

Footnotes to *Catherine of Aragon: Henry's Spanish Wife* by Giles Tremlett, Faber and Faber, London, 2010.

**AUTHOR'S NOTES ON THE FOOTNOTES TO CATHERINE OF ARAGON: HENRY'S SPANISH WIFE (FABER AND FABER, LONDON, 2010)**

The footnotes which follow refer mainly to the excerpts from the book that are given before each footnote, but some also refer to previous text that is not included here. They have been adapted from the footnotes in the U.S. edition of the book, published by Walker and Company in New York (in November 2010), where they are presented in the traditional format. The bibliography that accompanies these footnotes is published on the book's website as a separate document.

When referring to the following calendars I have used the document or note number rather than the page number (which I have also indicated where helpful or where, exceptionally, the information can be identified by page numbers only). Roman numerals refer to the prefaces to each volume of the calendars. The names of the calendars have been abbreviated in the following form:

CSP Spain: *Calendar of Letters, Despatches and State Papers relating to the negotiations between England and Spain preserved in the archives of Simancas and elsewhere.*

CSP Venice: *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs existing in the archives and collections of Venice and in other libraries of northern Italy.*

CSP Milan: *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts in the archives and collections of Milan.*

L&P: *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum and elsewhere in England.*

References to PRO 31/11/2, PRO 31/11/3 and PRO 31/11/4 in The National Archives do not carry folio numbers as these are not used in the originals. The latter use, instead, the same document numbers given in CSP Spain, Vol. 1, which are also provided.

Most of the calendars are now available for reading at British History Online (<http://www.british-history.ac.uk>), while some of the older books cited here can be found at the same website or at [www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org). Original documents from the Spanish state archive at Simancas can be seen at the [pares.mcu.es](http://pares.mcu.es) website.

Giles Tremlett. Madrid, October 16, 2010.

## INTRODUCTION

footnotes to pages 1-6

...he could send a legal representative.

*Real Academia de Historia manuscript MS 9-4674, (Veruela). "Veruela (Monasterio de). Un volumen en folio, encuad. en pergamino. Ms. Siglo XVI. Documentos relativos a la visita del Cardenal Adriano cuando pasó de España a Roma, elegido Papa. -Proceso de la reina Da Catalina de Aragón, reina de Inglaterra. -Registrum abbatís monasterii verolen.1480."* Transcript and Spanish translation by Ruth Miguel Franco, in possession of the author.

... manuscript that sat in the monastery's archive for centuries, has either been unavailable or largely ignored until now.

*Ibid.*

... the only surviving record of what the witnesses for Catherine, who were heard in several other places, said during the so-called divorce proceedings.

L&P 5, 492, 866. CSP Spain, 4, 574-7. Kelly, *Matrimonial trials*, 148.

"From this contest, between two mothers and their daughters, was born the religious passion and violence that inflamed England for centuries," says the historian David Starkey.

Starkey, *Six Wives*, 516.

## Chapter 1 – BED

footnotes to pages 7-12

Cheering crowds had gathered on the streets, and inside the tumult had been such that some found it hard to follow what was happening. Her new in-laws were delighted.

Kipling, *Receyt*, 32, 39– 47. L&P, 4, 5774.

This, after all, was no ordinary bed. It was, as one chronicler of this most publicized of events put it, a “bedde of estate.”

Kipling, *Receyt*, 46.

There was no privacy. Her helpers made sure that she was “reverently laid and reposed.”  
Ibid.

Those with Arthur had spent the best part of the afternoon drinking, dancing and seeing to their own “pleasure” and “myrthe.”

Ibid.

... Arthur’s younger brother – an energetic, excitable, robust and ruddycheeked ten-year-old prince called Henry – was probably deemed too young for this later stage of the proceedings.

<http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/eGallery/object.asp?category=BASCULPTURE&object=73197&row=0&detail=magnify>

One of the company recalled that they found Catherine lying under the coverlet “as the manner is of queens in that behalf”

L&P, 4, 5774.

The book of royal etiquette stipulated, admittedly for slightly different circumstances, that the groom should be “in his shirte, with a gowne cast about him.”

Grose, *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. 1, 322.

Beside the girl’s bed the bishops and prelates were reciting in Latin.

Kipling, *Receyt*, 47.

The missal indicated the words they should use. “*Custodifamulos tuos in hoc lecto quiescentes ab omnibus phantasmaticis daemonum illusionibus: custodios vigilantes ut in praeceptis tuis meditentur dormientes, et te per soporem sentiant: ut hic et ubique defensionis tuae muniantur auxilio,*” they would have intoned.

Dickinson, *Missale*, 844– 45. “Protect your servants as they rest in this bed from all the imaginary and unreal apparitions of the demons. Protect them so they can meditate on your precepts as they sleep... so that here and in all parts they are made safe by your protection.”

Fortified by a good-bye swig of wine and spiced sweetmeat, the noisy young men, the court functionaries, the bossy governess and all the rest left the newlyweds alone.

Kipling, *Receyt*, 47.

That was what the ambassadors sent by her parents, Isabel and Ferdinand, the powerful Reyes Católicos – the “Catholic Monarchs” – of Spain, had proclaimed to her father-in-law and his court just twentyfour hours earlier.

Ibid., 37.

The wedding treaty had stipulated a marriage after Arthur’s fourteenth birthday.

CSP Spain, 1, 163, 179.

“I wish my husband the prince was as strong as that lad because I fear he will never be able to have [sexual] relations with me.”

L&P, 4, 5774. Real Academia de Historia, MS 9-4674, (Veruela). Transcript and Spanish translation in possession of the author.

Perhaps she was the source of later Spanish claims that there had been no virgin’s blood left staining the sheets.

CSP Spain, 4, 572.

## Chapter 2 – QUEEN

footnotes to pages 13-21

This unusually fair-haired and pale-skinned Spanish woman “with eyes between green and blue” rode not a horse, but a mule.

Pulgar, *Chronica*, 27.

“If I do have this right, give me the brains and energy to, with the help of Your arm, pursue and achieve it and bring peace to this kingdom,” she said before setting out.

Suárez, *Los Reyes Cáticos*, 53.

The heavy-booted nobles had then set about this king substitute, kicking him and stamping on his limp body to angry cries of “¡A tierra, puto!” Down on the ground, you bastard!

Valera, *Memorial de hazañas*, 33.

Clumsy attempts at artificial insemination, which involved the queen using a thin golden tube to introduce the semen, failed.

Münzer, *Viaje*, 263. Fernández-Armesto, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, 34.

She and her brother Alfonso were, Isabel later said, “forcibly and inhumanely wrenched from the arms” of her Portuguese mother “when we were just children.”

Alvar Ezquerria, *Isabel la Católica*, 191, citing *Colección diplomática*, 630–39.

“When she saw her [the Queen] swore with vile words and, grabbing her by the hair, hit her many times on the head and shoulders with a chapín,” he wrote.

Galíndez de Carvajal, *Crónica*, 144, cited by Alvar Ezquerria, *Isabel la Católica*, 35.

Reports that Isabel identified him from her window among a group of eight approaching riders and gleefully shouted, “That is he! That is he!” are too far-fetched to believe.

Fernández-Armesto, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, 41.

The sheets from the wedding bed, stained with a virgin’s blood, were carried into the packed chamber next door and, to the sound of trumpets and drums, displayed for all to see.

Valera, *Memorial*, 54.

“The queen suddenly appeared in a very rich outfit, adorned in resplendent jewels of gold and precious stone that enhanced her singular beauty,” the chronicler Alfonso de Palencia recalled.

Fernández de Córdova Miralles, *La Corte de Isabel I*, 368, citing Palencia, *Crónica* 155.

I have never heard of a queen who usurped this masculine attribute.”

Fernández de Córdova Miralles, *La Corte de Isabel I*, 368, citing Palencia, *Crónica* 155, 162.

The youngest of Isabel’s four daughters, the as-yet-unborn Catherine of Aragon, would be described by a contemporary as “the one who most resembled her mother.”

Zurita, *Historia*, libro 8, 35.

### Chapter 3 – BIRTH

footnotes to pages 22-28

An embassy arrived from Fez, bringing her not just words of peace but also silks and perfumes.  
Pulgar, *Chronica*, 145, (410 in *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla Tomo III*).

“He immediately does what ever it is that she decides.”  
Fernández de Córdoba Miralles, *La Corte de Isabel I*, 74, citing Nicolas de Popplau in *Viajes de Extranjeros*, 319.

They included Anne of Hungary, two Joans of Naples and “others in diverse states,” but none could match Isabel’s importance.

Barrington, Robert, “A Venetian Secretary in England: An unpublished diplomatic report in the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice,” *Historical Research* 70, no. 172 (June 1997).

