism, and before she returned to the stage on which the king sat, she did obeisance to him. That her coronation took place immediately after his also reminded witnesses that the king's ritual was more impressive and lengthier than the queen's. Besides the four swords and the pair of spurs featured in his ceremony, Henry also wore some of the clothing said to have belonged to St. Edward as well as his crown. Even the date of the coronation, the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, seems to have focused on Henry, symbolizing him in a way as the coming of Christ.¹⁰⁸

Because of political circumstances, the arrangements by which the first two Tudor kings chose their wives deviated from those usually followed by late medieval and early modern European rulers. Normally they wed foreign-born ladies, but both Henry VII and his son found that repercussions from the English civil war and from international religious disputes meant that only two of their seven queens were members of foreign dynasties. Furthermore, partly for those same reasons, the ritual of the three queens who enjoyed coronations differed. Elizabeth's somewhat unruly coronation had occurred at a time of political dissension caused by the struggle for the crown, while Anne's took place

amid national and international controversies over Henry's attack on the church and on papal authority. Finally, Katherine's shared coronation with her husband, despite her heritage as a king's daughter, emphasized her dependent royal status more than those of her predecessors.

NOTES

1. Michael Jones and Malcolm Underwood, *The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 63.
2. W. Mark Ormrod, *Edward III* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), p. 122.
3. Joanna Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship 1445–1503* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 57, speculated that he meant "to strengthen the loyalty of the Lancastrians" but does not believe it was a "major motivating factor." See also A.J. Pollard, "Elizabeth Woodville and her Historians," *Traditions and Transformations in Late Medieval England*, ed. Douglas Biggs, Sharon Michalove, and A. Compton Reeves (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 145–158. For a defense of the marriage, see Anne Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, "A Most Benevolent Queen: Queen Elizabeth Woodville's Reputation, Her Piety and Her Books," *The Ricardian, The Journal of the Richard III Society*, X(1995), 214–145.
4. Lucia Diaz Pascual, "Jaquetta of Luxembourg, Duchess of Bedford and Lady Rivers (c.1416–1472)," *The Ricardian: The Journal of the Richard III Society*, XXI(2011), 67–91.
5. Michael Jones, "Edward IV and the Beaufort Family: Conciliation in Early Yorkist Politics," *The Ricardian: Journal of the Richard III Society*, VI(1983), 258–265.
6. Pascual, "Jaquetta," p. 81; David Baldwin, *Elizabeth Woodville: Mother of the Princes in the Tower* (Thrupp: Sutton Publishing, 2002), p. 1.
7. Fiona Downie, "Queenship in Late Medieval Scotland," *Scottish Kingship, 1306–1542: Essays in Honour of Norman MacDougall*, ed. Michael Brown and Roland Tanner (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2008), p. 233.
8. Arlene Okerlund, *Elizabeth Wydeville: The Slandered Queen* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005), pp. 31–32, 38, noted Burgundy's importance but blamed Edward's decision on his need to control events, on his admiration for Elizabeth, and perhaps the warmth of her large number of siblings.
9. Pascual, "Jaquetta," p. 70; E. Carlton Williams, *My Lord of Bedford: Being a Life of John of Lancaster, Duke of Bedford, Brother of Henry V and Regent of France* (London: Longman, 1963), pp. 223–224.

