

Bangor University

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

The life and political significance of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, 1525-1536.

Murphy, Beverley Anne

Award date:
1999

Awarding institution:
Bangor University

[Link to publication](#)

General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal ?

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

Download date: 20. Sept. 2024

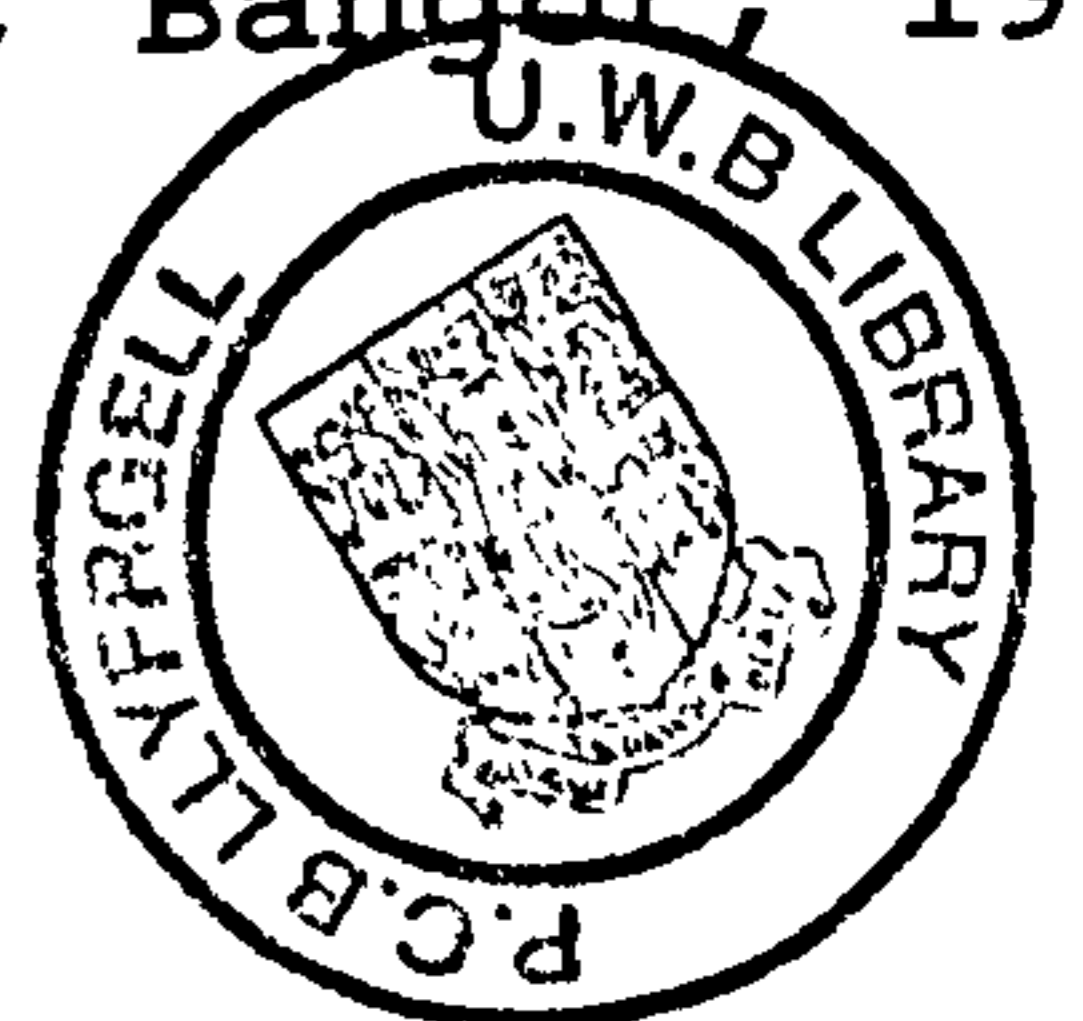
The Life and Political
Significance of Henry Fitzroy,
Duke of Richmond, 1525-1536.

Beverley Anne Murphy

I'W DDEFNYDDIO YN Y
LLYFRCELL YN UNIG
———
TO BE CONSULTED IN THE
LIBRARY ONLY

Thesis submitted to the University of Wales in
Candidature for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History and Welsh History, Bangor, 1997



Dedication

In memory of Andy Downham, whose own legacy is beyond measure.

Summary

This thesis aims to examine Richmond's life in the context of his role as a magnate, a courtier, and the king's only son. As a much neglected subject this includes a good deal of biographical material, in order to present the duke within the context in which he lived. This also allows a re-assessment of his part in the succession crisis, with particular reference to the significance of his elevation in 1525, and the speculation regarding the king's intentions, as represented in the Succession Act of 1536. An examination of his responsibilities, not least as Lord Lieutenant in the north, of Ireland and as Lord Admiral, queries how far his extreme youth and his illegitimacy inhibited or facilitated the role Henry VIII wished him to fulfil. In tandem with this, a special study of the duke as a landlord looks at the relationship between the authority bestowed upon Richmond and the actual freedom of action allowed to the child. A view of his political importance, in matters such as marriage alliances and diplomacy, is considered alongside an appraisal of the personal standing of the duke, both in England and abroad. In order to provide a complete picture of Richmond's circumstances, there is also an account of the fortunes of his maternal relations, the Blounts of Kinlet, tracing their wealth and descent, and in particular those connections and alliances which assisted their daughter's acceptance at court. An analysis of Elizabeth Blount's relationship with Henry VIII leads into a consideration of how her royal liaison affected her life. In discussing the overall legacy left by Richmond's demise, the right and title of his widow, Mary Richmond, to her agreed jointure, and her subsequent fortunes, are weighed against the priorities of the king.

Contents

Acknowledgments	p.i.
Declarations	p.iii.
Abbreviations	p.iv.
Introduction	p.1.
Chapter One: The Blounts of Kinlet	p.9.
Chapter Two: Elizabeth and Henry VIII	p.46.
Chapter Three: Sheriff Hutton	p.80.
Chapter Four: The Young Courtier	p.137.
Chapter Five The Heir Apparent	p.168.
Chapter Six: Mary Richmond	p.195.
Chapter Seven: The Landed Magnate	p.243.
Conclusion	p.298.
Appendix I Armorial Bearings	p.304.
Appendix II Elizabeth Blount's Funeral Brass	p.310.
Appendix III Inventory of Richmond's goods, 1531	p.311.
Appendix IV The Duke of Richmond's Tomb	p.339.
Appendix VI The Blounts of Kinlet	p.343.
Appendix VII The Stanleys	p.344.
Appendix VIII The Peshalls	p.345.
Appendix IX The Suttons, Lords Dudley	p.346.
Appendix X The Connections of Elizabeth Blount	p.347.
Appendix XI The Counts of Guisnes	p.348.
Appendix XII The Connections of the Duchess	p.349.
Appendix XIII The Principal Movements of the Duke	p.350.
Appendix XIV Richmond's Lands in 1525	p.355.
Appendix XV The Jointure Lands of the Duchess	p.360.
Bibliography	p.361.

Acknowledgments

My principal debt is to my supervisor, Professor David Loades, who has been my constant guide through the complexities of personalities and politics that is Tudor history. He not only trusted that Henry Fitzroy would prove a worthwhile subject for research, but his door was always open whenever support or assistance was required. I must also acknowledge the aid of the British Academy, who funded my research through a major award, and the Department of History at Bangor who supplemented my travel expenses. In the course of writing the thesis I have benefited greatly from the work of a number of eminent Tudor historians, a debt which I have endeavoured to acknowledge in the footnotes. Of those who gave unstintingly of their time and expertise, I would particularly like to thank Professor Colin Richmond, who generously agreed to read the draft, for his kind comments, Dr Nigel Tringham, editor of the VCH, Staffordshire and Mr George Burgh of the VCH Shropshire, who allowed me access to their unpublished material, David Baldwin, sergeant at arms of the Chapel Royal, St James' Palace, for his willingness to discuss his work on the royal apartments, and Glen Richardson, for sharing his investigations into the Dauphin's household. I am also indebted to Pearl Andrews, assistant archivist of the office of the Duchy of Cornwall, Dr Eileen Scarff, archivist, and Mrs Enid Davies, assistant archivist, of St George's Chapel at Windsor, Dr Matthew Lockyer, of Ixworth Surgery, Dr Emma Hebblethwaite, assistant curate of Framlingham Church, Dr E.S. Leedham-Green, deputy keeper of the University Archives, Cambridge, Mr Malcolm Underwood, archivist of St John's College, Cambridge, and Mr H. E. Paston-Bedingfeld, York Herald of The College of Arms, who not only most courteously responded to my enquiries, but went to considerable trouble to provide me with additional information. Thanks are also due to the Right Honourable the Earl of Bathurst, Dr M.C. Carpenter, Ms Valerie Lacey, and Prof M.J. Wilks, for their kind assistance. To the staff of all the libraries and records offices who have aided me, I am profoundly grateful. I should especially like to mention those at the University of Wales, Bangor, the Public Record Offices at Chancery Lane and Kew, the British Library, the Bodleian, the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and the county records offices of Shrewsbury,

Staffordshire, Hereford and Worcester and Lincoln for being so kind and helpful. My work was facilitated by access to the libraries of the Society of Antiquaries, the Institute of Historical Research and the University of London. I am grateful to the staff of the Department of History at Bangor, for their continuing support and to my fellow postgraduates for their company, conversation, and contributions. Not least Dr Hazel Pierce, who has been my constant companion in many dusty archives, yet still found time to draw Mary Richmond's arms and Simon Harris whose skill with early Latin documents is valued as much as his sense of humour. I also owe a great debt to my friends and family. Especially Christine James who cheerfully braved the antics of "boring dead people" once again to proof-read the draft, and my father who allowed me to dramatically shorten the life of his printer and photocopier, and patiently reproduced the genealogical tables. Also my sincere thanks to Bob Lewis for his on-site technical support, to Rachel Cave, Joan Murphy, Shirley Jones, and Kristiina Laine, both for their love and care, and for always managing to look interested whenever Henry Fitzroy was mentioned. Finally many thanks to Steve James who displayed endless patience and humour in answering my computer related queries, and eventually learnt to say "that's nice Bev" in most of the right places.

Abbreviations

APC	<i>Acts of the Privy Council</i> , Dasent, J.R., ed., (London, 1890-1918)
BIHR	Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research
BL	British Library
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
CCR	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls 1399-1509</i> (18 Volumes, London, 1927-63)
CFR	<i>Calendar of Fine Rolls 1399-1509</i> (11 Volumes, London, 1931-62)
CIPM Henry VII	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Henry VII</i> , (3 Volumes, London, 1898-1955)
CPR	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls 1399-1509</i> (17 Volumes, London, 1903-16)
Collectanea	Leland, J., <i>De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea</i> (6 Volumes, London, 1784)
CSP Scotland	<i>Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Scotland</i> Bain, J., et al., eds., (12 Volumes, Edinburgh 1898-1969).
CSP Spanish	<i>Calendar of Letters, Despatches and State Papers Relating to the Negotiations Between England And Spain</i> , Bergenroth, G. A. et al., eds., (13 Volumes, Supplements, London, 1862-1954)
CSP Venetian	<i>Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy</i> , Brown, Rawdon, et al., eds., (38 Volumes, London, 1864-1954)
DRO	Derbyshire Record Office
EHR	English Historical Review
EETS	Early English Text Society
HMC	Historical Manuscript Commission
HWRO	Hereford and Worcester Record Office
Inventories	<i>Inventories of the Wardrobe Plate Chapel Stuff etc of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond ... Edited with a Memoir and Letters of the Duke of Richmond</i> , Nichols, John Gough, ed., Camden Misc, (iii), [61], (Camden Society, 1855)

IHR	Institute of Historical Research, London
LJRO	Lichfield Joint Record Office
LP	<i>Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII</i> , Brewer, J. S., et al., eds., (London, 1862-1932)
Materials	<i>Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII</i> , Campbell, William, ed., (2 Volumes, London, 1873-77)
MHS	<i>Collections for a History of Staffordshire</i> , William Salt Archaeological Society, (Kendal, 1880-..)
NRO	Norwich Record Office
PRO	Public Record Office
SP Henry VIII	<i>State Papers of King Henry VIII</i> , (11 Volumes, London, 1830-52)
SP Edward VI	<i>Calendar of State Papers Domestic of the Reign of Edward VI</i> , Knighton, C. S., ed., (London, 1992)
SRO	Shropshire Record Office
StRO	Staffordshire Record Office
Valor	<i>Valor Ecclesiasticus</i> , Caley, J., and Hunter, J., eds., (6 Volumes, London, 1810-34)
VCH	The Victoria History of the Counties of England
WHR	Welsh History Review

General Conventions

In all quotations the punctuation, capitalization, and spelling, have been modernized. Latin, French, and similar sources, appear in translation. The year is taken to begin on 1 January.

Introduction

The marital misfortunes of Henry VIII are one of the most notorious episodes in English history. Even those with little or no interest in Tudor times can name the king with six wives. His pursuit of a legitimate son and heir was not the sole factor in engendering those events which shook England, and became the scandal of Europe, in the sixteenth century. However, Henry's desire to father a male child, and secure the future of his dynasty, cannot be understated. However, it was to be twenty eight years before his third Queen, Jane Seymour, presented the King of England with his prince. The events of those years, with Catherine of Aragon as the wronged wife and Anne Boleyn as the other woman, would not seem out of place in a modern soap opera. As such, the popular perception of events is often at odds with historical fact. Henry VIII is berated for his repudiation of Catherine on a whim, without any appreciation that the couple lived as man and wife for almost twenty years. Anne Boleyn's reputation as a whore is not dimmed by the centuries, despite the fact that she was apparently Henry's obsession for five years before she actually slept with him. Any mention of the fact that for seventeen of those twenty eight years Henry VIII was in possession of a living, healthy, albeit inconveniently illegitimate, son, invariably evokes one of two responses. Either there is the assumption that all monarchs had hordes of illicit offspring, rendering them insignificant in the broader fabric of political affairs, or, more commonly, a profoundly skeptical enquiry as to the identity of the child.

This is not entirely unreasonable. Richmond has fared little better in attracting the notice of historians. The main printed source for the young duke's life remains John Gough Nichols' *Inventories* published in 1855¹. This groundbreaking collection of letters and documents still includes material beyond the scope of the general calendars of the reign, but as a biography it has its limitations. Since it was primarily designed to familiarize the reader with the subject of the

¹ *Inventories of the Wardrobe Plate Chapel Stuff etc of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond ... Edited with a Memoir and Letters of the Duke of Richmond*, Nichols, John Gough, ed., Camden Misc, (iii), [61], (Camden Society, 1855).

1536 Inventory, which forms the main focus of the book, there is no attempt to analyse the role or significance of the duke. Conversely the only other major study, produced by Michael Lechnar in 1977, includes a fair degree of analysis, but lacks any manuscript sources at all 2. In keeping with this piecemeal approach Richmond has on occasion benefited from the notoriety of other figures at the Tudor court, featuring most strongly in the biographies of his companion the Earl of Surrey 3. In addition, his role in Ireland has stirred some interest 4. But in general, a cursory glance through most standard Tudor text books would leave the impression that there were only two events of note in Richmond's life - his elevation to the peerage in 1525, followed shortly by his death in 1536 5.

The true picture is, of course, rather more complex. Much of the discussion which surrounds these two episodes centres on the importance attributed to Richmond at times when speculation over the succession to the English throne was at its most intense. After numerous disappointments, the birth of Mary in 1516 had not been completely unwelcome, although Elizabeth in 1533 was no doubt more of a blow. Being mere daughters, rather than providing a convenient solution, they simply raised a whole new crop of problems

There was no precedent for a queen regnant and, to the minds of many men, the prospect of a reigning queen seemed to threaten the country with civil war, or foreign domination at the hands of a foreign prince as consort 6.

2 Lechnar, Michael, *Henry VIII's Bastard: Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond* Partial fulfillment Ph.D., (West Virginia, 1977).

3 Bapst, Edmond, *Deux Gentilshommes Poètes de la Cour de Henri VIII* (Paris, 1891) and Casady, Edwin, *Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey* (New York, 1938).

4 Derrett, J., Duncan, "Henry Fitzroy and Henry VIII's "Scruple of Conscience"" *Renaissance News*, [16], (1963), Quinn, David, "Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond and his Connection with Ireland 1529-30" *BIHR.*, [12], (1935).

5 Guy, John, *Tudor England* (Oxford, 1990) p.116, p.142.

6 Parmiter., Geoffrey de, C., *The King's Great Matter* (London, 1967), p.1.

Such fears were perhaps all the greater because the one English experiment with female succession, Henry I's attempt to assert the rights of his daughter Matilda, had so little to recommend it ⁷. Whilst the law might allow such a situation, received wisdom and public opinion were set against it. When the Tudors had asserted their own claim to the Throne Margaret Beaufort had prudently relinquished her rights in favour of her son ⁸. In these circumstances it was perhaps inevitable that the ready-made heir male would attract the attention of onlookers.

There was certainly never any sign that this valuable male offspring was destined for that perennial favourite for bastards, and second sons alike, the Church. Richmond was too useful to his king to be wasted on a Bishopric. Indeed he could claim something of a unique importance in the history of royal bastards. Unlike Henry I, his father did not have twenty other illegitimate sons to provide for, and more importantly, neither was there a brood of legitimate offspring to overshadow him. Examples of Henry VIII's affection for the child abound, and Richmond himself was unanimously reported to be well deserving of the esteem with which he was regarded by his father. Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury concluded

I find he was very personable and of great expectation, insomuch that he was thought not only for ability of body but mind to be one of the rarest of his time, for which also he was much cherished by our King, as also because he had no issue male by his Queen, nor perchance expect any ⁹.

Yet Richmond was still undeniably merely the king's natural son. Unlike Mary or Elizabeth, there could be no doubt of this. Even for a king who was to establish the English Church by statute, this was a significant obstacle. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the teachings of the Church had increasingly intensified its attitude against issue born out of wedlock, resulting in widespread concern regarding the concept of illegitimacy and succession. This was reflected in a rise in the use of the stigma of bastardy as a political

⁷ Chibnall, M., *The Empress Matilda* (London, 1991).

⁸ Waldman, Milton, *The Lady Mary* (London, 1972) p.40.

⁹ Cherbury, Edward, Lord Herbert, *Life and Reign of King Henry the Eighth* (London, 1602), p.165.

smear 10. Indeed it could be argued that Henry VIII's stance on religion, actually made it more difficult for the supreme head of the English church, to recognize his illegitimate son as his heir.

The main purpose of this study is to re-assess the role that Henry VIII envisaged for his son. In taking a broadly chronological approach I have attempted to trace the ebb and flow of the king's political interest in the child as he grew to maturity. This encompasses not only his importance in the succession crisis, but his function in the general scheme of Tudor affairs. The young duke was employed by his father in a range of administrative tasks which allowed new departures in methods of government control. Both his tenure as lord lieutenant in the north, and his appointment as lord lieutenant of Ireland heralded experiments in administrative style. Richmond also undertook a range of diplomatic and political duties which underline his importance as a direct representative of the English crown. Whilst he was not in fact a royal prince of the blood, his unprecedented status as a duke of two counties went as far as possible to redress that limitation, without actually legitimising him. Yet at the same time his position as an independent noble set him apart from his sisters who, whatever arguments might rage about their status, continued to be supported from the king's own coffers as long as Henry lived.

The exact status accorded to the young duke is another significant aspect to be addressed. In many ways Richmond was very much a child. He clearly enjoyed sports and games far more than lessons, and was capable of being wilful, disobedient, and petulant. Yet as a peer he could also command a degree of authority which was denied to most adults. Whilst children lacked the skills and experience to function in the adult world they were generally of lesser account, but the deference due to status was no respecter of age. Even those with offspring of their own were regarded as children by their parents and expected to obey accordingly. However, the direct will of the king, even if he were a minor, could not be disobeyed. As Henry's natural son, Richmond's exact position

10 Given-Wilson, Chris and Curteis, Alice, *The Royal Bastards of Medieval England* (London, 1984), p.40.

was determined less by his birth and more by the benevolence of his father. His patent of creation gave him precedence over all the nobility in England, and this rank was augmented by a number of government posts. In theory this endowed the young duke with extensive patronage. In practice the line between independent magnate and dependent child was never clearly drawn. The exercise of his offices is dealt with in respect of the individual posts, but in the final chapter I have adopted a more general approach to chart his developing role as a landed magnate. This situation created a complex balance of power between the child and his father. A balance which was all the more fragile given that Richmond was a bastard, rather than a bona fide prince. The manner in which this was handled raises interesting questions as to how Henry VIII intended his son to be regarded.

In seeking to provide a comprehensive picture of the duke, I have presumed that the lineage of his father needs little exposition. The same cannot be said about his maternal family. Although Elizabeth Blount is no longer erroneously described as the sister of William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, the activities of the Blounts of Kinlet have attracted scant interest outside of their locality ¹¹. Despite the valiant efforts of Sir Alexander Croke in 1823, and William Childe-Pemberton in 1913, their ancestors have never occupied a very prominent place in Tudor history. Yet the Shropshire family were a significant force in county politics and enjoyed active links with their royal relative. The fortunes of the two women in Richmond's life, his mother Elizabeth and his wife, Mary Howard, are on the whole more difficult to trace. Despite their clear wealth and status, the surviving evidence is somewhat fragmentary. Hence Elizabeth's appearances in court masques and dances have cast her as a good time girl, whilst Mary's struggles over her jointure, taken in conjunction with her evidence at her brother's trial, have condemned her as a bitter woman. Neither description is entirely accurate. Although this does not preclude that Mary at least, did not exactly conform to the traditional image of a patient Tudor wife.

Given the duke's youth, some of the traditional areas of a biography are inevitably lost. There can be little examination

11 Chambers, R. W., *Thomas More* (London, 1935), p.224.

of his ability as a soldier for example, nor is it feasible to build up a picture of a personal affinity in the same way as would be expected with an adult. Yet there are some compensations. We know far more of Richmond's childhood than we might have done, had circumstances not required his despatch to Sheriff Hutton. His youth also allows for the reconstruction of his character, in a way which would not be possible for many of his fellow nobles. Reports of the nature and conduct of the growing child were frequent. Details of his education and training are carefully laid down. Richmond's own letters and actions positively exude personality. At the same time, because the duke's activities also encroached on the traditional preserves of the adult world, those areas where one would look for an established magnate, such as litigation, diplomacy and patronage, are not entirely lacking.

Much of the importance attached to Richmond, stems from the fact that whilst he lived he was the king's only son. His death in July 1536 meant that he did not live to see his fortunes eclipsed by the birth of the legitimate prince in 1537. Indeed when Richmond died, Jane Seymour had not yet conceived her child. There can be no doubt that the duke was the king's son. If his distinctive red hair and evident resemblance did not proclaim his paternity, then his character certainly did. It is true that similar traits have encouraged others to offer up other candidates as the natural children of Henry VIII. Sir John Perrot, the son of Mary Berkley, wife of the courtier Sir Thomas Perrot, is one such example. It was claimed

If we compare his picture, his qualities, his gesture, and voice with that of the king, whose memory yet remains among us, they will plead strongly that he was a surreptitious child of the blood royal 12.

In a similar manner the poet and musician Richard Edwards has also been cast as a natural son of the king. Apparently born in March 1524, the evidence for his paternity is rooted in an Oxford education, that his family could ill have afforded, whilst the explanation for his father's failure to acknowledge

12 Barnwell, Edward, *Perrot Notes, Some Account of the Various Branches of the Perrot Family* (London, 1867), p.40.

him is seen as a wish to protect the reputation of his mother, who was after all a married woman 13.

The same argument might well be employed in respect of Henry VIII's most infamous, alleged, offspring. The paternity of Mary Boleyn's children, Henry and Catherine Carey, has long been something of a controversy. At least here the fact that Mary was indeed Henry VIII's mistress is not at issue. Despite her marriage to William Carey in February 1520, her affair with the king is generally acknowledged to have begun in 1522. Contemporary attempts by the supporters of Catherine of Aragon, to slander the Boleyns with the suggestion that Henry Carey was in fact the king's son, first fuelled the fire of speculation 14. Such a tantalizing prospect has been grist to the mill of historical debate ever since. As recently as March 1997, a new theory centring on revised ages for the children has been advanced in an attempt to prove conclusively that both were indeed Henry's issue 15. If it were a daughter, there was perhaps less incentive to acknowledge her, although in the face of such a dearth of issue, even an illegitimate girl would have been a useful tool in the marriage market. If it were a son, any arguments against acknowledging the child, would surely have been outweighed by Henry's pride in his achievement.

Since Richmond was the only illegitimate son Henry VIII acknowledged, it is tempting to conclude that he was the only illegitimate son he had. In writing to Wyatt in April 1538, regarding the arrangements for the proposed marriage between his daughter Mary and Dom Luis of Portugal, Henry advised the emperor that he was prepared to

assure unto him and her and their posterity as much yearly rent as the late Duke of Richmond, **our only bastard son** had of our gift within this our realm 16.

13 Edwards, David, *The Edwardes Legacy* (Baltimore, 1992), p.22. Bradner, L. B., *The Life and Poems of Richard Edwards* (Oxford, 1927), p.8.

14 Ives, Eric, *Anne Boleyn* (Oxford, 1986), p.250.

15 Hoskins, Anthony, "Mary Boleyn Carey's Children - Offspring of King Henry VIII" *Genealogist's Magazine*, [25, n.9], (1997).

16 BL Harleian 252 f.26.

Given the responsibilities heaped on the shoulders of the six year old duke, it seems reasonable to assume that if it were possible Henry would have embraced other children, who could have shared the burden. Yet in a sense it does not matter whether Richmond was the king's only bastard issue or not. What is most important is that he was the only one that Henry was prepared to employ on the wider political stage. The king's precise intentions as regards Richmond's long term prospects, are of course a very different matter.

One: The Blounts of Kinlet

The Blounts of Kinlet in Shropshire were a cadet branch of an ancient gentry family. Although the name was not unknown in Anglo Saxon England, the honour of being the founders of the family fortune has invariably been ascribed to Sir Robert and Sir William Le Blount, who came to England in the service of Duke William at the time of the Conquest 1. Sir Alexander Croke in his 1823 history of the Blounts asserts that

all authorities agree that the family of Le Blount is descended from two brothers, the sons of the Lords of Guisnes in France, who came over with William the Conqueror, and were then established in this country 2.

It does not seem that Sir Alexander was solely influenced by the prestige attached to tracing ancestors from the time of the conquest, rather than admitting to Anglo Saxon forebears. Two knights surnamed Le Blount were prominent in the ranks of the Conqueror's army. Robert evidently acquitted himself well, being created Baron of Ixworth and Lord of Orford Castle, whilst William Le Blount received lands in Suffolk, Middlesex, and Lincolnshire by way of reward 3. Both of these men were to remain in England. Robert served his king as a commander of ships and married Gundred, the youngest daughter of Henry, Earl Ferrers. Their issue were to be Barons of Ixworth for six generations. William, described as a general of the foot, was amongst forty of his principal knights chosen by King William to be quartered on Ely Monastery to ensure their loyalty 4. It is possible that the two were indeed brothers. In any case, by the reign of Henry III the interests of the two families were united by the marriage of Maria Le Blount, a fourth generation descendant of William to Robert's great great grandson,

1 Dugdale, William, *Baronage of England* (London, 1675), p.518. Blunt, Reginald, *Memoirs of Gerald Blunt* (London, 1911), p.282. Nash, J., *Collections for a History of Worcestershire* (2 Volumes, London, 1731-2), II, p.162a.

2 Croke, Sir Alexander, *The Genealogical History of the Croke Family, Originally Named Le Blount* (Oxford, 1823), p.1.

3 Noble, Mark, "History of the Beautiful Elizabeth Blount" *Marshall's Genealogist*, [II], (1878), p.20. *VCH Suffolk*, Volume 1, p.572.

4 BL Sloane Mss 1301, f.112. Croke, op. cit., p.94.

Stephen 5. As the direct descendants of this union the Blounts of Kinlet could rest assured that their ancestors were indeed of Norman stock.

What is somewhat less certain is the exact relationship of the two knights in question to the illustrious house of Guisnes. The descent of the Lords of Guisnes may be clearly traced. A noble family of the province of Picardy in France, they could claim kinship with the royal houses of England, France, Italy, and Denmark. However, Robert and William were not it seems, the offspring of Baldwin, the ruling Count of Guisnes in 1066. Of his four recorded male issue only his heir, Robert, was a possible candidate and he succeeded to his father's lands and interests in France, nor indeed is there any firm evidence that the men of Guisnes crossed the channel to fight with Duke William. Since the Le Blounts' surname was apparently derived from their distinctive blond hair, it is not a conclusive guide to their origins. In the face of such a lack of evidence the possibility that there was no direct link cannot be discounted. However, the status and land accorded to Robert and William in England, does suggest that they were part of a wealthy and well respected family. In addition, there are sufficient similarities between the arms of the Le Blounts in England and those of the house of Guisnes to indicate some connection. It may be that Robert and William were younger sons of another branch of the family. Rodolf, the third Count of Guisnes, and his wife Rosella, the daughter of Hugh, Count Saint Pol, had at least three sons including a Robert and a William. Eustace, the fourth Count of Guisnes, and his wife Susanna de Grammines also had a son called William and other male issue. Any of these would have been of an age to bear arms to England at this time 6. This would also accommodate the tradition that Robert and William were part of a party of three brothers, of which only two remained in England to enjoy the spoils of war 7.

The progeny of the Le Blounts in England was to be prolific and generally prosperous. Admittedly the fates were not always kind. In 1264 William, sixth Baron of Ixworth, was slain

5 Blunt, op. cit., p.283.

6 Croke, op. cit., p.40ff.

7 Blunt, op. cit., p.283. Croke, op. cit., p.33.

fighting at the Battle of Lewes. Since he was killed in his capacity as standard bearer to Simon de Montfort, he was posthumously attainted for his treason and his lands forfeited to the Crown 8. In contrast, the marriage of his cousin Robert to Isabel, the daughter of Lord Odinsels, established their descendants as Barons of Belton in Rutlandshire 9. Their grandson Sir Walter Blount made an equally prosperous match with Joanna, the sister and co-heir of Sir William de Soddingham, which endowed the family with extensive estates in Worcestershire. Subsequent unions brought landed interests in Oxfordshire, Somerset, Staffordshire, Norfolk, and Hertfordshire. The Blounts were also successful in their pursuit of offices under the Crown. The Hugh Blount who served as sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire in the reign of Henry III, was a common ancestor of the Blounts of Kinlet. Other prominent forbears included the Peter Blount who acted as chamberlain to Edward II, the Sir John Blount whom Henry IV appointed Governor of the garrison of Aquitaine, and the Sir Thomas Blount who was Treasurer of Calais under Henry VI 10. They were regular participants in the business of Parliament, often being elected as knights of the shire. Yet royal favour could prove a fickle path to fortune. The refusal of Sir Thomas Blount, a firm supporter of Richard II, to acknowledge Henry IV as his king, not only led to the loss of his lands by attainder, but he was made to endure a long and agonizing death, during which his own intestines were burnt before his eyes 11. On the face of it, a successful marriage alliance was perhaps the safer route to fortune, bringing both immediate benefit and, hopefully, lasting rewards.

The most successful branch of the family in the Tudor period was to stem from a collection of fortuitous matches. In 1347 Sir John Blount, the son of Sir Walter Blount and his wife Joanna de Soddingham, married Isolda, the daughter and heir of

8 Noble, op. cit., p.20. Blunt, op. cit., p.282.

9 VCH Rutland, Volume 2, p.28. Blunt, op. cit., p.284.

10 Devon, Frederick, *Issues of the Exchequer, Henry III To Henry VI* (London, 1837), p.126. Powell, J. E., and Wallis, K, *The House of Lords in the Middle Ages* (London, 1968), p.311. Croke, op. cit., p.132. Dugdale, op. cit., p.518.

11 Devon, op. cit., p.356. Croke, op. cit., p.136. Blunt, op. cit., p.284.

Sir Thomas de Mountjoy 12. By rights, the Mountjoy possessions were parcel of the inheritance of John and Isolda's own son, another Sir John Blount. He certainly held the lands in 1369, when he conveyed half a messuage and two bovates in Fenton Culvard to his former tenant Benedict Philip, at a rent of 3s per annum 13. However, in 1374 the young Sir John chose to convey a significant parcel of these lands to his half brother Walter, the issue of his father's second marriage to Eleanor, the daughter of Lord Beauchamp of Somerset 14. Walter, who saw martial service in Spain with the Black Prince and John of Gaunt, had married Sancia de Ayala, the daughter of Don Diego of Toledo. A younger son with a foreign born wife, his prospects were thus much improved, although, to be fair, Sir Walter was also well able to further his own career. As well as a successful soldier, he was apparently an accomplished ambassador, also serving as a commissioner of the peace and a knight of the shire. It was his son Thomas who was appointed Treasurer of Normandy by Henry VI, and he in turn also enjoyed a prosperous career in local government. His service in Staffordshire, notably as the steward of the honour of Tutbury, would have brought him into contact with the Blounts of Kinlet. Certainly, his grandson Walter, who was created first baron Mountjoy by Edward IV in 1465, can often be found in association with his Shropshire kin. In his will John Blount, third Lord Mountjoy, advised his sons

to live right wisely and never to take the state of Baron upon them if they may leave it from them, nor to desire to be great about Princes for it is dangerous 15.

Nevertheless his heir William would be a figure of note at the Tudor court. On more than once occasion his personal and political influence was to prove a significant force in advancing and protecting the interests of the Blounts of Kinlet.

Elizabeth's ancestors, the Blounts of Kinlet, were the direct descendants of the Mountjoys' benefactor Sir John Blount of Soddingham. He perhaps felt he could afford to be generous. In

12 Croke, op. cit., p.137.

13 StRO D(W)1742/1.

14 Croke, op. cit., p.171.

15 PRO Prob 11/17.

his own right he made two successful and profitable marriage alliances. From his first union with Juliana Foulhurst descended the Blounts of Soddingham. His second wife was Isabella Cornwall, the daughter and eventual heiress of Sir Bryan Cornwall of Kinlet. It was through this marriage, when all four of Isabella's brothers died without issue, that the Blounts acquired their interests in Shropshire 16. In the Domesday Book the future seat of the Blounts at Kinlet was described as follows

The same Randulf de Mortemer holds Chinlete of the king and Richard holds it of him, Eddid held it in Saxon times. Here are three hides. The arable land is sufficient for eight Ox-teams. In demese there are two teams and there are six serfs, eight villains, two radmans, six boors and one Frenchman with two teams. In King Edward's day the manor was worth 60s per annum and afterwards it was worth 30s, now it is worth 40s 17.

In return Isabella was to receive a significant amount of property for her dowry. The Staffordshire manors of Biddulph, Ramshorn, Denstone, Glaston, Waterfall, and Balterley were amongst those assigned for her use. The Blount's estates in Staffordshire, which had until now formed the basis of their holdings, were to remain an important part of their possessions over subsequent generations. They often seem to have been employed as residences for the eldest son upon his marriage, before he entered into his full inheritance. Such was certainly the case with Sir John and Isabel's own son and heir who had possession of lands there in 1428 18. This was the John Blount esquire, later of Kinlet and Doddington in Shropshire, who married Alice the daughter of Kynard de la Bere, a Herefordshire knight. The family also held interests in Oxfordshire and Worcestershire, although it was the Blounts' possessions in Shropshire and Staffordshire which were to be of crucial importance in establishing many of the ties and circumstances that engendered the young Elizabeth Blount's acceptance at the court of Henry VIII.

The union of John and Alice produced ten children. At the death of his father in 1442, their son and heir Humphrey, was

16 SRO 1878/2.

17 Eyton, Robert, *Antiquities of Shropshire* (12 Volumes, London, 1854-60), IV, p.240.

18 Croke, op. cit., p.156.

still legally a minor 19. In November 1443 King Henry VI granted the ward's marriage to John Sutton, Lord Dudley 20. A powerful figure in the landscape of Staffordshire politics, this was one of a number of grants which reflected Sutton's current high favour with the Crown, although he had scant opportunity to enjoy this particular reward 21. By the end of 1444 Humphrey had been granted seisin of his father's lands in Staffordshire and had also given proof of age to the satisfaction of the escheator in Oxford for lands there 22. Humphrey's only recorded wife was Elizabeth Winnington, the daughter of Sir Robert Winnington of Cheshire and his wife Margaret Norwood. After her father's death in 1428 she had been married to Richard, the son and heir of John Delves of Cheshire and Staffordshire, but the marriage, negotiated by her mother at a cost of 300 marks, was not to be. The couple were married as children, when Richard was nine and Elizabeth not yet four years old 23. However, according to an entry in the register of the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield in July 1439, whilst Elizabeth, no doubt at her mother's behest, had been content to confirm the match, Richard had withheld his consent, and the union was annulled 24. Although not a wealthy widow, Elizabeth did not come entirely empty handed, bringing lands in Winnington to her second marriage 25. This time her foray into the marriage market was more successful. Her relationship with Humphrey endured over thirty years and produced at least four children. According to her petition in 1479, she was allowed a third of the manor of Balterley and other lands and interests in Staffordshire as her dower 26.

Perhaps, at least in part, as a consequence of his connection with Dudley, Humphrey's first office under the Crown was in Staffordshire. Elizabeth's great grandfather first served as

19 Ibid.

20 CFR Henry VI. 1437-45, p.283 m.10.

21 CPR Henry VI. 1441-46, p.281 m.4.

22 CCR Henry VI. 1441-47, p.173 m.18.

23 PRO C1/39/87.

24 Rowney, Ian, *The Staffordshire Political Community*, Ph.D. thesis, (Keele, 1981), p.300. PRO C1/39/87. LJRO B/A/1/9/f.166d.

25 BL Additional Mss 46457, f.56.

26 MHS (new series, 1901), IV, (i), p.119.

Sheriff there in 1445 27. By a strange coincidence his appointment as escheator of the county in 1446, required him to preside over the inquisitions post-mortem of his wife's former husband Richard Delves 28. Yet in a grant dated 2 February 1450 he was described as Humphrey Blount of Kinlet 29. He first served as Sheriff of Shropshire in 1460, being continued in that post by Edward IV. It was an office he was to hold on a number of occasions, last serving just two years before his death 30. Humphrey also sat as a knight of the shire in Parliament, establishing a family tradition that would endure for several generations 31. In addition, he served as a Justice of the Peace and was a prominent member of several royal commissions. Such responsibilities suggest that it was expected that he could command the respect and co-operation of his neighbours.

In common with many gentry families, the Blounts operated within a network of kinship and alliances in order to advance and maintain their position within the local community. As William Dunham observed

Real power the gentry saw was not at Westminster, but nearer home. Most of Hastings' retainers found it in the midlands where they spent their lives promoting family, friend, and kinsmen and by serving in local offices they acquired for themselves and their lord an ascendancy in the county milieu 32.

Humphrey's career was to bring him no great fortune or advancement. Rather it represented the kind of gentry respectability that was to be so typical of the Blounts of Kinlet in time to come.

However it would be naive to suggest that Humphrey's career was therefore unaffected by the tremors of wider concerns. The line between national and local affairs was often blurred, and each depended much upon the other. The Blounts of Kinlet had

27 CFR Henry VI. 1445-52, p.10 m.19.

28 CPR Henry VI. 1441-46, p.462 m.33d.

29 CFR Henry VI. 1445-52, p.149 m.17.

30 Blakeway, John, *The Sheriffs of Shropshire* (Shrewsbury, 1831), p.15.

31 *VCH Shropshire*, Volume 3, p.243.

32 Dunham, William, *Lord Hastings' Indentured Retainers 1461-1483* (Connecticut, 1955), p.37.

ties and alliances with a number of influential figures during this period. They held land from the Earls of Shrewsbury and were often associated with them in commissions of the peace and other business. The Oxford manor of Asthall Leigh was parcel of the possessions of the Prince Edward, whilst other lands were held of the Duke of Clarence, another significant magnate interest in the politics of the Midlands 33. Then there was the role of William, Lord Hastings who retained, if not Humphrey himself, a number of his friends and relations 34. During the turbulent years of the late fifteenth century to a greater or lesser extent all these ties were to have an impact upon the network of ties that the Blounts maintained.

Not all of their contacts were friendly. John, Duke of Suffolk and Elizabeth his wife, sued Humphrey in Chancery for illegally levying issues and profits amounting to £33 17s and 6d out of lands late of Sir John Lowell during the minority of his heir, who was the duke's ward 35. Yet the Blounts were not without their own powerful allies. John Sutton, Lord Dudley, had enjoyed a successful career under the Lancastrian kings carrying a banner at the funeral of Henry V and serving both as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and a diplomatic envoy 36. Despite a prior association with the Duke of York, Sutton remained true to Henry VI. That Humphrey Blount, himself an esquire to the king, was associated with Dudley in a number of grants is an indication that he shared his loyalties 37. It is therefore possible that he was amongst the host of Staffordshire gentry gathered at Eccleshall under Dudley's banner, which fought at St Albans on 23 May 1455. However, by the time Sutton's forces again took to the field on the Lancastrian side, at the battle of Blore Heath on 23 September 1459, it seems Humphrey Blount had already had occasion to reconsider his position.

33 PRO E149/234/10 m.2.

34 Dunham, *op. cit.*, p.117ff. These included John Blount Lord Mountjoy, Hugh Peshall esq. and John Gresley knt.

35 PRO C1/40/222. This suit was not made during the re-edemption when Humphrey was deprived of his office of receiver at Acton Burnell, since it refers to the grant made by Edward IV on 7 July 1471.

36 Twamley, Charles, *History of Dudley Castle and Priory* (London, 1897), p.14ff.

37 CPR Henry VI. 1452-61, p.79 m.26. CFR Henry VI. 1445-52, p.149 m.17. CPR Edward IV. Henry VI. 1467-77, p.590 m18.

In the latter part of the 1450's the most powerful branch of the Blount family renounced their former Lancastrian affinity. Until the death of Sir Thomas Blount in 1456, the Mountjoy arm of the family had been loyal to the Crown. However, when their estates at Derby and Elvaston were sacked his son and heir Walter had looked to the Duke of Buckingham for redress. Buckingham, mindful of his own priorities, had chosen instead to protect the perpetrators. This action prompted Walter to transfer his allegiance to Warwick and York 38. He and his brother both served under Warwick at Calais 39. Although Humphrey Blount had occupied a number of offices under his Lancastrian king, by 1450 he plainly judged it prudent to secure a general pardon from Henry VI 40. Now it seems that he followed the lead of his kinsmen rather than Sutton. Certainly by October 1456 he was to be found alongside his cousin Walter in the Yorkist ranks drawn up against the king's forces at Ludlow 41.

At the accession of Edward IV Humphrey Blount was confirmed as sheriff of Shropshire 42. In contrast the re-adeption of Henry VI cost him the office of receiver of the Lordship of Acton Burnell 43. There can be little doubt that for the remainder of his life he was adjudged a loyal servant of Edward IV. Knighted for his valiance at Tewkesbury, Humphrey was included in commissions of array against George, Duke of Clarence, and the threat of the Herberts and Vaughans in the Welsh Marches 44. The local nature of his offices and rewards, notably at Acton Burnell and Bridgnorth, both in Shropshire, is not evidence of an isolation from national politics, but a testament to the extent that such gains depended on the ebb and flow of greater business.

38 *VCH Staffordshire*, Volume 1, p.243. Rowney, op. cit., p.73.

39 Hicks, Michael, *The Career of George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence 1449-1478*, DPhil. thesis, (Oxford, 1974), p.353.

40 CPR Henry VI. 1452-61, p.532 m.17.

41 Rowney, op. cit., p.88.

42 CFR Edward IV. Henry VI. 1461-71, p.9 m.32.

43 CPR Edward IV. Henry VI. 1467-77, p.257 m.25.

44 SRO 1878/9, f.65. CPR Edward IV. Henry VI. 1467-77, p.219, 429.

When Sir Humphrey Blount died on 1 October 1477 he was residing in the parish of All Saints, Worcester, although his will, dated 6 September 1477, instructed that his body should be buried in the Church of St John the Baptist at Kinlet. The nature of his bequests is proof that Sir Humphrey had attained a reasonable level of wealth and prosperity. In respect of his lands he had clearly made an attempt to consolidate the family holdings, purchasing further property in Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Worcestershire. His goods included a gold chain, to be sold to pay for masses for his soul, a gold collar for his eldest son and a gold cross which went to his second son, John. There were also several pieces of gilt, two of which were covered in silver. Humphrey also possessed a number of gowns, both furred and velvet, as well as a doublet of red damask. However, his liberality was not without limits. His heir Thomas received the best gilt sword, the second best went to the next son John, but the youngest son, William, had to make do, not with a sword at all, but a gilt woodknife. In financial terms Humphrey was in a position to make moderate gifts of 6s 8d to a variety of churches, and a number of servants. More substantial amounts went to the Friars in Worcestershire, who received 13s 4d to repair their bell tower, and Norton Church in the same county, which was given the sum of £20. Humphrey's daughter Mary was allowed 120 marks towards her marriage. However, this significant sum was not available in ready cash, but represented money owed to Humphrey by the Bishop of Durham 45.

Humphrey's wife Elizabeth, and Sir Humphrey Cotes her co-executor, were assiduous in carrying out their responsibilities, bringing a number of law suits to secure outstanding debts in excess of £40 46. The widow was not it seems to re-marry, but continued to reside at Kinlet. At the death of her daughter Margaret, in October 1487, she again acted as executrix 47. However, her relationship with her son Thomas appears to have been less warm. Despite the order of the escheator, reserving her rights to her dower lands in 1477, she evidently had some trouble securing her due. In 1488 the escheator again made the order, in the presence of her

45 SRO 1878/3, p.29.

46 MHS (new series, 1901), IV, (i), p.118, 146.

47 SRO 1878/9.

son, for dower to be assigned 48. In 1491 she paid a mere 20s to the benevolence. Blakeway suggests that the dowager had been treated favourably by the assessors, but the truth may be that the assessment reflected her financial penury 49. She lived until 1502 when she gave instructions to be buried alongside her husband in Kinlet Church. In her will she made no mention of her eldest son, although her three younger boys John, William and Roger, and two of her servants all received specific bequests. The quality and quantity of her effects, including an embossed silver bowl and two silver cups, besides other goods including beds, money and a cow with a calf, indicated a certain level of disposable wealth, but it was by no means lavish 50. It may be that his mother merely wished to provide what she could for her younger children, who did not have the benefit of their brother's inheritance, but her complete exclusion of Thomas, in direct contrast to her late husband's struggle to be even handed towards all his sons, does hint at a less than cordial relationship.

Since the couple's son and heir was aged twenty one in 1477, this time there was to be no provision for a minority. Thomas was immediately granted seisin of his father's lands 51. This brought him both income and influence. The Staffordshire lands were valued at £7 8s 6d, interests in Oxford accrued another £4 40s, and the family had further possessions in Herefordshire. In the 1491 subsidy returns for Shropshire his lands were assessed at £108 10s od 52. As well as his landed possessions Thomas Blount also succeeded to the social position carved out by his father. As an esquire of the body to Edward IV he received a fee of 20 marks out of the Lordship of Cleobury Mortimer in Shropshire 53. His first recorded office was in 1479 as sheriff of that county 54. Despite the

48 CCR Henry VII. 1485-1500, (i), p.66.

49 SRO 1878/3, p.27.

50 PRO Prob 11/13.

51 CFR Edward IV. Edward V. Richard III. 1471-85, n.405 p.136, n.488 p.162.

52 PRO E149/1032/2, E149/234/10m3, E149/234/10 m.2, E150/425/7, SRO 1878/3, p.27.

53 Myers, A. R., *The Household of Edward IV* (Manchester, 1959), p.232. The partial fee suggests that he was not in continual attendance. His brother John was also to be found in Edward IV's household, SRO 1878/3, p.29.

54 Blakeway, op. cit., p.15.

usurpation of Richard III his annuity was confirmed 55. As Duke of Gloucester, Richard had served with Sir Humphrey Blount on the occasional commission, but it is more probable that Thomas relied on his links with Lord Mountjoy and Lord Dudley, who both enjoyed Richard's favour, to ensure his interests would be protected under the new regime. Yet, as events unfolded, Thomas, like his father before him, may well have had cause to reconsider his position. Amongst the host that fought at the Battle of Bosworth, there is no mention of Thomas Blount, but his subsequent fortune under Henry VII seems to indicate that he had not opposed the change of regime.

Despite his prior service under Edward IV and Richard III, Thomas was quickly adopted as an officer of the new Tudor dynasty. His interests in the royal lordship of Cleobury Mortimer were protected when Henry VII accepted him as steward there 56. Before the year was out he was serving on Shropshire commissions of the peace, but like Humphrey, Thomas was also to find that it was neither possible nor productive to confine his interests solely to local matters. He earned his knighthood fighting for the king at Stoke, and it was only in the wake of this that he was pricked to serve as sheriff of the county for the first time under the new regime 57. As Henry VII's reign progressed Thomas Blount's name was repeatedly included on various royal commissions, including military matters, such as raising archers for an expedition to Brittany, or sensitive issues, like the collection of the subsidy. Although he did attend on great ceremonial occasions like the coronation of Elizabeth of York, he was not to be much of a courtier 58. Hence the smooth succession of Henry VII's only son, the seventeen year old Henry Tudor, must have seemed set neither to make nor mar his fortunes. He continued

55 *British Library Harleian Manuscript 433* Horrox, R. J., and Hammond. P., eds., (4 Volumes, Gloucester, Upminster, and London, 1979-1983), I, p.234 f.85.

56 SRO 1878/3, p.26.

57 Leland, J., *Collectanea IV*, p.214. Bennett, Michael, *Lambert Simnel and the Battle of Stoke* (Gloucester, 1987), p.129. *The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil 1485-1537* Hay, D., ed., (Camden Society, 1950), p.107. Blakeway, op. cit., p.15.

58 CPR Henry VII. 1485-94, p.281 m12(20)d, 243 m5(17)d. Leland, *Collectanea*, IV, p.232.

to have an active role in the commissions of the peace. He may even have sat as knight of the shire in the Parliament of 1510, he was certainly one of the benefactors of Brasenose College founded by Bishop Smyth, President of the Council in the Marches, but in general his interests, and it must be concluded his ambitions, remained firmly centred on Shropshire and the power and position he could accrue within the county 59.

Thomas Blount's position was further consolidated by his marriage to Anne Croft. Elizabeth's paternal grandmother was the eldest daughter of Sir Richard Croft, of Croft Castle in Herefordshire, and Eleanor Cornwall, the daughter of Sir Edmund Cornwall, Baron of Burford in Shropshire. The match was an advantageous one for the Blounts. Sir Richard Croft was an established power in the locality, both as a land and office holder. He was receiver general of the Earldom of March for Edward IV, Richard III and Henry VII. He served repeatedly as sheriff, justice of the peace, and a knight of the shire. An established courtier, he was at divers times an esquire and knight of the body, the Keeper of the Wardrobe, and Treasurer of the king's household. The Crofts also had links with a number of other influential families, including the Guildfords, a connection which would later benefit Elizabeth at the court of Henry VIII. Sir Richard Croft also served alongside the Blounts of Kinlet in their respective responsibilities as servants of the Crown, and their relationship seems to have been an enduring one 60. Richard Croft enfeoffed Sir Thomas Blount with certain of his manors to the performance of his last will, and the document clearly demonstrates a degree of family affection. Not only was Thomas to advise on the marriage of Richard's granddaughters, Eleanor Croft and Elizabeth Whittington, but Sir Richard made provision for the marriage of one of the Blount daughters

Item, I give and bequeath to Joyce Blount, daughter of Sir Thomas Blount, if she despise [ie marry below her] not herself but be ruled in her marriage by her

59 MHS (1917), I, p.290.

60 Croft, O. G. S., *The House of Croft of Croft Castle* (Hereford, 1949), p.40ff.

Grandmother, her Father, her 3 uncles, Edward, John and Robert, or of 2 of them, 50 marks to be paid of the revenues of the foresaid lands being in feoffment 61.

Yet no one could have foreseen just how advantageous the relationship with Sir Richard Croft would prove, in facilitating the advancement of Sir Thomas Blount's granddaughter.

From 1492 the heir apparent, Arthur, Prince of Wales, was an increasing presence in the Marches 62. The opportunity and occasion for court patronage had come to the Blounts. When Arthur returned to Ludlow accompanied by his young bride, the good folk of the Marches must have rejoiced at the prospect of welcoming and entertaining their future king and queen. It was an advantage Thomas Blount was well placed to utilize. He was named in several commissions alongside Arthur, although his stewardship of the park and manor of Bewdley, which lay adjacent to the Prince's residence at Ticknell, was perhaps a more certain point of contact 63. In addition, his father-in-law Sir Richard Croft, was a member of Arthur's council and later steward of his household. His presence at Ludlow must have smoothed the Blounts' reception at the court 64. In the company of his father-in-law Sir Thomas may well have been privileged to attend the proxy marriage of Prince Arthur to Catherine of Aragon, which took place in the chapel of the manor of Bewdley on 19 May 1499 65. The importance of the court at Ludlow as a centre of patronage and power, and an opportunity to gain the favour of the heir to the throne, should not be underestimated. Thomas Blount and Anne Croft's fourth son was named Arthur, not a traditional family name, but perhaps reflecting the choice of a royal godfather, and some indication of the Blount's desire to use this opportunity to gain notice to their best advantage.

61 PRO Prob 11/16.

62 *The Marcher Lordships of South Wales 1415-1536* Pugh, T. B., ed., (Cardiff, 1963), p.258.

63 CPR Henry VII 1485-94, p.498. Childe-Pemberton, William, *Elizabeth Blount and Henry VIII with Some Account of her Surroundings* (London, 1913), p.40.

64 Skeel, Caroline, *The Council in the Marches of Wales* (London, 1904), p.30. Croft, op. cit., p.43.

65 Pollard, A. F., *The Reign of Henry VII from Contemporary Sources* (3 Volumes, London, 1913-4), p.207.

Their chance was of course, regrettably short lived. On 2 April 1502 Prince Arthur died. The household was broken up and Catherine recalled to London. Sir Thomas Blount was one of those designated to accompany Arthur's body as it was taken in solemn procession from Ludlow

At every corner of the canopie was a banner. First, a banner of the Trinity borne by Thomas Troys: The second a banner of the Patible, borne by Sir Thomas Blount: The third a banner of Our Lady, borne by Thomas Dudley: The fourth a banner of St. George, borne by Edward Hungerford.

The body, enclosed in a chest covered in a black cloth, was conveyed in state to the local parish church, where it lay for two nights as funeral offices were performed. The sober train then continued from Ludlow to Bewdley, and then on again to Worcester to be buried in the cathedral ⁶⁶. Sir Thomas Blount's role in the proceedings was a notable mark of favour. Yet Arthur's death must have dealt a severe blow to any hopes and expectations the Blounts of Kinlet had of future profit and advancement via their association at Ludlow, but the opportunity may not have been entirely wasted. Many of Catherine of Aragon's enduring memories of her initial time in England would not have been of the court in London, but of the gentry who flocked to salute her at Ludlow. If, as seems reasonable, the Blounts were frequent visitors, the family may have been remembered. It was to be several years before Catherine was in a position to exercise any real degree of patronage or favour in her own right, but it cannot be discounted that it was during this time that England's future queen first became acquainted with the Blounts of Kinlet, in a manner which would later help to secure the acceptance of the young Elizabeth as one of her maids of honour.

The union of Thomas Blount and Anne Croft seems to have been a long and rather fruitful partnership. They are traditionally accredited with having produced a family of twenty children. Of their surviving issue Elizabeth's father, John Blount born in 1484, was their eldest son and heir. In the latter part of Henry VII's reign Thomas Blount continued to attend to his duties in Shropshire, serving as sheriff in 1502, although it

66 Leland, *Collectanea*, IV, p.375.

does not seem he lived quietly in retirement 67. In 1507 he was sued by the Duke of Buckingham for abduction of a ward, and his own good service notwithstanding he was named in a number of bonds and recognizances 68. Alongside Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley, he indented to pay an amount of 200 marks. In common with Sir Humphrey Stanley, he put up £100 as security for the allegiance of Sir Nicholas Vaux, in his keeping and delivery of Guines Castle 69. Many of his associations had their roots in Sir Humphrey's time. Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley was the grandson of his father's former guardian. The family's ties with the Earls of Shrewsbury also continued. Thomas served with George, Earl of Shrewsbury on government commissions, and his fifth son Robert, was to secure a place in their service, and it was their favour in 1536 which secured him the grant of Childs Ercall Parsonage, in the face of some competition 70. Yet Sir Thomas was also able to capitalize on new ties and alliances. In 1504 in his last will John Grey, Lord Lisle designated him as bailiff and parker of Chaddesley Corbett in Worcestershire for life 71. However, it was his decision to marry his son John, to a Staffordshire heiress, which would have the greatest impact on the Blounts' circle of allies.

The arrangements for the marriage were set out in an indenture dated 24 February 1491. John, then aged seven, was to marry Katherine Peshall, the eight year old daughter of the Staffordshire knight, Sir Hugh Peshall and his wife Isabel Stanley, the daughter of Sir John Stanley of Elford. According to a later document it was Sir Thomas Blount who initiated the match

67 Blakeway, B., op. cit., p.15.

68 Rawcliffe, Carole, *The Staffords* (Cambridge, 1978), p.243.

69 CCR Henry VII. 1485-1500, Volume 1, p.366. CCR Henry VII. 1500-1509, Volume 2, p.45.

70 Bindoff, Stanley, *The History of Parliament, The House of Commons 1509-1558* (London, 1982), Volume 1, p.450. LP IX., n.459 p.183.

71 SRO 1878/3, p.27. LP I. (ii), n.2537 p.1116. Gunn, Steven, *Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk c1484-1545* (Oxford, 1988), p.23. By 1504 Dame Isabel Peshall was married to Thomas Grey esq the son of John Grey Viscount Lisle, CIPM Henry VII., Volume 3, p.572.

having knowledge that Katherine Peshall was next heir apparent and meritable after the decease of Humphrey Peshall esquire, her Grandfather whose heir she is, that is to say daughter and heir of Sir Hugh Peshall, one and only heir of the said Humphrey, unto certain manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, of the said Humphrey, which was to the yearly value of 200 marks and above, made suit and means that the said John Blount, then being his son and heir apparent, might marry with the said Katherine 72.

The agreement drawn up between Sir Thomas Blount and Isabel Peshall, with the assistance of her brother Sir Humphrey Stanley and others, provided that all of Sir Thomas Blount's landed possessions would descend to John and Katherine. Should Katherine then produce an heir, within a year of the infant's birth, Sir Thomas Blount would also make over to her an estate of his lands to the value of £20 per annum for the term of her life. In return Katherine's inheritance would come to the Blounts. A bond of £200 testified to Sir Thomas's good intent in this matter and all parties must have felt reassured that things were in good order. The wedding duly took place at Kinlet on 1 August 1492 73.

Katherine's mother, Isabel Peshall, was the daughter of Sir John Stanley of Elford. He had inherited the manor of Elford, and others in Staffordshire, by right of his mother Matilda, the daughter of Sir John de Arderene. On the death of his father, Sir Thomas Stanley, in 1463, he entered into his lands and responsibilities in local government, when his landed income was recorded as being in excess of 65li per annum. The career of Sir John Stanley, born in 1423, in many ways followed that of Sir Humphrey Blount. From 1450 he was repeatedly pricked as sheriff of Staffordshire and was also chosen to serve on royal commissions of enquiry into concealed lands, gaol delivery and other matters. In 1463 he was elected knight of the shire, the first of five such occasions, and he became a prominent figure on the bench, serving alongside the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Mountjoy, Lord Dudley, and other notables of Midland politics 74. Under

72 PRO C1/385/10.

73 PRO E150/1032/2.

74 MHS (1917), I, p.229. Rowney, op. cit., p.94, 103. CPR Edward IV. Henry VI. 1467-77, p.630.

Edward IV in 1468, he was appointed ranger of the king's forest of Cannock for the term of his life 75.

The interests of the Stanleys of Elford also reached far beyond the local government of Staffordshire. Like Humphrey, Sir John had been a follower of the Lancastrian cause, later transferring his support to the Yorkist side. He had fought at Towton in the company of Sir Walter Blount and was created a knight banneret at Tewkesbury 76. But perhaps most significant was his kinship to the infamous Stanleys of Latham. According to "The Ballad of Bosworth Field" Isabel's brother Humphrey Stanley, had been one of only four knights sent by Lord Stanley to assist Henry Tudor on the field of battle 77. Although the Stanleys of Elford had neither the profile nor the prosperity of the Stanleys of Lathom, the two branches were related through the union of John Stanley and Isabel Lathom in the fourteenth century 78. They clearly enjoyed a closer connection than this might imply. Even in matters of purely local import the Stanleys of Elford could count on the intervention of their more powerful cousins. Thomas, Lord Stanley supported Humphrey in his ongoing feud with the Chetwynds of Alspath, which led to William Chetwynd's suspicious death in 1494. The fact that Humphrey escaped prosecution, despite his presence at the scene and the earnest pleas of the widow, is testament to the sway the family could command 79. On the part of the Stanleys of Elford it has been suggested that

Elford may in fact have been the place where Henry Tudor spent the night of 18 August 1485, four days before Bosworth. In Warwickshire itself the Stanleys are said to have met Henry secretly at Atherstone, in the north

75 CPR Edward IV. Henry VI. 1467-77, p.82 m.24.

76 CFR Edward IV. Edward V. Richard III. 1471-85, n.2 p.2. Rowney, op. cit., p.125. A writ of diem clausit was issued when he was thought killed.

77 Earwaker, and Sharpe, op. cit., p.324. Bennett, Michael, *The Battle of Bosworth* (Stroud, 1985), p.109, p.172.

78 Bennett, Michael, "Good Lords" and "Kingmakers": the Stanleys of Lathom" *History Today*, [31], (1981), p.13. Playfair, William, *British Family Antiquity* (London, 1809), p.236. Coward, Barry, *The Stanleys, Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby 1385-1672* (Manchester, 1983), p.1-26.

79 Jones, Michael, "Sir William Stanley of Holt Politics and Family Allegiance in the Late 15th Century" *WHR.*, [14], (1986-9), p.18. Langford, John, *Stafford And Warwickshire, Past and Present* (London, n.d.), [I], p.273.

east of that county, the night before the battle. On 18 August Henry had sent his troops south from Lichfield to Tamworth, the residence of the Ferrers whose heir was married to a daughter of John Stanley of Elford 80.

This association was not without its flaws. Henry VII's growing concerns that the family preferred to use the power they had been granted to their own ends, rather than in the service of their king, cumulated in the entire Stanley family being bound in recognizances to ensure their good behaviour 81. Isabel's brother, Sir Humphrey was party to a large number of bonds, on one single occasion in the significant sum of £2000 82.

Sir Humphrey himself must clearly bear some responsibility for this situation. It is clear that his own misuse of power, not least in pursuit of the Chetwynd feud, was a major factor in encouraging the king's unease.

In the latter part of the 1490s Henry had become increasingly suspicious of the Staffordshire branch of the family, the Stanleys of Elford 83.

Despite speculation that Chetwynd was implicated in a plot against Henry VII and that Humphrey was merely the king's agent in ensuring his execution, Henry VII was subsequently at pains to ensure that his power and influence in Staffordshire were checked 84. The Stanleys of Elford also cultivated other connections, although these were apparently no more prudent. Sir John Stanley was retained by George, Duke of Clarence,

80 Carpenter, Christine, *Locality and Polity; A study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499*, (Cambridge, 1992), p.549.

81 Condon, M. M., "Ruling Elites in the Reign of Henry VII" in *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England* Ross, C., ed., (Gloucester, 1979), p.113.

82 CCR Henry VII. 1485-1500, n.973 p.289 m8d.

83 Jones, Michael, and Underwood, Malcolm, *The King's Mother* (Cambridge, 1992), p.154.

84 Rowney, op. cit., p.333ff. Carpenter, op. cit., p.573. It is possible that Sir William Stanley's treason in 1495 was also a factor in the king's new caution, but there is nothing to suggest that Sir Humphrey was implicated in his activities. For other colourful accounts of Sir Humphrey's behaviour see Harwood, Thomas, *The History and Antiquities of the Church and City of Lichfield* (London, 1806), p.98. Willmore, Frederick, *History of Walsall* (London, 1887), p.173.

whom he also served as commissioner 85. Whilst his repeated service as sheriff of Staffordshire cannot be directly attributed to Clarence's influence, his presence in the Parliaments of 1467 and 1472 was plainly as the duke's man, and his links to Clarence were sufficiently strong for him to be tainted by his disgrace 86. In 1477 his sons, John and Humphrey, were retained by William, Lord Hastings, which brought the family into a wider network of political contacts, not to mention conflicts 87. The marriage of Sir John Stanley's other daughter, Maud, to John Ferrers, heir to Tamworth Castle, broadened their contacts into Warwickshire 88. In respect of their lands, the family's tenure of the manor of Atherstone brought them into the sphere of the Duke of Buckingham, whilst the manor of Pipe was held of the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, as parcel of his manor of Longdon 89.

The Humphrey Peshall esquire, to whom Katherine was heir, had inherited the manors of Hopton and Tean from his grandmother, Maud Swynnerton, and the manor of Knightley, from his great-grandmother Alice Gnosall 90. In common with the Blounts, his ancestors had served as sheriffs and local officers for several generations. Like many of the Midland gentry Humphrey Peshall was retained by William, Lord Hastings, and if the example of Stow's chronicle is to be believed, the Peshalls at least prove the truth of the claim in the Stonor correspondence, that Hastings' men transferred their allegiance to Buckingham. Stow writes that upon the Duke of Gloucester's arrival at York, after the death of King Edward IV, Buckingham

sent thither in the most secret wise he could one
Peshall his trusty servant;

85 Hicks, Michael, *The Career of George Plantagenet*, p.353, 359.

86 Hicks, Michael, *False, Fleeting, Perjur'd, Clarence* (Bangor, 1992), p.169, 203. Rowney, op. cit., p.128.

87 Jones, Michael, "Sir William Stanley of Holt" p.15. Dunham, op. cit., p.122.

88 Carpenter, op. cit., p.569.

89 *VCH Staffordshire*, Volume 14, p.205.

90 MHS (1917), I, p.270.

to deliver a clandestine message of support 91. Humphrey Peshall of Hopton and Tean had served on royal commissions since the accession of Edward IV, and was to be pricked as sheriff of Staffordshire in 1463. From 1464 he was named to the commission of the peace 92. He was even to achieve the rank of knighthood. Katherine's father, Hugh, was his son by his first wife Agnes, daughter to Sir Ralph Egerton. Some confusion arises between the Peshalls of Hopton and Tean, and the branch at Horsley. It was no doubt the Hugh Peshall cited in "the Ballad of Bosworth Field" who was the knight of the body so conspicuously rewarded at court. However, it has been suggested that this was not Humphrey Stanley's brother-in-law, but his cousin and namesake of Horsley. Yet it does appear that after the execution of his patron Lord Hastings, Hugh Peshall of Hopton chose to fight against Richard III 93. I would also argue that he was the Hugh Peshall pricked as sheriff of Staffordshire in 1488, who received a bonus of £100 from Henry VII for his good service, and the knight who in January 1488 sued the incumbent sheriff, Sir Humphrey Willoughby, for £140 for altering the election in favour of William Truessell, since both his term of office and the ongoing lawsuit were abruptly curtailed by his death 94.

The Peshalls were no strangers to such conflicts. In 1469 Humphrey Peshall was sued by George, Duke of Clarence, for abduction of a ward 95. In 1477 Hugh Peshall and 72 others were accused by Sir William Young of breaking into his house and close, and so severely beating his servants that they

91 Stow, John, *Annals, or General Chronicle of England* (London, 1615), p.460.

92 CFR Edward IV. Henry VI. 1461-71, p.122 m2. VCH *Staffordshire*, Volume 1, p.243.

93 "The Hugh Peshall mentioned in the verse was not Isabel's husband of Hopton and Tene, but Hugh Peshall of Horsley, the son of Nicholas Peshall and his wife Helen daughter to Hugh de Malpas, another branch of the family." Parshall, Horace, *The Parshall Family 870-1913* (London, 1915), p.19. It was probably this Hugh Peshall who was by April 1486 a Knight of the Body to Henry VII, receiving an annuity of £20 pa for life, *Materials*, II, p.98. For Bosworth see Rowney, op. cit., p.153.

94 *Materials*, II, p.391. PRO E13/172 m31, Prob 11/8. It should be noted that MHS (1917), I, p.272, cites this as the will of Hugh Peshall of Horsley. But the internal evidence (most particularly his reference to Sir Humphrey Stanley as his brother) is a clear indication that this was Isabel's husband.

95 MHS (new series, 1901), IV, (i), p.163.

dared not attend upon him 96. The same year, in common with his father, Hugh was the subject of a Star Chamber complaint regarding an assault at Gnosall on Richard Berell, a servant of John Harecourt. In a catalogue of dispute the unfortunate man was apparently left for dead by an armed band of twenty Peshall men to the extent that

no man could ensure the said Richard of his life, by force of the which the said Richard had taken out of his head 17 bones, with many other great and grievous wounds upon his body, so that by them he is utterly maimed and destroyed 97.

That Hugh was the subject of an indictment before Sir Richard Grey and others at Ludlow regarding illegal retaining, has been linked to Grey's animosity towards Peshall's later patron Lord Hastings 98. Given such activities Grey perhaps had sufficient reason to be concerned when it was claimed that Hugh had provided livery for a number of men from Newport and Edgmond in Shropshire

The 14 recipients included, 2 weavers, 1 hewster, 1 saddler, 1 tailor, 3 husbandmen, 1 hosteler (or hostler?), 1 fisherman, 2 yeomen and 2 laborers. All of these men were below the rank of esquire, or even gentleman, and the statute of 1390 and the subsequent acts prohibited them from receiving livery of company. Peshale himself was only an esquire, not a baron, and so it was unlawful for him to give them livery 99.

In the event, the Court of the King's Bench found the case insufficient in law, since it did not cite which liveries had been provided, nor whether they had been taken up 100. Such incidents were by no means uncommon amongst feuding gentry, but they do bear testament to the sort of following that a landowner, even at this level could command.

Yet, it was neither Hugh, nor Humphrey Peshall, who were the prime movers behind Katherine's marriage to John Blount of Kinlet. After the premature death of her husband in 1488, Hugh's widow Isabel was left to ensure that the interests of

96 Ibid., p.109.

97 PRO Stac 2/19/116.

98 Carpenter, op. cit., p.567.

99 Dunham, op. cit., p.84.

100 Ibid., p.75 n.17, p.83ff. MHS (new series, 1901), IV, (i), p.110.

her daughter were well protected. In a matter of such importance she did not act alone. The involvement of Humphrey Stanley, both as an executor of Hugh Peshall's will and a party to the marriage agreement, testify to the care that was considered necessary in order to ensure that matters proceeded smoothly. Hugh's two illegitimate girls, Eleanor and Alice, were provided for in moderate bequests in their father's will, but as his legitimate daughter, Katherine was now her grandfather's heir 101. At the time of her parents' marriage Humphrey Peshall had undertaken to pass all his landed interests, with the sole exception of land worth 20 marks per annum for his wife's jointure, to Hugh as his eldest son and heir. In return Sir John Stanley of Elford had paid £100 with his daughter 102. Under these terms, Katherine now legally stood to inherit, but Hugh's early death left her vulnerable to the machinations of those relatives who thought they had a prior claim. As a woman with a clutch of young daughters, Isabel would be required to invoke the assistance, not simply of her brother, but Sir Thomas Blount and her next husband John Russe, to ensure that Katherine's rights were respected.

The family were not outstandingly wealthy, although Isabel, in a sign of royal favour, did receive a pardon of all lands, goods and chattels belonging to her or her husband, as well as immunity from any debts or actions resulting from his tenure as sheriff 103. Since the property of Little Wyrley was held by Isabel in dower in 1507, it seems that this had been settled on the couple at the time of their marriage 104. Yet in contrast to Elizabeth Winnington's bequests, Isabel Peshall's will made in 1519 contained not silver or jewels, but ten pairs of linen sheets. However, her household was evidently a fairly prosperous and comfortable affair. In addition to her three feather beds, she could also leave to her servants furniture from other rooms in the house

And to the said Robert one cupboard in the hall, and to Mary one cupboard in the parlour.

101 PRO Prob 11/8.

102 PRO C1/186/4.

103 Parshall, op. cit., p.110. CPR Henry VII. 1485-94, p.341 m13 (7).

104 Shaw, Stebbing, *The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire* (London, 1798-1801), II, (i), p.58.

Although there is no bequest for Katherine, the fact that Isabel chose to constitute her daughter her executrix, suggests that this was not want of affection, but evidence that Katherine's own wealth was such that she did not need her mother's aid. Another child was more fortunate.

I leave the third bed to Albora, my daughter, [and] to the same I leave a pillow and a bolster.

This was Isabel's granddaughter, one of the five daughters born to Katherine and John Blount. Her only mention of Thomas Blount was the gift to her servant Mary of the £40 which he owed to her 105. Given Sir Thomas's financial record with his own mother, one wonders if the servant was successfully able to collect the debt.

Humphrey Stanley was well placed to protect the interests of his niece. Even prior to Bosworth he had been a prominent figure in Staffordshire, serving as a Justice of the Peace from 1480, and as sheriff in 1481 106. In January 1485 he was rewarded by Richard III with a grant of lands in Gloucester 107. Retained by Lord Hastings, after his death he transferred his allegiance to Buckingham

How many of Hasting's retainers joined the Duke is not known. But in 1485 Henry VII was to knight two of them, Humphrey Stanley and James Blount [of the Mountjoy Blounts] for fighting against Richard III on Bosworth field 108.

In the wake of Bosworth he was the most conspicuously rewarded of all the Blounts' associates. Sheriff of Staffordshire from 22 August 1485, he also served as steward of the honour of Tutbury, a post formerly held by Clarence, Hastings, and Buckingham, which gave him almost unrivalled influence in the county 109. He became a knight of the body to Henry VII with an annuity of £20 for life. He was also favoured with

105 PRO Prob 11/19.

106 CFR Edward IV. Edward V. Richard III. 1471-85, p.221 n.639.

107 Horrox, and Hammond, eds., op. cit., I, p.250.

108 Dunham, op. cit., p.26.

109 Sir Humphrey Stanley and Sir James Blount (of the Mountjoy branch) shared "the rule of the county", Rowney, op. cit., p.154.

additional grants of wardship, herbage and pannage, and land 110. Yet, unlike the Blounts, Lords Mountjoy, even as his profile increased at court, Humphrey Stanley maintained a notable presence in Staffordshire 111. His prestige in the locality was demonstrated in his appointment as Master of the Guild of St Mary and St John in Lichfield and after his death in March 1504, his Staffordshire lands were valued in excess of £116 per annum 112. With the lands came the usual plethora of local government appointments. Despite the king's concerns over his misuse of local power, in general Humphrey Stanley seems to have been a loyal servant. He fought for the Tudors at the Battle of Stoke in 1487, and in 1497 he was prominent amongst those who quelled the Cornish rebellion 113. In considering the marriage negotiations, it might be noted that his service on government business brought Humphrey into regular contact with Lord Mountjoy, the head of the Blount family's most prestigious branch 114.

That Isabel Peshall did not invoke the assistance of her eldest brother, reflects the fact that John Stanley esquire did not have quite the profile of Sir Humphrey. Even in 1468, the grant as ranger of the king's forest of Cannock had been made jointly to Sir John Stanley and his younger son Humphrey, rather than with his heir 115. As a young man John was employed by the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield as his collector at Whittington, and served as steward of the liberty in 1464, but although he served as an esquire of the body and was further rewarded by Henry VII with the office of master of the game in Alrewas Hay forest, he was never to attain the

110 *VCH Staffordshire*, Volume 2, p.358. CPR Henry VII. 1485-94, p.193 m8 (19), 229 m12(10), 237 m19(3). CFR Henry VII. p.40 n.97, 88 n.191.

111 *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII* Gairdner, J. S., ed., (2 Volumes, 1861-3), I, p.388, II, p.291.

112 *VCH Staffordshire*, Volume 14, p.75. PRO E150/1021/1.

113 Bennett, *Lambert Simnel*, p.136. Hay, ed., op. cit., p.22. Carpenter, op. cit., p.583.

114 CPR Henry VII. 1485-94, p.178 m5(9)d. *Materials*, II, p.125.

115 CPR Edward IV. Henry VI. 1467-77, p.82 m24.

dignity of knighthood 116. Having entered into his landed inheritance upon Sir John Stanley's death in 1476, by rights he was now the head of the family and the natural choice to support his sister in such a personal business 117. However there were other elements to the equation

Stanley was his father's favourite and only executor. Perhaps old Sir John Stanley of Elford saw in Humphrey the forcefulness of character needed to protect his own will, and the family interests 118.

These were just the sort of qualities Isabel required and John apparently lacked. Although he was able to defend his somewhat dubious right to hold the manor of Alderford and others lands, his ploy of naming the Crown in remainder, meant that his policy backfired and these were ultimately lost on the attainder of Sir William Stanley. The manor of Elford passed out of the family when the accidental death of John Stanley's only son in childhood split the inheritance between the heirs general, and the reversion of Sibertoft Manor was sold on 10 March 1505 119. When John Stanley esquire died on the 22 November 1508 the wardship of his daughters Anne, Margery, and Elizabeth, passed to Edward Ferrers. Ferrers' son William subsequently married Elizabeth, but it cannot have been a very profitable arrangement. At the time of his death John Stanley esquire had no lands at all in Cheshire and only limited interests remaining in Staffordshire 120.

In contrast Katherine Peshall must have seemed a very attractive proposition. In Staffordshire Sir Humphrey Peshall was seized of the manors of Knightley, Hopton, Tean, Blithwood, Little Onn, the advowson of the church of Checkley, Calton, Waterfall, a third part of the manor of Alstonefield, Little Wyrley and other messuages, cottages, and gardens in

116 Rowney, op. cit., p.233, p.245. CPR Henry VII. 1494-1509, p.373 m25(8). He may however have been amongst those intended to be knighted at Edward V's Coronation, Horrox and Hammond, eds., op. cit., III, p.11 f.227.

117 CPR Edward IV. Edward V. Richard III. 1476-85, p.117 m29.

118 Rowney, op. cit., p.154. Since Sir John Stanley married three times, it is also possible that Humphrey, rather than John, was Isabel's full sibling.

119 Earwaker and Sharpe, op. cit., p.324, .612. PRO E150/1021/1. CCR Henry VII. 1500-09, II, p.221.

120 LP II, (ii), Mixed Obligations p.1487. Earwaker and Sharpe, op. cit., p.277, 325. Shaw, op. cit., I, p.381.

Stafford. The Stafford lands in question had a collective value in excess of £40 121. These properties would significantly increase the Blounts' holdings in Staffordshire, and the marriage negotiations were conducted on the basis that Katherine was the heiress, but now that Hugh had predeceased him, Humphrey evidently had other ideas. Isabel brought a suit in Chancery claiming

that the said Humphrey, contrary to the said trust and promise, [since] the decease of the said Hugh hath alienated and distrained by feoffement unto William Law, and other persons to your said orator unknown, the manors of Knightley, Tean, and Hopton, in the county of Stafford, and intendeth utterly to disinherit the said Katherine 122.

John and Katherine also brought a suit complaining that Humphrey had consistently refused to complete his part of the bargain. Instead of causing an estate to be made to them as agreed, he had enfeoffed John Harecourt and William Law with land, in direct contravention of Hugh and Isabel's marriage settlement 123. Despite the assault at Gnosall, Sir Humphrey's ties with the Harecourts, (whose property ajoined his own), were longstanding. In 1452 he had confirmed all his interests in the town and fields of Hopton to, amongst others, John Harecourt 124. In the last years of his life these ties were cemented by his marriage to Lettice Harecourt. William Law was quick to dismiss the Blounts' claims as vexatious. He denied that he stood enfeoffed of the lands

nor in no parcel thereof by the said Humphrey, nor by non other person to his knowledge, nor he claimeth nothing in the said manor and tenements, but utterly disdaineth to have anything therin 125.

In their answers neither John Harecourt nor Humphrey Peshall refuted Katherine's rights as heiress. Harecourt took refuge in the fact that he had not been privy to the financial arrangements, whilst Humphrey alleged that Sir John Stanley had not fully performed the covenants required of him. Humphrey also countered that he was not required to make any

121 PRO C142/16/9.

122 PRO C1/222/94.

123 PRO C1/186/2.

124 StRO D(W)1744/6A.

125 PRO C4/8/25.

estate to Hugh or his heirs whilst he was still living. Although a valid argument, this demonstrated little in the way of good faith. In June 1497 Katherine and John sought a deed of recovery to secure their title, but they clearly still had good reason to be concerned 126.

At Humphrey's death in 1498 the issue was re-opened. The Blounts claimed the sinister influence of his young bride had caused Humphrey to enfeoff the £40 worth of land in Stafford to the detriment of John and Katherine 127. Certainly, according to Humphrey's instructions set out in his will dated 8 April 1498, the manors of Knightley and Little Onne were now to form Lettice's jointure

I have given the said Lettice to have to her after my death, if she fortune to survive me, the manor of Knightley, with the manor of Little Onn, and all the members appertaining to the same 128.

Even more seriously, this union had produced a child. Since the infant was male, the three year old Richard Peshall was in a position to challenge Katherine's rights. As the sole heiress of the eldest son, she had the prior claim in law, but Humphrey clearly wanted his son by Lettice to inherit and her relatives were prepared to back their nephew's claim. It was pointed out that under the terms of his will Humphrey had stated that his lands should pass in the first instance to any male issue of his marriage to Lettice. It was further argued that in respect of the lands in Stafford, the prevailing custom meant that the infant Richard was the only rightful heir

He was seized in fee of the undermentioned messuages etc in Stafford, which are within the fee of borough English and the custom of that fee is such that if any die seized in fee, or fee tail, of any hereditaments within the said fee, they descend to the youngest son of the deceased as heir, and not to the elder son. They descend and ought to descend to Richard Peshall his youngest son by virtue of the custom of the aforesaid fee 129.

126 PRO C1/186/3. Rowney, op. cit., p.376.

127 PRO C1/186/5.

128 PRO C142/16/9.

129 Ibid.

The inquisition sitting in Staffordshire named Richard Peshall as Sir Humphrey's next heir. However, the matter was not to rest there. In 1502, Lettice's interest was confirmed and the lands, wardship and marriage of Richard Peshall granted to Robert Harecourt 130. However, on 19 March 1504 Sir Thomas Blount, in common with John and Katherine, paid the king £300 to ensure that

if the inquisition found on the said Humphrey's death be sufficient to be traversed then ... that the said Sir Thomas Blount shall have the custody of the said Humphrey's lands during the minority of Richard.

Sir William Norris, Lettice, and her husband Thomas Newell were allowed custody of Richard, receiving an annual annuity, from Sir Thomas Blount, for his maintenance during his minority 131. The Blount's tactics appear to have been effective. On June 12 1504 the lands not already entailed on Lettice were confirmed to Katherine as Humphrey's heir. At his death in August 1520 Richard Peshall had merely those lands in Stafford which he enjoyed in his right as the younger son. Even then it was noted that although his 60 year old cousins, Richard and Alice were his right heirs, John Blount esquire had enjoyed the profits of the lands since Richard's death 132.