“I have been informed by the ladies who serve her in her chamber that, neither when in pain through illness nor during the pains of childbirth... did they ever see her complain, and that, rather, she suffered them with marvellous fortitude,” one visitor to her court reported later.  
Fernández de Córdoba Miralles, *La Corte de Isabel I*, 76.

“The monarchs would have been happier with a boy, because having just one male heir was a worry to them,” noted a chronicler.  
Palencia, *Crónica*, vol. 5, 221.

It was an important job and the wet nurse was meant to be “good looking and of good stock, with plentiful milk.”  
Fernández de Córdoba Miralles, *La Corte de Isabel I*, 150.

Catherine’s brother, Juan, became so attached to his that he considered her “like a mother” and, more confusingly, once wrote asking to marry her.  
Fernández de Oviedo, *Libro de la Camara*, 197.

#### Chapter 4 - BETROTHED

footnotes to pages 29-36

There had been much crying "to God and to all the Saints in Paradise" when they came close to drowning in the Bay of Biscay.

Gairdner, *Memorials*, 332.

She took their money, however, and after a miserable night they "rose very early" and fled.  
Ibid., 338.

"No, [I, say] but I write 'kings' because the king is king on account of the queen, by right of marriage, and because they call themselves 'kings,' and superscribe their letters 'By the King and Queen,' for she is the heiress [of the throne]."  
Ibid., 336.

"So rich was the dress she wore that day that there is no man who can well imagine what could be the value of it," he wrote.  
Ibid., 349- 51.

"He appeared to us so admirable that, what ever praise, commendation, or flattery any one might be capable of speaking or writing would only be truth in this case," they wrote.  
CSP Spain, 1, 21.

"It was beautiful to see how the queen held up her youn gest daughter," he recalled.  
Gairdner, *Memorials*, 351.

... Isabel, for her part, had long ago declared France to be a place that was "abhorrent to our Castilian nation."  
Fernández-Armesto, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, 41.

"People speak of the honour done to ambassadors in England; certainly it is not to be compared to the honour which is done to the ambassadors in the kingdom of Castile, and especially in the time of this noble king and queen," concluded Machado, perhaps displaying the Iberian pride, and blood, that his surname suggests.  
Gairdner, *Memorials*, 350- 51.

## Chapter 5 – INFANTA

footnotes to pages 37-52

One of them, the Venetian ambassador, spotted Catherine on the tiered stage set up in the palace's grand hall. Fernández de Córdoba Miralles, *La Corte de Isabel I*, 402, citing Sanuto, *Diarii*, vol. 1, 620– 23.

"She does not want to know another man," reported Peter Martyr. An excess of fasting and vigils (a common reaction to bad times among Isabel's daughters) had left her "thinner than a dried-out tree."

Alvar Ezquerro, *Isabel la Católica*, 132. Fernández de Córdoba Miralles, *La Corte de Isabel I*, 867.

"Here lies Margot, the willing bride,/ Twice married – but a virgin when she died."  
Mattingly, 22.

Baeza paid for "a bust [or statue] made of wax of the infanta's weight, using 30 pounds of wax" and for the "the work making it and the paint for the face." He did not, unfortunately, say whether the wax figure was meant to be a life-sized toy or a gift, perhaps to some church.

Cuentas de Gonzalo de Baeza], vol. 1, 156– 57.

Her second lot of chapines, received two years later, were of two different heights – recorded as being "three fingers" or "a hand."

De la Torre y del Cerro, *Cuentas de Gonzalo de Baeza*], vol. 1, 203, 381, vol. 2, 29, 262, 300, 370.

Two slave girls, including a Moorish girl known as Catalina, would eventually accompany Catherine to England. CSP Spain, 1, 246. CSP Spain, 4, 572– 74.

The two infantas also began to accumulate chambermaids and uniformed footmen. The former were ruled over by her governess, Ynes de Vanegas. By the age of eleven Catherine had half a dozen young *damas*, or ladies-in-waiting, of her own.

De la Torre y del Cerro, *Cuentas de Gonzalo de Baeza*, vol. 2, 381. Fernández de Córdoba Miralles, *La Corte de Isabel I*, 162.

Attempts to introduce four-wheeled carriages, which Margaret of Austria brought with her, fell foul of the steep mountains, rugged tracks and thoroughly battered remains of Spain's Roman roads. "They are for flat terrain," one senior royal servant remarked with evident disdain.

Fernández de Oviedo, *Libro de la Camara*, 164.

"One day she would appear in Galicia as a Galician and the next in Vizcaya as a Vizcayan," a Spanish historian wrote a century later.

Fernández de Córdoba Miralles, *La Corte de Isabel I*, 79.

"Do you believe that this comes upon you from us? The Lord hath put this thing into the heart of the king," she supposedly said, unloading the responsibility onto her husband and, ultimately, God.

*Jewish History Sourcebook: The Expulsion from Spain, 1492 CE*, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/jewish/1492-jews-spain1.html>, citing Jacob Marcus, *The Jew*

*in the Medieval World: A Sourcebook, 315– 1791* (New York: JPS, 1938), 51– 55.

"We should both be on our knees," the queen told him. "No señora, I must be seated while your Highness kneels, because this is God's tribunal and I am his representative," Talavera replied. "This is the confessor that I have been looking for," Isabel said afterward.

Fernández de Córdoba Miralles, *La Corte de Isabel I*, 183.

This was the religion that Catherine, who received her first breviary aged ten, learned at her mother's knee. De la Torre y del Cerro, *Cuentas de Gonzalo de Baeza*, vol. 2, 333.

One of Ferdinand's doctors, Maestre Ribas Altas, was reputedly burnt at the stake for sketching himself onto a tiny picture of the crucifixion "in such a way that it seemed the '*santa Imagen*.' holy Image, was kissing his bottom."

Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*, vol. 1, doc. 12. Auto 29. "Memoria de diversos autos de inquisicion celebrados en Çaragoça desde el año 1484 asta el de 1502 en que se refieren las personas castigadas en ellos" at <http://libro.uca.edu/lea1/1lea.htm>.

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Henry VII was aware of the family's zealous nature and pledged to one of her parents' envoys "by the faith of his heart" that he would punish soundly any Jews or heretics found in England.

CSP Spain, 1, 205. National Archives, PRO 31/11/3.

"He who has no Moors, has no money," was a popular saying recorded by the German traveler Hieronymus Münzer. Christoph Weiditz sketched them in the first half of the sixteenth century, the women's legs wrapped in strips of cloth and their faces half-hidden, at least in public, by veils.

Münzer, *Viaje*, xvi, 209.

"Two men were hanging, with their testicles tied to their necks," he said.

Ibid. 83, 279.

This provoked one of those scenes for which Juana became sadly famous, when she stood out on the open ramparts of the La Mota fortress "like an African lioness in a fit of rage" until two a.m., shocking all who saw her.

Aram, *Juana the Mad*, 72- 73.

"This passion is not found only in me," Juana said later. "My lady the queen... was equally jealous. But time cured her Highness of it, as I hope to God it will for me."

Fernández-Armesto, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, 108. Alvar Ezquerro, *Isabel la Católica*, 156.

"The Queen is well instructed – not merely in comparison with her own sex," he commented, "and is no less to be respected for her piety than her erudition."

Nichols, *Epistles of Erasmus*, vol. 3, 421.

Three years later Elizabeth let it be known that she was glad Catherine had learned some French.

CSP Spain, 1, 203: 156, 294: 255.

These carried daggers, displayed deep cleavages and had a tendency to "accidentally" stumble when dismounting their horses, thus exposing large amounts of thigh painted with fashionable white makeup.

Fernández de Córdova Miralles, *La Corte de Isabel I*, 59- 61.

On Margaret's arrival, however, Isabel issued instructions to avoid the "familiarity, common treatment and informal communication used by queens and princesses in Austria, Burgundy and France." There would, instead, be "gravity... as was the [common] usage in Spain."

Fernández de Córdova Miralles, *La Corte de Isabel I*, 254, 275. Zurita, *Anales*, 3, 4.

"It is not the custom in this country that women ever come and eat in company with strangers," Machado explained.

Gairdner, *Memorials*, 355.

"Because once we are married they lock us up in a room in a castle. That is how they get their revenge on us for having such a good time when we were single."

Fernández de Córdova Miralles, *La Corte de Isabel I*, 112.

Tales of chivalry were told or sung after dinner with Isabel herself sighing at the tragic bits.

Fernández de Córdova Miralles, *La Corte de Isabel I*, 299.

Books of Chivalry. One court official damned them as "useless, fabulous, full of lies and based on lust, love and boasting... causing weak-breasted women to fall into libidinous errors and commit sins they would not otherwise commit."