- Jaquetta's uncle, Louis of Luxembourg, Bishop of Théroutanne, arranged for them to meet and married them.
10. J.R. Lander, *Crown and Nobility, 1450–1509* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1970), pp. 112–113, 243 argued that Edward had a “precarious position,” and “was ready to rely on almost anyone who was prepared to serve him.” He was not “blindly enamored” and was seeking an “Anglo-Burgundian alliance.” Nicholas Pronay and John Cox, eds., *Crowland Chronicle Continuation, 1459–1486* (London: Sutton for the Richard III and Yorkist History Trust, 1986), p. 191, agree with him about the diplomatic issues. See also, Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, “Elizabeth Woodville's Reputation,” pp. 214–245.
 11. Laynesmith, *Medieval Queens*, pp. 45, 58.
 12. Sir Anthony Weldon, *A Catt May Look at a King; A brief Chronicle and Character of the Kings pf England from William the Conqueror to the reign of Charles I* (Liverpool: J. Davies, 1816), p. 19.
 13. John Mayor, ed., *The English Works of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester*, Early English Text Society, vol. 27 (London: Early English Text Society, 1876), p. 306; Jones and Underwood, *King's Mother*, pp. 63, 69, 86, 161. The Latin word, *Regina*, can also mean princess, a title even given to some noblewomen, such as Anne Seymour, duchess of Somerset. See Retha M. Warnicke, *Wicked Women of Tudor England: Queens, Aristocrats, and Commoners* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 99. Moreover, in Anon., *O Jhesu Endles Swetnes of Louying Soules* (Westminster: William Caxton, 1491) STC, 20195, which Caxon printed at their “commandments,” he referred to them as “Elizabeth... Queen of England” and “most noble princess Margaret Mother unto our...King.” (Image 22, at the end of the book). Finally, Lady Richmond began her will “We Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby” but also said several times “we the said Princess.” John Nichols, ed., *A Collection of the Wills Now Known to be Extant of the Kings and Queens of England, Princes and Princesses of Wales and Every Branch of the Royal Family from the Reign of William the Conqueror to that of Henry VII Exclusive* (London: J. Nichols, 1780), pp. 356, 370.
 14. For a list of her as countess of Richmond following some duchesses, see Francis Grose and Thomas Astle, eds. *The Antiquarian Repertory*, 4 vols. new edition (London: Edward Jeffery, 1807), I, 55.
 15. C.A.J. Armstrong, “The Inauguration Ceremonies of the Yorkist Kings and their Title to the Throne,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fourth series, 30(1948), 52; Joanna Laynesmith, “The King's Mother,” *History Today*, 56–63(2006), 38–44, argued that Cecily provided a model for Margaret's behavior. For more discussion about her status at court, see Chap. 6.

16. Janet Backhouse, "Illuminated Manuscripts Associated with Henry VII and Members of his Immediate Family," *The Reign of Henry VII, Proceedings of the 1993 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Benjamin Thompson (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1995), p. 181.
17. Sean Cunningham, *Henry VII* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 48–49; Jones and Underwood, *King's Mother*, p. 69; John Gough Nichols, ed., *London Pageants* (London: J.G. Nichols and son, 1831), p. 24. Nichols added that Elizabeth's had all the customary pomp.
18. *Crowland Chronicle*, p. 175.
19. Sydney Anglo, "The Foundation of the Tudor Dynasty: The Coronation and Marriage of Henry VII," *Guildhall Miscellany*, 2(1960), 10. The papal legate, James, bishop of Imola, provided the dispensation that was confirmed by Innocent VIII in March.
20. *Crowland Chronicle*, p. 191.
21. Arlene Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 49–52. For André, see James Gairdner, ed., *Historia Regis Henrici Septimi* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858), pp. 38–52.
22. William Wilkie, *The Cardinal Protectors of England: Rome and the Tudors Before the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 13–14; Isabel Thornley, "The Destruction of Sanctuary, *Tudor Studies, presented by the Board of Studies in History in the University of London to Albert Frederick Pollard, Being the Work of Twelve of his Colleagues and Pupils*, ed. R.W. Seton Watson (Freepress: Bookes for Libraries Press Reprint, 1969), pp. 182–207.
23. T.N.A. E 404/79, fo. 98(also numbered 375); see also William Campbell, ed., *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII from Original Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office*, 2 vols. (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1965), I, 227–228.
24. Cunningham, *Henry*, p. 42.
25. *Crowland Chronicle*, p. 191.
26. Cunningham, *Henry*, pp. 52–53.
27. T.N.A. E 404/79, fo. 98 (also numbered 375); see Campbell, *Materials*, II, 84, for preparations in 1486.
28. Samuel Bentley, ed., *Excerpta Historia or Illustrations of English History* (London: Samuel Bentley, 1831), p. 86.
29. Denys Hays, trans., *The Anglia Historia of Polydore Vergil, A.D. 1485–1537*, Royal Historical Society, vol. 74 (London: Office of the Royal Historical Society, 1950), p. 7.
30. Francis Bacon, *The Historie of the Reigne of King Henrie the Seaventh* (London: W. Stanley, 1622), p. 8.
31. William Camden, *Annales: The Historie of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth, Late Queen of England.*, trans. Robert