Humphrey Peshall's three daughters, Eleanor Wolriche, Joan Sawford and Elizabeth Alesop all stoutly supported by their respective husbands, also attempted to assert their claim under the terms of their father's will. It was perhaps not unnatural that Humphrey would prefer a son of a subsequent marriage over the legal title of a granddaughter, but even without a second son, Humphrey was not inclined to see Katherine inherit

for default of such heirs male, I will that the said manors ... after my said wife's decease, shall be unto my right heirs general, that is to say my daughters that

130 CPR Henry VII. 1494-1509, p.314 m15(16).

131 Parshall, op. cit., p.108. CPR Henry VII. 1494-1509, p.351 m28(13). Sir Thomas was to pay 5 marks per annum till the child was 15, then 100s per annum until he was 21.

132 PRO E150/1031/3.

be now alive, or hereafter shall be, and to their heirs for ever 133.

John and Katherine brought further proceedings in Chancery regarding detention of the deeds. Since the suit against Katherine's aunts asserted that the couple had not merely entered into all the lands, save those appointed for Lettice's jointure, but had been enjoying the profits for the last twelve years, the aunt's action in withholding the deeds was rather more defensive than proactive 134. Hugh Sanford as respondent reiterated the argument that

the said manor, lands, and tenements, contained in the said bill of complaint, with their appurtenances, immediately after the death of the said Humphrey, shall remain unto the heirs males lawfully begotten by and between the bodies of the said Humphrey Peshall and Lettice his wife lawfully begotten, and if default of such issue male, .. should remain unto his daughters 135.

An additional suit was also required against Nicholas Sutton to secure deeds relating to Humphrey's lands in Staffordshire and Derbyshire 136. However, in spite of these attempts, the provisions of the original agreement were to stand. Knightley and Little Onn eventually passed to John and Katherine after Lettice's death. From 1522 the steward John Wysten was holding the manor court at Alstonefield in the name of John Blount. This issue was clearly resolved, but the settlement of this problem was just one half of John and Katherine's difficulties over lands 137.

Despite the careful provisions of the marriage settlement, Sir Thomas Blount was also to make it very hard for his son and heir to enjoy his rightful inheritance. According to a Star Chamber proceeding brought by John and Katherine it had been understood that Thomas Blount

would leave and cause that his said manor of Kinlet, and other the premises, with all other his lands and tenements, should after his death, remain, descend, and

133 PRO C142/16/9.

134 PRO C1/385/1.

135 PRO C1/385/2.

136 PRO C1/279/58.

137 DRO D2375M/1/3.

come, to the said John Blount and Katherine, and the heirs of their two bodies lawfully begotten 138.

Under the agreement Sir Thomas Blount had allowed Kinlet to be recovered against him by Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley, William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, and others in a writ of distraint. The lands were to be held to the use of Thomas for the remainder of his life, and after his death to the use of John and Katherine and their heirs 139. Despite this legal means to strengthen the couple's title to the lands, matters did not proceed smoothly. Under the terms of his will, dated at Kinlet 10 March 1524, his lands were to remain in trust for a further thirty years. In the same month Sir Thomas Blount enfeoffed William Compton and others of the manor of Kinlet. Sir Thomas Blount's other children were well provided for, including an annuity of 5 marks each for the youngest sons Arthur and Robert. His daughter Joyce was to receive £40 towards her marriage and even his married daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, Katherine and Eleanor each received a bequest of £40 out of the issues of Kinlet, but his son and heir received only a dire warning not to meddle with the terms of the trust. If his provisions were disregarded the trust would terminate in favour of his second son Edward and his heirs, with the reversion to his younger sons 140.

Since John Blount was already 40 years of age, this proviso was almost certainly designed to deprive him of his inheritance. Even in the matter of his personal goods, Sir Thomas Blount excluded his heir from his bequests. Although his treatment of his mother was not to his credit, Thomas cannot have been a completely cold man. He clearly enjoyed a warm relationship with his wife. Lands in Hereford and Staffordshire were enfeoffed to her use. In 1533 she was still in possession of lands in Hopton, Walton, and Bishops Offley, in Staffordshire, allowed to her in dower 141. She was also given, in addition to all the goods that she had brought to their marriage, specific items including a silver plate, the best bed, and the best table cloth. Of his remaining children, even his grandson Thomas shared in the spoils and his servants

138 PRO C1/385/10.

139 SRO 3320/18/2.

140 SRO/3320/62/7.

141 BL Additional Mss 46457, f.56.

were allowed a quarter wages and a black coat 142. Yet it appears that he had employed every means at his disposal to prohibit his eldest son from entering into his lands. In contrast, his second son Edward was the first named executor, and when Sir Thomas went campaigning with Henry VIII in 1513 it was Edward who served as his father's petty captain 143. In February 1522 Edward obtained a lease of certain meadows, out of lands under his father's supervision, in the lordship of Ernwood 144. With John amply provided for out of Katherine's lands, it might seem reasonable that Sir Thomas wished to make some provision for his less fortunate siblings 145. Yet such a step was both unusual, and a deliberate slight. With the assistance of William, Lord Mountjoy, Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley and the other trustees, John and Katherine were able to ensure the manors passed relatively smoothly into their hands. In a document dated 14 February 1525 it was recorded that

Thomas Blount has died and the aforesaid Edward Sutton, William Blount, William Rudhale, Richard Asteley, Thomas Wyldecote, and John Pakyngton, [the surviving trustees] by the request and desire of the aforesaid John and Katherine Blount, appoint Edward Pigot, gent., and William Jennyns, as their attorneys to deliver the manor of Kinlet, [etc], ... to the use of John and Katherine Blount 146.

By February 1526 John had been granted livery of his father's lands in Staffordshire, and that Autumn he was to serve as sheriff there 147. However, Edward and his brother Walter still retained the deeds and once again John and Katherine were required to resort to court proceedings, in an attempt to wrest the documents from them, before the matter was fully settled 148.

142 SRO 3320/62/7.

143 LP I, (i), Addenda n.108.

144 LP III, (ii), n.2074 p.891 (14).

145 Edward married Mary, the daughter and heir of John Garneys, his descendants were the Blounts of Kidderminster. Burton, John, *A history of Kidderminster* (London, 1890), p.46.

146 SRO 3320/18/1.

147 LP IV, (ii), n.2672 p.1182.

148 PRO C1/385/10.

Since John and Katherine were married as children they would initially have remained with their respective parents. Under the terms of her father's will Katherine was supposed to stay with her mother until she reached her majority in 1504, but an heir was an important element in securing the marriage settlement 149. Isabel may well have decided that it was in her daughter's best interests to allow the match to be consummated as soon as John Blount turned fourteen in 1498. John and Katherine were ultimately to have eight surviving offspring. Although their eldest son, George was not born until 1513, his sister Elizabeth was by then already a maid of honour at court 150. This means that she must have been at least twelve, placing her birth around 1500 and there is reason to believe that she was not their eldest child 151. It seems that John and Katherine followed the example of previous generations of Blount heirs by taking up residence in Staffordshire. Although, in the light of John Blount's relationship with his father, it was perhaps Katherine's inheritance at Knightley, rather than the Blount possessions at Balterley, which provided them with a residence. A grant in 1511 refers to a John Blount of Knightley 152. However, the parallel career of his kinsman and namesake John Blount, of Blounts Hall in Burton on Trent, makes any real certainty about their activities in Staffordshire elusive. To add to the doubt a John Blount was also included alongside Sir Thomas Blount in the Shropshire subsidy commissions at this time 153.

However, the early years of Elizabeth's life were not spent entirely in the country. As an esquire of the body at the funeral of Henry VII, her father had been amongst those

149 PRO Prob/11/8.

150 PRO E150/852/1.

151 Most pedigrees show Elizabeth as the eldest girl. However the representation of the Blount children on their parents' tomb has Elizabeth as the second daughter after Anne Lacon. Childe-Pemberton, op. cit., p.19.

152 LP I, (i), n.969 p.490 (47).

153 Certainly the John Blount of Hopton and Tean listed on the Staffordshire Commission of the Peace from September 1485 cannot have been the one year old John Blount of Kinlet. Absence after 1523 also points to his kinsman who died the following year. But it is just conceivable that it reflected John Blount of Kinlet's entry into his inheritance in Shropshire on his father's death in 1524, Bindoff, Stanley, op. cit., I, p.448.

granted livery from the Crown 154. At the coronation of Henry VIII he was among the assembly of the King's Spears in their distinctive crimson uniform 155. Modelled on the corps formed by Louis XI, the Spears comprised a group of approximately 50 gentlemen and sons of noblemen under the captaincy of the Earl of Essex. It was both a ceremonial and a military appointment. The regulations of the order were martial in tone, and exercise in feats of arms was a primary function. They were to play a significant part in the French war of 1513. However, the Spears also took an active part in the colourful pageantry of the early years of Henry VIII's court. When Leonard Spinely, on 21 May 1514, delivered to the king the cap and sword presented by Pope Leo X, he was met at Blackheath by a host of dignitaries escorted by all the Spears 156. Membership plainly offered scope for advancement.

To be a Spear did not necessarily mean close contact with the King, but it was a sign of favour, and given Henry's obsession with martial prowess, it helped to bring a courtier to the King's attention 157.

It has to be said that John Blount did not utilise the opportunity to the same advantage as a certain Charles Brandon, but the position must have helped his daughter's entry into the royal household. Under the provisions of their oath the Spears were required to lodge as the king wished. The ordinances proclaimed that a Spear

Shall in no wise depart out of the place where they be assigned to make their said abode, without the special licence of the King, our Sovereign Lord, or of their said Captain or deputy Lieutenant ... on pain of loosing of their rooms 158.

John Blount therefore had ample reason to be found about the court and the birth of his son during this period strongly suggests that his family were with him. On any number of

154 PRO LC2/1, f.132.

155 BL Cotton Titus A XIII, f.186.

156 Sandeman, John, *The Spears of Honour and Gentlemen Pensioners* (Hants, 1912), p.16, 134.

157 Samman, Neil, *The Henrician Court During Cardinal Wolsey's Ascendancy. c1514-1529* Ph.D. thesis, (University of Wales, 1989), p.132, 136. Steve Gunn terms membership as "belonging to only a very broad charmed circle", Gunn, op. cit., p.6

158 BL Cotton Titus A XIII, f.187

occasions her parents could have seized an opportunity to present their young daughter.

The marriage of one of Elizabeth's aunts would also provide a useful connection for the Blounts. Alice, another of Sir Richard's Croft's daughters, was to marry Edward, the son of George Darrell esquire, of Littlecote in Wiltshire. A ward of the Crown since his father's death in 1474, his lands were not extensive but he followed in his father's footsteps as sheriff of the county 159. In 1489 he received a grant of £20 per annum for life from Henry VII 160. In 1494 he may well have caught the eye and admiration of the young Henry as one of the participants in a joust to celebrate the prince's creation as Duke of York. In 1501 he was involved in the preparations for Catherine of Aragon's arrival and one of those appointed to conduct the princess between Chertsey and Croydon 161. Like John Blount he was one of Henry VIII's Spears, but of more importance to the fortunes of the young Elizabeth is the fact that by November 1517, Sir Edward Darrell was serving as vice-Chamberlain to the queen 162. Such a prestigious position can only be the fruit of an already successful relationship with Catherine of Aragon. Having relations at court can only have served to facilitate Elizabeth's placement in the queen's household, and Edward perhaps had a hand in sponsoring his great niece's entry into Catherine's service.

The Blounts could also call upon the good offices of their cousin William, fourth Lord Mountjoy. Although the exact relationship was more distant, Mountjoy had repeatedly proved an effective friend and mentor to his Kinlet relations. He was an established figure at the Tudor court having served Henry VII as a privy councillor. From his appointment as Master of the Mint in 1509, he had continually enjoyed the favour of Henry VIII. His appointment as her chamberlain in May 1512, also reflected the affection in which he was held by the queen. In addition, Mountjoy had married Agnes de Vegas, one

159 *VCH Wiltshire*, Volume 11, p.121, Volume 12, p.30, 38. CFR Henry VII. 1485-1509, p.203.

160 CCR Henry VII. 1500-09, p.118.

161 *Letters and Papers*, op. cit., I, p.394-401, 404-417, 408.

162 LP II, (ii), n.3807 p.1193, Kings' Book of Payments p.1456. Bindoff, op. cit., II, p.19.

of Catherine's chief ladies-in-waiting 164. When the competition for placing a daughter at court was so fierce, such things were important. It was after all a girl's best hope of preferment, greatly enhancing her prospects of an advantageous marriage. It was also her family's best route to obtaining royal favour.

Exactly how she obtained the position and whose influence tipped the balance, must remain a matter of some conjecture. It is clear that Elizabeth had a number of kin and allies in a position to help smooth her path, but once at court, it was down to the girl herself to make her mark. She was later to be praised both as an accomplished musician, and an excellent dancer; and a volume of Latin and English verse, owned by Elizabeth, also suggests that she was no empty headed moppet 165. All of these accomplishments would have played their own part in helping her to secure one of the most coveted positions in the queen's household. However, the fact that she was generally reputed to be particularly attractive, was probably the most significant factor in her success. Even the most auspicious connections would be insufficient to recommend a plain girl and few families would have seen any profit in attempting to promote any but their most comely daughters. That Elizabeth was able to secure a post as a maid of honour immediately she reached a suitable age, must be attributed at least as much to her pleasing character and pretty complexion, as the earnest lobbying of her relations.

The family were no doubt pleased by their good fortune but, any concept of Elizabeth as a simple rural girl plucked out of Shropshire would be misleading. In the years preceding their daughter's appearance at court, the fortunes of the Blounts of Kinlet were neither particularly humble nor greatly spectacular. They served their king, but as sherriffs or escheators, not councillors. They came to Parliament, as commoners rather than Lords and their interests remained firmly rooted in county, not court matters. However, to protect those interests they were, by necessity, drawn into the circle of greater business. They could count dukes, earls, and lords, amongst their allies and, perhaps even more

164 LP I, (i), n.128 p.61, n.140 p.72, n.1221 p.565 (29).

165 BL Egerton Mss 1991.

tellingly, as their enemies. They came to London to pursue their own ends as much as in the service of the king, and the skills and social graces exhibited by Elizabeth represent a significant investment by her family in her education. Although the Blounts could never have looked for such an opportunity, in many respects she was ideal mistress material. Sufficiently well born to be much about court and sufficiently accomplished and interesting to catch Henry's eye, yet of a status where her prospects would be enhanced, rather than her reputation diminished, by a liaison with the king. Seen in this light it is less surprising than it at first might appear, that a mere Shropshire esquire came to share a grandchild with Henry VIII.

Chapter Two: Elizabeth and Henry VIII

Elizabeth Blount's fortune, in having the connections and opportunity to be present about the court, could well have come to nothing if a suitable place had not fallen vacant when she was about the right age. According to the King's Book of Payments, on 8 May 1513, Elizabeth, who had not been included in the regular list of wages due at the half year, was paid 100s

upon a warrant signed for her last year's wage ended at the annunciation of our Lady last past 1.

This suggests that she joined the queen's service from 25 March 1512, when she was about twelve years old, although the manner of her payment and the amount, suggest that the arrangement was not yet completely formalized. From Michaelmas 1512 she joined a group of young ladies under the watchful eye of Mrs Stoner, the "mother of the maids", with wages of 200s per annum 2. However, the value of such a position went far beyond its monetary rewards.

Whilst no portrait of her survives, a painting of her brother George suggests that the family conformed to the Tudor ideal of beauty, with fair skin, blonde hair, and blue eyes 3. Indeed, Elizabeth's charms appear to have been universally admired. Lord Herbert of Cherbury declared that she

was thought for her rare ornaments of nature and education to be the beauty of mistress piece of her time 4.

Even in 1532 when asked to compare Elizabeth to Anne Boleyn the Dean of Westbury, despite being a supporter of Anne, considered that Elizabeth was the more beautiful 5. Like many other girls of her generation Elizabeth would have been

1 PRO E36/215, f.250.

2 Somerset, Anne, *Ladies in Waiting* (London, 1984), p.15. PRO E36/215 f.270, 301, 336, 370.

3 Childe-Pemberton, op. cit., p.18.

4 Cherbury, op cit., p.165.

5 BL Additional Mss 28585, f.43.

considered quite old enough to be launched onto the marriage market. Her family must have hoped that such a prestigious post would result in a good match for their daughter. To a lively and attractive young girl the court of King Henry VIII offered a range of diversions. Life was a round of music, masqueing, and entertainments. In June 1512 the ladies of the court were resplendent in red and white silk, accompanying a fountain fashioned from russet silk, to mark the jousts at Greenwich. At Christmas that year the festivities were capped by the appearance of a fabulous mountain from which six ladies, festooned in crimson satin, adorned with gold and pearls, emerged to dance ⁶. Elizabeth's arrival at court caused no great impact, and there is no record of her active participation in any events during that first year. She was still very young and engaged in a relatively minor position. However, the child would not have been left entirely to her own devices. The possible benefits of a position at court would have been far too important to her family to allow that.

John Blount's continuing duties as a King's Spear would have enabled her parents to oversee their daughter's progress. Elizabeth's cousin Lord Mountjoy could probably rely on his wife Agnes, herself an experienced lady in waiting, to ensure that their newly appointed young relative conducted herself in the proper manner, and Elizabeth was doubtless also subject to the supervision of a host of other well wishers like the Darrells. As well as her good looks Elizabeth also had the benefit of the kinship between the Guildfords and her paternal grandmother Eleanor Croft to recommend her ⁷. Since Henry Guildford was Master of the Revels, he would have been well placed to ensure that this young relative did not remain a wall flower for very long.

In the summer of 1513 the pleasures of the court were put aside for a time in favour of the splendour of martial deeds. The young Henry VIII was anxious to prove his worth in battle, and it seems all who could be spared followed their king to France. Even Elizabeth's grandfather, Sir Thomas Blount, now

⁶ Hall, Edward, *Chronicle Containing the History of England* ... Ellis, Henry, ed., (London, 1809), p.533, 535.

⁷ Eleanor Croft's granddaughter, from her former marriage with Hugh Mortimer of Worcester, was married to Sir Edward Guildford.

in his fifty seventh year went as a captain in the retinue of the Earl of Shrewsbury. Indeed for a time Elizabeth was almost bereft of male relatives at court. Her father and uncles were also among the host which sailed across the Channel, although Lord Mountjoy did remain behind until September, as one of those appointed to advise Queen Catherine in her role as regent 8. The threat of the Scots ensured that it was not entirely a quiet time at court, although one wonders how well a lively young girl like Elizabeth took to the more staid occupation of making standards, banners, and badges in lieu of dancing 9.

The king's return in October was an occasion for both triumph and sadness. The joint victories at Flodden and Tournai were a marked success for the new reign, but shortly after their return Catherine's second pregnancy ended, like her first, in the death of a male infant 10. The queen's biographer Garret Mattingly juxtaposes this disappointment with the date of Henry's first attentions to Elizabeth Blount 11. It certainly seems that she had begun to make her presence known. In a letter written from France in 1514, Charles Brandon wrote

and I beseech your Grace to [tell] Mistress Blount and Mistress Carew, the next time that I write unto them [or s]end them tokens, they shall either [write to me or send me tokens again 12.

Such attentions are clear evidence that, from amidst the bevy of similarly attractive young ladies, Elizabeth had already caught the eye of the king's closest friend.

That Elizabeth emerges into the public notice as the subject of such a missive has also been used to suggest that she was

8 Stow, op. cit., p.492. LP I, (ii), n.2392 p.1062. After the battle Sir Thomas Blount was created a knight banneret, Cherbury, op. cit., p.41.

9 LP I, (ii), n.2162 p.974.

10 CSP Venetian, II, p.140 n.329.

11 Mattingly, Garrett, *Catherine of Aragon* (London, 1963), p.123.

12 BL Cotton Mss Caligula D VI, f.155. Mistress Carew was probably Elizaeth Bryan, another of the maids of honour and the wife of Sir Nicholas Carew.

Brandon's mistress, before she was the king's 13. Brandon was notoriously charming and handsome, and Elizabeth has not traditionally been cast as a shy and retiring personality, but such an inference may well be a disservice. Since Brandon had served with her father as a King's Spear, the girl would not have been entirely unknown to him, and although flirtatious behaviour was not uncommon within court circles, this was not necessarily a sign of an intimate relationship. The reference has also been taken as proof that Elizabeth was already pursuing a relationship with Henry

The King was discreet about his love affairs, so we know very little about this one, except that it was what Fray Diego was referring to when he accused Henry of having "badly used" the Queen in the autumn of 1514 14.

But Elizabeth was never to earn the sort of reputation enjoyed by Mary Boleyn, and Henry has no history of dalliance with anyone so young 15.

In the climate of 1514 it was evident that there was some friction between Henry and his queen. Catherine was naturally inclined to recommend her father's diplomatic and martial schemes to her husband, and whilst Henry's desire to regain ground in France required Ferdinand's assistance, he was happy to comply. However, Ferdinand repeatedly used his son-in-law's forces to further his own aims at the expense of Henry's ambitions. In 1512 the English armies had mouldered at Fuentarrabia, waiting in vain for Spanish reinforcements until their ranks disintegrated into disorder and disease, whilst Ferdinand pursued his own objective of Navarre 16. By 1514 Henry's anger at his father-in-law's duplicity was immense. The Spanish ambassador complained miserably of his treatment, and it would be surprising if these matters did not cause some tension between the king and his Spanish wife. However, the rumour in August 1514 that Catherine's inability to produce an heir was prompting the king to put her aside for a daughter of

13 Fraser, Antonia, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (London, 1993), p.83.

14 Weir, Alison, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (London, 1995), p.122.

15 Mary was once described as "una grandissima ribald et infame sopra tutte" LP X, n.450 p.181.

16 Bowle, J., *Henry VIII* (London, 1964), p.56.

the Duke of Bourbon appears unfounded 17. Not simply because Henry considered avenging himself on Ferdinand by asserting Catherine's claim to Castile, but because in the summer of 1514 his queen was pregnant again 18. It is more likely that the rumours reflected the king of England's general dissatisfaction with the Spanish alliance 19. In the midst of such difficulties, it seems improbable that a mere flirtation with Elizabeth Blount was in the forefront of her confessor's mind, when he complained of Catherine's present circumstances.

However, the letter is firm evidence that Elizabeth had won entry to that circle of courtiers directly associated with Henry. Dressed in blue velvet and cloth of gold in a Savoy fashion, she was prominent in the New Year revels of 1514 when she was partnered by the king. The festivities were a great success. Hall reports

This strange apparel pleased much every person and in especial the Queen, and thus these 4 Lords and 4 Ladies came into the Queen's chamber with great light of torches and danced a great season, and then put off their visors, and then they were well known 20.

Whilst there is nothing to suggest that the king yet looked at Elizabeth Blount with any serious intent, she was now increasingly involved in the pleasures and pastimes of the court 21. Her skills on both the clavichord and lute, entertained the assembled company, and she was noted as a singer, accompanying both Henry VIII and Friar Dionisius Memo 22. In 1515 she was one of the young ladies who accompanied the queen to Shooters Hill near Greenwich, as part of the traditional May Day celebrations.

17 CSP Venetian, II, n.479 p.188.

18 Scarisbrick, J.J., *Henry VIII* (London, 1988), p.56. Stow, *op. cit.*, p.498.

19 Wernham, Richard, *Before the Armada, The Emergence of the English Nation 1485-1588* (New York, 1966), p.84-8.

20 LP II, (ii), p.1501 Revels Accounts (7). Hall, Edward, *op. cit.*, p.580.

21 Samman, *op. cit.*, p.147. Williams, Neville, *Henry VIII and his Court* (London, 1971), p.66 comments "perhaps it was to ward off any suspicions his wife had about his affection for her maid of honour that in the twelfth night masque at Eltham a few days later Henry had Elizabeth replaced." However her replacement was Jane Poppingcourt.

22 Childe-Pemberton, *op. cit.*, p.85.

On the ambassadors arriving there they mounted on horseback with many of the chief nobles of the kingdom, and accompanied the Queen into the Country to meet the king. She was very richly attired and had with her 25 damsels mounted on white palfreys with housings all of one fashion, most beautifully embroidered with gold and all these damsels wore dresses slashed with gold lama in very costly trim, and were attended by a number of footmen in excellent order 23.

That her father received a two year advance on his wages as a Spear amounting to more than £146 in July 1515 might be construed as an indication of the king's growing interest in Elizabeth 24. However, the exact course of their relationship remains uncertain, not least because it seems highly improbable that a love affair of several years' standing could completely escape gossip or censure. Thus far Elizabeth seems to have been no more than a pleasant companion and a good dancer. For the time being at least, it seems Henry's romantic attentions were in fact otherwise engaged.

The first serious accounts of Henry's infidelity concern the furore over the Duke of Buckingham's sister. In 1510 the Spanish Ambassador reported that one of the sisters of the Duke of Buckingham had attracted the attentions of the king 25. The sister in question is often considered to have been Lady Elizabeth Fitzwalter. Yet in 1513 it was the other sister, Lady Anne Hastings, who received a New Year gift, (and at 30 ounces the third most expensive present in the list). Neil Samman has suggested that such a marked note of favour indicates that she was the sister in question 26. However, the true situation may have been even more complex. The Spanish ambassador suspected Sir William Compton.

Another version is that the love intrigues were not of the king, but of a young man his favourite, of the name of Conton who had been the late king's butler. This

23 CSP Venetian, II, p.247 n.624.

24 BL Additional Mss 21481, f.162.

25 CSP Spanish, Supplement to Volumes I and II, n.8 p.36.

26 Luke, Mary, *Catherine the Queen* (London, 1968), p.119. Weir, op. cit., p.107. "In 1513 thirty ounces was an unusually high amount to be given to one of the queen's ladies by Henry suggesting that Lady Hastings was high in the King's affection and probably the lady mentioned in the report.", Samman, op. cit., p.175.

Conton carried on the intrigue as it is said for the king 27.

Certainly Compton was not entirely innocent in such matters, being famously described as Henry's "ponce", but this time it does appear that the amour was his own 28. When Compton's attentions to the Lady Anne turned more serious, Elizabeth told their brother. Dramatic scenes ensued, with Buckingham berating Compton and the king defending his favourite. Lady Anne was carried off to the safety of a convent and Lady Elizabeth was ordered from court. The king was clearly angry, but subsequent events indicate that Compton, rather than Henry, was the guilty party. In 1527 Wolsey drew up a citation accusing Compton of adultery with Lady Anne Hastings. The groom had apparently taken the sacrament in order to disprove his guilt, but the provision made for Anne in his will belies his protestations of innocence. His will requested

daily service in praying for the souls of the King, the Queen, and the Lady Anne Hastings, for the souls of him, his wife, and all Christian souls 29.

In addition, the profits from certain lands in Leicestershire, were earmarked for Anne for the term of her life. Although the king might have courted suspicion by his conduct towards the duke's sister, it seems that on this occasion Compton alone actually pursued the lady.

Yet Elizabeth Blount was by no means the first maiden at court to be wooed by Henry VIII. Fidelity was not a prerequisite for a monarch, and given Catherine's indisposition during successive pregnancies, few would have rebuked the king for occasionally seeking solace elsewhere. In contrast with many of his contemporaries, Henry was generally the soul of discretion. He is only known to have had a handful of mistresses and never more than one at a time. The line between courtly love and sexual favours is not always clear. Exactly how a certain young lady at the court of Margaret of Austria extracted the promise of a dower of 10000 crowns from the King

27 Supplement to CSP Spanish I & II, p.285.

28 LP VI, (i), n.923 p.399. Bernard, George, "The rise of Sir William Compton, early Tudor courtier", *EHR.*, (1981), p.754, 757.

29 Compton, William, *History of the Comptons of Compton Wynyates* (London, 1930), p.15.

of England can only be imagined 30. However, when Catherine was pregnant in the summer of 1515, it seems that Henry was ensnared by the charms of one Jane Poppingcourt, a Frenchwoman employed by Henry VII as a companion to his daughters Mary and Margaret. By 1502 she was one of Mary's maids of honour, and in 1512 she was receiving 200s in the service of Queen Catherine 31. Like Elizabeth she was a active participant in the revels of the court. In 1515 she was one of the six lords and ladies who danced as part of the twelfth night celebrations 32. When she left to return to France the following year, Henry bestowed upon her a parting gift of £100. Since Jane was also mistress to the Duc de Longueville and censured by Louis XII for her promiscuity, Henry's generosity may well have stemmed from something more than mere royal largess 33. This makes it unlikely that the king was seriously interested in Elizabeth Blount prior to 1516. Once Mary was born Henry had every reason to concentrate his attentions on Catherine. Hopes that she was with child in August 1517 might have proved unfounded, but the king clearly persevered, for by April 1518 she was pregnant again 34.

Any consideration of the king's courtship of Elizabeth Blount is hampered by the fact that the only firm references to the progress of their affair are retrospective. After the event Hall's Chronicle recalls in detail how

The King in his fresh youth was in the chains of love with a fair damsel called Elizabeth Blount, daughter to Sir John Blount, which damsel in singing, dancing, and in all goodly pastimes, exceeded all other, by the which goodly pastimes, she won the king's heart, and she again showed him such favour, that by him she bore a goodly man child, of beauty like to the father and mother 35.

30 Mattingly, op. cit., p.120.

31 BL Additional Mss 21481, f.103.

32 Hall, Edward, op. cit., p.580.

33 PRO E36/215/f449. Samman, op. cit., p.148. Richardson, Walter, *Mary Tudor, The White Queen* (London, 1970), p.14. Carlton, Charles, *Royal Mistresses* (London, 1991), p.30. Williams, op. cit., p.66.

34 Weir, op. cit., p.119. CSP Venetian, II, n.1103 p.474, n1123 p.480.

35 Hall, Edward, op. cit., p.703. Grafton, Richard, *Grafton's Chronicle or History of England ... 1189-1558* (2 Volumes, London, 1809), p.300.

Yet at the time there is scant information to support an enduring association. Elizabeth does not appear to have received any gifts or rewards until after the birth of her son. She was never to figure in any gossip about the king's behaviour, and is only referred to as the mother of his son after Fitzroy's elevation to the peerage in 1525. Estimates of the duration of her liaison with Henry VIII vary, between a term of one year commencing in 1517, and the rather vague charge that

the King for a long time wantonly conversed with a beautiful and a lascivious gentlewoman of the court, named Elizabeth Bl[o]unt 36.

It is impossible to tell whether Elizabeth was the subject of any marriage negotiations during her time at court. If she was occupied with other suitors, there is no evidence of it 37. The issue is further complicated by the fact that the sixteenth century diet and lifestyle often conspired to reduce a woman's natural fertility. Intercourse would not necessarily result in pregnancy. Mary Boleyn was apparently the king's mistress for some considerable time with no such tell tale sign.

Yet in Mary's case it is possible to trace the development of her relationship with the king through the grants accrued by her family. The king's usual offering of just 6s 8d at her marriage to William Carey suggests that they were not involved at that time. But by 1522, when she danced in the Easter Masque at court, there appeared the first of a number of grants to her husband. That it was Mary rather than William Carey who had prompted Henry's generosity is made plain in 1523, when one of the king's ship's bore her name. Her father, brother and husband all profited in the spoils cumulating in Sir Thomas Boleyn's creation as Viscount Rochford in 1525 38.

36 Noble, op. cit., p.22. Neil Samman suggests that the affair was in progress by 1517, when Sir Edward Darrell first became Catherine's vice Chamberlain, Samman, op. cit., p.147.

37 The assertion that Elizabeth had a suitor named Antony Penrose appears, as far as I can ascertain, to be completely unfounded. Burke, S., Hubert, *Historical Portrait of the Tudor Dynasty* (4 Volumes, London, 1879-83), III, p.131.

38 LP III, (ii), King's Book of Payments p.1539. Samman, op. cit., p.445. Ives, Eric, *Anne Boleyn*, p.20. Luke, op. cit., p.264, 278.

That Sir Thomas Blount was sheriff of Shropshire in 1518 was perhaps not coincidence, but nor was it particularly unusual 39. John Blount fared little better. The grants in February 1519 of the keepership of Cleobury Park, and joint stewardship (with his father) of Bewdley and Cleobury Mortimer, would not have been seen as remarkable 40. Francis Hackett's suggestion that John was made an esquire to the body is misleading, nor was he knighted in reward for his daughter's compliance: he had to wait until the Parliament of 1529 to receive that honour 41. His election as knight of the shire for Shropshire, at the expense of Sir Thomas Leighton, might seem a marked note of favour, especially since John was required to withstand no small competition.

Roger Corbet who was sprung from one of the oldest families in Shropshire, and had links with the Duke of Suffolk, Lord Windsor and the Vernons of Haddon, failed to manoeuvre himself into a county seat, he was no match for Sir Thomas Cornwall and John Blount 42.

but even then this probably had less to do with Henry's gratitude, and more to do with the politics of the time.

Indeed, John's standing was such that, after the death of his father, he lost his interest in Bewdley to Sir William Compton. Not until Compton succumbed to the sweating sickness in 1528 did John regain the stewardship. The snub was all the more bitter since by 1526 John Blount's brother Edward was appointed Compton's deputy surveyor there 43. It is clear that there was little love lost between the two brothers. Even in 1531 John Blount was compelled to look to Cromwell for aid against the actions of Compton's late servants, including his own brother, requiring the minister either

39 LP II, (ii), n.4562 p.1395. In any event it may have proved a sour reward, since Sir Thomas was sued for wrongful arrest, PRO C1/402/28.

40 LP III, (i), n.73 p.20, n.79 p.23. PRO C1/389/2.

41 Hackett, Francis, *Henry VIII* (London, 1929), p.165. Since John Blount was also squire of the body to Henry VII, it seems unlikely that the 1519 grant heralded a new appointment. LP III, (i), n.79 p.23. He was still a mere esquire in January 1529, LP IV, (iii), n.5243 p.2311 (25), although he was knighted by November 1530 when he was pricked as Sheriff of Shropshire. LP IV, (iii), n.6721 p.3029.

42 Lehmborg, S., *The Reformation Parliament 1529-1536* (Cambridge, 1970), p.18, 237 n.58.

43 Childe-Pemberton, op. cit., p.193, 195.

to find some remedy to have a discharge to the sheriff, or else to remove it out of that shire, for there I can have no favour by reason of my brother [Edward], and other that were Master Compton's servants 44.

Elizabeth herself might well have received personal gifts of jewels or money, but none of this demonstrates the sort of marked generosity one would expect from the king if the relationship had been of any duration.

Admittedly Henry could not have rewarded Mary Boleyn, who was already married, as he would Elizabeth Blount, with a suitable husband. The grants to the Boleyn family were perhaps merely another form of compensation. Yet it is entirely possible that the king's affair with Elizabeth Blount lasted no more than a matter of months. Henry's evident desire to capitalize on the birth of a healthy daughter, by making Catherine pregnant again, and the onset of the sweating sickness, which abruptly curtailed the usual round of gaiety and society at court, means that events in 1517 were not conducive to the onset of an affair. However, by 1518 Henry was being very solicitous of Catherine, advising Wolsey

about this time is partly of her dangerous times, and because of that I would remove her as little as I may now 45.

Since sex during pregnancy was discouraged, it is a sad irony that Catherine's condition may well have provided the impetus for her husband to seek solace in the arms of Elizabeth Blount. Given that Fitzroy was six years old in 1525, it is quite feasible that he was conceived at some point between April and November, when Catherine was indisposed. On 3 October 1518, Elizabeth was a participant in the celebrations organized by Wolsey at York Place to mark the betrothal of the two year old Princess Mary to the Dauphin of France. On this occasion she was one of a large party of masquers, including the king, who appeared dressed in an elaborate uniform of green satin

All these 36 persons disguised were in one suit of fine green satin, all over covered with cloth of gold, under tied together with laces of gold, and masking hoods on their heads. The ladies had ties made of braids of

44 PRO SP1/68 p.131.

45 Parmiter, Geoffrey de., C., op cit., p.4.

damask gold, with long hairs of white gold. All these masquers danced at one time, and after they had danced they put off their visors, and then they were all known
46.

Perhaps as a concession to the political gravity of the event, this time the king was not partnered by Elizabeth, but by his own sister Mary. Although Francis Bryan tactfully provided Elizabeth's escort, the possibility cannot be discounted that she was already carrying the king's child.

Although Elizabeth's actual withdrawal from court is not documented, this was to be her last recorded appearance. It is, of course, impossible to determine exactly when Elizabeth fell pregnant. Even she may have remained in doubt of her condition for anything up to four months. Medical conditions such as amenorrhoea made pregnancy notoriously difficult to detect, and early miscarriages were not uncommon. Many women would wait until they felt the baby stir in the womb before they could be sure that they were with child. On so sensitive an occasion it is not possible that the king would have so openly courted scandal by allowing Elizabeth to appear if she were visibly pregnant. Certainly, the eagle eyed court observers made no comment on her condition. This means that she is unlikely to have conceived before June 1518. Assuming that the pregnancy ran to full term this would have led to a birth in February 1519. Since Fitzroy was six in June 1525 he must have been born before June 1519, which would place conception in October 1518 47. In the light of subsequent events a date towards the end of this period seems the more appropriate. Writing in his journal in 1547 the young Edward VI would recall how, at the age of six, he too had been

brought up [un]til he came to six years old among the women. At the sixth year of his age he was brought up in learning by Mr Dr [Richard] Cox ... and John Clerke ... Master of Arts 48.

It seems improbable that the king would ever have entertained allowing his only male child to languish without some sort of

46 Hall, Edward, op cit., p.595.

47 Edward Hall's Chronicle confirms that Richmond was 6 years old on 18 June 1525 Ibid., p.703.

48 *The Chronicle and Political Papers of Edward VI* Jordan, W. K., ed., (New York, 1966), p.3.

suitable provision once he was safely out of infancy. On this basis, it seems safe to assume that in June 1525 Fitzroy had not long since turned six.

Certainly Elizabeth could not have remained long at court once Catherine suspected her condition. The child was born at the Priory of St Lawrence at Blackmore, near Ingatestone in Essex, and Elizabeth probably spent the remainder of her pregnancy here 49. Mark Noble, writing in 1878, expressed his surprise at the arrangement

was it not extraordinary that Lady Tailbois, if it was necessary to go to a religious house to lie in, should not have been sent to a nunnery? 50.

However, Elizabeth did not stay within the Priory itself alongside the monks, but at the nearby manor house, which served as a residence for the Prior, Thomas Goodwyn. Perhaps because of her presence there, Blackmore has acquired a poor reputation as being the king's trysting place

This is reported to have been one of K[ing] Henry the Eighth's Houses of Pleasure; and disguised by the name of Jericho. So that when this lascivious Prince had a mind to be lost in the embraces of his courtisans, the cant word among the courtiers, was, that He was gone to Jericho.

It has become a popular theme, but Henry VIII generally did not scruple to pursue his romantic liaisons, or even more serious affairs, in front of his courtiers. In fact, the arrangements for the latter stages of Elizabeth's pregnancy were probably the responsibility of Thomas Wolsey 51. To the cardinal the choice of a manor house attached to an Augustinian Priory, must have seemed a convenient solution. It no doubt served to stem the flow of gossip that might have wound its way back to the court had Elizabeth been placed in a nunnery peopled by the daughters of noblemen. To display with pride a healthy male child was one thing, but another failed

49 Stow, op. cit., p.525.

50 Noble, op. cit., p.22.

51 Mordant, Philip, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex* (2 Volumes, London, 1763-68), II, p.56-7. At its dissolution in 1527 Blackmore was granted to Wolsey. Green, R, *History of Framlingham and Saxsted* (London, 1834), p.132.

pregnancy need not be advertised. Since Henry passed at least part of the summer of 1519 in Essex, this was perhaps an additional factor in the selection of the priory. This policy of discretion seems to have been successful. The infant's arrival caused no great stir. In the various dispatches and correspondence of the period there is no reference to his birth. Indeed in the summer of 1519 the Italian Ambassador, Gustinian, wrote

Since my last, nothing new has taken place, save the desired arrival of the most noble my successor 52.

Yet there can be no doubt that it was Henry's child. He was given the surname Fitzroy and Wolsey was a godfather, diplomatically naming the infant after his royal sire 53. The cardinal was at Windsor on 18 June, and although expected at Hampton Court the following day, not until the 29th does he reappear at a council meeting at Westminster 54. Since this date accords so exactly with the timing of Fitzroy's elevation, it is tempting to conclude that he was waylaid by the child's birth. The identity of his other godfather, or indeed his godmother, is not known. In June 1519 Henry VIII had been invited to stand as godfather to Francis I's second son (whom he called Henry), but the King of France was not asked to return the favour. Thomas Howard has been put forward as a suitable candidate, but in 1519 he was still only Earl of Surrey. If Henry VIII had looked to a Howard to be godfather to his son, the Flodden Duke was the more prestigious choice 55. No suggestion has been proffered for his godmother, although given the indelicacy of asking one of the ladies of the court, she may well have been one of Elizabeth's relations.

In his biography of Catherine of Aragon, Garrett Mattingly supposes that there was some formal celebration of Fitzroy's birth

52 Gustinian, Sebastian, *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII*, Brown, Rawdon, ed., and trans., (2 Volumes, London, 1854), I, p.275.

53 BL Vespasian F III, f.18b.

54 Samman, op. cit., p.403

55 Cherbury, op. cit., p.83. "The new Duke of Richmond was placed in the charge of his Godfathers, the Duke of Norfolk and Cardinal Wolsey", Casady, Edwin, op cit., p.33.

Catherine, with who knows how much - or how little - bitterness in her heart, dutifully attended, at the manor house Henry had built for Lady Tailleboys, the festivities in honour of the child named Henry Fitzroy 56.

This cannot have been the infant's christening, which would have been performed as soon as possible after his birth 57. However, during his time in Essex Henry had a number of opportunities to show off his son. The king just might have been tactless enough to parade the child at the lavish entertainment given by the queen in August 1519, at her manor of Havering-atte-Bower, to honour the French hostages, but the banquet held at the newly refurbished Newhall seems more probable. This would also accommodate the myth that Henry had been revamping the manor for the use of his mistress 58.

It is generally considered that Elizabeth's relationship with the king ended once she was with child. Certainly even in the most detailed lists of events and festivities her name cannot be found for several decades 59. Speculation exists that, even prior to the debut of Mary Boleyn, she had already been replaced in the king's bed 60. Yet the fact that Elizabeth had already conceived her second child, arguably as early as August 1519, raises the possibility that this infant too was the king's 61. However, given Henry's sensitivity to the whole matter of progeny, it seems untenable that any child of his, even a daughter, would have remained in obscurity. Elizabeth's

56 Mattingly, *op. cit.*, p.132. Fraser, *op. cit.*, p.83.

57 Streitberger, W. R., *Court Revels, 1485-1559* (Toronto, 1994), p.246.

58 Grafton, *op. cit.*, p.300. PRO E418/17, f.27. LP III, (i), n.436 p.155. Lindsay, Philip, *The Secret Life of Henry VIII* (London, 1953), p.41. Hume, Martin, *The Wives of Henry VIII* (London, 1927), p.96.

59 Even at the Field of Cloth of Gold, in 1520, when much of the Court, including her grandfather Sir Thomas Blount and her great uncle Sir Edward Darrell, were in attendance, neither Elizabeth nor her husband can be found.

60 Burke, *op. cit.*, I, p.178 cites Arabella Parker "the wife of a city merchant" as being the successor of Elizabeth Blount. I can find no evidence of this and Burke is inaccurate on several other points. There was a Mistress Parker in the revels of March 1522, LP III, (ii), *Revels Accounts* p.1559, but this was probably Margery Parker, servant to the Princess Mary since 1516. LP II, (ii), *King's Book of Payments* p.1473.

61 Elizabeth Tailbois Wimbush was aged 22 in June 1542, PRO Durhm 3, Portf 177, n.55.

first husband was Gilbert Tailbois, the son and heir of Sir George Lord Tailbois of Kyme and his wife Elizabeth Gascoigne, the sister of Sir William Gascoigne of Gawthorpe. Since he was of age, and a ward of the Crown, there was nothing to prevent a swift marriage.

Gilbert's first recorded office was on 16 June 1521, as part of a commission of sewers in Lincolnshire. In the style of a young married man he subsequently became an increasingly notable presence in the county. In March 1522 he was included in the commissions of the peace for the first time 62. In April 1522, in common with Wolsey, his mother, and Sir William Tyrwhit, Gilbert was granted the wardship of one George Vernon 63. Regrettably there is no record of Elizabeth as a married woman until 18 June 1522, when the king's gift, in tail male, of the valuable manor and town of Rugby in Warwickshire, might appear a suitable wedding present 64. However, as this June date was also chosen in 1525 for Richmond's elevation, it is possible that it held some other significance for the child's parents.

There are also very few clear references to the circumstances of Fitzroy's early life. Most follow Hall's chronicle which assures us that Fitzroy was

well brought up like a prince's child 65.

but does not describe the manner of his care. A letter to Elizabeth from the child's first tutor at Sheriff Hutton, John Palsgrave, makes it clear that the infant had received some rudimentary education prior to his elevation. Fitzroy might have been raised with his half-sister Elizabeth in Lincolnshire. Certainly Palsgrave's eagerness to associate his mother in later difficulties in teaching the child,

62 LP III, (i), n.1379 p.553, n.2145 p.916.

63 In LP III, (ii), n.2214 p.942, Gilbert's mother is described as the widow of George; but the actual grant says wife, PRO C82/517 p.1 m22.

64 LP III, (ii), n.2356, p.998, (18). Rawcliffe, Carole, *op cit.*, p.183.

65 Hall, Edward, *op. cit.*, p.703.

whereof yourself was as guilty in any of them as I was
66.

has been taken to suggest that she had some responsibility for his care in infancy 67. Other theories abound. Francis Hackett confidently asserts that he was removed from his mother's care to be raised in semi-royal privacy 68. The child could easily have been housed at any one of the numerous royal manors within reach of London. Mary, Elizabeth and Edward all divided their time amongst a variety of royal houses and the establishment of a natural son need not have been particularly large or notable. In the Ordinances of 1493 a single nurse and four rockers were considered sufficient to attend a newborn in the royal nursery 69. Paul notes that Margaret Bryan was entrusted with the care of all the king's children. He may have had only the legitimate children in mind, but in 1536 Margaret herself wrote

When my Lady Mary was born it pleased the King's Grace [to make] me Lady Mistress, and made me a Baroness, and so I have been a m[other to the] children his grace have have [sic] had since 70.

The reorganization of the Princess Mary's household in 1519, when Margaret Bryan was replaced as Lady Mistress by Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, could have freed her to attend upon Fitzroy. At the same time at least two of her rockers appear to have left Mary's service 71. Unless Margaret's grammar is at fault, it does seem that she refers to another child between Mary, and Elizabeth her charge in 1536. Since Edward was not yet born, Fitzroy seems the obvious candidate.

66 PRO SP1/55, p.14

67 LP IV, (iii), n.5808 p.2594. Palsgrave, John, *The Comedy of Acolastus Translated from the Latin of Pullonius*, Carver, P. L., ed., EETS, (London, 1937), p.xxxiii.

68 Hackett, op. cit., p.166.

69 In 1538, a widow, Joan Brigman, received an annuity of 5 marks out the manor of Cheshunt, in consideration of her services to Henry Duke of Richmond in his childhood. LP XIII, (i), n.1309 (38) p.488.

70 Paul, J. E., *Catherine of Aragon and Her Friends* (London, 1966), p.53. BL Cotton Otho C X, f.234.

71 Orme, Nicholas, *From Childhood to Chivalry* (London, 1984), p.12. Paul, J.E., *Catherine of Aragon and her Friends* (London, 1966), p.53. LP III, (i), n.361 p.124. Loades, David, *Mary Tudor, A Life* (Oxford, 1992), p.346-51.

The child's progress was also overseen by his godfather. The cardinal already had some experience in these matters, having illegitimate issue of his own 72. He was ideally placed to supervise the movements of the infant's household, and arrange periodic contact with the king under the guise of other business. Wolsey was to be a prominent influence in Fitzroy's later life, and there is firm evidence of his involvement with the child in these early years. As godfather he honoured the tradition of New Year gifts even prior to Fitzroy's elevation to the peerage. In January 1525 Wolsey gave the child a gold collar with a hanging pearl worth £6 18s 8d 73. In the Summer of 1525 it was from Wolsey's London residence Durham Place, that the child would travel for his creation 74.

However, the young duke's household accounts suggest that this arrangement was only temporary. Before he departed from London he had also spent some time at Hampton Court with his father 75. Although the importance attached to the young Henry Fitzroy might ebb and flow with the political tide, his father's affection for the boy appears constant. Such pride when the child so acutely resembled his royal sire, is perhaps understandable, but in 1519 he also represented something more. Here was tangible evidence, perhaps even a sign from God, that Henry VIII could sire a living, healthy, male child. The hope engendered by Mary's birth was not quite lost. In August 1519 Henry was again confident enough to assure Pope Leo X

If our longed-for heir should have been granted before the expedition sets out to do battle with the Infidel, we will lead our force in person 76.

If the king's honour had not demanded that his offspring was taken care of in a matter befitting his royal blood, then surely his pride and pleasure in this certain proof would have required it. Whatever provision was decided upon may have been

72 Gwyn, Peter, *The King's Cardinal* (London, 1992), p.294.

73 Samman, op. cit., p.186. Gutch, John, ed., *Collectanea Curiosa* (Oxford, 1781), p.313. PRO E36/71, f.71.

74 BL Cotton Tibetius E VIII, f.206.

75 PRO SP1/35, f.167.

76 Warnicke, Retha, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn* (Cambridge, 1989), p.49. Wernham, op. cit., p.100.

discreet, but this did not require the king to eschew contact with the child, or to relinquish his paternal role.

How far Elizabeth was allowed to participate in her child's upbringing is less certain. There is no evidence that she ever wielded, or sought, any political power over the king, either for her own benefit, or in promoting her son. Her associations with the court were all connected with masques and dances. Prior to her marriage there is no record of any grant of offices, money or lands. Indeed there is no reference to her as the king's mistress at all, until well after Fitzroy was openly acknowledged. At this point Elizabeth was safely married and the fortunes of the child firmly under the direction of his father. Elizabeth was no Alice Perrers to interfere with the political policy of her king, nor did she enjoy the pseudo wife status of Charles II's long term Mistress Barbara Villiers

The idea of either Bessie Blount or Mary Boleyn serving as "maitresse en titre" and wielding great influence over Henry in matters of state would have been completely absurd. Both of these women were essentially objects of social pleasure for the king and totally separate from his policy making decisions. Henry's mistresses seem to have enjoyed only limited status at court 77.

Yet if the decisions about her child's political future were not hers to make, she remained in contact with her son. Her brothers lived in their nephew's household at Sheriffhutton and Elizabeth herself held lands from Richmond in Somerset. An inventory of the child's goods taken in 1531 records her gift of two bay horses and a doublet to the child 78. That Palsgrave appealed to her, regarding the conditions under which he was required to teach, suggests that he felt her involvement would have some effect. Since he also urged that Elizabeth come to Sheriff Hutton to judge matters for herself, the idea that she might also visit with her son, was evidently not out of the question 79.

77 Given-Wilson, and Curteis, op cit., p.10ff. Lechnar, Michael, op cit., p.7.

78 *Inventory of the Wardrobe of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond 1531*, [17], HMC, Longleat Miscellaneous Manuscripts (Microfilm, Reel 2), f.97. *VCH Somerset*, Volume 4, p.91.

79 PRO SP1/55, p.14.

As the arrangements for the elevation of Fitzroy to the peerage took shape, Elizabeth and her husband were honoured with a spate of further grants. In April 1525 Gilbert was made bailiff of the manor of Tattershall in Lincolnshire, and keeper of the castle there 80. In June these were part of the lands granted to Henry Fitzroy as Duke of Richmond and Somerset, and it appears that Gilbert's elevation to knighthood was also associated with his stepson's new dignity. On 6 July 1525 he appears as Sir Gilbert Tailbois for the first time, in a lease of herbage and pannage of Tattershall Park 81. In September 1525 Gilbert was again to serve as sheriff 82. Although Elizabeth is not much in evidence, it is clear the couple did not sever all links with the court. In 1527 the subsidy return records Gilbert amongst those persons belonging to the king's chamber, and as late as April 1529, Gilbert was at court since his mother complained that Wolsey had

said he should go home and see good order kept in the county and that he should have the custody of his father's lands and his lands 83.

In February 1529 Gilbert received the lands and wardship of one William Ingiby. Despite incomplete listings there were at least two occasions in 1529 and 1532, when Elizabeth received a New Year gifts from the king 84. This was not merely a pro forma obligation. In 1532 her gift of a gilt goblet with a cover, was at over 35 ounces, one of the heaviest presents 85. All the indications are that Henry continued to hold Elizabeth in some degree of affection and esteem. Such an enduring relationship no doubt reflecting his gratitude for the birth of his son.

80 LP IV, (i), n.1298 p.569.

81 Ibid., n.1533 p.689 (6). Not to be confused with the Gilbert Tailbois (jun) not pricked in the list for Sheriff of Lincolnshire in November 1523, LP III, (ii), n.3583 p.1488, who reappears in November 1524 as Sir Gilbert Tailbois (jun), LP IV, (i), n.819 p.367.

82 Ibid., n.1795 p.798.

83 PRO E179/69/2, he was assessed at £66 13s 4d. PRO SP1/53, p.158

84 In 1529 Lady Tailbois' servant recieved 13s 4d for his services in delivering her gift, LP V, p.307 Treasurer of the Chambers Accounts. For 1532 see LP V, n.686 p.327.

85 PRO E101/420/15.

Gilbert and Elizabeth constituted a substantial presence in Lincolnshire when they took up residence at South Kyme 86. Under the Tudors the Tailbois were an established and respected family. Their principal residence at Goltho had been in their possession since the fourteenth century, when Henry Tailbois had married the heiress Eleanor de Umfraville. The family were not strangers to political drama. Sir William Tailbois was knighted at the battle of St Albans, and fled with Queen Margaret into Scotland. He was promptly attainted by Edward IV and subsequently beheaded 87. Not until the reversal of this decision in 1472 was his heir and Gilbert's grandfather, Robert, able to enter into his inheritance 88. Gilbert's father, Sir George Tailbois, was knighted in 1497 and sat as knight of the shire in the Parliament of 1509 89. His wife Elizabeth was a granddaughter of Henry, third Earl of Northumberland, so that the Tailbois had links with the Dukes of Buckingham and Norfolk. In comparison to the Blounts they were a wealthy family. When he made his will in November 1494 Sir Robert Tailbois had left his son George

6 bowls of silver with a covering, and a basin and a ewer of silver, and two pots of silver, and two salts gilt 90.

This was more silver than Katherine Blount had to bestow between all her children. Sir Robert also liberally bestowed jewels, money and other vessels of silver, or silver and gilt, not just to the church, or his immediate family, but to a large number of servants and retainers. In his will of January 1516, John Long of Croft desired that masses should be said

For the good estate of Sir George Taylbois Knt, and Dame Elizabeth his wife, Master Gilbert Taylbois, and Master William, and all their children, and all them that be of the council of the said Sir George Taylbois and his heirs, and all the benefactors and maintainers of the divine service in the said Church of Croft, and for the souls of Sir Robert Taylbois knt and Dame Elizabeth his

86 Kirk, Charles, *Kyme and its Tower* (Sleaford, 1881), p.3.

87 Virgoe, R., "William Tailbois and Lord Cromwell: Crime and Politics in Lancastrian England" *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, [55], (1973), p.473.

88 CPR Edward IV. Henry VI. 1461-67, p.34 m13d, 205 m10d. Newton, Margaret, *South Kyme* (Lincoln, 1995), p.17.

89 Powell and Wallis, op. cit., p.564. LP I, (i), n.257 p.1509.

90 PRO Prob/11/10.

wife, Sir William Gascogine knt and Dame Margaret his wife 91.

No doubt the family could command a large following. Sir George was a major Lincolnshire landowner. He also had further interests in Yorkshire, Northumberland, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk and Somerset 92. Yet the extent of his power and influence, far from protecting his family from misfortune, was to be a significant element in their difficulties.

In 1499, whilst he was serving as the king's lieutenant of the east and middle Marches, Sir George Tailbois fell ill. The sickness described as the "land evil" apparently left him

somewhat enfeebled of his perfect mind and remembrance 93.

If Sir George had indeed lost his mind, he would be declared lunatic and, as in a minority, his lands and possessions, not to mention his person, would be taken into the hands of the king. Sir George was apparently sufficiently *compos mentis* to be alarmed at this possibility. After some negotiations, it was agreed that Henry VII would forbear from exercising this privilege, in return for the sum of 800 marks 94. For a time this arrangement was effective and Sir George appears to have had intervals of lucidity. In 1508 he was treated as if he was of sound mind when he was bound in recognizance for £60 with several of his neighbours. In 1513 he was listed amongst those to provide service in the French war, but by 1516 moves were again afoot to take the manors from him 95. In an inquisition *de lunatico inquirendo* held at Lincoln a jury found Sir George to be of sound mind and perfect memory 96. Despite this, in March 1517 a royal warrant was to grant Wolsey, Sir Robert Dymmock, and others, custody of his lands on the grounds that he was a lunatic 97.

91 *Lincoln Wills 1271-1526* Foster, C. W., ed., (Publications of the Lincoln Record Society, 1914), p.70.

92 BL Additional Mss 27423. PRO C142/31/41.

93 Richardson, W. C., "The Surveyor of the King's Prerogative" *EHR.*, [56], (1941), p.60.

94 *Ibid.*

95 LP I, (i), n.4616 p.711. Cancelled 28 December 1513.

96 PRO C142/31/41.

97 LP II, (ii), n.2979 p.959.

Sir George was never to regain stewardship of his possessions, and later correspondence suggests that for his wife and her other children this was a time of unaccustomed financial difficulties, but as the heir apparent Gilbert now became a valuable commodity 98. Since his wardship was an effective route to court, Gilbert could have been forgiven for thinking that his father's indisposition had proved to be his good fortune. When Parliament opened in June 1529 Gilbert was called to take his place as Baron Tailbois of Kyme, even though his enfeebled father was still living 99. However, the question of his entry into the lands was rather more complex. A popular theme in Henry VIII's courtship of Elizabeth Blount is the king's audacity, in proclaiming his gratitude to his mistress by means of lands and rewards bestowed openly in an Act of Parliament. In fact the statute is couched diplomatically as the petition of Sir George and Gilbert, regarding their favour and affection towards Elizabeth. Only careful reading and knowledge of the truth reveals the king's hand in the matter

by which marriage aswell the said Sir George Taylboys Knight, as the said Gilbert Taylboys, have received not only great sums of money, but also many benefits to their right much comfort 100.

The Act allowed Elizabeth to hold Tailbois lands in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, and Somerset for the term of her life. The package included lands to the value of £200 and a further annuity of £40 101. As a marriage portion it constituted generous provision for Elizabeth. However, these lands did not particularly reflect the king's generosity, since they were a portion of those possessions which Gilbert stood to inherit as his patrimony. Nonetheless, the union was not such a poor deal for Gilbert. He wed Elizabeth secure in the knowledge that she was capable of bearing him sons, and this legal fiction enabled him to enjoy much of his inheritance during his father's lifetime, with the hope of further royal gratitude to follow. Given that the Crown need not have surrendered control until Sir George died in

98 LP V, n.119 p.59 (67).

99 LP IV, (iii), n.5336 p.2351 (27). Powell and Wallis, op. cit., p.564.

100 14 & 15 Henry VIII c34.

101 PRO SP1/48, p.165

September 1538, Gilbert stood to benefit from the arrangement at least as much as his new bride 102.

In terms of reward, marriage to a baron seems an auspicious match for Elizabeth. When her brother George married Constance Talbot, the daughter of Sir John Talbot of Grafton, and his wife Margaret, the indenture dated 30 March 1533, allowed Constance a jointure of £40 out of lands in Staffordshire. In return Sir John Talbot paid a total of 525 marks for the marriage. The couple stood to inherit the entire parcel of Blount/Peshall lands in Shropshire, Staffordshire and elsewhere. As the son and heir George would normally be expected to have made the best marriage his family could afford. Indeed, given his mother's subsequent difficulties in raising the required sum, it was perhaps more than they could afford 103. Since Talbot was a cousin of the Earl of Shrewsbury it was no mean match, but it did not equate with the wealth and status that Elizabeth now enjoyed. In the list of charges levied against Wolsey's governance in 1528 Elizabeth's marriage was a point at issue

We have begun to encourage the young gentlewomen of the realm to be our concubines by the well marrying of Besse Blont, whom we would yet by sleight have married much better than she is, and for that purpose changed her name 104.

The article was just one of a number of broad ranging, and potentially damaging accusations, against Wolsey's governance. Whatever the wider political import of the charges, the claim that Elizabeth was married above her station seems accurate. Of her four sisters, only Albora was still unmarried by 1540 105. Her eldest sister Anne, married Richard Lacon, the heir of Sir Thomas Lacon of Shropshire and the family's interests remained purely provincial. Her husband was John Blount's petty captain in the French campaign of 1513 and served as sheriff of the county in 1539 106. Another sister Rose married William Gresley, the son and heir of Sir Thomas Gresley and Benedicta his wife. The Gresleys, were neighbours of the

102 PRO Durhm 3, Portf 177, n.31.

103 BL Additional Mss 46457, f.56ff.

104 LP IV, (iii), n.5750 p.2558.

105 PRO Prob 11/28.

106 LP II, (i), n619 p.223 (38).

Blounts, holding lands at Drakelow in Derbyshire 107. Only her sister Isabel was to marry out of the immediate locality, when she wed William Rede of Oatlands in Surrey 108. In comparison, Elizabeth had moved far both from the geographical and social sphere into which she was born.

That Gilbert and Elizabeth enjoyed a life of some wealth is evident in the embittered cries of Gilbert's mother. In June 1528 she wrote to Wolsey regarding his order to transfer a further £100 in lands and rents, and an annuity of £40. The letter is a sorry document of financial trouble. She roundly asserts that since her husband had been committed into Wolsey's care they had been nothing but frugal. Yet she still struggled to meet the requirements of her household. In a catalogue of debts and deficiencies, money was owed in a marriage contract and no provision had yet been made for Gilbert's younger brother

and now, my husband being aged, if he and I should live in penury, ... and have not that that [sic] should be necessary, and be compelled to break up [our] house and sparkle [scatter] our children and servants, - as surely of necessity, my husband and I must do in [case] my said son should obtain his said demand.

She rather acidly comments that the lands worth over £342 that Gilbert and Elizabeth presently held were already as much, if not more, than she and her husband enjoyed 109. By April 1529 the situation had deteriorated further. In a letter to Thomas Hennege she complained that her son had now withdrawn a previous offer to allow his mother 400 marks, Goltho, respite of the £40 annuity and payment of her debts. Now he was reportedly looking to have half of his father's lands. Elizabeth was apparently at pains to assure her mother-in-law that none of this was their idea.

My daughter reported to Blesbie, as he saith, that my son nor she did never make any request to the king's Highness, or to my Lord's grace, for any more of his father's lands; but she saith that my Lord's grace of his own mind called my son to him 110.

107 CIPM Henry VII, n.1028 p.532.

108 CPR Elizabeth 1560-63, p.66

109 PRO SP1/48, p.165.

110 PRO SP1/53, p.158.

The problem was not so much resolved as overtaken by events. The cardinal's downfall in the summer of 1529 was followed not long after by Gilbert's own death. His heir George became the ward of Sir William Fitzwilliam, later Earl of Southampton, who married him to his cousin's daughter 111. As for Sir George, in 1531 the king appointed a new commission under the Duke of Norfolk to administer the residue of his lands 112. Gilbert died on 15 April 1530 and was buried in the church at South Kyme 113. By this time the question of the king's great matter was being generally discussed. Henry, fueled by his belief in Leviticus, was set on replacing his dead brother's wife with a queen who would provide him with a legitimate heir. In these circumstances it is perhaps no surprise that the minds of some turned to the mother of the king's son. If Elizabeth married Henry VIII, the ready made son could be legitimised by his parents' subsequent marriage: the moral concern that Richmond had been conceived in adultery, no doubt weighing little against the practical benefits. In addition, there was the comforting thought that Elizabeth, already the mother of three sons, was still young enough to provide the king with further issue. In June 1532 Mons Loys de Heylwiggen, a member of the emperor's household, was dining at the castle of Louvain with John Barlow, dean of Westbury. Having broached the delicate topic of the king's marriage, de Heylwiggen expressed his surprise that if Henry VIII must repudiate his queen, he would contemplate marrying anyone but Elizabeth

he had heard a report that the king wished to marry a lady of a noble house [Lady Tailbois] "to legitimize by subsequent marriage a son he had by her". But the "Dean" said it was another lady [Anne Boleyn] whom the King wished to marry. Monsieur de Heylwiggen replied he had never heard of this, and he thought the King's love for another than his wife must be for the mother of his son 114.

But if Henry VIII ever considered this solution, there is no record of it. His attitude towards Elizabeth's prospective suitors suggests it was never really an option. From at least

111 *The Lisle Letters* St Clare Byrne, Muriel, ed., (6 Volumes, Chicago, 1981), I, p.11, n.859 p.399. Margaret, the daughter of Sir William Skipworth.

112 LP V, n.119 p.59 (67).

113 BL Harleian Mss 6829, f.127.

114 Childe-Pemberton, op. cit., p.203.

the autumn of 1527, Henry VIII was actively pursuing Anne Boleyn. Although the dean defended Anne as being

eloquent, gracious, reasonably good looking, and of a good house,

de Heylwigen was not impressed and suggested that the king had been charmed by potions 115. His point was not spurious. Anne represented no European alliance which might benefit the country, nor, despite fulsome praise of her child bearing figure, did she have any brood of sons to recommend her. But Henry apparently cared little for this. Even if Elizabeth had been widowed earlier, it is doubtful that things would have been any different, and 1530 the possibility was long since lost.

Elizabeth was by no means left destitute by her husband's death. Her life interest in the Tailbois lands made her a respectably wealthy widow. As the mother of four healthy, and predominantly male children, she constituted an excellent catch. Perhaps, not surprisingly, she soon attracted the advances of Lord Leonard Grey. A powerful landowner, as a younger son of the Marquis of Dorset and a first cousin of the king, this was not a man to offend 116. Elizabeth had obviously received him graciously and Leonard was sufficiently encouraged to write that very night to Cromwell, requesting him to solicit Elizabeth on his behalf. His first letter on 24 May 1532 was full of optimism.

So it is I have been on hunting in Lincolnshire and so came by my Lady Tailbois homewards, and have had communication with her in the way of marriage, and so I have had very good cheer with her ladyship. Ensuring you that I could be better contented to marry with her, (God and the king pleased), than with any other Lady or gentlewoman living 117.

If Cromwell could also persuade the king and the Duke of Norfolk, to lend their support this would do very well. Grey even sent a blank paper for their letters, and £5 in gold to ensure the secretary's co-operation. For his part Cromwell wrote to Elizabeth, but her response was evidently not as keen

115 BL Additional Mss 28585, f.43.

116 Childe-Pemberton, op. cit., p.204ff.

117 PRO SP1/70, p.61.

as Grey had supposed. By 2 July 1532 he was urging Cromwell to try harder

I had rather obtain that matter than to be made Lord of as much goods and lands as any one nobleman hath within this realm, ... for I promise you at this hour my heart is not in my governance, nor I ruler thereof 118.

Lord Grey's romantic disclaimer suggests that his true motives were all too apparent. Whilst he stressed the king's acquiescence to the match this was some way from active endorsement, and Elizabeth was able to reject his suit without censure. Perhaps his bribes to Cromwell were just not large enough, but it is more probable that Henry was still sufficiently well disposed to Elizabeth to be swayed by her wishes in such a personal matter.

Elizabeth took as her second husband Edward Fiennes, Lord Clinton, later Lord Admiral and Earl of Lincoln. Born in 1512, Clinton was somewhat younger than Elizabeth. He would marry twice more and the most glittering aspects of his career occurred after her death, but his pedigree was most respectable 119. The family hailed from Amington and had been landowners in Warwickshire since the early fourteenth century. By the reign of Henry VIII they had amassed substantial interests there and in Kent 120. His father Thomas had succeeded to the title in 1514 and had attended the marriage of Mary Tudor to the French king, serving at Tournai, before his sudden death from the sweating sickness in 1517 121. His mother Jane, was the illegitimate daughter of Sir Edward Poynings, a man of some prominence at the court of Henry VIII. He served at various times as controller and treasurer of the household, Warden of the Cinque Ports, lieutenant of Tournai and deputy of Ireland 122. As such he was well placed to

118 PRO SP1/10, p.163.

119 Craik, Anna, *Annals of our Ancestors* (Edinburgh, 1924), p.3ff.

120 *VCH Warwick*, Volume 4, p.184, 138. PRO C142/32/14, C142/32/50.

121 Samman, op. cit., p.448. Stow, op. cit., p.495. Powell and Wallis, op. cit., p.547. LP I, (ii), n.3348 p.1409 (3). LP II, (ii), King's Book of Payments. p.1513-14.

122 For the range of his offices see LP II, (i), n.9 p.3. Sir Edward had also fathered three illegitimate sons, but he and his wife, Isabel the daughter of Sir John Scott, left no legitimate issue. Given the magnitude of bequests, including

protect the interests of his family. By June 1518 Poynings had obtained Edward's wardship and marriage at a cost of £135 123. Under the terms of his will in July 1521, Sir Edward decreed that the child should remain with his mother with an annuity of £10 per annum until the age of 15, rising to £20 per annum thereafter until he attained his majority. As to his marriage it was decreed

If the said Edward Clinton suffer my said Executors to receive the profits and revenues of all his said lands, and there with to accomplish this my present ordinance and last will in every point. Then I will that Edward Clinton shall marry at his own proper choice and free election when he commeth to his full age without interruption or impediment of my said Executors or any other in his name for the same 124.

Since there does not appear to have been any dispute, we can assume that Edward took full advantage of his grandfather's benevolence. As a woman of independent means, Elizabeth would also have had free choice of whom, when, or whether, to marry. Contrary to popular belief the marriage was not made at the king's commandment 125. It is more likely that their mutual interests in Warwickshire brought the couple together. However, since Henry VIII granted Elizabeth the lands, he was perhaps the unwitting agent of their union.

Once again the precise date of their marriage is not recorded. Clinton was included in the party of nobles who crossed to France in September 1532 for the meeting with Francis I, and was present as a cupbearer at Anne Boleyn's coronation the following year, but there is no evidence that Elizabeth accompanied him on either occasion 126. They were certainly married by 12 February 1535 when Elizabeth, described as "Lady Tailbois, now the wife of Lord Clinton", was granted a further present of three tuns of Gascon wine 127. A curious inscription found in an illuminated book owned and autographed

goods, money and revenues, bestowed upon his servant Rose Whettell, it is possible that she was the mother of his children.

123 LP II, (ii), n.4260 p.1322.

124 PRO Prob 11/20.

125 Lechnar, op. cit., p.15. Burke, op. cit., II, p.215.

126 LP VI, (i), n.562 p.248. LP V, Appendix 33 p.773.

127 LP VIII, n.291 p.119 (21).

by Elizabeth suggests, that if things did not always run smoothly, her affection at least was steadfast

the Lord Clinton [added beneath in a different hand] Elizabeth Talboys, Your enemy to the most, take your part, whatever shall though it be churls oft whisper
128.

Now in her thirties, Elizabeth was nevertheless to bear this husband three daughters. Despite being granted livery of his own patrimony in November 1535, the couple remained in Lincolnshire, and for some time Clinton's interests in the county were focused on the Tailbois properties held by his wife 129.

The young Lord's interference was not always welcomed. John Dixon of Boston brought a suit in the court of Requests against Edward and Elizabeth, regarding an enfeoffment made to Gilbert and Elizabeth in 1526. Under the agreement the couple were to pay £7 a year for lands stocked with sheep and cattle in Coningsby. After Gilbert's death Elizabeth had continued to enjoy the lands but then

the said Elizabeth took to husband one Sir Edward Clinton knt, Lord of Clinton, and after that one George Dainre, of his own wrong by the sufferance and as it seemeth by the consent and agreement of the said Lord Clinton, hath wrongfully entered into all the premises and one John Ayssheton in likewise.

This state of affairs had now endured for two and a half years during which time Dixon, despite repeated entreaties even to Elizabeth herself, had received no payment 130. It would perhaps be unfair to suggest that this aggressive style of landowning was typical of Clinton, but his later systematic acquisition of former monastic property, does suggest a driving ambition to establish himself in his own right within the county.

Whilst he was married to Elizabeth the young Clinton was still some way from the powerful Elizabethan Earl of Lincoln he would become. In the first part of the subsidy in 1536 he paid

128 BL Egerton Mss 1991, f.143.

129 LP IX, n.914 p.307 (3).

130 PRO Req2/4/375

a mere £5 131. As such the events of the Pilgrimage of Grace proved a difficult time for Edward and Elizabeth. From the first Clinton supported the king, sending notice to Cromwell and Lord Hussey of the insurrection at Louth 132. By the time Hussey had composed a reply two days later, Clinton had already raised a company of 500 men. Unfortunately the young lord was unable to ensure their loyalty. As Chapuys' nephew dramatically reported to Mary of Hungary, Clinton's men deserted to the rebels leaving him to make his escape, accompanied by a single servant 133. In this respect Clinton was not alone. Others like Lord Borough and Lord Latimer, whose aim was to serve the king, also found that their tenants and neighbours had other ideas. It was a time of real danger. There was a rumour that Kyme had been burned and Elizabeth and Clinton had particular reason to be anxious 134. Just before the outbreak Sir Thomas Percy, one of the ringleaders of the troubles and a cousin of the late Gilbert Tailbois, had been a guest of the family 135. In addition, a chaplain of Gilbert's mother, by the name of Sir Edmund, was accused by Matthew, Bishop of Chalcedon of being one of those who abducted him, and Thomas Ratford, a parson who joined the rebels at Horncastle, deposed that he had first heard of the insurrection whilst at Lady Tailbois' 136. Clinton's later acquisition of former monastic property does not preclude that he had some sympathy with the aims of the Pilgrimage, but in the face of the liability represented by his Tailbois connections he was especially anxious to prove his loyalty to the crown 137.

As the trouble mounted, Clinton continued his efforts to be active on the king's part. His youth and zeal were fully employed in dashing about the countryside to deliver royal instructions 138. On 7 October 1536 he wrote earnestly, in his

131 PRO SP1/105, p.105 Richmond paid £90.

132 LP XI, n.852 p.340.

133 Ibid., n.714 p.275.

134 Ibid., n.969 p.391.

135 LP XII, (i), n.467 p.223.

136 LP XI, n.805 p.311, n.828 p.325 (xi).

137 LP IX, n.669 p.226. He was purported to be the founder of Folkestone priory.

138 LP XI, n.587 p.238.

own hand, to assure Cromwell that he was making his best efforts to carry out his instructions:

upon Friday at 3 o'clock in the afternoon I delivered the kings letter to my lord of Huntingdon at his house called Ashby, and upon Saturday in the morning at 6 o'clock I delivered it to my lord steward. I could not pass the waters that night, and also I rode to Nottingham, thinking to have found him there which hindered me for the speedy deliverance thereof 139.

His actions appear to have convinced Henry of his loyalty. In the aftermath of the rebellion he served at the trials of Darcy and Hussey, and was involved in the arraignment of the northern men 140. As well as mopping up the immediate aftermath of the rebellion, he was instrumental in enforcing a permanent peace, for the first time serving on the Lincolnshire bench 141. But the power of the county gentry was pretty much overshadowed by the role accorded to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. For some time a significant force in the county, in 1534 he had married his former ward Katherine Willoughby, thus acquiring all her inheritance in Lincolnshire and thereabouts. Now in the wake of the rebellion he was sent there by the king as lieutenant to enforce order 142. Whilst Clinton continued to serve alongside the duke on various royal commissions, Suffolk became a major and rather overbearing presence in Lincolnshire affairs. For the time being he was to be the leading light in that county, and Clinton was in no position to challenge his authority.

Given that Elizabeth had only a life interest in the Tailbois property, Clinton does not appear to have profited hugely from his marriage to the king's former mistress. In 1536 when Clinton lobbied for some lands at Bekesbourne in Kent, his suit was effectively blocked by Cromwell 143. A grant of the office of bailiff and keeper, at Tattershall in February 1537, went jointly to Elizabeth and her son George, rather than her husband 144. Despite his stalwart service, it was not until

139 PRO SP1/107, p.72

140 LP XII, (i), n.1207 p.556, n.1199 p.550.

141 LP XI, n.202 p.84 (13).

142 Ibid., n.656 p.257.

143 LP XV, (i), n.528 p.196.

144 PRO C66/669/m27.

April 1538 that Clinton was awarded a grant in his own right. That lease of property formally of Barlings monastery, with rents amounting to £95 12s 10d, proved a significant boost to his own holdings in the locality 145. In December 1538 Clinton's service at the trials of Lord Montague and the Marquis of Exeter, was shortly followed by a further lease of lands at Sempringham 146. The only surviving joint grant to Clinton and Elizabeth, was a parcel of lands spread across Lincolnshire, Kent, and Norfolk in January 1539 147.

Clinton's ascendancy in the county would also be assisted by the marriages of his children into a number of prominent Lincolnshire families. The marriage of his step-daughter Elizabeth, to his ward Thomas Wimbush allowed the family to acquire the Wimbush estates at Nocton 148. The marriage of his stepson George, to Margaret, the daughter of Sir William Skipworth of South Ormsby established a connection with one of the major landholding families in the area. Of his own issue, Clinton's eldest daughter Bridget, married Robert Dymmoke, the son and heir of the Dymmokes of Scrivesley, the champions of England. His younger daughters Katherine and Margaret also married into the Lincolnshire gentry, taking as their husbands William, Lord Burgh of Gainsborough, and Charles, Lord Willoughby of Parham.

It was a network of kinship that Elizabeth would not live to see completed. According to the above grant, she was still living on 9 January 1539, but she was dead by June 1541, when a grant to Clinton and his wife described him as the husband of Ursula, the daughter of William, Lord Storton 149. Elizabeth was probably already dead by January 1540, since her mother's will, despite numerous bequests to siblings, and a gift in reversion to a girl, Margaret, termed

christchild to my daughter Lady Elizabeth 150.

145 LP XIII, (i), n.887 p.326 (9).

146 Ibid., (ii), n.979 p.417, n.1020 p.436.

147 LP XIV, (i), n.191 p.73 (10).

148 Ibid., n.905 p.420. PRO C142/103/31.

149 LP XV, n.947 p.459 (32).

150 PRO Prob 11/28.

did not include Elizabeth herself in the bequests or as executrix. The Lady Clinton, who occurs in the Lisle correspondence in May and August 1539, is almost certainly Edward's mother, Lady Jane Clinton 151. The burial place of the mother of the king's son is not known. She does not lie beside her first husband Gilbert in South Kyme Church, although at least one of their sons appears to have been interred with his father 152. She is certainly not buried with her second husband Edward, Lord Clinton, who is entombed in some state in the Lincoln chantry of St George's Chapel, Windsor, alongside his third, and final, wife Elizabeth Fitzgerald, the daughter of the Earl of Kildare. Indeed, the only surviving monument to Elizabeth, and her only likeness, is a small brass memorial, formerly affixed to the vestry wall in South Kyme parish church, now in the possession of the British Museum. It was pair to a similar figure of Gilbert Tailbois, now lost, which depicts Elizabeth in semi-profile, kneeling in prayer 153.

151 LP XIV, (i), n.1026 p.471, (ii), n.106 p.29.

152 Newton, op. cit., p.46

153 Ibid., p.49. See Appendix II. The brass is now on display in Room 46.

Chapter Three: Sherrif Hutton

On the 18 June 1525, the young Henry Fitzroy came to the king's palace at Bridewell. He would have travelled by barge down the Thames from Wolsey's mansion of Durham Place. In his company were a host of knights, squires, and gentlemen. When the party alighted at Bridewell at approximately 9 am, preparations would already have been well advanced. The chamber of estate was hung with rich arras of gold and silver; trumpeters were appointed to stand in the window, and at the end of the room a canopy of estate stood over a magnificent chair of cloth of gold with glittering golden pommels. The child was conducted through this chamber to a gallery at the far end. Here other lords came to give their attendance upon him, as he was clothed in the robes of an earl. He was then left to rest in preparation for the events to follow. In the chamber below such a crowd was gathering that the gentlemen ushers were required to clear a path. Henry VIII stood under the cloth of estate, at a signal from the king, the trumpets blew and Fitzroy entered and approached his father. The sentiments of the assembled nobles, who included Wolsey and numerous earls, abbots and other lords, can only be wondered at, as they watched the diminutive lord come to kneel before the king ¹. He was flanked by the Earls of Oxford and Arundel and preceded in great state by the Earl of Northumberland bearing the sword, and Garter bearing the patent. As Henry VIII raised his six year old son to his feet, the voice of Thomas More echoed about the chamber as he read

and when it came to the words "Gladii Cincturam" then the young Lord kneeled down and the king's grace put the girdle about the neck of the young Lord, the sword hanging bendwise over the breast of him; when the patent was read the king took it to the said Earl and this Earl of Nottingham accompanied as before entered into the said Gallery ²

¹ BL Cotton Tibetius E VIII, f.206 The Earls chosen to escort him were those first in order of precedence. Miller, Helen, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility* (Oxford, 1986), p.20.

² BL Egerton Mss 2642, f.7.

Even then the ceremony was not yet complete. Before the assembled nobles could catch their breath, the newly created Earl of Nottingham re-entered the chamber.

This time the child was accompanied by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk. His robes, and the badges of office borne before him, were now those of a duke³. Once more the child kneeled before his father. When he rose, he was Duke of Richmond and Somerset. The Herald's reports all testify that the occasion was well attended by the court and Grafton's chronicle further reports that

at those creations were kept great feasts and disguisings⁴.

It was no doubt a spectacular affair. Not since the reign of Henry II had illegitimate issue been raised to the peerage⁵. Now his father had bestowed upon Richmond the unprecedented dignity of a double dukedom with all its attendant royal trappings. The child was subsequently referred to in formal correspondence as

the... right high and noble prince Henry ... Duke of Richmond and Somerset⁶.

In addition, lands and revenues in excess of £4000 per annum were allocated to support his new status, but the exact significance behind the splendour was more elusive. Both contemporary and subsequent observers have been forced to speculate on the role Henry VIII envisaged for his son.

A partial explanation for Henry's actions in ennobling the child, has been found in the thwarting of his ambitions in France. In February 1525 the capture of Francis I, and the defeat of his armies at Pavia, left France vulnerable. Henry VIII was jubilant, now all his ambitions seemed within his grasp, but Charles V, like Ferdinand before him, had no wish to co-operate with Henry VIII's grandiose designs⁷. He chose

3 BL Additional Mss 6113, f.64 B.

4 Grafton, op. cit., p.382.

5 This was William Longsword created Earl of Salisbury by his father Henry II.

6 PRO E321/42/98.

7 Scarisbrick, op. cit., p.136.

instead to agree terms for peace: all Henry VIII's hopes were dashed. Once more the King of England had been forced to capitulate in the face of Habsburg aims. His anger must have been considerable, and the elevation of Henry Fitzroy has been seen as a response borne, not so much out of policy, but pique.