Sánchez Cantón, *Libros*, 23. Edwards, *Isabel la Católica*, 136.

Juana's Moorish girls reportedly bathed her and washed her head so much that her husband worried for her health.

Aram, *Juana the Mad*, 77.

## Chapter 6 – ALHAMBRA PRINCESS

footnotes to pages 53-61

It was, wrote Bernáldez, “the third stab of pain to pierce the Queen’s heart.”  
Azcona, *Isabel la Católica*, 526.

The Italian humanist Peter Martyr, who ran a school for the children of nobles at Isabel’s court, noted that the princeling’s death “has profoundly affected his grandparents. They have evidently been unable to bear with equanimity so many strokes of fate.”

Alvar Ezquerro, *Isabel la Católica*, 165, citing Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario*, carta 216.

“From then on, she lived without joy,” recorded one chronicler.  
Alvar Ezquerro, *Isabel la Católica*, 236-38, citing Bernáldez, 692– 93.

... her clothes were increasingly of a single color – the black of mourning.  
De la Torre y del Cerro, *Cuentas de Gonzalo de Baeza*, vol. 2, 385, 425, 499.

“None of them was forced in any way to convert to Christianity,” Isabel and Ferdinand insisted, in an attempt to placate the Moslems of North Africa later. The Moors remembered it differently.  
De la Torre y del Cerro, *Documentos*, 269.

“We were converted to Christianity with severity and by force, burning our books and sullyng us; and even though every book spoke of our religion, they were tossed onto the fire with disdain and mockery,” said one who fled to the court of the Turkish emperor Bayazid II.  
Barrios Aguilera, *Granada Morisca*, 81.

“The atmosphere is pure and healthy; it boasts not just mountains but also an extensive plain; it has wonderful orchards, and its gardens compete with those of Hesperides,” he said.  
García Luján, *El Generalife*, 11.

Hieronymus Münzer visited the city in 1494, when Moslems still outnumbered Christians by at least four to one. “I believe there is no greater city in Europe,” he said.  
Münzer, *Viaje*, 97.

He also recalled the early morning calls to prayers – “for they are truly devout” – and the veiled women in long white robes of silk, cotton or wool.  
Ibid., 103, 127.

They were far superior to anything planned for the ill-fitting Renaissance palace commissioned for the Alhambra site by Charles V later in the sixteenth century.  
Ibid., 93– 97.

Even the famous stone creatures in the Court of the Lions were brightly painted.  
Ibid.

Ferdinand later told Catherine that “of all my daughters you are the one I love best.”  
Llanos y Torriglia, *Catalina*, 20, Márquez de la Plata y Ferrandiz, *Mujeres renacentistas*, 236.

## Chapter 7 - ADIOS

footnotes to pages 62-68

"We do not wish our daughter to be the cause of any loss to England. On the contrary, we desire that she should be the source of all kinds of happiness."

CSP Spain, 1, 293. National Archives, PRO 31/11/3.

The English had also asked her to bring ladies who were "of gentle birth and beautiful or, at the least, by no means ugly."

CSP Spain, 1, 268. National Archives, PRO 31/11/3.

Catherine was probably aware by this stage that, according to de Puebla's dispatches, "the king is much influenced by his mother... in affairs of personal interest and in others."

CSP Spain, 1, 210. National Archives, PRO 31/11/3.

Her parents' claim that "we ordered those with her to go as fast as possible" does not survive close study.

CSP Spain, 1, 300. National Archives, PRO 31/11/3.

"The king argued obstinately with the queen about keeping one of the letters for himself to carry around with him," de Puebla reported. "She fought hard before giving it to him."

CSP Spain, 1, 202. National Archives, PRO 31/11/3.

... Let it continue, I entreat, as it has begun; and, like as I cherish your sweet remembrance night and day, so do you preserve my name ever fresh in your breast."

Wood, *Letters*, vol. 1, 122.

"The same hour that he was arrested, the King of England sent one of his gentlemen of the bedchamber to bring me the news," he said in an urgent dispatch.

CSP Spain, 1, 198.

De Puebla was able to reassure them later that Perkin "is kept with the greatest care in a tower, where he sees neither sun nor moon."

CSP Spain, 1, 203. National Archives, PRO 31/11/3.

Later on, Henry VII interrogated Warbeck in person in front of de Puebla. "I, and other persons here, believe his life will be very short," he reported afterward.

CSP Spain, 1, 221.

Henry's servants possessed "a wonderful dexterity in getting hold of other people's money," the ambassador reported with obvious admiration.

CSP Spain, 1, 239.

... a downturn in trade in England was partly due to "the impoverishment of the people by the great taxes laid on them."

CSP Spain, 1, 210.

"The king himself said to me that he is happy to keep them low, because riches would only make them haughty," he said.

National Archives, PRO 31/11/3. CSP Spain, 1, 210.

Another Spanish visitor thought that the "very noble" Elizabeth was kept in subjection by her mother-in-law.

CSP Spain, 1, 205, 210.

With his Yorkist blood, Catherine's fiancé embodied the new "union" of the old warring roses of England.

CSP Spain, 1, 210.

Among other things, he complained, the English were continually changing their minds.

CSP Spain, 1, 282.

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... the English were “enemies of the King of France.”  
Pulgar, *Crónica*, 344, 346, 347.

Ferdinand assured him that this was the virtuous injury of a crusader, which as a result made him “more beautiful than deformed.”  
Pulgar, *Crónica*, 226–30.

## Chapter 8 - LAND

footnotes to pages 69-77

"It was impossible not to be frightened," wrote one of those on board.  
CSP Spain, 1, 305.

Henry VII had fretted that storms and hurricanes might have sunk the ship in which she first set off from La Coruña, drowning his eagerly awaited daughter-in-law before she had even caught sight of England.  
CSP Spain, 1, 304.

Plymouth was a prosperous enough port, though not well enough known for the Spaniards with her to recall its name when questioned about the journey years later.  
Molins, *Crónica*, 332.

... she had been the Saviour of the world," her doctor, the licentiate Alcaraz, wrote to Isabel two days later.  
CSP Spain, 1, 305. Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, leg. 53, doc. 43.

Presumably she gave thanks for surviving what an English chronicler called "the outrageous blasts" that had nearly ripped the "masts out of their sockets."  
Kipling, *Receyt*, 4.

Sixteen years earlier Henry had defeated Richard III at Bosworth Field. Richard, his horse dead, was reportedly "killed fighting manfully in the press of his enemies."  
Guy, *Tudor England*, 3.

He wrote his chronicle in the style of a medieval romance and gave it the title "The Receyt of The Ladie Kateryne."  
Kipling, *Receyt*, xiii- xlviii.

Chroniclers there heaved a sigh of relief that after several false starts in previous weeks the "flying rumours" of her arrival were finally right.  
Thomas and Thornley, *Chronicle of London*, 296.

The King's Council dispatched four heralds "to serve the princess."  
Kipling, *Receyt*, xlv.

King Henry sent Catherine a welcoming letter telling her of his pleasure, joy and relief at "your noble presence, which we have often desired."  
Gairdner Brodie, *Letters and Papers*, 127- 29

Hedges, oaks and other trees provided a canopy of vegetation that, according to one Frenchman, was such that "in traveling you think you are in a continuous wood."  
Grose, *Antiquarian Repertory*, 4, 512.

The wildlife, according to another traveler, included "bears and hogs, besides the wolf and the fox; and of gaminivorous animals, stags and hares, and others of the same sort."  
Nicander Nucius, *Second book*, 19.

"The English are a proud race without any respect, and claim a superiority over all other nations," one Italian observed.  
CSP Milan, 331.

"The English think there are no people like themselves," said another. "If they see a handsome foreigner they say he looks like an Englishman."  
Loades, *Henry VIII*, 15.

"In the morning they are as devout as angels, but after dinner they are like devils," said one Milanese ambassador who particularly disliked them.  
CSP Milan, 240, 553.

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"In England it is always windy and, however warm the weather, the natives invariably wear furs," reported a recent arrival from the warm Mediterranean basin. "The summers are never very hot."  
CSP Venice, 2, 219.

"One may see in the markets and streets of the city married women and damsels employed in arts, and barterings and affairs of trade, undisguisedly," said another visitor. "They display great simplicity and lack of jealousy in their usages towards females."  
Nicander Nucius, *Second book*, 10.

The Spaniards had happily installed themselves in the big house there and were greatly impressed by its "handsome park," which included a large pond that provided fresh fish for the table.  
Molins, *Crónica*, 322.

... to have any meeting nor any manner of communication or company until the start of the very day of the solemnisation of the marriage," explained Henry VII's chronicler.  
Kipling, *Receyt*, 6.