- Norton, second edition, (London: Thomas Harper for Benjamin Fisher, 1635), sig. D1-3. See also, Retha M. Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn: Family Politics at the Court of Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
32. Edward Herbert of Cherbury. *The Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth* (London: E.G. for Thomas Whitaker, 1649), pp. 52, 122, 257–259.
 33. Muriel St. Clare Byrne, ed., *The Lisle Letters*, 6 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), III, no. 583a, p. 133; IV, no. 863.
 34. For a historiographical view of Anne's life, see Warnicke, *Wicked Women*, pp. 15–26.
 35. Journal, 5 de May, MS de Brienne, quoted by John Lingard, *The History of England*, 10 vols. (Dublin: Duffy, 1878), IV, 237.
 36. BL Add. MS. 6,113, f. 70; for the date, see Edward Hall, *Henry VIII*, ed. Charles Whibley, 2 vols. (London: T.C. & E.C. Jack, 1904), II, 222; for prohibitions, see J. Charles Cox, *The Parish Registers of England* (Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield Reprint, 1974), pp. 81–82.
 37. Another interpretation is that it forbade a man from seducing or raping his brother's wife, not his widow.
 38. N.B. Harte, "State Control of Dress and Social Change in Pre-Industrial England," *Trade, Government and Economy in Pre-Industrial England: Essays Presented to F.J. Fisher*, ed. D.C. Coleman and A.H. John (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976), pp. 142–143.
 39. An examination of T.N.A. E 101 42 1/13, f. 3v. confirms the published list that no first names were given.
 40. Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England During the Reigns of the Tudors, from A.D. 1485 to 1559*, ed. William Hamilton, new series, vols. XI and XX (New York, Johnson Reprint Corp., 1965), XI, 43; Herbert, *Henry VIII*, p. 381, said she attended the queen.
 41. Scottish Record Office. *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers Relating to the Negotiations Between England and Spain Preserved in the Archives at Simancas and Elsewhere*, ed. G.A. Bergenroth, P. De Gayangos, G. Mattingly, M.A.S. Hume, and R. Taylor, 13 vols., 2 supplements, (London: Longman, 1862–1954), XI, 64 (hereafter *CSP Span*).
 42. For examples, Barrett Beer, "Jane [née Jane Seymour] (1508/9) queen of England, third consort of Henry VIII," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter ODNB), www.oxforddnb.com (accessed 5/27/2013). Antonia Weir, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1992), p. 235.
 43. Byrne, *Lisle Letters*, IV, no. 895. Lady Lisle included Katherine Basset in the negotiations because some of her contacts at court were concerned that Anne might be too young.

44. William Seymour, *Ordeal by Ambition: An English Family in the Shadow of the Tudors* (London: Sedgwick & Jackson, 1972), speculated that she “perhaps” joined Katherine’s household in 1529; Simon Adams, “Radcliffe, Mary (c.1550–1617/18) courtier,” ODNB, www.dnboxforddictionary.com (accessed May 27, 2013). See also, Scottish Record Office, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. J.S. Brewer, J. Gairdner, and R.H. Brodie, 21 vols. in 35 and *Addenda* (London: HMSO, 1862–1932), V, 340, 696 (Hereafter *LP*)
45. *CSP Span*, V-ii, 13, 21, 43.
46. Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England*, 3 vols. (London: J.G.W. L. and W.G., 1662), III, 146.
47. Luke McMahon, “Ughtred, Sir Anthony (d. 1534), soldier,” ODNB, [www.dnboxfordictionary.com](http://www.dnboxforddictionary.com) (accessed 6/13/2013); J.D. Alsop, “Smith, Sir Clement (d. 1552), administrator,” ODNB, www.dnboxfordictionary.com (accessed 6/13/2013).
48. Henry Clifford, *The Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria*, trans. Canon E.E. Estcourt, ed Joseph Stephenson (London Burns & Oates, 1887), pp. 40–42; *LP*, V, 1548.
49. *LP*, X, 901.
50. *LP*, X, 915, 1147; *LP Addenda*, 1262.
51. Warnicke, *Wicked Women*, pp. 45–76.
52. *LP*, I, 94 (42), XV, 613(12), 686. See also *LP*, VII, 419 for a similar gift to Anne Boleyn in 1534.
53. *LP*, XVIII–I, 740.
54. T.N.A. SP 1/177, fs. 123–25v; David Starkey, *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII* (New York: HarperCollins, 2003), pp. 814–815, note 51; Susan James, *Katheryn Parr: The Making of a Queen* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), p. 90.
55. James, *Katheryn*, p. 404.
56. Keith Dockray, “Neville, John, third Lord Latimer [1493–1543], nobleman,” ODNB www.dnboxfordictionary.com (accessed May 24, 2013 1); James, *Katheryn*, p. 140, claimed that a poem about Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, written in Elizabeth’s reign, accurately stated that Katherine personally interceded with the king for Nicholas’s father, Sir George, who challenged the Reformation statutes in 1536 and was in trouble with the crown again in 1537. Since her husband, Lord Latimer, came under royal suspicion in 1536 for the role he played in the Pilgrimage of Grace, it is not likely that she left for London to intercede with the king for Sir George when her own husband was in trouble. The poem has many errors. See Stanford Lehmborg, Throckmorton, Sir Nicholas (1515/16–1571), diplomat and member of parliament,” ODNB, www.dnboxfordictionary.com (accessed August 23, 2016).