It is not inconceivable that the king's bitterness over the defeat of his French ambitions inspired his elevation in June of his illegitimate son, Henry Fitzroy, to the dukedoms of Richmond and Somerset. Richmond, Henry VII's pre-Bosworth title, and Somerset, the title of Henry VIII's short lived brother Edmund could imply an intended successor. Henry was not beyond venting his anger with the distant Charles V through a creation that would have to hurt his aunt Catherine and his cousin Mary 8.

The brunt of Henry VIII's anger at her nephew's actions was no doubt suffered by his queen. Certainly the spectacle of Richmond's creation, made little attempt to spare her feelings. A ceremony quite so prominent and lavish would have been a trial to the most patient wife. For Catherine, who had failed in her most basic duty to produce an heir male, the implicit rebuke would have been keenly felt. In a private letter one of the Venetians reported

It seems that the Queen resents the Earldom and Dukedom conferred on the king's natural son and remains dissatisfied, at the instigation it is said of three of her Spanish ladies, her chief counsellors, so the King has dismissed them the Court, a strong measure, but the Queen was obliged to submit and have patience 9.

That Henry intended to upset and embarrass his wife with this public display, and through her to exact some small revenge on the Spanish alliance she represented, cannot be discounted, but the financial outlay involved is evidence that Henry VIII had a more serious purpose in mind than this transient satisfaction.

Much discussion of Richmond's elevation has centred on its relevance to the problem of the English succession. As the reign progressed such matters were ever more in the forefront of everyone's mind. Henry was acutely aware that he had come

8 Levine, Mortimer, *Tudor Dynastic Problems, 1460-1571* (London, 1973), p.54.

9 CSP Venetian IV, n.1053 p.455.

to the throne as the only surviving male child of Henry VII.. Even then his smooth accession had not always been assured. When the question of the Crown arose in 1503 Sir Hugh Conway reported

It happened the same time me to be among many great personages the which fell in communication of the King's grace, and of the world that should be after him if his grace happened to depart. Then he said that some of them spake of my lord of Buckingham saying that he was a noble man and would be a royal ruler. Other there were that spake, he said, in likewise of your traitor Edmund de la Pole, but none of them, he said, spake of my lord prince 10.

Previously Ferdinand had been unwilling to allow his daughter to marry into the house of Tudor until the possible danger represented by the Earl of Warwick, who was already a prisoner in the Tower, had been completely eliminated. In 1513 the king was sufficiently anxious to order the execution of Edmund de la Pole, the Yorkist Duke of Suffolk, before he crossed over to France. The Duke of Buckingham, whose own claim to the throne was derived from Edward III, profited little from this ominous example, and was executed in his turn in 1521 11. It was Henry VIII's good fortune that his father survived until 1509, when the heir was a respectable seventeen years old, but the concept of hereditary succession was not yet so firmly established that the lawful heir might not be passed over in favour of a more suitable candidate. Richard III's usurpation of the throne was recent enough for all concerned to appreciate that. Whilst the succession was vested solely in one small girl, it was a matter of disquiet for the whole country.

The king's decision to elevate his illegitimate son has also been linked with Charles V's decision in June 1525, to repudiate his betrothal to the Princess Mary.

The first public sign of Henry's reaction to Charles's infidelity pointed significantly towards new and drastic solutions of the succession problem. Immediately after the news reached England that Charles meant to break his engagement to Mary, Henry drew his one and only

10 Gairdner. J. S., ed., op. cit., I, p.233.

11 Levine, op. cit., p.40, 47-50. Robert Gilbert, his Chancellor, testified that Buckingham had intended to usurp the throne, Dunham, op. cit., p.101.

illegitimate son out of the decent obscurity in which he had hitherto been kept 12.

Charles V had been betrothed to Mary since 1522. Such a match might have served to offset many of the dangers of a female ruler. If Mary were to produce a prince before her father died, her accession might be more easily accepted. If not, as a proven soldier and leader, Charles V was well placed to support her peaceful succession, and aid her in government 13. Henry VIII could console himself with the thought that his grandson would rule over an immense empire. Yet now Charles V's unreasonable terms forced Henry VIII to release him from the treaty in order to marry Isabella, Infanta of Portugal. In his consideration of Richmond's elevation, Richard Wernham sees a desperation born out of the frustration of this project.

The intention behind all this was plain to see. Charles' breach of promise had not only revived the King's anxiety about the succession. It had so angered him against all things Spanish that he was prepared to prefer his illegitimate but wholly English son to his legitimate but half-Spanish daughter as heir to his throne 14.

Yet under the terms of the treaty Mary was not due to be wed to Charles V until her twelfth year in 1528 15. In view of her youth, and the emperor's own pressing need to produce an heir, such a distant prospect was not to be relied upon. In 1524 Henry had already been considering the alternative of marrying his daughter to the young James V of Scotland 16. The manner in which Charles repudiated the betrothal was hardly designed to mollify the king, but the move cannot have been entirely unexpected. It was a further diplomatic blow to Henry's hopes that Charles V would support his ambitions in France, but as yet Mary's political position was unaffected. In 1526 negotiating her marriage to Francis I, Henry VIII was still

12 Wernham, op. cit., p.111.

13 However, Charles V's own abrogation of his mother Juana's rights and titles in Castile, might have given rise to some concern over his attitude to the sovereignty of ruling queens.

14 Ibid.

15 CSP Spanish, II, n.355 p.365.

16 Loades, op. cit., p.25.

prepared to offer Mary as his heir apparent, if he had no legitimate son 17.

Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that the plans for Richmond's elevation were set in motion well in advance of this particular disappointment. The first indications of Fitzroy's impending honour have generally been taken from an undated note of Wolsey's calendared to May 1525.

Your grace shall also receive by this present bearer, such arms as your highness hath devised by Page for your entirely beloved son, the Lord Henry Fitzroy 18.

However, if we look at the establishment of Richmond's household, there are indications that his creation was part of an ongoing plan. Although the formal accounts commence just three days prior to the ceremony at Bridewell, such a large staff could not have been brought together at such short notice. A list of the wardrobe stuff that would be required for the Lord Henry includes, amongst other things, hangings sufficient for eight chambers, twenty-five different carpets and twenty-one beds and their furniture. A chariot and seven horse draughts were required to convey his belongings 19. If the example of Richmond's tutor John Palsgrave is representative, plans was already in the pipeline before it was known that Charles V intended to withdraw from the engagement. Carver argues convincingly that Palsgrave owed his position in Richmond's household to the influence of Sir Richard Wingfield, at that time chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. On this basis Palsgrave's appointment as tutor must have been arranged prior to 18 April 1525, for on that date Wingfield sailed from the Isle of Wight to Spain, only to die at Toledo on 22 July 1525 without returning to England 20.

In addition, a notice amongst documents relating to the Order of the Garter in the British Library, states that Richmond was elected into the second stall on the sovereign's side on 23 April 1525.

17 Levine, op. cit., p.54.

18 LP IV, (i), n.1371 p.605. PRO SP1/34, p.244.

19 PRO SP1/35, f.185-92. LP IV, (i), n.1853 p.822.

20 Palsgrave, John, op. cit., p.xxvii. His patron was it seems a distant relative.

Henry Duke of Richmond and Somerset; elect 23 April and installed 25 June anno 17, first into the second stall on the Sovereign's side, by translating of Charles the Emperor and last to the 3rd [stall] on the Prince's side, by translating Thomas Duke of Norfolk 21.

A similar account, held at the Bodleian, dates Richmond's entry into the order as 16 Henry VIII, i.e. 22 April 1524 to 21 April 1525 22. Both these accounts are at variance with the date given in the register of the order which records only the elections of the Earl of Arundel and Lord Roos on St George's Day 1525. Here Richmond's election occurs on 7 June 1525, when the child was nominated by all the knights present and elected to the third stall on the princes' side formally occupied by Thomas, Duke of Norfolk. That the instructions for Richmond's installation are dated at Bridewell, 18 June 1525, does not help clarify the matter. Arundel, who was certainly elected in April, also had yet to be installed and was amongst those included in the king's letter of commission at this time 23. The ceremony was not as lavish nor as public as his elevation to the peerage. The surviving accounts of his installation on 25 June 1525 note merely that the child was dressed in

a gown of black satin, they furred with sable the sleeves, set with buttons and aglettes of gold. The which was given to Garter at the said installation 24.

Although the canons were rewarded with the princely sum of £10 for setting up his banner and crest, the officers of the king in attendance had to be content with a shared purse of 40s for their expenses 25. However his election was a marked note of favour. Membership of this prestigious and ancient order of knighthood was a select privilege. Vacancies only occurred through death or dishonour, and despite the fiction of elections, the decision was firmly under the auspices of the king. It was an honour never actually bestowed upon Edward VI during his father's lifetime. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely

21 BL Harleian Mss 304, f.125b.

22 Bodleian Ashmole 1113, f.40v.

23 Anstis, J., *The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (2 Volumes, London, 1724), II, p.369, 370, 373. At some point the child must also have been knighted, as lack of this dignity had caused no small difficulty at Roos' election.

24 Bodleian Ashmole Mss 1109, f.122.

25 LP IV, (i), n.1431 p.638.

that having embarked on such a course, that Henry would have considered this alone as sufficient provision for his son.

Richmond's elevation appeared to herald great things. On 12 June 1525 the Venetian, Lorenzo Orio, was already reporting that Henry VIII had moved to legitimise the child 26. This assertion proved to be unfounded. Indeed Henry VIII never took any formal steps to remove the stigma of bastardy from his natural son, but the lavish splendour of this event, coupled with his offices, has led many subsequent observers to speculate that Henry VIII was grooming his illegitimate son as a possible heir.

The first step was to array him in title and estate like a prince of the blood in order that the country should become familiar with him in that rôle, the next to induce Parliament to legitimise him, and then fix the succession upon him by formal act 27.

The expedient of including illegitimate issue in the succession was not completely without precedent, although not since the eleventh century had a bona fide bastard sat on the throne of England 28. Yet Orio became so carried away by the prevailing rumours that he actually reported that

The King has created his natural son, by name Henry, aged seven years, Duke of Buckingham, with an annual rental amounting to 40, 000 ducats: also earl of Richmond and Viceroy, so that he takes precedence of everybody 29.

In more recent times the significance of Richmond's elevation has also been overstated. Conrad Russell is not alone in declaring that Richmond gained precedence over Mary, and the idea that by raising his illegitimate son to such high honour Henry was declaring his intention for the succession, has remained a popular concept 30. In fact Richmond was granted precedence over all except the king's legitimate issue 31. In

26 CSP Venetian III, n.1037 p.447.

27 Waldman, op cit., p.41. Mattingly, op. cit., p.170. Luke, op. cit., p.524.

28 Given-Wilson and Curteis, op. cit., p.18.

29 CSP Venetian III, n.1052 p.454.

30 Russell, Conrad, *The Crisis of Parliaments* (Oxford, 1971), p.80.

31 LP IV, (i), n.1431 p.638 (4).

1525 Mary still outranked him. Although by 1536 the imperial ambassador was sufficiently concerned to comment that Richmond's death was in Mary's best interests, for now she remained the king's beloved daughter and although never formally created Princess of Wales, to all intents and purposes she held that rank 32. Her departure to Ludlow was a tacit acknowledgment of her continued position as the heir apparent.

Indeed, if the events of 1525 were truly intended to signal Richmond's new position as heir apparent, then Henry did not go about it in a very systematic or committed manner. Much has been made of the significance of the titles bestowed on the duke. In particular, the fact that Earl of Richmond was the title held by Henry Tudor, prior to his accession as Henry VII. Yet it should be remembered that these were not the honours normally associated with the direct line of succession 33. Henry VIII did not choose to send Richmond to Ludlow as if he were Prince of Wales, nor was he created Duke of York. Instead his honours were those most intimately associated with the Tudor line. The Dukedom of Somerset being most recently held by Henry VII's youngest son Edmund, who died in childhood, and previously associated with Henry VII's grandfather John Beaufort. The title Countess of Richmond, had been borne by Henry VIII's grandmother Margaret Beaufort and the lands and income which supported his new dignity were also largely derived from former Beaufort lands. It might be more accurate to suggest that Henry VIII was concerned with providing for his son in a manner which stressed their blood relationship, rather than his place in the succession.

In a similar manner much significance has also been read into the offices bestowed upon the child. As Warden of the Scottish Marches he was filling a position that Henry VIII himself had held when he was young. As Keeper of the city and castle of Carlisle he occupied

an office held by the heir-apparent from the time of Richard the Second 34.

32 LP XI, n.148 p.65.

33 Warnicke, op. cit., p.45.

34 Burke, II, op. cit., p.213.

However, it would be dangerous to place too much emphasis on the intentions of the king by these acts. Henry VIII was only the second son, rather than the heir apparent, for much of his young life. His role as Warden of the Marches towards Scotland, was held in succession from his brother, Arthur and until the Prince's death in 1502 it was he, and not Henry, who was being groomed for the throne. In addition there were strong arguments for Henry VIII to employ family members in as many of these positions as possible

It was a means of bringing important posts under the direct supervision of a king, it removed opportunities of peculation and power from the feudal nobility, it facilitated economical administration, since the work could be done cheaply by deputies of comparatively humble rank 35.

In the case of Henry VIII, there was not a vast number of male relatives on whom he could rely. Whilst such responsibilities were not suited to Mary's tender sex, it was a deficiency that Richmond could help to address.

The question of the succession has tended to dominate discussion of Richmond's elevation. However, there were numerous other reasons, both personal and political, for Henry to make such provision for his son at this time. In the summer of 1525 Fitzroy was rising six. The dangers of death in infancy were past, and young Henry was of an age where Henry VIII was required to give some serious consideration to the status and education of his son. As the acknowledged offspring of the king it would have been expected that the child would be raised in a manner appropriate to that station 36. Failure to do so would have reflected badly on the monarch's own honour. Furthermore, Henry VIII's affection for the child was widely reported. This was the king's worldly jewel, whom he loved like his own soul 37. Henry's lack of offspring, legitimate or otherwise, endowed Richmond with a level of importance he might otherwise have lacked. This was particularly true of marriage alliances. With the best will in

35 Fisher, H. A. L., *History of England from the Accession of Henry VII to the Death of Henry VIII, 1485-1547* (New York, 1928), p.110.

36 Gwyn, op. cit., p.512.

37 LP IV, (iii), n.5808 p.2594. CSP Venetian, III, n.1037 p.447.

the world Mary could only be betrothed to one person at a time. Given sufficient status Fitzroy could also be a useful tool in matters of matrimonial diplomacy.

This is not to suggest that concerns over the succession played no part in Henry VIII's designs. Queen Catherine's last pregnancy had been in 1518. By 1525 it was clear that there would be no others 38. Despite the example of a female regent like Margaret of Savoy, the idea of an English queen regnant remained abhorrent. In 1519 the Venetian, Giustinian, saw nothing amiss in speculating on the chances of the dukes of Buckingham, Norfolk, or Suffolk, obtaining the Crown, were Henry VIII to die without male issue 39. Whilst the prospects for the Tudor line were vested solely in his young daughter, Henry VIII had good reason to be concerned.

The execution of Buckingham in 1521 was almost solely due to Henry's nervousness about the succession, since he feared that the country might choose its senior noble, rather than a girl, as sovereign 40.

Even after Buckingham's execution, the threat was not entirely erased. The Wars of the Roses were only recent history, and the Tudors' own title to the throne had already proved vulnerable to attack 41. That Henry VII was always careful to date his reign from the day before the battle of Bosworth did not change the realities of the situation. Henry VIII would have been well aware that prevailing opinion was firmly against a ruling queen

While there was no Salic Law in England to exclude his only legitimate child, the girl Mary, from the succession, the most distinguished legal writer of the previous century had argued that a woman could not succeed to the English throne; and in the four and a half centuries since the Conquest there had only been one queen regnant, Matilda, whose singularity and fate

38 Probably in response to Catherine's failing fecundity, Henry VIII apparently ceased to sleep with her in 1524. Ives, *op. cit.*, p.99

39 CSP Venetian, II, n.1287 p.561.

40 Morris, Christopher, *The Tudors* (London, 1955), p.87.

41 Henry VIII's claim was derived from Edward III's third son John of Gaunt and his issue by Katherine Swynford and the union of Catherine of Valois with Owen Tudor. Levine, *op. cit.*, p.33ff. Given-Wilson and Curteis, *op. cit.*, p.159.

were nearly as decisive against a female sovereign as any Salic Law 42.

In 1524, Henry VIII had suffered two serious, maybe even life threatening accidents 43. In this climate the public acknowledgment of his illegitimate son must have been some reassurance to his subjects. Not simply as proof that he could produce an male child, but that there was some viable alternative should Mary not survive. It is worth noting that from 1525 Richmond, rather than Norfolk, or Suffolk, was now the senior noble in England.

The spate of honours which accompanied Richmond's elevation also demonstrates Henry VIII's intention to use the occasion for general political advantage. That Sir John Arundel of Lanherne cried off, is not in itself evidence of a hurried plan. There are indications that his name was suggested by Wolsey and probably not included in the king's original design 44. Henry also used this opportunity to augment the ranks of his depleted nobility with loyal adherents. Three were of the blood royal. The Earl of Lincoln was the king's nephew, the infant son of his sister Mary and her husband Charles Brandon. The new Marquis of Exeter, Henry Courtenay, was the king's cousin, the issue of his maternal aunt Catherine's marriage to William, Earl of Devon and Sir Thomas Manners, now Earl of Rutland, was a descendant of Edward III. The new Earl of Cumberland's ties to the Tudor dynasty were cemented by his marriage to Henry's niece. Even Sir Thomas Boleyn, created Viscount Rochford, was family too, in a way. Whilst Richmond's elevation was the most spectacular, these other creations were intended to do more than simply reflect his glory. In the wake of the death of Richard de la Pole at Pavia, Brandon's creation as Earl of Lincoln was particularly significant in signalling the eradication of the power of the white rose, and the ascendancy of the Tudors 45. At a stroke Henry enhanced his own position by demonstrating good lordship, and created a network of kinship and alliances. At best these nobles would

42 Neale, J. E., *Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1934), p.13.

43 Baldwin, David, *The Chapel Royal: Ancient and Modern* (London, 1990), p.65.

44 Sir John's second son was in Wolsey's service. Miller, op. cit., p.22. LP IV, (i), n.1399 p.624.

45 Gunn, op. cit., p.78.

provide loyal support to his heir, to ensure the continuation of the Tudor dynasty. At worst, should Mary and Richmond both die, one of these near relatives might prove a fit successor 46. Henry VIII was clearly keeping his options open, and any decision was to be solely on his own terms.

Yet it is evident that there was also a clear policy in hand to make Richmond a respected figure in his own right. The king's decision to make his son Lord High Admiral cannot have been taken lightly. The incumbent Lord High Admiral was Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. Only eleven years earlier he had been assured of the office for life, and Henry VIII now felt obliged to effect an exchange of lands with the duke in order to facilitate his son's appointment 47. Even then Norfolk was not completely mollified. He took some time to surrender his patent, claiming in his letter of 16 August that it had been among other papers 48. Since Richmond was only six, the responsibilities of the office were taken up by Arthur, Viscount Lisle as vice Admiral 49. A national office was a rare commodity in Tudor government, and the king's desire to increase the general profile of the new Duke of Richmond, must be seen as a major factor in this move.

Unlike Mary, Richmond was also granted a degree of autonomy as a magnate. Some of the costs and charges continued to be met by the Crown, but in general it was now intended that he would support himself from his own revenues 50. The £20 annuity as Earl of Nottingham was just the tip of the iceberg. His income amounted to £4845 in the first year 51. In contrast, Mary continued to be supported from the king's privy purse, even once her legitimacy was called into question. The policy was not always adhered to, but the events of 1525 reflect a concerted effort to establish Richmond as a powerful landowner in his own right. Given the circumstances of his birth, if Henry VIII's immediate goal was to gain acceptance of his son as heir apparent, it seems curious that he chose to ennoble

46 Warnicke, op. cit., p.45.

47 Miller, op. cit., p.217. 21 Henry VIII c22.

48 LP IV, (i), n.1576 p.707.

49 St Clare Byrne, Muriel, ed., I, p.181.

50 LP IV, (i), n.1793 p.797.

51 Ibid., n.1431 p.638. PRO SP1/39, f.17.

him in a manner which set him apart from the court, rather than establish closer links with the royal household.

The motives for this were more concrete and immediate than a vague policy over the succession. On 22 July Richmond was also appointed Warden General of the Marches towards Scotland 52. The further posts of Chief Justice of the Forest beyond the Trent, High Steward of the Bishopric of Durham and of the Liberties of the Archbishop of York, together with a commission as Lieutenant General north of the Trent, concentrated power in the north in the person of the king's son. In tandem with Mary's appointment to Ludlow, Richmond was to be sent to Sheriff Hutton to preside, in the king's name, over the newly resurrected Council of the North.

The decision to re-establish the provincial councils evolved from a number of factors, unrelated to the succession crisis. Government of the north, with its physical isolation and deep rooted feudal loyalties, had always presented a particular set of problems. The Tudors had previously employed a variety of measures in an attempt to keep order there 53. The anticipation of a Scottish war occasioned some piecemeal redress, but a more permanent solution was still required 54. Resistance to taxation in 1523 and 1525, brought the danger sharply into focus. Central government needed to exercise a firmer hand over the remote areas of the realm 55. The choice of Richmond as Warden General mirrored his father's appointment in 1494, but Henry's options were rather limited. To rely on an established feudal magnate, such as Northumberland, might invite as many problems as it solved. The use of lesser nobles, like Lord Thomas Dacre, had brought its own difficulties. In February 1525 he had been sent to the Fleet over his inability to ensure order 56. Since Wolsey was

52 LP IV, (i), p.676 n.1510.

53 These included the appointment of the Earl of Northumberland as Warden of the East and Middle Marches, Margaret Beaufort's council as Countess of Richmond and Wolsey's authority as Archbishop of York and Bishop of Durham. Brooks, F. W., *The Council of the North* (London, 1953), p.12.

54 Reid, Rachel, *The King's Council in the North* (London, 1921), p.95.

55 Ibid., p.101. Mackie, J. D., *The Earlier Tudors 1485-1558* (Oxford, 1952), p.385.

56 Guy, J.A., *The Cardinal's Court* (Sussex, 1977), p.123.

already Archbishop of York and Bishop of Durham, the appointment of an ecclesiastic was impractical. The appointment of the king's six year old illegitimate son, was perhaps derived as much from practical necessity, as political policy 57.

The composition of Richmond's council has been seen as a new departure in Tudor local government. The expedient of using the council of a local magnate to arbitrate disputes was an established practice. The authority of the landowner was harnessed to execute the will of the Crown. Richmond's appointment as lieutenant was in some measure intended to replicate these conditions

All the precedents as well as social convention required that he should be a great noble; for the time had not yet come when the King's authority could make the meanest man respected by the proud northern gentlemen 58.

Yet the focus of business was distinctly different. This was no John of Gaunt or Duke of Northumberland. Richmond himself had no power base or affinity in the north. His lands were only recently bestowed upon him, and he was after all only six. Rather than his council merely being the executive arm of the duke's will, it was his officers who directed and conducted business. These men did not represent Richmond's clientele, for as yet he had established no such connections, but neither were they drawn from the local magnates who had become accustomed to dispensing justice in the north 59. This was not just a symbol of authority, but a working body. Professional men, clerics and lawyers, were appointed to deal with the business in hand. In this they answered not to Richmond, but to the king, and in the climate of 1525, to Thomas Wolsey.

The check roll and diet might be signed by the king, but of the senior officers in Richmond's council, the greater part had connections to the cardinal 60. Since it is also Wolsey who is credited with the concept of employing those workhorses

57 Gwyn, op. cit., p.229

58 Reid, op. cit., p.101.

59 Brooks, op. cit., p.8ff.

60 Stow, op. cit., p.526. Loades, op. cit., p.36.

of the Tudor state as councillors, rather than trust to the dangerously independent authority of an established noble, Richmond perhaps expressed something more than pro forma respect when he wrote to Wolsey in 1529

pardon for that I have so long time delayed and forborne to write unto your Grace, to whose favour and goodness no creature living is more bound than I am. And like it hath pleased Almighty God and the King's Highness much part by the means and good favour of your Grace to prefer and advance me in honour 61.

These men were by no means unsuited to their task. Between them they had a wealth of clerical and legal experience, including canon, civil, chancery, and equity law. The function of the Star Chamber, and the Court of Requests, could now be replicated in the north 62. Many of them occupied offices under Wolsey in his capacity as Archbishop of York, or Bishop of Durham, endowing them with first hand experience of the unique difficulties of this area.

In a significant departure from previous models, the authority of Richmond's council was not confined to Yorkshire, but extended across the March counties 63. However, Richmond's council still owed much to the traditional feudal form. The authority of the council was derived from a series of individual commissions, of the peace, oyer et determiner, and enquiry. It was the duke himself who represented the king's authority. Indeed, that none of his senior officers, headed by Brian Higdon, dean of York, as Chancellor, were men of any great rank, might also reflect concern that it would be unwise to overshadow the fledgling splendour of the young duke with any member of the established nobility who might steal his thunder 64. In addition, the council were also responsible for the administration of Richmond's lands and household. Innumerable lists of domestic concerns, from the order in the kitchen, to the child's diet and apparel, were directed to

61 Reid, op. cit., p.103. Gunn, S. J. and Lindley, P. G., eds., *Cardinal Wolsey, Church, State and Art* (Cambridge, 1991), p.17. Pickthorn, K., *Early Tudor Government, Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1934), p.34. BL Vespasian Mss F III, f18b.

62 Reid, op. cit., p.107.

63 Ibid., p.108.

64 In contrast Mary's parallel household at Ludlow could count a Countess, a Marquis, a Bishop and a Lord amongst its personnel. Loades, op. cit., p.348.

them. As they moved to establish their position in the north, it is clear that these clerics and lawyers did not feel that such matters should be their primary concern.

We understand also ... that the King's Highness should send word unto your Grace, that we should make means and desire His Highness to have a Chapel, because the Lord Darcy, and the Lord Latimer have Chapels, which thing we assure your Grace was never done by us, nor yet spoken of, nor thought to be convenient as yet. Beseeching your Grace to be means unto the King's Highness for our excuse in this matter, and to defer the same, until such time as we may set in order such other things as his Highness and your Grace have committed unto us by virtue of the foresaid Commissions, and other the premises, for the good order as well of my said Lord's household, as of the North parts of this realm, which we esteem to be matters of no small importance 65.

Control of the north parts was a difficult and time consuming task, but Richmond's household was also a large and complex establishment. If one was to be preferred to the other, the envisaged model of domesticity was sure to suffer.

There was also another potential problem. The child's existence may have been generally known in court circles, but it was unclear how he would be received by the country. His titles and offices bolstered his innate rank as the king's natural son, but as the new duke travelled northwards to take up his responsibilities at Sheriffhutton, the dispatches of his council demonstrate that the manner in which he was received was a matter of concern

My Lord of Richmond departed from William Jekyll's house unto my Lady Parr's, where his grace was marvellously well intreated and had good cheer ... and from my Lady Parr's unto Huntingdon no person of all the Country met with my Lord's Grace saving only at Huntingdon, Dr Hall met his Grace without the town, and upon the bridge the bailiffs with the honest men of the town presented unto his grace, four great pikes and four tenches. And at Huntingdon the Abbot of Ramsey sent unto his Grace certain swans, cranes, and other wild fowl, in a present 66.

Richmond's train must have made an impressive sight as it wound its way across country. His servants wore his livery of blue and yellow, crested with white. The horses were

65 PRO SP1/35, p.266.

66 SP Henry VIII, IV, n.135 p.386.

elaborately trapped in cloth of gold, silver, satin, and velvet. Richmond himself rode in a lavish horse litter of scarlet, padded with crimson velvet and cloth of gold, embroidered with his arms, provided by Wolsey for the occasion. No casual observer was to remain ignorant of the child's status. The sheer number of carts required to carry those things considered necessary to the state of a duke must have added to the impact. Richmond's wardrobe alone consisted of numerous doublets, short coats, long coats, cloaks, shirts, hose, bonnets, and eight pairs of shoes. For the household there were vestments and altar cloths for his clergy, pewter, board cloths, and napkins, for his table, and for the kitchen more than forty types of pots and pans. £1193 was spent on providing these initial purchases alone 67. Since they were so encumbered, expedience alone must have demanded a leisurely pace, but it was also a perfect opportunity to show the duke off to the country in an appropriately stately manner.

Richmond and his entourage continued their progress northward in gentle stages. They passed from London, through Buntingford and Warmington, to Collyweston in Northamptonshire, now parcel of Richmond's lands. The council were anxious to assure Wolsey that the child was not finding the journey too arduous. On 26 July they advised him that Richmond had

come right merrily unto Collyweston, thanked be God and in better case and more lusty of his body, than his grace was at his first taking of his journey.

If the young duke felt in any way overawed by recent events there is little evidence of it. In the same letter his council told Wolsey how their party had been royally entertained by David Cecil, steward of Collyweston, and the six year old duke had killed a buck in the process. Richmond also showed every sign of being a lively, and somewhat demanding, charge. Wolsey's impressive new horse litter, no doubt intended as a concession to his tender age over such a long distance, did not impress the duke.

In all which journey my lord's grace rode not in his horse litter, but only from William Jekell's house 3 or 4 miles, which riding in his said horse litter his grace liked no thing, but ever since his grace hath ridden upon his hobby, and hath been very well at ease.

At Collyweston, where Margaret, Countess of Richmond had long been a popular local patron, the young duke was warmly received with more presents of swans and other fowl. On 7 August the party departed Collyweston on the next leg towards York 68. Now news of his arrival was travelling before him. Sir John Husse, despite an affliction which left him barely able to ride, expressed his intention of attending upon the duke when he passed through Grantham 69. On 17 August the party finally arrived at York 70. After a brief respite, on 28 August Richmond was escorted from the city by his officers and members of the local gentry, to take up his residence at Sheriff Hutton 71.

Granted to Richmond at the time of his creation, the castle of Sheriff Hutton was a proven base for government in the north. An imposing three story structure, it dominated the local area from its elevated position. Within its walls, Richmond was now the centre of a full scale ducal household. The whole range of domestic departments, from cellar and pantry, to spicery and slaughterhouse, were represented. Many of the large number of menial servants, such as porters, stable hands and launderers, would have been recruited from the surrounding area, although the presence of a barber was more a reflection of the scale of the household, than the needs of the child 72. All appropriate proprieties were to be observed. Richmond was allocated a suite of private lodgings, including a privy chamber with a chair of state. Access to these lodgings was supposed to be strictly controlled and treated with due respect:

no person of what estate or condition soever shall presume to come into our privy chamber, but those whose rooms are entered into the roll, and that no man presume to come in booted except it be at such times when they are to ride with us 73.

68 SP Henry VIII, IV, n.135 p.385.

69 LP XII, (ii), n.186 (33).

70 Childe-Pemberton, op. cit., p.144.

71 PRO SP1/35, p.266. A memo of Cromwell's detailing Richmond's company in transit has been dated in LP to 1536, but given the northern flavour of the document I believe it more properly belongs to this period. LP X, n.1249 p.521.

72 BL Harleian Mss 589, f.192.

73 Ibid., f.198. These Ordinances which follow on from those for Richmond's household are endorsed "ordinances tempore regis Jacobi"

There was also provision to ensure the continual attendance of four gentlemen ushers, whose duties were not merely to serve the duke, but to screen access to his presence. Those who had business with the council were to be left in no doubt that power and authority resided here.

Yet in practice, much of the real decision-making power remained in London. On the very day of their relocation to Sheriff Hutton further missives arrived from the cardinal. The council were quick to assure Wolsey of their best attention.

And for the high and notable good devices contained in the same instructions for our behaviour and order in the said commissions, and other the premises, we in our most humble wise thank your Grace trusting verily that by the due observing and practising of the same, great number of the king's subjects of these parts shall be greatly eased, quieted, and delivered from the danger of such enormities, and unlawful attempts, as hithertofore they have been molested and disturbed with many ways.

Correspondence passed between Wolsey and the council on a regular basis. Whilst they set about giving form to their good intentions, taking recognizances, arranging hearings at Newcastle and making enquiries into the state of Northumberland, they were equally keen to gain Wolsey's approval for each step taken 74.

Richmond's own involvement with the daily business of the council was limited, but the deference shown toward him on all public and private occasions, coupled with the solicitous care of his health and well being, cannot fail to have given the child a highly developed sense of his own importance. His primary care was the responsibility of his nurse, Anne Partridge, who received 50s as her quarter wages in 1528, and detailed provision was laid down for the duke's education and recreation 75. By all accounts he was both active and intelligent. William Franklyn reported to Wolsey that he was

a child of excellent wisdom and towardness; and, for his good and quick capacity, retentive memory, virtuous inclination to all honour, humanity, and goodness, I

74 PRO SP1/35, p.266.

75 LP V, Treasurer of the Chamber Accounts, p.305.

think hard it would to find any creature living of twice his age, able or worthy to be compared to him 76.

Certainly the programme of studies envisaged for the young duke was extensive and some of the finest minds of the sixteenth century were to be involved in its planning. Thomas More's support was sought to promote a study and appreciation of classical texts, supposed to encourage better values, and Stephen Gardiner encouraged Henry VIII to educate his son in both Latin and Greek 77. In imitation of the practice laid down by Sir Thomas Elyot for the education of an infant prince, the use of a painter was promoted as an aid to learning 78. The antiquary Leland also presented a book dedicated to Richmond to assist in learning his letters 79. French and music were also to be studied with William Saunders, late of Wolsey's service, engaged to teach the child singing and the virginals 80. The king was clearly content that his son should receive a broadly humanist education. Meanwhile Richmond, with somewhat more enthusiasm, pursued the traditional pursuits of the nobility, including riding, archery, hunting, hawking and exercises in arms. It seems that the young prince was to be fully equipped to play an active role in the emerging renaissance world.

Richmond's tutor, John Palsgrave, was apparently well qualified for his task. A former tutor to Henry VIII's sister Mary, and secretary to the king, he had graduated BA from Cambridge in 1504. He was also a friend and correspondent of Thomas More 81. The author of a Latin play and a new approach to French grammar, his scholarship appears impressive. He later boasted that he had devised a new and simpler method for Richmond to learn Latin 82. It seems that his appointment had been personally endorsed by the king

76 SP Henry VIII IV n.144 p.408.

77 Reynolds, E. E., *The Field is Won* (London, 1969), p.184. Muller, James, *Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction* (New York, 1970), p.40.

78 PRO SP1/55, p.13.

79 *Inventories*, Nichols, J. G., ed., p.xxviii.

80 PRO SP1/40, p.208.

81 Palsgrave, John, op. cit., p.xi, xvi. More may also have endorsed Palsgrave's appointment.

82 Nichols, J. G., *Inventories* p.xxviii.

For the king's grace said unto me in the presence of master Parre and master Page, "I deliver" quod he, "unto you 3, my worldly jewel; you twain to have the guiding of his body, and thou, Palsgrave, to bring him up in virtue and learning" 83.

Despite some small difficulties in mastering Latin pronunciation, the tutor's initial reports of the child's progress were clearly considered to be satisfactory 84. He also had other students in his care, for like Edward and Elizabeth, Richmond was not educated in isolation. Some boys like William Parr, nephew to the duke's chamberlain, appear to have been full-time companions to the duke. Richmond was also joined at Sheriff Hutton by his maternal uncles, the twelve year old George Blount and his younger brother Henry. Others were brought to attend upon the duke as Lord Neville, the son of the earl of Westmorland, was brought by his father, perhaps as a means of storing up favour for the future. 85. In both age and station they made a rather mixed bunch, but no one could claim that Richmond lacked the companionship and society of other boys. In addition to these duties, Palsgrave was also formally appointed as a member of the duke's council, but his tenure at Sheriff Hutton was destined to be rather short term. By February 1526, merely six months after his arrival he had been replaced as schoolmaster by Dr Richard Croke.

Palsgrave's departure may have been hastened by the death of his patron Sir Richard Wingfield. At a stroke he was deprived of his powerful supporter at court. In addition, he quickly found himself in severe financial difficulties. Palsgrave made strenuous efforts to offset these. Even as he was seeking the assistance of his former pupil Mary Tudor, now Duchess of Suffolk, to secure the benefice of Cawston in Norfolk, he instructed William Stevinson to ask her husband for a loan 86. In desperation Palsgrave also wrote to the king, Sir Thomas More, who had replaced Wingfield as chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Lady Elizabeth Tailbois, requesting some immediate relief 87. Although poverty was the perennial cry of

83 PRO SP1/55, p.14.

84 PRO SP1/55, pp.12-13.

85 PRO SP1/50, p.255.

86 PRO SP1/55, p.16. Palsgrave, John, op. cit., p.xxix.

87 Ibid., p.12-15.

sixteenth century scholars, and Palsgrave's stipend was no less than his colleagues, it seems that he was now put to costs and charges which he had been unprepared to bear. As he explained to Elizabeth, his need to fall back on her bounty was both pressing and unexpected

I had been by the advise and counsel of Sir Richard Wingfield so free to make me able at the beginning to do service according to my room, [but] that I feared unless your Ladyship were good to me I should not be able to abide that time 88.

It appears that Palsgrave had been relying on ongoing financial support from Sir Richard to supplement his income. With Wingfield's sudden death, that hope was dashed. Since Palsgrave thanked Elizabeth for her favourable letter, she must have been sympathetic, but his continued requests for her protection, and presumably financial aid, suggests that a more permanent solution was still required. Initially Palsgrave was optimistic that his good service would be sufficient to relieve his financial penury. His letter to the king appears to have brought an encouraging response. He remained convinced that financial assistance would be forthcoming 89. Yet future promises did nothing to offset his immediate need, and the tutor found himself no closer to solvency.

Unfortunately for Palsgrave these were not the only problems he was facing. The tutor complained to More that Richmond was surrounded by those who saw learning as a hindrance and displeasure, inappropriate for a noble man. The young duke was encouraged on regular excursions

to bring his mind from learning, some to hear a cry at a hare, some to kill a buck with his bow, sometimes with greyhounds, and sometimes with buck hounds, ... some to see a flight with a hawk, some to ride a horse, which yet he is not greatly cumbered with because of his youth, besides many other devices found within the house when he cannot go abroad 90.

In addition, Palsgrave himself was spoken of and treated with disparagement, both in respect of his poverty, and his teaching methods. To Elizabeth he complained of numerous

88 Ibid., p.14.

89 Ibid., p.13.

90 Ibid., p.12.

charges levied against him, and further alleged that young Richmond's mind was being poisoned against him.

the babe shall begin to despise me, ere ever he know me, and conceive a hatred against me causeless, that hereafter it shall cause the gospel spoken of my mouth seem worse to him than a dream or fantasy 91.

Carver's assertion that Palsgrave remained a member of Richmond's council until December 1526, is based on the mis-dating of a letter which properly belongs to 25 December 1525 92. In truth his position became increasingly untenable. Without Wingfield's protection, and in obvious financial embarrassment, it is clear that Palsgrave was not being accorded the respect a member of the duke's council should expect. Since Palsgrave believed that he still enjoyed the full confidence of the king, he had to look elsewhere for the author of his present difficulties. Such a person would have to be sufficiently powerful enough to deflect the influence of Mary Tudor and Sir Thomas More. In the circumstances the obvious choice seems to be Thomas Wolsey.

The vast majority of those who taunted Palsgrave answered directly to Wolsey. If Wingfield had engineered the tutor's appointment, the cardinal had no particular reason to come to his aid, and perhaps every reason to wish to see him removed, in favour of a candidate of his own choosing. Certainly, Richard Croke's first loyalty appears to have been to Wolsey. It is probably only coincidence that he was a distant blood relation of the Blounts of Kinlet. Since he had fallen out with his former patron John Fisher, Croke had a far more pressing reason for seeking preferment to Richmond's service, and would have had every reason to be grateful to Wolsey for securing the appointment 93. In contrast, subsequent events suggest that Palsgrave bore some enmity towards the cardinal.

91 Ibid., p.15.

92 Palsgrave, John, p.xxxv. PRO SP1/40, p.96. LP IV, (ii), n.2729 p.1217. Reid, op. cit., p.104, notes that Palsgrave was replaced on the council by William Babthorpe in April 1526.

93 Croke, op. cit., p.171. Rex, R., *The Theology of John Fisher* (Cambridge, 1991), p.56. I am grateful to Mr Malcolm Underwood, Archivist of St John's College, for information on Croke's career at Cambridge.

In April 1528 he was rebuked for his attitude toward the council in general, and a search of Palsgrave's papers revealed a number of charges against Wolsey's government of England. It has been suggested that the articles, which were presumably designed as a basis for attainder, were drawn up under the auspices of, amongst others, the Dukes of Norfolk, or Suffolk, Sir Thomas Arundel, or Lord Thomas Darcy 94. However, the enthusiasm which he brought to the task suggests that Palsgrave had his own reasons to resent the cardinal. Their relations do not appear to have been good. In 1515 Wolsey had refused to accede to Mary Tudor's request that her old schoolmaster receive the Archdeaconry of Derby, or a living in the diocese of Durham 95. Yet such enduring bitterness, suggests that Palsgrave held Wolsey responsible for his ignoble departure from the north.

For the other members of Richmond's council business continued as usual. As the year came to a close they were clearly anxious that his first Christmas in the north should be staged in an appropriate manner. In early November the council were earnestly seeking Wolsey's advice over the important matter of New Year gifts. In addition to the king, they suggested six senior members of the Royal Household. If protocol required the inclusion of Queen Catherine, who was not best placed to appreciate an expensive gift from her husband's illegitimate son, it is interesting that Mary was omitted 96. This year Wolsey sent the young duke a garter of crown gold for which he paid £4 11s 4d 97. In the event it seems that Christmas passed off quietly. The council sent merely that Richmond was in good health, and desired Wolsey's blessing 98. His gratitude for the gift was apparently not sufficient to induce the child to labour with his own pen.

94 Gwyn, op. cit., p.614. LP IV, (iii), n.5749 p.2548. Lehmborg, op. cit., p.3. Childe-Pemberton, op. cit., p.120. Gunn, op. cit., p.103. Palsgrave, John, op. cit., p.xli.

95 Ibid., p.xiv.

96 Those listed were the King, the Queen, the French Queen, Norfolk, Suffolk and the Marquises of Exeter and Dorset. BL Cotton Caligula B VI, f.79. Although calendared as LP IV, (ii), n.2608 p.1158, to 1526, this first year was the only Christmas passed at Sherrif Hutton.

97 Gutch, ed., op. cit., p.321.

98 PRO SP1/40, p.96.

The first surviving autograph letter apparently dates from January 1527, when Richmond was persuaded to write to the king, in thanks for his gift. Even then the letter was rather brief. Having asked Henry's blessing, and delivered up his thanks, the child concluded

Humbly beseeching your grace to accept and take this my letter penned with mine own hand for a poor token at this time 99.

His ability is not in question. Richmond had developed an impressive style and a fine hand, but much like his royal sire, evidently found the business of writing rather a chore. In a pair of letters, designed to show his progress, probably penned in March 1529, Richmond apologizes from not having written for some time. The letters are painfully similar in their content. After dutifully asking blessing of his father and godfather, he makes earnest promises to attain the virtue and learning suited to his estate, but the sigh of relief as the task he has been set is completed, is almost audible 100. Unlike Edward VI, who found endless pleasure in schemes and papers, the young Duke clearly felt there were other more interesting ways to fill his time.

As a Cambridge graduate and a reader in Greek, Richard Croke may have anticipated that he was well able to meet the educational needs of a six year old, but if he imagined that Palsgrave's difficulties were derived solely from his own failings, he was quickly disillusioned. An evidently exasperated Croke was soon appealing to Wolsey to restore some order to proceedings. Like Palsgrave before him, Croke was unable to secure the respect and co-operation of the other officers in Richmond's household. The battles in the school room continued. In particular Croke blamed George Cotton, one of the gentlemen ushers, for indulging the duke. Richmond was not permitted to study before morning mass, or do any writing before dinner. He was frequently taken from lessons to

99 Inventories, Nichols, J. G., ed., p.xxxi.

100 PRO SP1/37, p.189. BL Vespasian Mss F III, 18b. Although calendared in LP IV, (i), n.2010 n.2011 p.906, to 1526, they cannot have been written that year if Richmond was in the South. The child's skill with the pen would also suggest a somewhat later date.

practise archery or other sports, and then he was too tired to study at all.

Croke now asked that the time that Richmond was to study should be formally laid down. Moreover, in an unconscious echo of Palsgrave's complaint to Sir Thomas More, he asked that other pursuits should not be allowed to tempt the young duke from his books. Croke also alleged that Cotton openly disputed his authority in front of Richmond, hoping to discredit the tutor in the child's eyes.

Often not only without my knowledge, but even contrary to my wishes, he has allowed the prince to play, foorsoth that, with ill will towards me he might win the fullest favour for himself.

Any attempt to chide or encourage the boy in his studies, was countered by Cotton's interference. Even the duke's schoolfellows were being allowed to mock Croke with impunity. Not even in church was he safe from insult, being taunted as a bastard, a fool, and a rogue by one of his own pupils. Priests in general were openly disparaged, and if Croke attempted to reassert his position by disciplining any of these boys, Cotton would again intervene. To greater diminish Croke's control he had even taken to setting the duke lessons himself, teaching him (in Croke's opinion very badly) to write in secretary hand, as opposed to the roman hand preferred by Croke 101.

These practices might also have repercussions far outside of the school room. Richmond's role and offices required that all official correspondence was conducted in his name. Writing to Wolsey in November 1525, Henry, Earl of Cumberland, acknowledged the receipt of the Duke of Richmond's letters of placard, regarding aspects of control in the north 102. In April 1526, Sir Christopher Dacre advised Lord Dacre, that he and the Archbishop of Glasgow had received letters from my Lord of Richmond 103. For this purpose an elaborate seal of the duke's arms, some four inches in diameter, had been

101 LP IV, (i), n.1948 p.879, SP1/37, p.131 printed and translated in *Inventories*, Nichols, J. G., ed., p.xxxviiff.

102 SP Henry VIII, IV, n.146 p.420.

103 LP IV, (i), n.2110 p.947.

commissioned 104. Although it is likely that Richmond himself never saw the vast majority of business handled by the council, his signature was still a valuable commodity, adding prestige and weight to any missive. Yet now Croke advise Wolsey

my said lord is forced to write of his own hand, to abbots and mean persons contrary to your grace's commandment; and that immediately after his dinner and repast taken, to the great dulling of his wits, spirits, and memory and no little hurt of his head, stomach, and body;

Croke was worried that without proper supervision the child's handwriting would suffer 105. Wolsey was no doubt more concerned that such autograph letters were being used to secure favours for Cotton and his associates. Such letters to minor local figures were hardly in keeping with his position, and could only prove detrimental to his authority.

It was all a far cry from the pursuit of virtue and learning envisaged for the child. Encouraged by Cotton, the duke plainly preferred sport and other pastimes to studying. Croke reported fools and players being admitted to the privy chamber and singing bawdy songs, in direct breach of Wolsey's injunctions. If Croke threatened punishment Richmond, emboldened by the example of those around him, and not lacking a sense of his own superiority, apparently responded

Master if you beat me I will beat you 106.

The idea that Richmond might be subject to corporal punishment, was no empty threat. There is some virtue in the argument that it was hoped that he would profit by simply witnessing the chastisement of his schoolfellows 107. However, this did not preclude that he might also be punished. The assumption that a noble child of this period would not be beaten has been a popular tradition, but children of rank like

104 Ibid., n.1792 p.796. PRO E312/33

105 PRO SP1/37, p.13.

106 PRO SP1/42, f.26.

107 Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth Nichols, J. G. ed., (2 Volumes, Roxburgh Club, 1857), I, p.xlii.

the Earl of Surrey could be subject to such chastisement 108. Even Richmond's royal status was no protection. Barnaby Fitzpatrick has been cast as whipping boy for Prince Edward, but even the prince was beaten. On one occasion his tutor, Richard Cox, found his efforts met with nothing but boredom. Coaxing and threats were ineffective. Cox uttered a final warning, and then he struck the child

and gave him such a wound that he wist not what to do 109.

If the lord's anointed could be so sharply punished, Richmond's self confidence was perhaps slightly misplaced. Certainly I can find no evidence to support John Gough Nichols assertion that Richmond employed a whipping boy, even in an honorary capacity 110. Yet equally there was an increasing reluctance to punish bright and eminent pupils by such means, if another form of inducement could be found.

In Richmond's case a different approach was evidently deemed more suitable. By January 1527 the Duke was applying himself more eagerly to his learning, and enthusiastically wrote to the king advising him

that I effectually give mine whole endeavour, mind, study, and pleasure to the diligent appliance of all such sciences and feats of learning, as by my most loving counsellors I am daily advertised to stand with your most high and gracious pleasure 111.

Such keenness was not provoked by a sudden injection of intellectualism. Croke had evidently sought to harness Richmond's enthusiasm for martial deeds by using suitable texts. Now the young duke was hoping that his pains would induce the king to send him a suit of arms, so that he might practice in person the warlike exploits he had read about in the commentaries of Caesar. So keen was Richmond to ensure that the reward would be forthcoming, that he addressed a similar letter to his godfather emphasizing the request 112.

108 Keene, Dennis, ed., *Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Selected Poems* (Manchester, 1985), p.63.

109 PRO SP1/195, f.213

110 *Literary Remains* Nichols, J. G., ed., p.lxxiv.

111 PRO SP1/46, p.169.

112 *Ibid.*, p.170.

The tutor's relationship with Richmond clearly improved. When Croke was seconded abroad by the king to assist in his great matter in October 1527, Richmond provided him with a letter of recommendation written in the warmest terms 113. For his part Croke did not forget his royal charge. Writing to Fox he asked:

I pray you of your goodness to recommend me most humbly to my most dear lord and master my lord of Richmond advertising his grace that I trust to bring him home Caesar's bridge, and a copy of a galley with 5 oars, such as few men have seen 114.

Evidently whatever intellectual tastes Croke had been able to instil in his pupil still tended towards the practical rather than the contemplative, but it was plainly an effective teaching technique.

Despite an occasionally wilful attitude, it is clear that Richmond could behave. Reports of his conduct on formal occasions were not just favourable, but impressive. When the Earl of Northumberland first attended on Richmond at Sheriff Hutton he was quite taken with the young duke.

At my first coming into to Yorkshire, according unto my duty I repaired unto my lord of Richmond, ... it rejoiced me much to see how God and virtue, with so high and excellent gifts, as well of personage as of all other virtues and good qualities, have so endowed him that my dulled wit cannot disclose unto your grace how highly he excelleth in every virtuous pastime 115.

Richmond was expected to greet local dignitaries in his role as the king's representative. William, Lord Dacre and the earl of Westmorland, also came to pay their respects 116. Seated in his chair of state surrounded by his councillors the gravity of the situation would have impressed itself on even the most exuberant child. Yet it was perhaps with a little trepidation that his council agreed to the Earl of Northumberland's earnest request to allow the duke to visit him at Topcliffe. A single night's stay was duly arranged for the eight year old.

113 PRO SP1/44, p.192.

114 BL Cotton Vitus B XIII, f.79.

115 PRO SP1/45, p.246.

116 SP Henry VIII IV, n.192 p.515. LP IV, (ii), n.4891 p.2116.

Northumberland played the gracious host, and as Magnus reported with some pride to Wolsey, Richmond rose to the occasion

I assure your grace my lord of Richmond for his part did use himself not like a child of his tender age, but more like a man in all his behaviours, as well in communication as other, fashioning everything to the best purpose 117.

Although in such cases some allowance must be made for a degree of flattery, it does seem that the young duke was developing into a most promising child.

When it was first mooted that Richmond should go north as the king's lieutenant, little can have been known of his ability or promise. Indeed, it did not matter. It was his blood relationship to the king, his titles, and his physical presence, which served the required purpose. Although as the duke settled into his new life at Sherrif Hutton, he increasingly began to figure in wider affairs. In April 1526, James V, forwarding some papers to Wolsey, desired to be recommended to his cousin 118. The following month he had attracted notice from abroad, when the members of the Cognac League included the young duke in the list of those to whom they offered pensions, out of any lands conquered in Italy, as part of their plan to persuade Henry VIII to take up arms against Charles V 119. On this occasion his inclusion may perhaps be explained by the young duke's presence about the court.

Richmond's own movements are in general poorly documented. Reliance on the correspondence of his council has perpetuated the view that he was continually resident in the north, but the duke's person was not required for the smooth running of his council, and they frequently decamped to Newcastle or Carlisle without him. Just as Mary was occasionally to return from the Marches of Wales, so Muriel St Clare Bryne offers reasonable grounds to suggest that Richmond was back at Collyweston by February 1526, and a charter dated at

117 PRO SP1/50, p.197.

118 LP IV, (i), n.2072 p.933.

119 CSP Venetian, III, n.1289 p.557. Richmond was to receive 30,000 ducats (£11250) per annum.

Westminster raises the possibility that he had still not returned northwards by May 120. With Sheriff Hutton in a poor state of repair, and Pontefract not made habitable until the following autumn, there were sound practical reasons for the child to return. In the face of any evidence to the contrary it seems probable that the king's Lieutenant General North of the Trent, spent much of 1526 in the south.

One of Richmond's own initial forays into the myriad waters of diplomacy, was in his correspondence with James V of Scotland. In January 1527, both James V and his mother Margaret wrote to Magnus asking if he could furnish the young king of Scotland with a selection of hunting dogs 121. As Magnus advised Wolsey, he suspected the request covered an ulterior motive

And over this, in my poor opinion I did conjecture the sending hither of the said King of Scots' servant, was to visit and see my Lord's said Grace and to note the form and fashion of his household, bruited in Scotland of right high estimation 122.

Scenting an opportunity to foster good relations between the Warden General of the Marches and his cousin, Magnus showed the letters to Richmond. The duke reacted with enthusiasm, and a parcel of ten pairs of his own hounds, and even more remarkable, a note in Richmond's own hand, were despatched to Scotland 123.

The overture was warmly received by the Scots. James V not only thanked Richmond for his present, but reciprocated with a gift of two brace of hounds, and a promise of red hawks. Writing to Magnus, James was equally grateful for the introduction, and anxious that the blood hounds Richmond had been unable to provide would be sent on in due season 124. Magnus considered the matter important enough to send copies of all the letters to Wolsey. He was particularly gratified to report that Richmond's servants had been well received in Scotland

120 Loades, op cit p.45. St Clare Byrne, Muriel, ed., I, p.182. PRO E24/15/12, p.1 m8.

121 CSP Scotland 1568-89, n.43 p.25, n.44 p.25.

122 SP Henry VIII, IV, n.165 p.464.

123 CSP Scotland 1568-89, n.46 p.25.

124 LP IV, (ii), n.2956 p.1322.

The King of Scots hath given me great thanks for inducing acquaintance between him and my Lord of Richmond's grace, and also did great cheer to be made to my Lord's servants, being a yeoman and a groom sent into Scotland with hounds, and gave to the yeoman ten pounds sterling, and to the groom five pound 125.

Before the month was out the blossoming relationship underwent its first political test. The Duke of Richmond wrote, in his official capacity, to the King of Scotland complaining of the great robberies committed by the inhabitants of Liddesdale. James V's reply was co-operative, promising to send the Earl of Angus to effect redress 126. Magnus had every reason to assume that the initiative had been beneficial.

On a personal level the relationship between Richmond and James appears warm. His mother Margaret was even more effusive towards her nephew

We desire you affectionately to have us recommended unto him as we that shall entertain our dutiful kindness, as natural affection aright towards him, as we that is right glad of his good propensity, praying God the same continue 127.

Richmond for his part was reported to hold his aunt and cousin in similar affection 128. It was undoubtedly gratifying to establish that Richmond was deserving of the respect and esteem of princes, after the aura of power and dignity which had been so carefully constructed around him, but if the relationship was to bear real fruit, this in itself was insufficient. Yet tangible rewards were more elusive. A case in point was the fugitive William Lisle and his supporters in Scotland 129. Richmond intervened on a number of occasions to secure their apprehension, but to little effect. It was believed that they thrived in the debatable ground, aided and abetted by Scottish sympathizers 130.

Despite persevering for over a year, Richmond's council might write that

125 SP Henry VIII, IV, n.168 p.468.

126 LP IV, (ii), n.2993 p.1345.

127 SP Henry VIII, II, n.200 p.538.

128 SP Henry VIII, IV, n.200 p.534.

129 LP IV, (ii), n.2450 p.1094.

130 SP Henry VIII, IV, n.168 p.469.

the said King of Scots and Earl of Angus have both addressed their several letters of answer at this time unto my said Lord's grace, right effectually couched and penned in full honourable manner and form 131.

but the elegant prose carried no real substance. The Earl of Angus protested that their king was doing all within his power to secure the fugitives 132. Meanwhile the council's patience, fuelled by the belief that the Lises were being aided by the Armstrongs, some of whom were Angus's own servants, grew increasingly thin 133. As they advised Wolsey rather wearily

my lord of Richmond's grace hath often and many times written ... for the apprehending, taking and delivering of the said Sir William Lisle and the others ... and at all times we have had right pleasant answers, but as yet nothing is done by them to any good effect or purpose
134

The personal relationship between the two young princes, rooted in a mutual love of sport and hunting, gave an added lustre to Richmond's position, but it was not in itself strong enough to achieve any real progress in terms of Anglo-Scottish relations. For all their fine words the Scots continued to follow their own agenda, and Richmond's tenure in the north was not of sufficient duration to effect any long time gain.

About this same time Richmond's entry into matrimonial diplomacy was first raised. Henry was not over endowed with marriageable relations and Richmond was older than most royal infants when launched onto the market. But the circumstances were a little unorthodox. A letter from Sir Gregory Casale and Russell to Wolsey in February 1527, advised of the competition for the hand of Catherine de Medici, known as the pope's neice 135. With Scottish and French interest so strong, the ambassadors, apparently on their own initiative, although discreetly refraining from mentioning Richmond by name, had

131 Ibid., n.173 p.478.

132 Ibid., n.175 p.483.

133 Ibid., n.173 p.478.

134 BL Cotton Appendix L, f.68.

135 The exact relationship was a little more distant. The pope Giulio de Medici had a natural son, Giuliano de Medici, who was the great uncle of Lorenzo Duke of Urbino and Florence, who was Catherine's father.

already sounded out the Datary as regards a possible match for the young duke.

We said then that, if the Pope's Holiness would marry her to have good alliance, we know where he should bestow her better than of any that is yet rehearsed, viz upon a Duke in England that might spend as much as two of the best of them. And he perceived straight whom we meant, and thought that the Pope's Holiness would be very well contented to have such alliance 136.

Such a bold step would not have been taken unless they were sure that it would be well received by the king 137. If Richmond's usefulness as a tool in matrimonial diplomacy was indeed a factor in his elevation, the ambassadors were no doubt aware the king was looking to make a suitable match for his son. Yet it was rather a delicate situation. Catherine de Medici was a valuable prize. Those mooted for the hand of the bride eventually bestowed on Henry, duc d'Orléans, second son of Francis I included the young King of Scotland. Whilst the English diplomats might feel that Richmond was a comparable match, there was no guarantee that the pope would feel the same. Whilst royal bastards had their place in the marriage market, their illegitimate status was expected to be taken into consideration. Better perhaps to put out a feeler rather than encourage the king to make an official overture, only to have it ignobly, and embarrassingly, rebuffed.

In the event the de Medici match was not pursued. However, in March 1527 Mendoza, the imperial ambassador in England, advised Charles V that the English were lobbying for his niece, the Infanta Mary of Portugal, as a possible bride for the Duke of Richmond:

the King holds this son in such affection that he would show the same honour and regard to anyone entering into an alliance with him as with the Princess his daughter. The Legate much wishes that this alliance might be secured by the Emperor for the daughter of Madame Eleonor, both being of suitable ages 138.

136 PRO SP1/41, p.4.

137 Willen, Diane, *John Russell, First Earl of Bedford*, Studies in History Series [23], (Royal Historical Society, 1981), p.20.

138 CSP Spanish, III, (ii), n.39 p.123.

As Wolsey was well aware, the Infanta in question was already betrothed to the Dauphin of France. Under the terms of the treaty of Madrid Francis I was betrothed to the emperor's sister, Queen Eleanor of Portugal, and her daughter was to marry his heir. From the English point of view a close alliance between France and Spain could only be detrimental. There was a clear danger that England would be isolated from European affairs.

For his part Wolsey had already moved to counter this arrangement. The initial proposal that the Princess Mary should marry the duc d'Orléans, had by autumn 1526 become a possibility that she would marry the King of France. By the time these negotiations for Richmond were broached, this solution had begun to look increasingly fragile. If Francis could yet be persuaded to marry Mary then a match between the Duke of Richmond and the Infanta would eradicate the danger of a Franco-Imperial alliance, and serve to ensure England's continued and active participation at the centre of European affairs, but perhaps more importantly, if he was after all to marry Eleanor, then Wolsey had to find some other means of securing England's position. In these circumstances a marriage between Richmond and the Infanta was the best case scenario, since it would be a way to free the Dauphin to marry the Princess Mary. The danger was that England was not the only player in these games of dynastic diplomacy, and when the stakes were high an illegitimate son was not exactly a trump card.

About this time it was rumoured that Henry VIII and Wolsey were hatching a plan to make the Duke of Richmond, King of Ireland. Whether or not this move was ever seriously entertained, the speculation certainly seems timed to enhance Richmond's desirability in the marriage stakes 139. It was suggested that, prior to her marriage to the King of France, the king and Mary would renounce all their rights in Ireland, in favour of the duke 140. It was no doubt intended to be a tempting prospect. With Mary allied to the French, the emperor

139 McCorristine, Laurence, *The Revolt of Silken Thomas* (Dublin, 1987), p.52.

140 CSP Spanish, III, (ii), n.37 p.117.

might see some advantage in an interest in Ireland 141. In presenting Richmond as comparable to Mary, the English ambassadors in Spain had used his future prospects as a significant element in their bargaining position. The king's son was described as one

who is near of his blood and of excellent qualities, and is already furnished to keep the state of a great Prince, and yet may be easily by the King's means exalted to higher things 142.

The king and Wolsey might not have been beyond attempting to encourage Charles V to believe that the throne of England was a prospect in the negotiations, although it seems more likely that they had the Irish project in mind.

The ploy was not entirely successful. When Almain, the Count de Naussau, approached the English ambassadors to confirm what he had heard, he saw a serious drawback to the concept of Richmond as King of Ireland

that at length he shall be for the French King as Scotland is 143.

It appears that the rumour was not completely unfounded, since Lee was quick to reassure the count that the king and his council could ensure that such an eventuality would not arise. However, no one was entirely mollified over the dangers of an independent kingdom. The King of France was not likely to take kindly to the alienation of any part of his bride's inheritance, and since Catherine was offended, and Mary's interests directly affected, the emperor also viewed the merits of the proposal with some caution 144. Despite the best efforts of the ambassadors, the emperor answered merely that he would try to think of some suitable female relation.

The difficulty was that whilst the Imperials were prepared to treat Richmond as a possible marriage alliance, if it was to their advantage, the Infanta of Portugal was considered too

141 Quinn, David, "Henry Fitzroy" p.175.

142 BL Cotton Vespasian Mss C IV, f.103.

143 Ibid., f.89.

144 CSP Spanish, III, (ii), n.37 p.109.

valuable to be sacrificed in such a way. Granvelle writing to the emperor, reacted with scorn to the proposal.

The Cardinal's overtures to Don Inigo respecting the King's illegitimate son, and the intention of conferring upon him the title of King, together with the proposal for his marriage, might be considered in the light of a joke, were it not that the Cardinal's presumption and folly are well known 145.

He evidently felt the English had set their sights too high. But concerns over the treaty of Madrid, and an unwillingness to forfeit the diplomatic initiative, should Henry VIII actually put this outrageous plan in motion, meant they were reluctant to reject the proposal out of hand. Granvelle suggested that a polite interest, without any definite commitment should be adopted, but his expectation that the English could be deflected towards a more appropriate choice, such as one of the emperor's other nieces, the daughters of Isabella, Queen of Denmark, or even more tellingly, an illegitimate daughter, proved optimistic. The English ambassadors plainly had other instructions.

Undaunted by Charles V's apparent lack of interest, they fell into conversation with Almain regarding possible brides. His suggestion of one of Isabella's daughters was rapidly brushed aside. The English countered once again with Mary, the eldest daughter of the dowager of Portugal. Almain protested that she was betrothed to the Dauphin, but the English Ambassadors stood firm

If the marriage quail with the Mother, by all likelihood you may seek another Dauphin for the daughter? 146.

Almain was distinctly unimpressed with this attempt to equate the status of legitimate and illegitimate blood royal. The English protestations that the prospective bride and groom were of an age similarly cut no ice. No doubt irritated, Almain roundly declared that it was plainly the dowry of 300,000 doubloons which was the real attraction.

In fact the ambassadors' persistence probably owed more to the increasing uncertainty over the intentions of the French King.

145 Ibid., n.48 p.145.

146 BL Cotton Vespasian Mss C IV, f.105.

Yet, as Almain did not scruple to point out, their "Dauphin" was not quite the prize they were painting him as.

We will offer you no bastard 147.

To make matters worse Francis I continued to prevaricate. Wolsey was clearly anxious not to lose all prospect of an alliance. Nevertheless the fleeting suggestion that Richmond should marry a French Princess, was clearly a fall-back position from his preferred scenario that Mary should wed the Dauphin. Since all the marriageable Hasburgs were girls, Richmond would have been wasted on a French match. Interestingly, the French Ambassador had also suggested to his king, that a match with the Duke of Richmond might be another means to salvage this initiative, although he favoured a return to the original proposal that Mary should marry Orléans 148.

That the ambassador apparently saw Orléans and Richmond as interchangeable was not in itself significant. Given the dearth of offspring Henry VIII had to bargain with, the European powers had little choice but to accept Richmond as an alternative to Mary. This did not mean that they were perceived as equals in honour and status. By May 1527, despite the cardinal's best efforts, Mary looked destined for the lesser prize of the duke of Orléans. This development brought negotiations for Richmond's marriage to a grinding halt. Wolsey was not even prepared to entertain discussion of the duke's union with one of the Danish princesses. This would have been a more than respectable match. The girls in question were just as closely allied to the emperor, and unlike Richmond, they were legitimate 149. Yet all at once it looked as if the young duke would not marry anyone after all.

However, Charles V was perhaps not quite as uninterested as he pretended. A closer alliance between France and England brought the uncomfortable possibility of war, and the frustration of many of his aims in the treaty of Madrid. Suddenly in July 1527, the English ambassadors were being

147 Ibid.

148 LP IV, (ii), n.2974 p.1333.

149 CSP Spanish III, (ii), n.69 p.187.

advised that the emperor was considering bestowing the longed for daughter of Portugal on the Duke of Richmond, together with a dowry of 400,000 ducats. In addition Almain proposed that since there was a danger Sforza would surrender the Duchy of Milan to the French King, it might be better to give it to Richmond 150. The emperor had gained possession of the duchy through the vanquishing and surrender of Sforza, the present duke. Although hard pressed by the Turks, Charles V was loath to give up the land. France, fearing encirclement, was equally reluctant to see it remain in Hapsburg hands.

To be fair, the possible benefits of this plan were not simply to the advantage of the English. It had all the makings of a grand scale European alliance

by these means the Emperor, the King's highness [and the] French King should common and combine as in a tri[ple] knot that should be indissoluble 151.

This was just what Wolsey hoped for. Francis and Eleanor's marriage would bind France and Spain, but the union of Richmond with Mary of Portugal, would allow the princess to marry the Dauphin after all, and all of this would ensure that England's future interests were not only protected, but central. The cardinal remained realistic. Informing Henry VIII of the progress of the negotiations he wrote of

the blind and doubtful overture made by Mons Bouclans [John Almain] for the alliance of the Duke of Richmond to the daughter of Portugal, with the gift of the Duchy of Milan in contemplation of the same alliance, meaning thereby to interrupt and let the conjunction of your Highness with the French King 152.

Unfortunately for Wolsey, Henry was most reluctant to let the matter drop. He was no doubt pleased and flattered by the prospect of his illegitimate son married to a Hasburg princess, and lord of his own independent kingdom, especially as the prospect came with no financial burden to his coffers.

150 BL Cotton Vespasian C IV, f.172. Getting wind of the proposal, the Venetian Ambassador reported that Henry VIII was to pay 500,000 ducats for the marriage. CSP Venetian, IV, n.172 p.94.

151 BL Cotton Caligula D XI, f.53.

152 SP Henry VIII, I, n.127 p.234.

For his part Wolsey saw the offer as too good to be true. In August he was still endeavouring to ascertain the emperor's good faith, but by September he felt his suspicions to be confirmed. He broke the bad news to the king

I am surely ascertained that the Emperor mindeth nothing on earth less than to give the said Duchy of Milan to the Duke of Richmond, but is wholly determined to have and enjoy the same for himself, and the overture thereof made ... was but to abuse your Highness and to suspend such treaties as should be concluded between your Grace and the French King 153.

Unfortunately Henry VIII was not yet ready to relinquish even a distant prospect of the duchy. On 8 September, in spite of his own misgivings, the cardinal was still instructing the English ambassadors to pursue the possibility of the match. The cardinal instructed Lee and Poyntz to make further enquiries, although since Wolsey had no wish to upset the primary goal of the French negotiations, caution was required. The ambassadors were instructed to proceed

setting forth in such wise and matter as the French Ambassador take no jealousy or suspicion thereby, and by all possible means to experiment whether the Emperor doth mean good faith therein or no 154.

For the Imperials it seems the match was at best a defensive, rather than a proactive policy. The prize of the duchy and the hand of the sought after Infanta, were only to be delivered at the cost of fracturing the French alliance. Hence, with the signing of the treaty of Amiens in August 1527, this particular initiative was abandoned.

As autumn approached the correspondence began to ebb. The question of Richmond's acquisition of the Duchy of Milan was mooted once more before the year was out. Yet now when the English ambassadors put forward the duke's name, it was politely rebuffed on the grounds that it was too small for him 155. In 1534, Sforza was after all restored to Milan, safely married to Charles V's niece Christina of Denmark. Yet in the autumn of 1527, Richmond could still have married one of Charles V's nieces. In September it was the emperor's turn to

153 Ibid., n.135 p.268-9.

154 SP Henry VIII, VI, n.165 p.605.

155 LP IV, (ii), n.3518 p.1586.

instruct his ambassador to use all possible means to discern the king and Wolsey's true minds on the marriage 156. Margaret of Savoy was instructed to despatch two representatives to discuss the union, but they held out little hope that the English would give a favourable response.

Already the decision to send the envoys had been delayed, because of concerns that Wolsey was too preoccupied with Anglo-French relations to entertain the match. Even now it was doubted that their embassy would be heard with any alacrity 157. If a grand European alliance was a major aim of Richmond's elevation in 1525, this seems a lost opportunity. Only if the purpose of these negotiations was not so much to find Richmond a wife, but to free the Dauphin to marry Mary, can such a stance be justified. Derrett espouses the idea that Wolsey's primary aim was to see Mary married into France, so his godson might ascend the throne in England 158. Yet this would not explain why the imperial match was brushed aside, when the marriage could have enhanced Richmond's position, and appeased the emperor. This tends to suggest that for the time being, the Princess Mary, and not Richmond, was still viewed as the principal means of securing the succession.

With the failure of these negotiations, the prospect of any European marriage alliance for the young duke dimmed. The idea mentioned in passing to the papal envoy Campeggio, that Richmond himself could marry his half-sister in order to secure the succession, reflected the anxious mood of the time, rather than any serious ploy. In theory, the policy of uniting the two blood claims had much to recommend it. If Henry would have forgone this talk of divorce, and the associated questions of papal jurisdiction, Clement might well have acceded to such a request 159. Legally a dispensation could be issued. Although incestuous, cannon law allowed that sexual intercourse with a brother or sister in the missionary position, was technically less sinful than intercourse with an unrelated partner in any other position 160. However, since

156 CSP Spanish, III, (ii), n.209 p.404.

157 Ibid., n.220 p.423.

158 Derrett, J., Duncan, op cit., p.8.

159 LP IV, (ii), n.5072 p.2210.

160 Warnicke, op. cit., p.195.

Henry was already broadcasting his scruples about marrying his dead brother's wife, it was not perhaps the most appropriate alternative. In practice, Campeggio realized that even this drastic step would not be enough. In October 1528 he wrote

I do not believe that this device would suffice to satisfy the King's desires 161.

By the time his age required a serious consideration of his actual marriage, rather than a diplomatic betrothal, the circumstances were very different and his bride would reflect this. In the meantime, whilst Wolsey was thus occupied, other problems were surfacing at Sheriff Hutton.

At his despatch to Sheriff Hutton, it had been envisaged that the income derived from his lands and offices would be sufficient to support the duke and his household. It was estimated that his expenditure should not normally exceed £3106, well within Richmond's anticipated revenues 162. The duke's income was derived from a number of sources. Rents and similar regular payments from his lands were obviously intended to provide the bulk of his wealth. Additional forms of revenue, such as profits from manorial courts supplemented this income, and the sale of cattle and other animals, and commodities like wood and wool, topped up the coffers. The first year's accounts submitted by George Lawson, dating from 12 June 1525, included receipts in excess of £132 derived from the sale of just such merchandise. In addition, the receiverships of Middleham and Sheriffhutton alone brought in £430.

Yet whilst Lawson's accounts appear healthy with a clear balance of £484, in fact the year's expenses could not have been met without the loan of £500 from the Abbot of St Mary's in York 163. The setting up of the household had been an expensive business. A view of Sheriff Hutton found the castle in some neglect and disrepair. The roofs and chimneys all

161 LP IV, (ii), n.4881 p.2113. The assumption that Henry VIII asked the pope's permission for Mary and Richmond to marry is incorrect. Kelly, Henry, "Kinship, Incest and the Dictates of Law" *The American Journal of Jurisprudence* [14], (1969), p.72.

162 BL Harleian Ms 6087, f.22.

163 PRO SP 1/39, p.17.

required extensive attention. Large parts of the walls had fallen down and the iron gates were rusted or missing 164. Within the first six months the council had been forced to spend £234 on repairs to buildings, and more than £370 was still required to equip Richmond in a manner appropriate to his new status, even before the basic expenses of diet, fees and wages had been addressed 165. In the first nine months alone they had already managed to spend £3073 166.

As well as his household expenses, the duke's council also had to defray official costs in their role as the king's judicial arm in the north. In October 1527 the duke's coffers were charged with provision for a band of 60 soldiers, both horse and foot, led by Sir William Eure, to lie at Felton, a lordship of the fugitive Sir William Lisle. The plan was to capture Lisle or his son when they came for supplies, but at 4d per person per day the policy was expensive. After two months the council apologetically explained the high cost was

because that horsemeat and all other victuals be very scarce and extreme dear in those parts 167.

A further burden was placed on the household by the device of ensuring the good behaviour of the inhabitants of Tynedale by pledges, resident in Richmond's household 168. The council were also expected to discharge the various fees of local officers of the crown. Sir William Eure in his capacity as Vice Warden of the middle Marches, Tynedale and Redesdale, was supposed to receive £33 from the Duke of Richmond's own coffers to make up his fee to the agreed level of £100, and Sir Christopher Dacre was due £53 6s 8d as Warden of the east March 169.

Yet in August 1526 the Earl of Westmoreland was complaining the council claimed it was unable to pay his fee 170. The council took refuge in the fact that the king had agreed to

164 Ibid., p.102.

165 PRO SP1/36, f.202.

166 PRO SP1/38, f.11.

167 SP Henry VIII, IV, n.173 p.478.

168 Ibid., n.170 p.472

169 PRO SP1/40, p.208.

170 LP IV, (ii), n.2441 p.1090.

pay these expenses for the first year. However, as rents and revenues went uncollected, their cash flow problems, not surprisingly, worsened. In the spring of 1527 Magnus was nudging Wolsey to think of his godson's charges at Berwick, in re-distributing the lands of the Lord of St John's before the poor man had actually expired, and more than once the duke's council applied to Wolsey, hoping to be discharged of the £500 borrowed from the Abbot of St Mary's, which had allowed them to cover their first year's expenses 171.

This did not bode well for the council's skill in managing a household of this magnitude, and there were other difficulties to contend with. In such an establishment, it was perhaps inevitable that there would be some below-stairs pilfering. It is significant that one of Wolsey's ordinances was intended to provide against just such an eventuality, in ensuring that access to the wine and beer was strictly regulated 172. Despite this, the opportunity for self enrichment proved too much for some to resist. In April 1526 the council advised Wolsey that Simon Prior, yeoman purveyor to the duke, who had been appointed by the cardinal, had

without commission or commandment of his grace, and also contrary to our express and especial commandment given unto him, took up of the goods of Agnes Clerc, widow, this bearer ... two hundred fat wethers for thirty pounds, and thirty fat oxen for other thirty pound, ... surmising then untruly that they should be for the use and expenses of my said lord of Richmond's household, whereof there was never one of them delivered by him to the same use 173.

Hearing that Prior, whom they belatedly acknowledged as a rogue, had been arrested at Tottenham on some other charge, the council requested that Agnes should be recompensed out of his confiscated goods. Human nature being as it is, the occasional incident of this kind was no doubt an occupational hazard in even the most well ordered of households. Regrettably, Sheriff Hutton was far from being the most well ordered of households.

171 LP IV, (ii), n.3036 p.1361, PRO SP1/53, p.157.

172 BL Harleian Mss 589, 19b.

173 BL Cotton Appendix L (36), f.41.

The rising expenses had now become a matter of serious concern. A clerk of the green cloth was dispatched northwards by Wolsey, and Thomas Magnus took steps to investigate and reform the household expenditure. Matters cannot have been helped by a history of poor accounting, with books and inventories not being regularly kept 174. In dispatching his findings for Wolsey's consideration Magnus assured him

For this matter the clerk of the green cloth and I have taken some business, and take some more pain to reduce the charges of the household here more nigh to the revenues of my Lord of Richmond's lands, by the grace of God 175.

In September 1526 Magnus continued to report that he was doing everything he could to reduce the great charges of the household to a level commensurate with the revenues, although he admitted it was rather an uphill task 176. By February 1527 it was decided that only drastic measures would suffice. Sir William Bulmer and Sir Thomas Tempest advised Wolsey

All the whole council determined the best means to minish my Lord of Richmond's charges and expenses of [the] household was in avoiding good number of persons from his service, and in abridging of their wages, or in both, which abridgement of wages Mr Magnus would not assent, the pleasure of the king's highness and of your grace not first known in that behalf.

However, it was decided that eighteen people could be dismissed, either as being superfluous, or for their misconduct. Yet if the council were pleased with their decisive handling of the situation, the king it seems was not. When news of their action reached the court he wrote, not only requiring them to re-admit several of those dismissed, but to increase their wages. Perplexed they defended their actions. The books were now in good order and there was no wastage, but expenditure had still not been greatly reduced. Now they had the additional concern that others would be encouraged to seek re-admittance on better terms than before 177.

174 LP IV, (ii), n.2435 p.1089.

175 SP Henry VIII, IV, n.160 p.455.

176 Ibid., n.162 p.459.

177 PRO SP1/40, p.252.

Yet whilst the council were suggesting that overmanning was the root cause of the financial difficulties, Richard Croke laid the blame firmly on the shoulders of some of Richmond's most senior household officers. Sir William Parr, the chamberlain, George Cotton, a gentleman usher and his brother Richard, comptroller of the household, were openly accused by the tutor of embezzlement. According to Croke all manner of goods had been siphoned off from the duke's kitchens for the benefit of their friends and relations. Only a fraction of these appeared in the formal accounts. As we have seen, Croke was fighting his own battles with Parr and Cotton over control of Richmond. Croke's allegations also comprised accusations of prolonged absences, and dereliction of duty, no doubt hoping to effect their swift removal. In view of these conflicts, his evidence must be treated with some caution. However, the fact that the officers concerned remained in Richmond's service is not necessarily proof of their innocence, since there is no evidence that the accusations were ever formally investigated. Since by Croke's own admission these instances did not appear in the accounts, it is difficult to judge the extent of abuse. Procuring the odd cut of meat, or haunch of venison going spare was one thing, making sufficient provision for the needs of one's entire family was quite another. Croke was confident that his charges could be substantiated by the clerks of the kitchen, and he was willing to defend his claims in front of the whole council if need be 178. In spite of a certain degree of bias, Croke's charges are given weight by the disordered state of the household. Furthermore, no one could deny that the actual expenditure had exceeded all expectations.

It was perhaps in light of these difficulties that a further set of articles were drawn up for the reformation of the duke's household. The list contains several suggestions to be presented to the council, including a reassessment of fees, wages and rewards, placing the procurement of victuals on a firmer footing, provision for a yearly audit, and stricter guidelines over what were legitimate perks of the job, such as the droppings from the roast meat and those things that were not, like table cloths. It is clear that matters had not been

178 LP IV, (i), n.1947 p.879. PRO SP1/37, p.131 Printed and translated in *Inventories*, Nichols, J. G., p.xlvi.

ordered as Wolsey had originally envisaged. As regards Richmond's cast off wardrobe it was questioned

what part of his present apparel should after his wearing be delivered and go in fees, and what part shall go to the repairing of the chapel stuff .. and whether Hugh Johns shall save the said damned and forworn apparel according to the King's gracious grant made unto him in that behalf 179.

Even now Bulmer and Tempest's confident assertions that everything was at last in good order turned out to be overstating the true facts of the case. Only 6 days later Magnus broke the bad news to Wolsey. It had been calculated that, after wages and liveries, the household's weekly expenditure did not exceed £25. Magnus was not convinced, and having made his own investigations

finally showed unto them that where they thought that the charges of this house were in a reasonably good train and order they were clearly deceived in their opinions and that the same had amounted every week one with another above the sum of fifty pounds

In the face of his revised calculations the officers of the household were left with little choice but to accept the truth of his figures, but the effect on the unfortunate clerk of the green cloth was dramatic. The poor man shortly dropped down dead, and Magnus had no hesitation in attributing his demise to the stress of the financial situation.

The said clerk of the green cloth with this was some deal confused and said that he would attempt and prove the matter again. And what with watch taking of cold and thought for this matter in all our opinions here it was the cause of his death

In light of this Magnus proposed taking the redress of the expenses into his own hands. With careful management and regular accounts he hoped to make some headway before Easter, but things remained tight. Somewhat ironically Magnus advised Wolsey not to be too hasty in sending up a new clerk of the green cloth as the coffers could not stand the expense! 180.

179 BL Harleian Mss 6087, f.22. The reforms might belong to c1529 when the household was reorganised, but Richmond's claim in 1528 that Wolsey had recently confirmed that he might exercise his own patronage suggests an earlier date.