The "pleasure and commandment" of Catherine now lay in the hands of "our noble King of England."  
Ibid., 7.

"That was the mind and the intent of his coming."  
Ibid.

The king was still in his riding clothes, and probably still looking disheveled after his trip, but "she gave him an honourable meeting."  
Ibid.

There is also a hint of warmth and humor in his face as he sits for one portrait with a white, carnation-like gillyflower – the symbol of betrothal and purity – in his hand.  
Doran and Starkey, *Henry VIII*, 38. At <http://www.historicalportraits.com/InternalMain.asp>.

They contrast strongly with the swirling, energetic and sometimes illegible handwriting of Catherine whose later letters – which often start with a bold "from my own hand" – occasionally give the impression that her hand is struggling to control the torrent of words and emotions she wishes to get down on paper.  
British Library, Egerton, MSS 616, no. 28.

Arthur had already "either committed to memory or read with his own eyes and leafed with his own fingers" works by Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Cicero, Caesar, Livy and Tacitus.  
Scarbrick, *Henry the Eighth*, 5.

As a result they were now deemed to have become "spousally ensured."  
Kipling, *Receyt*, 7.

That was good enough for the Spaniards, who thought of her as properly married from this moment on.  
Molins, *Crónica*, 332.

He took the wife of one of his father's officials, Lady Guildford, as partner.  
Kipling, *Receyt*, 8.

## Chapter 9 - ON SHOW

footnotes to pages 78-84

"Upon her head [was] a little hat, fashioned like a cardinal's hat,"<sup>1</sup> one reported. This was held on by a gold lace and, underneath it, sat a carnation-coloured undercap from which her long, light auburn hair fell freely out over her shoulders "so as men might well see all her hair from the middle part of her head downwards."

Kipling, *Receyt*, 32.

... the "Receyt" called "the wronge side." This meant that the paired women actually rode back-to-back – the English pointing to the left and the Spaniards to the right.

Ibid.

If you had been there you would have thought they were refugees from hell," he wrote to a friend.

Rogers, *Selected Letters*, 2.

"Love your first spouse chiefly, then your new/ And these rewards thereof shall ensue:/ With the second, honour temporal/ And, with the first, glory perpetual."

Kipling, *Receyt*, 14.

"Houses block out from us I know not how large a measure of light, and do not permit us to see the heavens. And the round horizon does not limit the air but the lofty roofs," More complained.

Lochman, "Between Country and City."

He once saw someone squatting by a wall "to ease himself in the open street."

Ackroyd, *Life of Thomas More*, 25.

The Dutch scholar Erasmus was appalled, wanting people "appointed to see the streets cleaned from mud and urine."

Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII*, vol. 1, 2391.

"Wherever you turn your eyes, what else will you see but confectioners, fishmongers, butchers, cooks, poulterers, fishermen, fowlers, who supply the materials for gluttony and the world and the world's lord, the devil?"

Cited in Lochman, "Between Country and City."

... "goodly ballads, [and] sweet harmony [of ] the musical instruments, which sounded with hearty noise on every side of the street." She may also have appreciated "the beauty of the English ladies, the goodly demeanour of the young damsels, the amorous countenance of the lusty bachelors."

Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 493.

Catherine would have noticed "the costly furs of the citizens standing on scaffolds"

Ibid.

I do hope this highly publicised union will prove a happy omen for England."

Marius, *Thomas More*, 45–46.

... "much treasure" and, after a collection among merchants and guilds, "basins and pots filled with coin to a great sum."

Kipling, *Receyt*, 35. Thomas and Thornley, *Great Chronicle of London*, 304

No one had fallen to their death from a window or been kicked unconscious by the "cruel" and "stern" horses that processed through the packed streets of London. There had been "no mischance... to man, woman or child."

Kipling, *Receyt*, 36.

## Chapter 10 – WEDDING

footnotes to pages 85-89

Cloth of Arras tapestries – the best of the royal collection – clothed the stone walls with their rich textures and flamboyant scenes.

Kipling, *Receyt*, 39– 43. Anon., *The Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, 24– 29.

A great torchlit procession took her back to the Bishop's Palace after dark.

Kipling, *Receyt*, 37– 38.

Already the trumpeters positioned high up in the vaults above the west door were blaring out their welcome.

Kipling, *Receyt*, 42. Starkey, *Six Wives*, 59.

The author of the "Receyt," in an apparent swipe at the peacock outfits of some, spoke damningly of those "rude and unlearned people" who had come to either show off or gawk.

Kipling, *Receyt*, 41.

Her ladies followed suit, wearing "beneath their waists certain round hoops bearing out their gowns from their bodies after their country's manner."

*Ibid.*, 43.

That, one English observer said, made it "much like men's clothing."

*Ibid.*

At the choir door they turned first to the north side of the stage and then to the south so "the present multitude of people might see and behold their persons."

*Ibid.*, 44.

"Either she was in sorrow," observed her friend John Fisher, "or else when she was in prosperity she was in dread of the adversity for to come."

Dowling, *Fisher of Men*, 81.

A little gate in front of the pageant opened and closed as people filled their cups.

Kipling, *Receyt*, 44– 45.

Henry, who danced with his eleven-year-old sister Margaret and, in a fit of boyish enthusiasm, "suddenly cast off his gown and danced in his jacket with the said Lady Margaret" while his parents looked on with indulgent amusement.

*Ibid.*, 47– 48, 57– 58.

When the king called a temporary halt to the partying for a thanksgiving Mass, more than five hundred nobles – some, perhaps, nursing hangovers – packed into St. Paul's.

*Ibid.*, 48– 49.

"You might have seen jewel-encrusted goblets, dishes of purest gold, and what ever finery goldsmiths and engravers or even the famous Mentor knew how to devise."

*Ibid.*, 148.

English food routinely won "praise and commendation amongst all other countries or nations in the world."

*Ibid.*, 46.

"Francisca de Cáceres, who was in charge of dressing and undressing the queen and whom she liked and confided in a lot, was looking sad and telling the other ladies that nothing had passed between Prince Arthur and his wife, which surprised everyone and made them laugh at him."

Real Academia de Historia, MS 9-4674, (Veruela). Transcript and Spanish translation in possession of the author.

'I have this Night been in the midst of Spain, which is a hot region, and that journey maketh me so dry, and if thou hadst been under that hot climate, thou wouldst have been drier than I.' "

Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 494.

## Chapter 11 – SILENCE AND SADNESS

footnotes to pages 90-97

“No access utterly was suffered to be had,” said the “Receyt.”  
Kipling, *Receyt*, 47.

“He said his limbs were so weak that he had never seen a man whose legs and other bits of his body were so thin.”  
Real Academia de Historia, MS 9-4674, (Veruela). Transcript and Spanish translation in possession of the author.

“keep her chamber all day... and no man to come there.”  
Grose, *Antiquarian Repertory*, 1, 322.

There are no more signs of intimacy between her and Arthur, however, with the two of them being seated at separate tables in at least one banquet.  
Kipling, *Receyt*, 59.

“Whereas she ever tofore was served after the guise and manner of Spain, now unto her was used the accustomed service of the realm of England,” the “Receyt” noted.  
Ibid., 49.

The English, one foreigner said, were “fl esh-eaters, and insatiable for animal” as well as being “sottish and unrestrained in their appetites.”  
Nicander Nucius, *Second Book*, 16.

Whether her training in English table manners also meant getting used to “the great silence that is used at the tables of the honourable and wiser sort”  
Harrison, *Description of England*, 95.

... “belch at table without any reserve or shame, even in the presence of persons of the greatest dignity,” as a visiting Frenchman later observed, we cannot tell.  
Grose, *Antiquarian Repertory*, 4, 501, 512. Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*, 118.

The Mercer’s Company – the guild of London’s fabric traders – was fined ten pounds because its barge was “not garnished... so well as others.”  
Kipling, *Receyt*, 150.

The great hall had recently beEnglazed and completed along with the “pleasant dancing chambers,” “secret closets” and the “goodly chambers” set aside for Catherine and Arthur.  
Thurley, *Royal Palaces*, 28– 29.

A Spanish “earl,” probably the Count of Cabra, shot a deer with his crossbow and there was “great slaughter... of venison.”  
Kipling, *Receyt*, 71.

The high point came when he managed to hang “by the teeth, most marvellously.”  
Ibid., 75.

Her mood that day was described as “partly annoyed and pensive.”  
Ibid., 77.

... here were some of the finest manuscripts and books of the period under the curatorship of England’s first-ever “royal librarian.”  
Carley, *Books of King Henry VIII*, 41.

Henry was able to show her books that were “sage, merry and also right cunning, both in Latin and in English.”  
Kipling, *Receyt*, 77.