57. *LP*, XVIII-i, 854, 873.
58. Lucy Wooding, *Henry VIII* (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 49, 50.
59. *CSP Span*, II, 17.
60. Mayer, *Works of Fisher*, p. 306; *CSP Span*, II, 18, states that each crown was worth 4s. 2d.
61. Wooding, *Henry VIII*, p. 49.
62. *LP*, I, 6.
63. Hall, *Henry VIII*, I, 4.
64. *Ibid.*, I, 5.
65. Retha M. Warnicke, *The Marrying of Anne of Cleves: Royal Protocol at the Tudor England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
66. Society of Antiquaries, "Articles Ordained by King Henry VII for the Regulation of his Household," *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, Made in Divers Reigns from King Edward III to King William and Queen Mary: Also Receipts for Ancient Cookery* (London: Published for the Society of Antiquaries by John Nichols, 1790), p. 121. Kay Staniland, "Royal Entry into the World," *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Society*, ed. Daniel Williams (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), p. 299, related that the "Articles" have been incorrectly misdated as 1494 and that Margaret Tudor, countess of Richmond, did not write them. For more information about them, see Chap. 6.
67. Percy Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation*, tr. L.G. Wickham Legg (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), p. 2.
68. For rituals, see Jennifer Loach, "The Function of Ceremonial in the Reign of Henry VIII," *Past and Present*, 142(1994), 43–68.
69. Ian Archer, "City and Court Connections: the Material Dimensions of Royal Ceremonial, ca. 1480–1625," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71(2008), 157–179.
70. John Carmi Parsons, "'Never Was a Body Buried in England with Such Solemnity and Honour,' The Burials and Posthumous Commemorations of English Queens to 1500," *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference Held at King's College London, April, 1995*, ed. Anne Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), p. 325; Joanna Laynesmith, "Fertility Rite or Authority Ritual? The Queen's Coronation in England, 1445–1487," *Social Attitudes and Political Structures in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Tim Thornton, (Thrupp: Sutton, 2000), p. 53.
71. T.C. Banks, *An Historical Account of the Ancient and Modern Forms, Pageantry, and Ceremony of the Coronations of Kings of England* (London: for the Author, 1820), p. 48.
72. "Articles," pp. 123–124.

73. Roy Strong, *Coronations: A History of Kingship and the British Monarchy* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005), pp. 49, 94.
74. Tessa Rose, *The Coronation Ceremony of the Kings and Queens of England and the Crown Jewels* (London: HMSO, 1992), pp. 13–14.
75. Claude Blair, *The Crown Jewels: The History of the Coronation Regalia in the Jewel House of the Tower of London*, 2 vols. (London: HMSO, 1998), I, 154.
76. A.H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley, eds., *Great Chronicle of London* (London: George Jones, 1938), p. 438.
77. This description is largely taken from John Leland, *Joannis Lelandi antiquarii de rebus Britannicis collectanea*, ed. Thomas Hearne, 6 vols. (London: William and John Richardson, 1770), IV, 216–223; see also John Ives, ed., *Select Papers Chiefly Relating to English Antiquities, Published from the Originals in the Possession of John Ives* (London: M. Hingeston, 1773), pp. 120–152.
78. R. Malcolm Smuts, “Public Ceremony and Royal Charisma: The English Royal Entry in London, 1485–1642,” *The First Modern Society: Essays on English History in Honour of Lawrence Stone*, ed. A.L. Beir, David Cannadine, and James Rosenheim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 71.
79. “Articles,” pp. 123–124, has directions for the procession that differs from that which occurred.
80. L.G. Wickham Legg, ed. *English Coronation Records* (London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1901), pp. 100–112; for a discussion of the texts, see also Laynesmith, *Medieval Queens*, p. 98.
81. Blair, *Crown Jewels*, I, 299.
82. Rose, *Coronation Ceremony*, pp. 39–41, based on inventories and other documents, states the scepter was of silver gilt; see also Blair, *Crown Jewels*, I, 303–304; Leland, *Joannis Lelandi antiquarii*, IV, 223, neither identifies the metal nor states that the scepter also had a dove.
83. Leland, *Joannis Lelandi antiquarii*, IV, 224, does not specify the exchanging of either crowns or clothing, but Henry’s was based on Richard III’s and included a shared coronation with the queen; Elizabeth’s crowning, of course, took place later. Called “Little Device of the Coronation of Henry VII,” which was actually drawn up for Richard III. It can be found in Legg, *English Coronation Records*, pp. 219–239. It includes not only the exchange of crowns but also that of clothing. The “Little Device” is also printed in William Jerdan, ed., “Device for the Coronation of King Henry VII,” *Rutland Papers* (London: Camden Society, 1842), XXI, 1–24.
84. Blair, *Crown Jewels*, I, 295.
85. Leland, *Joannis Lelandi antiquarii*, IV, 224, does not specify chrism but the *Liber Regalis* instructed that at joint coronations the archbishop