180 SP Henry VIII, IV, n.166 p.464.

In the months to come Magnus continued to assure Wolsey of his best attention to all matters financial. By October leave was finally obtained to discharge some of Richmond's servants. Care had been taken to discharge only those who could easily be spared, or whose conduct was unsatisfactory. Yet the concept of Richmond as an independent magnate was still not being strictly adhered to. The council implored that this time none should be readmitted, and they reminded Wolsey that the king would have to bear any charges they could not meet

in case they or any of them shall chance to repair either to the King's Highness or else unto your Grace to the intent that they may be accepted and taken again into service we then beseech your grace (as it shall stand with the pleasure of the same) to consider the great number of servants wherewith my Lord of Richmond is charged and the great scarcity apparent for this year not like to be sustained without putting the King's Highness to further great cost and expense 181.

The cardinal also took a more active interest in placing the finances on a firmer footing, drawing up a series of articles for Magnus to implement 182. Things improved only slowly. A year later in October 1528, Magnus was still reporting on his progress sending, of all people, Sir William Parr to Wolsey with the details 183. Although the question of financial irregularities did not arise again, things were not completely resolved. In April 1529 the duke's council were still trying to avoid repayment of that £500 on the grounds that much of the revenue due at Michaelmas 1525 was still unpaid, yet:

he was rated and had allowance but of the moiety of the same his lands for one half year ending at the same feast of Michaelmas. And at the feast of Easter next following ... we could not obtain any part of the revenues of the same lands and so by these means gracious lord we were destitute of money and had none other means for remedy 184.

Money was clearly still a matter of concern. This cannot entirely be laid at the feet of the council. They were at fault in not establishing a stricter accounting procedure from

181 Ibid., IV n.173 p.478. The possibility exists that lesser men took the blame for Parr and the brothers Cotton's misdeeds.

182 LP IV, (ii), n.3689 p.1653.

183 SP Henry VIII, IV, n.192 p.515.

184 PRO SP1/53, p.157.

the start, and questions remain over the appropriation of goods. That the revenues were higher than had originally been anticipated was perhaps due more to good fortune than good management. However, they were also hampered by Wolsey's initial failure to ensure good practice or even to supply a clerk of the green cloth and the king's use of Richmond's household both as a means of patronage and a political statement, resulted in a greater number on the payroll than the revenues could support.

Richmond's time in the north was of too brief duration to transform the child into an established northern lord, but the sheer number of Richmond's landholdings, and the grand scale of his household meant that the young duke became a focus for patronage and preferment. The Christmas celebrations at Pontefract in 1526 reflected a suitable level of honour and respect:

his said Grace hath kept a right honourable Christmas, and to visit, see, and attend upon his said Grace here, hath been good number of honourable and worshipful personages, both spiritual and temporal, and many honest folk of the commonalty 185.

The exercise of his authority as a magnate, with regard to his lands and household was a personal matter 186. Yet Richmond's offices also endowed him with additional power and influence in the locality. In matters of policy and direction, Richmond's involvement may have been minimal. His active role as Lord Warden of the Marches was mostly confined to putting his name to official correspondence. In 1527 the child advised the king

Please it your Highness to be advertised, that right good rule and quietness is in these parts, except that the thieves of Liddersdale in Scotland have been stirring of late in the borders towards the middle marches; for reformation whereof I have written unto the King of Scots likewise my vice chamberlain this bearer can report unto your highness: beseeching our Lord God long to preserve your grace. Written at your castle of Pontefract the third day of March. Your lowly servant H Rychmond, endorsed, To the King's Highness 187.

185 PRO SP1/40, p.208.

186 For a discussion of these matter see Chapter Seven.

187 SP Henry VIII, IV, n.167 p.467.

In matters of patronage the division between nominal and actual authority was less clearly defined. If any northern gentlemen wished to hold some post or office under the Crown, they knew an approach to the duke's household could be effective. In October 1527 the Earl of Cumberland petitioned that his brother, Thomas Clifford, might be appointed the next sheriff of Cumberland 188.

In his capacity as Lord Admiral, Richmond's patent granted him full power and authority to act. He was able to appoint officers and distribute fees, profits, and other advantages in as ample a manner as any of his predecessors 189. Richmond's appointment came at a period of much activity in naval affairs. The king's interest in building up his fleet was only one aspect of an overall policy that saw greater business in the court of the Admiralty, extended control over officers, and stronger measures against piracy 190. From 1525 Arthur, Viscount Lisle served as Vice Admiral under Richmond. Writs and similar official documents were addressed jointly to Richmond and Lisle, but it was inevitable that the real work fell on the shoulders of the deputy rather than the young duke. The Vice Admiral had his own seal and could act directly on his own authority 191. In some official writs it was quite obvious that the instructions were addressed to, and intended for, Lisle. In a commission against piracy in 1528 it was Lisle who, contrary to all proper procedure, was first named

The King to Arthur Viscount Lisle, Henry Duke of Richmond and Somerset, and Earl of Nottingham, Lord Admiral of England, Wales, Ireland, Gascony, Normandy and vice Admiral of Aquitaine 192.

In the normal course of events there would have been some division between the responsibilities of the Lord Admiral, and

188 LP IV, (ii), n.3477 p.1573, n.3581 p.1610. On this occasion the petition was not a success.

189 Rymer, Thomas, *Foedera Conventiones Literae et Cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica*, Holmes, George, ed., (10 Volumes, London, 1967), VI, (ii), p.19.

190 St Clare Byrne, Muriel, ed., I, p.181. *Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty*, Marsden, Robert, ed., (2 Volumes, Selden Society, 1894-97), I, f.27ff.

191 HMC Ninth Report, part 1, (London, 1883), *Manuscripts Belonging to the Corporation of the Borough of Plymouth, County Devon* p.275.

192 St Clare Byrne, Muriel, ed., I, Appendix 16, p.396.

those matters delegated to his deputy. In Lisle's case he might be forgiven for thinking that in all but name, he was the Lord Admiral, but doubtless his fee did not reflect this, nor was he due the honour that the duke as Lord Admiral received by right.

Richmond could, and did, exercise the authority of the office. He personally intervened on behalf of his yeoman of the wardrobe, Hugh Johns, to ensure that his rights as a joint patentee to the anchorage of London were safeguarded 193. His instructions to Lisle as vice Admiral, though couched as a request, carried the weight of a command.

I therefore desire and heartily pray you that upon confession and knowledge thereof had before you of the said agreement, ye will at this my instance cause letters patent to be made unto them both jointly of the said office in due and sufficient form accordingly. And by your so doing ye shall cause me to think not a little kindness showed by you towards me for preferment of my said servant in this behalf 194.

However, the extent of the duke's actual authority as Lord Admiral was limited. When Henry VIII required Richmond to grant one Thomas Spert a patent of the office of ballasting ships in the Thames, it was the duke's council who concerned themselves with the details. Given Richmond's financial difficulties they were particularly anxious to ensure that Spert would be made to pay the full fee of £10 per annum, reminding Wolsey that if he would not

that my said lord of Richmond hath servants of the King's Highness in his daily household, which would be well content to pay yearly £10 for the same office. And over that esteem themselves thereby right well preferred 195.

Once again the king had other ideas. The patent was intended to reward Spert for his good service as clerk comptroller of ships. There was to be no fee, and the appropriate letters patent were obediently rubber stamped as required 196. Since

193 Calendared as LP VIII, n.168 p.56, to 1535, St Clare Byrne, Muriel, ed., I, p.182 argues that the letter correctly belongs to 1526.

194 Ibid., IV, (iv), p.183.

195 PRO SP1/39, p.112.

196 LP IV, (i), n.1990 p.895.

Lisle carried out his duties in the duke's name, this satisfied the king's intention that Richmond should have a wider national profile, but it was plainly to be strictly on his own terms.

Richmond's departure from the north took place on the 16 June 1529 197. If the duke's recall had been directly linked to the king's great matter, and a corresponding diminution in his future prospects, then surely he would have been recalled in the summer of 1528, when Mary returned from the Marches, nor does it seem that the council's ability to govern was the deciding factor. Lord Darcy's petition to the king that the council should be removed on the grounds

for surely they others spiritual men be sore moved against all temporal men. And they (so being) are not meet to govern temporal men 198.

suggests that their presence had been effective rather than otherwise, and that it was their interference that he resented 199. It has been claimed that Richmond's lieutenancy was little more than a farce, incapable of bringing the North under proper control, but the council had made strenuous attempts to bring the north parts to good order 200. They did not sit complacently in Yorkshire, officers were sent out to assess the less hospitable regions and assizes were also held at Newcastle and Carlisle 201. They enjoyed popular success as a court of equity, and were assiduous in carrying out commissions of sewers and other such business. Members of Richmond's council also sat on Commissions of the Peace for Cumberland, Westmoreland and Northumberland, as well as Yorkshire 202. They were even prepared to intervene in the palatinate of Durham, despite its privileged status 203. Their

197 PRO Stac 2/16/96.

198 PRO SP1/122, p.55.

199 Darcy also had personal reasons to resent the interference of the Council. See Gunn and Lindley, eds., op. cit., p.19.

200 Ives, *Faction*, p.209.

201 SP Henry VIII, IV, n.171 p.474.

202 These were Dalby, Frankleyn, Higdon, Magnus and Tate. See Guy, John, "Wolsey and the Tudor Polity" in Gunn and Lindsay, eds., op. cit., p.69.

203 VCH Durham, Volume 2, p.162.

actions produced clear improvements. In August 1527 Magnus reported that the York assizes had been very quiet.

Considering the good rule and quietness of the country there was but little business and so few things to be done as have not been seen afore 204.

In November of that year the duke's council were equally hopeful that their efforts at Newcastle would be at least as effective. Here they had rather more of an uphill task but, at what was reported as the largest and most well attended assize ever held there, robbers were arraigned, and one Robert Colingwod sentenced to be executed for March treason 205.

It is true that not every aspect of the experiment was a resounding success. In December 1527, the Earl of Northumberland took over responsibility for the east and middle Marches, and William, Lord Dacre became Warden of the west March 206. Technically this was a failure for the Duke of Richmond's council. They had been entrusted with an area to govern and had proven unequal to the task, but the idea of extending the jurisdiction of the council across the northern counties had never before been implemented, and came with no guarantee of success. The council had repeatedly advised Wolsey of their own misgivings about the arrangement. That the cardinal did not confirm the formal appointment of the Earls of Cumberland and Westmoreland as deputy Wardens for several months can hardly have set matters off on a good footing. For their parts Cumberland, Westmoreland and Eure, seemed unwilling or unable to perform their duties under Richmond 207. That the fault did not entirely lie with the council can also be seen in the fact that a number of the young duke's officers were seconded to assist Northumberland and Dacre in

204 SP Henry VIII, IV, n.171 p.474.

205 LP IV, (ii), n.3610 p.1625.

206 Miller, op. cit., p.191. LP IV, (ii), n.3628 p.1630, n.4419 p.1935.

207 LP IV, (i), n.1727 p.768, LP III, (ii), n.3286 p.1369, IV, (ii), n.3552 p.1601. Cumberland tried to rule the west March from his castle at Skipton in Yorkshire and Westmoreland's sole interest in his position seems to have been his fee of £1000. Eure openly admitted he lacked the support of the local gentry and could therefore not ensure control, Miller, op. cit., p.191.

carrying out their new responsibilities as Wardens 208. In a similar manner, when Richmond left Yorkshire eight of his officers, including Brian Higdon, remained attached to the council in the north 209. Indeed Richmond's own links with the area were not immediately severed, since deputies such as Sir Thomas Clifford as underwarden and undercaptain of Berwick-upon-Tweed continued to serve in his name 210.

The council did have its limitations. Thomas, Lord Dacre, despite his prominent role at Richmond's elevation, refused to surrender the town and castle of Carlisle to the duke's council, without confirmation from the king or Wolsey. When a dispute between his heir William, and the Earl of Cumberland began to escalate, the council had to refer the matter to the cardinal 211. Such events highlight the difficulty these new men of Wolsey's faced in getting their social superiors to toe the line 212. In addition, their decrees could be ignored, defendants might fail to appear and at least one of the Tynedale pledges absconded 213. Yet no sixteenth century court, not even the king's, was immune to such disobedience. The chief problem faced by Richmond's council was also a handicap shared by the Council in the Marches of Wales. Any party dissatisfied by their order could, and did, seek redress in the king's courts. When one Nicholas Rudd felt that the judgment of Richmond's council would go against him, he obtained a subpoena in Chancery. When Wolsey recommitted the suit to the north as per his own directive in May 1526, Rudd consistently failed to appear. Having information that Rudd had again returned to London, the council were clearly anxious that Wolsey should not let it seem that Richmond's authority was being openly flouted:

208 LP IV, (ii), n.4855 p.2098, n.3796 p.1690. Reid, op. cit., p.109. These included Franklyn, Tempest, Bowes, Eure and Lawson.

209 These were Higdon, Magnus, Tate, Tempest, Eure, Fairfax, Bowes and Babthorpe. Ibid., p.113.

210 LP IV, (iii), n.5748 p.2548 (22).

211 CSP Henry VIII, I, n.146 p.420. LP IV, (ii), n.4855 p.2098. Thomas, Lord Dacre died 24 October 1525.

212 Even letters from the king did not effect any immediate improvement in Dacre's behaviour, BL Cotton Caligula B I, f.84.

213 PRO Stac 2/16/98. LP IV, (ii), n.3795 p.1689.

may it therefore please your grace if he shall come before the same to put him in some further order, so that it shall not appear in the county of Westmorland that my lord of Richmond's precepts and commandments, or other decrees be contempned and disobeyed 214

Although this did affect the council's ability to act as the font of all justice and power in the north, it was a general weakness of sixteenth century government, rather than a direct reflection on the personal standing of the duke himself.

In fact Richmond's return from the north has been attributed more to Wolsey's declining influence than any other factor. In his study Lechnar suggested that the re-organization of the council was specifically due to the fact that Henry

did not want to antagonize further the northern lords by keeping this Council weighted with clerics 215.

None of the changes in the composition of the government of the north seem designed to roust those who had connections with Wolsey 216. Some of the sitting councillors remained, and Bishop Tunstall was a curious choice to head a council intended to be specifically less clerical in character. Tunstall's appointment did, however, signify another experiment in northern government. All pretence at the style of a nobleman's council was dropped. Tunstall, popularly known as president of the council, answered directly to the Crown. That this solution would also falter tends to support the idea that the character of the north made it particularly difficult to govern, and not that Richmond's council was especially flawed. At various times they had complained of dearth, poverty, severe weather conditions and areas so sparsely populated that they had trouble finding sufficient numbers to undertake commissions 217. Such conditions could not fail to hamper the effective implementation of justice. By 1532 Tunstall was also recalled and Richmond surrendered his role as Lord Lieutenant to the Earl of Shrewsbury, on 6 October 1532 218. However, in 1536 it was to the example of the duke's

214 BL Cotton Appendix L, f.68. Guy, op. cit., p.47.

215 Lechnar, op. cit., p.89.

216 Gwyn, op. cit., p.228.

217 LP IV, (ii), n.2450 p.1094, n.3370 p.1526, n.2435 p.1089.

218 LP V, n.1499 p.596.

council that the king again turned for an effective means to govern the North.

and now my Lord of Norfolk shall go thither to lie there as the King's lieutenant for the administration of justice, and shall have a council joined with him, as was appointed to the Duke of Richmond at his lying in those parts 219.

The records kept, and the precedents established, during Richmond's tenure continued to be referred to after his death 220. In comparison to other models, the Duke of Richmond's council were perhaps a little more successful at a difficult task than has generally been acknowledged.

219 BL Additional Mss 25114, f.237.

220 LP XII, (ii), n.696 p.251 (2), n.915 p.322.

Chapter Four: The Young Courtier

Even during his time in the north Richmond had remained in regular contact with his father. Members of his household had periodically returned to court, and written and verbal messages passed to and fro with relative frequency. In October 1525 William Franklyn reported to Wolsey

How his grace used himself in despatching Mr almoner [Edward Lee], myself being present, and with what gravity and good manner he desired to be recommended unto the king's highness, the queen, and your grace. I doubt not but the said Mr almoner will advertise your grace at his coming 1.

The young duke seems to have preferred to send his greetings by word of mouth, or the pen of his councillors, wherever possible. His own letters, although immaculately written, are generally short and to the point. However, it is difficult to judge just how often he wrote to his father during those years. No personal correspondence from the king to his son survives at all, but the duke's own letters make it clear that his efforts were reciprocated.

I have received your most honourable letters, and the rich and goodly apparel sent unto me from your highness, by master Magnus director of my Council, ... and according to the content and purport of your said most honourable letters, I shall apply and incline me to my learning, and to proceed in virtue with the help of God in the best that I can 2.

As well as such sporadic tokens of affection, Richmond also received more formal presents like New Year gifts. When sickness raged in the north in the summer of 1528, the king was most solicitous of his son's condition, sending medicines to safeguard against the illness 3. Their correspondence was invariably formal in tone. Henry VIII was Richmond's most dread sovereign lord, and the child was the king's trusty and well beloved cousin, but the father's pride in his son was by no means diminished by this, nor is there any indication that

1 SP Henry VIII, IV, n.144 p.408.

2 PRO SP1/49, p.134.

3 LP IV, (ii), n.2802 p.1251. SP1/50, p.255.

Richmond's return from the north was intended to represent a lessening of affection, or a demotion in his position.

Richmond weathered the uncertain years of the king's great matter far better than would his half-sister Mary. Openly acknowledged by all as illegitimate, yet comfortably arrayed in rank and wealth, he enjoyed a degree of security that Mary would not. The possibility of a legitimate heir male by Anne Boleyn may have cast a small cloud over the hopes and aspirations of those who had attached their star to his. The effect this would have on Richmond's political value as the king's only living male child is obvious. It might even have had some practical repercussions, such as the loss of certain lands, but such a prospect was by no means certain. Tynedale voiced the feelings of many when faced with Henry VIII's implacable confidence in this behalf.

Who hath promised him a Prince? 4

Even if the child should be a boy there was little immediate cause for concern. The death of the infant was all too possible. Should the king die before the child reached its majority, the duke, with at least ten years' seniority, might yet seem the better candidate. As a male blood relative Richmond remained far too valuable to the king to be seriously affected by the mere anticipation of an heir. The duke also continued to serve a useful purpose in holding sinecures and offices. Anne Boleyn would have to produce a whole clutch of boys before Richmond's present wealth and status would be in any way seriously disrupted. In fact, the duke's return heralded a new development in his fortunes. On 22 June 1529, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland⁵. More than a face saving manoeuvre, it is entirely possible that this appointment was a major factor in his recall.

The governance of Ireland had posed at least as many problems to the Tudors as the turbulent north. They were loath to trust the Irish nobility, and equally unwilling to bear the cost and charge of an English deputy, especially since neither method had ever proved entirely successful. An arrangement made by

4 Levine, op. cit., p.58.

5 Quinn, David, "Henry VIII and Ireland 1509-34" *Irish Historical Studies*, [12], (1961), p.336.

Henry VII with Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, that the earl would serve as Lord Deputy in return for confiscated lands worked sufficiently to their mutual benefit to be confirmed by their respective heirs 6. Then in 1515 Kildare was called before Henry VIII's council to answer complaints 7. By 1520 Henry VIII had decided to place his trust in the English nobility, sending the Earl of Surrey as Lord Lieutenant, but this proved both costly and complex. Surrey estimated that the country would be more difficult to quell than Wales 8. Kildare's rival Sir Piers Butler, later Earl of Ossory, was substituted as a cheaper option, even though in the opinion of Surrey, now Duke of Norfolk, he was not equal to the task. When in May 1524 Kildare was restored as deputy, with Ossory as treasurer, it seems Henry was hoping for the best of both worlds 9. However, their rivalry created more problems than it solved. Henry was again forced to look to the state of Ireland. The result was a complete re-organization of Irish administration with the Duke of Richmond at its head. Rather than serve merely as the king's representative, Richmond was to hold his office directly under the Crown. Instead of a deputy, a three man board made up of members of the Irish Privy Council, known as "the secret council" were instructed to rule in the name of the young duke 10. Richmond's attestation

Tested by our beloved cousin Henry, Duke of Richmond our Lieutenant of Ireland of our blood [de prosapia nostra] at Dublin 11.

was attached to all writs and warrants. The arrangement was clearly reminiscent of his council in the north. The

6 Head, Michael, *The Life and Career of Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk 1473-1554* Ph.D. thesis, (Florida State University, 1978), p.119.

7 Quinn, "Henry Fitzroy", p.321.

8 Head, op. cit., p.130.

9 Ellis, Steven, *Tudor Ireland, 1470-1603* (London, 1985), p.119. Kildare had more influence in the North of Ireland whilst Butler's centred in the south. Quinn, "Henry VIII and Ireland", p.333.

10 Bagwell, Richard, *Ireland under the Tudors* (3 Volumes, London, 1963), I, p.153. Ellis, Steven, op. cit., p.3. These were John Allen, Archbishop of Durham, as chancellor, an Anglo Irishman, Patrick Bermingham, as chief justice of the King's Bench and an Englishman, John Rawson, treasurer.

11 Quinn, "Henry Fitzroy", p.176.

appointment utilized his innate authority as the king's son, whilst the daily business was conducted by relatively minor officials.

The policy allowed Henry VIII to forgo the expense of sending over an English deputy, in a manner that posed no threat to the authority of the Crown. It may even have been hoped that an executive board, made up of those with an interest in Irish affairs, would prove more effective as an instrument of government. The involvement of John Allen, a former servant of Wolsey's, strongly suggests that he had some hand in devising the policy 12. A lack of evidence makes it difficult to reconstruct exactly how the board worked, although David Quinn sees some similarity with later procedure in Ireland.

This was an anticipation of the practice adopted intermittently after Henry VIII's death of vesting the vice-regal authority in the hands of a group of lords justices in the absence of the deputy 13.

However, the desire to stress the duke's personal authority so directly made many thoughts return to the rumours of 1527, perhaps Henry indeed intended to endow Richmond with an independent kingdom. For the first time Charles V expressed concern over Richmond's prospects. He advised his chaplain that Henry was

now trying to get a divorce from our Aunt, the Queen of England, his legitimate wife, and give the Kingdom of Ireland to his bastard son. These are things which we can in no wise tolerate, as they might be the source of much scandal among Christian Princes, very detrimental to England itself, and besides injurious to the Queen and the illustrious Princess Mary, her only daughter and heir in that Kingdom 14.

There were numerous precedents for the employment of royal offspring as caretakers of this neighbouring isle. Most famously in 1185 Henry II had sent his son John to rule in Ireland 15. Henry VIII, as the younger son, had himself been appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. It was no doubt little comfort to the emperor that the ploy was reported to be

12 Quinn, "Henry VIII and Ireland", p.337.

13 Quinn, "Henry Fitzroy", p.175.

14 CSP Spanish, III, (ii), n.632 p.908.

15 Carlton, op. cit., p.31.

unpopular amongst the English 16. Henry may well have considered, or at least was willing to allow others to consider, that Richmond's appointment was more significant than simply the grant of another royal sinecure.

Richmond's appointment certainly seemed to indicate a new era in the Tudors' treatment of the problem of Ireland. Regrettably this fragile experiment in executive government was not to endure, at least in part as a further repercussion of Wolsey's downfall. On 22 June 1530 Sir William Skeffington was appointed deputy to the Duke of Richmond, and sent across the water with an armed retinue to govern in his name 17. Henry VIII was again falling back on a more traditional means of enforcing control. The reason for this volte face was doubtless related as much to Henry VIII's divorce, as Irish politics. Not only was there was the fall of Wolsey, the probable architect of the experiment, whose inability to secure the desired annulment meant that his influence was rapidly waning, but the gathering storm clouds of the king's great matter, and the repercussions in religion, must also have made a stronger government presence seem a desirable option. Then there is the question of Richmond's role in Ireland. Whilst in practise the appointment of a deputy made no material difference to Richmond's office as Lord Lieutenant, the return to the old policy was a subtle shift of power back to the authority of the king. Instructions addressed to Skeffington left no doubt that he was the king's man

Sir William Skeffington, knight, our deputy, and our beloved kinsman Henry, Duke of Richmond and Somerset, our lieutenant of our land of Ireland 18.

It may be premature to suggest that Henry VIII's increasing conviction that Anne Boleyn would bear him a male heir had any direct influence on Richmond's position at this stage, but it is perhaps not unreasonable to assume that this would make him cautious, rather than otherwise, over his illegitimate son's future prospects, especially as regards the creation of an independent kingdom.

16 Ibid., n.37 p.109.

17 LP IV, (iii), n.6490 p.2919 (22).

18 PRO C66/658, p.1 m4.

In the interim Henry VIII continued to treat his son with every sign of affection and esteem. On 9 August 1529 the king called his first Parliament since Richmond's elevation. The ten year old was duly summoned to take his place amongst the peers. Dressed in the scarlet and ermine Parliamentary robes, the diminutive duke was probably a rather incongruous sight, sandwiched between the bulk of the king and the Dukes of Norfolk, and Suffolk, as they processed to Westminster Abbey, returning to sit in the White Chamber of the Palace of Westminster. According to custom dukes occupied the inner bench, on the left hand side of the throne, and were ranked according to the date of the creation of their title 19. A more public demonstration of Richmond's continuing importance can hardly be imagined. The child also attended the actual sessions. Of the forty-six sessions, where attendance was recorded in 1533, Richmond was absent on just thirteen occasions 20. At the same time a number of Acts favourable to the property and interests of the young duke were passed. Rather than seeking to diminish Richmond's importance such moves served to further secure his title. The young duke did not attract a great deal of notice. If he attended the Christmas festivities of 1529, the ambassadors were too busy reporting that Anne Boleyn had been given precedence at table over the Duchess of Norfolk and the king's own sister, to mention it. In September 1529 the imperial ambassador Chapuys advised Margaret of Austria that the Admiral of England was amongst those being considered as an envoy to Charles V, but in the climate of 1529 it is unlikely that he meant Richmond. In a letter three days later to Charles himself, he associated the Duke of Norfolk with that office, and he seems a much more feasible candidate as ambassador 21.

For the moment Richmond had more prosaic responsibilities to occupy his time. With Richard Croke's departure from Sheriff Hutton, provision had been made for a replacement tutor and the child's education did not cease with his return from the north 22. Richmond clearly had little patience with literary

19 Loach, Jennifer, *Parliament under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1991), p.43.

20 *Journals of the House of Lords*, I, (London, 1808) p.59-82.

21 CSP Spanish, IV, (i), n.152 p.215, n.160 p.238.

22 PRO SP1/44, p.192.

pursuits, and it was perhaps to encourage a more balanced outlook that the Earl of Surrey was chosen as a companion for the king's son. Surrey was an excellent horseman, later proving himself as a fine soldier, but he was equally praised for his skill with a pen. Chapuys reported how Norfolk at dinner had passed him a letter written by his son, so that the ambassador could praise his skill in Latin. Norfolk clearly believed that it was intended his son should set a good example to the duke. He boasted to Chapuys

The King has entrusted to me the education of his bastard son the Duke of Richmond, of whom my own son may in time become preceptor and tutor that he may attain both knowledge and virtue 23.

His association with Richmond was a marked note of favour for the Howards, but there were practical as well as political considerations. Born in 1517, the Earl of Surrey was both of a suitable age and an appropriate rank. Such criteria were not so easily met. The only other comparable alternative was Richmond's cousin Henry Brandon, Earl of Lincoln, who, at seven, was a little young for a role model, and, if he took after his father, was unlikely to encourage Richmond's intellectual tastes. Since Surrey was also the king's godson, he had much to recommend him for the role.

The details of Norfolk's association with the young duke are less clear. Any comparison with Margaret, Countess of Salisbury's position as lady governess to the Princess Mary is misleading. George Cotton served as the duke's governor and Norfolk held no official position in his household. Yet his involvement extended beyond Richmond's education into various areas relating to his lands and household, formally handled by Wolsey 24. Ives suggests that Anne Boleyn influenced the king's choice.

The success she had in securing for her uncle, the duke of Norfolk, the grant of the wardship and marriage of the king's own son, the duke of Richmond, free, gratis

23 CSP Spanish, IV, (i), n.228 p.360.

24 Edwin Casady claims Norfolk was Richmond's other godfather. In such a scenario, the primary supervision of the child might naturally have passed to him from Wolsey, but this relationship cannot be proven, Casady, op. cit., p.33.

and for nothing, demonstrates how effective the queen's influence could be 25.

The idea of Richmond as Norfolk's ward, in a legal rather than merely a caretaking sense, is interesting. Norfolk already held the wardship of Richmond's uncle, George Blount, but there is no evidence to suggest that this arrangement was in any way similar, after all Henry was still very much alive, and it is doubtful that he would have been willing to relinquish control over his son quite so completely. Already a magnate in his own right, Richmond was treated in every outward respect as if he were of full age. It seems more reasonable to assume that the plans afoot to make Richmond Norfolk's son-in-law, were sufficient to encourage Thomas Howard's proprietary interest in the young Duke's affairs 26.

The marriage of Mary Howard, as the Duke of Norfolk's only surviving daughter, to the king's son, has often been ascribed to Howard ambition. Yet from the outset Norfolk was to maintain the king was the prime mover behind the match:

a friendship thus cemented promises to be very strong and fair, and might well be further consolidated by alliance, for the King wishes the Duke [Richmond] to marry one of my daughters 27.

Certainly, if Norfolk was lobbying for Richmond as a son-in-law, there is no evidence of it. The fact that the Duke of Norfolk presently had at least two daughters, is invariably overlooked 28. In 1529 Mary was not yet of marriageable age, but she had an elder sister, Katherine. If Norfolk had harboured dynastic designs in 1529, the preferred choice would normally be the eldest girl. However, by February 1530 Katherine was already married to the Earl of Derby. There can be no doubt that this was Norfolk's doing, since he was forced to secure a pardon from the king for arranging the marriage

25 Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, p.259.

26 CSP Spanish, IV, (i), n.228 p.360. Norfolk was responsible for replacing much of the worn and perished furniture found in the young duke's household by 1531. See Appendix III.

27 Ibid.

28 Elizabeth, Duchess of Norfolk had borne her husband 5 children, only 4 of whom appear to have survived to marriageable age. BL Cotton Titus B I, f.390.

without consent 29. Indeed, Norfolk apparently attached great importance to this alliance. When Katherine died suddenly of the plague in March 1530, Chapuys saw its loss as a great blow to the house of Howard 30. So much so that by October he was reporting that Norfolk was prepared to sacrifice the royal match.

The Duke of Norfolk has begged the Nuncio to obtain a dispensation for one of his sisters to marry the Earl of Derby, who had been formally married to one of his daughters. The Duke does not wish to let this alliance slip as there is no other in the kingdom through which he could more strengthen himself. Many even think that had he had no sister to offer the Earl, the Duke would have proposed to him his other daughter, who has been promised to the Duke of Richmond 31.

In the event it was the duke's sister Dorothy who was to marry Derby 32. Even so, it does not appear that Richmond was Norfolk's first choice as a husband for Mary.

Norfolk was later to claim that the king's proposal had interrupted plans he had already made for Mary to marry Lord Bulbeck, the heir of the Earl of Oxford.

The marriage was made by his commandment, without that ever I made suit therefor, or yet thought thereon, being fully concluded then with my lord of Oxford 33.

For her part, Mary's mother, Elizabeth, appears positively unwilling that her daughter should marry Richmond. According to Chapuys she preferred the Derby match, yet her wishes were overruled by Anne Boleyn. Angered by this intervention of her niece, who after all was not yet her queen, in so intimate a family concern, she was somewhat unwisely provoked to remonstrate with Anne 34. In 1536 Norfolk and Mary would both firmly advocate that the king had ordered the marriage, but Henry's reluctance to acknowledge the union strongly suggests that his decision was influenced by Anne Boleyn. Her abortive

29 PRO C66\655, p.2 m23 dated 21 February 1530. LP IV, (iii), n.6248 p.2811 (21).

30 SP Henry VIII, I, n.270 p.477.

31 CSP Spanish, IV, (i), n.460 p.762.

32 NRO Rye Mss 4691\45 Z 3 E.

33 PRO SP1/111, p.221.

34 CSP Spanish, IV, (i), n.460 p.762.

proposal that Surrey should marry Mary Tudor follows a similar principle 35. The prospect of having both of the king's previous issue safely married off to Howard kin, must have seemed to be a suitable way of both appeasing her uncle's expectation of reward for his backing, and safeguarding her own position. She had little reason to wish to see Richmond further exalted, when this might injure the prospects of her own children. Given the king's obvious affection for his son, an honourable marriage to a member of her own family must have seemed the best means of limiting the political danger Richmond represented. All objections were apparently overcome by the spring of 1531 when Chapuys was content to speak of Richmond as Norfolk's son-in-law 36. This suggests that the couple were now formally betrothed. It seems it only required the children to reach the legal age for marriage for the union to be solemnized.

In the interim, whatever Anne Boleyn may have hoped, Richmond and Surrey were not banished to the wilds of Norfolk. In contrast to his half-sister, Mary, Richmond was often at court. However, relations between the duke and Anne do not appear to have been particularly cordial. The King's suspicions in 1536, that Anne might have conspired to poison Richmond, hardly suggests that they enjoyed an affectionate relationship 37. Perhaps for Henry's benefit, Anne seems to have observed certain proprieties. In 1531 she presented the young duke with the gift of a horse and saddle, but if the animal was designed to secure Richmond's goodwill, it was rather ill chosen. John Uvedale described it as

a bay trotting jennet, very ill to ride, and of worse condition, [cost £32 8s] ... Because of these properties my lord's grace gave this jennet unto my lord Fitzgerald
38

Since his return from the north, Richmond had spent some time at Wolsey's former manor of the More in Hertfordshire 39. From April 1530 the two youths were together at Windsor Castle,

35 Casady, op. cit., p.35

36 CSP Spanish, IV, (ii), n.664 p.96.

37 LP X, n.908 p.377

38 HMC Longleat Miscellaneous Manuscripts XVII, f98

39 BN Fonds Français 3019, f.126. Bapst, Edmond, op cit., p.165. LP XIII, (i), n.1350 p.503.

within easy reach of the court. By June 1533 plasterers were putting the finishing touches to new lodgings, built to provide appropriate accommodation for the young duke,

making as well upon whitening the roof wall and chimneys of all the new lodging called the prince's lodging 40.

Such expense can only be justified if it was intended that Richmond would remain at Windsor for a significant period. The retirement of his nurse, Anne Partridge, who received an annuity of £20 for her services in May 1530, probably signalled a new stage in the duke's life 41. The tradition perpetuated by Wood that Richmond and Surrey went to study together at Cardinal College, Oxford has long since been disproved 42. The assertion that Richmond ever studied under Richard Croke at King's College, Cambridge appears equally unfounded 43. Besides tradition, there is no indication that Richmond ever attended either university, and his increased profile at court is evidence to the contrary. It is far more probable that his education was completed at Windsor. As at Sheriff Hutton, Surrey was not his sole companion. Richmond remained at the centre of a group of young noblemen to share his activities. That the child's time was spent exclusively in the carefree round of sports, courtly love and dancing, described in Surrey's poetry, seems unlikely 44. Richmond still had a role to play in the wider world and he had to be well equipped to shoulder those responsibilities.

His proximity now made it easier for the duke to participate in the life of the court. In April 1530 the pomp and ceremony came to Richmond. On St George's Day the king held a Chapter of the Order of the Garter at Windsor Castle. Whilst in Yorkshire Richmond had been excused attendance by the king's

40 *VCH Berkshire*, Volume 2, p.32. Bodleian Rawlinson D 775, f.115v.

41 LP IV, (iii), n.6418 p.2883 (28).

42 Wood, Anthony, *Athenae Oxonienses* (4 Volumes, London, 1967), I, p.153. Casady, op. cit., p.34.

43 Wood, op. cit., p.259. Ives, "Faction", p.129 is not alone in confusing the disorder of Richmond's schoolroom at Sheriff Hutton with the Cambridge college.

44 Childe-Pemberton, op. cit., p.215.

letters 45. Now he was expected to play a full role in the ceremonies of the Order. In common with the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and ten others, Richmond gave his attendance upon the king in his closet 46. After the formalities were complete, the king took this opportunity to spend some time with his son. Evidently the child had impressed his father with his skill with a bow. According to the expenses of his privy purse, arrows made by the king's fletcher were purchased for the duke. In May 1531 when the court was resident at Windsor the king purchased a lute for his son 47. The amounts were not lavish. Anne Boleyn, and even Mary in her penury, did better in financial terms, but Mary did not have Richmond's independent income, and the gifts did represent a genuine interest in the young duke's activities. Richmond also continued to exchange New Year gifts with his father. In 1532 he received a gilt goblet and a bowl weighing a respectable 95 oz 48. This relationship with his father did not go entirely unnoticed. In 1530 the French Ambassador was roused to comment that the king was very fond of his son 49. The following year the Venetian ambassador was of much the same opinion, describing Richmond as

a youth of great promise so much does he resemble his father 50.

Yet as the king's marriage to Anne Boleyn seemed increasingly inevitable, it was only regarding the question of his marriage, that observers showed any serious interest in the young duke's prospects.

When Richmond suddenly fell ill in January 1532, the incident was not widely reported. The king was sufficiently concerned to send one of his own physicians to attend upon the duke. The cause of his malady is not known, but since the doctor's fee was only 40s it was probably not too prolonged or serious 51.

45 Bodleian Ashmole Mss 1113, f.128. Anstis, J., op. cit., II, p.384, Appendix n.VI p.XXXIV.

46 Ibid., p.385.

47 LP V, Privy Purse Expenses p.754.

48 PRO E101/420/15.

49 LP IV, (iii), n.6307 p.2834.

50 CSP Venetian, IV, n.694 p.293.

51 LP V, Privy Purse Expenses p189, 757 f.96.

Some historians have tended to cast Richmond as a rather sickly child, but evidence for any persistent illness is not forthcoming 52. None of the surviving correspondence from his time at Sheriff Hutton mentions any illness at all. Indeed, after some sensible precautions, he weathered the outbreak of sweating sickness in 1528 without any symptoms of discomfort. Richmond himself assured his father

thanks be to God and to your said highness, I have passed over this last Summer without any peril or danger of the rageous sweat that hath reigned in these parts and other 53.

Until the summer of 1536 there is nothing to suggest that his health ever gave any real cause for concern. Reports on Richmond's well being were a reassuring catalogue of descriptions of his good health and sound constitution. Certainly, his enjoyment of the more strenuous outdoor sports tends to suggest that he was generally robust. Through his teenage years it is clear that his love of hunting went on unabated and Richmond was also intent on following in his father's footsteps at the tilt. Whilst he was yet too young to compete in public, the Earl of Surrey recollected how they had staged mock tournaments at Windsor.

The gravel ground with sleeves tied on the helm, on foaming horse with swords and friendly hearts, with cheer as though one should another whelm, where we have fought and chased oft with darts 54.

Nothing more is heard of this particular illness. Subsequent reports prove that Richmond recovered well and there is nothing to suggest any lasting effects 55. He was evidently totally recovered by the following June, since it was being mooted that he was to be included in the king's train when Henry VIII passed with Anne Boleyn over to France 56.

52 Brenan, G. and Statham, E. P., *The House of Howard* (2 Volumes, London, 1907), I, p.170.

53 PRO SP1/50, p255. Like his father in such cases the child removed to a smaller establishment, with a much reduced train, to minimize the risk of infection. *Ibid.*, p.197.

54 Keene, ed., p.50.

55 In December 1532 Richard Tate was reporting that Richmond was in rude health BL Cotton Caligula E II, f.192.

56 CSP Venetian, IV, n.782 p.341.

Arrangements for the visit occupied much of the summer of 1532. It was agreed that Francis I would entertain Henry VIII at Boulogne, whilst the English king would reciprocate this hospitality at Calais. Despite efforts to keep the plans under wraps, by the end of July the imperial ambassador had discovered that six or eight ships were to be equipped for the voyage, and rumours of Richmond's involvement abounded

A man, who had not heard of the interview, told me just now that the duke of Orléans was coming here, and the duke of Richmond going to France, which would be an unequal exchange 57.

The young duke's inclusion in a party, that ultimately comprised almost every available nobleman in England, was not in itself particularly significant 58. However, a proposed exchange involving Richmond, Orléans and Surrey, was also picked up by the Venetian ambassador 59. Perhaps, even at this early stage, Richmond's role was hoped to be more than simple ceremonial attendance. The issue of the two kings' respective entourages had proved a delicate matter. Henry's wish that Anne Boleyn would be formally received by the ladies of the French court was politely rebuffed. The question of Anne's own train threatened to be equally problematic 60. It was decided that ladies would not attend the summit proper, but as Henry VIII was determined that Anne would accompany him to Calais, the question of her status remained. It was at least in part to redress this problem that, on 1 September 1532, Anne Boleyn was created Marquis of Pembroke. The carefully orchestrated ceremony was held at Windsor, but whilst Mary Howard, the future Duchess of Richmond, had a prominent role, passing the king the robes of estate and coronet, the young duke himself appears tactfully absent 61. Her elevation to the peerage

57 LP V, n.1202 p.526.

58 Turpyn, Richard, *The Chronicle of Calais in the Reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII to the Year 1540* Nichols, John Gough, ed., (Camden Society, 1846), p.41.

59 CSP Venetian, IV, n.795 p.347.

60 Warnicke, op. cit., p.115. Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, p.196. Since Anne was not yet England's Queen her status was uncertain. Amongst the English ladies, there were those unwilling to attend upon her and amongst the French ladies, there were those unwilling to receive her. Francis I's suggestion that he should be accompanied by his mistress was not what Henry had in mind.

61 BL Additional Mss 6113, f.70.

endowed the queen-in-waiting with rank, wealth and a degree of future security. Even illegitimate issue could succeed to the lands and dignity she now held 62. The rewards bestowed on Anne compare more than favourably with the fortunes of Henry's other known mistresses, especially since she apparently received her reward before she had bestowed her favours. However, it was clearly only an interim step. Richmond's titles included two dukedoms, an earldom and revenues in excess of £4000. In comparison, as a marquis with an income of £1000, any issue produced by Anne Boleyn under this arrangement would have felt rather hard done by.

The royal party set sail on 11 October 1532. For the next ten days they remained feasting at Calais, whilst Anne was feted as if she were indeed the queen 63. On 21 October Henry VIII, with a small group of his nobility, left to meet the King of France. The Venetian ambassador, writing from England, mistakenly assumed that Richmond accompanied his father to Boulogne 64. That he did not do so may simply have reflected the arrangements made for the children. Henry VIII was introduced to Francis' three sons at Boulogne, but they did not accompany their father to Calais 65. Richmond was not exactly left cooling his heels amongst the women. Many of the English nobility, including his own stepfather, Lord Clinton, were left to their own amusements during Henry's absence, but perhaps since Surrey, who was two years his senior, had been included in the king's party Richmond evidently keenly felt his exclusion 66. On 25 October as Henry VIII and Francis I approached Calais, the young duke hastened to meet them

without the town about a distance of two miles, the Duke of Richmond the King's base son, with a great company of noble men met them, and saluting the French King

62 Ibid.

63 CSP Venetian, IV, n.824 p.365.

64 Ibid., n.823 p.364.

65 Hamy Le, P., *Entrevue de François 1er avec Henry VIII à Boulogne sur Mer en 1532* (Paris, 1898), p.64.

66 If "the lady Mary" who participated in the festivities was not Anne Boleyn's sister, but her cousin Mary Howard, her formal betrothal to Richmond might perhaps explain her precedence over Lady Derby and the others. However, the view that the report was deliberately couched to suggest Mary Tudor's involvement would still be equally valid. Loades, op. cit., p.67.

embraced him in a most honourable and courteous manner
67.

Over the next four days Richmond was able to play a more active part in the festivities. On 27 October, in a special Chapter of the Order of the Garter, he was placed next after the French king 68. Furthermore, as the round of sporting feasts and dancing culminated in a grand banquet, the duke was set to embark on, what was in effect, his first diplomatic mission.

Events at Calais had not been focused solely on entertainment and extravagance. Even as the two kings attempted to outdo each other in spectacle and display, their respective ministers attended to the serious business of the summit 69. It was perhaps at one of these meetings that the question of Richmond's sojourn abroad was confirmed. By 29 October, when Francis had taken his leave in a lavish exchange of gifts, it was commonly known that Richmond was to be sent into France. The event was not a high priority with the French

The King of England yesterday gave unto the king his bastard son, who is a young child of fifteen or 16 years, and the same day he made him a present of six horses 70.

Despite the earlier rumours, the duc d'Orléans remained firmly in France. Francis I's envoy, a gentleman of his chamber, was hardly a reciprocal arrangement but the King of France had struggled to be reunited with his children, formally held hostage in Spain for the treaty of Madrid, and he was perhaps naturally reluctant to give one up now 71. In contrast, the projected length of Richmond's stay in France appears to have been extended. On 10 November, when the duke expected to have taken his final leave of his father, Richmond was still making

67 Hall, Edward, op. cit., p.792.

68 Anstis, J., op. cit., II, p.389.

69 *Mémoires de Martin et Guillaume Du Bellai Lambert*, Mons. L'Abbé, ed., (Paris, 1753), II, (iii) p.208.

70 BN Fonds Dupuys 546, f.167 and more accurately from the Venetian Ambassador "and finally gave as servant to the most Christian King his natural son who is about 13 years old." CSP Venetian, IV, n.822 p.363.

71 Lambert, ed., op. cit., p.221.

provision for those of his servants not making the trip. The prior of Tutbury was advised

that such of my servants as doth abide behind me in the realm of England shall be and is established in religious places there, to have meat and drink for themselves, horse meat for their geldings and chambers for their lodgings, amongst whom my loving servant Robert Amyas gentleman, clerk of my Jewel-house, is appointed with his servant and two horse to abide at that your monastery 72.

Since the decision to send Richmond into France was not entirely last minute, it seems this urgency was produced by a change in the schedule. If the duke was now to be out of England for a matter of months, rather than weeks, arrangements would need to be made for his remaining servants in his absence.

The view that Richmond was sent to France primarily for the sake of his education, is one that has been reiterated by both English and French authors. Dr Nott, in his *Life of Surrey*, claimed that

The Duke of Richmond instead of returning to England went to Paris, to complete his studies in the University there; and to learn all the elegant and polite accomplishments which were to be acquired at the French court 73.

Whilst there is no evidence that he studied at the university, the polish of French manners and language were no doubt a welcome side-effect of Richmond's visit. French had been an element in his ongoing education since the appointment of Palsgrave in 1525. That his visit was initially couched as a means to further his studies would be entirely feasible, but by 12 November 1532, contemporary reports were attributing a far more political motive to Richmond's residency:

the bastard son of the king, with the son of the duke of Norfolk, with 60 horse, will be sent into France for the greater security of the matters treated between them 74.

72 PRO SP1/72, p.23.

73 *The Works of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey and Sir Thomas Wyatt, the Elder* Nott, G. F., ed., (2 Volumes, London, 1815-16), I, p.xxvi. Bapst, op. cit., p.183.

74 BL Additional Mss 28585, f.174.

Events seem to suggest that something discussed during the nine day summit affected the reason and duration of Richmond's going into France. With the benefit of hindsight, the proposed match between the duc d'Orléans and Catherine de Medici, seems the most likely prospect. If Richmond was despatched in order to attend the marriage, this would also explain why his absence was of quite such duration.

It has been argued that Henry VIII spontaneously made a verbal promise to Francis that he would give him every assistance in his continuing difficulties with Charles V if the French king could successfully persuade Clement VII to grant the long desired annulment. Richmond was despatched to show Henry's good faith in this behalf ⁷⁵. The basic premise is sound enough. Henry certainly wished to invoke the French king's aid, and the forthcoming wedding would prove an ideal opportunity for Francis to raise the matter in person with the pope. Richmond was a powerful physical surety for Henry's commitment, but his presence may also have been designed to serve another purpose. Invariably described as both handsome and accomplished, the duke was living proof that Henry could sire a healthy male child ⁷⁶. That such a fine son was born out of wedlock, whilst legitimate male heirs were denied, could only serve to reinforce Henry's argument that his marriage to Catherine had been an offence to God, with the underlying promise that his union with Anne could prove fruitful. In effect, Richmond was intended to serve as conclusive proof of the validity of the king's position. If the young duke was merely a token of Henry VIII's good intentions, or indeed a demonstration of the cordial relationship between the two monarchs, then Francis I was curiously unwilling to accept him. He had first ensured that Henry's promised gifts to the French princes were fulfilled ⁷⁷. If Richmond's inclusion in the French king's train was primarily to serve Henry's own interests, then such generosity was perhaps instrumental in securing his place.

That said, Richmond was warmly received by Francis with every outward sign of cordiality and affection. Having quit Calais

⁷⁵ Lechnar, op. cit., p.194, 228.

⁷⁶ CSP Venetian, IV, n.824 p.370.

⁷⁷ BL Additional Mss 28585, f.174.

in the second week of November, Richmond and Surrey made their way to rendezvous with the French court. As they travelled through the countryside, they were fêted with gifts of wine and other presents. By 5 December 1532, the Venetian ambassador in France reported how the young duke was being lodged at court in a most honourable manner 78. A few days later Richard Tate wrote in more detail to Cromwell

at our arrival at the court, which was at a house of the great master called Chantilly where the king at the first meeting of my lord embracing him made him great cheer, saying that he thought himself now to have 4 sons and est[eemed] him no less.

Francis I was as good as his word. Once Richmond had been similarly welcomed by the Dauphin, his brothers and the assembled nobility, he was accorded the status of one of the king's privy chamber. When the French court returned to Paris for the winter, Richmond was placed in the Dauphin's own lodgings, and took his meals with the prince. Although Tate grumbled secretly to Wolsey that Richmond's train was not yet set out in proper order, it does seem that the young duke was accorded every outward mark of respect 79. What is striking is how little interest the French sources displayed in Richmond's visit. When Montmorency, the Dauphin's governor, wrote to his cousin, the duke's arrival was mentioned only in passing and it was clear what piece of news was the more important

The king of England has sent here his bastard son, and the son of the lord of Norfolk, who are being nurtured with the king's children. I assure you that the dauphin is now nearly as tall as I am 80.

Direct or indirect references to Richmond's activities in any contemporary French sources are extremely rare. That his presence was noted in a letter from Du Bies to Lord Lisle seems natural enough, but whilst the French chronicles record at great length the pageantry, speeches, spectacles and gifts which accompanied the progress of the court, describing the separate entries of the king, queen, Dauphin and other persons of note, both in words and paintings, not one of them saw fit

78 CSP Venetian, V, n.1036 p.634.

79 BL Cotton Caligula E II, f.192.

80 BN Fonds Dupuys 547, f.172.

to mention the presence of the English duke 81. Domairon's account of the entry into Béziers gives the most detailed cast of characters, but even so Richmond is lost amongst the number of those he omits 82. The exact question of the young duke's status, hovering somewhere between private magnate and royal offspring, was obviously still a delicate balance. Whatever importance Henry VIII set by Richmond's embassy, it seems it was not shared by the French.

Whilst in France, Richmond followed the movements of the court. During the winter months he remained in Paris, in the company of the Dauphin and his brothers. There is some evidence that the princes' household was put to some additional expense mounting entertainment in honour of his visit. For instance, in January 1533 the Dauphin played host at a splendid tournament 83. Of all the brothers Richmond probably had most in common with the duc d'Orléans, the future Henri II 84. They were the same age and shared a passion for riding and tennis. Henri was also known as a lively and exuberant child.

If there was a great frost and everything was frozen hard, he would go sliding on the ice and even on the pond at Fontainebleau. If there was a heavy snow he would make forts, and hold snowball fights 85.

The Dauphin himself was described as somewhat colder and more reserved, preferring his own company and dressing habitually in black, whilst Charles, the young duc d'Angoulême,

81 BL Cotton Caligula E II, f.198. *Abrégé de l'histoire de Nismes Baragnon*, P. L., ed., (Nismes, 1831). De La Faille, G., *Annales de la Ville de Toulouse* (Toulouse, 1701).

82 Domairon, Louis, *Entrée de Francois 1er dans la Ville de Béziers* (Paris, 1865), p.13.

83 BN MS Français 15629, f.5, 12, 75. I am grateful to Mr Glen Richardson of the IHR for proving me with these references from his work on Anglo-French relations.

84 The French princes were Francis, the Dauphin, born 28 February 1518, Henry, duc d'Orléans, born 31 March 1519 and Charles, duc d'Angoulême, born 22 January 1522.

85 *Vies des Hommes Illustres et Grands Capitaines François en Oeuvres Complètes de Pierre de Bourdeille, Seigneur de Brantôme* Lalanne, Ludovic, ed., III, (Paris, 1868), III, p.278.

reportedly had a rather quick temper 86. However, Richmond's circle of associates was not confined simply to the French princes. Much as he had been educated, a whole host of children from eminent French families had gravitated to the court:

the king had summoned, to serve as their companions in study and pleasure, the sons of the most illustrious houses in France, Lorraine, Bourbon, Cleves, Guise, Rohan, and Trémouille 87.

Richmond therefore found himself in the midst of some of the best blood in France. He evidently made a good impression. Henri was later to express genuine regret at his death but, unlike at Sheriff Hutton, he was not the focus of attention 88. When the French court began its summer progress he was quickly swallowed up in its train.

On 23 April 1533, Francis I celebrated the feast of St George's Day at Fontainebleau. This solemn observance of the major festival of the Order of the Garter was undoubtedly intended as something of a compliment to the young duke, who duly attended 89. The assembled court, including the French princes and their household, then departed on the first leg of their journey towards Marseilles 90. Although this progress was designed to culminate in the meeting with the pope, and the conclusion of the de Medici match, it was also the first opportunity that Francis had had to visit many of these places in person. Thus, as the train wound its way across France, it was most honourably received at each town it passed through. Whilst Richmond was unable to attract the notice of the French observers, he may have fared somewhat better with their king. When the Dauphin and his brothers went with their stepmother, the queen, towards the plains of Languedoc, Richmond and Surrey remained with Francis 91. From Lyons, Francis I went on

86 BN Mss XIX *Histoire de France, Le Baron de Ruble, La Cour des Enfants de France sous François 1er*, p.328. Lalanne, ed., op. cit., p.174, 179.

87 *Histoire de France* Mss XIX, p.323.

88 SP Henry VIII, VIII, n.649 p.500.

89 CSP Venetian, V, n.876 p.396.

90 Devic, C. L., et Vaissette, J., *Histoire Générale de Languedoc* (Toulouse, 1889), II, p.237.

91 Bapst, op. cit., p.189.

via Polignac, on a Pilgrimage to the church of Notre Dame du Puy, and from thence to Toulouse. Richmond dutifully continued to give his attendance upon the French king until they came to Montpellier. He had now been in France for ten months, and the long awaited meeting with the pope had yet to take place. In the meantime, back in England, things had been changing.

The discovery of Anne Boleyn's pregnancy in January 1533 gave matters an urgency that had hitherto been lacking. Henry promptly married her. In June she was crowned queen, and in July the act in conditional restraint of annates stopped a hair's breadth away from abolishing papal power in England 92. Henry was not yet ready to forgo all possibility of papal sanction for his second marriage. At Riom on 10 July, Richmond and Surrey rode out from the town to greet the Duke of Norfolk. Under cover of this display of filial affection, the English no doubt had some private conference. Norfolk had been sent by Henry VIII, ostensibly to press his interests as the interview with the pope approached. On 13 July, Aldridge remained optimistic that the English would yet

accomplish our most desired purpose 93.

Henry VIII, however, was increasingly anxious. The pope had sent word that the meeting would not be delayed until September 94. Norfolk was ordered to use all his powers to ensure Francis' support, or preferably to dissuade him from attending the meeting altogether. The French king wrote, with some irritation, how he was being bored silly by the duke's attentions 95. It was no doubt with some relief on both sides that it was arranged that Norfolk should await the court in Lyons, whilst Richmond and Surrey accompanied the French king onwards to Notre Dame du Puy. Thus it was at Lyons that Norfolk received the news he least wanted to hear. On 11 July the pope had declared Henry's separation from Catherine to be unlawful, and he had until September to take her back or face excommunication. In addition, there was the dreadful judgment

92 Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, p.213. Scarisbrick, *op. cit.*, p.317.

93 BL Cotton Caligula E II, f.197.

94 Scarisbrick, *op. cit.*, p.316.

95 BN Fonds Dupuy n.547, f.250. Bapst, *op. cit.*, p.188.

that any child born to Henry and Anne would be illegitimate
96.

Norfolk immediately sent Rochford back to England for the king's instructions. Henry VIII decided to recall not only Norfolk, but Richmond and Surrey as well 97. On 25 August at Montpellier, they took their leave of the French king. According to the Venetian ambassador, Richmond's premature recall was excused on the grounds that he was now to consummate the long projected marriage with Norfolk's daughter, Mary Howard 98. However, it is plain that whatever motive Henry VIII had had for wishing his son to be present when Clement and Francis met, he now felt it had been frustrated. Norfolk proceeded with all haste to England, arriving in London in good time to witness the birth of Anne's child 99. Richmond and Surrey proceeded at a more leisurely pace

Henry VIII had probably arranged matters so. Perhaps he thought it would be inconvenient, and rather inappropriate, to be welcoming home his bastard son while awaiting the birth of the child which he hoped would be his male heir 100.

The duke remained at Calais to be entertained by Viscount Lisle and his wife Honor 101. Since Lisle had served as Richmond's vice-Admiral, until his appointment as Lord Deputy of Calais earlier that year, the two were already acquainted. They also shared the common bond of being the only living illegitimate royal offspring. As the illegitimate son of Edward IV, Lisle's fortunes had not been as quite blessed as Richmond's 102. Whilst none of his lands or titles were in immediate danger of being hijacked for a newborn Prince of Wales, as he waited at Calais the young duke must have reflected on how the birth of a legitimate male heir might affect his future standing.

96 Scarisbrick, op. cit., p.318.

97 LP VI, (ii), n.1572 p.1083. Norfolk was told to make one last effort to persuade Francis not to meet Clement.

98 CSP Venetian, IV, n.973 p.446.

99 St Clare Byrne, Muriel, ed., I, p.55 (45a).

100 Knecht, R. J., *Francis I* (London, 1982), p.48.

101 LP VII, (i), n.76 p.31.

102 Given-Wilson and Curteis, op. cit., p.162ff.

When Richmond finally set sail back to England on 25 September 1533, the birth of Elizabeth had not eradicated such a possibility 103. Anne had conceived without difficulty, and the child was in good health. As Henry had said in 1516, the sons might yet follow, but equally there was still no guarantee. Anne's pregnancy had not been entirely trouble free and, after years of delay, she was not getting any younger 104. For the moment the arrival of a second daughter left Richmond in the same ambiguous position he had occupied before. He was the only male candidate for a throne to which in law he had no title. For Mary the immediate repercussions were more drastic. A male heir would have negated any hopes of the Crown, but Henry could have claimed that she was born in bona fide parentum, and left her secure in title and estate 105. The birth of Elizabeth forced him to distinguish between the legitimate and illegitimate lines. Elizabeth's rights as the heir apparent were secured by statute, and Mary was left in no doubt that henceforth she was to be merely the Lady Mary, the king's natural daughter. Richmond, as a peer in his own right, now outranked her, only to have Elizabeth take precedence over him. For the moment the position of the fourteen year old duke, who in looks and accomplishments so singularly resembled his father, remained outwardly unchanged, but he was not entirely unaffected by the new order at court.

On 26 November 1533, the marriage first mooted in 1529, between Richmond and Mary Howard, finally took place at Hampton Court. The occasion did not attract a great deal of notice. Even the Imperial Ambassador relegated the event to a footnote

I have nothing more to say save that tomorrow the marriage of the Duke of Richmond to the daughter of the Duke of Norfolk is to take place 106.

No contemporary account of the wedding can be traced, but there is no reason to doubt that the two were lawfully married

103 Turpyn, Richard, op cit p.44.

104 Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, p.237.

105 Loades, op. cit., p.85.

106 CSP Spanish, IV, (ii), n.1154 p.868.

107. Cranmer was subsequently to be quite clear on that point
108. The couple, who were related in the fourth degree of
consanguinity, also required, and received, a papal
dispensation for their union 109. The common idea that it was
a love match, born out of Richmond's friendship with Surrey,
is of course something of a romantic fantasy. The suggestion
that the poems in the Devonshire Manuscript were presented by
Richmond to his young bride as a wedding present is also,
regrettably, groundless 110. The duke probably had only a
limited acquaintance with his new duchess. Although Mary had
been at court in the service of Anne Boleyn since 1532,
accompanying her to mass in royal state in April 1533 and
carrying the chrism at Elizabeth's christening, Richmond had
been much of this time in France 111. After the ceremony the
young husband and wife were not immediately expected to live
together. Mary returned to her duties as a member of the
queen's household, whilst Richmond continued to reside at
Windsor. Some six years after the question of his marriage had
first been mooted to Catherine de Medici, the young Duke of
Richmond was firmly married within England.

That Richmond did not, after all, make a grand European
alliance, was of course as much a reflection of the current
political climate as his illegitimacy. In less uncertain
times, if Henry had been inclined to persevere with a foreign
match terms could have been agreed. Yet since the 1527
discussions had stalled, the attention of English diplomacy in
general had been fully bent towards the annulment of Henry's
first marriage. With all the resulting repercussions, a
suitable match for the king's illegitimate son was no longer a
priority. As events unfolded England's continental neighbours
had reason to view the value of any such alliance with caution

107 Nichols, John Gough, "Mary Richmond, Female Biographies
of English History (iv)", *Gentleman's Magazine* (May, 1845),
p.481. LP Volume XI, n.21 p.14.

108 LP VI, (ii), n.1546 p.624.

109 The dispensation (printed in Nichols, "Mary Richmond"
p.481) was required because Richmond was third in descent from
Queen Elizabeth Woodville and Mary was third in descent from
her sister Katherine, Duchess of Buckingham.

110 Southall, Raymond, "The Devonshire Manuscript Collection
of Early Tudor Poetry 1532-41" *The Review of English Studies*,
[15], (1964), p.10.

111 LP VI, (i), n.351 p.167, (ii), n.1111 p.449.

112. In such a climate Henry VIII was probably more receptive to the idea of a domestic union, than he would otherwise have been. The final decision would have belonged to the king. In this sense the Duchess of Richmond's later declaration, that Henry VIII himself alone made the marriage, was not entirely inaccurate 113. Although the Duchess of Norfolk had no doubt as to who had persuaded the king

the king's grace had never a penny for my lord of Richmond, for queen Anne got the marriage clear for my lord my husband, when she did favour my lord my husband 114.

The task may not have been particularly difficult. Whilst she might have required all her wiles to induce Henry VIII to forgo the financial benefit he could have accrued from such an arrangement, the match itself had much to recommend it. If Richmond was to make a domestic marriage, then Mary Howard was eminently suitable. The daughter of a duke, her pedigree was sufficiently respectable, the children were conveniently of an age, and Mary was reputed to be both beautiful and accomplished.

Yet the wisdom of the union remained to be seen. If the match did not originate with Norfolk, he cannot have failed to appreciate the possible dividends of sharing a grandchild with the king. As he grew increasingly disgruntled with the way he was handled by his niece, any gratitude he may have felt quickly wore thin. Rumours of conflict between them were circulating as early as 1530, although Norfolk's appointment as Earl Marshal in 1533 was a sign of his continuing favour with the king. With the birth of Elizabeth, and the bastardization of Mary, Norfolk must have begun to consider what course the future might take if Anne was unable to produce a male child. Matters did not immediately come to a head, but Norfolk increasingly had little reason to espouse his niece's cause, and every reason to promote the fortunes of his son-in-law. By 1535 the Imperial Ambassador reported

112 Childe-Pemberton, op. cit., p.211. Brenan and Statham, op. cit., I, p.171.

113 BL Cotton Vespasian F XIII, f.75.

114 BL Cotton Titus B I, f.383c.

a few days ago she had heaped more injuries on the Duke of Norfolk than on a dog, so much so that the Duke was obliged to quit the royal chamber, and though finding in the hall only a gentleman to whom he no longer bore affection, such was his anger that he forgot entirely whom he was addressing, and began to complain in the bitterest terms of the said Royal mistress, bestowing on her the most opprobrious epithets, and calling her among other things grande putain 115.

Confident of her ability to produce the heir Henry so desired, Anne may have chosen to disregard any possible threat in Richmond's marriage to her cousin. As her relations with her uncle continued to deteriorate, it was a situation that would cause her growing concern.

Richmond's own feelings towards his marriage are more difficult to ascertain. No surviving evidence of affection or animosity between the couple survives. It was by no means unusual that young people, legally married, would not cohabit until it was agreed they had reached a suitable age. Given the example of Juan, the young crown prince of Spain, whose own demise was attributed to premature sexual activity, Henry VIII was perhaps especially cautious on this point 116. This did not preclude that the couple now had a good deal of association. Their respective duties about the court would ensure their paths would cross. In addition, the Earl of Surrey's reminiscences give some credence to the fact that when the court was at Windsor, the couple engaged in less formal exchanges. Having failed to impress their respective young ladies with their skill on the tennis court, Richmond and Surrey retired to compare notes and anticipate the time when their lady would be truly won.

The secret groves which oft we made resound, of pleasant plaint and of our ladies' praise, recording oft what grace each one had found, what hope of speed what dread of long delays 117.

The poem was clearly something of a set piece in the tradition of courtly love. However, Surrey's association with Richmond was such that its evidence cannot be entirely disregarded. Nonetheless, it would be equally unwise to perceive the young

115 CSP Spanish, V, n.122 p.355.

116 Richardson, *Mary Tudor*, p.54.

117 Keene, *op. cit.*, p.50

Duke's marriage as a romantic idyll. The fortunes of Richmond and his new duchess remained very much in the hands of their elders. As rumours began to circulate that Richmond was to be sent into Ireland, the sentiments of the newly married couple were not an issue in the debate.

The situation in Ireland had continued to deteriorate. Skeffington had arrived in Dublin on 24 August 1530, well armed with instructions, 200 marks, and 200 troops 118. He held the authority to grant offices and call Parliaments, but he was no great lord, and his capacity to control the Irish rested solely on his military prowess and his commission from the king 119. Unfortunately, despite his undoubted application and ability, the support he required was often lacking, and the intrigues of the Earl of Kildare eroded confidence in his suitability 120. The earl also made attempts to win the favour of the Duke of Richmond, presenting him with a horse valued at £8. In case Richmond's support alone was not sufficient, another horse worth 20 nobles was provided for Norfolk 121. Complaints regarding Skeffington's conduct reached the Privy Council in England, and in July 1532 Skeffington was replaced as deputy to the Duke of Richmond by Kildare 122. How far this was in response to Skeffington's own failings, or Kildare's well orchestrated policy of defamation and disruption, is unclear. Either way Kildare was no more successful in reducing the pale to order. His own disputes with Ossory were a major factor in the ongoing disturbances. As tensions increased the council summoned Kildare to London to answer for his actions. His evident unwillingness to comply did not reassure 123. Once more it was deemed that a firmer hand was required in Irish affairs.

In 1533, it was proposed that the Duke of Richmond, in his capacity as Lord Lieutenant, should be sent over to Ireland

118 LP IV, (iii), n.5903 p.2639. Quinn, "Henry Fitzroy", p.176

119 LP V, n.278 p.127 (21), n.676 p.300.

120 Elton, Geoffrey, *England under the Tudors* (London, 1978), p.179.

121 HMC 9th Report, part 2, *Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Leinster* (London, 1884). p.286.

122 LP V, n.1061 p480, n.1207 p.528 (16).

123 McCorristine, op. cit., p.51.

to subdue the earls 124. Although the plan was largely Cromwell's, and intended to reinforce changes he had already initiated in local government posts, there was some evidence that it would have been an acceptable solution to at least some of the Irish 125. The Imperial Ambassador was quick to report the possibility to the emperor

I am told that the Duke of Richmond is to leave soon for Wales, at the head of a force, whether to cross over to Ireland, or to guard that Principality against foreign invasion and any stir of the inhabitants, I have been unable to ascertain 126.

The report revived yet again the rumours that Richmond was to be made King of Ireland 127. In the event the plan was dropped. As late as October 1535 the Prince of Twomone was still remonstrating with Henry VIII about the state of the country, and pleading for Richmond to be sent.

if it would please Your Grace to be so good and gracious to this poor land, and to use your poor subjects, as to send some noble man to govern us, and in especial if it would please Your Highness to send your son, the Duke of Richmond, to this poor country, I assure Your Grace that I, and my brother, and all my kinsmen, with all my friends, shall do him as lowly service, and as true, as any man living; and I, my kinsmen, and all my friends, shall right gladly receive him to our foster son, after the custom of Ireland, and shall live and die in his right and service for ever 128.

It was commonly supposed that the idea was blocked by Norfolk. When events in Ireland erupted into the Geraldine rebellion of 1534, this was a factor Cromwell was keen to exploit. Chapuys gleefully wrote how the enmity they had previously taken care to disguise, had exploded into public dispute.

I am told that, amongst other accusations which Cromwell brought on that occasion against the Duke, one was that he was the real cause of the present disasters, from his wishing to keep the Duke of Richmond near him, and near his daughter, his wife, and that had he allowed him to

124 LP VI, (ii), n.1062 p.453.

125 Quinn, David, "The Re-emergence of English Policy as a Major Factor in Irish affairs, 1520-34" in *A New History of Ireland: Medieval Ireland, 1169-1534* Cosgrove, Art, ed., (Oxford, 1987), p.685. SP Henry VIII, II, n.64 p.172.

126 CSP Spanish, IV, (ii), n.1161 p.886.

127 LP VII, (ii), n.1107 p.428.

128 SP Henry VIII, II, n.108 p.288.

go to Ireland eight months ago, as he was told to do, nothing of what has since happened would have taken place 129.

It is quite feasible that Norfolk, with his daughter so recently married to the Duke of Richmond, was reluctant to endorse such a plan. The situation in Ireland was unsettled, and not without risk. The King no doubt also had his own reservations, not least because a policy of sending over someone of Richmond's rank and status, might prove too costly 130. Since Richmond's household had struggled to live within his means at Sheriff Hutton, these fears were by no means groundless. In addition, while Anne had not yet produced an heir male, Henry may have needed little persuasion to forbear from sending his illegitimate son into such an uncertain situation 131.

Richmond remained Lord Lieutenant of Ireland until his death in 1536. Despite some confusion, due to the use of the duke's attestation on warrants, there is no evidence that he ever crossed the Irish sea 132. Indeed, the Irish posting remained notoriously unpopular. Although Cromwell clearly preferred the concept of an English deputy, Norfolk and Suffolk were both unwilling to accept responsibility there 133. In contrast, others were eager to see Skeffington re-instated. In 1534 it was claimed that he had

gained the esteem of all. If he had remained until now, he would have found no one to resist him, for he showed himself most just and indifferent ... I exhort and counsel your majesty to send to us our lord and friend, the lord Skeffington, to whom we are known and he likewise to us 134.

The Irish lord eventually got his wish, but Skeffington returned as the king's commissioner in Ireland, rather than

129 CSP Spanish, V, n.87 p.254.

130 Hall, Edward, op. cit., p.123.

131 McCorristine, op. cit., p.52, suggests that Cromwell was in fact overruled by the king.

132 However, in May 1530 one of Richmond's servants received 5s in reward from the king, on his departure for Ireland, LP V, Privy Purse Expenses p.749.

133 McCorristine, op. cit., p.80.

134 *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, 1515-74* Brewer, J. S. and Bullen, W., eds., (London, 1867), p.53.

merely Richmond's deputy 135. After his death in December 1535 this post was held by the king's cousin, the same Leonard Lord Grey who had once sought the hand of Richmond's mother in marriage 136. Grey also had the distinction of being Kildare's brother-in-law. If not an ideal solution, it was at least something of a compromise between English and Irish overlords, although Grey's military skills were probably the deciding factor in his appointment. Despite these subtle moves to further distance the duke from the active government of Ireland, his sudden death caused immediate repercussions. In the summer of 1536 the Irish Parliament was in session. Robert Cowley wrote with some concern to Cromwell, to question the continuing validity of their mandate.

The commission to my Lord Deputy now being to hold the last Parliament was as Deputy unto the Duke of Richmond and Somerset then the King's Lieutenant of Ireland whose grace deceased about the beginning of the Parliament by reason of whose decease the authority of the Parliament was extincted and all acts in the same Parliament ensuing as I am informed faint and void in law 137.

The Parliament had dealt with a number of matters of weight including the Supremacy, acts of attainder, and the dissolution of religious houses. Cowley suggested a new commission should be sent to be certain that all the Acts were fully ratified in law. Cromwell went as far as drawing up a series of articles 138. After some deliberation it was concluded the statutes were perfectly valid, but this office was not to be blithely regranted 139. Not until the appointment of the Earl of Sussex in 1560, was there to be another Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 140.

135 Hall, Edward, op. cit., p.327.

136 *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, 1515-74* p.325.

137 SP Henry VIII, II, n.147 p.366.

138 Ibid., n.148 p.367.

139 CSP Ireland 1509-73, n.72 p.64.

140 Bagwell, op. cit., II, p.9

Chapter Five: The Heir Apparent

In January 1534, Henry VIII was again confidently expecting his male heir. In light of this the celebrations that year no doubt had an added air of festivity. Richmond gave the king a great spoon weighing more than 4oz, and received in return a collection of gilt ware with a total weight of more than 86oz. For the first time the Duchess of Richmond also presented the king with a New Year gift. However, his new daughter-in-law's present of a tablet of gold may have been unexpected, since the accounts noted merely

to the duchess of Richmond, the king's grace gave her himself of his own store 1.

Henry VIII's mind soon turned to matters of greater import. As Anne's pregnancy advanced, he took steps to set his realm in order. The spring session of Parliament passed two important pieces of clerical legislation on the road to the establishment of the English church. In addition Catherine, as Arthur's widow, was legally reduced to the state of Dowager Princess of Wales, and Henry VIII's marriage to his wife of fourteen months' standing was ratified in law 2. The 1534 Succession Act vested the Crown in the expected heir male. Yet in default of such issue, no one was to be left in any doubt that Henry's eldest daughter, although not specifically described in the act as illegitimate, was no longer the heir apparent

that then the said imperial Crown and other the premises shall be to the issue female between your Majesty and your said most dear and entirely beloved wife Queen Anne begotten,; That is [to] say first to the eldest issue female, which is the Lady Elizabeth now princess 3.

Although as a peer Richmond was required to swear to the provisions of the Act, there was little in it to affect him directly. The succession remained firmly the province of issue lawfully begotten. If Henry were again disappointed in his

1 PRO E101/421/13.

2 These were 25 Henry VIII c19 (confirmation of the 1532 submission of the clergy), 25 Henry VIII c28 (Queen Dowager), 25 Henry VIII c20 (suppression of annates).

3 25 Henry VIII c22.

wish for a legitimate son, Richmond's supporters might consider that he would be a more fitting heir than the infant Elizabeth, but they would still have to contend with the enduring loyalty and popularity enjoyed by Mary, whom many in their hearts still saw as the king's rightful heir. The authority of the young duke, who was still only fourteen, was not yet considered sufficient to make him one of the commissioners to administer the oath 4. Were Richmond ever to wish to mount a viable challenge to the claim of either of his sisters, circumstances would need to be somewhat different.

In the months to follow, in addition to his attendance at Parliament, Richmond also took on a more prominent role in the Order of the Garter. The register records that

It was ordained, that the Anniversary Feast of their Patron should be kept at Windsor the seventeenth of May following, and that the noble Youth, the most deserving, Duke of Richmond should supply the Sovereign's place, having the most noble Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Exeter, the Earl of Northumberland, and Lord Burgaveny for his assistants 5.

Sir Francis Bryan, and John Husse, both reported that Richmond credibly performed his allotted task, but when the king and Anne decamped from Greenwich to the royal palace at Richmond, the young duke did not return to join them. Instead, once his duties were discharged, he removed into Dorset to reside at his own manor of Canford 6. There is no indication that he was in any disgrace, yet he was still there at the end of June. It is possible that he was simply choosing to spend some time on his estates. George Cotton was quick to appraise Cromwell of how honourably he had been greeted by a number of local dignitaries, and in July he moved on to another of his properties at Sheffield 7. Yet it was perhaps also intended that he should remain quietly in the country until the king's legitimate son was safely born. At this time plans were also once more afoot for Henry VIII to rendezvous with Francis I,

4 LP VII, (ii), n.391 p.164.

5 Anstis, J., op. cit., II, p.393.

6 St Clare Byrne, Muriel, ed., II, p.150 (185), p.159 (196).

7 PRO SP1/84, p.126. LP VIII, n.981 p.388.

but apparently Richmond was not to be included. From Canford he wrote to Cromwell

Desiring you to have me most humbly and most lowly recommended unto the king's Highness. And whereas I have knowledge by my friends in these parts that his said Highness is fully purposed within short while to take his voyage into France, ... I would have been very glad to have given attendance upon his said Highness if it had been his grace's pleasure 8.

The duke was perhaps keen to re-establish associations made during his previous sojourn in France. Yet the need to show universal support for Anne's position at Henry's side had passed, and there was no pressing reason for the young duke to be present. His exclusion was perhaps no more sinister than that, but in a period where status and favour were all, any such rustication was often viewed with an edge of disquiet.

Whether Richmond had any real cause for concern is difficult to judge. A male heir would have supplanted his unique place in his father's affections, but was unlikely to materially affect his status. Another female child was potentially more difficult. Anne Boleyn's overtures to Mary were more political than personal. If she could be persuaded to recognize Anne as the queen, Elizabeth's position as heir apparent could only be strengthened, but there was no such incentive for good relations with the young Duke of Richmond. As with Catherine of Aragon his very presence was something of a rebuke. If Anne were to bear yet another daughter, her desire to protect the claims of her children, especially in the face of any moves from the only male issue, would be ever more fervent. Whilst Anne's influence over Henry was the talk of Europe, it was not absolute. Mary was to find to her dismay that "that woman", was not the sole author of all her troubles 9. Since the duke had never been anything but a dutiful and obedient son, Henry's continuing regard was all the protection he needed. In the event it was Anne's fortunes, rather than the young duke's, that faltered. In July 1534 she miscarried. Despite the fact that such an occurrence was by no means uncommon, the spectre of Catherine's previous misfortunes was immediately raised. That she was so well advanced in her pregnancy only

8 PRO SP1/85, p.6.

9 LP X, n.968 p.402.

served to heighten the alarm. Since Anne did not immediately conceive again, this time these concerns were not so easily assuaged 10. Recent years had done nothing to settle the uncertainty of the succession. Even Henry's policy of ennobling his relations had rebounded upon him. In 1531 the Marquis of Exeter, who had the next best claim to the throne in default of Tudor issue, found himself in prison when his servants had been caught claiming that if anything happened to Henry VIII

My Lord Marquis would be King, and they lords 11.

The death of his nephew, Henry Brandon, Earl of Lincoln, in March 1534 can only have added to the general mood of uncertainty. Despite much upheaval Henry VIII was still no closer to securing his legitimate heir male.

In the wake of Anne's misfortune the Duke of Richmond returned to court. Now aged fifteen, and with his formal education behind him, it was natural that he should begin to assume the duties of a courtier on a more regular basis. In November 1534, he hosted a St Andrew's Day feast in honour of the visiting French Admiral, Philippe de Chabot 12. In January 1535, he was at Westminster to give his vote, (in accordance with the king's wishes), for the King of Scotland's election to the Order of the Garter 13. It would be unwise to read too much into such responsibilities at this stage. Sometimes it was his very youth and inexperience that made him useful, whilst the Privy Council were otherwise engaged in the king's business, he could be spared. In February 1535 Chapuys reported

All the Lords were in Council, and dined at Cromwell's house, except the Duke of Richmond who remained to entertain me 14.

However, Richmond's usefulness could also have a political edge. As the king's illegitimate son, his presence could serve

10 Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, p.239.

11 Bush, M. L., "The Tudors and the Royal Race" *History* [55], (1970), p.40.

12 SP Henry VIII, V, n.112 p.332.

13 Anstis, J., *op. cit.*, II, p.394.

14 LP VIII, n.263 p.101.

to indicate Henry VIII's tacit approval of sensitive events. This was certainly the aim in May 1535, when Richmond was despatched, with a host of other notables, to attend the execution of the three Carthusians at Tyburn. The Imperial Ambassador wrote with shocked disbelief.

I must here record a most singular fact, which is that the Dukes of Richmond, and Norfolk, the Earl of Wiltshire, [Thomas Boleyn] his son, [George Boleyn] and several other lords, and gentlemen courtiers, were present at the execution, openly and quite close to the victims. It is even reported that the King himself showed a desire to witness the butchery, which is likely enough considering that nearly all his own courtiers, even his own privy and principal chamberlain, Master Norris with 40 horsemen [of the King's bodyguard] attended 15.

As the months passed Anne still failed to conceive. In November 1535, Chapuys might claim that she was more powerful than ever, but speculation increasingly abounded that some other solution to the succession crisis would be required, and for the first time since his elevation in 1525, Richmond was an element in the equation 16.

It was not Richmond himself who was the cause of such conjecture. Rather it was the possible designs of the Duke of Norfolk that in 1535 moved the Bishop of Faenza to comment:

being one of the greatest men in the kingdom, and having sons, and the Duke of Richmond for his son-in law, might hope one day to have that daughter for one of his sons, or if disorders ensued to get the rule into his own hands 17.

His niece being queen had not brought the Duke of Norfolk all the benefits he felt were his due. Such rewards as he had accrued were at least as much for her benefit as his own. Now it appeared that Anne could not ensure that a son with Howard blood would sit upon the throne. As the queen and her uncle grew increasingly estranged, his loyalty to the Boleyn marriage wore thin. In general he continued to toe the required line, but his conformity to the king's wishes was

15 CSP Spanish, V, n.156 p.453.

16 Ibid., n.229 p.571.

17 LP VIII, n.909 p.358.

perhaps intended to mask burgeoning ambitions in another direction.

The point was that Anne had only a daughter and a miscarriage to her credit; for Norfolk to have the king's only living son as a son-in-law was too good a hand to throw away. And it was one which Anne and her brother were increasingly suspicious of 18.

Their concerns were doubtless well founded. In spite of the confident air of the 1534 Succession Act, the prospect of a female ruler in the shape of the infant Elizabeth, was possibly even less welcome than it had been with Mary. Were Anne not to produce the desired male heir, the prospect of his daughter, the Duchess of Richmond, as a more compliant and benevolent queen with the ultimate prize of his grandchild as king, provided the duke with an alternative means of continued power and influence, one that did not rely on the continued good fortune of his niece.

In contrast, the fortunes of the young Duke of Richmond and the house of Howard were now firmly bound together, not least through marriage to Mary and friendship with Surrey. In addition Norfolk had replaced Lisle as Richmond's vice-Admiral and he held the wardship of the young duke's maternal uncle George Blount 19. Norfolk also assumed an active role in many aspects of Richmond's affairs. By April 1533 he was taking an interest in a dispute within Richmond's barony of Kendal, and by October of that year, when the room of secretary to the young duke fell vacant, it was Norfolk's favour that was considered essential to secure the place. Cranmer wrote to George Boleyn asking

that you would be so good Lord unto him as to move my Lord of Norfolk's grace at your request to prefer the same to my Lord of Richmond's service 20.

Such involvement was facilitated by the fact that a number of Richmond's servants, notably John Uvedale and William

18 Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, p.253.

19 Childe-Pemberton, *op. cit.*, p.196

20 LP VI, (i), n.306 p.144. BL Harleian Mss 6148, f.32.

Brereton, also had established links with the Howards 21. In March 1535, John Husse, as agent to Lord Lisle, pursuing a point of business, looked to Norfolk at least as much as to Richmond himself, to achieve the desired end.