With this, the “Receyt” author optimistically stated, Catherine “assuaged her heaviness and drew herself into the

manner, guise and usages of England.”

Ibid., 78.

“I am exceedingly sorry that I have asked for the jewels,” he said angrily. “I should not like to be held for a person who asks what is due to me before the time. God be praised, I am not in want, and, if it were necessary, I could, for love of them and of you, my lady daughter, spend a million of gold without contracting a debt.”

CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 1.

“With respect to the jewels,” a second Spanish ambassador in England, Pedro de Ayala, reported, “the king would like that, as they were offered to him, they be given and delivered to him.”

Ibid.

England’s king was, he told them, a man who “spends all the time he is not in public, or in his Council, in writing accounts of his expenses with his own hand.”

CSP Spain, 1, 210.

She “did not have any will but his” and would “be content with what he decided.”

CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 1.

He had sent Catherine’s confessor, the Italian humanist priest Alessandro Geraldini, to tell him that Catherine would have been “in despair” if she had been left behind.

Ibid.

“You should without delay provide and order that all we who are here, men as well as woman, act in unison... now everyone reads, and asks, and speaks what he like, and thus causes more disadvantages than advantages,” Ayala wrote to her parents.

Ibid.

As for Manrique, he was simply informed that his Spanish position as lord high steward did not exist in an English princess’s house hold.

Starkey, *Six Wives*, 68. Gairdner, *Memorials*, 408.

They immediately wrote to de Puebla ordering him to avoid “that the said Pedro Manrique be subjected to any kind of humiliation or affront of any kind.”

Gairdner, *Memorials*, 408.

“The señora princess has several times ordered me to enter into negotiations about such similar subjects, but I have not obeyed her orders in this, because I have no power from your Highness,” Ayala reasoned in a letter to her mother. Catherine felt powerless to act for herself.

CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 1.

## Chapter 12 – MARRIED LIFE

footnotes to pages 98-103

... “to keep liberal hospitality and to minister to the rude Welshmen indifferent justice.”  
Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 495.

Catherine felt “very much bound to recompense and requite us for the detriment we had received on her account,” the Poles’ son, Reginald, recalled later.  
Pierce, *Margaret Pole*, 33. CSP Venice, 5, 257– 58.

Like many of Catherine’s closest supporters, Margaret Pole would later die on the executioner’s block.  
Pierce, *Margaret Pole*, 178.

... “in his nightgown unto the Princess’s bedchamber door often and sundry times,” as one of Arthur’s privy chamber grooms claimed almost three decades later when their sex life suddenly became of interest to the world.  
L&P, 4-2, 4875. L&P, 4-3, 5774/5/2. Starkey, *Six Wives*, 76.

“You must know that there are many in the province of Wales who tell the future as they do in Galicia when they read a man’s back, while here they read various other things and have their own practices.” The English were also very superstitious. “They follow prophecies, affirming that they are true,” he reported.  
5. National Archives, PRO 31/11/3. CSP, 1, 239.

... “the foulest cold windy and rainy day and the worst way [road] that I have seen.”  
Kipling, *Receyt*, 87.

“I really do not know how I can go on living with these people,” wrote one Italian, Andrew Ammonius, in English royal service before he died of the terrifying illness known as the sweat. “The dirt of these people, of which I have had experience enough, is altogether hateful.”  
Nichols, *Epistles*, vol. 2, 39.

... “harbouring expectorations, vomitings, the leakage of dogs and men, ale-droppings, scraps of fish, and other abominations.”  
Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII*, vol. 1, 239.

Queen Isabel, back in Spain, would later refer to Ludlow as “that unhealthy place.”  
Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, leg. 53, doc. 45.

... “the which to do is no less pain than short death.”  
Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 425.

Catherine herself was struck down by illness in Ludlow.  
Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, leg. 53, doc. 52. CSP Spain, 4, 572.

Whatever the causes – and testicular cancer has been given as another possibility in Arthur’s case – Catherine proved more resilient.  
Starkey, *Six Wives*, 76.

“He [the doctor] often said that the prince had been denied the strength necessary to know a woman, as if he was a cold piece of stone... because he was in the final stages of tisis,” the doctor’s nephew claimed when called on to explain Catherine’s supposedly intact virginity in Zaragoza.  
Real Academia de Historia, MS 9-4674, (Veruela). Transcript and Spanish translation in possession of the author.

Arthur certainly struggled against a “most pitiful disease and sickness.”  
Kipling, *Receyt*, 79.

“Woe worth [was] the time that ever the lady Catherine came into this realm,” one gentleman was reported as saying. “For she was the cause of the death of the most noble prince.”  
L&P, 7, 128. L&P, 4, 5774.

Footnotes to *Catherine of Aragon: Henry's Spanish Wife* by Giles Tremlett, Faber and Faber, London, 2010.

"He for his part would thank God," said the "Receyt." "And would that she should do likewise."  
Kipling, *Receyt*, 80- 81.

### Chapter 13 – MY HUSBAND'S BROTHER

footnotes to pages 104-112

... spent the weeks after Arthur's death writing letters to Spain complaining about the "unhealthy" and doom-laden castle.

CSP Spain, 1, 322. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

"From her mouth issued many humours."

CSP Spain, 4, 572.

... "litter of black velvet with black cloth, wherein the Princess was brought from Ludlow to London, fringed about with black valance and the two head-pieces of the same bounden about with black ribbon and fringed about with black valance."

Nicolas, *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, 103.

María de Rojas, her favorite lady-in-waiting, crawled into her huge bed to stop her feeling lonely.

CSP Spain, 4, 577.

He was ordered to remind the English king of the sad life of her eldest sister, Isabel, who had taken young widowhood so badly that she immediately cut off her hair.

CSP Spain, 1, 278. Fernández de Córdova Miralles, *La Corte de Isabel I*, 86.

The English held off pronouncing Prince Henry as the new Prince of Wales "for a month and more... in the which season the truth might... easily appear."

Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 497.

A Genoese doctor had mistakenly declared Elizabeth of York pregnant a year earlier on the basis of "much embonpoint and large breasts."

Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, vol. 2, 102.

She may have been the original source of a later Spanish claim that the wedding sheets were unstained by Catherine's blood.

CSP Spain, 1, 246. CSP Spain, 4, 572.

These varied from inspection of the hymen, to washing a woman's clothes in rose water or waving a chicken wing over her abdomen.

Chaire, *Physicians. Perry, Sisters to the King*, 62.

It was not until almost three decades later that she declared, "*Quod [non] fuit carnaliter a dicto Arthuro cognita.*" She had never carnally known the said Arthur.

L&P, 4-3, 2579.

He was to use "false flattery," if necessary, "so they do not keep [the truth] from him."

CSP Spain, 1, 325. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

This was despite Pope Leo X's protestations that she should be considerate to an old teacher and "great historian."

L&P, 2-2, 3374-5, 4196.

The words he used to describe Catherine's life in Durham House were "rule," "obedience" and "seclusion."

CSP Spain, 1, 420. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

Catherine probably also missed the colourful Corpus Christi processions when her mother-in-law donned a fur-lined gown of cloth of gold.

Nicolas, *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, 33, 179.

They took Catherine the short distance to Westminster, where she seems to have stayed several weeks.

Nicolas, *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, 48.

Another death four years later reminded him, Prince Henry wrote, of "dearest mother... It seemed to tear open again

the wound to which time had brought insensibility.”

Weir, *King and Court*, 4.

“It would be a very terrible thing— one never before seen, and the mere mention of which off ends the ears,” she proclaimed.

CSP Spain, 1, 360. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

In mid-April 1503 Isabel sent instructions for Catherine to pack her bags.

CSP Spain, 1, 360. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

... “her marriage to Prince Arthur was solemnised according to the rites of the Catholic Church and afterwards consummated.”

CSP Spain, 1, 364.

... “in order to get rid of any future doubt over the [rights of ] succession of the children that, God willing, will be born of this new matrimony.”

CSP Spain, 1, 370. Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, leg. 53, doc. 77

The dispensation he eventually sent to England stated that the marriage had “perhaps” been consummated.

Scarisbrick, *Henry the Eighth*, 187– 88.

... the seventeen-year-old Catherine traveled the short distance to the bishop of Salisbury’s palace on Fleet Street.

Thomas and Thornley, *Great Chronicle of London*, 323.

He was not about to hand over the one-third portion of the income due to her from Arthur’s estates— and the fact that her own dowry had never been paid in full gave him the excuse he needed.

CSP Spain, 1, 364, 375– 85. Starkey, *Six Wives*, 80.

... she could not marry Henry— who had his twelfth birthday three days after the engagement— until he turned fourteen, by which time she would be nineteen.

CSP Spain, 1, 364.