- only anointed the king with the chrism but in a queen's sole coronation, the chrism was to be used.
86. Leland, *Joannis Lelandi antiquarii*, IV, 224; "Articles," pp. 123–124, also indicated that she was to be anointed on the back.
 87. Leland, *Joannis Lelandi antiquarii*, IV, 228–229; earlier tournaments for Henry's own coronation were postponed. See Anglo, "Tudor Dynasty," p. 10. For the imprest, see W.R. Streitberger, *Court Revels, 1485–1559* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), p. 239.
 88. Reginald Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom: A Study Derived Mainly from the Archives at Guildhall*, 3 vols. (London: Longmans, Green & co., 1894), I, 344.
 89. *Ibid.*, p. 389.
 90. BL. Cotton Tiberius E viii, fn. 90. See also *LP*, I, 81–82. For Henry VIII's coronation, see Alice Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation: Medieval Ceremony in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 12–39.
 91. Hall, *Henry VIII*, I, 4–7.
 92. Blair, *Crown Jewels*, I, 304–306.
 93. *Ibid.*, I, 149–150 l. Loach, "Function of Ceremonial," 43–68.
 94. Hall, *Henry VIII*, I, 8–10.
 95. *Ibid.*, I, 10–13.
 96. *Ibid.*, I, 13.
 97. Peter Herman, "Edward Hall (1497–1547), lawyer and chronicler," ODNB. www.dnboxforddictionary.com (accessed June 3, 2016),
 98. *LP*, VI, 584; Hall, *Henry VIII*, II, 229–32.
 99. Hall, *Henry VIII*, II, 232–236, for the procession to the hall. See also Gordon Kipling, "'He That Saw It Would Not Believe It:' Anne Boleyn's Royal Entry into London," *Civic Ritual and Drama*, ed. Alexandra Johnston and Wim Hüsken (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1997), pp. 39–79.
 100. For the speeches, see "Leland's and Udall's Verses Before the Coronation of Queen Anne Boleyn," *Ballads from Manuscripts* ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, 2 vols. (London: Ballad Society, 1868–1873), I, 364–412.
 101. Hunt, *Drama*, p. 59; Richard Osburg, "Humanist Allusions and Medieval Themes: The 'Receyving of Queen Anne, London, 1533,'" *Medievalism in the Modern World: Essays in Honor of Leslie J. Workman*, ed. Richard Utz and Tom Shippey (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 27–41.
 102. Blair, *Crown Jewels*, II, 283, 306.
 103. *Ibid.*, II, 241. The banquet is on pp. 239–242.
 104. For the role of ceremony, see Hunt, *Drama of Coronation*, pp. 39–52.

105. For another example of using a queen's coronation for international purposes, see Laura Gathagan, "The Trappings of Power: The Coronation of Mathilda of Flanders," *Haskins Society Journal*, 13(2000 for 1999), 21–39.
106. Hall, *Henry VIII*, II, 243. For correction of Hall's statement that the horses were not able to cope, see Janette Dillon, *Performance and Spectacle in Hall's Chronicle* (London: The Society for Theatre Research, 2002), p. 260.
107. *LP*, VII, 613; Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn: 'The Most Happy'* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), pp. 183, 349. He also seemed to think that the celebration was inappropriate because the king's sister, the French Queen, died on June 24. The letter was written, however, on June 9, more than two weeks earlier. See Warnicke, *Wicked Women*, p. 66, for Anne of Cleves' court visit.
108. The vision of the king as a Christ-figure was still an on-going idea across Europe in the sixteenth century. See David Potter, *A History of France, 1460–1560* (London: Macmillan, 1995), p. 31.

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