I received your letter of the 21st of the last month and have according unto the contents thereof moved Mr Cotton the Duke's governor, who answered me that he would know what may be done in the same, and thereupon to make me answer, the which known I shall immediately advertise your lordship thereof. Howbeit, I think the conclusion of the same shall depend much upon my lord of Norfolk's goodwill and pleasure 22.

The extent of Norfolk's involvement in Richmond's affairs was no doubt, in part, occasioned by the continued minority of the young duke. Much as Wolsey had done in times past, Norfolk was apparently trusted by the king to oversee the day to day running of business in hand. However, as Richmond grew older there is also evidence that rather than merely directing matters, the Duke of Norfolk actively sought to work in tandem with his young son-in-law, with the result that Richmond would naturally come to reflect the sympathies and prejudices of his father-in-law 23.

In many respects the Duke of Richmond was developing into a promising candidate for the throne. He remained the king's only son. Soon to be sixteen and on the very verge of manhood, the danger of a minority was fast receding. It was widely accepted that he had inherited many characteristics from his noble father, and reports of both his mental and martial capabilities appear favourable. The chronicler Wriothesley declared that he was

a goodly young lord, and a toward, in many qualities and feats 24.

21 John Uvedale was also secretary to the Duke of Norfolk and Anne Boleyn and Brereton was the son of Sir Randolph Brereton of Malpas, a close associate of Norfolk's.

22 St Clare Byrne, Muriel ed., I, p.415 (338).

23 See for example their progress to Holt in 1535 in Chapter Seven.

24 Wriothesley, Charles, *A Chronicle of England During the Reign of the Tudors 1485-1559* Hamilton, William Douglas, ed., (2 Volumes, Camden Society, 1875-7), I, p.53.

By right of his rank as Duke of Richmond and Somerset, he already enjoyed a degree of precedence at court, unrivalled by all but little Elizabeth. Since the princess spent much of her time at Eltham, many would be accustomed to seeing the young duke placed next to the king and queen. As a landed magnate with extensive territories, Richmond was already gathering, if not a fully fledged affinity, a band of self-interested supporters. Against the argument that he was somewhat inexperienced, it could be pointed out that in two years he would be the same age as Henry VIII had been when he succeeded in 1509. There were still a number of factors stacked against him, not least the fact that by statute Elizabeth was the heir apparent. Then there was the stigma of his illegitimacy, which under the terms of the 1534 Act, still excluded him from the succession. Also there was the continuing support and affection demonstrated towards Mary Tudor. In the summer of 1535 this was strong enough for Henry VIII to talk of making an example of his truculent daughter²⁵. Finally there was the fact that by October 1535, Anne Boleyn was once again pregnant.

As the new year opened in 1536 the situation appears much as it had in 1534. Anne, having successfully given birth to a thriving baby daughter, was now expected to produce her brother, but this time the mood was altogether more sombre. The optimism engendered by Elizabeth's birth had been sorely damaged by the queen's subsequent miscarriage. Anne herself had also borne the brunt of public criticism regarding the more unpopular measures of the Reformation. The perils of famine, and the threat of hostilities with the emperor, begged the question of whether or not the new regime was actually the will of God after all. Tension hung like a shadow over the festivities, and to Anne's disquiet Henry allegedly sought solace, not from his pregnant queen, but from the attentions of a certain lady of the court named Jane Seymour. Then on 7 January 1536, Catherine of Aragon died. Henry VIII's immediate reaction was one of joy and deliverance.

²⁵ LP IX, n.566 p187, n.862 p.289.

God be praised that we are free from all suspicion of war 26.

All now seemed set fair for the birth of his new heir. Anne was at last the only queen in England, and the prospect of battle was converted into the possibility of reconciliation. Henry, ever willing to believe that God espoused his causes, no doubt took this timely blessing as a sign. The king and queen, dressed exuberantly in yellow, went to mass together in great state and high spirits, belying suspicions of any serious rupture between them. With Henry's confidence apparently restored, few could have doubted that it was with Anne, Elizabeth, and most especially her unborn child, that England's future lay.

Suddenly, on 24 January, there was a further crisis. Jousting in the tiltyard at Greenwich the king fell heavily from his horse. The accident was serious, and Henry did not recover consciousness for two hours: it was no doubt an anxious time. Were Henry to die at this point the question of the succession, so long pondered, considered, and avoided, would be drawn sharply into focus. Of all Henry's children none of the options looked very promising. If Anne's unborn child were to be the long desired male heir, his claim would take precedence, but then the kingdom would be vulnerable during a long minority reign. If the pregnancy failed, or the child was a girl, then the two year old Elizabeth was the designated heir. Since she was both female, and little more than an infant, even Anne's adherents can hardly have viewed such a prospect with pleasure. Then there was the position of Mary Tudor. Already nineteen, and still popularly regarded as Henry's only true heir, her claim would find a number of supporters, yet legally she remained illegitimate, and thus excluded. Furthermore, the difficulties presented by a ruling queen, particularly in the matter of her marriage, were no less a cause for concern now than they had been in 1525. Weighed against this, the young Duke of Richmond was undisputably male, of a reasonable age to dispense with a legal minority, and in possession of numerous good qualities. However, since he had no legal title to the throne, any challenge would bring with it the threat of civil war and

possibly years of disorder. This time Henry VIII survived, but the incident served as a worrying reminder to all that the king, whatever he wished to think, was not immortal. If the issue of his successor could not be decisively settled then England's future would, perhaps, be rather bleak.

Henry's initial reaction to Anne's second miscarriage, only four days later, must be seen in the light of this fright. The fact that the child was male, can only have served to increase his sense of disappointment and despair. The king now feared that his second marriage would be no more blessed than his first. His anxiety swept him onwards. It was reported that he had said

that he had been seduced and forced into this second marriage by means of sortileges and charms and that owing to that he held it as nul. God (he said) had well shown his displeasure at it by denying him male children
27.

Tellingly Anne attempted to place the blame on her uncle. The Duke of Norfolk, she claimed, had broken the news of the king's recent accident far too abruptly. There may have been more truth in her claim than is generally allowed. Her acute love for the king, compounded with fear for her own position in the event of his death, was indeed cause for distress. Other reports suggest that additional worries had been preying on her mind. The queen, in her turn, allegedly rebuked Henry for his part in her misfortune by throwing in his face how his dalliance with Jane Seymour had unsettled her 28. The quarrel was doubtless all the more bitter because fault was keenly felt on each side. Anne's enemies regarded the high drama with glee. Catherine's death, and Anne's miscarriage, provided the ammunition they had hitherto lacked and battle was joined.

The events of January 1536 set the tone for the months to follow. Henry's panic stricken concerns about the validity of the Boleyn marriage were nurtured and fuelled. The tempting and compliant prospect of Jane was set before him as a viable and nubile alternative. After all, the death of Catherine of Aragon allowed that his next union would be free of any

27 CSP Spanish, V, n.13 p.28.

28 Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, p.345.

impediment or doubt. By March 1536, Jane's elder brother Edward was a member of the king's privy chamber. The appointment was a significant indication that Henry's interest had been stirred. Mary's adherents, aware that a new marriage would allow her to be acknowledged as born in bona fide parentum, gave their support. In contrast, there is no evidence to suggest that the Duke of Richmond played any active role in Anne Boleyn's downfall. Although his personal relationship with her may have been less than cordial, he had little to gain in promoting her removal. With the king's freedom to marry again, came the prospect of further legitimate issue. Furthermore, although Edward Seymour had previously been in Richmond's service as master of his horse, subsequently serving as steward of his manor of Canford, the impetus for those appointments had come from the Crown and his connections with the duke were not close. Since Richmond was more directly associated with the interests of the Duke of Norfolk, it was unlikely that he would look to the Seymours to bring him any particular benefit.

Although Richmond must also have felt secure from any immediate repercussions should the Seymour faction win out, he was no ordinary magnate. Despite his associations with the Howards, and thus by implication the Boleyns, he remained close to the king. In March Richmond's usefulness to his father was again demonstrated. He was to be a hostage for the King of Scots' surety during a proposed meeting between the two monarchs at York 29. Whilst Mary's and Elizabeth's supporters nailed their colours to the mast, Richmond's activities give little clue as to his inclination. At the Chapter of the Order of the Garter held in April 1536, Richmond voted both for Anne's brother, Lord Rochford, and for Sir Nicholas Carew who was no supporter of the Boleyns 30. His action probably reflected the mood of much of the court as they waited to see which way the die would fall. Yet in spite of such measured diplomacy, Richmond's own interests were too extensive for him to be completely unaffected by the events that raged around him. In the first week of May William Brereton, his steward in the Marcher lordships of Holt, Chirk

29 LP X, n.494 p.199. In the event this meeting did not take place.

30 Ibid., n.715 p.301. Anstis, J., II, p.400.

and Bromfield and Yale, was taken into custody under suspicion of being one of Anne Boleyn's lovers. Since the self confessed architect of Anne Boleyn's downfall was Thomas Cromwell, the selection of Brereton as one of the guilty parties is most unlikely to have been made by random choice 31. If the young duke was in any way concerned at such moves against one of his own officers, he was careful enough to keep his own counsel. Although inconvenient, Brereton's death presented no actual danger to him. Richmond was either advised, or was himself astute enough, not to press his servant's case against the wishes of his father.

Contrary to some reports, Richmond was not amongst those peers summoned to give judgment at Anne Boleyn's trial 32. It was perhaps considered a little indelicate to allow a young man, who had not yet consummated his own marriage, to sit in judgment on his stepmother's sexual crimes. Yet, since Norfolk presided over the court and the Earl of Surrey was also present, Richmond would not have been ignorant of proceedings. That Richmond was present at her execution has been attributed to blood-lust and malice. It has even been claimed that as she was despatched

a malign smile seemed to pass over the features of the young Duke of Richmond 33.

However, none of these reports were contemporary. Richmond's attendance was almost certainly the will of the king and intended, as at Tyburn in 1534, to make a political point. His personal feelings were not at issue. Since they do not appear to have had a warm relationship it is not likely that he keenly felt Anne's loss, but equally there was no pressing reason for him to take pleasure in her death. It is true that

31 For a fuller discussion of Brereton's downfall and its impact on Richmond's position as a Marcher Lord, see Chapter Seven.

32 The 26 peers were Dukes: Suffolk, Marquis: Exeter, Earls: Arundel, Oxford, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, Sussex, Huntingdon, Lords: Audley, La Warr, Mountague, Moreley, Cobham, Maltravers, Powes, Mouteagle, Clinton, Sandys, Windsor, Wentworth, Burgh and Mordaunt. Norfolk was Lord High Steward, with Surrey supplying his place as Earl Marshal.

33 Burke, op. cit., I, p.453.

a rumour that Anne had intended to murder him was quickly picked up by Chapuys:

as the Duke of Richmond went to his father, the King, to ask for his blessing, according to the English custom, the latter said with tears, that both he and his sister, meaning the Princess, ought to thank God for having escaped from the hands of that who had planned their death by poison, from which I conclude that the King knew something of her wicked intentions 34.

The herald Wriothsesley was amongst those who reiterated the allegation. In fact it seems to have been nothing more than a ploy of the Seymour faction 35. Whilst there is some evidence that Anne had made threats against Mary, there is no indication that these were ever put into effect, nor that Richmond was a target 36. Any satisfaction that the duke might have taken in Anne's demise would have been tempered by the knowledge that Henry and Jane Seymour were immediately betrothed. On 30 May they were married, and once more there was the possibility of a legitimate heir to the throne of England.

There was however, a further casualty of Anne Boleyn's misfortune. On 17 May 1536, Cranmer declared the king's marriage to Anne Boleyn to be unlawful. The grounds for this curious piece of legislation were confidently declared in the subsequent Parliament to be

entirely just true and lawful impediments unknown at the making 37.

Given the fact that if Anne were not the king's true wife, she could hardly have committed adultery against him, it seems that the measure was really intended for Elizabeth. In her turn the king's second daughter was reduced from the state of princess and heir apparent, to merely the king's natural daughter. A man who suspected his wife of adultery was required to be cautious regarding the paternity of his children. Sir Thomas Burgh secured an Act of Parliament to illegitimise any issue,

34 CSP Spanish, V, n.55 p.125,

35 Wriothsesley, Charles, op. cit., I, p.53. Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, p.371.

36 CSP Spanish, V, (i), n.102 p.294.

37 28 Henry VIII c7.

when he divorced his wife for just this offence 38. Despite the rumours, Henry's later conduct, not least including Elizabeth in the succession, suggests that he did not doubt that she was his daughter. The move was therefore somewhat drastic, especially since even the expedient of claiming the child was born in bone fide parentum was permanently removed 39. For the first time Mary's illegitimacy was also enshrined in statute. The king now had three illegitimate children and no legitimate issue at all. If Henry simply intended to prepare the ground for the host of issue that Jane was to produce, this was something of a high risk policy. His recent brush with death and his advancing age both argued against such decisive moves. However, the repercussions were not entirely negative:

Elizabeth was reduced to the same status as Mary, who therefore took priority by age, while both gave place in sex to their base-born brother, the Duke of Richmond 40.

With two illegitimate daughters, the prospects of the bastard son might seem immeasurably brighter, but his accession was hardly a foregone conclusion. The situation may have revived interest in Richmond's possible future role, but it remained merely a fall back position. There was still no move to legitimise the duke, and every hope that the king's third marriage would be blessed by sons.

Despite everything that had gone before, there was no reason to suppose Jane could not produce the eagerly awaited son, but this time things were rather different. Unlike Anne, when Henry married her, Jane was not yet pregnant and in contrast to Catherine, she did not immediately conceive. If Henry VIII was still haunted by recent doubts that God intended to deny him a son, this can only have added to his concern. In this atmosphere, Richmond's friends might have begun to believe that the situation could be turned to their advantage. Certainly the Duke of Norfolk's alleged conduct towards Mary Tudor was not the most prudent line to take if he truly

38 34 Henry VIII c40.

39 Levine, op. cit., p.66.

40 Neale, op. cit., p.18.

imagined that one day she would be his queen. He reportedly railed at her that

since she was such an unnatural daughter as to disobey completely the King's injunctions, he could hardly believe ... that she was the King's own bastard daughter. Were she his, or any other man's daughter, he would beat her to death, or strike her head against the wall, until it was as soft as a boiled apple 41.

The cause of the friction between them, was Henry's renewed insistence that Mary should renounce the authority of the pope and acknowledge her parents' marriage as unlawful. Mary continued to refuse, but quickly found herself under greater pressure than she had hitherto experienced. She was informed that her conduct was traitorous, and that she would be punished accordingly. Whatever Henry's true intentions, since Mary was still his daughter, not to mention a useful political tool, she was clearly given to believe that her life was in danger. Finally, on 22 June 1536, she capitulated and put her signature to a document that acceded to all the king's demands 42.

That Henry VIII chose this point to insist upon her obedience, is in itself evidence of his insecurity over the succession. If Jane had a male child, its claim would automatically be superior, but if there were no issue, or yet another girl, it was still felt by many that Mary was of an age and experience to be a suitable heir. Henry could have taken refuge in the prevalent opinion that she was born in bona fide parentum. Instead, the king required that she openly acknowledge that she was illegitimate. Henry was no doubt provoked by his child's embarrassing disobedience, but that his ire was further fuelled by Norfolk's accounts of Mary's conduct, cannot be discounted 43. Given Mary's popularity as the king's true heir, if Richmond were to take precedence, there could be no residue of doubt that she was merely the king's natural

41 CSP Spanish V, (ii), n.70 p.182.

42 LP X, n.1136 p477, n.1137 p.478. Loades, op. cit., p.101ff.

43 The idea that Norfolk encouraged Henry to demote Mary to advantage Richmond is a popular theme with Howard biographers. Most recently in Robinson, John, *The Dukes of Norfolk* (West Sussex, 1995), p.30.m,

daughter. On 6 June 1536, Chapuys reported an interesting exchange at court.

Already no less a person than the Earl of Sussex, stated the other day in the Privy Council, in the King's presence, that considering that the Princess was a bastard, as well as the Duke of Richmond, it was advisable to prefer the male to the female, for the succession to the Crown. This opinion of the Earl not having been contradicted by the King, might hereafter gain ground and have adherents 44.

It is significant that the Earl of Sussex was a long term friend and supporter of the Duke of Norfolk 45. That he presumed to broach such a delicate matter, and was not rebuked for his temerity, suggests the idea had been discussed with the king. It is unlikely that the earl's remark was a sudden notion: it was perhaps intended, in a semi-public manner, to test the waters, should Jane not bring forth a son, Richmond, rather than Mary or Elizabeth, should be given official precedence in the succession.

As doubts about the fecundity of Henry's new wife persisted, the attributes of the ready made heir, now seventeen years of age, must have seemed an attractive alternative. Faced with a candidate so reminiscent of his father in 1509, Mary's supporters might be persuaded that Margaret Beaufort's prudence in 1485, when her claim was passed over so her son might rule as Henry VII, had created the precedent. In 1466 Edward IV had allowed his sixteen year old brother Clarence the legal status of full age to bolster his political position 46. Yet the exact level of support Richmond would have been able to command is uncertain. The Duke of Norfolk, who had much to gain, was perhaps busy with some quiet lobbying. His unfortunate interest in the marriage of the king's niece, Margaret Douglas, which led to his brother's attainder has been attributed to his desire to ensure any threat she posed to Richmond's interests was safely neutralized 47. However, the duke's other friends and supporters were more limited in

44 CSP Spanish, V, (ii), n.61 p.139.

45 Smith, Lacey, *A Tudor Tragedy* (London, 1962), p.143.

46 Hicks, *The Career of George Plantagenet* p.19.

47 Brenan and Statham, *op. cit.*, I, p.192. 28 Henry VIII c24.

the influence they could wield. His step-father Edward Lord Clinton, was already a Councillor but still some significant way from his pivotal role as Lord Admiral under Edward VI. Whilst the king's relations with Elizabeth Blount remained good, she was no Margaret Beaufort to rally support for her son. Ranged against this were all those who had no wish to see a grandson of the Duke of Norfolk on the throne, the more fervent supporters of the Princess Mary; concern over the possible reaction of the emperor; and the not inconsiderable interests of the Seymour faction, which had already shown itself to be an effective and well motivated force.

The exact provisions of the 1536 Succession Act did little to clarify matters. It is true the act was a major departure, in that it did not confine eligibility for the throne to the legitimate line. Rather the king was to have

full and plenary power and authority to give, depose, appoint, assign, declare, and limit, by your letters patent, under your great seal, or else by your last Will made in writing, and signed with your most gracious hand, at your only pleasure, from time to time hereafter, the imperial Crown of this realm

but there was no indication of the order of succession, should the issue of the marriage fail. Rather the tone of the act seems intended simply to forestall the mood of speculation and debate that had occupied recent months. The act itself recited the dangers of designating an heir apparent:

such person that should be so named, might happen to take great heart and courage, and by presumption fall into inobedience and rebellion 48.

There were dire warnings should any one of Henry's heirs usurp the rights of any of the others, and the grounds and punishments for treason were also increased. The message was clear. The decision was the king's alone, and he would make suitable provision in due time. In the interim, now that some legal provision had been put in place, there was nothing to gain from declaring a hand that might prove inflammatory. Despite the anxious lobbying of his courtiers, Henry was always more willing than otherwise to believe that God was on

48 28 Henry VIII c7.

his side. It certainly seems that as long as he had leisure to wait, Henry VIII had no intention of relinquishing his long held desire for a legitimate male heir.

Whilst the act accommodated the possibility that the king might choose to recognize one of his illegitimate children as heir, it was by no means a statement of intent. The act also recited the traditional formula, that the succession was to be vested in the legitimate heirs male of the king and Jane. In addition it continued

for default of such sons of your body lawfully begotten, ... that then the said Imperial Crown and other the premises, shall be to the issue female between your Majesty and your said most dear and entirely beloved Wife Queen Jane begotten 49.

There was also provision for further legitimate issue by any subsequent wives. Given the efforts Henry VIII had made over the last decade to secure a legitimate heir, it is understandable he would be unwilling to accept any other outcome. The ability of the king to stand implacable on this point, even in the face of uncertainty, should not be underestimated. Despite Richmond's good qualities, to be reduced to assigning his Crown Imperial to a son known by the whole of Europe to be born out of wedlock, would sit ill with the English king's own sense of morality.

It would be anomalous at least for the Defender of the Faith to leave his title and his crown to a mongrel, to a child whose parenthood would always be open to question at any moment of crisis. The Defender of the Faith must have what he was entitled to: a legitimate son and heir. His conscience would settle for nothing less 50.

Henry's concerns were not merely egotistical. Anything less than a child whose title was universally accepted could not fail to result in disorder. The hopes of Mary's supporters, that she would be restored as princess, or otherwise

49 Ibid.

50 Ferguson, Charles, *Naked to Mine Enemies* (London, 1958), p.343. Since Henry VIII saw his marriage to Catherine as invalid, he would no doubt have disputed the charge that the child was born in adultery.

officially recognized, equally went unfulfilled 51. As matters stood to prefer any of his existing children above another would almost inevitably lead to the very faction and dispute that the statute was seeking to avoid.

Whether Henry VIII could have chosen to ease his own sense of conscience by bestowing the substance of legitimacy on his son is an interesting question. There could be no refuge in the argument of bona fide parentum. Richmond was illegitimate, and there could be no pretence otherwise. Without the option of subsequent marriage any move to legitimise Richmond would require the assent of Parliament, but whether Henry VIII could have canvassed sufficient backing to push through such a bill, is less at issue than the power of statute to support it. There was a strong argument that such a measure was prejudicial to the rights of the king's lawful children, and their interests could not be negated by the power of king alone, nor the king in Parliament. Even in 1544, although Henry VIII would include Mary and Elizabeth in the succession, he would not presume to legitimise them.

The rule of succession thus implied was that a King may not legitimate his bastards, because to do so could deprive his lawful issue (those unborn as well as those in being) of their inheritance. But whereas those bastards might not take the Crown by descent, they were eligible in default of the King's lawful issue to take by Act of Parliament 52.

The birth of Edward in 1537 justified his caution. A single heir male was not ideal, but Henry VII and Henry VIII had demonstrated it could be enough to secure the future of the dynasty. The 1544 Act also made provision for any further legitimate issue of the king, before it acknowledged the rights of his existing daughters. Henry VIII did not hold back from the brink of legitimating the duke because it was too difficult or dangerous, but because he had no wish to compromise the inheritance of his future heirs.

51 Levine, Mortimer, "Henry VIII's use of his Spiritual and Temporal Jurisdictions in his Great Causes of Matrimony, Legitimacy, and Succession" *The Historical Journal*, [11], (1967), p.8.

52 Nenner, Howard, *The Right to be King* (London, 1995), p.39.

Only if there were no such issue would Richmond become a serious candidate for the throne. If Henry were ultimately left with two daughters and a son, none of whom he acknowledged to have been born in lawful marriage, it is possible that the rights of the illegitimate son would have taken precedence over those of the daughters, and history might have been very different.

had he survived King Edward the Sixth, we might presently have heard of a King Henry the Ninth, so great was his father's affection, and so unlimited his power to prefer him 53.

This was the best that Richmond, or his supporters, could hope for. The confidence of hindsight should not obscure how far removed from the throne Richmond still remained in 1536. Even without the legitimate issue he still actively looked for, Henry VIII was no longer confined to a bald choice between his three children. The Marquis of Exeter, or any suitable candidate, might be preferred over his bastard. The young duke was evidently a fine young man and, in default of other male relatives, he had assumed a useful and active role in the king's affairs. Yet as long as there was breath in his body and the power to beget children, there is no firm evidence that his father ever had any real intention of making him his heir. The proposal to send Richmond into Scotland underlines the duke's usefulness, but does not demonstrate the level of protectiveness one would expect from the paranoid king if he saw his illegitimate son as the sole hope for his Crown.

Nevertheless, the terms of the act served to fuel rumours that Henry VIII was preparing to name Richmond as his heir. Dr Ortiz reported that

In case of there being no sons at all of this last marriage, it is believed the King's determination was that the succession should go to his bastard son, the duke of Richamont [sic] 54.

Such speculation was at best premature, nor does the argument that Richmond's illness required Henry to forbear from naming

53 Fuller, Thomas, *The Church History of Britain* Brewer, J. S., ed., (6 Volumes, Oxford, 1845)., III, p.232.

54 CSP Spanish V, (ii), n.91 p.233.

his son stand up to examination 55. Assumptions that the duke's health had been in visible decline for some time are based solely on the statement of Charles Wriothsesley

It was thought that he was privily poisoned by the means of Queen Anne, and her brother Lord Rochford, for he pined inwardly in his body long before he died 56.

Since this observation is not corroborated it must be treated with caution. Richmond's presence about the court, not to mention the ongoing plans to send him into Scotland, hardly suggest that his health was giving any serious cause for concern 57. In all outward respects it was business as usual. In April 1536, the Venetian ambassador had to calm the fears of his French counterpart that the project to give Richmond the Duchy of Milan had been revived 58. In May, the young duke was amongst those to whom Charles V addressed letters of credence for his ambassador 59. His appointment later that month as chamberlain of Chester and North Wales, in place of another of Anne's supposed lovers, Henry Norris, may have been intended as some compensation for the unfortunate Brereton. It is unlikely that the appointment would have been made if it was considered that the duke's demise was imminent 60. Even on 8 June, he was still well enough to appear in public without arousing comment regarding his condition. The young duke took a prominent, and not untaxing, part in the opening ceremonies of the Parliament: Having carried the king's cap of maintenance in the opening procession, not merely the day's business, but a full mass and a formal dinner also had to be endured 61. Yet not even the most eagle-eyed of the court

55 William Dixon claims that Lord Audley (the Lord Chancellor) was to rally the burgesses of London in support of such a move, but I can find no evidence of it. His speech at the opening of the 1536 Parliament centred on legitimate heirs and stressed Jane's fertility. Dixon, William, *History of Two Queens* (4 Volumes, London, 1873-74), IV, p.337. Lehmborg, S, *The Later Parliaments of Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1977), p.15.

56 Wriothsesley, Charles, op. cit., p.53.

57 The plan was not abandoned until June 1536, LP X, n.1069 p.452.

58 BL Nero Mss VI, f.126.

59 CSP Spanish, V, (ii), n.54 Additions and Corrections p.572.

60 LP X, n.865 p.357.

61 Wriothsesley, Charles, op. cit., I, p.45.

observers was moved to comment that Richmond was looking a bit peaky.

The young duke continued to take an active interest in affairs. He was particularly keen to secure another of Norris's offices, the stewardship of Banbury. Indeed even before the poor man was in his grave, the duke wrote to the Bishop of Lincoln

and whereas the office of stewardship of Banbury is like shortly to be in your hands and disposition, by reason of the trouble and business that Mr Norris is now in, the which I think is not to you unknown. And forasmuch as it is presupposed with many men that there is no way but one with him.

hoping to secure the position for Giles Forster, master of his horse 62. Unfortunately for Richmond, the good bishop was of much the same mind regarding Norris's fate, and had already written on 5 May offering the sinecure to Cromwell, in conjunction with the stewardship of the University in Oxford 63. The duke was more successful in the scramble for offices in the wake of Lord Rochford's death, securing the offices of Warden of the Cinque Ports and constable of Dover Castle 64. At the same time in the present Parliament, Richmond obtained a grant of Baynards Castle 65. The decision to provide the duke with a London residence for his own use, whilst Coldharbour remained unavailable, was a significant step regarding his status and position as an independent magnate. It reflected the duke's emergence from childhood into adulthood, and was possibly the prelude to co-habitation with his wife of three years, Mary Howard. All the indications seem to suggest that neither the duke himself, nor those around him, appeared to consider that his life was under any immediate threat.

The first indication that something might be wrong is somewhat circumstantial. However, since Richmond had attended the sessions of Parliament with such regularity in 1534, the fact

62 PRO SP1/103, f.306.

63 Ibid., f.304.

64 Lambarde, William, *A Perambulation of Kent* (Bath, 1970), p.116.

65 28 Henry VIII c34.

that he should be completely absent from business in 1536 does seem rather strange 66. It also seems he did not attend the Neville marriage celebrations held at Shoreditch on 3 July, although the greater part of the court, including Norfolk, Suffolk, Surrey and the king were present 67. However, the first official report of his illness did not leak out until the following month. The nature of his demise was commonly considered then, as now, to be pulmonary tuberculosis. On 8 July 1536, Chapuys was the first with the news.

There is, however, no fear for the present of the Princess losing her right to the throne of England, for the King's bastard son, - I mean the Duke of Richmond, - cannot according to the prognostication of his physicians, live many months, having been pronounced to be in a state of rapid consumption 68.

Although the lurid reports of swollen limbs, scabby skin and foul stench that accompanied the death throes of Edward VI are lacking, contemporary observers were firmly of the opinion that the illness was the same 69. This is not in itself surprising. It is a curious fact that Elizabeth Blount, having borne four healthy daughters, also lost both of her other sons to tuberculosis in their teenage years. Whilst this might appear to denote some kind of genetic weakness in Henry and Elizabeth, instances of tuberculosis were by no means uncommon. Diet and daily living conditions encouraged the disease and, if anything, the rich were more at risk than the poor. The argument that the Tudors had something of a hereditary predisposition to tuberculosis could be nothing more than this. Certainly, current medical thinking would not support any hypothesis which attempted to link the deaths of the half-brothers in anything more than a coincidental sense 70.

66 *Journals of the House of Lords*, I, (London, 1808) p.83.

67 Wriothsesley, Charles, I, p.50.

68 CSP Spanish, V, (ii), n.71 p.196.

69 CSP Spanish, XII, p.45.

70 Henry VII, Mary the French Queen, Edward VI and Richmond are all supposed to have succumbed to the disease. MacNalty, Arthur, *Henry VIII, A Difficult Patient* (London, 1952), p.25-9. Copeman, W. S. C., *Doctors and Disease in Tudor Times* (London, 1960), p.134. I am also grateful to Dr Matthew Lockyer for his comments on the nature and occurrence of tuberculosis.

By 18 July, when John Husse wrote to Lord Lisle at Calais, the news that the duke was sick was evidently circulating at court 71. Whether the nature of the disease, or the terminal diagnosis, were also known is less certain. The formal prorogation of Parliament had taken place that day and Richmond's absence from proceedings may have been noticed. The duke's condition now rapidly deteriorated and if anything, the opinion of his doctors was to prove optimistic. On 23 July 1536, Chapuys sent off a quickly scribbled note

I have just this moment heard that the Duke of Richmond died this morning, which is not a bad thing for the interests of the Princess 72.

Richmond's death took place at St James' Palace in London, the duke clearly having been too unwell to accompany the king, with the body of the court, to Sittingbourne. The date of his demise has been recorded as the 24th or even the 25th, but Chapuys is unlikely to have been incorrect 73. Richmond had lasted only a matter of weeks. In contrast, Edward VI's last illness attracted notice from February 1553 until his ultimate demise some five months later, but the nature of the disease did not preclude that once the duke's decline began it was all very rapid. An aortic aneurysm could well account for his swift death. Latter-day speculation that his demise was hastened by some dubious medical practice on behalf of the Seymour faction is difficult to prove at such a remove from the event 74. Indeed the Seymours, who still held all the best cards, probably stood to lose more than they could gain by such a piece of folly. Once more Henry VIII was blessed with nothing but daughters, and some unfortunate messenger was despatched to inform the king that his only son was dead.

Henry's reaction to word of his son's death has not been recorded. Given the reports of his illness the king would not have been entirely unprepared, but this probably did little to ease his distress. There is no reason to doubt that Henry had

71 St Clare Byrne, Muriel, ed., I, p.458.

72 LP XII, n.148 p.65.

73 Of the surviving Inquisitions Post Mortem, Somerset, Devon and Lincolnshire, all favour the 24th. Hertfordshire says the 25th.

74 Burke, op. cit., II, p.128.

viewed the child with genuine affection, but his death was also a political blow. The duke had fulfilled a useful role in a whole host of posts and offices, for which satisfactory new incumbents might not easily be found. Even more seriously, Richmond was proof that Henry VIII could sire a healthy, living son. Now that point was again open to question. If Jane had already been with child things might have been different, but, as matters stood, many of the king's familiar fears and anxieties must have been resurrected. Henry could not rationally have expected to keep the news of his son's death under wraps for very long. Yet the extent of his anxiety is evident in the bizarre arrangements made for Richmond's funeral. The Duke of Norfolk was quite clear that his instructions had been to ensure that Richmond was quietly interred some distance from the capital.

The King's pleasure was that his body should be conveyed secretly in a closed cart unto Thetford and at my suit thither and there to be buried, and according to the same I sent order with both the Cottons and commanded them that his body should have be[en] wrapped in lead and a close cart provided for him 75.

A degree of indecision over the appropriate course to take is perhaps reflected in the delay in conveying the corpse into Norfolk. If this interim period was used for any of the public observances of mourning, there is no record of it. The duke's body was prepared for burial, wrapped in cered cloth and enclosed in a simple wooden coffin, before being placed in a wagon and hidden over with straw to make the journey. There was no impressive train. The wagon was accompanied solely by the duke's governor and comptroller and even they did not wear Richmond's livery 76.

The funeral itself was held in the Howard family vault at Thetford Priory. The Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Surrey were in attendance, and four of Richmond's geldings were delivered to Mary, Duchess of Richmond, to allow her to return to Norfolk for the ceremony, but it seems no other members of the court made the trip 77. Certainly the Heralds of the

75 PRO SP1/105, p.245.

76 LP XII, n.221 p.97.

77 *Inventories*, Nichols, J. G., ed., p.21.

College of Arms, whose job it was to report such proceedings, do not appear to have been present. If the superstition that a whole host of mourners was required to ensure that the departed's soul was wrested from the clutches of the devil was correct, then the Duke of Richmond was not well served in this respect. The general tone was distinctly muted. Yet when Norfolk heard the king was displeased with the manner of his son's interment, he assumed it had not been done secretly enough. His confusion is understandable. In the face of the king's grief and panic-stricken desire to sweep the matter under the carpet, Norfolk had apparently done what he could to provide his son-in-law with some semblance of a decent funeral. Now the king had recovered from his initial shock and dismay, the duke found he was being berated for disposing of the body without the full pomp and ceremony that would usually be accorded to a peer at his burial. It is inconceivable that Richmond would have been dealt with other than at the specific charge of his father, but as Henry came to regret his impetuous decision, Norfolk became a convenient scapegoat. It was all too easy for the duke's enemies to insinuate that the whole mess was his responsibility, rather than the king's. Norfolk had good reason to be disgruntled, especially since he was left to bear the cost and charge of the proceedings 78.

Richmond's eternal well-being was not entirely neglected. Arrangements were made for masses to be said for the benefit of his soul, with the observances being divided between the Greyfriars of Reading, and the Friars at Calais. However, the credit for this lies with Arthur, Viscount Lisle, rather than the king. Lisle's purse could only run so far. In contrast to the large number of masses Henry VIII considered appropriate for his own soul, by April 1537 the services for Richmond were already concluded 79. In a similar manner, provision of a suitable tomb was apparently left entirely to the efforts, and coffers, of the Duke of Norfolk 80. The explanation for Henry's attitude to Richmond's death must lie within the self

78 PRO SP1/105, p.245.

79 St Clare Byrne, Muriel, ed., IV, p.282 (939), p.288 (943) p.289 (943a). I am grateful to Steve Gunn for pointing out that such generosity was an obligation under the ordinances of the Knights of the Garter.

80 For a discussion of the construction and dating of his tomb see Appendix IV.

doubts and fears that it engendered. To occupy himself with the business of his son's burial and memorial was to remind himself, and others, of his lack of male progeny. The only public observance of Richmond's death came in May 1538. A procession of nobility, led by the Earls of Sussex and Cumberland, bearing his banner and arms, marked the duke's passing in the traditional rite of the offering of the hatchments 81. A Frenchman, Nicholas de Bourbon did commemorate Richmond's passing in a brief verse 82. Individuals like the future Henri II of France and the earl of Surrey, were subsequently to recall the young duke with affection 83. After the birth of Prince Edward in 1537, Henry VIII had scant reason to dwell on the loss of his illegitimate son, but perhaps not all thoughts of Richmond were erased. It may be that the king's affection for the Earl of Surrey, which resulted in a surprising degree of tolerance in the face of concerted efforts by the Seymours to blacken his name, was due in some part to his association with Richmond. However, if his sister, the Duchess of Richmond, entertained any hopes that the king would extend to her the same regard in respect of his son's memory, then she was to be sorely disappointed.

81 BL Harleian 6074, f.73.

82 *Inventories*, Nichols, J. G., ed. p.lxviii.

83 SP Henry VIII, VIII, n.649 p.500. XII, (ii), n.248 p.104.

Chapter Six: Mary Richmond

With the death of her husband Mary Howard, the young Duchess of Richmond, retired to her father's house at Kenninghall. Whether she felt any personal sense of loss is not recorded, but Richmond's demise could not fail to affect her political standing. Courtesy allowed that she should retain the title of Duchess of Richmond, but whereas before she could have looked forward to the prospect of presenting the king with a grandson, now her future was uncertain. Decorum required a decent period of mourning, after which it would generally be expected that she would marry again. In normal circumstances this was not an unpleasant prospect for a young widow. The second time around she could reasonably expect a greater say in the choice of spouse, and her fortunes were often enhanced, both by wealth entailed on her by her late husband, and a proven ability to bear children. For Mary, however, the reality was somewhat different. Although technically a widow, she remained an inexperienced young girl, with no proof of her fecundity: as a minor she was still very much in her father's power and, perhaps more importantly, since Richmond was too young to draw up a valid and binding will, he was unable to make any financial provision for her.

Mary's prospects were not, of course, entirely bleak: she was the only surviving daughter of the Duke of Norfolk and his wife Elizabeth Stafford, and a granddaughter of the late Duke of Buckingham. As such she had both her mother's royal connections, and her father's wealth and position to recommend her. Her ownership and contribution to a book of poems circulating at court, now in the British Library, indicates that she had been well educated as befitted her rank and status, although her handwriting, rather like her mother's, left much to be desired¹. In addition, the skills and social graces required to attract a husband, in music, dancing, and other wiles, can only have been polished during the last four years at court, in attendance on Anne Boleyn in a post that would have been the envy of many girls her age. Mary herself

¹ BL Additional Mss 17492, f.55, 60. Baron, Helen, "Mary [Howard] Fitzroy's Hand in the Devonshire Mss" *Review of English Studies*, [45], (1994), p.319.

was also reputed to be something of a beauty. Seen in this light she appears a most attractive proposition for matrimony. Whilst she lacked many of the advantages of a traditional widow, at no more than seventeen she was not much older than many girls embarking upon marriage for the first time. If the question of Mary's future prospects could have been addressed as if she had never been married, rather than as the widow of the king's son, things might have been rather different. As it was, a degree of uncertainty over her exact status, and complications over the payment of her jointure, served to delay any serious consideration of her remarriage.

The first point under consideration was the validity of her marriage to Richmond. Although the political union of the two families had been accomplished by the ceremony in 1533, the young couple had never actually lived together. The fact that the marriage had not been consummated does not seem to have been at issue ². The crux of the matter was whether sexual intercourse was a requirement in contracting a binding and lawful union. For his part the king chose to refer the matter to the law. In November 1536, Norfolk was writing to Cromwell with concern, both at the possibility of doubt, and the delay

that by your good means the opinion of the judges and the king's learned council may be notified to his Majesty before the judging of this term. Good my Lord help that his Highness may be content to [ad]minister justice unto her without displeasure ³.

The duke's anxiety was increased by his imminent departure into the north on the king's business, but if he hoped that his unwillingness to leave Mary to her own devices whilst this matter was resolved would force a speedy resolution, he was to be sorely disappointed. Despite a stream of letters Norfolk was unable to secure any sort of a decision. Cromwell clearly replied with promises and platitudes, but there is little sign of any action. By May 1537 the duke was writing somewhat testily from Sheriff Hutton

² Wriothesley, Charles, op. cit., p.54.

³ PRO SP1/111, p.221.

good my lord make an end for my daughter's cause, all learned men do say that I spoke with there is no doubt of her right 4.

But the question of his daughter's status remained in abeyance. Even after several more such letters, by the time Norfolk finally returned from the north in October 1537, the matter was no nearer a conclusion than it had been at the point of Richmond's death.

Mary herself seems to have entertained no doubt that her cause was right and just. As such her first instinct was to blame her father for the delay. As Norfolk was forced to explain to Cromwell

by her words I do well perceive she hath be put in such comfort by learned men that her right is clearly good, and that she hath be[en] delayed so long, (as she thinketh), for lack of good suit made to the king's Highness by me 5.

In this the duchess was rather hard on Norfolk. His correspondence, several written by his own hand, makes it clear that his daughter's suit was never far from his thoughts. Yet Mary dismissed her father's undoubted efforts as nothing but words, and remained convinced

the king's highness is not ascertained of my whole widowfull right therein, for if he was, he is so just a prince, so gracious, and of such equality, that I am sure he would never suffer the justice of his laws to be denied to me, the unworthy desolate widow of his late son, that never yet was denied to the worst gentlewoman in this realm 6.

When her requests to press her suit in person were repeatedly denied Mary evidently determined on the next best thing. She wrote directly to Cromwell asking him to apply to the king that her case should be heard. She was plainly confident that her legal right was sufficient to obtain her goal 7. Somewhat wearily Norfolk advised Cromwell

4 PRO SP1/120, p.6.

5 PRO SP1/114, p.56.

6 BL Cotton Vespasian F XIII, f.75. Baron, op. cit., p.318.

7 PRO SP1/128, p.14.

in all my life I never commoned with her in any serious cause ere now, and would not have thought she had be[en] such as I find her. Which as I think is but too wise for a woman 8.

Mary had clearly acquired a sound grasp of the legal niceties of the case, but what she blatantly failed to appreciate, and what her father was all too painfully aware of, was that the delays had little to do with the vagaries of the law, and everything to do with the mood of the king.

The evidence certainly supports the view that Mary had every right to her jointure. The couple had been joined by vows in the present tense and this alone made a binding marriage. The validity of the contract was embodied in the consent of the couple, and neither clerical blessing, parental approbation, witnesses, nor sexual intercourse, were a requirement to ratify the union 9. When Cromwell canvassed Cranmer's opinion on the matter his reply was not only immediate, but embarrassingly direct:

I assure your lordship that without further convocation of doctors I am fully persuaded that such marriages as be in lawful age, contracted per verba de presenti, are matrimony before God, and the same cause is (as I remember) plainly opined and declared in the king's grace's book of his own cause of matrimony 10.

In addition, the prized commodity of Mary's virginity might well have been surrendered to her husband, albeit ceremoniously, in the social rite of bedding. It is true that in certain circumstances even a per verba de presenti contract could be dissolved by mutual consent, but strictly speaking such transactions were illegal. The church courts strongly disapproved of such actions, backing the validity of the original betrothal 11. In the eyes of both the law and the church, Mary and Richmond were husband and wife. Hence it seems that the continuing delay cannot be laid at the feet of legal uncertainty. Given Henry VIII's own study of the law

8 PRO SP1/114, p.56.

9 Stone, Lawrence, *The Road to Divorce England 1530-1987* (Oxford, 1990), p.67.

10 PRO SP1/128, p.92.

11 Quaipe, Geoffrey, *Wanton Wenches and Wayward Wives* (London, 1979), p.47. Gillis, J. R., *For Better, for Worse, British Marriages, 1600 to the Present* (Oxford, 1985), p.51.

regarding matrimony, it is also highly unlikely that he was ignorant of the way things stood. The explanation therefore, both for the decision to refer the matter to the law, and the difficulties in securing a decision, must have stemmed from some other cause.

Ironically, it was probably the Duchess of Richmond's undoubted right that served to hinder her suit. The judges may have been unwilling to deliver a verdict that would displease the king and Henry was probably not happy to accept any decision that required him to honour his financial obligation, especially since Norfolk had not been required to provide a dowry for his daughter. Although the betrothal agreement itself does not survive, the correspondence of the Duchess of Norfolk indicates that the sum agreed as a jointure had been in excess of £1000 per annum ¹². Henry would hardly need persuading of the fiscal benefits of denying this mere child, who had borne no issue, the full and proper rights of widowhood. There was also perhaps an emotional side to his position. Both Mary and her father were careful to stress the role of the king in arranging the marriage, but the evidence suggests that Henry had been persuaded of the wisdom of this union by the charms of Anne Boleyn. If this were the case it is entirely possible that the king would now wish to renege on an agreement he felt he had been enticed into. On a more basic level, anger and pique at his unfaithful wife would not render him amenable to fulfilling any favour secured by her hand, particularly one that had gained him so little advantage. With Richmond dead Henry VIII had little reason to look kindly on Mary, and every reason to believe that the responsibility for her upkeep lay with her father, rather than the Crown.

There was also another significant element to this equation. If, as the king so clearly desired, Mary's marriage to Richmond was sufficiently invalid to deny her the jointure, then it was not merely her financial position that was vulnerable. If the marriage was not valid then she was not, nor could she ever have been, the wife of the king's son. In

¹² BL Cotton Titus B I, f.383c. It is possible that the actual sum was supposed to be 1000 marks. See the valuation in LP XVI, n.401 p.205 "Clear total 744li 10s 9d ob which exceeds 1000 marks by 77li 17s 5d ob."

these circumstances she could not be suffered to continue to hold the title of duchess, nor the rank and precedence currently accorded to her, next in honour to Henry's own niece, Margaret Douglas. In right of her husband, Mary's present style was

The right high and noble princess Mary Duchess of Richmond and Somerset and Countess of Nottingham, widow
13.

Any evidence of irregularity would be sufficient to sever all intimate connection with the Crown. Although the question of Mary's jointure, and the possibility of her remarriage, has often been discussed this aspect of her position has not been touched upon. That Henry was anxious to avoid the burden of unpleasant expense cannot be denied, but it is highly improbable that he was unaware of the further implications of this decision to challenge Mary's position as his son's lawful widow. Were the judges to find in his favour, then Mary stood to lose not merely all hope of her jointure, but every other right and benefit that such a prestigious match had brought her.

In the prevailing political climate the king might be all too willing to inflict such a humiliation on the house of Howard. The Duke of Norfolk had successfully laboured to distance himself from the attainder of his brother Lord Thomas, and the disgrace of his niece, only to be eclipsed by the rising fortunes of the Seymour faction. Despite Norfolk's valiant efforts on the king's behalf in the Pilgrimage of Grace, the fortunes of the Howards remained at a decidedly low ebb¹⁴. His isolation in the north, albeit as the king's Lieutenant, effectively kept him from court. In his absence men like Cromwell and Seymour strove to advance their credit with the king, much to the detriment of the duke. Even when his presence would have been useful, Norfolk was prevented from re-establishing his former good relationship with Henry. He complained to Cromwell that although matters relating to Scotland were being discussed, he had been kept from the king, and added in his own hand

13 PRO E326/B12061.

14 CSP Spanish, V, (ii), n.104 p.268.

the loss of one of my fingers should not be so much to my sorrow as to be in fear not to see my master at this time 15.

Even after his recall from the north the situation had hardly improved. Norfolk was not readily welcome at court. Writing from Kenninghall in April 1537, worn down by Mary's constant lamenting and entreaties, the duke tested the water with Cromwell, requesting leave to come up to London with his daughter and a small entourage 16. The response was ambiguous, leaving Norfolk uncertain whether or not to proceed. Undaunted he tried again.

My good lord I remember in my last letter I sent to you I wrote to desire you to advertise me whether you thought I should displease his majesty with bringing her up or not, and also to advise me of your good advice therein, which eftsoons I most heartily require you to do by this bearer 17.

At least in part due to illness in the area, Norfolk was ultimately reduced to sending up the treasurer of his household to speak to Cromwell on his daughter's behalf, rather than pursue her cause in person with the king. Given the realities of the position the duke clearly felt that his presence would do little to advance his daughter's situation, and to press further might be seriously damaging to his own career 18.

The tact and diplomacy displayed by Norfolk, as he bided his time to restore his former favour, was in marked contrast to the attitude shown by his son. The adjectives used to describe the Earl of Surrey invariably stress his proud and haughty manner. Lacking the political experience of his father, he found the meteoric rise of a family such as the Seymours impossible to bear with fortitude. In the summer of 1537, tension between Surrey and Edward Seymour erupted into open violence. Surrey may well have been provoked, since Seymour is alleged to have taunted the earl with the rumours that the Duke of Norfolk shared some sympathy with the rebels in the

15 PRO SP1/124, p.1

16 PRO SP1/131, p.36

17 Ibid., p.90.

18 LP XIII, (ii), n.84 p.31.

Pilgrimage of Grace 19. Yet the manner in which Surrey chose to defend the honour of the Howards brought him little credit. The earl apparently went to strike Seymour, in clear breach of the laws governing conduct within the precepts of the court. The punishment for such a crime was severe, and Norfolk was painfully aware that under the law his son could lose his right hand 20. In the event the king was sufficiently tolerant of Surrey's outburst to commute this sentence, but his crime did not go unpunished. The earl was committed to several months' comfortable, but embarrassing, confinement at Windsor. On his release Norfolk took pains to keep his son more quietly in the country, but the damage had been done 21. The blatant animosity between Surrey and Seymour could only serve to hinder any resurgence of the Howard family fortunes.

If these circumstances were not difficult enough, the credit of the Howard family was further damaged by the estrangement of the duke and his wife Elizabeth Stafford. The Duke and Duchess of Norfolk had formally separated in 1534 after twenty two years of marriage. Despite producing five children, theirs had clearly not been a successful union. The duchess accused her husband of a history of maltreatment and abuse. Norfolk complained

she hath untruely slandered me in writing and saying, that when she had be[en] in childbed of my daughter of Richmond, 2 nights and a day, I should draw her out of her bed by the hair of the head, about the house, and with my dagger give her a wound in the head 22.

The duke vehemently denied such allegations. There is reason to believe that the true root of the duchess' ire was her husband's mistress, Bess Holland. The duke not only kept her openly at his house at Kenninghall but, much to his wife's chagrin, he was prepared to parade her in public at court 23. Although his conduct was somewhat indelicate, it was the duchess's refusal to bow to convention, and turn a blind eye

19 Head, op. cit., p.355.

20 SP Henry VIII, V, n.325 p.100.

21 He was free by October when he met with his father at Ware. LP XII, (ii), n.839 p.296.

22 BL Cotton Titus B I, f.392.

23 Ibid., f.383a.

to her husband's infidelity, rather than the actions of the duke, that served to attract censure. As daughter to the duke's chief steward, John Holland, Bess was far from being the drab or harlot that the duchess wished to paint her as. She was, in fact, eminently respectable mistress material 24. Had these problems been kept privately within the family, the circumstances were not so unusual as to attract attention. The Duchess of Norfolk was, however, determined to turn her personal misfortunes into something of a political nuisance.

The difficulty the Duchess of Norfolk was determined to create was to tie the question of her own financial penury to the issue of her daughter Mary's jointure. The duchess, who had moved from Norfolk to Hertfordshire, complained bitterly that her present income and situation were ill suited to her station.

I am a gentlewoman born, and hath been brought up daintily, and not to live so barely as I do with £50 a quarter, and the one quarter and half the other is spent before it commeth in 25.

In order to effect a change in her circumstances she applied not to her husband, but to Cromwell, requiring him to speak to the king to move the duke on her behalf. To this end she pestered the secretary in a series of letters, with promises of his future comfort, if he would ensure that her need was not overlooked.

I hear say my daughter [of] Richmond hath not her jointure yet and it would please you my lord to move the king's grace that he should not grant my daughter of Richmond her jointure, till I be sure of mine jointure by the means of you, a word of the king's mouth, my lord my husband dare not say him nay 26.

Cromwell's attempts to reunite, if not reconcile, the couple fell on stony ground. The duchess would not go to him, and the duke would not have her. Instead Elizabeth continued to harass the secretary with her complaints and demands, above all her constant insistence that Mary's jointure should not be paid

24 Brenan and Statham, op. cit., I, p.158.

25 BL Cotton Titus B I, f.383d.

26 Ibid., f.383c.

until her needs had been met 27. Such a position was not best calculated to enhance Mary's prospects of a successful resolution to her present financial difficulties.

It is true that relations between the mother and daughter were not always smooth. The duchess was mortified that her own children had tolerated Bess Holland's presence in the duke's household, and was further distressed by the fact that Mary was prepared to associate with the woman. Her bitterness at their disloyalty was perhaps all the sharper because they appeared unwilling to support or assist her in any way in her wranglings with their father. She roundly declared

never woman that bare so ungracious an eldest son, and so ungracious a daughter, and unnatural, as [I] have done 28.

Yet the issue was rather more complicated than such high emotion might allow. Mary, for her part, was largely reliant on her father's bounty and it was perhaps neither prudent, nor possible, for her to side with her mother, whose own behaviour was not after all above reproach. Since in her calmer moments the duchess reflected

but though my children be unk[ind] to me I have always love unto them 29.

it does not seem that the rift between them was sufficient to assign the Duchess of Norfolk's actions to simple vindictiveness or pique. She clearly genuinely believed that her claim was the superior, not least because of the duration and fecundity of her union, but also because of the financial investment her family had made at the time of her marriage. Her daughter had none of these factors to recommend her petition. Elizabeth was quite willing to support her daughter's cause, once her own matter had been accomplished, but this was probably little comfort to Mary at this time.

In the interim it was plainly deemed wise that Mary's conduct, in sharp contrast to that of her mother, should be seen to be

27 Ibid., f.383b.

28 Ibid., f.391.

29 Ibid., f.389.

blameless. As early as November 1536, the Duke of Norfolk was assuring Cromwell that his daughter was acting with appropriate propriety.

it is not possible for a young woman to handle herself more discreetly than she hath done since her husband's death 30.

The duke's fear that his daughter, who was so convinced of her lawful right, might assert her claim more forcefully than was politic, was undeniably a significant factor in his reluctance to bring her to court. To her credit Mary seems to have reserved her more tempestuous outbursts for her long suffering father. Even then she remained the dutiful daughter, submitting all to his pleasure and most humbly requesting his blessing. In her correspondence to Cromwell the duchess was always careful to assure the secretary of her gratitude for his assistance, expressing herself in the most amenable and docile terms

By my lord my father I do perceive how painfully you daily use you in labouring to the king's majesty for my matter, for the which I give unto your good lordship as hearty thanks as my poor heart can think 31.

She humbly agreed to accept whatever arrears that Henry VIII might deign to grant her, submitting everything to the king's will, nor was she, (no doubt much to her father's relief), sufficiently wilful or headstrong to attempt to sue her own cause in direct defiance of his wishes. In the end the successful conclusion of the matter probably owed more to the letter of the law, and the patient service of the Duke of Norfolk, than the decorous behaviour of the young duchess herself. However, it was clearly considered important that Mary adhered to the image of the patient widow.

Since Richmond's death the question of Mary's remarriage had, occasionally, been mooted. This was, of course, to be expected. For a son to marry was a chance of advancement, but it was daughter's sole option. Skills and social graces were carefully packaged to appeal. As early as November 1536 Norfolk was expressing a desire to see Mary safely married

30 PRO SP1/111, p.221.

31 PRO SP1/131, p.252.

again. Having matched his daughter to the king's son, the duke could not hope to make such a prestigious union a second time. Indeed Norfolk doubted that there was any suitable candidate to be had at all. He told Cromwell

at this time there is neither lord, nor lord's son, nor other good inheritor of this realm, that I can remember, of convenient age to marry her: so that in manner I reckon herself undone; for if she should marry, and her children not to inherit some good portion, they were undone 32.

In light of this, one of Norfolk's greatest concerns whilst he was serving in the north was that in his absence Mary might be persuaded into an unsuitable match. In the event his fears proved groundless. She remained quietly at Kenninghall and there is no evidence that suitors were beating a path to her door. As well as the exacting standards of her father, there was a further complication to any serious negotiations. Whilst deliberations continued over the validity of her marriage to Richmond, any prospective husband had grounds to be cautious. It would be a very poor bargain indeed to have agreed terms on the basis that you were marrying the dowager duchess of Richmond, widow of the king's son, only to find that marriage declared invalid, and your wife stripped of all rank and royal connection.

Not until the summer of 1538 would the prospect of Mary's marriage again be given serious consideration. Her jointure was still the first order of business, but it was further relayed to Cromwell that Norfolk had taken the opportunity to broach the possibility of her marrying again:

He knew but 2 persons upon whom he thought meet or could resolve in his heart to bestow his said daughter, the one he named of whom he said your lordship had made a motion unto him, whose name the king's Majesty now remembereth not, the other he said, to whom his heart is most inclined, was Sir Thomas Seymour 33.

The attention focused on the significance of the Seymour match has tended to obscure the fact that Norfolk also had another alliance in mind. Since the king was so impressed with the

32 PRO SP1/111, p.221.

33 PRO SP1/134, p.160.

other gentleman that he could not even remember his name, it is difficult to know how far he represented a viable alternative. But that the Duke of Norfolk was equally serious about entertaining an affiliation with either party cannot be discounted. The king could have endorsed either candidate, and Norfolk could not be sure of influencing his choice. What is certain is that Norfolk had been quietly considering his preferences for Mary's marriage. Ever the astute politician Norfolk was naturally reluctant to allow such a valuable asset as an unmarried daughter to remain unrealized, when she could be the means to secure an advantageous connection. Indeed, despite his previous complaints regarding a dearth of satisfactory suitors, Norfolk now found himself on the brink of cementing a union that would solve many of his recent difficulties, and could ensure his future prosperity.

The fortunes of the Seymours had not been markedly affected by the death of Queen Jane. Their position as blood relatives of the heir apparent assured them of the favour of the present king with the, not unpleasant, prospect of greater reward to come in the reign of their nephew. Whatever Norfolk's private feelings towards them, he was acutely aware of how the land lay. Edward Seymour in particular was a man of ambition, bolstered by ability and military skill, who strove to capitalize on his kinship with the house of Tudor. Already Earl of Hertford, and a privy councillor, it must have seemed that, whilst Edward lived, nothing could halt the Seymours' ascendancy. With such a future in prospect, Norfolk's moves to promote a union between the two families were more than a rapprochement, they were an attempt to safeguard the Howards' own role at the heart of British politics. Norfolk might have stressed Sir Thomas Seymour's personal attributes to the king

as well for that he is so honestly advanced by the king's Majesty, as also for his towardness and other his commendable merits, he could well find in his heart and would be glad, standing so with the king's pleasure, to bestow his daughter 34.

but few could have failed to appreciate the benefits of the political alliance. For his part the king expressed his

34 Ibid.

contentment, complimenting Sir Thomas in the warmest terms, as a most suitable husband in every respect:

if he were so minded to bestow his daughter upon the said Sir Thomas Seymour he should be sure to couple her with one of such lust and youth as he should be able to please her well at all points 35.

The king perhaps had his own reasons for favouring the match. Although in law Mary was entitled to hold her jointure until her death, Henry may have hoped that such a marriage, perhaps sweetened with a suitable wedding gift, would be sufficient to stem Norfolk's insistence on this point. Indeed with the matter thus ordered it was the king himself, rather than Norfolk, who moved to acquaint Sir Thomas with how things stood.

Sir Thomas Seymour has often been castigated for his bold aspirations, in wishing to align himself with blood of high rank or royal connections, but in this case it seems that he did not propose the marriage. When ascertained of Norfolk's wish, and the king's mind, he remained decisively cautious, asking that Cromwell

for as much as he taketh your Lordship to be his good lord, and for that your son hath married his sister, that therefore your Lordship might the rather have the mayning [sic] of the matter and for the better perfection thereof your Lordship, taking an opportunity to be either at dinner or supper with my said lord of Norfolk, might make the overture and first entry into the same 36.

That Seymour would have seen Mary as unworthy of him, is to cast his ambition far in advance of his prospects in 1538. It is far more likely that his attitude stemmed from the difficult relations hitherto enjoyed by the two families. The terms in which Norfolk promoted the match with the king may have been designed to deflect any royal suspicions about his own ambition, but they also demonstrate that the duke did not see the Seymour marriage as an equal match

perceiving that there ensueth commonly no great good by conjunction of great bloods together, he sought not

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

therefore nor desired to marry his daughter in any high blood or degree 37.

Seen in this light Seymour's wariness is understandable. The device of employing Cromwell as a mediator enabled Sir Thomas to confirm the seriousness of Norfolk's intent, and to make discreet enquiry as to what financial, or other advantage, he might expect to receive before he voiced his agreement to the proposition.

The exact details of the discussions do not survive: just as there was profit for the Howards in attaching themselves to the rising power of the Seymours, so that family stood to gain by links with so old and established a line. They were not unaware of their upstart image, and marriage into one of the two remaining ducal families would do much to enhance their dignity and assuage such criticisms. Cromwell may also have seen other advantages in encouraging this alliance. Norfolk's disapproval of the increasingly protestant line taken in religion would perhaps be tempered by his daughter's links with the Seymours, and hopefully the duke's gratitude for the secretary's assistance would pay further dividends 38. All seemed in order for a most auspicious union, but then abruptly the negotiations stalled. With the approbation of Norfolk, Cromwell, and especially the king, secured, all parties should have been satisfied. Norfolk, having initiated the proposal, was unlikely to have withdrawn now, but it seems equally improbable that the difficulties came from the Seymours. If they had held objections to the marriage in principle, it would not have proceeded thus far. Since Sir Thomas was not only a mere knight, but a younger brother to boot, a duke's daughter was an honourable prize. To reject such a union, in direct defiance of the king's wishes, would not be prudent. With both sides thus anxious to conclude, that there was any quibble over money also seems unlikely. Perhaps the explanation should in fact be sought in the reaction of the Duchess of Richmond to the news that she was shortly to marry again 39.

37 Ibid.

38 Head, *op. cit.*, p.353.

39 Ibid., p.354.

It would not be unreasonable if the doubts and uncertainties levied against her marriage to Richmond, had led Mary to be rather sensitive about her precise status. In July 1538 this problem had still not been resolved. Were she to marry now there was every possibility that the question of her jointure would simply fall into abeyance. As the wife of Sir Thomas Seymour, she might continue to be called Duchess of Richmond, but she would never receive any formal, or financial, acknowledgment that she had been the duke's true and lawful wife. Given the strength of Mary's own conviction and the experiences of two years' hard struggle, whilst her right and title was openly disputed, this was hardly a satisfactory conclusion. Mary has been painted as something of a coquette who, loving nothing more than the spectacle of the court and resenting being left to moulder at Kenninghall, was eager for any excuse to return 40. This has encouraged some to argue that Mary was persuaded, against her own inclination, to withhold her consent by Surrey because of his dislike of the Seymours. A decision which then sowed the seeds of discord between them as she came to regret her action 41. Yet Surrey was not at court when Mary elected to make a rather hurried departure.

And for as much as that his Highness is informed that the said duchess goeth tomorrow or next day into the country 42.

Whether Mary had any personal objection to Sir Thomas Seymour is unclear. He was by all accounts handsome, dashing and charming, but the Duchess of Richmond issued from proud stock, and she may have needed little encouragement to eschew such a match at this time 43. As things stood, to suggest that the lure of the court would have more lustre than proving her good name, is perhaps something of a disservice. It cannot be discounted that the responsibility for the failure of these negotiations lay not with Surrey at all, but with Mary herself.

40 Bapst, op. cit., p.339. Chapman, op. cit., p.58.

41 Richardson, Ethel, *The Lion and the Rose* (2 Volumes, London, 1922), I, p.88. Tucker, Melvin, *The Life of Thomas Howard, 1443-1524* (London, 1964), p.17.

42 PRO SP1/134, p.160

43 Head, op. cit., p.354.

If Mary hoped to force the king's hand by taking such an intransigent position, her ploy was not successful. In August 1538 she was writing hopefully to Cromwell about an imminent conclusion but, six months after Cranmer's clear judgment in her favour, Henry was no more willing to consider her jointure 44. However, this recent discussion of her marriage had evidently served to remind Henry VIII that his daughter-in-law might prove useful in wider diplomatic alliances. Accordingly, in October 1538, when the king was contemplating a series of royal marriages, Mary's name was included. At first sight this seems to be a significant step. The Duchess of Richmond was firmly ranked alongside the king's other female relations in apparent acknowledgment of her royal connections, but the nature of the proposal suggests that Henry VIII was driven more by his own designs, than any consideration of her position. The articles in question were part of a series of instructions for the English ambassador at the Imperial court. It was suggested that the emperor should bestow the Duchy of Milan on his cousin the Infant Dom Luis of Portugal who was presently being considered as a husband for Henry's elder daughter. In his keenness the king contemplated throwing in the hands of every other available female relation, in order to secure such a prize. If the emperor would co-operate then

the king's Majesty for a more perfect bend and knot will not stick for [the] pure kindness and love he beareth unto him to bestow that way his other daughter the lady Elizabeth, his niece the lady Margaret and therewith the duchess of Richmond by the said king's advice upon such of the princes and estates of Italy as shall be thought most convenient and meet to be retained in alliance, both for the confirmation of the said Milan and for the defence of Naples and Sicily 45.

This particular diplomatic initiative took no further effect, indeed by the time the advices were sent, the relevant clause had been deleted, and there is nothing to suggest that the king's action heralded any immediate change in Mary's position. If anything, it was simply a further indication that were Henry VIII to take any action regarding her jointure, it would be in his own time, and on his own terms.

44 PRO SP1/124, p.1.

45 BL Cotton Vespasian C VII, f.81.

Mary clearly had difficulty in appreciating this point, but the Duke of Norfolk was no stranger to the ebb and flow of royal favour. His own father had been deprived and imprisoned for his support of Richard III at Bosworth, only to resurrect his fortunes fighting at Flodden. In his turn, the third duke was often required to use his martial prowess to bolster flagging favour. Such had been the case in the autumn of 1536, when pressing need in the face of the danger of the Pilgrimage of Grace had caused the king to temporarily put aside his resentment over the business of Richmond's funeral and call upon his experience. Chapuys was quick to note how the king had

not forgotten to send for the Duke of Norfolk, though rather unwillingly as it would appear owing to secretary Cromwell having lately by his suggestions brought on him the King's indignation. Indeed, there is a report that owing to his being in disgrace with the King the Duke had retired to his estates in the country half exiled from court, but as aforesaid he has been recalled for this present emergency 46.

Furthermore, as one of the only two remaining dukes in England, Norfolk had a diplomatic and ceremonial usefulness that was not easily dispensed with. Norfolk stood as godfather to Prince Edward and, despite the strained relations with the Seymours, as earl marshal had been actively involved with the funeral of Queen Jane 47. Whilst Cromwell manoeuvred to keep Norfolk away from court, he could not prevent his attendance when the king desired or required it. In the end Norfolk's patience was rewarded; it was again the threat of conflict in the winter of 1538, rather than the king's fondness for the duke, which finally turned the tide.

These circumstances again made the military abilities of the House of Howard absolutely essential to Henry VIII. Consequently, even the slightest trace of doubt disappeared from the King's attitude towards them. The Duke of Norfolk's influence in the government councils increased; Surrey returned to court; and Mary Howard's claims as the wife of the deceased Duke of Richmond were at last acknowledged 48.

46 CSP Spanish, V, (ii), n.104 p.268.

47 LP XII, (ii), n.1060 p.372.

48 Casady, op. cit., p.70.

Being a pragmatist, the duke probably cared little for the means by which he was restored to his former position, reviving as it did the opportunity for further advancement, but it appears that these years of poverty and uncertainty had no little impact on Mary. In future she would guard her rank and status with fervent jealousy.

Despite this apparent revival of the Howard fortunes, the initial grant of lands to the Duchess of Richmond on 11 March 1539 was careful to stress the bounty of the Crown. It was specifically recorded that the young duke had died before the union had been consummated, and recited Mary's legal difficulties. It was not particularly generous, providing an income of £12 per annum, but the duchess could perhaps take comfort in the fact that, since these lands were part of the honour of Richmond in Norfolk, it was some acknowledgment of her position as dowager ⁴⁹. However, subsequent grants were not made out of her late husband's holdings but a selection of former monastic properties. A grant on 15 March 1539 included lands, late of Westacre Priory in Norfolk, worth over £260, Combe Abbey in Warwickshire, and possessions late of the Bishopric of Norwich ⁵⁰. Subsequent grants included lands from the former monastery of West Dereham, and Newnham Priory. Richmond's lands had of course been reabsorbed into the royal demesne, and the allocation of a suitable jointure estate required some organization. Given the delay in recognizing Mary's entitlement, many of Richmond's former possessions had already been re-granted. This alone would have made it difficult to provide for her specifically from her late husband's lands. Although since much of the young duke's estates were drawn from Beaufort and Richmond lands, in which Henry had a personal interest, he may also have had other reservations about bestowing them on Mary. The suppression of the monasteries allowed the king to draw upon a convenient wealth of land, in order to provide the Duchess of Richmond with her settlement, in a manner which did not impinge on his own wealth, or the rights of his progeny.

49 PRO C66/679, p.2 m34, LP XIV, (i), n.651 p.255 (29).

50 Ibid., n.232 p.595 f.333b. Mason, Robert, *History of Norfolk* (2 Volumes, London, 1882-85), I, p.387.

Yet Mary's financial situation still left something to be desired. The lump sum of £90 that she was awarded in February 1539, probably represented all the king had deigned to give her as arrears 51. After more than two and a half years it is not unreasonable to expect the duchess had incurred debts which had to be discharged, nor is it certain how amenable her father had been in providing financial support. To take on the burden of Mary's general expenses, beyond the most basic requirements, might have been seen as tacit acknowledgment that she remained his responsibility as his daughter, rather than the king's charge as Duchess of Richmond and a relict of the Crown. Certainly, Cromwell was involved in discussions over Mary's ongoing outlay. In April 1537 Norfolk wrote

and where your good lordship doth write concerning the defraying of my daughter's charges ... my lord I heartily thank you for your pains taken therein 52.

Whether any hard cash had actually been forthcoming is somewhat less clear. To be fair to the king there had been more pressing matters to attend to. The pope had finally passed the long delayed sentence of excommunication upon England, and when this was followed by the recall of both the French and Spanish ambassadors, the prospect of invasion suddenly appeared very real. Although the threat did not materialize, the anxiety continued. In this climate of concern Norfolk was in the forefront of English policy once more. With the blessing of the king his efforts served to secure the passage of the, distinctly conservative, Act of Six Articles during the spring Parliament. This victory was pure anathema to Cromwell, and a dangerous indication that the tide of reform was turning in Norfolk's favour. These circumstances meant that the duke was well placed to ensure that something more should be paid to his daughter's estate. In July 1539 she was the recipient of a further grant comprising a manor and rectory in Norfolk. By 1540 the valuation of her lands indicated that the Duchess of Richmond was assured of lands worth in excess of £744 per annum 53. By her own admission Mary had little choice but to accept what Henry chose to

51 LP XIV, (i), n.236 p.74 (9).

52 PRO SP1/118, p.216.

53 LP XV, n.1032 p.540, XVI, (i), n.401 p.205.

bestow. Yet whilst the king might well have persuaded himself that he was being more than generous, the provision made still fell somewhat short of the £1000 previously mooted by the Duchess of Norfolk.

Now that the question of her jointure and, by association, her status had apparently been settled, the Duchess of Richmond began to appear abroad once more. In December 1539, in common with her father and the king, she was entertained to dinner by the Seymours 54. However, she does not seem to have joined the court for the New Year festivities, nor, although she continued the practice begun in the first year of her marriage, of presenting her father-in-law with a New Year gift, was she accorded the correct precedence in the list of receipts 55. However, in January 1540 she was present for the formal reception on Shooters Hill of the new Queen of England, Anne of Cleves. On such an official state occasion the young duchess received as public an acknowledgment of her royal links as she could desire. In all the accounts of the preparations and at the reception itself, she was ranked next in honour to the king's niece 56. It was apparently intended that Mary should again take up a position at court as a member of the new queen's household. However, her name also appears in an undated list of those of Anne's English ladies to whom no place had as yet been appointed 57. The difficulty is likely to have stemmed not from the duchess, but from confusion over the ordering of the queen's household. This establishment was now required to be newly constituted from scratch after a three year gap for Henry's new bride an undertaking which was further complicated by the fact that Anne herself arrived complete with a clutch of her own ladies. The Duchess of Richmond did ultimately return to the court as an official lady-in-waiting to the queen, but the queen in question was not Anne of Cleves.

54 HMC 58th Report, *Manuscripts of the ... Marquess of Bath preserved at Longleat (iv)*, *Seymour Papers 1532-1686* (London, 1968), p.341.

55 LP XVI, (i), n.380 p.179 f.109b. The Duchess of Suffolk and Dowager Duchess of Norfolk were listed before her.

56 LP XIV, (ii), n.572 p.199 (i).

57 LP XV, n.21 p.9.

Henry VIII's immediate distaste for Anne of Cleves, whom he alleged was no virgin, is well documented, as is his increasing attraction to Catherine Howard, whom he believed to be innocent and pure. Whatever Anne of Cleves' apparent faults, the king could hardly have lit on a more unsuitable replacement. This, in itself, tends to suggest that it was the king, rather than Norfolk, who first looked on Catherine as a possible bride. If the duke had considered grooming one of his young female relations to catch Henry's eye Catherine was not the ideal choice, not only were there her sexual antics, which were not unknown to her step-grandmother, the Dowager Duchess Agnes, but there was also her giddy tempement and her feckless father, to contend with. Catherine was by no means the most suitable tool for an intrigue of this kind. The suggestion that Norfolk would have been better served by promoting his own daughter, the Duchess of Richmond, had its own flaws 58. Admittedly Mary was reputed to be attractive, and was certainly intelligent enough to play her role, but her wilful character and sharp tongue made her too much like her cousin Anne Boleyn for comfort. Since even the king's curious moral standards were likely to balk at the idea of marrying someone, now established in the eyes of the church and the world, as his own daughter, the plan had little to recommend it. In any respect, Henry had as usual made his own choice, and Norfolk was not about to waste such an opportunity.

The failure of the Cleves marriage also allowed Norfolk to move against Thomas Cromwell. Recent events had made it evident that in matters of policy and religion there could only be one victor, and the duke was quick to capitalize on his present advantage. Whilst Catherine was carefully tutored in the appropriate behaviour to encourage the king, the newly ennobled Earl of Essex's credit with his monarch was systematically eroded. On 10 June, Cromwell was arrested 59. On 25 June, Anne of Cleves was informed that her marriage to Henry VIII was invalid. This time at least, the attitude of the queen was the least complicated step in obtaining the desired annulment. The daughter of Cleves placed herself entirely in the king's hands. However, it is interesting to

58 Fraser, op. cit., p.322.

59 On 28 July, Cromwell was beheaded for treason.

note that the proffered grounds for the nullity of the union, which was undisputably a *per verba de presenti* contract, were not solely the fact that the marriage had not been consummated. This was in direct contradiction to the position the king had affected towards the validity of the Duchess of Richmond's marriage. Instead, both precontract and duress were drafted in to ensure that there should be no question of doubt. On 9 July, Convocation duly declared the match void, and three days later this was confirmed in Parliament 60. To the surprise of no one, on 28 July 1540, Henry VIII duly married Catherine Howard. The Duke of Norfolk was once more uncle to a queen, and the family fortunes were again firmly in the ascendant.

The Duchess of Richmond thus returned to court, not simply secure in her own status, but as a blood relative of the reigning queen. It was, of course, a position she had already enjoyed in the reign of Anne Boleyn. Indeed, Anne had obviously held her little cousin in some affection since Mary had enjoyed a marked degree of prominence and favour. In contrast, there is no evidence that Mary's relations with Catherine were particularly close, but with family associations came obligations, and the duchess had every right to expect that she would be much about court. When the king went on his long summer progress through Grafton, Doncaster, Pontefract and beyond, Mary was in attendance, perhaps rather to the chagrin of the Earl of Rutland, who lost 5s to her at cards 61. This idyll was soon to be abruptly interrupted. When the news was broken to Henry VIII of Catherine Howard's infidelity, the queen was sent to Syon under arrest and her household was broken up. In 1536, Mary had fallen under some suspicion of having furthered Margaret Douglas' clandestine relationship with Thomas Howard. There might have been some truth in this 62. However, there is no suggestion here that she was aware of her cousin's deceptions. Whilst Margaret Douglas, who had been residing in disgrace at Syon, was summarily ordered to remove to Kenninghall to make room for

60 Kelly, Henry, *The Matrimonial Trials of Henry VIII* (California, 1976), p.273.

61 HMC *Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Rutland Preserved at Belvoir Castle* (London, 1905), IV, p.316.

62 LP XI, n.48 p.28 (2).

the queen, the Duchess of Richmond was politely requested to accompany her:

in whose company shall also go my lady of Richmond, if my lord her father, and she, be so contented 63.

Other members of the family were not so fortunate. Indeed so many of them, including the aged Duchess Agnes and Catherine's brother, were incarcerated in the Tower, together with their wives and children, that the prisoners spilled over into the royal apartments 64. It seemed that the house of Howard had fallen once more from the heady heights of advantage, to the very brink of destruction.

The Duke of Norfolk, who had been the first to capitalize on Catherine's charms, now moved quickly to distance himself from his unfortunate relations. He denounced them as ungracious and lewd, whilst striving to point out his own virtuous service:

most humbly I beseech your Majesty to call to your remembrance that a great part of this matter is come to light by my declaration to your Majesty, according to my bounden duty, ... Which my true proceedings towards your Majesty considered, and also the small love that my false traitorous nieces and my mother in law hath born unto me, doth put me in some hope that your Highness will not conceive any displeasure in your most gentle heart against me 65.

Things looked bleak. Catherine and Lady Rochford went to their deaths. The prisoners in the Tower were tried and convicted of misprision of treason, losing their freedom and forfeiting all their goods, but even in the midst of this, Norfolk and his immediate family survived unscathed. In the event, ruination was largely avoided. In less than a year the remaining prisoners had been pardoned 66. The explanation for this lies not just in Norfolk's fancy footwork but the political situation in England at this time. Not simply had the destruction of Cromwell removed the most powerful figure able to capitalize on Norfolk's misfortune, but in the wake of his

63 PRO SP1/167, p.141.

64 Fraser, op. cit., p.351.

65 PRO SP1/168, p.155.

66 Smith, op. cit., p.184, Lord William Howard received his pardon in August 1542.

demise the Duke of Norfolk and his supporters had moved to consolidate their position. As long as the prevailing climate in politics and religion continued to favour the duke, he was too useful to be seriously damaged by the actions of a flighty female, even if she were the queen.

Whilst her father and brother set about busily proving their continued loyalty to the Crown, through military service in Scotland and France, the Duchess of Richmond found herself once more at Kenninghall. She did not disappear entirely into obscurity. In 1541 she sent the king his customary New Year gift. In September 1543, Ralph Fane sent his compliments to her, via Sir Henry Knyvet, nor indeed did the king forget her. In 1544 when he was anxious to raise funds to further his military successes in France, Mary was one of the dowager ladies earmarked to be applied to for a loan. There were also other more pleasurable missives from court. Henry VIII's new queen, Catherine Parr, sent her the gracious present of a stag from Woking Park 67. Mary did not live entirely without society. In February 1545 she sought a dispensation for herself and her guests to eat meat during Lent and other prohibited times and, although she did not occupy a permanent place in the queen's household, this did not preclude that she might occasionally resort to London for a little pleasure 68. She was also called upon to be present, in a more official capacity, on certain state occasions when Henry VIII wanted to make a show, such as the visit of the French Ambassadors in 1546. Yet more often than not she seems to have lived reasonably quietly. Only with the resurrection of her father's abortive proposition to marry her to Sir Thomas Seymour, did the Duchess of Richmond once more find herself figuring prominently in events at the court of Henry VIII.

This time Norfolk planned not simply to revive the match between his daughter and Sir Thomas Seymour, but to expand the notion of a single marriage into something of a dynastic triumvirate, encompassing the respective offspring of his son Surrey and the Earl of Hertford. The duke subsequently

67 *Faculty Office Registers 1534-1549* Chambers, D. S., ed., (Oxford, 1966), p.254.

68 LP XVI, (ii), n.1489 p.699, XVIII, (ii), n.190 p.97, XIX, (i), n.1032 p.613 (5), (ii) n.688 p.406, XXI, (i), n.969 p.479, (iii), n.1384 p.697.

acknowledged to the council that he had approached the king regarding the union of his daughter with Sir Thomas Seymour and a further project:

whereas my son of Surrey hath a son and divers daughters that with his favour a cross marriage might [have] be made between my lord Great Chamberlain and them; and also where my son Thomas hath a son that shall by his mother spend a thousand marks a year, that he might be in like wise married to one of my said lord's daughters
69.

The scheme had much to recommend it. Not only did it safeguard the interests of the house of Howard during the present reign, but the use of the children would ensure that the connection endured well into the reign of the future king. The strategy also had the advantage of establishing a direct connection with Hertford himself, who was not merely the elder brother, but the one whose career to date had already provided every assurance of future greatness. As a political move it was both effective and far-sighted. Yet, as in the summer of 1538, it seems that the Duke of Norfolk's carefully constructed designs were once more destined to fall foul of objections offered by his own offspring.

Given the earl's, often ill disguised, contempt for Hertford and his family, the breakdown of negotiations can no doubt be attributed to the reluctance of the Earl of Surrey to see any of his children matched with a Seymour. Mary was to be quite clear that her brother viewed such a prospect with abhorrence 70. Since the entire proposal now faltered, he was perhaps less than tactful in voicing his objections. Certainly Surrey's role in depriving Mary of a second chance at matrimony has been viewed as detrimental to their relationship.

As loneliness at Kenninghall multiplied in the Duchess's mind the delights of court life and strengthened her feelings of resentment, little was needed to convince her that she was very ill treated and that her brother was entirely responsible for this treatment. And having inherited the vindictive temperament of her mother, she

69 BL Cotton Titus B I, f.95.

70 Nichols, J. G., *Mary Richmond*, p.485.

conceived the bitter hatred which made her eager to do anything to harm her brother 71.

However, it should not be assumed that the duchess viewed Sir Thomas Seymour with any special regard or affection, nor that she harboured any particular desire to marry him 72. Mary's own testimony stressed her father's interest in the match, but the only sentiment she acknowledged was a blank refusal. The evidence of Sir Garwen Carew confirmed her true feelings on the matter

her fantasy would not serve to marry with him 73.

All the indications are that Mary, in fact, agreed with the stance taken by her brother and had no compunction about rejecting the match out of hand. This was the position she had taken in 1538 and, if she had been at all eager for the match, it seems strange that Norfolk would not have attempted to salvage at least one marriage from the arrangement.

Mary may have had other grounds for viewing her brother, if not with bitter hatred, then some degree of anger and annoyance. The duchess apparently confided to Carew that Surrey had declared she should not absolutely reject the Seymour match but

dissemble the matter, and he would find the means, that the King's Majesty will speak with her himself; but that she should in no wise utterly make refusal of him, but that she should leave the matter so diffusely that the King's Majesty should take occasion to speak with her again; and thus by length of time it is possible that the King should take such a fantasy unto you that you shall be able to govern like unto Madame d'Estampes 74.