## Chapter 14 – BLEED ME

footnotes to pages 113-121

English physicians worked with a handbook illustrated with a naked man who had twenty-four veins marked for bloodletting – each one deemed suitable for specific types of ailment.

*The Physician's Handbook*, Wellcome Library, WMS.8004.

An early sixteenth-century Italian manuscript added twenty more bleeding points, ranging from the forehead, via the groin, to the feet.

Anon., *Collecta Jacobi*, in *Articella de Partibus in medicina pro anothomia*.

The physician was a member of her house hold and had a reputation among his fellow Spaniards for “doing this very well.”

CSP Spain, 1, 398. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

Her outbreaks of ague, “derangement of the stomach,” hot sweats, cold sweats, tertian fevers, summer colds and summer coughs baffled physicians – including the Genoese experts sent to her by King Henry.

CSP Spain, 1, 398. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

“Her complexion has changed entirely,” reported a worried Estrada in 1504.

CSP Spain, 1, 398. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

“We open a vein to breathe out that blood which is heated in vessels, and cooling the residue which remains behind,” explained the sixteenth-century French surgeon Ambroise Paré.

Seigworth, “Bloodletting.”

... Catherine's prolonged round of illnesses started much earlier – as a fifteen-year-old facing separation from family and friends in an unknown, distant land.

CSP Spain, 1, 300.

“Irregularity in her eating and the food which she takes makes her unwell which is why she does not menstruate well,” reported one intimate observer in 1510.

CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 8.

Her “disorderly eating” worried those about her.

Ibid.

It gave the Prince of Wales power to prevent Catherine from overdoing the fasting, abstinence and praying that she conducted with such zeal that she was endangering her own health and ability to have children.

Eshes, *Römische Dokumente*, xliii. Scarisbrick, *Henry the Eighth*, 9-10.

... one reason why she later had trouble producing heirs to the English throne.

CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 8.

“They look upon anyone who eats it as a heretic.”

CSP Spain, 1, 603. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4. Molins, *Crónica*, 383.

She was overcome by a growing sensation that those who were meant to care for her – be they her parents or her father-in-law – had abandoned her.

Berwick y de Alba, *Fuensalida* 435, cited in Pérez, *La España*, 24.

Not until April 1507 did he report that colour had finally returned to her face for the first time “since she came to this kingdom” five and half years earlier.

CSP Spain, 1, 398, 517. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

... if she married someone who had *skills* with women, she would get better.”

CSP Spain, 4, 572.

If the King of England did not respond to their demands for military help against France, Catherine herself was to

raise two thousand infantry.

CSP Spain, 1, 385.

A worried de Puebla warned her parents more than once of her "great liberality."

CSP Spain, 1, 401. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

"The princess is very liberal and there are many people who would like to strip her of her silver and jewels," he wrote.

CSP Spain, 1, 439. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

Isabel and Ferdinand expected the English king to look after their daughter properly. "One cannot believe that the king would ever fail to meet his obligations to her, especially at a time of such hardship,"

CSP Spain, 1, 321. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

"They do not understand that she must accept what ever she is given."

CSP Spain, 1, 321. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

In the summer he sent three hundred pounds to cover three months' costs.

Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, leg. 52, doc. 185. CSP Spain, 1, 395.

Any leftovers, he said, were "to be delivered to the Princess, to spend as she likes."

Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, leg. 52, doc. 185. CSP Spain, 1, 395.

By November 1503 her bud get had been set at one thousand pounds year, or 83.6s.8d month— with no leftovers.

Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, 127, 129.

Any length of time that passed without good news from her, he wrote in their common language of Latin, was too long.

CSP Spain, 1, 397.

Her husband, Pedro Manrique, rowed with just about everyone and clumsily got in the way of the marriage negotiations.

CSP Spain, 1, 360, 401.

... to "sort out the situation with her husband as best she can."

CSP Spain, 1, 354. National Archives, 31/11/4.

Pedro Manrique, whom she once sued over her own dower money, disappears from the records soon afterward.

Archivo General de Simancas, RGS,149708, 170.

While he was in England, his only daughter was arrested by the Inquisition in Seville.

CSP Spain, 1, 410.

Catherine shared the prejudice, though she was likely egged on by Elvira.

Berwick y de Alba, *Fuensalida* 493.

Instead he sent expensive presents, including a headdress and a gold St. Peter to Elvira, hoping this would inspire her to sort things out.

CSP Spain, 1, 400- 401. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

She had not heard from Ferdinand "since a year ago," she said.

CSP Spain, 1, 412. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

Catherine told Isabel that she could not "be satisfied or cheerful," until she saw a letter from her mother telling her that she had recovered.

CSP Spain, 1, 413. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

"The grief pierces our heart."

Gairdner, *Memorials*, 415- 16.

Footnotes to *Catherine of Aragon: Henry's Spanish Wife* by Giles Tremlett, Faber and Faber, London, 2010.

... by this means he will more love her and do more for her," he wrote to de Puebla that June.  
Wood, *Letters*, vol. 1, 134.

"I am in debt in London and this not for extravagant things, nor yet for relieving my own people, who greatly need it, but only for food," she told Ferdinand.  
Ibid., 139.

... now I have nothing but the dresses of brocade."  
Ibid., 138.

... it reflects dishonour on his name that his daughter lives in such need that she cannot pay for what she has eaten."  
CSP Spain, 1, 427. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

"The whole world knows that I have [debts] only in order to eat," she claimed.  
CSP Spain, 1, 427. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

## Chapter 15 – DECEIVED

footnotes to pages 122-133

Catherine did not like either of the two oil portraits – one painted on wood and the other on canvas – that had been brought to her at Durham House.

CSP Spain, 1, 439.

She was almost certainly referring to the errant Estonian painter Michel Sittow, who had previously worked at her mother's court.

Ibid.

She has a pale, faintly rosy complexion and her face is already a bit fleshier than in a much earlier, more stylized childhood portrait (thought to be of her) by Juan de Flandes.

<http://www.museothyssen.org/thyssen/ficha obra/323>.

Sittow, perhaps seeing the same strong-willed servility, seems also to have used her portrait as the model for a pair of remarkably similar paintings of Mary Magdalene and the Virgin Mary.

<http://www.dia.org/thecollectionoverview/full.asp?objectID=61540&image=1>.

[http://www.kaiserfriedrich-museums-verein.de/cms/front\\_content.php?idcat=16&idcatart=51](http://www.kaiserfriedrich-museums-verein.de/cms/front_content.php?idcat=16&idcatart=51)

[http://www.kaiserfriedrich-museums-verein.de/cms/upload/bildergalerie/gemaelde/maria\\_mit\\_dem\\_kind.jpg](http://www.kaiserfriedrich-museums-verein.de/cms/upload/bildergalerie/gemaelde/maria_mit_dem_kind.jpg)

Catherine joined Henry VII's court the previous summer, following it on its wanderings from Richmond to Windsor, Westminster and Greenwich.

CSP Spain, 1, 398.

She had, de Puebla noted with concern, been won over by them.

CSP Spain, 1, 440.

He praised her wonderful idea. He would love, with his "whole heart," to meet Henry.

CSP Spain, 1, 440. Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, leg. 54, doc. 19, f64R. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

King Henry himself declared his surprise at just how pro-Burgundian his daughter-in-law suddenly became.

CSP Spain, 1, 439.

Catherine was beside herself with joy when she received Philip's reply and sent immediately for de Puebla.

CSP Spain, 1, 440.

She told him that she was going to write and beg the English king to meet Juana and Philip "before the queen her sister gave birth."

Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, leg. 54, doc. 19, f64R. CSP Spain, 1, 440.

"She has an excellent heart and she loves her father more than herself," De Puebla reported afterward.

Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, leg. 54, doc. 19, f65R. CSP Spain, 1, 440.

She had been tricked and so beseeched him "to value the interests of her father, the King of Spain, beyond those of any other king in the world."

Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, leg. 54, doc. 32, f87R. CSP Spain, 1, 441.

"I was the one who proposed the meeting... [and] now that I know what your highness knows, I beg you to think no more about it," she wrote.

Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, leg. 52, doc. 159, f841R. CSP Spain, 1, 443.

"They should marry," she sighed in one letter home. "And I have nothing to give them."

Wood, *Letters*, vol. 1, 129.

He was, she said, "a Grandee of this country, and one of the most important."

CSP Spain, 1, 413. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

Footnotes to *Catherine of Aragon: Henry's Spanish Wife* by Giles Tremlett, Faber and Faber, London, 2010.

Elvira adeptly nipped the English match in the bud, and arranged for María to marry her own son, Antonio.  
CSP Spain, 1, 439. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

“Doña Elvira and Don Pedro de Ayala have persuaded the princess to give certain persons a collar, a piece of brocade and some vessels of silver,”  
CSP Spain, 1, 439. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

“I am amazed,” he commented.  
CSP Spain, 1, 439. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

At least one house hold member recalled this as a “horrible hour” in the lives of those at Durham House.  
CSP Spain, 1, 539.