This was represented as a sure means to further her own fortunes, as well as those of her family. According to Carew, Mary had been absolutely outraged by such a scandalous suggestion, and had utterly opposed it. Furthermore she had declared that

71 Casady, op. cit., p.199.

72 Lindsay, op. cit., p.138 is not alone in asserting that "she ached to marry him".

73 PRO SP1/227, f.105.

74 Ibid.

all they should perish and she would cut her own throat rather than she would consent to such a villainy 75.

Mary's experience had taught her to be jealous of her good name and reputation. To have her honour thus impugned, by her own brother, would not have sat well with her. It was not the sort of slight that she would easily overlook. If Surrey had thus openly embarrassed his sister at court she had every reason to look on him with contempt rather than affection, but the available evidence does not support the conjecture that Mary was subjected to anything like such a public show of disgrace.

If the exchange had been conducted in full view of onlookers it is curious that such a gossip-worthy event was not more widely reported. When Hugh Ellis was asked whether he was aware of Surrey's intent to install his sister as the king's mistress he had heard nothing about it 76. The righteous indignation reported by Carew was part of a private conversation, and doubtless not intended for public consumption. The account given by Edward Rogers is a report of what he had been told by Carew, and should not be taken to suggest that he was an independent witness to the scene 77. The idea that Surrey would honestly endorse such a proposition is also suspect, his own pride would surely cause him to recoil from such a scenario. This does not mean the heated exchange did not take place. Some authors have taken refuge in the fact that Surrey's comments were intended to be an ironical expression of his disgust at the whole concept of an alliance with the lowly Seymours 78. If the row was conducted in more discreet seclusion than is generally allowed, Surrey may have been more unguarded in his comments than was prudent. In her pique, Mary is unlikely to have presented her brother's words very sympathetically, yet reports of his scandalous conduct did not surface until the depositions taken against Surrey at the time of his trial. As such, they were hardly designed to show him in the best possible light. Regardless of

75 Ibid.

76 Ibid., f.109.

77 Ibid., f.104.

78 Brenan and Statham, op. cit., I, p.197, 424. Casady, op. cit., p.181.

his precise intentions, his remarks were vulnerable to exploitation by his enemies.

Mary has often been castigated for her part in bringing about the Earl of Surrey's downfall. The assumption that the duchess betrayed her brother is perhaps most starkly represented in the assertion that she disclosed

a body of evidence against him so keenly pointed and so full of secrets, which from their nature, must have been voluntarily disclosed by her, that we cannot but suspect her conduct of a degree of rancour unpardonable in any case and in this unnatural 79.

Other authors have been quick to describe Mary's conduct in equally damning terms as venomous, perfidious and false, as she eagerly came forward to substantiate the charges against him. There are some grounds to believe that the relationship between the duchess and the earl was not always close. In addition to the testimony of Hugh Ellis, we have the evidence of Norfolk's mistress, Elizabeth Holland, that Mary did not love her brother 80. It has also been claimed that Mary's blatant association with their father's paramour evoked her brother's ire, but their mother at least saw them as equally culpable in countenancing that relationship, and Mary was content to entrust Surrey with the stewardship of her lands 81. Since Surrey and his sister had both inherited the spirited temperament displayed by their mother Mary no doubt resented being dictated to by her brother and it was perhaps inevitable that they occasionally clashed. However, this does not mean that she was willing to speed her brother to the scaffold.

Despite the vilification she has been subjected to, Mary's role in the destruction of her brother does not stand up to such charges. Rather than being a willing accomplice of the conspiracy closing about the Howards, Mary remained in ignorance of events until the king's commissioners arrived on

79 This biographical notice was attached to a copy of her portrait in Chamberlain, John, ed., *Imitations of Original Drawings by Hans Holbein ...* (London, 1792).

80 Cherbury, op. cit., p.624.

81 Brenan and Statham, op. cit., I, p.23. LP XXI, (ii), n.553 p.281.

her doorstep. They found her only just awake, and not yet dressed to receive them. Once they were able to break the news that her father and brother had been arrested, her shock was plainly evident.

Wherewith, as we found the Duchess a woman sore perplexed, trembling, and like to fall down 82.

That Mary sufficiently recovered her composure, to humbly declare upon her knees that she would conceal nothing, is no doubt the basis for accusations of voluntary disclosure. Yet surrounded by officers of the Crown, the duchess could hardly do otherwise than surrender herself to the king's will. Since Gates advised her to take refuge in truth and frankness rather than despair her submission, far from being calculating, was perhaps not without an edge of hysteria, nor is it at all clear that her primary instinct was to save herself. In fact her first thought was for the Duke of Norfolk, whom she defended as a true and faithful subject. Mary was doubtless well schooled in Norfolk's example, that the surest route to the king's mercy was obedience and submission rather than obstinacy and perhaps hoped, by appearing co-operative, to elicit the greatest forgiveness from the king. Viewed from this angle, Mary's conduct would be more constructive than cunning.

The charge that Surrey had encouraged his sister to become the king's mistress was taken seriously enough to be included in the list of allegations drawn up against the earl. In these uncertain times the influence that could be accrued by such familiarity with the king was a dangerous weapon. The possibilities were clearly spelt out in Wriothsesley's notes on the matter, with certain points marked in Henry's own hand

If a man compassing with himself to govern the realm do actually go about to rule the King and should for that purpose advise his daughter or sister to become his harlot thinking thereby to bring it to pass and so would rule both father and son as by this next article doth more appear what this importeth 83.

82 CSP Henry VIII, I, n.264 p.888.

83 PRO SP1/227, f.123.

Yet in the event it was apparently decided not to pursue the Duchess of Richmond's personal involvement. The explicit charge that Surrey had procured his sister, or any other women, to be the king's concubine, was altered to the slightly more discreet

whether you have at any time procured any person to dissemble in anything with the King's Majesty to the intent the same might grow in his favour for the better compassing of your purposes 84.

It was, after all, the political repercussions of the action, rather than the instrument by which it was achieved, that was at issue. Furthermore, the real focus of interest was demonstrated by the addition of a clause which sought to discover whether the Duke of Norfolk could usefully be implicated in this particular ploy 85. The charge had more mileage if Norfolk could be shown to be aware of it. When it seems that he could not, this line of investigation was soon abandoned.

In a similar manner, Mary's evidence regarding Surrey's proceedings in religion ultimately carried little weight. The Duke of Norfolk's religious beliefs placed him firmly among the ranks of the conservatives. Of the new learning he was once famously heard to remark:

I have never read the Scripture, nor never will read it. It was merry in England afore the new learning came up; yea, I would all things were as hath been in tizmes past 86.

It was a path that his eldest son apparently adhered to. Despite occasional youthful indiscretions like eating flesh in Lent, the earl does not appear to have embraced the changes in religion with any real enthusiasm. Towards the end of his life he openly courted the displeasure of the reformers by the setting up of a new altar in the church at Boulogne. Some have even gone as far as casting the Earl of Surrey as something of a defender of the faith 87. This was a stance which could only

84 Ibid., f.115.

85 Ibid.

86 Tucker, op. cit., p.25.

87 Casady, op. cit., p.7.

become more entrenched when the exponents of the opposite view included the hated Seymours. In contrast, under Anne's wing, Mary would have been exposed, not simply to the exciting new ideas that became the fashionable reading at court, but to the brilliant minds of men like Cranmer to expound and elaborate upon the texts. In common with many others the duchess was not yet the full-blown protestant she would become, but her views were already sufficiently divergent from those of her brother for it to be a point of contention between them 88. In her evidence the Duchess of Richmond was to claim that her brother had dissuaded her from going too far in reading the Scriptures 89. This in itself was a small point. Indeed, even the council, so keenly desirous of using all and every means to bring down the earl, were hard pressed to construe such an action as treasonable.

Those who have sought to justify Mary's willingness to testify against her family have looked to the difficulties over her jointure. David Starkey is not alone in feeling that her relationship with her father was irrevocably soured by the events of these years.

He gave her no backing in her efforts to get adequate maintenance from the King after the Duke of Richmond's death, and persistent shortage of money made her a bitter woman; she would be ready to co-operate in her brother's destruction in 1546 90.

It is true that like Mary's character, her coffers did not emerge unscathed from the events of that time. When the commissioners moved on to examine her valuables, to take them into the king's hands, the result was disappointing.

Her coffers and chambers so bare as your Majesty would hardly think. Her jewels, such as she had, sold, or lent to gage, to pay her debts, as she, her maidens, and the almoner do say. We will nevertheless, for our duty, make a further and more earnest search 91.

Since the servants had scant warning to secrete valuables, this is probably a fair reflection of the Duchess of

88 Richardson, *The Lion and the Rose*, p.148.

89 Cherbury, *op. cit.*, p.626.

90 Starkey, *ed.*, *op. cit.*, p.87.

91 CSP Henry VIII, I, n.264 p.889.

Richmond's movable goods. However, there is nothing in her attitude to suggest that she bore her father any lasting resentment 92. At all times she continued to speak of her father in terms of the greatest respect and affection. In direct contrast to the Privy Council's ultimate goal her evidence was designed to show the duke as a loyal subject of the Crown. Unlike Elizabeth Holland, who sought to save herself by reporting what was convenient, Mary was clearly anxious that her father be exonerated 93.

That she sought to do this by implicating her brother must have frustrated Norfolk's enemies as much as it has embittered the Earl of Surrey's supporters. Whilst it might appear that the mighty Duke of Norfolk was dragged down by his foolish son, it is more feasible to conclude that Surrey provided the means to ensnare his father. Norfolk's opponents were frantically searching for ways to embroil the duke in his son's actions. That Mary was prepared to acknowledge numerous faults in her brother, but only so far as they demonstrated her father's innocence, were not what they wanted at all.

Some passionate words of her brother she likewise repeated, as also some circumstantial speeches little for his advantage, yet so as they seemed much to clear her Father 94.

In her desire to assist her father's cause, Mary did leave her brother vulnerable to censure. How far she appreciated the seriousness of her actions is less clear. She could well have determined that, although Surrey was not undeserving of punishment, her father should not suffer for his misdemeanours. In her reception of the king's commissioners at Kenninghall Mary had described her brother as rash which suggests that she saw him as hot-headed and perhaps impulsive, but not that she thought him capable of the heinous crime of treason. She had equally said that she wished him well. Mary knew that Surrey had been in trouble with the king and council before, and had escaped with nothing more than a short spell in prison. She might well have seen his brief detention as a

92 "She appears to have gone to live with her father to whom she was devotedly attached." Childe-Pemberton, p.214.

93 Casady, op. cit., p.195.

94 Cherbury, op. cit., p.626.

fair price to pay for her father's freedom. Whether she appreciated that the nature of the charges levied against him would result in anything more than a mild disgrace seems much less decided.

Unfortunately for the Earl of Surrey, he had other enemies who had nothing to lose, and everything to gain, by the complete destruction of his family. Since the king had gone to war in France in 1544, all parties had been aware that, in the event of a minority, the membership of any regency council would be dictated by Henry VIII in his last will. In the autumn of 1546 circumstances had seemed to favour conservatives like Norfolk 95. The torture of Anne Askew, and the moves against Catherine Parr, also demonstrate that the conservatives were actively seeking to rout the reformers at court. A significant charge demanded whether

if the king should die, my lord prince, being of tender age, you or your father would have the rule and governance of him 96.

As the king's health declined, information came that Charles V intended to assist the pope in an offensive against England, and the initiative passed to the reformers. Gardiner, who had already been involved in the abortive attempt to remove the influence of the queen and had compounded his crimes by demurring over an exchange of lands with the Crown, was easily discredited. The need to move against the Duke of Norfolk was more pressing, but proved more difficult. The Earl of Surrey was a easier target. His escapades at court and whilst serving at Boulogne, as well as his proud bearing and outspoken attitude, could all be used to discredit the conservatives in the eyes of the king. Something out of all of this would surely provide them with sufficient ammunition to destroy the House of Howard once and for all.

At first it had seemed all must go well. Some slanderous words, and a unsuccessful military offensive in Boulogne, were

95 Abroad there was the Imperial alliance and a French peace and at home there was the act of six articles and a reformist party diminished by recent deaths.

96 PRO SP1/227, f.114.

slender but sufficient grounds for Surrey's arrest 97. Norfolk was summoned to London and promptly arrested in his turn. With both men securely in the Tower the ground shifted. Now all the rumours agreed that the two men were being detained under the far more serious suspicion that during the king's recent illness they had conspired to seize control of the prince 98. This was widely reported, and it was even asserted that Surrey had confessed 99. On this basis, the ground was prepared for a joint execution, even unto ascertaining the likely reaction of the King of France 100. Yet Surrey did not die for this, nor did he die for the alternative rumours, which claimed Norfolk and his son were to perish for attempting to restore the pope 101. Instead the council was ultimately required to indict the earl on the single, and slightly shaky count, of quartering his arms incorrectly. This charge elicited from Sir Robert Southwell, based on information provided by his brother Richard, quickly became a focus of the investigation. The first question put to the earl demanded

Whether you do use and bear in your arms the
[e]scutcheon and arms of King Edward, that was King
before the conquest, which is commonly called St Edward

This was to be followed by several other points relating to aspects of heraldry. Although many of the relevant records do not survive, events suggest that there was a growing conspiracy, in the face of a dearth of other evidence, to bring Surrey down over this matter of armorial bearings 102. The testimony of Christopher Barker, Garter King at Arms was flawed and retrospective, and the fact that Barker was knighted shortly after Surrey's execution more than hints at his complicity 103. Norfolk was not a popular man, and once the opportunity was within their grasp, many were keen to assist in his downfall, even on terms of rather dubious legality.

97 LP XXI, (ii), n.533 p.271.

98 Ibid., n.546 p.276.

99 Ibid., n.609 p.308.

100 Ibid., n.610 p.310.

101 Ibid., n.644 p.326.

102 PRO SP1/227, f.114. BL Harleian Mss 1453, f.69 is a drawing of the arms. Brenan and Statham, op. cit., II, p.436.

103 LP XXI, (i), n.1425 p.714.

In general, the accusations Mary made against her brother were neither grave nor treasonable. Surrey's dislike of the new nobility, and in particular the Seymours, was well known. Her grievances in religion were more personal than political, and much of her other evidence descended into reports of the earl's posturing and name calling. As a character assassination it was damning and disloyal, but it was hardly enough to bring him to the block. However, in the midst of Mary's deposition the officers touched on the question of the Earl of Surrey's arms. The answers that follow are obviously prompted by a series of questions, and from the outset Mary is plainly uncertain of what she is describing:

she thought that her brother had more than seven rolls; and that some that he had added more [were] of Anjou and of Lancelot du Lac 104.

She is on firmer ground with the fact that her brother has chosen to include the arms of Buckingham, undeniably his by right of his mother, but more tactfully represented in his father's shield by a blank quarter. Asked to describe some apparent alterations to Surrey's designs, her account certainly appears incriminating:

instead of the Duke's coronet was put to his arms a cap of maintenance purple, with powdered fur, and with a crown, to her judgment, much like a close crown; and underneath the arms was a cipher, which she took to be the King's cipher, H.R. 105.

The council was plainly hoping to secure some collaboration to other accounts, that the Earl of Surrey had sought to bear the arms of England. A number of the witnesses, including Elizabeth Holland, were interrogated on this point. It was dangerous territory, yet if Mary was supposed to be the willing accomplice of her brother's enemies in this behalf, then someone had not tutored her very well.

The evidence elicited from the Duchess of Richmond proved so unsatisfactory as not to be tenable. Each of the points that she identified as aberration could easily be explained.

104 Nichols, John, Gough, "Mary Richmond Female Biographies of English History (iv)" *Gentleman's Magazine* (May, 1845), p.486.

105 Ibid.

The emblem which she professed to believe the Cap of Maintenance was a simple cap trimmed with ermine fur which the Howards had long used as a crest, ... As for the crown borne by Surrey, it was not the Crown of England; the crown in his crest was the Crown of Scotland, the use of which had been granted to Surrey's grandfather to commemorate the English victory on Flodden Field 106.

One might expect the daughter of a duke, especially one who was so jealous of her own standing, to be more informed about her family crests. Whatever the state of their relationship, it also seems curious that Mary would be so keen to destroy her brother, that she would seize on innocent details. If he were to be indicted for treason the whole family would be affected, and her father would be especially vulnerable. This was surely not her aim. It is possible that her confusion was genuine, a result of the circumstances of her examination, which caused her to be less circumspect, and less accurate, than she might otherwise have been, but Mary was not a foolish woman. It is more probable that on a point of such import she was being deliberately vague. The duchess needed to co-operate if she were to secure her father's release, yet she succeeded in providing merely the semblance of assistance, rather than the deed. Upon examination none of the evidence she gave was actually fit to be used.

In view of the forces closing about him, it is perhaps a little harsh to judge that if anyone were responsible for his destruction, it was Surrey himself. Technically the earl had a legal right to bear the arms in question, in respect of a grant of Richard II, but, given the prevailing circumstances, it was more than a little imprudent to continue to assert this right 107. In these uncertain times a man who put his pride before political expediency was a threat to the quiet of the entire country. The danger that Surrey's attitude represented was perhaps more at issue than his specific conduct. It was discovered that the earl had penned a hasty note to his servant, Hugh Ellis, concerning a portrait of the Duke of Richmond.

106 Casady, op. cit., p.198.

107 Williams, Neville, *Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk* (London, 1964), p.19.

I pray deliver this letter with all speed to Mrs Heveningham whom you shall find at Jerome Shelton's house in London, or else will be there within three days. Command the painter to leave out the tablet where my lord of Richmond's picture should stand, for I will have nothing there now yet the tablet, but all daubed
108.

That the letter was endorsed to her alone, increased suspicions of some sort of collusion. It was noted that many secrets had already passed between the earl and the former Mary Shelton 109. The instructions seem to have been carried out since no trace of the portrait survives. It has been suggested that Richmond's image was initially intended to be included in Strype's magnificent picture of the earl which still includes a good deal of imperial imagery.

The symbolism suggested by a portrait of Richmond painted on the base of the broken column upon which Surrey is leaning, offers a very probable explanation of the meaning of Surrey's command to the painter 110.

If such an action could have been proven it would surely have further fuelled speculation over the earl's true intentions regarding the succession. Even if Surrey merely wished to remember his boyhood friend in a suitably impressive setting, suspicious minds could draw dangerous connotations. The letter seems to suggest that, in the current climate, the earl belatedly realized that this project was not simply unwise but dangerous.

Since the evidence is so sparse it is dangerous to draw too firm or sinister a conclusion, as regards the earl's true designs. Unfortunately for the council, they were equally frustrated by this tantalizing line of enquiry. Once again their investigations proved fruitless. Yet, in truth, it seemed that nothing now could save the Howards. The grounds for the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk were even weaker,

108 PRO SP 1/233, f.36

109 It is endorsed "It may please your good lordships to examine Mrs Henyngham late Mary Shelton of the effect of the Earl of Surrey, his letters sent unto her, for it is thought that many secrets hath passed between them before her marrying and since." Ibid.

110 Casady, op. cit., p.23. He notes "although the rest of the pillar is very light in color, this rectangular space has been daubed over with dark paint".

lacking any real semblance of treason, but even Norfolk's well trusted expedient of throwing himself on the king's mercy, did not serve to save him or his son, from the full rigour of the law 111. Surrey was duly executed on 21 January 1547. Only the timely death of the king saved Norfolk from the block, but it was no matter. Attainted, disgraced and detained, Norfolk was in no position to challenge the direction of policy or religion, and a Seymour, rather than a Howard, secured the governance of the new king. That the Duchess of Richmond was to escape unscathed with her jointure lands and goods untouched, can no doubt account for much of the wrath of those eager to see complicity for such reward. However, she had faced no charges, and more importantly posed no threat: in addition her reputation has perhaps been unduly tarnished by those sympathetic to the conservative house of Howard because of her protestant beliefs 112. It cannot be denied that Mary was content to embrace the new order, but this did not mean that she disassociated herself from her family.

In fact Mary made every attempt to secure comfort and clemency for her father. Eventually his regime was relaxed and, in February 1549, she and her mother were given leave to visit him:

the Duchess of Richmond and [of] Norfolk may have recourse to the late Duke of Norfolk at times and with train convenient, the Lieutenant being present, and that the said Duke may have liberty to walk in the garden and gallery when the Lieutenant shall think good 113.

Other concessions, regarding furnishings and finances, were to follow 114. Mary also sought further considerations. Perhaps having been rebuffed in her own attempts to intercede for him, she petitioned the Privy Council that her beloved father might be allowed to sue his own cause. In March 1552 the council acknowledged

111 LP XXI, (ii), n.540 p.273.

112 Childe-Pemberton, op. cit., p.241.

113 *Acts of the Privy Council 1547-50* Dasent, J. R., ed., (London, 1890), p.400.

114 Williams, *Thomas Howard*, p.27.

The lady Richmond's suit for license for her father to write to the King's Majesty for mercy 115.

When this request did not produce the desired assent Mary, undaunted, applied again 116. Unfortunately for the Duke of Norfolk the actions of his daughter carried little weight, and her most earnest entreaty was unlikely to secure his release. The influence of the duke was too feared by his captors to allow for that. Furthermore she was required to exercise caution, since the full force of the attainder could yet be applied. Rumours of his death circulated 117. Yet, even with this weight of opposition against her, Mary did not choose to abandon the duke.

The Duchess of Richmond also undertook the guardianship of the Earl of Surrey's children: the decision to remove them from their mother's care rested with the Privy Council. At first it was decided that Surrey's heir, Thomas Howard, should be placed with Sir John Williams, the treasurer of the court of Augmentations, whilst his brother and sisters were under the supervision of Lord Wentworth 118. However, this arrangement did not endure long and, after a year, all the children were consigned to the charge of their aunt. If Mary made suit for the care of her nephews and nieces it does not survive, but with their father's attainder there was no rich wardship to be milked, and a relative whose generosity could be presumed upon, perhaps seemed a better choice. Finances were clearly an issue since Mary applied to the council for some assistance with the children's upkeep 119. After considerable delay she finally secured an annuity of £100 120. Nonetheless, the Duke of Norfolk's will in 1554 suggests that such provision was insufficient to defray her actual costs.

to my daughter the Lady Mary duchess of Richmond the full and whole sum of five hundred pounds as well in consideration that she is my daughter, as that also she hath been at great costs and charges in making suit for

115 SP Edward VI, n.600 p.230.

116 Ibid., n.688 p.247.

117 LP XXI, (ii), n.752 p.384, n.761 p.389.

118 Williams, *Thomas Howard*, p.24.

119 SP Edward VI, n.666 p.243, n.688 p.247.

120 Patent 6 Edward VI, p.2, printed in Nott, *op. cit.*, Appendix XXXVII, (3) p.xcvi.

my deliverance out of my imprisonment, and also in bringing up of my said son of Surrey's children 121.

Although the matter was occasionally touched upon, it seems the council saw no reason to remove them from Mary's care and there were sound arguments for keeping the children under the supervision of their aunt.

As well as the financial aspect there was also the question of religion to be considered. England was moving inexorably towards a more protestant form of worship. That the Countess of Surrey was not trusted to bring her children up in an appropriate manner, was no doubt rooted in concerns over religious observance. By placing the children with the Duchess of Richmond the council could not only escape much of the burden of their financial support, but also rest assured that they would be tutored in the reformed faith. Edward VI expressed the council's contentment that the household of the duchess was a suitable abode

to have the said children well brought up, and knowing no better place for their virtuous education than with our said cousin 122.

The children, in company with their cousin Charles Howard, were lodged at Reigate castle, a former Howard property evidently allowed to the duchess for this purpose. The children's lessons were conducted by John Foxe, already a preacher of some note, and later to pen the Book of Martyrs 123. His was not the only influence to which the children were exposed. Foxe himself later recalled how he had encountered John Bale when

we were both together dwelling in the house of the noble lady, the duchess of Richmond 124.

That Mary presumed to raise the heirs of the house of Howard to adhere to the new religion would not have endeared her to

121 PRO Prob 11/37.

122 Patent 6 Edward VI, p2, printed in Nott, op. cit., Appendix XXXVII, (3) p.xcviii.

123 Nichols, J.G., *Mary Richmond*, p.486

124 Pratt, J., and Townsend, G., eds., *Book of Martyrs, The Complete Version, Acts and Monuments of John Foxe* (8 Volumes, London, 1870), III, (ii), p.705.

those fighting to protect traditional forms of worship. For the children themselves the arrangement had several advantages. They were no longer separated, or in the hands of strangers, and after much disturbance came stability 125. The arrangement appears to have been successful. Even in the reign of Queen Mary, when Thomas Howard had succeeded to his grandfather's Dukedom of Norfolk and the eldest daughter, Katherine, was shortly to be married from Kenninghall, the suggestion that the Countess of Surrey might be awarded the custody of her remaining daughters was not acted upon. Instead the two unmarried girls stayed with the Duchess of Richmond 126.

Mary clearly took an active and informed interest in the reformed religion. She sought to obtain licences to preach for a number of men under her patronage 127. When Sir Thomas Smith objected to the inclusion of one John Huntingdon she rebuked him:

this shall be to require you to withdraw your evil opinion conceived against Huntingdon, inasmuch as I am assured he is not only of a godly conversation, but also with learning and eloquence able to edify his auditory, yea and of such sort as I dare take upon me to answer that nothing shall pass from him contrary to the king's majesty's proceedings 128.

Since Mary openly embraced the new religion, and had the propaganda value of being the daughter of that stout conservative the Duke of Norfolk, she was naturally welcome at court and she enjoyed the use of Mountjoy House in Knightrider Street as a London residence 129. In November 1551 she was present at the reception for the dowager Queen of Scotland, Mary of Guise, being included in the party that journeyed to Shoreditch to escort her honourably out of the realm 130. The Duchess of Richmond also continued to perform other duties suited to her rank and status. In common with the Earl of Rutland and Sir Walter Mildmay, she stood as a godparent to

125 LP XXI, (i), n.146 p.64.

126 Williams, *Thomas Howard*, p.30.

127 SP Edward VI, n.213 p.97.

128 Wood, Mary, (Green), ed., op. cit., II, p.204.

129 Ibid., p.24. She was also found at Stepney.

130 Jordan, op. cit., p.93.

the eldest son of a Norfolk gentleman, Robert Warner 131. Despite the misfortunes of her family, Mary clearly remained *persona grata* during the reign of Edward VI. However, although she was demonstrably useful to the Crown, she was able to secure precious little in return. Her requests were placated, rather than satisfied, and she lacked the means to press her demands.

For any woman to effectively exercise political power, she had to enjoy some advantage of wealth or position. In Mary's case those to whom she would naturally look to promote her interests were removed by death or dishonour. Her younger brother Thomas was too young and inexperienced to supply their place. Whilst Mary was technically a dowager duchess her youth, and lack of children, meant that she was not accorded the respect usually attributed to that state. Her position as daughter-in-law to the late king gave her rank, but she had only limited personal authority which could not be relied upon to secure her goals. In these circumstances it is perhaps all the more surprising that she did not remarry. This may not have been entirely by choice. With her brother executed and her father still liable to be so, her prospects were bleaker than ever. It would not be an auspicious dynastic alliance. Even to show interest might be to invite suspicion. Similarly the Duke of Norfolk would be somewhat handicapped in attempting to arrange a match from the confines of the Tower. Finding a marriage that was acceptable to all parties would have been increasingly difficult and Mary's temperament was not entirely suited to attract those looking for a traditional Tudor wife. That she herself eschewed marriage, due to her grief over the loss of the Duke of Richmond, seems highly improbable 132. However, other factors such as her responsibility for Surrey's children, the dangers of childbirth, or the loss of freedom, might well have influenced her against marrying again. Any one of these reasons would be sufficient to forestall serious negotiations, and none of them represented Mary's greatest disadvantage.

131 Bindoff, *op. cit.*, III, p.551.

132 Burke, *op. cit.*, III, p.130.

For a duchess, Mary was not a particularly wealthy woman. First her wardrobe and jewels had been depleted in order to pay her debts, and now her income had to stretch to cover not merely her own needs, but those of her young charges. Since her father had been attainted Kenninghall, and other accustomed residences, were lost to her. She had been allowed to retain some goods, clothes and furnishings, but since her personal possessions were so meagre this did not equate with the lavish clothes, gems, and other stuff allowed to her mother or Elizabeth Holland. The family wealth was ruthlessly looted with much going to support the new state of Edward Seymour, now Duke of Somerset, or passed to the king's sister the Lady Mary, who took up residence at Kenninghall. Some isolated grants from what remained were not enough to effect a material improvement in her circumstances 133. In the subsidies of Edward VI's reign the Duchess of Richmond was repeatedly assessed in goods at a mere £200, paying £10. In contrast the Duchess of Suffolk was assessed at £500 134. Mary plainly lacked many of the trappings normally associated with her elevated station. There is no evidence that she enjoyed any real favour from the Crown to relieve this position. Faced with the prospect of having to make good such deficiency, rather than enjoying a nice fat dowry, Mary was not a sound matrimonial investment. Any fortune hunting husband hoping to compensate for this by exploiting her jointure lands would quickly appreciate that such opportunity was limited. It is true that the Duchess of Richmond enjoyed a respectable income from her manors. In the last subsidy of Henry VIII she was assessed in lands at £626 13s and 4d, paying £62 13s and 4d 135. With the property came not simply rents, but wind and water mills, timber, fishing grounds, rabbit warrens, and other useful assets. Mary also had the right of presentation to a number of churches. In 1545 she was responsible for the choice of Peter Becke at St Peter's Church, Wigenhall 136. In August 1552, Edward VI also granted her further lands valued

133 Nott, op. cit., Appendix XL, p.cviiff.

134 PRO E179/69/75.

135 PRO E179/69/54.

136 Bloomfield, Francis, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* Parkin, Charles, ed., (11 Volumes, London, 1805-10), [9], p.182.

at £5 6s and 8d 137, but her interest in these properties was strictly for the term of her life only. On more than one occasion the duchess agreed to rent the property to whomever held the reversion. Just such an indenture regarding lands in Warwickshire, netted her a steady yearly income of £24 6s 8d, but the opportunity to farm the land to its last penny was lost 138. Mary also placed other charges upon her possessions. Perhaps wishing to repay money lent during lean times, Elizabeth Holland received an annuity of £20 139. In common with Thomas Broke and John Williams, (who held the reversions) Mary had already sought, and been granted, licence to alienate a number of properties in London and elsewhere 140. In July 1546, they sold the Goat Inn in the Strand to the merchant tailor John Skitt as a going concern including

all the garden to the same tenement adjoining, and all and singular houses, buildings, shops, cellars, solars, chambers, entries, casements, commodities, and profits, whatsoever they be 141.

for the sum of £80. Such ventures allowed Mary to realize some short term capital. It was not however a recipe for long term security. Any heirs born to Mary on remarriage would have had to rely on their father's income to provide for them. Since her remaining assets left her struggling to support herself the prospect of any quick and easy pickings in the short term was slim.

The extent to which Mary took a personal interest in the management of her lands is difficult to ascertain. Whilst Surrey lived he apparently acted on her behalf. In December 1546, Richard Fulmerstone recalled their association in this respect.

I had doings for my said lord of Surrey for 5 or 6 years in his own causes and I was his under Steward of my lady

137 Mason, op. cit., I, p.387.

138 CPR Philip and Mary 1555-57, p.309 m40.

139 Parkin, ed., op. cit., p.162.

140 NRO MS 20413 126 X 6. LP XX, (i), n.624 p.328 (15), XXI, (i), n.1383 p.693.

141 PRO E326/B12061.

of Richmond's lands in Norfolk, which I esteem to the value of 500 marks by year 142.

Surrey also had a hand in other aspects of his sister's business dealings. In October 1545, he was approached to secure a stay of account from her in a matter of debt 143. After his death some evidence of Mary's own involvement in the administration of the estates survives. Leases granted by Mary were cited by her tenants in cases in Chancery, manor courts were held in her name and views of accounts were taken 144. That the duchess purchased 400 fothers of lead in July 1547, suggests some programme of maintenance was in effect 145. Mary was also active in protecting her rights. When she became concerned about the possibility of encroachment in her rabbit warrens at Wolvey and Capston, in Warwickshire, the case went to the high court of Chancery. The alleged riotous behaviour of her tenants, and the apparent poaching of valuable rabbits, produced a detailed list of fifteen charges including:

If they know that divers tenants in Copston field to the number of 12 persons, less or more, riotously assembled and gathered together, minding purposefully to beat the keeper there, and then laid in wait in Clopton field [and] for the space of a day and a night, felled, hunted, ferreted, and destroyed wilfully, the conies and game there, and sent for meat and drink to the town 146.

There was of course no pressing requirement for the Duchess of Richmond to involve herself in the daily running of the estates, yet it would perhaps be fair to conclude that neither did Mary entirely neglect her landed interests.

With the accession of Mary Tudor the Duchess of Richmond's long-cherished hopes to see her father released were, at last, realized. The duke recovered his office as Earl Marshal, and was appointed president of the council. Matters were put in hand for the reversal of his attainder, and the recovery of his lands 147. Thomas Howard assumed his father's title of

142 PRO SP1/227, f.90.

143 LP XX, (ii), n.658 p.301.

144 PRO C4/27, (2)/85.

145 APC 1547-1550, p.108.

146 PRO E111/41.

147 CSP Spanish, IV, (i), n.425 p.711.

Earl of Surrey, and his brother, sisters and mother, were summoned to court for the celebrations of the new reign. Even the estranged duchess, Elizabeth Howard, was on hand to see her husband released. However, although her father seems to have visited her at Mountjoy House, Mary is not in evidence at court 148. This is not really surprising. Despite the fact that their paths crossed on numerous occasions, nothing in their history suggests that Mary and the new queen had ever been close. The only surviving evidence of personal contact between them is a single entry in Mary Tudor's privy purse expenses, and even this is conducted through a third party.

Item given to the Yeoman of the Cellar to my Lady of Richmond 8s 149.

On either side there were numerous reasons for reproach. Unlike the duke, who could at least take refuge in his claim that his niece had never liked him, Mary had enjoyed a close relationship with Anne Boleyn. This alone was hardly likely to endear her to Mary Tudor, whilst the latter's possession and occupation of Kenninghall, together with many of the Howard treasures, might still rankle with the duchess. Even putting aside the major question of religion, it is doubtful that their different tastes and temperaments would ever have resulted in warm friendship but, whilst the duchess continued to adhere to the reformed faith, even the semblance of cordiality was impossible. For a woman in Mary's position the extreme alternative of flight was not an option. In general the Duchess of Richmond herself seems to have remained in discreet retirement. Whether this was entirely by choice, it was a sensible solution for all concerned. Mary's retreat into seclusion may have been reinforced by grief over her father's death in August 1554, or indeed because her own health was now giving cause for concern.

The exact date of Mary's death has been a matter of some conjecture. A number of authors concur that Mary died in

148 In August 1553, when Francis Countess of Surrey was ordered to bring her children from Reigate Castle to London to be rewarded by the Duke, they were to meet at Mountjoy Place. BL Harleian Mss 643, f.5.

149 *The Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary*, Madden, F. E., ed., (London, 1831), p.171.

December 1557 150. However, a grant dated 19 January 1556 to William Cordell, and another dated 21 January 1556 to Thomas Gresham, both clearly describe Mary as the late Duchess of Richmond 151. Furthermore, the grant to William Cordell also refers to a patent dated 18 December 1555 152. If she died in late December 1555, this would also tie in with the cessation of the work in progress on her tomb at Framlingham. Investigation of the grave has firmly established that the Duchess of Richmond was laid beside her husband at her death 153. The details of her interment are a little more elusive. Williams in his book on the fourth Duke of Norfolk, believed that he had correctly identified PRO SP14/55/n11 as an account of the Duchess of Richmond's funeral.

A great procession wound its way through the streets of Norwich to the Cathedral: the dean and canons of Norwich, the mayor and aldermen of the city, the chief officers of the duke's household with white staves, Garter King of Arms and the heralds following the great Howard banner and after the coffin the Countess, with her daughter Katherine bearing her train. The service over, the heralds rode with the small burial party to Framlingham, but Dowager Countess Frances returned with the mourners to the duke's palace for the funeral feast 154.

Yet since Mary was interred at Framlingham, which is not specifically mentioned in the document, it seems curious that they would trouble to have the funeral procession in Norwich. The document seems much more likely to be the funeral of the second wife of the fourth duke, Margaret, the daughter of Thomas, Lord Audley, who was initially buried in Norwich at St John the Baptist Church. As a woman of rank the Duchess of Richmond merited a suitably ornate funeral but, given the nature of her religious beliefs, it may well not have been such a public spectacle.

150 Those who favour 1557 include John Gough Nichols, Neville Williams and David Starkey.

151 CPR Philip and Mary 1555-1557, p46, 153.

152 Nott's biography of Surrey also suggests 1555 as the year of her death. Nott, op. cit., p.cx.

153 BL Additional Mss 19193, is the account of the opening of the Tomb in 1841. However, this could not be produced by the British Library. Therefore I am grateful to Dr Emma Hebblethwaite, Assistant Curate of Framlingham for clarification on this point.

154 Williams, *Thomas Howard*, p.30. PRO SP14/55/n11.

Chapter Seven: The Landed Magnate

At his creation in 1525 the Duke of Richmond and Somerset was granted extensive lands and possessions. By the end of his life his estates comprised over 120 manors in more than twenty counties across England and the Welsh Marches. Intended primarily to provide an income sufficient to support the duke in a manner appropriate to that dignity, such property brought both reward and responsibilities. At this level a landed magnate could expect to enjoy a range of profits from his lands. These were not simply confined to rents and leases on the land. Amenities such as inns, wind and water mills generated further revenue. Assets like woodland and crops could be sold off for cash, whilst mining might realize further natural potential. In addition, parks, warrens and fisheries, were a valuable resource, as much for the opportunities for patronage and sport, as for their constant supply of fresh food. However, the management of such land holdings was an extensive undertaking. Stewards, bailiffs and farmers were required to oversee the lands. Secretaries, receivers, lawyers and other officials were needed to deal with general administration. A landowner also had a duty to his tenants. Manor courts were designed to dispense law and order, whilst his right of presentation to clerical livings touched their very souls. At the apex of this stood the ducal household itself, with its numerous departments and offices making up the complex hierarchy that was a Tudor establishment. The direction and control of such widespread interests was no simple task for any established magnate, and it was all the more complicated when that magnate was only six years old.

The lands entailed upon the Duke of Richmond at his creation were drawn up in a grant of the king's letters patent dated 11 August 1525. The allocation of a suitable estate required no small amount of planning, and the choice of lands was not without significance. The titles of Northumberland and Norfolk were historically associated with landed power in those counties. In other cases, such as with Edward Clinton's elevation as Earl of Lincoln, the choice of dignity might reflect the encroachment of a new force. From the first it was

clearly intended that the titles of Richmond and Somerset were to be more than a mere honorific association with the history of the house of Tudor. The letters patent endowed the young duke with

divers honours, castles, lordships, rents and hereditaments which had belonged to Edmund late earl of Richmond, John late duke of Somerset, and Margaret late countess of Richmond 1.

This intimately associated the young duke with the power of his great-great-grandfather and his great-grandmother. His elevation as Earl of Nottingham was perhaps intended as little more than a stepping stone to greater honour, but since the honour of Richmond also included some appurtenances in Nottinghamshire, even that required process was not without some substance. This settlement was subsequently confirmed by statute 2. Few could be left in any doubt that the king intended his son to be seen both as a great magnate, and as a worthy scion of the house of Tudor.

The bulk of the lands assigned to the duke came from possessions formerly held by Margaret Beaufort, the king's grandmother, as Countess of Richmond. Most significant amongst these was the inclusion of the honour of Richmond lands. These estates had been the rightful inheritance of the young Henry VII as Earl of Richmond. These lands formed part of a formidable spread of influence across several counties, with a number of appurtenances and fees attached. It was, without doubt, a substantial inheritance. It was also an inheritance denied to the young Henry Tudor by the political turbulence of the mid-fifteenth century. Despite Margaret Beaufort's stalwart efforts, she was never able to recover her son's lands from George, Duke of Clarence, to whom they had been granted by Edward IV. After Clarence's death in 1478, despite some initially promising moves, the honour remained in the hands of the Crown 3. Only by his own accession to the throne in 1485 was Henry VII at last able to enjoy these lands. That Henry Tudor, as King Henry VII, chose to reward his mother with a number of manors within the honour, was certainly a

1 *Inventories*, Nichols, J. G., p.xvi. PRO C66/646, p1 m42.

2 22 Henry VIII c17. Some omissions in this Act were rectified in 26 Henry VIII c24.

3 Jones and Underwood, op. cit., p.52, 71.

fitting tribute for her efforts on his behalf, but the countess herself remained keenly conscious of her role as guardian.

Lady Margaret's sense of responsibility for her honour of Richmond properties was deeply felt. She regarded them as a form of trust for the crown. When on one occasion her liberties were infringed her plea to the king's council reminded it that the rights were part of Henry's legacy 4.

That Henry VIII, in his turn, chose to bestow these particular lands on his illegitimate son was not the obvious choice as a political signal of an intent to recognize the child as his heir. However, the title and honour of Richmond did ensure that the diminutive duke was firmly linked, in the hearts and minds of his subjects, with the history and fortunes of his paternal kin.

Henry VIII also included in the grant lands which had formerly been held by Margaret's father, John Beaufort, as Duke of Somerset. These included a substantial presence in the west country, with a number of manors in Somerset and Devon, as well as possessions in divers other counties. Predominant amongst these was the Richmond fee of the barony of Kendal, the very estates which had been granted to John Beaufort to support his new dignity in 1443 5. To further bolster his position, Richmond also received the lordships of Chirk and Chirkland, and other possessions in North Wales, which had once formed the power base of another Duke of Somerset, Edmund Beaufort 6. Richmond also enjoyed parcel of those lands which had passed to John Beaufort on the death of his mother, Margaret Holland. No small endowment, these alone were worth in excess of £600 per annum. That Richmond enjoyed so many of the Beaufort lands could be taken as an indication of the direction of the king's mind. After all, the Beauforts were widely known as bastards, who had subsequently been legitimised to the increase of their prospects and fortunes. The church at Corfe Castle, a long time family residence and now parcel of Richmond's own estates, reflected this change in status.

4 Ibid., pp.129-130.

5 Ibid., p.122.

6 Ibid., p.45.

The coats-of-arms at the side of the north doorway reflected through heraldry the importance of the family's legitimization. On the left the shield lay on its side, indicating a bastard line, whilst on the right it was placed upright 7.

No doubt contemporary opinion was moved to ponder whether Henry VIII was contemplating such an act, but it should not be forgotten that Richmond also enjoyed the unique dignity of a double dukedom. The title of Somerset was bestowed equally with that of Richmond, and it is clear that some pains were taken to ensure that the name of the duke might be seen to represent the font of power and authority, regardless of which mantle he employed.

The decision to bestow upon the young Duke of Richmond those lands traditionally associated with the Beaufort and Tudor lines presented a practical solution without directly addressing any awkward questions. There was plainly a reluctance to encroach upon those lands which were firmly linked with the legitimate offspring of the Crown, such as the Duchy of Cornwall. The closest Richmond got to the landed possessions of an heir apparent was a collection of manors in Somerset and Dorset, which had been annexed to the Duchy in 1421 by Henry V in recompense for the duchy manor of Isleworth, Middlesex, which he wished to grant to the monastery at Sion 8. These lands, formerly held by Sir Matthew Gourney, and briefly granted under Edward IV to George, Duke of Clarence, were not, therefore, specifically parcel of the duchy, but they were included in Henry VII's December 1490 charter to his son Arthur as Duke of Cornwall

in order that he may the better sustain the honour of the Dukedom ... all such castles lordships manors lands etc as formerly belonged to Matthew de Gourney 9.

Richmond, even in his capacity as head of the newly constituted council in the north, a body which had its roots

7 Ibid., pp.71-2.

8 The Manors were Englishcombe, Shepton Mallet, Midsomer Norton, Melton Falconbridge, Laverton, Farrington Gurney, Stoke sub Hamdon, Welton and West Harptree Haslam, Graham, *An Administrative Study of the Duchy of Cornwall 1500-1650* Ph.D., (Louisiana State University, 1970), p123-5. Gill, Crispin, ed., *The Duchy of Cornwall* (London, 1987), p.29.

9 *Materials.*, II, p.545-6.

in Yorkist land administration, was not permitted to enjoy the revenues of a Duke of York. Middleham for instance, described in 1534 as part of the inheritance of the king's second son as Duke of York, was not included in the lands bestowed on Richmond 10. However, it was clearly prudent that he should have some sort of presence in the north. The joint use of the Richmond and Somerset lands provided a satisfactory answer, whilst neatly sidestepping any direct consideration of the child's exact status.

In examining the provision made for the young Duke of Richmond, it might seem Margaret Beaufort's death in 1509 had merely left a convenient vacuum. There is no doubt some truth in such a position. The compilation of an estate of this magnitude was something of an undertaking, and even the resources of the Crown were not infinite. The errors made in the statute proclaiming the endowment reflect the complexity of the task. Even now the king was concerned to protect his own interests as regards the Duchy of Lancaster from incursion by the duke, inserting a proviso to this effect in each relevant statute. Although it should not be supposed that Richmond was simply endowed with Margaret's lands en bloc, a number of her possessions did not descend to the duke. For example, he had none of her lands in Leicestershire, Surrey, or Wiltshire. Similarly the duke was granted certain manors and possessions, most extensively his lordships in North Wales, which had not been part of Margaret's interests. It would also be wrong to assume that all the manors and interests now granted to Richmond had simply languished in the hands of the Crown for the past sixteen years. Most dramatically, only three months earlier Sir William Courtney had been awarded the reversion of Coldharbour mansion, a right he was now required to relinquish in Richmond's favour 11. Numerous provisos and exceptions were required in the subsequent acts of Parliament to protect the interests of those affected by this grant. Even then all was not plain sailing, with Richmond's rights in the Barony of Kendal, and the manor of Canford in Dorset, proving particularly problematic. Taken on this basis it does appear that the

10 PRO SP1/86, p.157.

11 In July 1509 Coldharbour mansion had been granted to George Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, steward of the king's household, for life, rent free. Miller, op. cit., p.210.

selection of the duke's lands was as much a matter of policy as practical necessity.

Provision for a suitable household for the duke was an equally complex proposition. Officers were required to deal with the administration of his lands, servants had to be appointed for the care of his person, professional staff to serve in capacities such as chaplain, teacher, doctor and lawyer, had to be found, and on top of this there was the role as the king's council in the north to be accommodated. The principal officers of the household who would be called upon to attend upon the duke both in his role as the King's Lieutenant and as a landed magnate, were all required to be men of some experience and ability. Those who had not served in some capacity in the north parts under Wolsey had proved their suitability through service to the Crown. Others, like James Morice who was to act as the young duke's general receiver, came naturally to Richmond's service from a similar association with Margaret Beaufort. Still more, like Palsgrave the tutor, were placed in the duke's household by the earnest lobbying of their patrons. The foundation of such an extensive establishment, with its close royal connections, was after all something of a career opportunity. Many can be found in the young Duke of Richmond's service who later became successful and prominent courtiers. Edward Seymour, appointed master of his horse in 1525, was the most illustrious example. However, it would be misleading to see in the composition of his household any semblance of an affinity. Unlike other similar magnate establishments, here the impetus for the choice and selection of those to be appointed did not stem from, or even necessarily reflect, the wishes of the Duke of Richmond himself.

Many of those now called upon to serve the young duke had established links with the king. Stewards and bailiffs appointed by Henry VIII continued in their posts under Richmond. Courtiers like Sir Godfrey Foljambe, a former esquire of the body, were placed in the household. It is also alleged that Walter Luke owed his appointment as attorney, not to his legal skills, but to the fact that he had married Henry VIII's old nurse ¹². The prime mover behind the assembly of

¹² Burke, *op. cit.*, II, p.214.

Richmond's servants was perhaps inevitably Cardinal Wolsey. He was in the forefront of the policy to re-establish a council at Sheriff Hutton, and his position as Archbishop of York allowed him to take advantage of his existing links with the administration of the north. This was also the sort of mundane, but necessary task at which the dedicated cardinal excelled. Since he was also Richmond's godfather it was not unnatural that he should oversee the arrangements made for the child. Men like Richard Page as vice chamberlain owed their position to a prior connection with Wolsey. Even Richmond's music teacher was his former servant¹³. The cardinal was not simply interested in championing his own clientele. There was far more at stake here than providing sycophantic service to an infant duke. The envisaged role of the council in the north meant these officers would also be responsible for implementing matters of policy and government. Wolsey had a vested interest in ensuring that they were suited for the task in hand. If this meant that he favoured men whose qualities and abilities were well known to him, this was perhaps not unreasonable. Richmond's own preferences were doubtless not considered. The composition of his council touched affairs of state and this was clearly Wolsey's domain. The choice of who should execute such power could hardly be left to the whims and wishes of a six year old.

What is more significant is that Wolsey's role as patron was allowed to extend beyond his position as a government minister, well into those areas which, by right, should be the personal province of the duke. The cardinal's role was by no means confined to setting up the establishment. It was to be expected that Richmond's officers would continue to look to Wolsey for guidance regarding their role as the king's council in the north. Despite the fact that Sheriff Hutton was not intended to be funded through the privy purse, they also relied on the cardinal as regards financial and administrative problems. In addition, Richmond's servants felt similarly bound to defer to Wolsey's decisions over domestic issues. This general inclination to consult with him on all manner of concerns was at odds with the concept of Richmond's establishment as an independent household. The problem largely stemmed from the fact that Richmond's council was something of

¹³ Samman, *op. cit.*, p.244. LP IV, (ii), n.2801 p.1250.

a mirror image of the traditional model. Rather than being a magnate's personal affinity, which exercised some judicial authority, this was a political body with a household attached. These men had no history of personal commitment to the service of the duke and were constantly looking to the cardinal for reassurance. Hence, even when relatively minor places fell vacant, it was not Richmond's approval that hopeful candidates strove to attain. In 1527, when the Duke of Norfolk wanted to place his servant in Richmond's household even he was required to go through Wolsey:

humbly I beseech your grace to be so good and gracious lord ... to write a letter unto my lord of Richmond's said council to admit him ... which done they have answered me they will so do ... [but] they will not do without your grace's letters to them directed for that purpose 14.

In his turn the cardinal, like any good lord, also assumed responsibility for promoting the interests of Richmond's servants. When the duke's chamberlain, Sir William Parr, wished to secure a grant of lands from the king, it was Wolsey who earnestly pressed his suit 15. Richmond's own role in proceedings was therefore somewhat marginalised, not just because of his tender age, but by the somewhat artificial circumstances in which he was placed.

The position of the king in respect of Richmond's patronage was even more complex. Where Henry chose to reward members of Richmond's household for their good service from Crown lands, this was his privilege. In 1531 Richmond's servant, Ambrose Skelton, was granted land in Gloucestershire in the king's hands by the recent death of the Duchess of Buckingham 16. That Henry might also exercise his authority to require Wolsey to bestow land in his gift upon Richmond's servants, was a slightly different proposition. In July 1528, Henry decided Richmond's schoolmaster, Richard Croke, should have the benefice of Horworth, which the cardinal held as administrator of the possessions of the imbecile Sir George Tailbois. Wolsey was summarily informed that the king

14 PRO SP1/42, p.236.

15 SP Henry VIII, I, n.112 p.208.

16 LP V, n.119 p.57 (50). Ambrose had formally been in Buckingham's service. LP III, (i), n.1285 p.499.

thinketh it is too small a value to give to Master Wilson, or any other his chaplains, and this man had never anything, who doeth his grace and to my said lord of Richmond very good service 17.

But this did not represent any infringement upon the duke's right and title. Other areas remained the undisputed province of the Crown. Official appointments like a pursuivant at arms required the king's assent. The appointment of George Lawson, the Duke's coffer, as joint auditor of the lordships of Middleham, Richmond, and Sheriff Hutton, could only have come from the Crown 18. The duke's servants were still Henry VIII's subjects and his lands were held of the king. When, in 1530, the duke's servant, Randolph Ferrers, was granted the corrody of the monastery of Kirkstall a royal grant, rather than a ducal patent, was required 19. Richmond's authority was not sovereign. This did not preclude that Henry VIII might also choose to extend his authority to matters which by right or courtesy should have been allowed to the duke.

The creation of a separate household, financed from his own estates, did little to stop Henry regarding his son's possessions as still largely part of his own patronage. There was, of course, an element of royal prerogative in this, since even the most established magnate would be hard pressed to deny the express wish of the Crown. Not even royal blood was protection against such interference. When Henry VII had had designs on his mother's manor house at Woking Margaret, despite her evident reluctance, had deemed it wiser to comply and Richmond's position was much less secure 20. He was required to be the king's dutiful child, as well as his dutiful subject. Despite his extensive possessions he was still a minor, rather than an established lord, and his illegitimate status meant his reliance on the king's favour was absolute. In March 1527, Richmond's council meekly sent up, as required, a blank paper, ready sealed, for the king's presentation to a parsonage in Richmond's Devonshire manor of South Molton 21. This habit of Henry and Wolsey to appropriate

17 BL Cotton Titus B XI, f.399. It was valued at £24 per annum.

18 LP IV, (i), n.2131 p.954.

19 Ibid., (iii), n.6418 p.2881 (7).

20 Jones and Underwood, op. cit., p.83.

21 LP IV, (ii), n.2979 p.1335.

the rightful patronage of the duke to their own use did not pass unnoticed. In April 1527, when the incumbent bailiff of Richmond's manor at Cottingham in Yorkshire, John Stackhouse, died, his council wrote to Wolsey suggesting one George Hartwell as a replacement. Although they were anxious to secure the agreement of king and minister, they also sought to remind them of the proper order of things:

that the said offices and benefices, for the better encouraging of his said servants and chaplin to take pains in his service, from henceforth as they shall fall and happen to be void might be given and distributed among my said lord's servants 22.

Even so it does not seem that the council's wishes were respected. Hartwell was not appointed. Instead Edward Vaux, who already served as bailiff of the duke's adjacent manor of Longton, was now required to oversee both manors 23.

The difficulty was compounded by the fact that the duke, although not in wardship, was nonetheless not of full age. Wolsey's own papers make it clear that it was intended that Richmond should be allowed to exercise his own patronage 24. The 1531 statute confirming those lands entailed upon him was careful to stress that grants made by the duke were fully valid.

Albeit the said Duke at the time of the making of any such gift grant or patent were and yet is within the age of 21 years in like manner and effect as if the same Duke at the time of the making of the same gifts grants leases and by him made had been of the full age of 21 years 25.

However, in practice such authority was largely vested in the members of his council, rather than Richmond himself. They had a duty to administer and oversee his holdings, but neither the king nor Wolsey was likely to feel any real compulsion to fall in with their wishes. Conflicts did arise. At the establishment of the household John Uvedale, a former protégé of the house of Howard, had been made secretary, but with the rise of Anne Boleyn, Uvedale found himself ever more in her

22 PRO SP1/41, p.191.

23 PRO SC6/Henry VIII/4241 to 4250.

24 BL Harleian 6087, f.22.

25 22 Henry VIII c17.

service, and away from the north. At his request, and with the acquiescence of the duke's Council, John Bretton was appointed to act as his deputy in his absence. All was well until it was reported that Uvedale had been promoted and henceforth, the king intended Thomas Derby to serve as Richmond's secretary. Bretton, having obtained the promise of another position in the south, prepared to depart but the duke's council stayed his hand:

we being desolate of any other person able to exercise the said room required the said Bretton to abide with us, [un]to such time that we should be advertised of the king's pleasure and yours concerning the order of the said office, and promised him all profits .. thereof by his diligence in the mean season 26.

Neither Uvedale, nor indeed the king, was best pleased with this turn of events. Bretton, accused of the theft of Uvedale's rightful income, was committed to gaol in York Castle.

Initially the council complied with this order but, with lurid descriptions of contagious diseases, and reports of Bretton's own infirmity, they subsequently advised Wolsey they had released him on recognizance. Their overall tone was suitably humble, although it is plain they felt that they had taken the only reasonable course:

if it shall please your grace that John Uvedale shall have the said profits, which the said Bretton hath by our desire painfully deserved having none other fees, profits, or rewards for his said labour, but only that he acquired with his pains, which the room of necessity some person must have supplied for that time. We at our own cost and charge shall pay and sustain the same as we in performance of our promise be bound of good conscience to do 27.

Yet they were equally anxious to reassure the cardinal and the king that they had not sought to exceed the bounds of their authority. Although they spoke earnestly of the trust and judgment Henry and Wolsey had placed in them, the fact remained that they were simply servants of the Crown. Such minor gentry, even acting as his representatives, could not expect to be accorded the grace and consideration that might

26 BL Cotton Caligula B III, f.278.

27 Ibid.

be allowed to the duke. Perhaps because of this there are instances, even at this early stage, where the young duke made suit to the king on behalf of his servants in his own hand. When writing to request the preferment of his loving servant Robert Markham, a gentleman usher, the duke left no doubt that he was anxious his man should be granted the position. The petition was quite correct in tone: Richmond was the king's most humble and lowly servant. After all, the man whom he was looking to replace, due to his advancing years, had presumably held the office satisfactorily under the Crown. However, in seeking the king's consent and agreement the duke also drew attention to the woeful state of his patronage:

also for that it hath not been my chance as yet hitherto to prefer any one of my servants to any manner of promotion, either spiritual or temporal 28.

Such a direct approach was often a more effective tactic. The fact that the duke felt constrained to consult with the king over matters which related not to his royal offices, or matters of state, but the mundane administration of his own estates, only serves to further highlight the unusual and ill defined role of the young duke.

In many respects Richmond's reliance on Henry VIII was not so different from other older, and more established, landowners. The king was the font of all patronage and the duke was not alone in providing testimonials for those late of his service seeking some preferment at court 29. If Richmond had any doubt in this matter, the king's gift in 1529 of land in Hertfordshire lately belonging to the attainted Cardinal Wolsey was a stark reminder where the real power lay 30. The king was the greatest source of power and protection, and land and litigation invariably proved inescapable bedfellows. When even the most just title might be challenged, that the duke looked to the Crown to help maintain his lawful rights, was nothing out of the ordinary. His appeal in 1528, regarding Sir William Swallow's occupation of the vicarage at Fremington, was more as a lord to his king than as a child to his father

28 PRO SP1/49, p.7.

29 LP V, n.905 p.424.

30 LP XIII, (ii), n.734 p.283, (37). VCH Hertfordshire Volume 3 p.453.

my said poor chaplain is like to lose the same benefice, unless your said most gracious favour be showed to him in that part 31.

In the same vein, Richmond was also expected to observe and abide by the king's laws and edicts. He paid the subsidy like any other subject, parting with the sum of £90 in 1536 32. All these things were a normal part of the relationship between a monarch and a magnate, but the reality of the situation was never far beneath the surface. Although any great lord might occasionally experience the Crown's direct interference, the extent of the king's involvement in Richmond's affairs does seem to have exceeded normal bounds. The political concept of the duke as a independent magnate, was often in conflict with his actual position as a minor dependant of the Crown. There was apparently some effort to redress this problem. In 1528 Richmond reminded the king

So it was and it like your Highness that so much as my lord Legate's grace of late signified unto me it was your high pleasure that when any like offices or benefices appertaining to my gift should chance to be voided that I by the advice of my council should dispose and give the same at my liberty 33.

At still only nine years of age in his ambiguous position, bound by duty and obedience to be guided by his king and father, any outright assertion of his rights was both difficult and dangerous, and there was yet another point at issue.

When the death of Sir William Compton meant that two stewardships in Somerset and Dorset fell vacant, the king decided to grant the positions to Sir Giles Strangeways and Sir Edward Seymour. Henry VIII had appointed Compton, and he clearly felt he had every right to decide who would be his successors. Admittedly these lands were now in Richmond's hands and technically the right of patronage belonged to him. Although, since Strangeways, as a councillor, and Seymour, as master of his horse, were not royal interlopers, but bona fide members of Richmond's household, Henry was no doubt content that appearances at least were being observed. However, on

31 PRO SP1/47, p.276.

32 PRO SP1/105, p.105.

33 PRO SP1/49, p.135.

receipt of the king's instructions the young duke revealed he had already filled the posts. He explained his haste

considering the great number of servants that I have, and that none of them in anywise have been rewarded with anything since their coming unto me, I therefore hearing that the stewardship of my lands in Dorsetshire and the stewardship of my lands in Somersetshire were void, gave that office in Dorsetshire with other small things appendant to the same, by the advice of my council to Sir William Parr, knight, my chamberlain, ... and the other stewardship in Somersetshire I disposed in semblable manner to my trusty and diligent servant George Cotton, continually giving his attendance upon me
34.

As long as those areas in which Henry VIII expressed an interest remained vacant and ungranted, Richmond and his council had scant grounds to refuse him. However, if the king seriously expected the Duke of Richmond to serve as an effective representative of the Crown, the duke's own authority must also be seen to be respected. Whilst Henry might appropriate some of the duke's patronage to his own use, by couching his requirement in the nature of a request, any move to overturn a decision already made by the duke could set a dangerous precedent. Since Richmond's jurisdiction, as a bastard and a minor, was limited by what was allowed to him by the Crown, it was especially important that the king should acknowledge and defer to his son's personal prerogative.

The conflict presented all involved with a dilemma. The decision, albeit aided by his council, was undeniably the action of the duke. Even Wolsey had to be apprised of events by Magnus 35. Richmond, although careful to underline the nominal value of the posts, and anxious to assure the king of his continuing obedience, did not offer to revoke his grants. His council took refuge in confusion, claiming Henry's exact wishes were unclear 36. For his part the king, although doubtless not best pleased to have his intentions blocked by his nine year old illegitimate son, could not ignore the potential damage to the duke's carefully crafted, and still fragile, political persona, should he decide to blatantly disregard his son's appointments. In the event Strangeways was

34 Ibid.

35 LP IV, (ii), n.4547 p.1985. Gwyn, op. cit., p.198.

36 Ibid.

to be disappointed 37. Sir Edward Seymour was more fortunate. The following month Richmond himself bestowed the stewardship of Canford upon his master of the horse by a patent dated 25 August 1528. Whatever the realities of the situation the wording of the document, impressively adorned with Richmond's own seal, acknowledged that the post was in the duke's gift.

Henry Duke of Richmond and Somerset and Earl of Nottingham ... know all that we in consideration of his good and praiseworthy service .. by these present confirm unto the aforesaid Sir Edward Seymour the office of the steward of our manor of Canford with the hundred of Corden with all appurtenances and premises within the county of Dorset 38.

By such means the dignity of king and duke were preserved. Richmond's directives were never openly flouted by Henry, but even in 1534, when the fifteen year old duke might reasonably look for some leeway to make and execute his own decisions, the king's wrath could suddenly descend. Despite the requirements of his duties in the north, George Lawson still expected to continue to receive his usual fee from Richmond's household 39. When the duke took action against him, Henry VIII, having praised the officer for his good service, wrote

we be informed you have not only discharged our said servant of the said room, but also of his yearly fee of twenty pounds, whereof we cannot a little marvel 40.

His directive stopped just short of abrogating Richmond's authority entirely by requiring him to reinstate Lawson, but the king did require the duke to continue the £20 fee. This financial penalty was a stern indication of Richmond's continuing obligation to his king and father.

As a magnate Richmond also found himself beholden to numerous other lords and officers, for a variety of presents, posts and possessions, either for himself or his entourage. Such favours were part and parcel of good lordship. Sometimes they capitalized on personal relationships. In February 1534, the

37 He finally obtained the stewardship when the lands reverted to the Crown on Richmond's death. Bindoff, op. cit., III, p.396.

38 PRO E312/33.

39 LP VII, (ii), Appendix n.23 p.637, n.28 p.638.

40 PRO SP1/84, p.64.

duke took advantage of his recent visit to Calais and a long standing acquaintance with the former deputy Admiral, to ask Lord Lisle to honour his promise to advance one James Bellingham

and for my sake to further and prefer him into such room of retinue as should then next immediately happen and fall convenient and meet for him to exercise and use: I therefore not only do trust therein, but also desire and in my full hearty manner pray you that ye at this my special desire and contemplation hereof will according to your said promise perform and accomplish the same at the next avoidance thereof 41.

In return Richmond would be glad to do him a similar service. On other occasions these transactions were more business like. As the duke unashamedly explained to Cromwell the monastery of Bindon, in Dorset had offered to take care of his deer for him, if he was successful in his bid to obtain a licence for them to elect their own abbot 42. Richmond's credit with Cromwell was apparently good. In 1534, when he sought some preferment for his maternal uncle William Gresley, it seems his recommendation was effective. The duke was able to write in gratitude for

your goodness, the which you all only for my sake have shown unto my friend William Gresley, the bearer hereof 43.

In such exchanges his requests had the force of his rank, and his royal blood, to offset his lack of years. However, the general concept of Richmond's effectiveness as a patron must also allow that the young duke's power was not without its limitations, and even his personal intervention did not always prove successful.

Whilst at Sheriff Hutton Richmond's political power as the king's representative was significant and clearly defined. The duke's council was successfully able to extend this authority into the locality by the inclusion of Richmond's officers on various commissions 44. The council also had links within the

41 St Clare Byrne, Muriel, ed., II, p.44 (123).

42 LP VII, (i), n.821 p.311.

43 PRO SP1/86, p.107.

44 Guy, John, "Wolsey and the Tudor Polity" in Gunn and Lindley, eds., op. cit., p.69.

city of York. Sir George Lawson served as an alderman, and was subsequently to represent York as both a member of Parliament and mayor, whilst Sir Richard Page was recorder there from 1527 45. However, in January 1528, when Richmond attempted to secure the office of sword bearer for one of his servants, the response of the city council was distinctly lukewarm.

Agreed for answer to the letter of my lord's grace of Richmond and Somerset as touching his grace['s] request for the room and office of sword bearer to Alan Ary his grace['s] servant, therein they require his said grace to [grant delay] unto such time that the King's grace and the lord Cardinal's grace['s] pleasure may be further known 46.

The precise reason for their reluctance is unclear. Given Richmond's extreme youth they may well have been genuinely concerned not to offend by any hasty action, but the referral to a higher authority also provided a convenient excuse to defer making a definite answer. Relations between the city and the council were not always good. In August 1528, the town was called to account in a dispute over taxes 47. In addition, it seems that the installation of an interloper, in the person of Wolsey's servant Robert Fournes, had already proved most unpopular. Fournes was apparently berated by the mayor

Master Fournes what do you here? There is not one in this hall that hereafter will company with you or anything will do for you. There is not one in this city that loveth my lord Cardinal or you or any other that longeth to my lord Cardinal 48.

Despite Richmond's suit the office of sword bearer was granted for life to Henry Fawkes, a merchant who had enjoyed the freedom of the city since 1504. This move neatly removed the possibility of a future candidate being foisted upon them 49. The personal authority of the infant duke clearly did not carry sufficient weight to counter the resentment of the townspeople. No magnate, with the possible exception of the king, could realistically expect his will always to be

45 Palliser, D. M., *Tudor York* (Oxford, 1979), p.109.

46 *York Civic Records* (iii), ed.; Raine, Angelo, (York Archaeological Society, 1942), p111.

47 Raine, op. cit., p.114.

48 Davies, R., *The Fawkes of York in the 16th century* Nichols, J. B., and J. G., eds., (Westminster, 1850), p.9.

49 *Ibid.*, p.11.

granted. However, on at least one occasion, the young Duke of Richmond was to let his enthusiasm for a cause carry him forward, when prudence and mature judgment might have stayed his hand.

In June 1534, John Cooke, then serving as registrar to Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, chose to take advantage of the bishop's absence from court to unburden himself of numerous resentments against his employer, including the non-payment of his stipend. Since Cooke was also commissary of the Admiralty in Hampshire, he had a natural channel to apprise the fifteen year old Duke of Richmond of his complaints 50. Richmond was sufficiently convinced to write to Gardiner in Cooke's favour. On receipt of Richmond's letter the Bishop mounted his defence. He was unequivocal in his denial of all the charges levied against him, and went on to set out his grounds for failing to comply with the duke's instructions:

I have judged in my mind that your Grace, for the respect I know your noble heart hath ever had to truth, would be better pleased with an answer to your Grace's said letters for the trial of truth than I should, following your Grace's request made upon such a ground, give courage to Master Cooke in the exercise of his untrue reports 51.

Casting his bread as wide as possible upon the water, Cooke had also complained to Thomas Audley, then lord chancellor, Cromwell, and the king. No doubt much to Cooke's dismay Cromwell's response was less impetuous than the high-handed tone adopted by the young duke. Gardiner was to be invited to clear his name. The bishop was at pains to point out that Richmond was altogether deceived in his assessment of Cooke's character

And most humbly I desire your Grace to consider mine issue herein, which to your Grace I would not make so precisely if I knew not myself clear, and that I am desirous your Grace should in my matter see Cooke's truth thoroughly, and the better perceive him in the use of his office of the Admiralty under your Grace, wherein they talk of his demeanour otherwise here than I think

50 Gardiner's biographer Glyn Redworth also sees his connections to Norfolk and thus the Boleyns as a factor in deciding to invoke the Duke's assistance. Redworth, Glyn, *In Defence of the Church Catholic* (Oxford, 1990), p.62

51 Gardiner, Stephen *The Letters of Stephen Gardiner* Muller, James, ed., (Connecticut, 1970), p.58.

your Grace hath heard there; but the truth will show
itself 52.

With the matter referred to the authority of the Crown, Richmond's own involvement was superseded. Despite this, Gardiner's meticulous response to Richmond's intervention was, in its way, acknowledgment of the duke as a political force. However, his flattery belies the sermonizing intent. Gardiner's response was restrained but, in exercising the power of a duke, Richmond inevitably laid himself open to the counter measures of those around him.

Like Wolsey before him, Cromwell's role as chief minister drew him into the Duke of Richmond's affairs. Unlike Wolsey, Cromwell did not have the advantage, as the child's godfather, of assuming a paternalistic role, nor, since it had been severed from the king's council in the north, was there any real reason for the minister to involve himself directly in the affairs of his household. Perhaps for these reasons, as much as the child's advancing age, the correspondence between them is more formal in tone. For whilst Richmond was in a position to elicit Cromwell's co-operation, he was also mindful that the minister provided the surest route to influence the king. When there was a problem with a grant to his servant John Travers, for fishing in the Bann, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland looked to the secretary for assistance 53. When Henry VIII decided to grant Collyweston to Anne Boleyn, the duke turned to Cromwell to ensure that his servant Anthony Drillard, a gentleman usher, should still enjoy the grant in reversion of the offices of bailiff and keeper there made by the duke

And for as much as he for all his long and diligent service hath had none other recompense nor preferment by me, save only the grant of the premises, I being very loath he should be excluded 54.

That a proviso was inserted in the relevant statute in favour of Drillard is a testament to Cromwell's influence 55. Yet the outcome also reflected another element of Cromwell's

52 Ibid.

53 LP VIII, n.981 p.388.

54 PRO SP1/98, p.230.

55 27 Henry VIII c51.

relationship with the young duke. Drillard had come into Richmond's service by the good offices of *his* patron, Thomas Cromwell 56. Whilst Cromwell was denied the widespread interference in Richmond's patronage allowed to Wolsey, this did not mean that he was completely without influence in this respect.

In spite of such difficulties Richmond did actively exercise his own patronage. When the parsonage of Dimby in Aldborough fell vacant in 1529, Richmond overrode the customary rights of the Countess of Salisbury, to bestow it on Richard Croke 57. Grants made were honoured and respected. Even after Richmond's death, Launcelot Halford continued to enjoy his post as doorward of Chirk Castle, as bestowed by Richmond 58. The duke was also called upon to fulfil his role as a good and gracious Lord. When, in 1533, the fourteen year old duke stood as godfather, Mistress Jenny's infant received a little silver salt to mark the occasion 59. Plate from the duke's coffers was regularly offered up as wedding and New Year gifts as the occasion demanded, although the circumstances by which Lord Lisle came into possession of one of Richmond's chairs is somewhat less clear 60. Certainly Richmond had made gifts of his goods and possessions to many of his household. A number of his officers received horses, clothes or other stuff, from the duke's hands 61. Several of the duke's servants were also granted offices as stewards and bailiffs on his lands. The Cottons did especially well with a multiplicity of such posts between them. Even relatively humble servants could also benefit from the young duke's generosity. His groom of the bedchamber, Henry Wheeler, was also the bailiff of the manor of Torrington in Devon, whilst William Lawson, a clerk of the kitchen, had the bailiwick of Rastall in reversion 62. After a rather faltering start, being in the Duke of Richmond's service was obviously not completely without its rewards.

56 LP V, n.981 p.459.

57 VCH Yorkshire, Volume 4, p.79. PRO E36/155.

58 LP XI, n.943, p.378 (23).

59 *Inventories*, Nichols, J. G., ed., p.12.

60 LP VII, (i), n.336 p.141.

61 See Appendix III.

62 *Inventories* Nichols, J. G., ed., p.lxiii, p.lxiv.

Richmond was also prepared to champion his servants in matters not directly related to his own lands or household. When his gentleman usher, Thomas Delaryver, was accused of killing a stag in a close belonging to the Abbot of Byland in 1534, the young duke interceded with Cromwell on Delaryver's behalf. Richmond claimed his servant had been wrongfully accused, and the steward had indicted him against the abbot's wishes 63. When another member of his household was having trouble securing his rightful inheritance, Richmond wrote to Lord Lisle lending his weight to Grenstead's hopes of obtaining a speedy and successful conclusion 64. On a broader political level there is reason to believe that the Duke of Richmond's patronage was an element in securing William Biddlecombe's return to Parliament as the member for Poole. Biddlecombe had links with the duke's council, through his association with Sir Giles Strangeways, and was also employed by the duke. Certainly, in 1534 Richmond wrote to Cromwell endorsing the burgess with his recommendation 65. As a former bailiff and mayor he already represented a respectable candidate, but this does not preclude that Richmond's influence was a factor.

He was an obvious choice for election and with the backing of the King's illegitimate son his election must have been a foregone conclusion 6666.

The duke was clearly anxious to be seen to be aiding those in his employ. Since Richmond had often had little influence over the choice of his officers this cannot be seen as an magnate's affinity in the traditional sense, but it was clearly a role and position the young duke aspired to.

The extent to which Richmond's ascendancy was able to benefit his maternal kin is more difficult to assess. His grandfather, Sir John Blount, enjoyed Henry VIII's favour by dint of his own service and his daughter's relationship with the king: there is nothing to suggest that the young duke ever exercised his own influence on his relative's behalf. His mother Elizabeth also continued to benefit from the goodwill of the monarch, a circumstance which extended to both her spouses.

63 PRO SP1/84, p.121.

64 LP VII, (i), n.76 p.31.

65 PRO SP1/84, p.202.

66 Bindoff, op. cit., I, p.432.

Whilst her relationship with her son is evident in gifts and correspondence, examples of patronage or political assistance are not forthcoming. The fortunes of the two eldest Blount sons, George and William, were more directly affected since both spent some time in the service of the duke. It was clearly a successful association. William was still in the Richmond's household at the time of his death in 1536 67. When Richmond came to Shrewsbury in 1535 George Blount neglected other business to pay his respects 68. There is no sense that Richmond's relations with his maternal kin were anything but affectionate. His testimony on behalf of William Gresley, husband to his mother's younger sister Rose, proves that he was not unwilling to lend his aid, or indeed that there was any concerted policy to divide or disassociate him from his maternal relations 69. William Willoughby, who was related to the Tailbois by marriage, also secured a place in the duke's household 70. However, there is also scant surviving evidence to suggest that any of them reaped much material benefit from their kinship with Richmond himself.

Indeed, on occasion it seems that their association with Richmond was almost a positive disadvantage. Katherine Blount's earnest attempts, in June 1536, to secure the election of her son as MP for Shropshire were hampered by his being away at court, presumably with Richmond 71. When George Blount sought to secure the former abbey at Ranton Henry, Lord Stafford, who wanted the property for his large brood of children, objected on the grounds that Blount was already sufficiently provided for.

He is my lord of Richmond's servant and hath a fair house of his own to dwell in or two 72.

They still enjoyed their accustomed level of favour. George Blount's appointment as steward of the lordship of Bewdley and

67 *Inventories*, Nichols, J. G., ed., p.lxxi.

68 LP I, (i), Addenda n.1020 p.356.

69 PRO SP1/86, p.107.

70 Sir William Willoughby, born 1515, was the son of Sir Christopher Willoughby of Parham by Elizabeth, daughter to George Lord Tailbois.

71 LP X, n.1063 p.439.

72 PRO SP1/103, f.190.

Cleobury Mortimer in 1531 is a case in point 73. That George and William were successful in securing places in the royal household, also followed in their father's footsteps, although the fact that the youngest son, Henry, was accepted into Cromwell's service might reasonably have arisen out of an association with the duke 74. Yet, in the wake of her husband's death in 1531, Katherine Blount struggled to meet all her financial obligations, and remained anxious about making provision for her younger sons 75. Richmond's opportunity to assist his siblings was severely curtailed by his own early death, but it does not seem that they made any serious attempt to capitalize on their blood relationship with their illustrious relative. The fortunes of his half-brother George Tailbois, which found him in the embassy to receive Anne of Cleves at Calais, and married to Mary the daughter of Sir William Skipworth, owed far more to his wardship under the Earl of Southampton than any advantage accrued from kinship with the duke 76. In a similar manner the careers and marriages of the other children, although not unsuccessful, owed much to their links with Edward, Lord Clinton, and his circle at court, rather than directly to their relationship with Richmond.

Perhaps with an eye on his possible prospects, service under the Duke of Richmond continued to be a sought after position. Magnus advised Wolsey that William Eure

is very desirous to have my Lord of Richmond's fee which is £10 and as I conceive he setteth much more by the same than by a thing of far greater value 77.

Although how far this reflected the status of the young duke, and how far it merely reflected the general desire for preferment and advancement, is difficult to ascertain. In October 1535, Sir Jason Layburn wished to serve the Duke of Richmond, but he was equally interested in any other

73 LP V, n.166 p.81 (47).

74 LP XIII, (ii), n.1184 p.497.

75 LP VI, n.61 p.23, X, n.335 p.126.

76 As Lord Admiral in succession to Richmond, Southampton was also prominent in the party which escorted Anne of Cleves and Sir William Skipworth was the Earl's cousin.

77 SP Henry VIII, IV, n.170 p.472

preferment which might supplement his income 78. Others like Philip Morice, the brother of the young duke's general receiver, were clearly anxious to be received into Richmond's employ. In October 1533, he had used his brother's connection with Cranmer, who had presumed on George Boleyn's obligation to him, so that he in his turn could pressure his uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, to grant him a position 79. Many found the duke's household a useful proving ground. Thomas Eynns, a Shropshire gentleman, was not alone in having begun his royal service with Richmond, later graduating to attendance on the young Prince Edward 80. Established members of the household were also keen to place their relatives in the duke's service. His chamberlain, Sir William Parr, was doubtless instrumental in securing for his nephew, Nicholas Throckmorton, a position as a page 81. In a similar vein, when Sir William Bulmer's age and infirmity weighed too heavily upon him for him to continue his duty as Richmond's steward, he was quick to offer his sons as convenient replacements 82. A third generation of the family, Matthew Boynton, the husband of Bulmer's granddaughter Anne, was also engaged in the service of the duke 83. Henry Partridge was probably the son of Anne Partridge, Richmond's former nurse 84. Although Richmond's prospects of succession continued to be uncertain, many in his service must have hoped to profit by association. At the very least the child remained a royal duke and, as such, the scale of his holdings offered various opportunities for advancement for any who could prove their worth.

In common with any large household of the sixteenth century Richmond's establishment was, by necessity, peripatetic. The needs of health and hygiene required that the duke and his entourage decamp at regular intervals to allow the residences to be cleansed. Meanwhile the demands of court or estate

78 PRO SP1/96, p.234.

79 MacCulloch, Diarmaid, *Thomas Cranmer* (London, 1996), p.18. BL Harleian Mss 6148, f.32. Notably Richmond's own preference was still not an issue.

80 PRO SP1/143, p.186.

81 *Inventories*, Nichols, J. G., ed., p.xcv.

82 LP IV, (ii), n.4889, n.4890 p.2116.

83 *Inventories*, Nichols, J. G., ed., p.lviiii.

84 LP IV, (iii), n.6418 p.2883 (28). Bindoff, op. cit., III, p.65.

business could occasion a removal to the capital or the country. In the north Richmond was predominantly based at his own property at Sheriff Hutton. However, since the duke lacked any other suitable manor in the vicinity, another lodging had to be found for the winter months. After some extensive repairs amounting to in excess of £198, from the winter of 1526 his household habitually removed to Lord Darcy's castle at Pontefract 85. However, in September 1527 they were to be found a few miles distant at Methley 86. Sometimes even such precautions were not sufficient. When sickness and disease raged in 1528 the young duke was swiftly taken to Ledston, three miles from Pontefract Castle where he might reside in the prior's house with a minimal number of attendants, to reduce the risk of infection 87. These measures were evidently effective, although the situation was serious enough for it to be several months before it was judged safe enough for the duke to re-join the body of his household. However, since Sheriff Hutton had been granted to the young duke with the prime intent of representing his power base in the north, his recall in the summer of 1529 was not without repercussions.

The scale of Richmond's household was, in some measure, reduced upon his return to the south. However, George Lawson was evidently still enjoying his fee in May 1536, when he wrote to the Duke of Norfolk to protest at the possibility of again being made to relinquish it.

Your grace would have been so good lord unto me as to have allowed my fee now in my old age and as I have deserved the same with my true and faithful service to my no little cost, charge and great losses, as well as any others that ever was his grace's servant whom hath borne no such like charge nor losses as I have done 88.

Others were not so fortunate in particular those locals who had benefited from the duke's proximity, who were now most vulnerable to the effects of his removal. In 1537, the Duke of Norfolk, pondering over what provision to make for baggage and

85 PRO DL29/529/8431. The choice apparently only served to increase Darcy's resentment of the Council. Smith, R. B., *Land and Politics in the England of Henry VIII* (Oxford, 1970), p.168.

86 LP IV, (ii), n.3404 p.1539.

87 SP Henry VIII, IV, n.192 p.515.

88 PRO SP1/104, p.43.

ordinance left behind at Sheriff Hutton, suggested that some of these, being very honest men of good substance, might serve to staff a wardrobe or armoury at the castle.

The servants of my said Lord of Richmond I am sure will not go into the south with me, having their wives and livings here and. therefore it shall be alms to do them good 89.

It does not seem that Richmond ever returned to what had plainly been envisaged as his principal residence. Instead, there was the question of what would constitute an appropriate abode in the south.

The Duke of Richmond was by no means completely without other accommodation. His lodging at the More in Hertfordshire was no doubt intended to be a temporary measure, but the building work at Windsor provided a more permanent solution, and indeed Richmond intermittently returned to those apartments. Of his other options, the two parks were probably the major attraction of Canford, where the duke spent several weeks in the summer of 1534. Richmond also made use of his father's hunting lodge at Hatfield 90. The accounts of his kitchen also show the ducal household in progress from Lewes to Sheffield, through Godstone to Tonge, a former possession of the Countess of Richmond 91. Some new building work was undertaken at Sheffield, but Richmond clearly did not find the area congenial. In July 1534, he complained to Cromwell of the lack of park or game there to entertain his friends 92. Richmond's rank also entitled him to a generous provision of bouche at court 93. Although official business, or his father's pleasure, could find him at the royal palaces of Greenwich, or Hampton Court, in common with Mary and Elizabeth, it was neither customary nor practical for his household to be permanently resident at court. However, Richmond remained without a suitable abode within the capital for his own use. His most significant property, Coldharbour Mansion on the

89 SP Henry VIII, II, n.326 p.102.

90 LP V, n.905 p.424.

91 *Kitchen Expenses of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond 1535-6*, [16], HMC Longleat Miscellaneous Manuscripts IHR, [Microfilm, Reel 2].

92 PRO SP2/O/(8). LP VIII, n.981 p.388.

93 Richardson, *Surveyor of the King's Prerogative* p.240.

banks of the Thames, remained in the hands of the Earl of Shrewsbury for the foreseeable future 94. In October 1534, Richmond was making use of the London home of the Bishop of Norwich, but as he grew to maturity such arrangements were increasingly unsuitable 95. It may well have been as much to rectify this situation, as to indulge Anne Boleyn, that the king sought to make an exchange of properties with his son in early 1536.

Richmond had held the graceful manor house of Collyweston in Northamptonshire since his elevation in 1525. The residence had been much extended and improved by Margaret Beaufort. It boasted a presence chamber and a council house, as well as the particular comforts of a gallery, library and chapel. The gardens had been laid out with planted ponds and summer houses, and there was also an adjacent park to appeal to more masculine tastes 96. The property had represented Margaret's centre of influence in the midlands, and was eminently suitable to act as the duke's residence, but in 1536 it was decided that the Duke should exchange it with the king, in return for Baynards Castle and Durham Place 97. Formerly the London town house of Cecily, Duchess of York, Baynards Castle was the London palace in which Henry VII had spent his first weeks as king in 1485. Used by Henry VIII as the official London residence for his queens, it had most recently been in the hands of Anne Boleyn. It was in many ways a fair exchange for Collyweston, with the added advantage that the duke could now reside with his household in appropriate splendour, within the confines of the capital. Both the timing of the grant, and the pedigree and style of the property, make it seem likely that the gift represented a settled intent to furnish the Duke of Richmond with the sort of base that would not simply smooth his transition into the adult world, but could equally accommodate all the demands of his marriage and future life, well into maturity.

94 He held it until his death in 1538.

95 PRO SP1/86, p.107.

96 Routh, E. M. G., *Lady Margaret Beaufort* (Oxford, 1924), p.76.

97 Indeed Simon Thurley designates it as such. Thurley, Simon, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (London, 1993), p.81. 25 Henry VIII c34.

In contrast, speculation that Henry VIII built St James' Palace in order to present it to the young duke seems unfounded 98. It is true that the Duke of Richmond was lodging there at the time of his last illness, but there is no indication that he was to be installed as a permanent resident. At the time of his death the body of the duke's household was at Tonge in Kent, where it had been based since October 1535. The duke was in London for the Parliament, but he was not resident at St James' throughout this period. Other sources clearly indicate that, until quite recently, he had been with the court at Whitehall 99. The idea that the Palace was earmarked for the duke is based on the view that it was acquired by the king in 1531, to provide a power base for Richmond as a probable heir apparent 100. However, this does not fit well with the climate of that time when Henry VIII was absorbed by the prospect of issue by Anne Boleyn. Furthermore, despite the intervening years, no attempt was made to grant the site to the duke. An alternative claim that Henry VIII had intended to construct a palace for Anne Boleyn, which then passed to Richmond by default, seems equally flawed 101. Indeed Richmond's association with St James' rests solely on the fact that he died there. This does not constitute firm evidence that he was ever intended to live there. As his sickness became apparent and his condition grew serious, Richmond could not remain with the court. Aside from the risk of infection, there was the danger of rumour and gossip. However, a journey of any length might exacerbate his illness. St James' had the advantage of being close at hand, and since the transformation of the former hospital into a Royal Palace was not yet complete, it was perhaps hoped that it would afford a degree of seclusion. It is true that St James' was later to become the residence of several royal princes, including Edward VI as Prince of Wales, but the circumstances in which Richmond came to reside there do not appear to have been intended as a political statement. It was simply the solution to a pressing and immediate need.

98 Loades, David, *The Tudor Court* (London, 1986), p.200.

99 Graeme, Bruce, *The Story of St James' Palace* (London, 1929), p.49. LP X, n.908, p.377.

100 Baldwin, op. cit., p.74.

101 Graves, Charles, *Place Extraordinary* (London, 1963), p.1, 11.

As a magnate Richmond also enjoyed a number of the traditional rights and privileges of a landlord. Since no account was taken of the child's age in such matters, these included all the usual benefits allowed to the lord of the manor. Amongst other things Richmond was entitled to hold view of frankpledge, set assizes of bread and ale, and to take the goods of felons within his boundaries. At Bourne in Lincolnshire alone he could look forward to the profits accrued from three separate fairs 102. Manor and leet courts, with their traditional revenues, were also held in his name 103. Richmond was also in a position to exploit other sources of revenue from his properties. Poole in Dorset, parcel of the duke's manor of Canford yielded deposits of alum, although such a natural phenomenon was not to be entirely relied upon. In 1536 the accounts noted

The Reeve does not answer for the issues of "Le Alome" obtained on Derlyngclyff because none have happened for the time of this account 104.

Commodities such as wood were a more predictable source of income. According to the steward's account in June 1533, the oaks felled in Cheshunt, Herts, over the last five years had produced 1200 cart loads of timber 105. Another of the duke's properties, the Isle of Purbeck, was famous for its stone, which was much in demand as a building material and the fee farm of Walsall could boast both coal and ironstone mining 106. Leases of both wind and water mills provided another steady means for a lord to realize the value of his assets. Despite the fact that he remained legally a minor, the Duke of Richmond was evidently in a position to benefit from his role as a landlord as fully as any other older and more established magnates.

102 22 Henry VIII c17. LP VI, (i), n.578 p.260 (42), VII, (i), n.761 p.293 (34).

103 These are often the only surviving evidence of Richmond's tenure. For example DRO 48/21. NRO AH1 233 x 5.

104 Smith, H. P., *The History of the Borough and County of the Town of Poole* (2 Volumes, Poole, 1951), II, p.46.

105 PRO SP2/O/(8), LP VI, n.677 p.305.

106 VCH Dorset, Volume 2, p.336, *Staffordshire*, Volume 17, p.189.

Another aspect of the Duke of Richmond's income was derived from lands in the tenure of various religious houses. Many of these arrangements were inherited from the Crown. Syon Monastery in Kent, Haltemprice Priory in Yorkshire and St Mary's Chantry in Kirton, Lincolnshire, were amongst the establishments which had connections with Richmond 107. In 1535 the vicar of Huish in Kingsbury Hundred was paying 7s and a half pence rent to Richmond in his capacity as Lord of Langport 108. It was not the most productive way of realizing the value of property, since the possibility for development and improvement was lost, although it did provide a steady income, whilst relieving much of the responsibility. Such leases were a normal form of land use for those with extensive holdings, and not in themselves a reflection of the duke's tender years.

What is more surprising, given Richmond's age, is that he is credited with being the founder of Haltemprice Priory in Yorkshire. The reference first occurs in 1528 when two of the brethren were going up to London to sue for a new prior 109. It is reiterated in the visitation of the priory in 1536. It was a reasonably small foundation but it could also boast the restorative powers of

a pilgrimage to Thomas Wake for Fever and in veneration they have the arm of St George and part of Holy Cross and the girdle of St Marie healthful for childbirth (as is thought) 110.

The sense in which Richmond was the founder is questionable. It did draw some of its income from lands in his possession, but this did not give him founder's rights 111. Since Sir John de Meaux is credited with the foundation of a religious house at Haltemprice in 1406 it seems that the idea did not originate with Richmond 112. That the duke maintained a chapel, with a choir, in his household was as much a matter of

107 *Valor*, Volume 1, p.427. Volume 5, p.127, Volume 4, p.94.

108 *Ibid.*, Volume 1, p.198.

109 LP IV, (ii), n.3878 p.1731.

110 PRO SP1/102, f.98, LP X, n.364 p.139.

111 PRO SC6/HenryVIII/4505.

112 *VCH Yorkshire East Riding*, Volume 1, (i) p.468-9.

status and prestige, as religion 113. The idea of a re-foundation would have enhanced the young duke's standing as a magnate, and it was perhaps by this means that he came to be described as its legal founder.

Richmond's tender age was not, in itself, a serious handicap to the general administration of his lands. No magnate of his standing would be expected to oversee the day to day management of his various properties. Routine matters could safely be delegated to the hands of his officials. Whilst Richmond was at Sheriff Hutton this responsibility naturally devolved to those who also sat as the king's council in the north. This followed the precedent most recently seen in the arrangements made to administer the possessions of Arthur as Prince of Wales 114. Given Richmond's extensive holdings, this was no small undertaking. The council made a concerted effort to combine this responsibility with their judicial role. In January 1527, Magnus arranged to meet some of Richmond's Lincolnshire officers after his attendance at the assizes at York. He then made a substantial detour, through Northamptonshire and Cambridgeshire, in order to survey the duke's holdings in those counties 115. In a similar manner William Franklyn was pressed into service to take a view of Richmond's lands in the north 116. As with other matters of business they exercised this authority under the constant supervision of Wolsey, who suggested that the survey and repair of tenements in Boston harbour might be arranged before they fell into the sea! 117. In the light of their sloppy housekeeping, the level of landed revenues suggests that they were more competent, or more fortunate, in their guardianship of his possessions. When Richmond returned from Sheriff Hutton the overall responsibility for the care of his estates remained in the hands of his officers. There were some changes in personnel, for example Thomas Holland taking over the office of treasurer from Sir Godfrey Foljambe, but the

113 Mertes, R. G., "The Household as a Religious Community", in *People, Politics and Community in the Later Middle Ages* Rosenthal, J., and Richmond, C., eds., (Gloucester, 1987), p.127.

114 Skeel, op. cit., p.24.

115 PRO SP1/40, p.208.

116 SP Henry VIII, IV, n.144 p.408.

117 BL Harleian Mss 6087, f.22.

continued presence of others like George Cotton as governor minimalized any disruption 118.

As well as the support of his council, Richmond could also rely on the assistance of specialist officers like James Morice, his surveyor and general receiver. Morice was well able to shoulder the practical demands of his position, having served both Margaret Beaufort and Henry VIII in this capacity 119. It was he who collected up the rents and fees from various stewards and bailiffs. On 19 September 1530 he collected the £10 18s due at the feast of St Michael the Archangel, from the fee farm of Droitwich, out of the hands of the bailiffs John Newport and Robert Bedell 120. In addition, he was also called upon to handle the practical details of grants and leases, but a sale to Roger Amyace in March 1536, was careful to stress the root of his authority

on the behalf of the said duke's grace and by virtue and authority of a commandment and warrant in writing from the said duke's grace unto the said James directed, bearing date the 20th day of this present month and also with the advise [consent] and agreement of the said duke's council 121.

Things did not always run smoothly. In 1534 bad weather and dearth of crops in the north meant that Richmond's tenants claimed they were too poor to pay any rent 122. Yet, unlike an actual minority where a ward might grow to find his assets stripped and his lands despoiled, Richmond's holdings do not appear to have suffered unduly in the hands of his officers and administrators. When Richmond took possession, the ministers accounts for the manors of Wrestlingworth, Bassingbourn, and Orwell yielded £45 10s 10d ob. After his death the sum total was £45 10s 10d 123. Those who acted in his name might have lacked the incentive to make wide scale investment and improvements, but in their duty to administer his lands responsibly, they were no doubt acutely aware that

118 LP VIII, n.259 p.99, n.334 p.132.

119 MacCulloch, op. cit., p.18. LP VI, (i), n.299 p.135 (vii).

120 HWRO 261.4 BA1006/32a, f.403.

121 PRO SP5/5/75.

122 Reid, op. cit., p.135.

123 PRO SC6/HenryVIII/6699, 6712.

they had to answer to the king. The lack of a magnate's personal involvement was not always detrimental. The revenues from the lordship of Bromfield and Yale sharply increased once Charles Brandon's use of the lordship as a line of credit ceased 124. In contrast, Richmond's own involvement in the care or exploitation of his landed possessions seems to have been at best sporadic, and at worse non-existent.

Evidence of the duke's personal interest in the administration of his lands is extremely hard to come by. In a rare example in 1534, Richmond advised Cromwell of his impressions during a recent visit to Poole

since my coming unto the county I and Sir Giles Strangeways, with others of my council have seen and viewed a certain breach above my town of Poole called north haven point. And do perceive by the same that by reason of the sea ... great annoyance and decay of my said town ... unless some good remedy be shortly had in that behalf 125.

In many cases evidence of Richmond's tenure and occupation does not survive at all: for a significant number of his manors even basic documents like court rolls are lacking 126. This vacuum can perhaps explain how the fact that Richmond ever held the lands in question, is sometimes completely overlooked. The manor of Wrestlingworth in Bedfordshire, is not the only possession of the duke's where his lordship is at variance with the descent recited by local historians 127. Since Richmond's early demise meant that his tenure was so brief it is perhaps unreasonable to hope to find a wealth of original documentation preserved. However, local histories are often equally reticent regarding Richmond's role as a landlord. Specific references to his manors such as Dame Anne, the daughter of Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, holding the manor of Torrington from the Duke of Richmond for a yearly

124 Gunn S. J., "The regime of Charles, Duke of Suffolk in North Wales and the Reform of Welsh Government, 1509-25" *WHR*, [12], (1985), p.487.

125 PRO SP1/84, p.202.

126 Hertfordshire, Derbyshire. and Northamptonshire are among those counties where there is a significant gap in the records during Richmond's tenure.

127 *VCH Bedfordshire*, Volume 2, p.256.

rent of £8 until her death in 1532, are notable only for their scarcity 128.

In his defence it must be allowed that, even discounting Richmond's youth, a ten year tenure is not a significant period in which to expect any large scale impact. It might also be argued that the duke was able to reap the benefit of Margaret Beaufort's intensely active programme of improvements to her possessions. These had included a variety of maintenance, drainage and new building projects, not least of which was an ambitious scheme at Boston, Lincolnshire, to prevent flooding 129. Furthermore a large number of Richmond's holdings, like Maidcroft in Kent, were in the hands and possession of farmers. Indeed when Richmond acquired the lordship of Arwystli and Cyfeiliog in Montgomeryshire the instructions noted

Item to cause my said lord Ferrers to convene a court at the chief lordship and that this atonement be notified and declared openly to the county showing unto them that my lord of Richmond hath purchased their said lordships of Sir John Dudley and that the said estate be kept in my lord Ferrers' name as farmer and not in my lord of Richmond's name 130.

If the overall aim was to mitigate the more serious repercussions of entrusting an estate of such magnitude to the hands of a child the policy was not without its flaws. How far Richmond's tenants suffered from the lack of a fully fledged magnate at the helm now depended on the calibre of the farmer, but the necessity for active involvement on the duke's part was greatly reduced 131.

This apparent lack of activity did not however extend to matters of right and title. To this end, like any other magnate, Richmond was prepared to utilize the full force of

128 Alexander, J. J. and Hooper, W. R., *The History of Great Torrington in the County of Devon* (Surrey, 1948), p.25. It then passed to her son, Sir George St Leger.

129 Jones and Underwood, op. cit., p.130.

130 PRO E314/39/124.

131 This was certainly the case in the lordships of Bere and Pennally where the lease to Morgan Morice and James Kerneys in 1528, signalled something of a decline. LP XII, (i), n.1103 p.514 (36), Cathcart King, D. J. and Clifford Perks, J., "Manorbier Castle", *Archaeologia Cambrensis and Denbighshire Historical Society Transactions*, [118], (1969), p.90.

law, even to the extent that the child would present his grievances before the king's court of Star Chamber. On one occasion John St Clere, the farmer of Lamarsh in Essex since July 1525, had leased his interest in the property to a certain John Sidney. According to the Duke of Richmond's bill in 1533, the said John Sidney then proceeded to occupy

not only the said lands and tenements like as other farmers have used to do afore time but also without [colour] of title hath entered into 12 acres and 3 roods of meadows, parcel of the said manor of Lammmarsh which aforetime were never accompted nor taken to be any parcel of the said farm 132.

which he continued to hold with force of arms, despite attempts 's officers to recover it. Richmond applied to the king for a subpoena to enforce his lawful entry. Despite claims that he was very loath to contend with the duke, John Sidney stood his ground. Not only was he entitled to enjoy those lands as parcel of the demesne of the manor, but

every year since the said lease and grant of the premises made to him by the said Sir John St Clere paid and contented to the receiver of the said lands, save only this last year being the 25 [th] year of the reign of our said Sovereign lord, not only the said [sum of] 13 6s 8d and 13s 4d of increase according to the tenor of the said letters patent, but also yearly 38s 3d over and more than is expressed and contained in the said letters patent 133.

Sidney refuted the duke's argument that these lands were, or had ever been, in any way separate from the manor. The relative merits of their positions was left to the judgment of the king. It was obviously imperative that Richmond should have recourse to the full measure of the law, despite the fact that he was not of full age, if he was to operate effectively as a magnate. How far the child was personally involved in the suits presented in his name is unclear, but this was not as important as the fact that he should be seen to defend his rights.

Richmond was also encouraged to assert his traditional privileges as lord of the manor. When one Thomasyn Andrews committed suicide within the hundred of Fremington, under the

132 PRO Stac2/Bundle17/n181.

133 Ibid.

law her goods were forfeit to the duke. However, Richmond, casting himself as your son and faithful subject, complained to the king.

so it is most dread sovereign lord that one Thomasyn Andrews of her most mysterious and desperate mind about the month of August last past willfully hanged herself within the said hundred of Fremington, having divers goods and cattle at the time of her death within the said hundred to the value of £20 and above. All which goods and cattle one Elizabeth Chicester, widow, John Knett, William Hamlin, William Stevyn, and John Lane, without colour of title have obtained and taken into their hands and possession, refusing to redeliver the same to the officers of your Orator 134.

Richmond also sought to obtain a subpoena in October 1535 when armed thieves broke into his park at Bedhampton, and slaughtered and stole his deer. On this occasion he was careful to point out that their actions were in violation of the king's laws, and lack of suitable punishment would set a perilous example to other like minded offenders 135. The duke's eagerness to assert his rights could also result in a less welcome use of the power of the courts. When Randell Lloyd, deputy steward of Richmond's Lordship of Bromfield and Yale, refused to permit the customary general pardon at a change of lord or lady when rents, debts and other due monies were waived in return for a single fee of 6 marks, the tenants took their complaint to the Star Chamber

most humbly beseeching your Highness of your most noble and abundant grace, to admit the said tenants and inhabitants to their said old ancient customs, liberties, and all such penalties, forfeit of recognizance, and other the premises may be clearly discharged 136.

Such issues were part and parcel of landholding in the sixteenth century as it became increasingly popular to use litigation for all manner of ends. That a magnate was required to seek legal redress from the Crown was not unusual, and should not reflect unduly on Richmond's authority. Rather the duke's involvement in the legal process underscored his position as the rightful lord.

134 PRO Stac2/31/93.

135 PRO Stac2/Bundle 13/n446.

136 PRO E163/11/48.

The most extensive legal wrangle touching the duke's rights concerned a single manor in Dorset. When Richmond was granted Canford in 1525, the dispute had already been running for some eight years. In simple terms, the king claimed the manor as parcel of the Dukedom of Somerset, whilst Margaret, Countess of Salisbury alleged it was hers as sister, and heiress, of Edward, Earl of Warwick. Margaret had actually been granted Canford, amongst other manors, in 1513 as parcel of the Earldom of Salisbury 137. However, William Compton subsequently cast doubt on the proper descent of some of those lands. Margaret was later to allege that he was motivated more by malice than by justice

for that he obtained not his purpose of her in marriage according to his suit and desire surmised unto the King's grace that the said manors of Canford and other lordships ... were parcel of the Dukedom of Somerset and not parcel of the Earldom of Somerset 138.

However, as steward of Canford Compton also had access to deeds and other information, which may have called Margaret's rightful title into question; as such he would be obliged to appraise the king. Wolsey mounted an investigation on behalf of the Crown and, by October 1518, the manor was once more in the hands of the king 139. In June 1519, Henry VIII clearly considered the affair was concluded, taking the opportunity to appoint Robert Bingham to the office of bailiff and keeper 140. Margaret was not willing to let the matter drop. Richmond's acquisition, and perhaps more significantly the death of William Compton in 1528, were her cues to press her claim further

which matter which yet depends and is before the judges undetermined, albeit it is thought and advertised clearly by her council that she hath as good right there unto as she hath to any other lands of the said Earldom, not doubting that if his grace were informed thereof

137 Jones and Underwood, op. cit., p.103.

138 PRO SP1/50, f.4.

139 In the covenant made at the marriage of Margaret's daughter Ursula Pole with Henry, Lord Stafford when Margaret undertook to pay his father, the Duke of Buckingham, 1000 marks more, if she "get back certain lands from the King" HMC 7th Report, *Manuscripts of George Alan Lowndes esq* (London, 1879), p.584.

140 LP III, (i), n.347 p.120 (6).

according unto her right and title but his grace would suffer her to enjoy them 141.

Accordingly, the Countess of Salisbury set out details in support of her right and title to the manor in a bill of complaint to be heard in the court of Star Chamber. This time it was not the king who was required to make a sufficient answer, but the young Duke of Richmond.

In response to Margaret's sally the duke's council set about attempting to prove Richmond's clear title to the land. In October 1528, Magnus advised Wolsey that

so it is that my lord's receivers and auditors in the south parts have in commandment to search and inquire in every place of their circuit, for all such evidence for my lord's right touching the said lordship 142.

However he regretted that other business would yet keep him from London, preventing the case being heard that term as Margaret had wished. Indeed, Magnus refused to come at all until he had been fully appraised of the results of the completed searches. His caution was fully justified. Richmond's own entry into the manor of Canford was not without its difficulties. The duke presented a bill into Chancery in an attempt to secure the deeds of the property, alleging that although he had taken possession of the lands by virtue of the king's letters patent:

that divers bundles, charters, writings and arguments concerning the premises being common to the hands and possession of one John Incent, clerk of both laws, whom the said duke have divers times desired the said John Incent to make delivery of the same, which to do he hath always refused, and yet doth refuse, contrary to all right and good conscience 143.

John Incent was Master of St Cross Hospital Winchester. This foundation had a better title to the manor than either party in the present dispute, since Cardinal Beaufort had purchased the lands specifically to endow the hospital. This action predated the Countess of Salisbury's interest in the manor, and the king's claim blatantly disregarded the hospital's

141 PRO SP1/50, f.4.

142 PRO SP1/50, p.197.

143 PRO C1/504/2.

entitlement. Now it seems Incent choose to enter the fray on the side of the Countess. Given that these papers had apparently yielded sufficient information for Compton to question Margaret's title, Incent's refusal to deliver up the deeds was not without significance.

Furthermore, in his answer to Richmond's bill of complaint, Incent was also prepared to present inaccurate information in order to strengthen the Countess of Salisbury's hand. As regards the tenure of John, Earl of Salisbury he alleged that

it was enacted that the said earl should be attainted of high treason and also by the same act it was ordered that the same earl should forfeit unto the said King [Henry IV] all manors lands and tenements, as by the same act more plainly doth appear, whereof the said earl was seized at that time 144.

However, rather than being forfeited by attainder, the lands had in fact legally escheated to the Crown. In his rendition of her superior title, Incent was perhaps coached by Margaret. Whilst he innocently claimed he was ready to abide by the decision of the court, it certainly seems possible the two had colluded. Incent closed his answer by requesting that Margaret should be called before the court to interplead with the duke. Richmond's own response was not sufficient to satisfy Margaret 145. The duke, not unreasonably, claimed his right by dint of the king's grant by letters patent, but Margaret refuted the Crown's legal title, claiming that its interest was derived

only by reason of the non age of the said Edward late Earl of Warwick as in the said title is alleged and without that that our said Sovereign Lord died seized of and in the said manor of any other estate than by reason of the said attainder of the said Edward 146.

It is worth noting that a similar furore did not erupt over Henry VIII's decision to include Deeping, in Lincolnshire, in the grant to his son. This was another of the manors which had been given to Margaret in 1513, and subsequently repossessed, but the king's title here was beyond question. It had come to Margaret Beaufort from her grandmother, a co-heiress of Thomas, Earl of Kent. Despite the weakness of her own

144 PRO E111/131.

145 PRO E314/79.

146 PRO E314/18.

position, Margaret was perhaps so tenacious over the issue of Canford because the Crown's position appeared, to her, to be equally in doubt.

However, Margaret's argument did not take account of the fact that both Henry VII and Margaret Beaufort had held Canford in their right as Beaufort heirs, prior to Edward's attainder. Whilst the true heir remained St Cross Hospital, on this basis at least Henry's title was better than that of the countess. As such she had scant grounds to contend that the gift to Richmond was flawed. In spite of this the dispute continued to rumble on. In September 1531, the king's instructions to Cromwell noted

a communication to be had with my lord Montague for the clearing of certain lands given to the duke of Richmond 147.

Since Montague was Margaret's eldest son, it seems likely the king was hoping to invoke his assistance in bringing an end to the matter. If so, it seems nothing was to be so easily resolved. Amongst Cromwell's papers for 1533 are a number of legal papers relating to the various parties' right and title to Canford, which indicate that things were not yet settled 148. This time it appears Cromwell's intervention did the trick. Whilst it is not entirely clear whether Richmond's residence at Canford in the summer of 1534 was a final salvo in the attack emphasising his ownership, or a signal of the peaceful conclusion of the dispute, the duke does not seem to have suffered any renewed approaches from the countess. Nine years after he had succeeded to the manor he was finally able to enjoy its parks and amenities in peace.

Richmond's difficulties as regards the Barony of Kendal were not quite as drawn out, but they did present another problem in his role as a landowner. The duke had held part of the Richmond fee of the barony of Kendal since his creation in 1525, but in the 1532 session of Parliament an exchange of lands was affected with John, Lord Lumley. This endowed the duke with further lands in Westmorland and Lancaster, which

147 BL Cotton Titus B I, f.486.

148 LP VII, (i), n.923 p.341.

augmented his interest in the barony 149. The arrangement was heavily weighted to the benefit of the duke. The unfortunate Lumley was persuaded to relinquish a parcel of manors for a simple cash annuity of £50. However, in the prevailing circumstances there was perhaps a political motive behind the choice of these particular lands. On 20 April 1532 William Parr, nephew to the duke's chamberlain, complained to Cromwell of the criminal conduct of one Robert Tarne. More than once he had gained access to Parr's park at Kendal, in order to kill and steal his game, and had verbally abused William Redman the keeper there. On this occasion Redman had responded with a few choice words of his own, and a fight had ensued, but it was Tarne who was injured. Now Parr claimed the villain, backed by the Earl of Cumberland and Sir Thomas Clifford, was intending to turn the situation to his advantage proceeding against not only Redburn, but Parr's cousin, Sir Jason Labourne, who served Richmond as steward of Kendal. Parr asserted that his cousin was completely innocent save that

all that which is made against him herein is plainly for ill will and malice that my said lord of Cumberland and Sir Thomas Clifford beareth unto him for my lord of Richmond and my poor causes 150.

From the tone of Parr's letter it seems clear that this conflict was neither a recent development, nor an isolated incident. Rather it reflect a deeper resentment already brewing within the locality.

Parr contended it had always been the custom that recourse to justice was a local matter, administered by the steward within the barony itself, but in recent times this practice had been challenged

that sundry wealthy and malicious persons by maintenance and bearing, intending for ill will and malice that they bear unto my said lord of Richmond and me, to infringe the said laudable custom 151.

Parr was being inundated with complaints from poor men forced to pursue their suits in London. The Earl of Cumberland and Sir Thomas Clifford, were plainly attempting to undermine the

149 23 Henry VIII c28.

150 PRO SP1/69, p.263.

151 Ibid.

authority traditionally allowed to Richmond and Parr. Parr expressed the hope that having appraised Cromwell of the situation he would refer any such plaintiffs back to Kendal, discouraging such action in future. In the light of these problems it seems reasonable to assume that the decision to grant Richmond further interests there was intended to provide a longer term solution. The grant would underline Richmond's position and have the added advantage of bringing the area more firmly under royal control, without the appearance of being directly intrusive. If there was indeed such a policy, its effectiveness was almost immediately put to the test. In April it was reported that Sir John Lowther, the under-sheriff to the Earl of Cumberland, and others including Sir Thomas Clifford, had moved to hold the sheriff's tourn in Kendal, an act in clear contempt of Richmond's authority there. When charged in the name of the king, and the Duke of Richmond, to hold no such assembly within the duke's liberties, they openly questioned the superior right of the duke

and then I answered and said that my said lord of Richmond's authority was openly proclaimed and rehearsed in the king's market in Kendal under the king's broad seal and they answered again and said that they knew none such 152.

The public nature of the duke's proclamation as lord, in the presence of Sir Thomas Clifford, must cast doubt on the sincerity of the under sheriff and his officers. It was not a good beginning, but it did set the tone for the disputes and disagreements that were to follow.

The ensuing problems were intended more as an attack on the authority that Richmond represented, than a personal affront to the power and status of the young duke himself. Whilst it might appear that Richmond's tender age gave licence to the local gentry to flout, or flagrantly deny, his authority, in practice Richmond's interests were vigorously protected, and continuously asserted, by the good offices of Laybourne supported and assisted by the Parrs 153. That their efforts were initially woefully insufficient is an indication of the extent of the problem, rather than evidence of poor

152 PRO SP1/69, p.273.

153 Harrison, Scott, Michael, *The Pilgrimage of Grace in the Lake Counties, 1536-7* (London, 1981), p.38.

management. No one could deny the might and power of the king, but even his personal intervention at first had little effect. Henry VIII wrote to the Earl of Cumberland commanding him to cease his interference in the Duke of Richmond's liberties, but there was no material improvement. Richmond's deputy steward reported how the earl's officers persisted in their annoyance of the duke's tenants 154. Indeed, they went on to perform greater enormities. Laybourne enclosed a bill listing a number of articles which outlined the numerous ways Cumberland used his position as sheriff to the detriment of Richmond's legal rights 155. Cumberland was plainly attempting to usurp the mantle of lordship, even to the extent that he indicted the duke's officers in the performance of their duties, although conflict on this scale seems to have been short lived. Richmond's problems in Kendal did not entirely cease. In March 1534 a band of marauders broke into the duke's lands at New Hutton to despoil corn and wine, but this time the duke was swiftly able to reassert his authority by presenting a bill of complaint in the court of Star Chamber 156. With the combined power of the king, Norfolk, Cromwell and his own officers ranged behind him, it seems the balance of control had finally tipped in the duke's favour.

Similarly when problems arose in Richmond's landholdings in the Welsh Marches, it was Norfolk who provided the solution. Cromwell's concerted reformation of the Marches was already well underway in 1534 with the appointment of Roland Lee as President of the council, although Lee and Cromwell's best efforts were being somewhat hampered by the holdings of the remaining Marcher lords. Chief amongst these, according to an estimation taken in 1531, was Richmond himself, whose possessions already included several separate lordships. These were augmented in 1532 when he was granted the former Dudley lordship of Arwystli and Cyfeiliog 157. In October 1535, Lee expressed concern that the trials of suspected murders imprisoned at the castle of Holt, were being respited and

154 LP VI, (i), n.306 p.144.

155 PRO SP1/40, p.78.

156 PRO Stac2/31/95.

157 LP V, n.390 p.193. Pugh, T. B., *The Marcher Lordships of South Wales 1415-1536* (Cardiff, 1963), p.344.

delayed at Richmond's instigation. He appraised Cromwell of his concern at the intervention

that some persons that be about my lord of Richmond's grace be not so quick to move his grace to write in such matters. It is not for his honour to see his badge and livery, as is by the parties alleged, worn upon strong thieves' backs 158.

The incumbent steward of Holt was William Brereton. He wielded no small measure of power in the Marcher area, since he was also steward of Richmond's other lordships of Chirk and Bromfield and Yale. His conduct in the exercise of his office was not above suspicion. In 1534, in his capacity as steward to the duke, Brereton had been involved in an investigation into alleged irregularities under Robert Salusbury at the Abbey of Valle Crucis. It seems that his interest was neither purely professional, nor completely disinterested:

other evidence suggests that he was directly and personally involved. He was certainly being offered £40 by the abbot of Cymmer ... apparently to engineer the abbot's transfer to Valle Cruis to replace Salusbury. It may even be that Brereton had seen a chance to fish in troubled waters and so initiated the enquiry himself in the name of the fifteen year old duke 159.

In addition Brereton's acquisition of the tithes of Ruabon was cast as a bribe in 1536, and there are sufficient grounds to suggest that this charge, at least, was not entirely unfounded. Such activities, when coupled with the range and extent of power at Brereton's disposal in the March, were inevitably going to attract the unwanted attention of Cromwell.

However, the minister's desire to act was complicated by a number of elements, not least that William Brereton was also a groom of the privy chamber, and continued to enjoy the favour of the king. Whilst Brereton acted as Richmond's steward Cromwell was also required to respect the authority of the duke, which, after all, stemmed directly from Henry. If this was not enough, Richmond was also actively supported and assisted of Norfolk. Indeed Lee, having tackled Norfolk over the matter of the released prisoners, suspected a conspiracy

158 PRO SP1/97, p.96. Ives, Eric, ed., "Letters and Accounts of William Brereton of Malpas", *The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* [116], (1976), p.39.

159 Ibid., p.28.

my said lord of Norfolk affirming no such to have passed by his grace [Richmond]. Yet of truth it is otherwise, as the said letters directed to the steward there do testify by their subscriptions 160.

It was probably Norfolk who suggested the expedient of a visit to Holt in 1535, as a response to Lee's recent criticisms. Under colour of his formal investiture as Lord of Holt, it was arranged that the Duke of Richmond should make a progress to address the state of his gaol in person. Plans for the visit were already well in hand less than two weeks after Cromwell had received Lee's missive. The timing is most unlikely to be mere coincidence. Ralph Broke expressed his surprise to Lord Lisle at such an undertaking at this unseasonable time.

Please it your lordship to understand that since the writing of this my poor letter news is come into these parts that my lord of Richmond's grace and my lord Norfolk's grace intend shortly to be at the Holt: for what intent or purpose I wot not, now in the time of winter. I can no less do but to see 161.

At one level it was obviously desirable that Richmond should be seen to redress any problems within his jurisdiction in person; this was the only effective way to rebuff any criticisms of mismanagement in his name. The problem of justice was not completely neglected; during the visit an agreement was reached for an exchange of prisoners between Powis and Chirk 162. However, the manner in which the progress was conducted, and received, suggests that the visit was also intended to be viewed as a political statement, underlining the Duke of Richmond's role, power, and status as an independent Marcher lord.

In spite of Cromwell's efforts to eradicate their power, the state of the Marcher lordships remained an ongoing problem. Given that they were under threat, it was perhaps natural that the Duke of Richmond became a focus for the continued hopes and aspirations of those who remained:

although the Marcher lordships of the Dee were clearly on the defensive, with the king's son as their lord, backed by the serpentine Duke of Norfolk and the

160 PRO SP1/97, p.96.

161 St Clare Byrne, Muriel, ed., II, p.603 (461).

162 Ives, ed., op. cit., p.39.

executive authority in the hands of a groom of the privy chamber, they might yet survive 163.

Richmond's visit to the area was therefore obviously an occasion of note. The accounts for the town of Shrewsbury show detailed preparations for his reception. Even before the duke came into the town the main street and both bridges were cleaned to create a good impression. To ensure that everything would be quite ready, the barber Richard Clarke was paid the princely sum of 2s 4d

riding to know perfectly of the coming of the duke of Richmond and the duke of Norfolk into the county of Salop 164.

Once the two dukes reached the town they were received in an equally royal fashion. All manner of food and dainties were procured for their entertainment. Richmond sat down to a veritable banquet of oxen, swans, calves, conies and capons, followed by wafers and hipocras, washed down by a hogshead of wine 165. The town was clearly prepared to make a significant investment, both in terms of time and money, in attaining the goodwill of the dukes. The extent to which Richmond's influence would have been effective in blocking reform is uncertain. The Act of Union in April 1536, was a measure of Cromwell's resolve to effect change, yet equally the minister's determination to remove Brereton, is an indication of how seriously he took the issue of Richmond's power in the Welsh Marches.

In the event it was not Brereton's conduct as steward that provided Cromwell with the means to dispose of him. Brereton continued to occupy that office without interruption. Even in May 1536, hearing a rumour that some religious establishments in Cheshire were to be suppressed, he was hopefully lobbying Cromwell 166. However, the cloud of suspicion generated by the

163 Ibid., p.40.

164 Owen, Hugh, and Blakeway, John, *A History of Shrewsbury* (2 Volumes, London, 1825), I, p.317. SRO 3365/438.

165 Ibid. HMC 15th Report, X, (iv), *Municipal Records of Shrewsbury* (London, 1899), p.12, "They be agreed that provision should be provided, an oxe, a couple or two of swans, a dozen capons, a couple of calves, a hogshead of wine."

166 LP X, n.825 p.346.

downfall of Anne Boleyn apparently gave the minister the licence to act that he had hitherto lacked. The evidence marking out the supposed paramours of the queen is uniformly weak. Much of the information presented against Brereton centred on his voracious sexual appetite 167. Of this crime, at least, we may accept the steward's word that he was not culpable. The point at issue is therefore not so much his innocence, but the reason for his inclusion. Brereton's established links with Anne and Norfolk could now only bring down greater suspicion, rather than effect his salvation 168. To be accused of having cuckolded him, was a sure way of removing any hope of assistance from the king. Brereton would be vulnerable and exposed to almost certain death. It has been argued that the extent of his influence cannot support such a conspiracy theory

William Brereton ... carried little political weight, and it requires some imagination to regard his death as part of a Cromwellian scheme to strike at the power of the Duke of Norfolk by executing Brereton, who served as deputy to the Duke of Richmond 169.

He was perhaps not a major court player, but the extent of his ascendancy in the Marches should not be underestimated. Eric Ives considers Brereton held a virtual monopoly of royal appointments in Cheshire and North Wales. His influence had been sufficient in 1534 to thwart Cromwell over the fate of John ap Gryffith Eyton. The minister had striven to save Brereton's enemy from the gallows, but the steward had successfully arranged for Eyton to be arrested in London and, ultimately, returned to Wales to be hanged 170. In addition, he held numerous grants and privileges which allowed him to further his own fortunes and those of his relations 171. At his death, Brereton admitted, as readily as he had recently denied his guilt, that he had committed other crimes for which he justly deserved to die 172. It seems hard to avoid the

167 Warnicke, op. cit., p.223.

168 Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, p.395.

169 Block, J. S., *Factional Politics and the English Reformation 1520-40* (Royal Historical Society, 1993), p.65.

170 Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, p.395.

171 Ives, Eric, "Henry VIII, The Political Perspective", in *The Reign of Henry VIII* MacCulloch, Diarmaid, ed., (London, 1995), p.18.

172 Warnicke, op. cit., p.222.

conclusion that he was something of a thorn in Cromwell's side, and the downfall of Anne Boleyn provided a tailor made opportunity to pluck him out. Whilst the Act of Union had placed government in Wales on a firmer footing, Cromwell still had to contend with Richmond's extensive estates. Now it seems the minister took advantage of the current situation to ensure that Brereton, at least, was removed.

It is entirely probable that Richmond and Norfolk and the threat of Brereton in the privy chamber, convinced Cromwell that no welsh solution was possible as long as powerful courtiers had a major stake in the March. Very probably this conviction helped Brereton to the block
173.

The extent to which his death would have affected the balance of power in North Wales cannot be reliably measured. The rush of applications for his offices is something of an indication of the ripples it caused, but the demise of Richmond himself, within a matter of months, changed the picture so dramatically as to make any real assessment of Brereton's loss impossible
174. However, Richmond's death was evidently keenly felt. The steward of Ruthin expressed the conviction to the Duke of Norfolk that the death of the king's illegitimate son was

our misfortune and utter undoing of me and all other the Marches for the loss of my especial good lord and master my lord of Richmond
175.

Richmond had not particularly striven to identify himself with the rights and causes of the government of the March. Secure in the favour and support of the king, he had little reason to fear that his lordships would be abrogated or otherwise interfered with. His interests in the Marches were not always a cause for concern. In January 1536, Lee commended Richmond's tenants in Arwystli and Cyfeiliog for the taking of two outlaws, although he did note they were motivated more by fear, and hope of gain, than justice
176. Yet there was conflict. In 1534 the same tenants in Cyfeiliog, objecting to the arrest of Sir Richard Herbert for the murder of Hugh ap David Vaughan, for they

173 Ives, ed., op. cit., p.40.

174 LP XI, n.943 p.376 (1).

175 PRO SP1/105, p.249.

176 LP X, n.130 p.44.

would not keep court, nor pay the duke of Richmond money, as long as he was in ward, nor yet would not, if he were there again, for that they know he is not guilty of the said murder 177.

Richmond's greatest importance here seems to have rested in the fact that whilst he lived the preservation of his lordships was assured. In the climate of 1536 the reassurance this gave to the remaining Marcher lords may well have been more apparent than real, although they obviously feared that his death would now provide the excuse for large scale changes.

The effect of Richmond's death on his landed estates was quickly felt. In commiserating with Norfolk, the steward of Ruthin was also anxious to point out that the deputy receiver there intended to take advantage of the duke's death by keeping all the revenues, rents and profits he had collected for his own use 178. Substantive changes were not slow to follow. By 15 August 1536 William Orrell, who was a page of the king's chamber, rather than one of Richmond's displaced officers, had already replaced the recently deceased Edward Vaux as bailiff of the Richmond fee in Norfolk 179. Admittedly, it took the king some time to turn his attention to the Marches. Not until October 1537, were the Earl of Worcester and others sent a commission to investigate the duke's holdings there 180. In Yorkshire the impact was more immediate. The dismay of the duke's former tenants in Masham and Nidderdale, of the cost and charge they were now required to bear, quickly contributed to the growing disorder in the north

made desperate by the demand for the God's penny and a gressom due on the change of lord as well as a year's rent, together with sergeants' oats and tithes, all of which fell due at Michaelmas, rose on September 30, refusing to pay their rents, and swearing to suffer no spoils nor suppressions of abbeys or parish churches, 181.

177 PRO SP1/82, p.171.

178 PRO SP1/105, p.249.

179 LP XI, n.385 p.156 (26).

180 LP XII, (ii), n.835 p.294

181 "A God's penny was a relief of a silver penny paid as earnest money in addition to the gressom [two years rent] at a

Significant grants of Richmond's former estates were made to prominent individuals. Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, was particularly fortunate in receiving two large endowments, parcel of the honour of Richmond, which gave him a formidable presence in the midlands 182. In the notable absence of suitable male relatives a former brother-in-law, and longtime boon companion, could perhaps expect to do well. In a similar manner Henry Courtney, Marquis of Exeter, probably owed his Lordship of Canford, and other manors in Dorset, to his kinship with the king 183. Sir William Fitzwilliam's extensive allocation of lands in Devon and elsewhere, was no doubt intended to support and reward his new dignity as Lord Admiral. Any hopes harboured of Norfolk of recovering his former office were, in the present climate, perhaps bound to be disappointed. In contrast, Fitzwilliam was a rising privy councillor 184. Yet grants on this scale were more than an example of good lordship, they served to minimize the disruption caused 's death. Passing a considerable parcel of his interests directly into established and capable hands provided a practical solution to a sudden and extensive administrative problem.

Despite Richmond's extensive holdings, inquisitions post mortem only survive for four of the numerous counties where he had interests. These are not very informative. The jury in Hertfordshire returned a slightly more detailed response, reciting Richmond's acquisition of lands in Cheshunt valued at £20 40s per annum in the wake of Wolsey's attainder 185. The Inquisition taken at Keynsham in Somerset, 25th October 1536, simply states states the bare facts of the case. Without legitimate heirs, all his property immediately reverted to the Crown 186. In addition to these major grants Henry VIII also made some formal provision for the continued supervision of

change of lord in some parts of the North". Reid, op. cit., p.135-6.

182 LP XII, (i), n.1103 p.511 (1). XIV, (i), n.651 p.258 (45).

183 Hutchins, John, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset* Shipp, William, and Hodson, James, eds., (4 Volumes, Westminster, 1861-73), III, p.294.

184 LP XII, (i), n.1008 p.352 (19). SP Henry VIII, I, (ii), n.46 p.461.

185 PRO C142/82.

186 PRO E150/927, E150/178, E150/572.

the lands. The king's officers were charged with collecting outstanding debts and fees 187. In March 1538, Robert Wingfield was made auditor of all those possessions late of the Countess of Richmond, including those back in the king's hands by virtue of the young duke's death 188. In general his former holdings were gradually alienated from the Crown, in numerous small grants, by means of reward, to those in the royal circle. In 1544 the lordship and manor of Thorpe Achurch in Northamptonshire was bestowed on Queen Catherine Parr. Lamarsh and Wakes Colne in Essex went to John, Earl of Oxford and his wife. The manor of Boston, in Lincolnshire, was perhaps something of a special case in that in May 1545, for the sizable sum of £1646 15s 4d, it gained the right to become a corporate borough 189. Not all of the agreements were outright grants, nor, for that matter, destined for persons of note. The manor of Kingsbury in Somerset was bestowed on Roger Amyce, whose father-in-law had been Richmond's cofferer 190. John Cocke, one of the king's footmen, received a lease of a messuage and land in Oveston, and Thomas Hughes, a royal physician, was allowed to acquire an interest in the manors of Tidburst and Kendal 191. There was however no attempt to transfer the holdings of the duke to the king's new born legitimate son the Prince Edward. As Prince of Wales, the lands entailed upon him would be derived from other sources.

The fate of Richmond's goods and servants was complicated by the fact that as a minor he could not make a will. On his death in 1504, Thomas Lord Stanley, Earl of Derby, had made over eighty separate gifts and rewards to his household and servants 192. As with his lands, the bulk of his goods promptly reverted to the king. His plate alone delivered into the jewel house filled four coffers and even that did not include

187 Although it was to be more than two years before the bailiff at Droitwich paid up the £10 19s, due since the Duke's death, HWRO 261.4 BA1006/32a 386.

188 LP XIII, (i), n.646 p.242 (15).

189 LP XIX, (i), n.141 p.83 (65), n.444 p.286 (15), XX, (i), n.846 p.424 (87). PRO E321/42/98.

190 LP XII, (i), n.539 p.253 (36).

191 LP XX, (i), n.846 p.419 (47). CPR Philip and Mary 1557-1558, p.122.

192 PRO Prob 11/14.

certain parcels which remain in the hands of the duchess of Richmond, delivered long ago by indenture, and other jewels which remaineth in the custody of George Cotton.

Henry VIII could also look forward to the extensive collections of robes, bedding, tapestries, chapel stuff and other paraphernalia that went to make up the ducal state. If Norfolk was at all pained by seeing the investment he had made in Richmond's household disappear into the king's hands, he was far too astute to object. Henry also stood to benefit from a year's revenue of Richmond's lands due at Michaelmas, and the £490 in ready money held by his almoner 193. However, it does seem that certain bequests and small gifts were made out of his goods. According to John Gostwyk's inventory taken in July 1536, Richmond's half-brother, the Lord Tailbois, was still receiving his illustrious relative's cast offs, this time a green taffeta and velvet coat. His widow, the Duchess of Richmond was allowed two silver spoons, from a set of twelve, whilst her brother the Earl of Surrey, was given a black jennet together with its saddle and harness of black velvet purchased for the duke in 1529. A gilt salt and two gilt pots were also delivered to "my Lady's Grace". Since the Duchess was already mentioned this was perhaps Mary Tudor, since the expansion of her household could be most economically achieved by bestowing on her some of Richmond's goods. However, since all the other bequests were to members of the Howard affinity, and probably, orchestrated by Norfolk, perhaps the young Elizabeth, or even Richmond's mother the Lady Tailbois, was the intended beneficiary 194. How far these reflected the express commands of the duke during his last sickness, or were merely at the discretion of his officers, cannot be determined. These small gestures were all of a personal and very limited nature, and nothing like the provision that a mature duke would have been expected to make for his household and servants on his death.

Reflecting on a greater scale the repercussions of his departure from Sheriff Hutton, the duke's death left his officers and servants, at all levels, scrambling to find other positions. Many of Richmond's officers were continued in the posts they had held at his death. On 22 August, John Gostwyk

193 PRO SP1/105, p.183.

194 *Inventories*, Nichols, J. G., ed., p.1ff.

wrote to Cromwell on behalf of Robert Metcalf, a clerk of the duke's kitchen, not only that he might retain Richmond's gift of the bailiwick of Cottingham;

But also considering his desirious mind and great affection towards my lady Mary's service, whose household, as I am informed, shall be shortly advanced and the number of persons thereof augmented, that he may have a bill assigned to be one of the clerks there 195.

By 1538 Sir Brian Tuke was Treasurer of the Kings Chamber, but even the duke's councillors were not automatically re-absorbed into royal employment. The duke's governor, Richard Cotton, soon found himself pressed into military service to combat the Pilgrimage of Grace: his success here no doubt facilitated his subsequent appointment as coffer to the infant Prince Edward. However, Richmond's chamberlain, Sir William Parr, answered the call to arms with equal enthusiasm but was, for some years, not to secure any significant office at court beyond membership of the privy council 196. Others were more fortunate. Those in the ascendant like Sir Edward Seymour, now Viscount Beauchamp, accrued greater benefit. He was granted the office of chancellor and chamberlain of North Wales 197. Richmond's former deputy at Berwick, Sir Thomas Clifford, assumed his mantle as captain of the town and castle 198. Hugh Johns, who had been Richmond's yeoman of the wardrobe, gained a post as a page of the king's chamber, but the transition was not always a smooth one 199. It took three years for Thomas Eynus to be accepted into the household of the young Prince Edward, and in the interim he suffered severe financial hardship writing of

the great cost and charges which I have sustained since the death of my said lord and master, whereby I am more than half undone 200.

195 PRO SP1/106, p.40. He retained the office, but he does not appear to have been absorbed into Mary Tudor's household.

196 LP XI, n.607 p.245, n.831 p.328, n.1095 p.440. Guy, John, *Tudor England*, p.197.

197 LP XI, n.385 p.156 (16).

198 Ibid., p.155 (10).

199 LP XII, (i), n.1103 p.514 (36).

200 PRO SP1/143, p.186.

The king was obviously the preferred choice for alternative employment, offering sound hope of future advancement, but whilst he was prepared to offset the immediate hardship of redundancy with a reward of just over £528 to be shared among the late duke's officers and servants, even his ability to make preferment was not unlimited 201. Many of Richmond's household found themselves forced to seek alternative opportunities.

Perhaps inevitably, men like Eynus, in common with many others late of Richmond's service, looked to Thomas Cromwell for his assistance in promoting their suits. Indeed, the minister was willing to take on a number of the late duke's officers. The aged Thomas Holland felt constrained to decline Cromwell's offer of continued employment, but so as not to waste the opportunity, he was quick to send up his son and heir in his stead 202. Cromwell's favour to Richmond's former servants was apparently widely known. The Duchess of Norfolk commented upon it when seeking assistance for a brewer who had previously served both Richmond and Norfolk.

One Arnold ... desired me to write to your lordship to help to get him a living, as his wife showed me that you promised Arnold the brewer, when he was afore your lordship, when my lord of Richmond was dead, if he could see a thing that was meet for him 203.

Others like Nicholas Throckmorton were again able to call upon the good offices of their kinsfolk, even if the best he could secure was a position in the household of his uncle 204. However, few were quite as fortunate as Sir Thomas Darcy, a former gentleman waiter, who moved effortlessly into the service of his rising relation Sir Edward Seymour 205. The difficulties faced by those without a significant patron to press their case are illustrated in the experiences of one William Wood, sometime servant to the duke. Having been employed on the basis of food and drink only in Richmond's stables at Sheriff Hutton he had, by his own admission,

201 PRO SP1/106, p.231.

202 LP XI, n.1030 p.415.

203 Wood, ed., op. cit., II, p.359.

204 Bindoff, op. cit., III, p.459.

205 Ibid., I, p.15.

loitered in the duke's household without any master. On the duke's return south he had followed the establishment to the More and then on to Windsor, attaching himself to any of those already in Richmond's service who would accept him, being employed for a time by Richard May, a yeoman of the horse. Yet for him the association with Richmond's household was not to be a stepping stone to greater things 206. When the details of his itinerant service came to light in July 1538, not only was Wood in trouble with the council in the north for his seditious words, but it is clear that his career remained firmly in the doldrums. Such examples were merely the tip of the iceberg, and the full extent of Richmond's lands, offices, and interests would take some significant time to unravel.

206 LP XIII, (i), n.1350 p.503.

Conclusion

The birth of Henry Fitzroy in 1519 was not heralded by the joyous peals of bells and lavish display which had greeted the arrival of his half-brother in 1511. If there was an elaborate christening, no record of it survives. The legitimate prince, who was to live for only seven weeks, was accorded a solemn funeral with all appropriate pomp and dignity. Yet at his death in 1536, the seventeen year old Duke of Richmond departed this world as he had entered it, laid to rest in quiet obscurity. His splendid tomb, on which much time, money and attention had been invested was left to languish unfinished and incomplete. This perhaps is a more fitting tribute to the duke's unfulfilled promise than any magnificent effigy. His life had been spent in pursuit of the model renaissance education. He had been schooled in the manners of a courtier and tutored in the arts of war. He was reported to favour the magnificence of his father in both looks and character and the king's affection for his son was widely known. Yet Richmond did not live to be a great general or statesman, he did not even enjoy the dubious notoriety of dying nobly on the scaffold, nor could he be revered for martyrdom at the stake. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, he left no progeny to recommend him to posterity.

It is difficult to find any enduring legacy of the young duke. The only real portrait is a miniature painted by Lucas Hornebolte 1. Even this shows Richmond somewhat déshabillé in just his shirt, with the neck open. Despite the temptation to conclude that the young duke was painted in the throes of death on his sick bed, it is more likely that this picture belongs to an earlier date. In 1534 Lucas Hornebolte is considered to have been the artist commissioned by Henry VIII to illustrate the new register of the Order of the Garter. Four plates depicting the knights of 26 Henry VIII, were duly included in the black book 2. In both the procession and the grouping around the throne, Richmond, with his red hair, is clearly visible. It is generally thought to be a good likeness

1 Reynolds, Graham, *English Portrait Miniatures* (Cambridge, 1988), p.5.

2 Anstis, J., *op. cit.*, I, p.194.

His Knights are each one a portrait and, certainly in the case of the English members, the result of observation 3.

It is also acknowledged that no such assembly ever actually took place. If Hornebolte was not working from life, but rather compiling a composite to achieve the desired effect, it seems reasonable to assume that the miniature was intended as an aide-mémoire to assist in this process. Since Richmond was to be portrayed in his garter robes, his features were all that were required. That such a working copy survived as the only real portrait, is perhaps a further testament to the paucity of the young duke's memorials.

Much of this lack can be explained by the normal economy of the household. Since Richmond's goods all reverted to the king, his clothes and furnishings were re-absorbed into the wardrobe, so that they might be re-distributed, or the furs and fabrics used again. His plate and other valuables went to the jewel house, where they might be melted down, or broken up to be placed in new settings. This was common practice, and a policy followed by Richmond himself, who often recycled his unwanted New Year gifts by presenting them to someone else. Indeed in an atmosphere of such husbandry it is amazing that anything ever survived at all. In addition, in many of the places where one might look to find some trace of a Tudor magnate, Richmond is almost bound to disappoint. It is not reasonable to expect of him the sort of grand building enterprises, so beloved of his elders, to impress their memory on the surviving populace. Since he displayed no sign of delight in scholarship for its own sake, it is hardly fair to expect to find books commissioned, never mind examples of poetry or polemic from his own pen. Richmond's tastes tended more toward action than academia. If he inherited his father's love of music, it was no doubt as a performer, rather than a composer. If he had loved theology with the same passion that he reserved for sport and hunting, then the relics he left behind him might have been more numerous.

Any concept that Richmond's memory was overshadowed by the birth of the infant Prince Edward in October 1537, is somewhat

3 Strong, Roy, *The English Renaissance Miniature* (London, 1983), p.40. I am grateful to Dr Eileen Scarff, Archivist of St George's Chapel, for her investigations on this point.

redundant. The news of Jane's pregnancy would have helped to restore the confidence of king and the nation, and Edward's safe arrival no doubt banished any vestiges of doubt, engendered by the duke's demise, that Henry could not produce a healthy son. Yet Richmond's true worth lay in the fact that, during his lifetime he was the king's only son, and had Henry gone on to produce a dozen more young princes, this fact would be unaltered. That Henry VIII apparently lost all interest in his beloved son after he died is more a reflection of the paranoia of the king, than the standing of the duke. Henry VIII was to continue his favour towards Elizabeth Blount, and was surprisingly tolerant of even the rasher actions of the Earl of Surrey, almost to the end. The Duchess of Richmond's difficulties in obtaining her jointure probably reflected Henry's attitude towards Anne Boleyn, rather than his son. The fact that Mary's temperament seems to have so singularly resembled that of her erstwhile cousin, can hardly have helped matters along.

Richmond's untimely demise did, however, forestall speculation that Henry VIII was intending to name his illegitimate son as his heir. It is true that after decades of trying for a prince some might have looked to Richmond as the most obvious solution. When Jane Seymour failed to conceive this must have appeared an increasingly attractive proposition. However, it was not without its dangers, not least because to those who supported Mary the duke was not merely a bastard, but a bastard born in adultery whose legitimation by the English Church they were unlikely to recognize. A choice between either civil war or invasion from abroad was the better scenario. There was an all too real possibility of both, as the various factions of Henry's offspring decimating the country from within, might allow foreign powers to seize the advantage and strike. The provisions of the 1536 Succession Act were designed to calm just such concerns. However, Henry's response to the lobbying of his courtiers over the matter of the succession did not favour Richmond, Mary, or Elizabeth. He clearly continued to persevere with Jane Seymour, and as long as the king continued to bed his queen, he was looking for a legitimate male heir.

Given that Richmond has often come to the notice of historians solely through speculation that the king intended to name the

child as his heir, this might appear to bode ill for the reputation of the duke. However, it was only in connection with the succession that his illegitimacy was any serious handicap. In other respects Richmond acquired a usefulness almost beyond price. Often his youth was his greatest recommendation, allowing a style of government that would not have been tenable under an established magnate. His dual role as independent landowner, and acknowledged son of the king, meant that he could embody royal approval in controversial matters, thus saving Henry from muddying his own hands. Without Richmond, Wolsey's ploy of trying to woo the daughter of Portugal from the Dauphin, so that Mary might marry the French Prince, could not have been attempted. The duke could also serve his king as a diplomat and courtier and would, no doubt, have grown into a fine soldier. By endowing Richmond with extensive landed estates, Henry appeared to be demonstrating good lordship, without risking the dangers of a overmighty subject, nor indeed completely relinquishing control of all rights.

The division between the actions of Richmond himself and the activities of those merely acting in his name, is sometimes difficult to discern. It can be argued that it did not really matter, as long as the authority represented by the duke was respected. However, the distinction between the role he was allowed, and those areas where he was required merely to rubber stamp decisions already made, often belied his status as an independent magnate. Although in many ways Richmond was treated as if he were actually an adult, the requirement to effectively implement his offices and administer his lands, could occasionally mean that he bore the essence, but not the substance of authority. However, having carefully constructed an image of authority around the fledgling duke, even the king was careful never to be seen to overrule the duke in matters which touched his personal prerogative, although one senses that on occasions Henry might well have required the intervention of his ministers to advise him to take the wiser course! For his part the duke was well aware where his loyalties lay and, lest he forgot, his motto "devoir me oblige" was a constant reminder.

Although it might appear a convenient solution, the death of the Duke of Richmond was not simply the signal to transfer to

the infant Prince Edward, all those lands and offices which had previously been Richmond's. Some had already been re-granted, but since the news of Jane's pregnancy came only months after the duke's demise, this is a further indication that Henry VIII's intentions towards Richmond were not the same path as he envisaged for his heir. Yet this is not to suggest that the role played by Richmond was easily filled. Men like William Fitzwilliam, who was called upon to fill the duke's shoes as Lord Admiral, could not presume to equal him in rank or status. Given the purely formal role that Richmond generally played in the administration of his lands there was little disruption here, but the fortunes of his household officers proved an enduring headache. In addition, although there are scant physical memorials to the duke, he was certainly mourned. His friendship with Surrey is well documented, but it is also clear that his relationship with his mother and his Blount relatives was an enduring feature of his life. Furthermore many of those who had care of him spoke with genuine affection of their charge.

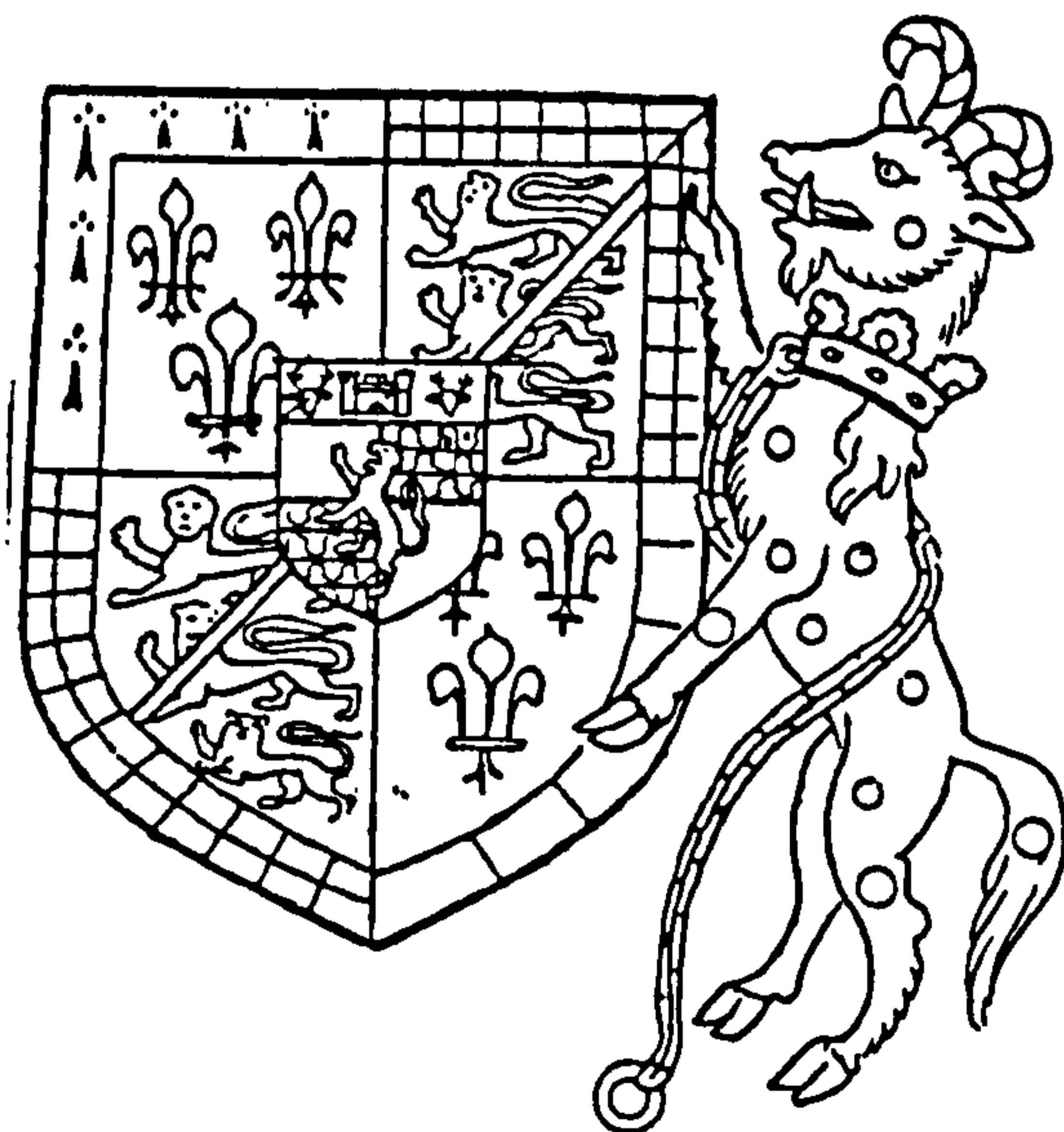
The spirit of the child is rarely obscured by the demands of protocol and procedure. He was very much the son of his father. Early attempts to assert his rights in the face of any disrespect or encroachment were almost certainly the act of his council. But the refusal of the six year old child to be confined to his very expensive litter, when he wanted to ride his pony, was very much the act of a prince. By a similar coin, Richmond also clearly possessed the charm and winning personality that could be exhibited by Henry VIII when he chose. However, the duke also recognized how deeply he was beholden to his father to the extent that those who influenced the king, at first Wolsey, then later Cromwell, were treated with immense respect. How seriously the diminutive duke was taken by his fellow nobles is harder to determine. However, to a career minded noble the importance attributed to Richmond, both as a peer and as the son of the king, made his age somewhat irrelevant. Even if he was not to be the heir, Henry VIII hardly looked set to have a whole tribe of sons, thus good relations now with the young duke might reap benefits in the future.

Whilst I have hoped to provide as full a picture of the duke's life and significance as the sources allow, some questions

remain. In the absence of any indication to the contrary, we can only assume that he dutifully adhered to his father's precepts in religion. Then there are the circumstances of his birth and early infancy. In the life of many other nobles detailed accounts of their infancy would neither be looked for nor expected: such evidence of early days is rare, even for royalty. Yet for Richmond this area acquires a degree of significance which, in the face of a lack of direct evidence, must resort to supposition. Yet overall I can only echo the words of John Gough Nichols in 1855, that the material which has survived is more ample than I could have anticipated. Whilst it is impossible to speculate exactly what Richmond's fortunes might have been if he had lived to survive his father, one thing is certain, the history of England would have been even more complex.

(1) The Arms of The Duke of Richmond

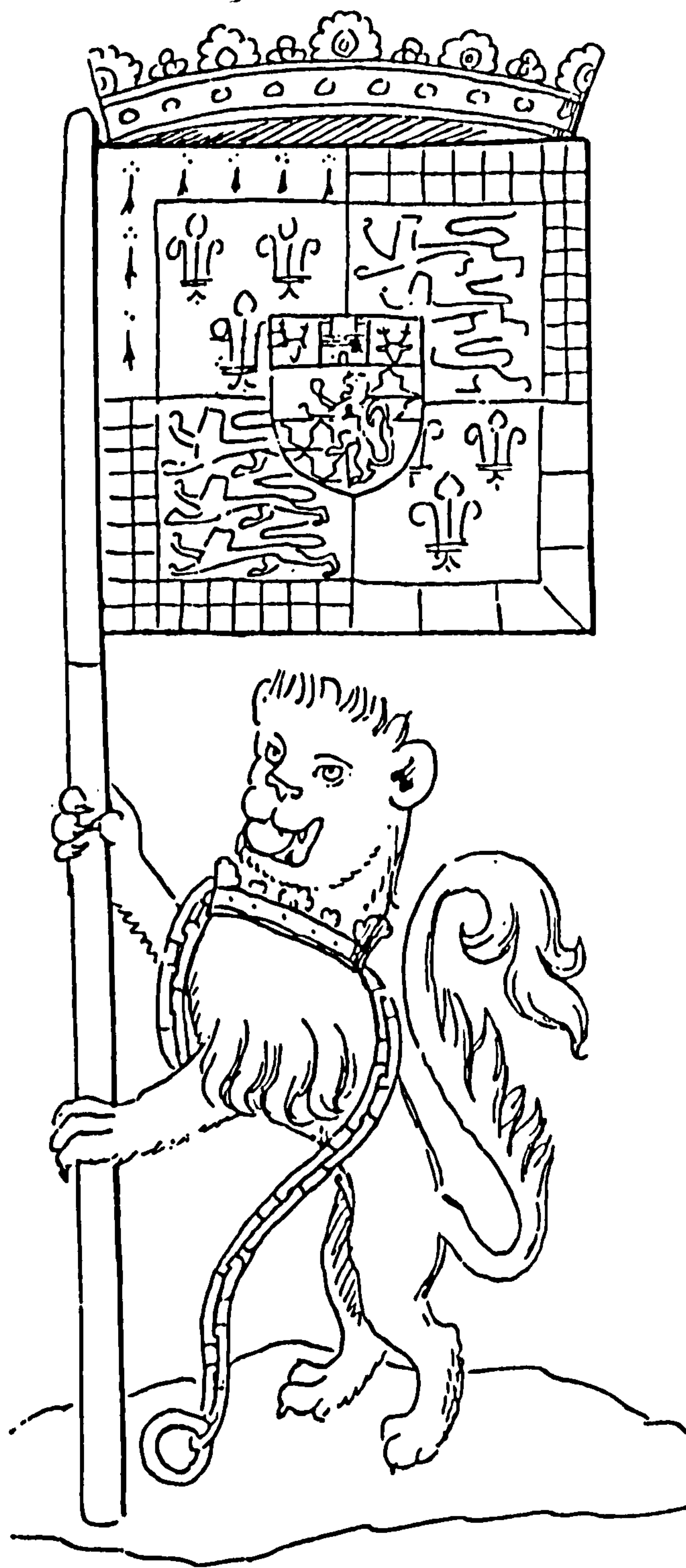
Richmond's arms were comprised of his father's coat of France and England quarterly, within a bordure, also quarterly, first of ermine, secondly and thirdly compony, or and azure, these three quarters representing Richmond, reminiscent of the coat of Alan Fergaunt, the first earl of Richmond, with the fourth quarter of gobony, argent and azure, representing Somerset, as borne by the Beauforts, earls of Somerset, generally with a baton sinister argent, to denote his illegitimacy. The inescutcheon represents the Earldom of Nottingham, drawing on the Mowbray earl for the lion rampant argent and two quarters gules, and Pereval lord of Nottingham, for the two quarters vair or and vert. The chief, azure, is made up of the castle of Nottingham and two bucks' heads, for the counties of Nottingham and Derby from whence pensions were drawn to support the Earldom. His supporters were dexter, a lion argent, as employed by his father, gorged with a coronal and chained or, and sinister, a yale (often mistakenly portrayed as a heraldic antelope) argent bezantee, accorned, hoofed, as used by his mother 1, (although this is also attributed to the earldom of Somerset and was also employed by Margaret Beaufort 2), gorged with a coronal and chained or. The crest is a ducal cap of dignity, gules turned ermine, with a lion guardant argent, again gorged with a coronal and chained or. On his tomb Richmond's shield is displayed without supporters or crest, within the order of the garter.



1 Rothery, Guy, *Concise Encyclopedia of Heraldry* (London, 1995) p.71.

2 Nichols, J. G., *Inventories*, plxxxviii. Jones and Underwood, op. cit., p.291.

(2) The Banners of the Duke of Richmond



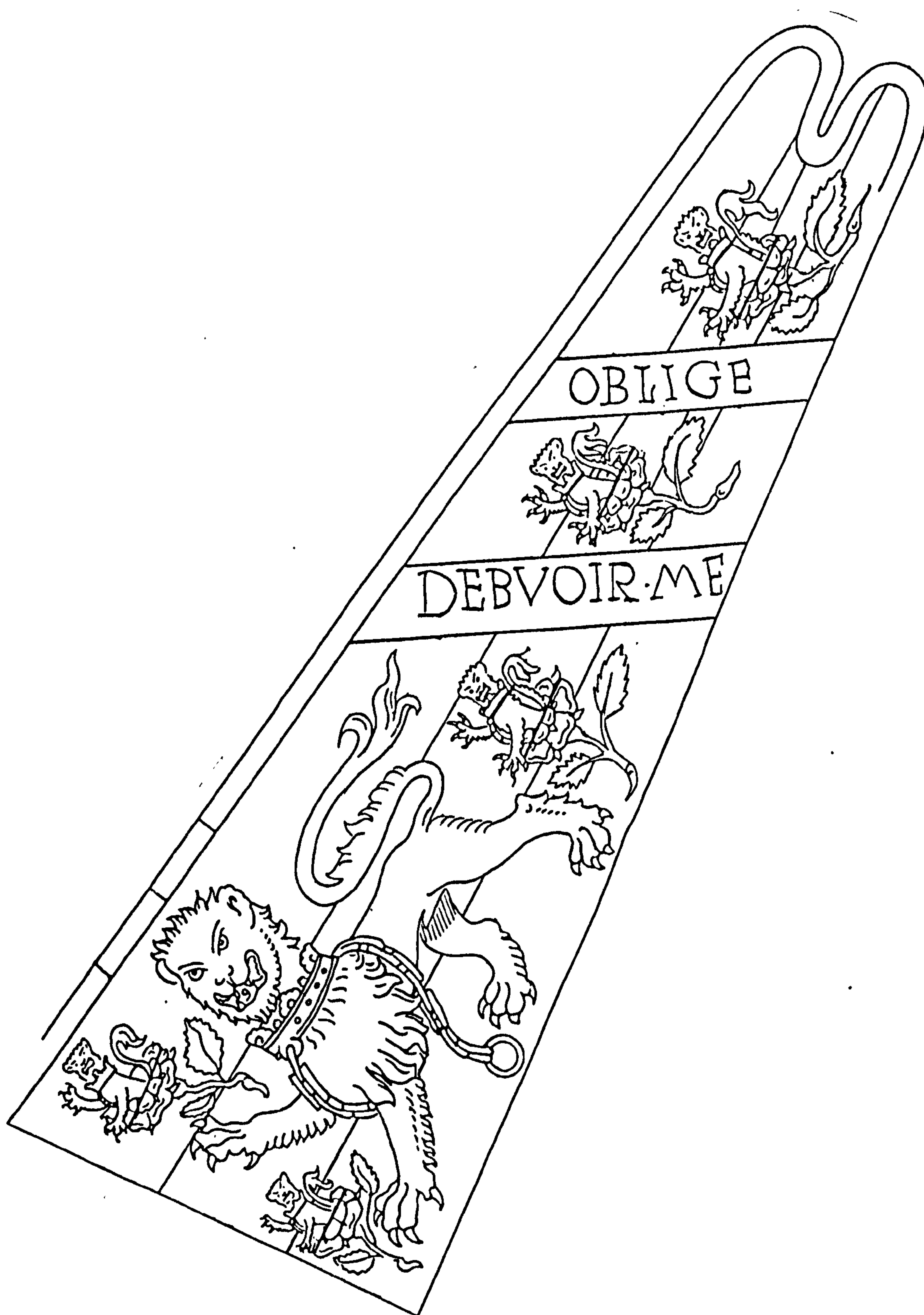
Richmond's arms, France and England quarterly within a bordure, also quarterly, first of ermine, secondly and thirdly compony or and azure, fourthly, gobony argent and azure, but here without the baton sinister argent. The inescutcheon of pretence again quarterly, gules and vair or, charged with a lion rampant argent, on a chief, azure, a castle between two buck's heads caboshed argent, held by the lion guardant argent, ducally collared and chained or, as used as his dexter supporter.

(2) The Banners of the Duke of Richmond



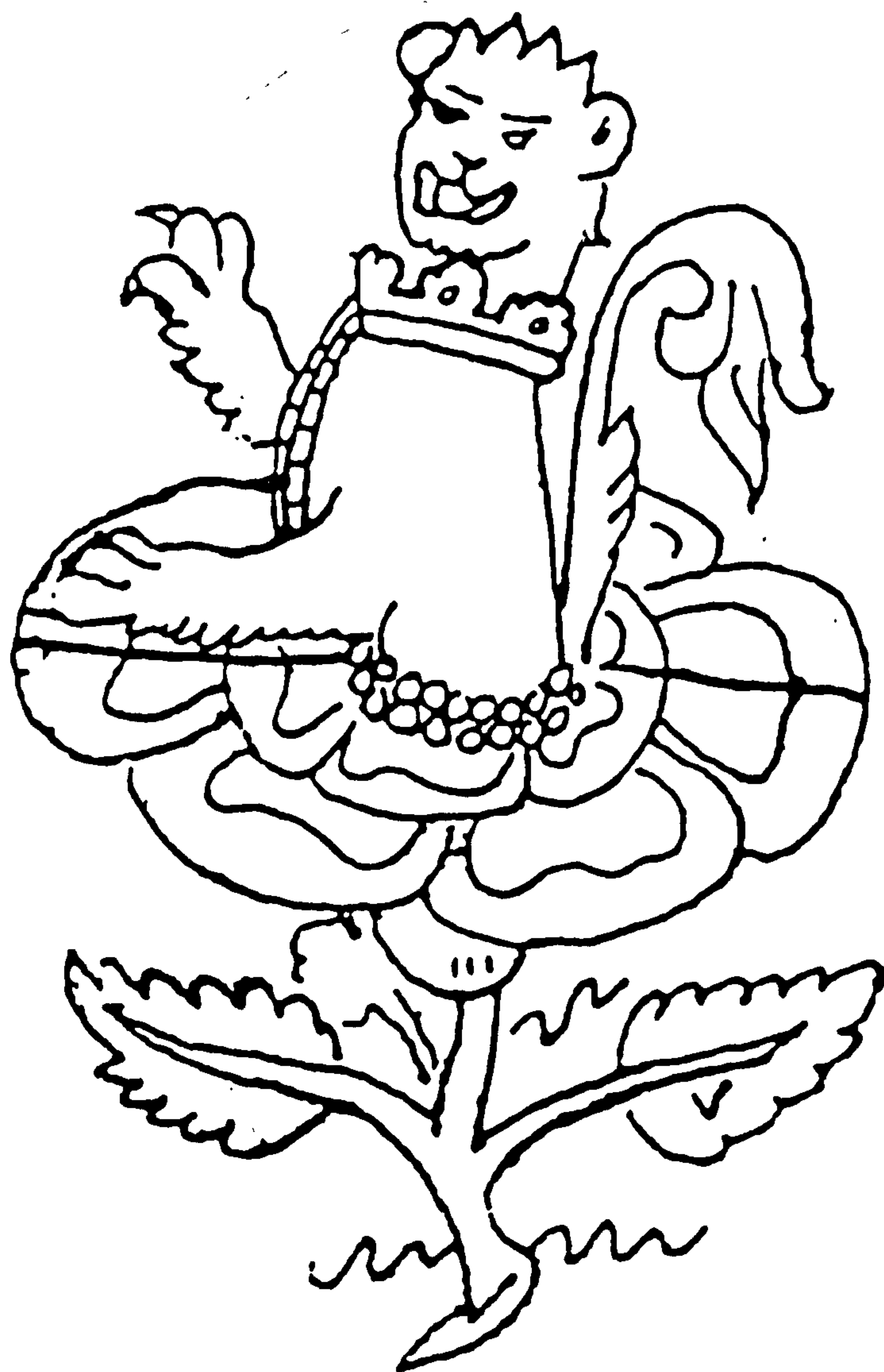
Another version, showing Richmond's arms quartered with those of his wife, Mary Howard, held by the yale argent, bezantee accorned, hoofed, gorged with a coronal and chained or as used as his sinister supporter.

(3) The Standard of the Duke of Richmond



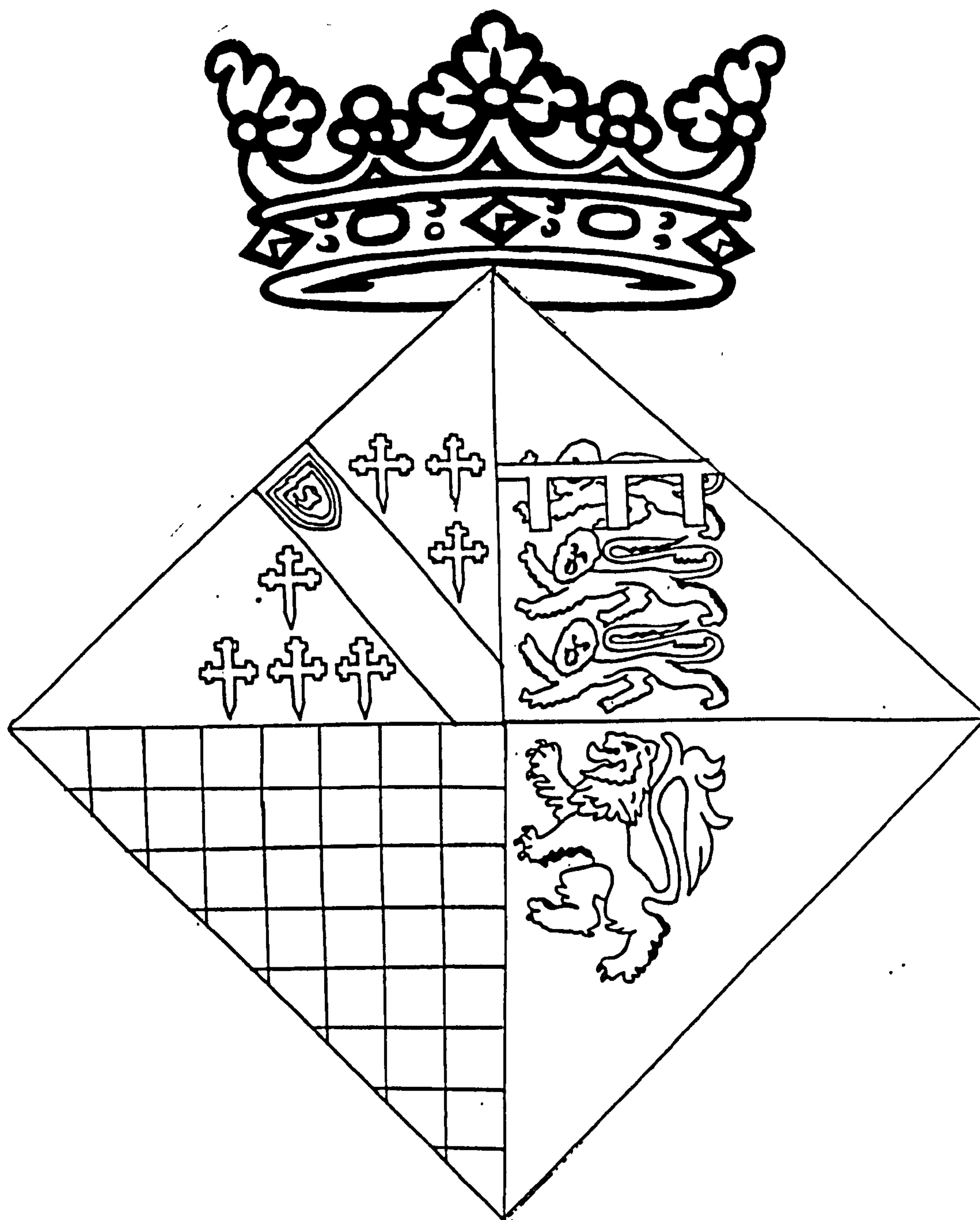
His standard is barry of three, white, blue and gold, the principal device a lion passant gardant, gules, gorged with a coronal and chained or, with his badge.

(4) The Badge of the Duke of Richmond



Tudor rose divided, fess gules and argent, seeded and stemmed proper, from the centre a silver demi lion rampant, ducally collared and chained or.