... it did not suffice without me having many debts in London,”  
20. Wood, *Letters*, vol, 1, 130– 34.

Unknown to Catherine, Henry signed the secret Treaty of Windsor in which he backed Philip against “his enemies” – effectively backing him against Ferdinand in the tussle for control of Castile.  
CSP Spain, 1, 452, 453.

She and Princess Mary sat together at “the end of the carpet, which was under the cloth of estate,” while Philip and Henry continued to chat about their own affairs, though Mary later impressed everyone with her lute playing.  
Wood, *Letters*, vol. 1, 136.

“After the king had welcomed her, my lady princess her sister, my lady Mary the king’s daughter, having many ladies and gentlewomen attending upon them, welcomed her.”  
Ibid.

... “great pleasure it gave me to see you and the great distress which filled my soul, a few hours afterwards, on account of your hasty and sudden departure.”  
CSP Spain, 1, 533. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

He offered Philip some “paternal advice” on how to rule Castile and started making plans to leave Spain and attend to his Italian lands.  
CSP Spain, 1, 472.

... “the total destruction and perdition of these Kingdoms.”  
CSP Spain, Supplement 1, (Juana) 11.

Prince Henry, acting on his father’s orders, solemnly denounced the marriage treaty reached while he was still a minor as being null and void. He would not ratify it.  
Herbert, *Autobiography*, 389.

The original marriage treaty said they could wed some time after this.  
CSP Spain, 1, 364.

Elvira’s brother, Juan Manuel, who “governed King Philip at his will,” had thrown a party for him in Burgos.  
Aram, *Juana the Mad*, 87.

“Through bad government [of himself ] he passed from this lifetime to the next,” the chronicler noted.  
Aram, *Juana the Mad*, 87, citing Anon., *Continuación de la crónica de Pulgar*, 524.

... She eats on the floor, without a tablecloth or glassware,” her former confessor Diego Ramírez de Villaescusa reported.  
Aram, *Juana the Mad*, 97– 100.

Ferdinand’s deeply concerned ambassador warned that she was becoming dangerously attached to a young man who was now “continually in the palace and amongst the women.”  
CSP Spain, 1, 364.

## Chapter 16 – CONFESSIONS

footnotes to pages 134-139

"I do not understand the English language nor know how to speak it."  
Wood, *Letters*, 140.

No one knows where the forceful young friar Diego Fernández appeared from but by April 1507 he was firmly established at Catherine's side.  
CSP Spain, 1, 513, 514.

Diego was "the best that ever [a] woman of my position had."  
CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 3.

She was, people thought, besotted.  
CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 4.

The "young chap," as one of Ferdinand's envoys, Gutierre Gómez de Fuensalida, called him after arriving in February 1508, "makes a sin of all acts, if they displease him, and thus causes her to commit many faults."  
CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 2.

Later Spanish ambassadors agreed that the friar had an extraordinary hold on Catherine.  
National Archives, PRO 31/11/5, f458. CSP Spain, 2, 201.

"I am well: I do not wish to stay here alone," she protested.  
CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 4.

It was the first time, but by no means the last, that Catherine chose to obey God (or his representative) above a king.  
Ibid.

... and do not wonder at what he has done but at that which he does not do," he said.  
Ibid.

"The King of England, and all the English, abhor so much to see a friar... amongst the women," he added. "Nothing could be more detested by them."  
CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 4.

Catherine was called to see Henry. He remonstrated with her about Diego with "very strong words."  
CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 2.

She worried that she could not pay him enough money.  
CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 3.

"Beg him that for the love of your Highness he should order that he be very well treated and humoured."  
CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 3.

... they have cast slanderous imputations upon me, with respect not to the lowest in the house but to the highest [meaning Catherine herself ], and this is no disgrace to me."  
CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 2.

As things went wrong again, Catherine had slumped back into bouts of ill health.  
CSP Spain, 1, 497, 506, 517.

In April 1507 she complained that she had been kept away from him for four months.  
CSP Spain, 1, 513.

"No one, for their life, would be so forward as to speak to him and he is constantly in a chamber that has no entrance or exit except through the king's chamber," ...  
Berwick y de Alba, *Fuensalida*, 449.

## Chapter 17 – AMBASSADOR

footnotes to pages 140-148

“The king said that the prince was free and he had no obligation towards the marriage,” she wrote to Ferdinand afterward, begging him to send the money.

Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, leg. 54, doc. 41. CSP Spain, 1, 514.

She could not stop “thinking that I am your Highness’s daughter,” she wrote.

Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, leg. 54, doc. 40. CSP Spain, 1, 513.

Catherine had already implored her father to send a new ambassador, someone who was straight talking and, preferably, had experience of England.

Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, leg. 54, doc. 40. CSP Spain, 1, 513.

This, she explained, was a country “remote from all others”...

Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, leg. 54, doc. 40. CSP Spain, 1, 513.

... and with such strange forms of behavior that it needed special treatment. Soon the credentials naming the new ambassador chosen by Ferdinand arrived.

CSP Spain, 1, 520. Gairdner, *Memorials*, 424.

Catherine herself was to be his ambassador.

Wood, *Letters*, vol. 1, 159.

Catherine presented her credentials to Henry VII early in the summer of 1507.

CSP Spain, 1, 520, 523, 526.

Her house hold, she claimed, wore rags and lived in complete misery.

CSP Spain, 1, 513.

... offering to give her the Fulham house reserved for the Flemish ambassadors or any other place she needed to recover from illness.

CSP Spain, 1, 495.

He even argued that after Philip had taken control of her kingdom “she should be at liberty.”

CSP Spain, 1, 432.

Ferdinand— whose consent was needed for the marriage— could continue being regent, he told de Puebla.

CSP Spain, 1, 511.

All Henry wanted was Juana, her childbearing potential and the income that might come his way.

Ibid.

Ferdinand told Henry that he had placed him on top of the long list of those who wanted to marry her.

CSP Spain, 1, 523.

“I bait the king with the hope of marrying doña Juana and I flatter him and his counselors,” she told her father in a coded letter sent secretly in October 1507.

CSP Spain, 1, 551. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

... his council “not to interfere between a husband and wife.”

CSP Spain, 1, 533. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

“But [I fear] your father the king, my brother, is too clever.”

Berwick y de Alba, *Fuensalida*, 419.

She applied herself to learning the tricks of the diplomatic trade with earnest enthusiasm. Letters, she knew, were routinely intercepted.

Berwick y de Alba, *Fuensalida*, 422.

Footnotes to *Catherine of Aragon: Henry's Spanish Wife* by Giles Tremlett, Faber and Faber, London, 2010.

Others replaced key words— especially names— with Latin numerals or fanciful code words.  
CSP Spain, 1, 224.

“A messenger sent by the little duck to the falcon returned a short time ago much pleased with the answer of the falcon,” read one earlier message in Spanish code sent to de Puebla.  
CSP Spain, 1, 196.

... with her table of codes beside her, laboriously rewriting her letters in what, to anyone else, seemed gibberish.  
CSP Spain, 1, 513, 514, 541, 604.

At other times she was so excited by the work of coding and decoding that she spent three or four days in “unearthly” good spirits.  
Wood, *Letters*, vol. 1, 148– 54.

“Those in this kingdom are as dilatory as any in the world in negotiating,” she explained.  
Ibid.

She even advised Ferdinand against a rumored match between her sister Juana and the French Count of Foix, which would anger Henry and spoil her own wedding plans.  
Ibid., 145– 47.

“I say it because, in this, I myself feel personally interested,” she admitted.  
Ibid.

By August 1507 she was telling her father that no woman, what ever her station in life, could have suffered more than she.  
CSP Spain, 1, 422.

“I love you more than ever a father loved his daughter,” ...  
CSP Spain, Supplement 1, (Juana) 13.

Ferdinand replied. Catherine alternately pleaded for money, complained at Henry’s ill treatment of her, lambasted her father for his inaction and, as ever, blamed it all on the long-suffering de Puebla.  
CSP Spain, 1, 551. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

... “it would have been dangerous, or at any rate might have been considered suspicious” to be seen sending too many couriers direct to Spain.  
CSP Spain, 1, 551. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

“They fancy that I have no more in me than what appears outwardly, and that I shall not be able to fathom his designs,” she explained.  
CSP Spain, 1, 551. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

“I dissimulate.”  
CSP Spain, 1, 551. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

When the English king suggested that her father was considering canceling the marriage she insisted it “could not be undone.”  
CSP Spain, 1, 551. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

... I should not be taken out of the power of the King of England even if I were to die for it.”  
CSP Spain, 1, 551. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

“I told him that I could not comprehend him and that I did not like to take it in the sense which he meant.”  
CSP Spain, 1, 551. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

Ferdinand somehow persuaded Henry to stick by the marriage treaty and give him more time to come up with the missing money for his daughter’s dowry.  
CSP Spain, 1, 555.