(5) The Arms of the Duchess of Richmond

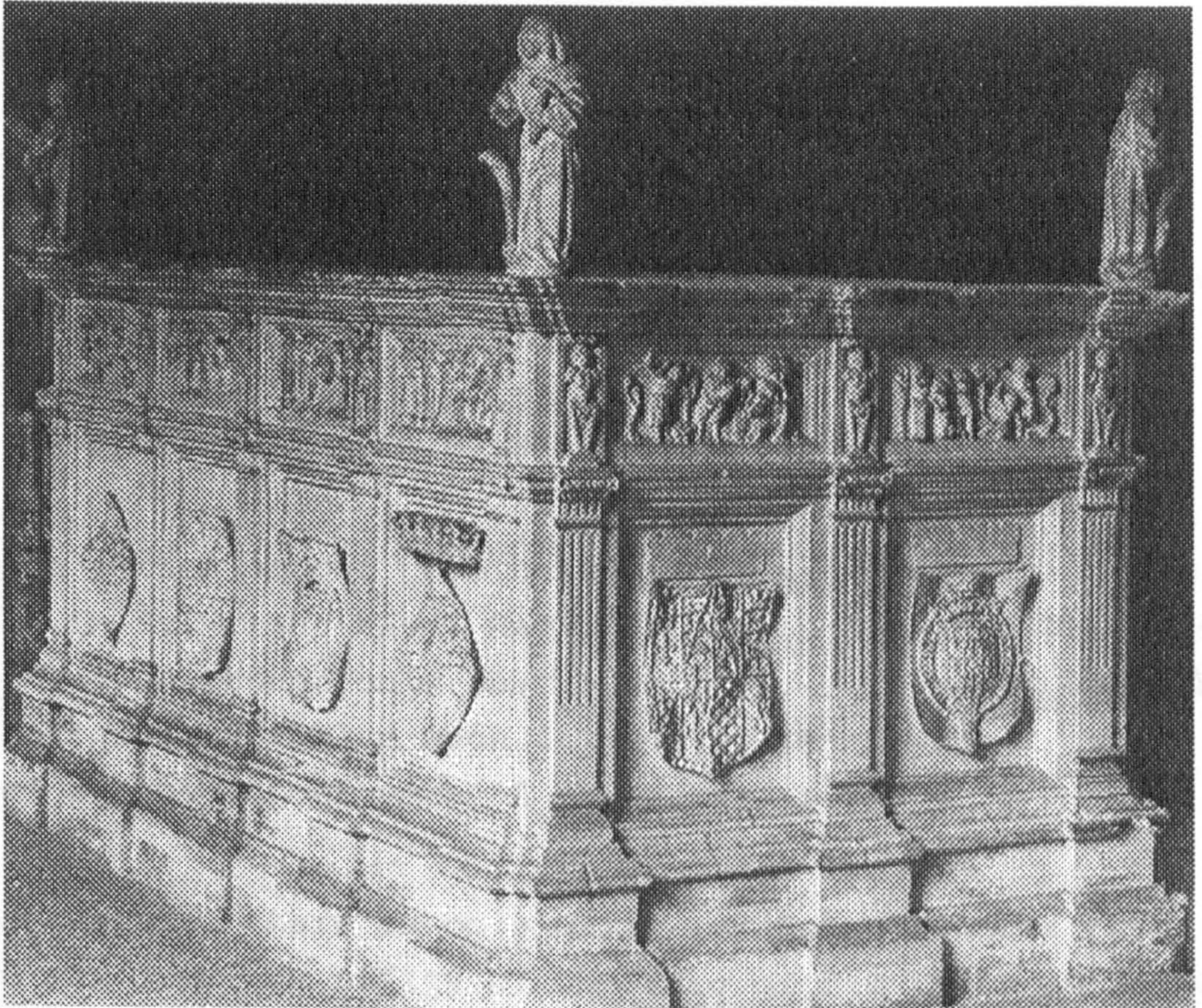


Howard, with the augmentations Brotherton, Mowbray and Warren. Mary's arms were set in a lozenge, rather than a shield, without helmet or crest, in accordance with her gender. Since ladies did not participate in warlike pursuits, such martial symbolism was not considered appropriate for women.

PAGE/PAGES
EXCLUDED
UNDER
INSTRUCTION
FROM
UNIVERSITY

Appendix IV

East End : Description of the Duke of Richmond's Tomb



This tomb presently stands in the chancel of Framlingham Parish Church, in the county of Suffolk. Positioned on the north side of the altar it measures approximately nine feet long, by five feet wide, and just short of five feet in height. Constructed of white clunch, and intricately decorated in a French style, with fluted pillars, it is further ornamented with a frieze of old testament scenes as follows :

North Side 1. The Creation of Eve. 2. Adam and Eve in Paradise. 3. Their temptation. 4. Their fall.

West End 1. Adam toiling, Eve nursing Cain and Abel. 2. Cain and Abel sacrificing, Cain killing Abel.

South Side 1. Noah's Ark. 2. Noah drunk, discovered by his sons. 3. Abraham and Sarah with the angels. 4. Lot's wife turned to a pillar of salt.

East End 1. Abraham preparing to sacrifice Isaac. 2. Moses with the Twelve Commandments, whilst the Israelites worship the golden calf.

Below this, ranged around the tomb, are twelve panels each containing one of the following three versions of armorial bearings.

- a. Richmond's arms within the Garter, with a ducal coronet.
- b. Richmond's arms impaling his wife's, with a ducal coronet.
- c. Mary's arms in a lozenge, with a ducal coronet.

At each corner of the tomb there is a small figure, bearing a shield in its right hand, and a trophy of the passion in its left hand. Although only four now survive, it seems that there were originally twelve such figures, with the other eight placed at the top of each of the carved pillars ¹.

Unfortunately, there is no similar reason to suppose that there was ever any effigy of the duke or his wife, to formally complete the tomb.

The Dating of The Tomb.

There is, however, serious doubt that this was the tomb Norfolk was referring to in 1539 when he informed the king that he had

already made two tombs, one for the said Duke of Richmond and another for himself, which have already and

¹ Loder, Robert, *The History Of Framlingham*, (Woodbridge, 1798) p.301.

will cost him ere they can be fully set up and finished, £400 at the least 1.

Despite its evident grandeur, the chest has something of an unfinished air, lacking not only the effigies, but any trace of colour. The traditional view has always been that, either the finished tomb had suffered some sort of damage during its removal from the Howard vault at Thetford to Framlingham, or that the birth of Prince Edward diminished the political return from an expensive monument to the Duke of Richmond, causing Norfolk to curtail the work. Each of these arguments has its own flaw. There is no doubt that the tomb of the second Duke of Norfolk had lain at Thetford Priory before its dissolution, yet it appears to have survived transit into Suffolk completely unscathed. As to the political return on his investment, the circumstances through which Norfolk came to be charged with Richmond's funeral arrangements, were hardly grounds to consider that the duke's efforts would find any special favour with Henry VIII. Certainly Norfolk's attempts to bolster his suit, to maintain Thetford as a parish church by stressing the personal interest of the King

where now doth lie buried the body of the late Duke of Richmond the King's natural son and also the body of the late wife of the said duke the lady Anne aunt to his Highness 2.

was to have scant effect. Henry dissolved it anyway. Norfolk was allowed to purchase the site and lands. There is, however, a body of evidence to suggest that the duke subsequently determined on an alternate burial place for his family so that the tomb referred to in 1539 was not, in fact, Richmond's ultimate resting place. Extensive remodelling had already begun at Framlingham Church by 1547 when disaster struck. Norfolk's attainder deprived him of all his possessions, and left the church wardens at St Michael's scabbling to make good the work already well in progress 3. After Mary's accession, and his own release from the Tower, Norfolk had every reason to wish to rehabilitate his family's honour by

1 PRO SP1/156, f.115.

2 Ibid.

3 Stone, Lawrence and Colvin, Howard, "The Howard Tombs at Framlingham, Suffolk", *Archeological Journal* (London, 1966) 122, p.161.

all possible means. The building work at Framlingham was resurrected and it has been suggested that it was at this point that Norfolk commissioned a series of splendid tombs, for himself, his father, his royal son-in-law, and possibly even his disgraced heir, to be housed in the new Chancel 5. The work was apparently still in progress in 1554, for at his death Norfolk merely directed

I will my body to be buried in such place and order as shall be thought most convenient to my executors 6.

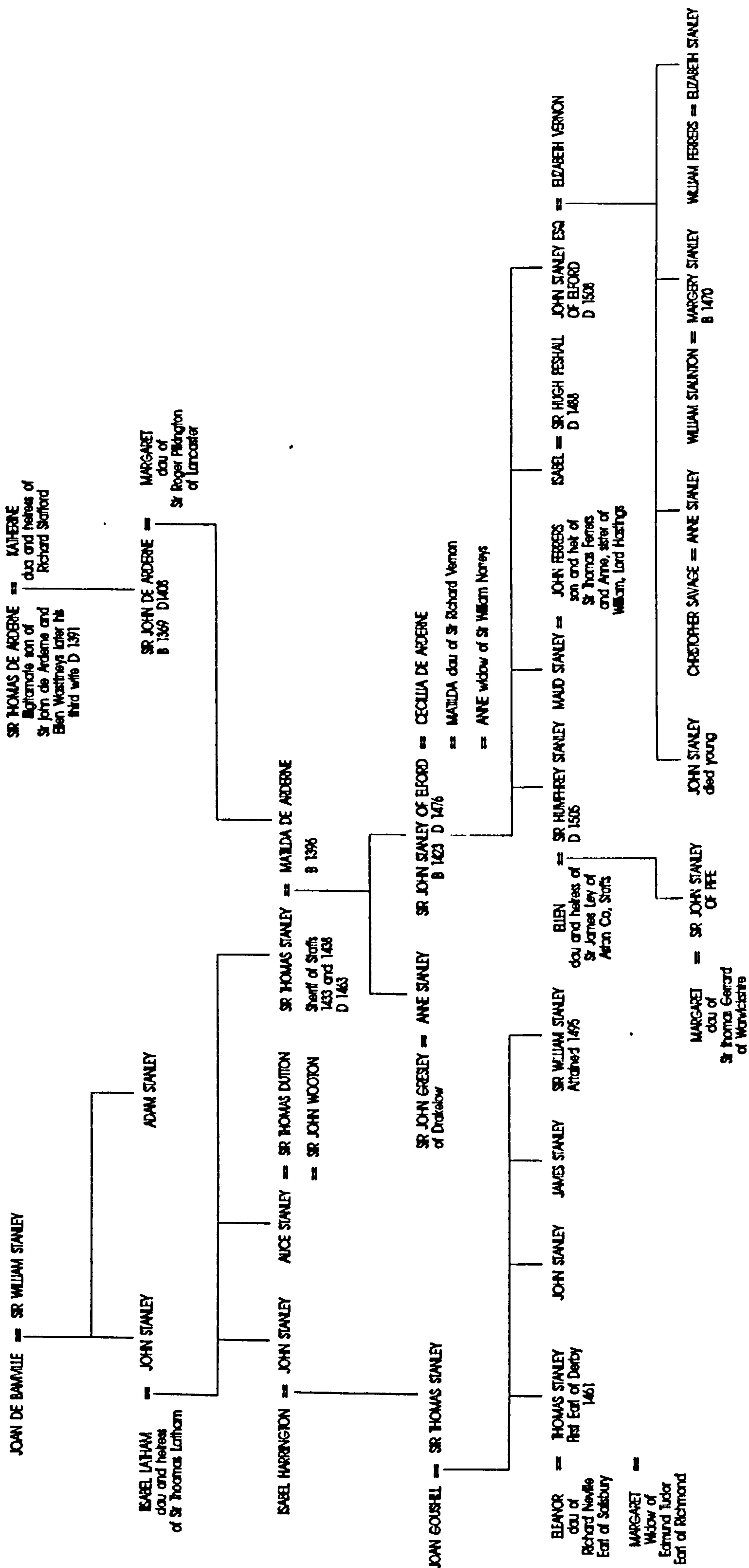
which suggests his plans had not yet come to fruition. Furthermore, the date 1555, engraved in a contemporary hand on Richmond's tomb, together with similarities to the tombs of the second and third dukes, has been put forward as evidence that the tomb Richmond now occupies belongs to this later date. If this is the case, the construction of this tomb would have been interrupted by the third duke's death. The burden of completing the work at Framlingham would then have fallen to Norfolk's executors. Yet, with a third of the revenues going to the Howard heir, a minor in wardship, and another third to the Duchess's jointure, their funds were limited, and Richmond's tomb was doubtless not a priority. Only Mary Howard who, as the duke's wife, would ultimately join her husband in death, had a vested interest in ensuring that their tomb was suitably ornate. Since she had only a life interest in her jointure lands her own funds may not have been adequate to meet the cost and charge of substantial additional decoration. In any case if she herself, as seems likely, followed her father to the grave in December 1555, there was little opportunity for the Duchess to make any such investment. Whilst Surrey's youngest son Henry, Earl of Northampton, later felt strongly enough about his father's fate to arrange for his remains to be removed from All Hallows Church, London, to lie beside his wife in a fine tomb at Framlingham, he evidently considered the resting place of his former guardian and her husband to be already serviceable enough. Such an argument would certainly explain why the tomb, which at first sight suggests no expense was to be spared, was ultimately left bereft of its most significant, and costly, ornaments, the effigies of the deceased.

5 Ibid p.168.

6 PRO Prob 11/37.

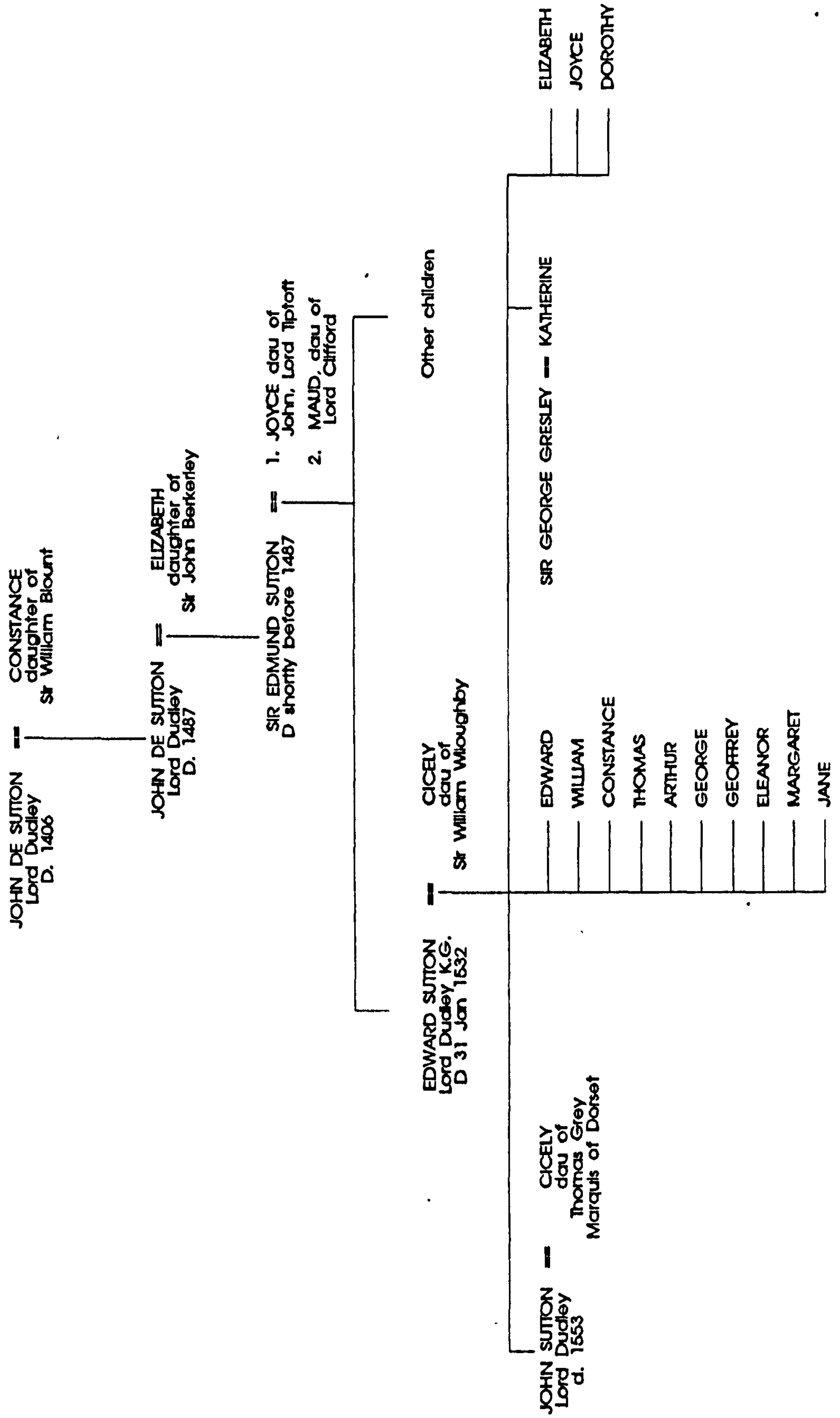
The Stanleys of Eford and Latham

Appendix VI



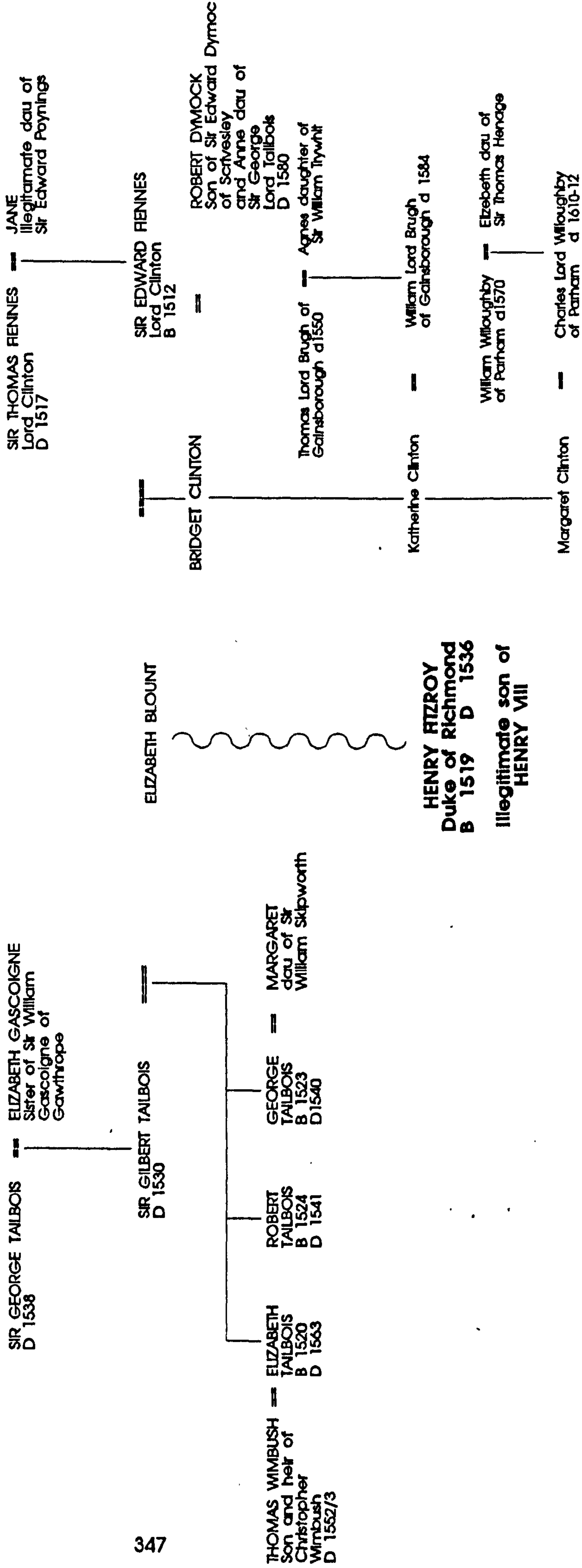
Sutton Lords Dudley

Appendix IX



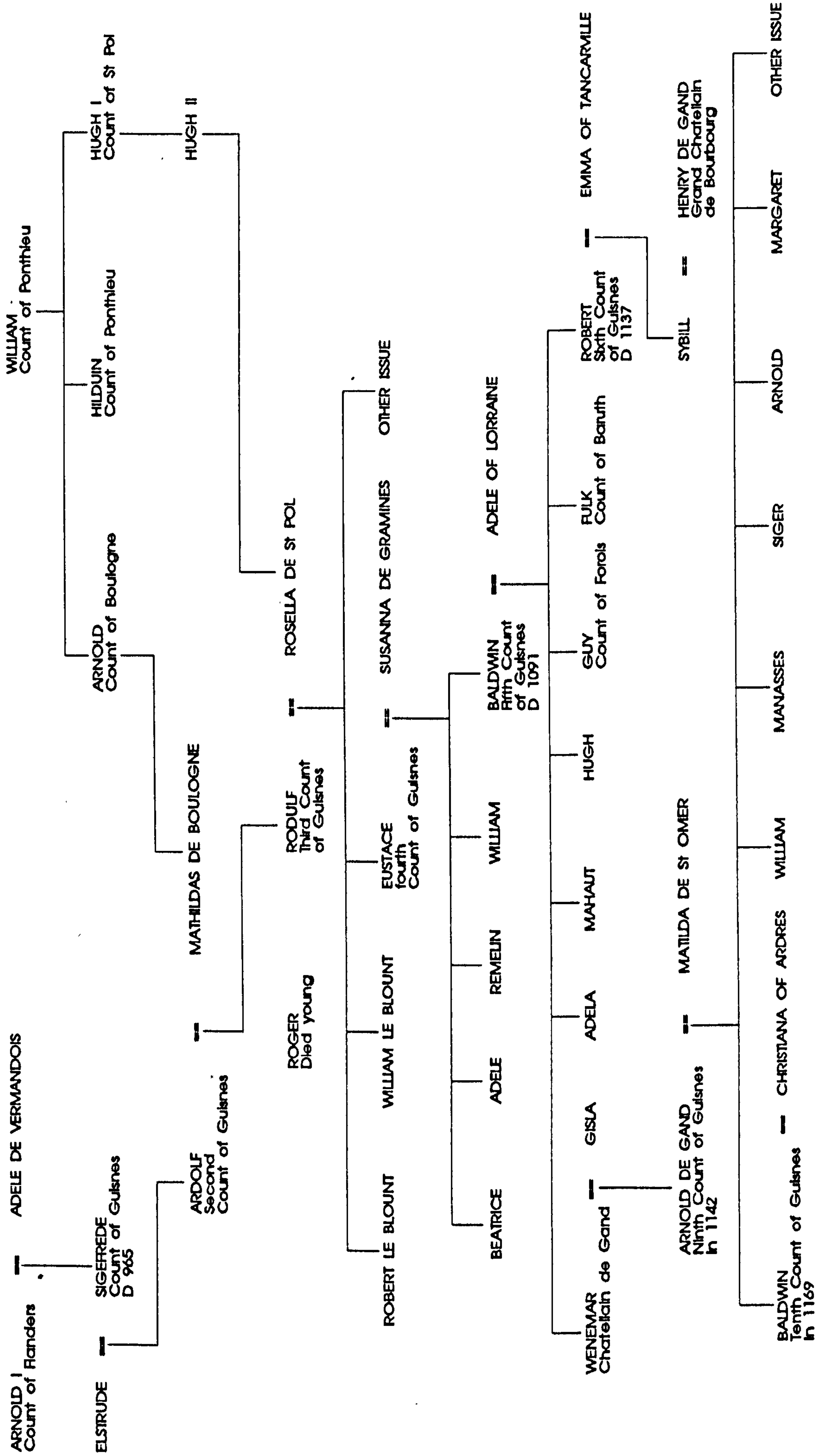
of

Elizabeth Blount

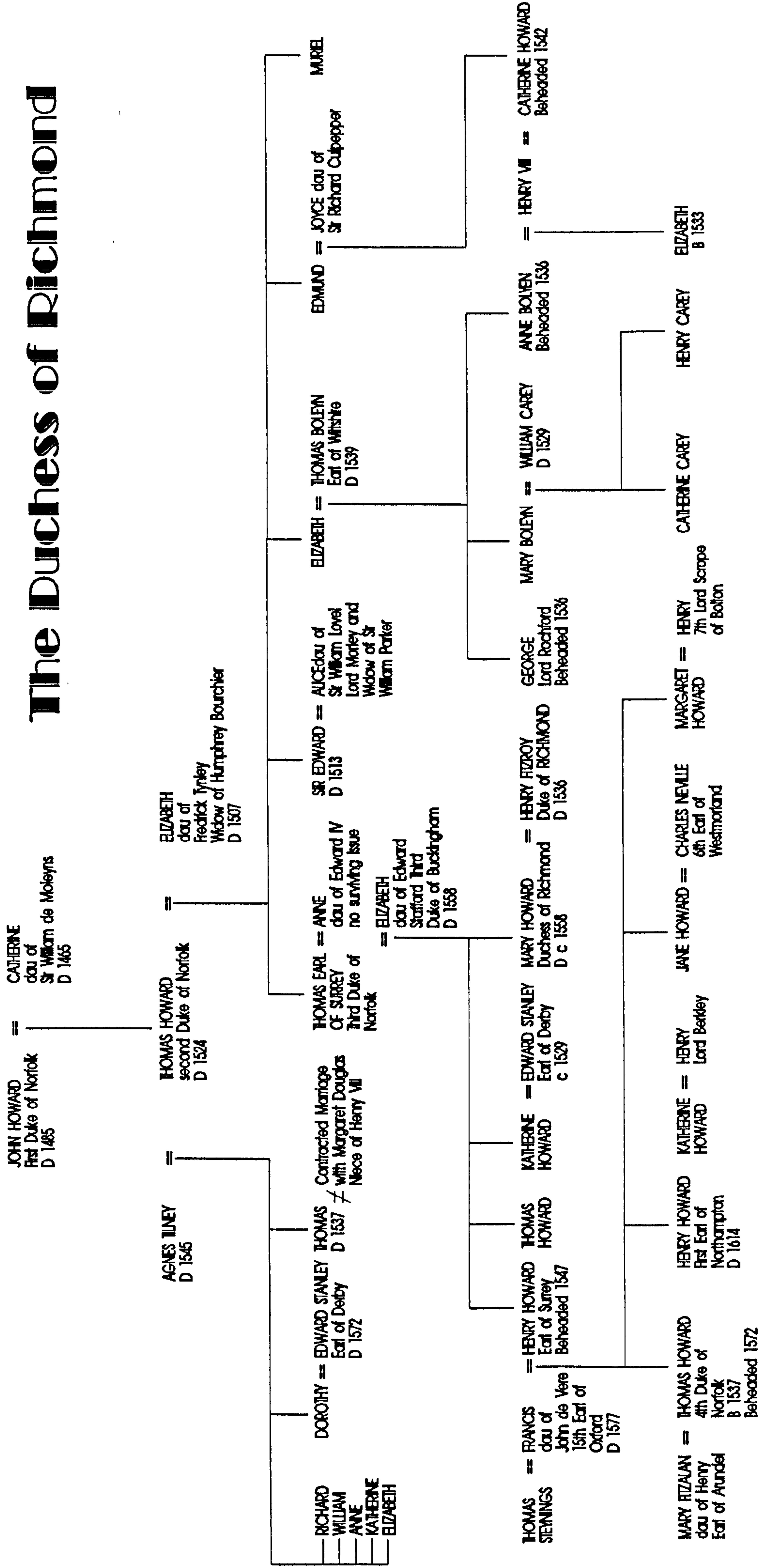


The Counts of Guisnes

Appendix XI



Of
The Duchess of Richmond



The Duke's principal movements

Letters have been calendered to the years given in brackets. HMC references are to household accounts which probably, but not always, reflect the movements of the duke. Others are autograph letters or similar direct references.

1525

12 June	Durham Place	PRO SP1/35, f185-92.
18 June	Bridewell	BL Cott Tibritus E VIII, f206.
25 June	Windsor	Bodleian Ashmole Mss 1109, f122.
	Hampton Court	PRO SP1/35, f167.
26 July	Stoke Newington	SP Henry VIII, IV, n.135 p.386.
27 July	Hoddesdon	Nichols, J.G., Inventories, pxviii.
28 July	Buntingford	SP Henry VIII, IV, n.135 p.386.
29 July	Shengay	Ibid.
30 July	Huntingdon	Ibid.
31 July	Huntingdon	Ibid.
1 August	Warmington	Ibid.
2 August	Collyweston	Ibid.
7 August	depart	Ibid.
	Marton Abbey	PRO SP1/39, f17.
17 August	arrive York	Nichols, J.G., Inventories, pxx.
28 August	depart York	PRO SP 1/35, p266.
29 August	Sheriff Hutton	Ibid.
10 October	Sheriff Hutton	SP Henry VIII, IV, n.144 p.408.
5 November	Sheriff Hutton	BL Cott Caligula B VI, f.79. (1526)
25 December	Sheriff Hutton	PRO SP 1/40, p.96. (1526) 1

1 Work completed at Pontefract makes it more likely that Christams 1526 was passed there. The duke was certainly in residence by 14 January 1527.

1526

2 Febuary	Collyweston	St Clare Bryne, I, p182. (1535) 2
5 May	Westminster?	PRO E24/15/12, p.1 m,8.
13 September	Sheriff Hutton	SP Henry VIII, IV, n.162 p.459.

1527

14 January	Pontefract	PRO SP1/40, p208.
31 January	Pontefract	PRO SP1/46, p170.
11 Febuary	Pontefract	PRO SP1/49, p7.
1 March	Pontefract	HMC Longleat Mss XVI.
3 March	Pontefract	SP Henry VIII, IV, n.167 p.467.
30 April	Pontefract	PRO SP1/47, p.276.
8 June	Pontefract	PRO SP1/42, p.290.
16 June	Hazelwood	HMC Longleat Mss XVI.
12 August	Hazelwood	BL Cott Caligula B III f.209.
20 August	Ledstone	HMC Longleat Mss XVI.
	Snape Castle	Ibid.
5 September	Methley	Ibid.
7 September	Methley	LP IV, (ii), n.3404 p.1539.
6 October	Pontefract	HMC Longleat Mss XVI.
26 October	Pontefract	PRO SP1/44 p192.
3 November	Pontefract	Nichols, J. G., Inventories, plii.

1528

31 May	Ledstone	Nichols, J. G., Inventories, pliv
18 July	Sheriff Hutton	HMC Longleat Mss XVI.
20 July	Sheriff Hutton	PRO SP1/49, p.134.
	Topcliffe	PRO SP1/50, p.197.
7 October	Sheriff Hutton	Ibid.
Autumn	Sheriff Hutton	Ibid., p.255.

2 It seems clear that 1535 is too late a date. As St Clare Bryne points out, between 20 January and 25 Febuary 1535 the duke was at Court and by this time Norfolk had replaced Lisle as vice Admiral. Although the colaberative point that this letter bears the same watermark as PRO SP1/37, p.189 calandered in LP IV i n.2010 p906. to 1526 is not certain proof that they both belong to this year.

1529

4 March	Sheriff Hutton	PRO SP1/37, p.189. (1526) 3
16 June	leaves the North	PRO Stac 2/16/96.
9 August	London	Nichols, J. G., Inventories, plix.

1530

2 April	The More Herts	BN Fonds Français 3019, f.126.
23 April	Windsor	Anstis, Volume 2, p.384.

1531

May	Windsor	LP V, p.754.
-----	---------	--------------

1532

28 March	Hatfield	LP V, n.905 p.424.
11 October	Calais	CSP Venetian, IV, n.82 p.365.
27 October	Calais	Anstis, Volume 2, p.389.
10 November	Calais	PRO SP1/72, p.23.
11 November	Into France	Ibid.
*5 December	Chantilly	CSP Venetian V, n.1036 p.634.
11 December	Paris	LP V, n.1627 p.677.

1533

23 April	Fontainbleu	CSP Venetian V, n.876 p.396.
18 July	Puy	Vaissete, J., p.237.
1 August	Toulouse	De La Faille, G., p.60.
7 August	leave Toulouse	Ibid., p.87.
25 August	Montpellier	CSP Venetian IV, n.973 p.446.
	Calais	LP VII, (i), n.76 p.31.
25 September	depart for England	Nichols, J.G., <i>Chronicle</i> , p.44.
26 November	Hampton Court	CSP Spanish, IV, (ii), n.1154.

3 Addressed to the King and calandared in LP IV i n.2010 p906. to 1526 this letter is twin to BL Vespasian Mss F III, 18b addressed to Wolsey. It seems curious that the child should be apologising for his lack of communication if he had only just returned north. It cannot belong to March 1527 when the duke was at Pontefract, but could be either 1528 or 1529. The child's skill with a pen suggests the later date.

1 January	London	PRO E101/421/13.
15 January	London	Nichols J. G., <i>Inventories</i> , plxvii
February	London	<i>Journals of the House of Lords</i> , I, p.83.
Until 30 March	London	Ibid.
23 April	Greenwich	Anstis, Volume 2, p.393.
17 May	Windsor	Ibid.
	Salisbury	PRO SP1/84, p.126.
1 June	Canford	Ibid., p.121.
	Poole	Ibid., p.202.
13 June	Canford	Ibid.
30 June	Canford	PRO SP1/185, p.6.
4 July	Sheffield	LP VIII, n.981 p.388.
27 October	London	PRO SP1/86, p107.
November	London	<i>Journals of the House of Lords</i> , I, p.83.
30 November	London	SP Henry VIII, V, n.112 p.332.

1535

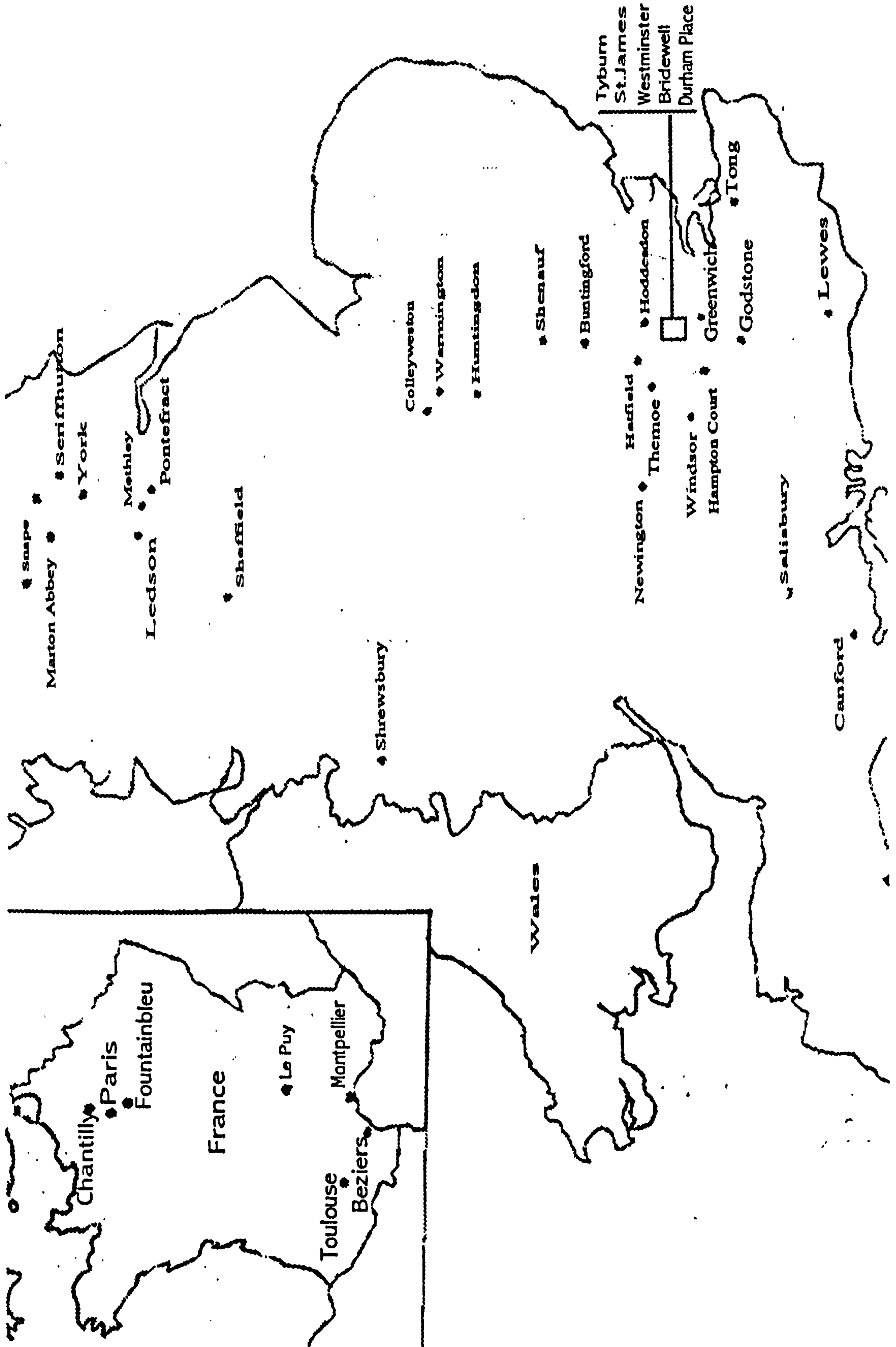
20 January	Westminster	Anstis, Volume 2, p.394.
25 February	Westminster	LP VIII, n.263 p.101.
4 May	Tyburn	CSP Spanish, V, n.156.
1 October	Lewes	HMC Longleat Mss XVI.
2 October	Sheffield	Ibid.
8 October	Godstone	Ibid.
12 October	Tong	Ibid.
6 November	Windsor	PRO SP1/98, p.230.
November	Holt	St Clare Bryne, I, p603
Michealmas	Shrewsbury	SRO 3365/438.

1536

23 April	Greenwich	Anstis, Volume 2, p.398.
8 May	London	PRO SP1/103, f.306.
8 June	London	Douglas, W, ed., p.45.
23 July	St James Palace	LP VII, n.148 p.65.
9 August	Tong (Household)	HMC Longleat Mss XVI.

Appendix XIII

The Principal Movements of the Duke



Appendix XIV

Lands granted to the Duke of Richomnd and Somerset
The lands granted to the duke by letters patent in August 1525 were confirmed by the 1531 statute, 22 Henry VIII c17. However the document was not entirely clear, necessitating a second bill. The act 26 Henry VIII c21 assuring certain lands to the duke explained that some lands "So given and granted to the same Duke by the said Act [22 Henry VIII c17] be misnamed and some of them supposed to be in one shire when in deed they be in one other shire" and others "which the King our said Sovereign Lord verily supposed and meant to have been given to the said Duke by the said act been clearly omitted and not comprised nor rehearsed in the same contrary to the very intent mind pleasure and purpose of our said Sovereign Lord." Although the lands given to the child from the honour of Richmond were declared to be severed from that honour, the descent of the majority of these lands can be traced to former Richmond and Somerset possessions, rather than those traditionally allowed to legitimate offspring of the king 1

Key

John	Possessions formally of John Beaufort, earl of Somerset. d.1410
Somerset	Possessions formally of John Beaufort, duke of Somerset. d.1444
Thomas	Possessions formally of Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter d.1426
Margaret H	Possessions formally of Margaret Holland, grandmother to Margaret Beaufort
Holland	Possessions formally of John Holland, duke of Exeter in 1444
Margaret B	Possessions formally of Margaret Beufort, countess of Richmond d. 1509
Beaufort	Other possessions, formally Beaufort lands
Richmond	Honour of Richmond lands
Gournay	Lands formally part of the Duchy of Cornwall
Crown	Marcher Lordships in crown hands

1 In compiling this account I was able to cross reference a number of the manors with the work done by Jones, Michael, and Underwood, Malcolm, *The King's Mother* (Cambridge, 1992), Appendix 2, and Harriss, G. L., *Cardinal Beaufort* (Oxford, 1988) Appendix II.

Bedford

Wrestlingworth [Thomas, Somerset, Margaret B]

Cambridgeshire

Bassingbourn Richmond fee [Beaufort, Richmond, Margaret B]
Cheveley hundred [Thomas]
Chilford hundred [Thomas]
Flendish hundred [Richmond]
Staploe hundred [Thomas]
Orwell [John, Somerset, Margaret B]
Whittlesford hundred [Thomas]

Derbyshire

Dalbery [Holland, Margaret B]
Dalbery Lees [Holland, Margaret B]
Wrixworth [Holland, Margaret B]

Devon

Aller Peverell [John, Somerset, Margaret B]
Barnstaple [Holland, Margaret B]
Blakeborneboty [Holland, Margaret B]
Bovey Tracey [Holland, Margaret B]
Combe Martin [Holland, Margaret B]
Fremington [Holland, Margaret B]
Holbeton and Flete [Somerset, Margaret B]
Holsworthy [Holland, Margaret B]
Langacre [Holland, Margaret B]
Sampford Peverell [John, Somerset, Margaret B]
South Molton [Holland, Margaret B]
Torrington [Holland, Margaret B]
Winkleigh Tracy [Holland, Margaret B]

Dorset

Canford [Beaufort, Margaret B]
Corfe Castle [John, Somerset, Margaret B]
Whiteslands in Poole [Beaufort, Margaret B]
Isle of Purbeck [Somerset, Margaret B]
Ryme [Beaufort]

Essex

Colnwakes [Margaret H, Margaret B]
Lamarsh [Margaret H, Margaret B]
Stratford fee farm [Margaret H, Margaret B]
Waltham fee farm [Margaret H, Margaret B]

Gloucestershire

Cirencester fee farm [Margaret H, Margaret B]

Hampshire

Andover fee farm [Margaret H, Margaret B]
Basingstoke fee farm [Margaret H, Margaret B]
Bedhampton [Margaret H, Margaret B]

Herefordshire

Castle and Lordship of Pembridge [Thomas]

Hertfordshire

Cheshunt [Richmond, Margaret B]
Maidcroft [Thomas]
Tidburst and Kendall [Somerset, Margaret B]

Huntingdonshire

Ramsey fee farm [Abbey of Ramsey 2]

Kent

Chedlington [Somerset, Margaret B]
Dartford [Margaret H, Margaret B]
Littlefield hundred [Beaufort]
Washlingstone hundred [Beaufort]

Lincolnshire

Billingborough [Margaret H, Margaret B]
Boston cum Jeserhall [Richmond, Margaret B]
Bourne [Margaret H, Margaret B]
Deeping [Margaret H, Margaret B]
Frampton [Richmond, Margaret B]
Fulbeck [Richmond, Margaret B]
Gayton soke [Richmond, Margaret B]
Kirton soke [Richmond, Margaret B]
Leadenham [Richmond, Margaret B]
Mumby [Richmond, Margaret B]
Skirbeck [Richmond, Margaret B]
Tattershall Castle and Manor [Margaret B]
Washingborough [Richmond, Margaret B]
Wykes [Richmond, Margaret B]

2 Possibly an error for the Romsey fee farm in Hampshire held by Margaret Holland.

Middlesex

Coldharbour [London]

[Holland, Margaret B]

Norfolk

Bishop's Lynn
Ormesby
Swaffham

[Somerset, Margaret B]
[Margaret H, Margaret B]
[Richmond]

Northamptonshire

Chapel Brampton
Collyweston
Eydon
Great Billing
Maxey
Overstone
Thorpe Achurch
Thorpewaterville
Torpell

[John, Somerset Margaret B]
[Margaret B]
[John, Somerset, Margaret B]
[Margaret B]
[John, Margaret H, Margaret B]
[John, Somerset, Margaert B]
[Holland, Margaret B]
[Margaret B]
[Margaret H, Margaret B]

Rutland

Ridlington

[Somerset, Margaret B]

Somerset

Abdyke hundred
Bath fee farm
Bulston hundred
Catsashe hundred
Curry Rivel
Englishcombe
Farrington Gurney
Horthorne hundred
Kingsbury
Langport
Laverton
Martock
Melton Falconbridge
Midsomer Norton
Milborne port fee farm
Queen Camel
Shepton Mallet
Stoke sub Hamdon
Stone hundred
Welton
West Harptree

[John, Somerset, Margaret B]
[Margaret H, Margaret B]
[John, Somerset, Margaret B]
[Holland, Margaret B]
[John, Somerset, Margaret B]
[Gournay, Beaufort]
[Gournay, Beaufort]
[Margaret H]
[Margaret H]
[John, Somerset, Margaret B]
[Gournay, Beaufort]
[John, Somerset, Margaret B]
[Gournay, Beaufort]
[Gournay, Beaufort]
[Somerset, Margaret B]
[Margaret H, Margaret B]
[Gournay, Beaufort]
[Gournay, Beaufort]
[Holland, Margaret B]
[Gournay, Beaufort]
[Gournay, Beaufort]

Staffordshire

Maidcroft
Walsall fee farm

[Somerset, Margaret B]
[Somerset, Margaret B]

Sussex

Iden fee farm

[Margaret H]

Westmorland

Barony of Kendal

[Beaufort, Richmond, Margaret B]

Kirby Lonsdale

[Thomas]

Marton

[Thomas]

Rydal

[Thomas]

Worcestershire

Droitwich fee farm

[Margaret H, Margaret B]

Yorkshire

Lordship of Sherrif Hutton

[crown]

Lordship of Middleham

[crown]

Cottingham

[Margaret H, Margaret B]

Kirkstall

[Richmond]

Langton

[Margaret B]

Rastall

[Richmond]

Wales

Gwynionydd

[Somerset, Margaret B]

Lordship of Bromfield and Yale

[crown]

Lordship of Chirk and Chirkland

[Beaufort]

Lordship of Dyffryn Clwyd

[Holland]

Lordship of Holt

[crown]

Manorbere

[Holland, Margaret B]

Pennally

[Holland, Margaret B]

Yscoed

[Somerset, Margaret B]

Appendix XV

Grants made to Mary Howard, duchess of Richomnd and Somerset, as her jointure

It is to be noted that these lands (with the general exception of Swaffham) were not those which had formed part of her husband's estates.

18 Febuary 1539	£90 by warrent in "reward"
11 March 1539	Manor and Warren of Swaffham, Norfolk (Parcel of the honour of Richmond)
15 March 1539	Lands of Westacre Monastery, Norfolk. Lands of West Dereham Monastery, Norfolk. Langham, Norfolk Rollesby, Norfolk Eccles, Norfolk (Parcel of the Brishopric of Norwich) Site and all possessions of Combe Monastery, Surrey.
16 July 1539	Manor of Goddescroft, Norfolk Rectory, South Lynn, Norfolk
Held by 1540	Gaywood, Norfolk Helmingham, Suffolk Baughton, Norfolk Blofield, Norfolk (Parcel of the Brishopric of Norwich) Lands of Stratford Langthorn Monastery Lands of Newnham Priory Lands of Sunningthwaite Priory Lands of Waite Priory Lands of St Albans Rectory, Norfolk

Bibliography

Manuscript Sources

British Library

Additional Mss 6113, 17492, 21481, 25114, 27423, 28585, 28589,
46457.
Cotton Appendix L.
Cotton Caligula B I, B III, B VI, D VI, D XI, E II.
Cotton Nero Mss VI.
Cotton Otho C X.
Cotton Stowe Mss 141.
Cotton Tiberius E VIII.
Cotton Titus A XIII, B I, B XI.
Cotton Vespasian C IV, C VII, F III, F XIII.
Cotton Vitus B XIII.
Egerton Mss 1991, 2642.
Harleian Mss 252, 304, 589, 643, 1453, 6074, 6087, 6148, 6829.
Sloane Mss 1301.

Public Record Office

C1. Early Chancery Proceedings.
C4. Chancery Proceedings, Supplementary.
C66. Chancery, Patent Rolls.
C88. Chancery Files, Tower and Rolls Chapel Series.
C142. Chancery, Inquisitions Post Mortem, Series II.
C149. Chancery, Modern Deeds, Series C.
Durhm 3. Palitine of Durham, Cursitors Records.
E13. Exchequer of Pleas, Plea Rolls.
E24. Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt, Deeds of
Cardinal Wolsey.
E36. Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt.
E101. Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Various Accounts.
E111. Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Council and Other
Courts.
E148. Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Informations.
E149. Inquisitions Post Mortem, Series 1.
E150. Inquisitions Post Mortem, Series 2.
E163. Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Miscellanea.
E179. Lay Subsidy Rolls.
E312. Court of Augmentations and Exchequer, Pipe Office.
E314. Court of Augmentations and General Surveyors,
Miscellanea.

- E315. Court of Augmentations, Miscellaneous Books and Proceedings.
- E321. Court of Augmentations, Proceedings.
- E326. Augmentations Office, Ancient Deeds.
- E404. Exchequer of Receipt, Warrants for Issue.
- LC2. Lord Chamberlain's Department, Special Events.
- Prob 11. Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Registered Copy Wills.
- Req 2. Court of Requests. Proceedings.
- SC 6. Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts.
- SC 12. Rentals and Surveys.
- SP 1. State Papers, Henry VIII.
- SP 2. State Papers, Henry VIII, Folios.
- SP 5. Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Miscellanea.
- SP 14. State Papers Domestic, James I.
- Stac 2. Star Chamber Proceedings.

Bibliothèque Nationale de France

Fonds Dupuys 546, 547.

Fonds Français 3019.

Histoire de France Mss XIX, Le Baron de Ruble La Cour des Enfants de France sous François 1er.

Mss Français 15629.

Bodleian Library Oxford

Mss Ashmole 1109, 1113.

Mss Rawlinson D 775.

Derbyshire Record Office

48/21.

D2375M/1/3.

Hereford and Worcester Record Office

261.4 BA1006/32a.

Institute of Historical Research

Kitchen Expenses of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond 1535-6, [16], and Inventory of the Wardrobe of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond 1531, [17], HMC, Longleat Miscellaneous Manuscripts (Microfilm, Reel 2).

Lichfield Joint Record Office

B/A/1/9.

Norfolk Record Office

AH1 233 x 5.

Rye Mss 4691\45 Z 3 E.

20413 126 x 6.

Shropshire Record Office

1878/2.

1878/3.

1878/9.

3320/18/1.

3320/18/2.

3320/18a/3.

3320/62/7.

3365/438.

4364.

Staffordshire Record Office

D(W) 1742.

D(W) 1744.

Primary Printed and Calendared Sources

Acts of the Privy Council Dasent, J. R., ed., (London, 1890-1918).

Ambassades en Angleterre, de Jean du Bellay Septembre 1527-Fevrier 1529 Bourrilly, V.L., and de Vaissière, P., eds., (Paris, 1905).

The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil 1485-1537 Hay, D., ed., (Camden Society, 1950).

Book of Martyrs, The Complete Version, Acts and Monuments of John Foxe Pratt, J., and Townsend, G., eds., (8 Volumes, London, 1870).

British Library Harleian Manuscript 433 Horrox, R. J., and Hammond, P., eds., (4 Volumes, Gloucester, Upminster, and London, 1979-83).

Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts 1515-1574 Brewer, J.S., and Bullen, W., eds., (6 Volumes, London, 1867-73).

Calendar of Close Rolls 1399-1509 (18 Volumes, London, 1927-63)

Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland (18 Volumes, London and Dublin, 1894-1994).

Calendar of Fine Rolls 1399-1509 (11 Volumes, London, 1931-62)

Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Henry VII (3 Volumes, London, 1898-1955).

Calendar of Letters, Despatches and State Papers, Relating to the Negotiations Between England and Spain Bergenroth, G. A., et al., eds., (13 Volumes, 2 Supplements, London, 1862-1954).

Calendar of Patent Rolls 1399-1509 (17 Volumes, London, 1903-16).

Calendar of the State Papers Domestic of the Reign of Edward VI Knighton, C. S., (London, 1992).

Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in other Libraries of Northern Italy Brown, Rawdon, et al., eds., (38 Volumes, London, 1864-1954).

Calendar of the State Papers Milan Hinds, A.B., ed., (London, 1912).

Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland of the Reigns of Henry VIII, Mary and Elizabeth 1509-1573 Hamilton, H. C., et al., eds., (11 Volumes, London, 1860-1912).

Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Scotland Bain, J., et al., eds. (12 Volumes, Edinburgh, 1898-1969).

Cavendish, G., *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey* ed., Sylvester, R. S., EETS, (London, 1959).

Cherbury, Edward, Lord Herbert, *Life and Reign of King Henry the Eighth* (London, 1602).

The Chronicle and Political Papers of Edward VI Jordan, W. K., ed., (New York, 1966).

The Chronicle of Queen Jane and of Two Years of Queen Mary Nichols, J.G., ed., (Camden Society, London, 1850).

Collectanea Curiosa Gutch, John, ed., (Oxford, 1781).

Devon, Frederick, *Issues of the Exchequer, Henry III to Henry VI* (London, 1837).

Ellis, Henry, *Original Letters Illustrative of English History* (4 Volumes, London, 1827).

Ellis, Thomas, Baron Howard de Walden, *Banners, Standards and Badges from a Tudor Manuscript in the College of Arms in the de Walden Library* (London, 1904).

English Historical Documents 1485-1558 Williams, C. H., ed., (London, 1967).

Faculty Office Registers 1534-1549 Chambers, D. S., ed., (Oxford, 1966).

Gardiner, Stephen *The Letters of Stephen Gardiner* Muller, James, ed., (Connecticut, 1970).

Giustinian, Sebastian, *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII*, Brown, Rawdon, ed., and trans., (2 Volumes, London, 1854).

Grafton, Richard, *Grafton's Chronicle, or History of England 1189-1558* (2 Volumes, London, 1809).

Hall, Edward, *Chronicle Containing the History of England ...* Ellis, Henry, ed., (London, 1809).

Harleian Society Publications

Visitations of Hertfordshire 1569 ... (London, 1886).

Visitations of Lincolnshire 1634 ... (London, 1898).

Visitations of Norfolk 1583 ... (London, 1891).

Visitations of Shropshire 1623 ... (London, 1889).

Visitations of Staffordshire 1614 ... (London, 1885).

Visitations of Warwickshire 1619 ... (London, 1877).

Visitations of Worcestershire 1569 ... (London, 1888).

Historical Manuscripts Commission.

7th Report, *Manuscripts of George Alan Lowndes* (London, 1879)

9th Report, part 1, *Manuscripts Belonging to the Corporation of the Borough of Plymouth County Devon* (London, 1883).

9th Report, part 2, *Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Leinster* (London, 1884).

15th Report, part 10, *Municipal Records of Shrewsbury (iv)*, (London, 1899).

58th Report, *Manuscripts of the ... Marquess of Bath Preserved at Longleat (iv)*, *Seymour Papers 1532-1686* (London, 1968).

Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Rutland Preserved at Belvoir Castle (iv) (London, 1905).

Inventories of the Wardrobe, Plate, Chapel Stuff, etc of Henry Fitzroy Duke of Richmond ... Edited with a Memoir and Letters of the Duke of Richmond Nichols, John Gough, ed., *Camden Misc*, (iii), [61], (Camden Society, 1855)

Journals of the House of Lords, I, (London, 1808).

Lambarde, William, *A Perambulation of Kent* (Bath, 1970).

Leland, John., *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea* Toulmin Smith, L. ed., (6 Volumes, London, 1784).

Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII Brewer, J. S., et al., eds., (London, 1862-1932).

Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII Gairdner, J., ed., (2 Volumes, London, 1861-3).

Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies of Great Britian Wood, Mary, (Green) ed., (3 Volumes, London, 1864).

Lincoln Wills 1271-1526 Foster, C. W., ed., (Publications of the Lincoln Record Society, 1914).

- The Lisle Letters* St Clare Byrne, Muriel, ed., (6 Volumes, Chicago, 1981).
- Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth* Nichols, J. G., ed., (2 Volumes, Roxburgh Club, 1857).
- Mémoires de Martin et Guillaume Du Bellai Lambert*, Mons. L'Abbé, ed., (Paris, 1753).
- Palsgrave, John, The Comedy of Acolastus Translated from the Latin of Pullonius Carver*, P. L., ed., EETS, (London, 1937).
- The Paston Letters 1422-1509* Gardiner, J., ed., (6 Volumes, London, 1904).
- The Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry VIII* Nicholas, N. H., ed., (London, 1829).
- The Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary* Madden, F. E., ed., (London, 1831).
- Records of the Borough of Nottingham* (9 Volumes, London, 1882-1952).
- Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* [44], (London, 1883).
- Rutland Papers* Jerdan, William, ed., (Camden Society, 1842).
- Rymer, Thomas, Foedera Conventiones Literae et Cujuscunqve Generis Acta Publica* Holmes, George, ed., (10 Volumes, London, 1967).
- Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty* Marsden, Robert, ed., (2 Volumes, Seldon Society, 1894-97).
- Speed, John, The Counties of Britain* Nicolson, Nigel and Hawkyard, Alasdair, eds., (London, 1988).
- State Papers of King Henry VIII* (11 Volumes, London, 1830-52).

Statutes of the Realm Luders, A., et al., eds., (11 Volumes, London, 1810-28).

Stow, John, *Annals, or General Chronicle of England* (London, 1615).

Stow, J., *A Survey of London* Kingsford, C. L., ed., (2 Volumes, Oxford, 1971).

Testamenta Vetusta Nichols, N. H. ed., (2 Volumes, London, 1826).

Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles Gairdner, J., and Stow, J., eds., (Camden Society, 1880).

Throckmorton, Sir Nicholas, *The Legend of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton* Nichols, J. G., ed., (London, 1874).

Turpyn, Richard, *The Chronicle of Calais in the Reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII to the Year 1540* Nichols, John Gough, ed., (Camden Society, 1846).

Valor Ecclesiasticus Caley, J., and Hunter, J., eds., (6 Volumes, London, 1810-34).

Wriothesley, Charles, *A Chronicle of England During the Reign of the Tudors 1485-1559* Hamilton, William, Douglas, ed., (2 Volumes, Camden Society, 1875-7).

York Civic Records (iii), Raine, Angelo, ed., (York Archaeological Society, 1942).

Secondary Sources

Alexander, J. J. and Hooper, W. R., *The History of Great Torrington in the County of Devon* (Surrey, 1948).

Anstis, J., *The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (2 Volumes, London, 1724).

Aries, P., *Centuries of Childhood* (London, 1979).

- Bagwell, Richard, *Ireland under the Tudors* (3 Volumes, London, 1963).
- Baker, George, *History of Northamptonshire*, (London, 1822).
- Baldwin, David, *The Chapel Royal, Ancient and Modern* (London, 1990).
- Bapst, Edmond, *Deux Gentilshommes Poètes de la Cour de Henri VIII* (Paris, 1891).
- Baragnon, P. L., ed., *Abrège de l'histoire de Nismes* (Nismes, 1831).
- Barnwell, Edward, *Perrot Notes, Some Account of the Various Branches of the Perrot family* (London, 1867).
- Baskerville, Geoffrey, *English Monks and the Suppression of the Monasteries* (London, 1937).
- Baumer, F., *The Early Tudor Theory of Kingship* (Oxford, 1940).
- Beckingsale, B. W., *Thomas Cromwell, Tudor Minister* (London, 1978).
- Bennett, Michael, *The Battle of Bosworth* (Stroud, 1985).
Lambert Simnel and the Battle of Stoke (Stroud, 1987).
- Bernard, G. W., *The Power of the Early Tudor Nobility* (London, 1985).
- Bindoff, Stanley, ed., *The History of Parliament, The House of Commons 1509-1558* (3 Volumes, London, 1982).
- Blakeway, John, *The Sheriffs of Shropshire* (Shrewsbury, 1831).
- Block, J. S., *Factional Politics and the English Reformation 1520-40* (Royal Historical Society, 1993).
- Blomefield, Francis, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* Parkin, Charles, ed., (11 Volumes, London, 1805-10).

- Blunt, Reginald, *Memoirs of Gerald Blunt* (London, 1911).
- Bowle, John, *Henry VIII* (London, 1964).
- Bradner, L. B., *The Life and Poems of Richard Edwards* (Oxford, 1927).
- Brenan, G. and Statham, E. P., *The House of Howard* (2 Volumes, London, 1907).
- Brewer, J. S., *The Reign of Henry VIII from his Accession to the Death of Wolsey* Gardiner, J., ed. (2 Volumes, London, 1884).
- Brooks, F. W., *The Council of the North* (London, 1953).
- Buchanan, Patricia, *Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scots* (London, 1985).
- Burke, S., Hubert, *Historical Portrait of the Tudor Dynasty* (4 Volumes, London, 1879-83).
- Burton, John, *A History of Kidderminster* (London, 1890).
- Campbell, William, ed., *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII* (2 Volumes, London, 1873-77).
- Carlton, Charles, *Royal Mistresses* (London, 1991).
- Carpenter, Christine, *Locality and Polity; A study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499*, (Cambridge, 1992)
- Casady, Edwin, *Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey* (New York, 1938).
- Chamberlain, F., *The Private Character of Henry VIII* (London, 1932).
- Chamberlain, John, ed., *Imitations of Original Drawings by Hans Holbein ...* (London, 1792).
- Chambers, R. W., *Thomas More* (London, 1935).
- Chapman, Hester, *Lady Jane Grey* (London, 1962).

The Last Tudor King (London, 1958).

Two Tudor Portraits (London, 1960).

Chibnall, M., *The Empress Matilda* (London, 1991).

Childe-Pemberton, William, *Elizabeth Blount and Henry VIII with Some Account of her Surroundings* (London, 1913).

Chrimes, S. B., *Henry VII* (London, 1987).

Cochrane, C., *Poole Bay and Purbeck 300bc-ad1660* (Dorchester, 1970).

Cockayne, G. E., *The Complete Peerage* Gibbs. V., et al., eds., (13 Volumes, London, 1910-59).

Collections for a History of Staffordshire William Salt Archaeological Society ed., (Kendal, 1880-..).

Colvin, N. M., *The History of the King's Works* (4 Volumes, London, 1962-1983).

Compton, William, *History of the Comptons of Compton Wynyates* (London, 1930).

Copeman, W. S. C. *Doctors and Disease in Tudor Times* (London, 1960).

Cosgrove, Art, ed., *A New History of Ireland: Medieval Ireland 1169-1534* (Oxford, 1987).

Coward, Barry, *The Stanleys, Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby 1385-1672* (Manchester, 1983).

Craik, Anna, *Annals of our Ancestors* (Edinburgh, 1924).

Croft, O. G. S., *The House of Croft of Croft Castle* (Hereford, 1949).

Croke, Alexander, *The Genealogical History of the Croke Family Originally Named Le Blount* (Oxford, 1823).

- Davies, C. S. L., *Peace, Print and Protestantism 1450-1588* (London, 1977).
- Davies, R., *The Fawkes of York in the 16th Century* Nichols, J. B., and J. G., eds., (Westminster, 1850).
- De La Faille, G., *Annales de la Ville de Toulouse* (Toulouse, 1701).
- Devic, C. L., et Vaissete, J., *Histoire Générale de Languedoc* (Toulouse, 1889).
- Dickens, A. G., *The English Reformation* (London, 1959).
- Dictionary of National Biography* Stephen, Leslie, and Lee, Sidney, eds., (63 Volumes, London, 1885-1900).
- Dixon, William, *History of Two Queens* (4 Volumes, London, 1873-74).
- Dodds, M. H., and R., *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Exeter Conspiracy* (Cambridge, 1915).
- Domairon, Louis, *Entrée de François 1er dans la Ville de Béziers* (Paris, 1865).
- Donaldson, G., *Scotland, James V to James VII* (Edinburgh, 1965).
- Dugdale, William, *Baronage of England* (London, 1675).
- Dunham, William, *Lord Hastings' Indentured Retainers 1461-1483* (Connecticut, 1955).
- Earwaker, J. P., and Sharpe, R., *East Cheshire* (2 Volumes, London, 1877-80).
- Edwards, David, *The Edwardes Legacy* (Baltimore, 1992).
- Ellis, Steven, *The Pale and the Far North* (Galway, 1988).
Tudor Ireland 1470-1603 (London, 1985).
- Elton, Geoffrey, *The Tudor Constitution* (London, 1975).

- England under the Tudors* (London, 1978).
- Thomas Cromwell* (Bangor, 1991).
- Erdeswick, Sampson, *A Survey of Staffordshire* (London, 1844).
- Erickson, Carolly, *Bloody Mary* (London, 1978).
- Evans, Howell, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses* (Cambridge, 1915).
- Eyton, Robert, *Antiquities of Shropshire* (12 Volumes, London, 1854-60).
- Falconer, Madan, *The Gresleys of Drakelowe* (Oxford, 1898).
- Farrer, William, *Feudal Cambridgeshire* (Cambridge, 1920).
- Records Relating to the Barony of Kendale* Curwened, John, F., ed., (2 Volumes, Kendal, 1923-4).
- Ferguson, Charles, *Naked to Mine Enemies* (London, 1958).
- Fisher, H. A. L., *History of England from the Accession of Henry VII to the Death of Henry VIII, 1485-1547* (New York, 1928).
- Fraser, Antonia, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (London, 1993).
- Friar, Stephen, *Heraldry* (Stroud, 1992).
- and Ferguson, John, *Basic Heraldry* (London, 1993).
- Friedmann, Paul, *Anne Boleyn* (2 Volumes, London, 1884).
- Fuller, Thomas, *The Church History of Britain* Brewer, J. S., ed., (6 Volumes, Oxford, 1845)
- Gill, Crispin, ed., *The Duchy of Cornwall* (London, 1987).
- Gillis, J. R., *For Better, for Worse, British Marriages, 1600 to the Present* (Oxford, 1985).
- Given-Wilson, Chris and Curteis, Alice, *The Royal Bastards of Medieval England* (London, 1984).

- Graeme, Bruce, *The Story of St James' Palace* (London, 1929).
- Graves, Charles, *Place Extraordinary* (London, 1963).
- Graves, M. A. R., *The Tudor Parliaments, Crown, Lords and Commons, 1485-1603* (London, 1985).
- Green, R., *History of Framlingham and Saxstead* (London, 1834).
- Griffiths, Ralph, and Thomas, Roger, *The Making of the Tudor Dynasty* (Stroud, 1993).
- Gunn, Steven, *Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk c1484-1545* (Oxford, 1988).
and Lindley, P. G., eds., *Cardinal Wolsey, Church, State and Art* (Cambridge, 1991).
- Guy, John., *The Cardinal's Court* (Sussex, 1977).
Tudor England (Oxford, 1990).
- Gwyn, Peter, *The King's Cardinal* (London, 1992).
- Hackett, Francis, *Henry VIII* (London, 1929).
- Hammond, P. W., *The Battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury* (Stroud, 1993).
- Hamy Le, P., *Entrevue de François 1er avec Henry VIII à Boulogne sur Mer en 1532* (Paris, 1898).
- Harris, Barbara, *Edward Stafford, Third Duke of Buckingham* (Stanford, 1986).
- Harrison, Scott, Michael, *The Pilgrimage of Grace in the Lake Counties, 1536-7* (London, 1981).
- Harriss, G. L., *Cardinal Beaufort* (Oxford, 1988).
- Harwood, Thomas, *The History and Antiquities of the Church and City of Lichfield* (London, 1806).
- Hasted's *History of Kent* Drake, H. H. ed., (London, 1886).

- Hicks, Michael, *False, Fleeting, Perjur'd, Clarence* (Bangor, 1992).
- Howard, Henry, *Indication of Memorials, Monuments, Paintings and Engravings of Persons of the Howard Family* (Corbey Castle, 1834).
- Hume, Martin, *The Wives of Henry VIII* (London, 1927).
- Hutchins, John, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset* Shipp, William, and Hodson, James, eds., (4 Volumes, Westminster, 1861-73)
- Ives, Eric, *Anne Boleyn* (Oxford, 1986).
- Jones, Michael, and Underwood, Malcolm, *The King's Mother* (Cambridge, 1992).
- Jordan, W. K., *Edward VI, The Threshold of Power* (London, 1970).
Edward VI, The Young King (London, 1968).
- Keene, Dennis, ed., *Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Selected Poems* (Manchester, 1985).
- Kelly, Henry, *The Matrimonial Trials of Henry VIII* (California, 1976).
- Kirk, Charles, *Kyme and its Tower* (Sleaford, 1881).
- Knecht, R. J., *Francis I* (London, 1982).
- Lalanne, Ludovic, ed., *Vies des Hommes Illustres et Grands Capitaines François en Oeuvres Complètes de Pierre de Bourdeille, Seigneur de Brantome III*, (Paris, 1868).
- Lander, J. R., *Crown and Nobility 1450-1509* (London, 1976).
The Wars of the Roses (Stroud, 1993).
- Langford, John, *Stafford and Warwickshire, Past and Present* (London, n.d.).

- Leach, Terence, *Lincolnshire Country Houses and their Families* (2 Volumes, Lincoln, 1990-91).
- Lehmberg, S., *The Later Parliaments of Henry VIII 1536-47* (Cambridge, 1977).
The Reformation Parliament 1529-36 (Cambridge, 1970).
- Levine, Mortimer, *Tudor Dynastic Problems 1460-1571* (London, 1973).
- Lindsay, Philip, *The Secret Life of Henry VIII* (London, 1953).
- Loach, Jennifer, *Parliament under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1991).
- Loades, David, *Mary Tudor, A Life* (Oxford, 1992).
The Politics of Marriage (Stroud, 1994).
The Tudor Court (London, 1986).
- Loder, Robert, *The History of Framlingham* (Woodbridge, 1798).
- Lodge, Samuel, *Scrivelsby, The Home of the Champions* (London, 1983).
- Luke, Mary, *Catherine the Queen* (London, 1968).
- MacCulloch, Diarmaid, *Thomas Cranmer* (London, 1996).
- Mackie, J. D., *The Earlier Tudors 1485-1558* (Oxford, 1952).
- Macnalty, Arthur, *Henry VIII, A Difficult Patient* (London, 1952).
- Martin, A. J., *The Church of St Michael, Framlingham* (Ipswich, 1985).
- Mason, Robert, *The History of Norfolk* (2 Volumes, London, 1882-85).
- Mattingly, Garrett, *Catherine of Aragon* (London, 1963).
- McCorristine, Laurence, *The Revolt of Silken Thomas* (Dublin, 1987).

- McLaren, Angus, *Reproductive Rituals* (London, 1984).
- Merriman, Roger, ed., *The Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell* (2 Volumes, Oxford, 1968).
- Miller, Helen, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility* (Oxford, 1986).
- Moody, T. W. et al., eds., *A New History of Ireland: Early Modern Ireland 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1991).
- Mooney, Bel, *Somerset* (London, 1989).
- Mordant, Philip, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex* (2 Volumes, London, 1763-68).
- Morris, Christopher, *The Tudors* (London, 1955).
- Morrison, N. B., *The Private Life of King Henry VIII* (London, 1964).
- Muller, James, *Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction* (New York, 1970).
- Mumby, F. A., *The Youth of Henry VIII* (London, 1913).
- Myers, A. R., *The Household of Edward IV* (Manchester, 1959).
- Nash, J., *Collections for a History of Worcestershire* (2 Volumes, London, 1731-32).
- Neale, J. E., *Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1934).
- Nenner, Howard, *The Right to be King* (London, 1995).
- Newton, Margaret, *South Kyme* (Lincoln, 1995).
- Nott, G. F., ed., *The Works of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey and Sir Thomas Wyatt, the Elder* (2 Volumes, London 1815-16).
- Oppenheim, M., *History of the Administration of the Royal Navy ... 1509-1660* (Hants, 1988).

- Orme, Nicholas, *From Childhood to Chivalry* (London, 1984).
- Ormerod, George, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester* (London, 1882).
- Owen, Hugh, and Blakeway, John, *A History of Shrewsbury* (2 Volumes, London, 1825).
- Palliser, D. M., *Tudor York* (Oxford, 1979).
- Parmiter de., G., *The King's Great Matter* (London, 1967).
- Parshall, Horace, *The Parshall Family 870-1913* (London, 1915).
- Paul, J. E., *Catherine of Aragon and her Friends* (London, 1966).
- Pickthorn, K., *Early Tudor Government, Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1934).
- Playfair, William, *British Family Antiquity* (London, 1809).
- Pollard, A. F., *The Reign of Henry VII From Contemporary Sources* (3 Volumes, London, 1913-4)
Wolsey (London, 1953).
- Pollard, A. J., *The Wars of the Roses* (London, 1988).
- Powell, Enoch, and Wallis, Keith, *The House of Lords in the Middle Ages* (London, 1968).
- Prescott, H. F. M., *Mary Tudor* (London, 1962).
- Pugh, T. B., *The Marcher Lordships of South Wales 1415-1536* (Cardiff, 1963).
- Quaife, Geoffrey, *Wanton Wenches and Wayward Wives* (London, 1979).
- Rawcliffe, Carole, *The Staffords* (Cambridge, 1978).
- Rawnsley, Willingham Franklin, *Highways and Byways in Lincolnshire* (London, 1927).

- Redworth, Glyn, *In defence of the Church Catholic* (Oxford, 1990).
- Reid, Rachel, *The King's Council in the North* (London, 1921).
- Reynolds, E. E., *The Field is Won* (London, 1969).
- Reynolds, Graham, *English Portrait Miniatures* (Cambridge, 1988).
- Rex, R., *The Theology of John Fisher* (Cambridge, 1991).
- Richardson, Ethel, *The Lion and the Rose* (2 Volumes, London, 1922).
- Richardson, Walter, *Mary Tudor, The White Queen* (London, 1970).
- Ridley, J., *Thomas Cranmer* (Oxford, 1962).
- Rival, Paul, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (London, 1937).
- Robinson, John, *The Dukes of Norfolk* (West Sussex, 1995).
- Ross, Charles, *Edward IV* (London, 1974).
 ed., *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1979).
Richard III (London, 1990).
- Rothery, Guy, *Concise Encyclopedia of Heraldry* (London, 1995).
- Routh, E. M. G., *Lady Margaret Beaufort* (Oxford, 1924).
- Russell, Conrad, *The Crisis of Parliaments* (Oxford, 1971).
- Russell, J. G. *The Field of the Cloth of Gold* (London, 1969).
- Sandeman, John, *The Spears of Honour and Gentlemen Pensioners* (Hants, 1912).
- Scarisbrick, J. J., *Henry VIII* (London, 1990).

Sessions, William, *Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey* (Boston, 1986).

Shaw, Stebbing, *The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire* (London, 1798-1801).

Shaw, W. M., *The Knights of England* (2 Volumes, London, 1906).

Simpson, J. A. and Weiner, E. S. E., eds., *The Oxford English Dictionary* (20 Volumes, Oxford, 1989).

Skeel, Caroline, *The Council in the Marches of Wales* (London, 1904).

Smith, H. M., *Henry VIII and the Reformation* (London, 1962).

Smith, H. P., *The History of the Borough and County of the Town of Poole* (2 Volumes, Poole, 1951).

Smith, Harold, *History of the Parish of Havering atte Bower, Essex* (Colchester, 1925).

Smith, L. B., *The Mask of Royalty* (London, 1971).
A Tudor Tragedy (London, 1962).

Smith, R. B., *Land and Politics in the England of Henry VIII* (Oxford, 1970).

Somerset, Anne, *Ladies in Waiting* (London, 1984).

Somerville, Robert, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster 1265-1603* (London, 1953).

Starkey, David, ed., *The Reign of Henry VIII* (London, 1985).
Rivals in Power (London, 1990).

Stevens, J., *Music at the Court of Henry VIII* (London, 1962).

Stone, Lawrence, *The Road to Divorce: England 1530-1987* (Oxford, 1990).

Streitberger, W. R., *Court Revels 1485-1559* (Toronto, 1994).

- Strong, Roy, *The English Renaissance Miniature* (London, 1983).
- Strype, John, *Ecclesiastical Memorials* (3 Volumes, London, 1721-33).
- Strickland, Agnes, *Lives of the Queens of England* (11 Volumes, London, 1842).
- Thomas, Hugh, *A History of Wales 1485-1660* (Cardiff, 1972)
- Thompson, A. T., *Memoir of the Court of Henry VIII* (London, 1826).
- Thompson, G. S., *Lords Lieutenant in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1924).
- Thurley, Simon, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (London, 1993).
- Tucker, Melvin, *The Life of Thomas Howard 1443-1524* (London, 1964).
- Twamley, Charles, *History of Dudley Castle and Priory* (London, 1897).
- Waldman, Milton, *The Lady Mary* (London, 1972).
- Warnicke, Retha, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn* (Cambridge, 1989).
- Weir, Alison *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (London, 1995).
- Wernham, Richard, *Before the Armada, The Emergence of the English Nation 1485-1588* (New York, 1966).
- Willen, Diane, *John Russell, First Earl of Bedford* *Studies in History Series* [23], (Royal Historical Society, 1981).
- Willement, Thomas, *An Account of the Restorations of the Collegiate Chapel of St George, Windsor* (London, 1844).
- Williams, Glanmor, *Wales and the Act of Union* (Bangor, 1992).

Williams, Neville, *Henry VIII and his Court* (London, 1971).

Thomas Howard, *4th Duke of Norfolk* (London, 1964).

Willmore, Frederick, *History of Walsall* (London, 1887).

Wolffe, B. P., *The Crown Lands 1461-1536* (London, 1970).

Wood, Anthony, *Athenae Oxonienses* (4 Volumes, London, 1967).

Young, Alan, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (London, 1987).

Articles

Baron, Helen, "Mary [Howard] Fitzroy's Hand in the Devonshire Mss" *Review of English Studies*, [45], (1994).

Beckingsale, B. W., "The Characteristics of the Tudor North" *Northern History*, [4], (1967).

Behrens, Betty, "A Note on Henry VIII's Divorce Project of 1514" *BIHR.*, [II], (1934).

Bennett, Michael, "'Good Lords' and 'Kingmakers': the Stanleys of Lathom" *History Today*, [31], (1981).

Bernard, George, "The Rise of Sir William Compton, Early Tudor Courtier" *EHR.*, [96] (1981).

Bush, M. L., "The Tudors and the Royal Race" *History* [55], (1970).

Cathcart King, D. J., and Clifford Perks, J., "Manorbier Castle" *Archaeologia Cambrensis and Denbighshire Historical Society Transactions*, [118], (1969).

Condon, M. M., "Ruling Elites in the Reign of Henry VII" in *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England* Ross, C., ed., (Gloucester, 1979).

Derrett, J., Duncan, "Henry Fitzroy and Henry VIII's 'Scruple of Conscience'" *Renaissance News*, [16], (1963).

- Flugel, J. C., "The Character and Married Life of Henry VIII" *Psychoanalysis and History*, (1963).
- Gunn S. J., "The Regime of Charles, Duke of Suffolk in North Wales and the Reform of Welsh Government, 1509-25" *WHR*, [12], (1985).
- Guy, John, "Wolsey and The Tudor Polity" in *Cardinal Wolsey, Church, State and Art* Gunn, S. J., and Lindley, P. G., eds., (Cambridge, 1991).
- Hoskins, Anthony, "Mary Boleyn Carey's Children - Offspring of King Henry VIII" *Genealogist's Magazine*, [25, n.9], (1997).
- Ives, E., "Court and County Palatinate in the Reign of Henry VIII, The Career of William Brereton of Malpas" *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, [123], (1972).
 "Faction at the Court of Henry VIII, the Fall of Anne Boleyn" *History*, [57], (1972).
 "Henry VIII, The Political Perspective", in *The Reign of Henry VIII* MacCulloch, Diarmaid, ed., (London, 1995).
 ed., "Letters and Accounts of William Brereton of Malpas", *The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* [116], (1976).
- James, M. E., "The First Earl of Cumberland and the Decline of Northern Feudalism" *Northern History*, [I], (1966).
- Jones, Michael, "Sir William Stanley of Holt: Politics and Family Allegiance in the Late 15th Century" *WHR.*, [14], (1986-9).
- Kelly, Henry, "Kinship, Incest and the Dictates of Law" *The American Journal of Jurisprudence* [14], (1969).
- Lander, J., "Bonds, Coercion and Fear: Henry VII and the Peerage", in *Florilegium Historiale* Rowe, J., and Stockdale, W., eds., (Toronto, 1971).
- Levine, Mortimer, "Henry VIII's Use of his Spiritual and Temporal Jurisdictions in his Great Causes of Matrimony,

- Legitimacy, and Succession" *The Historical Journal*, [11], (1967).
- "The fall of Edward Duke of Buckingham" in *Tudor Men and Institutions* Flavin, A. J., ed., (Louisiana, 1972).
- Mertes, R. G., "The Household as a Religious Community", in *People, Politics and Community in the Later Middle Ages* Rosenthal, J., and Richmond, C., eds., (Gloucester, 1987).
- Miller, Helen, "Attendance in the House of Lords in the Reign of Henry VIII" *The Historical Journal*, [10], (1967).
 "Subsidy Assessments of the Peerage in the Sixteenth Century" *BIHR.*, [55], (1955).
- Nichols, John Gough, "Additions to the Memoir of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset", *Gentleman's Magazine* (August, 1855).
 "Mary Richmond Female Biographies of English History (IV)" *Gentleman's Magazine* (May, 1845).
- Noble, Mark, "History of the Beautiful Elizabeth Blount" *Marshall's Genealogist*, [II], (1878).
- Quinn, David, "Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond and his Connection with Ireland 1529-30" *BIHR.*, [12], (1935).
 "Henry VIII and Ireland 1509-34" *Irish Historical Studies*, [12], (1961).
 "The re-emergence of English Policy as a Major Factor in Irish Affairs, 1520-34" in *A New History of Ireland, Medieval Ireland: 1169-1534* Cosgrove, Art, ed., (Oxford, 1987).
- Richardson, W. C., "The Surveyor of the King's Prerogative" *EHR.*, [56], (1941).
- Robinson, W. R. B., "Marcher Lords of Wales 1525-1531" *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, [26], (1974-76).
- Samman, Neil, "The Progresses of Henry VIII, 1509-1529" in *The Reign of Henry VIII* MacCulloch, Diarmaid, ed., (London, 1995).

Southall, Raymond, "The Devonshire Manuscript Collection of Early Tudor Poetry 1532-41" *The Review of English Studies*, [15], (1964).

"Mary Fitzroy and O Happy Dames in the Devonshire Mss" *Review of English Studies*, [45], (1994).

Stone, Lawrence, and Colvin, Howard, "The Howard Tombs at Framlingham, Suffolk" *Archeological Journal*, [122], (1966).

Thomas, K., "Age and Authority in Early Modern England" *Proceedings of the British Academy*, [62], (1976).

Virgoe, R., "The Recovery of the Howards in East Anglia 1485-1529" in *Wealth and Power in Tudor England* Ives, E. W., Knecht, R. J., and Scarisbrick, J. J., eds., (London, 1978).

"William Tailboys and Lord Cromwell: Crime and Politics in Lancastrian England" *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, [55], (1973).

Youngs, Joyce, "The Council of the West" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* [10], (1960).

Unpublished Theses

Haslam, Graham, *An Administrative Study of the Duchy of Cornwall 1500-1650* Ph.D., (Louisiana State University, 1970).

Head, Michael, *The Life and Career of Thomas Howard: 3rd Duke of Norfolk 1473-1554* Ph.D., (Florida State University, 1978).

Hicks, Michael, *The Career of George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence 1449-1478* DPhil, (Oxford, 1974).

Lechnar, Michael, *Henry VIII's Bastard: Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond* Partial fulfillment Ph.D., (West Virginia, 1977).

Rowney, Ian, *The Staffordshire Political Community* Ph.D., (Keele, 1981).

Samman, Neil, *The Henrician Court During Cardinal Wolsey's
Ascendancy c1514-1529* Ph.D, (University of Wales, 1988).