She was proving so "virtuous and prudent" in her handling of Henry that from now on he promised to treat her words "as gospel."

CSP Spain, 1, 575, 577. National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

Thus mine is always the worst part."

CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 21.

... his regal honor obliged him to stick by a wedding agreement that Ferdinand kept breaking.

CSP Spain, 1, 586.

"The princess is not well. She is very thin and pale," he reported.

Berwick y de Alba, *Fuensalida*, 423.

"She shows a pleasant face to everyone, but she cannot hide what she feels from me."

*Ibid.*, 430.

Henry VII, meanwhile, occasionally called Catherine in to complain angrily about her father.

*Ibid.*, 442, 468, 482, 483.

His son, on at least one of these occasions, was sent out of the room...

*Ibid.*, 468.

... he even started to keep his daughter Mary away from her.

*Ibid.*, 454.

She was given shabby, smelly quarters, and Fuensalida swore that even his servants got better food than the king sent her.

*Ibid.*, 454, 463.

"The Princess might one day become Queen of England, but she is being offered the most hapless life a woman ever had," he said.

*Ibid.*, 484.

He made sure Catherine was fully aware that the links between England and Spain no longer ran just through her.

CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 3.

"I cannot make use of anything that is not done with moderation."

CSP Spain, 1, 603. CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 3.

... he hinders them every day from selling a piece of plate to satisfy the follies of the friar," Fuensalida reported.

CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 4.

... "known on what she spends it, except in books and the expenses of the friar."

*Ibid.*

"What afflicts me most is that I cannot in any way remedy the hardships of my confessor," she complained to her father.

CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 3.

He advised her, for example, to continue borrowing.

*Ibid.*

"And [he] permitted himself to be led so far as to say things which are not fit to be written to your Highness."

*Ibid.*

"Not only does her highness feign to be angry with me but shows herself to be in reality," Fuensalida complained after receiving the sharp edge of her tongue.

CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 4.

Footnotes to *Catherine of Aragon: Henry's Spanish Wife* by Giles Tremlett, Faber and Faber, London, 2010.

"I would rather die than see what I have suffered and suffer from every day from this ambassador and from all my servants," she wrote to her father.

CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 6.

... suffering from the unkindness of the King and the manner in which he treats me," she told Ferdinand in the spring of 1509.

CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 3.

"He said he was not bound to give my servants food, or even my own self."

Ibid.

She had sold so much of her jewels and plate that she could no longer pay for her "high necessities."

Ibid.

Her father now also doubted that the wedding would take place and began making contingency plans to take her back home to Spain.

CSP Spain, 2, 1.

Henry, he had decided, was "little desirous to bring the affair to a conclusion."

National Archives, PRO 31/11/5, f4. CSP Spain, 2, 1.

Catherine was so distressed that she imagined herself at death's door.

CSP Spain, 1, 604.

"I fear my life will be short, owing to my troubles,"

CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 6.

"I am afraid I might do something which neither the king of England nor your Highness, who has much more weight, would be able to prevent, unless, and that is necessary, you send for me," she told her father.

CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 3.

... "so that I may conclude my few remaining days in serving God... That would be the greatest good I could have in this world."

Ibid.

Henry VII died on April 21, 1509 – probably from pulmonary tuberculosis.

Cunningham, *Henry VII*, 115.

## Chapter 18 – MARRIED AGAIN

footnotes to pages 149-158

In reply, she repeated the word Henry had used a moment earlier when asked the same question. “*Volo*,” she said. Starkey and Doran, *Man and Monarch*, 50. CSP Spain, 2, 17.

... plays well on the lute and harpsichord, sings from book at sight, draws the bow with greater strength than any man in England and jousts marvellously.”  
L&P, 2-1, 395.

... a great deal handsomer than the king of France, very fair and his whole frame admirably proportioned,” said one Venetian a decade later.  
Giustinian, *Four years*, 312- 13.

There were “virgins in white” holding “branches of white Waxe” along the route.  
Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 508.

... the queen's hair – set off by a coronet encrusted with jewels from the orient – was both “of a very great length” and “beautiful and goodly to behold.”  
Ibid.

A sudden summer shower dampened the occasion temporarily, however, with Catherine forced to halt and take cover under the drapers' stalls in Cornhill.  
Thomas and Thornley, *Great Chronicle of London*, 340.

As soon as they entered the abbey, the overexcited “rude and common” onlookers fell on the carpet, tearing it to shreds as they fought to take home a coronation souvenir.  
Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 508- 9.

“This day is the end of our slavery, the fount of our liberty; the end of sadness, the beginning of joy,” he wrote.  
Marius, Thomas More, 51.

... mean men kicked, poor men lamented, preachers openly at Paul's Cross and other places exclaimed, rebuked and detested.”  
Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 503.

The arrests were greeted by “rejoicing of many persones, which by them were greved.”  
Ibid., 505.

“In fact they show so much plea sure that it is as if everyone had been let out of prison.”  
Berwick y de Alba, *Fuensalida*, 517.

The King of France, he soon shouted at an ambassador sent from across the Channel, “dare not look me in the face, still less make war on me!”  
CSP Venice, 2, 11.

... Avarice is expelled [from] the land. Liberality scatters riches with a bounteous hand, our king does not desire gold or silver, but virtue, glory, immortality,” the studious and cultured William, Baron Mountjoy wrote.  
Loades, *Politics* 17, citing Erasmus, *Opus Epistolarum*, vol. 1, 450.

... pardon them, commanding that they should be regarded as persons who have been in my house.”  
Wood, *Letters*, vol. 1, 160- 61.

“she is so perilous a woman that it shall be dangerous.”  
Ellis, *Original letters*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 81.

“You must use all your skill and prudence to show what you can do, telling my envoy what he should do to swiftly close the deal.”  
National Archives, PRO 31/11/5, f34. CSP Spain, 2, 11.

Footnotes to *Catherine of Aragon: Henry's Spanish Wife* by Giles Tremlett, Faber and Faber, London, 2010.

"I trust so much in your virtue and prudence that I not only leave to you the direction of your own affairs but would entrust the salvation of my soul to you," he told her.

National Archives, PRO 31/11/5, f58. CSP Spain, 2, 22.

If necessary, he was to grease the palms of the king's counselors with money.

National Archives, PRO 31/11/5, f16. CSP Spain, 2, 3. Berwick y de Alba,

Henry's "conscience was troubled about marrying his brother's wife."

Berwick y de Alba, *Fuensalida*, 516.

Ferdinand ordered Fuensalida to point out "that there are [papal] dispensations for that."

Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, leg. 54, doc. 87.

Edward Hall later claimed that "this marriage of the brother's wife, was much murmured against, in the beginning."  
Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 507.

In fact the only recorded murmuring came from the archbishop of Canterbury, William Warham, who was roundly ignored.

Scarisbrick, *Henry the Eighth*, 13. L&P, 4, 5774.

... revere a father who had allowed her to be "so well married."

Wood, *Letters*, vol. 1, 158–59.

"with desire of greater obedience and love to serve you than ever son had to his father."

*Ibid.*

... God is good to good husbands and wives."

National Archives, PRO 31/11/5, f55–57. CSP Spain, 2, 22.

... rejected all other ladies in the world that have been offered to us" in order to marry Catherine and had no regrets.  
Halliwell, *Letters*, vol. 1, 196–98.

... three magnificent horses – a Spanish jennet, a Sicilian and a Neapolitan – that, according to Catherine, "he had asked me to beg your highness for."

Wood, *Letters*, vol. 1, 161.

... should be given "all faith and credence, as if they were myself."

Biblioteca Nacional, man. no. 9408, ff 56–7.

## Chapter 19 – PARTY QUEEN

footnotes to pages 159-171

Our time is ever passed in continual feasts," Catherine wrote to her father from Greenwich Palace, one of her many new homes, five weeks after her marriage.

Wood, *Letters*, vol. 1, 159.

... "more honourable than [that of ] the great Caesar."

Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 510.

... "musical-headed Frenchman and strangers" as chefs.

L&P, 2-2, 1441. Harrison, *Description of England*, 88.

... "under the table... and there continued, during that long and royal feast."

Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 509.

"spit or do otherwise" without being seen.

Ives, *Life and Death*, 180.

... I Sir Robert Dimmock, here his Champion, offer my glove, to fight," he proclaimed.

Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 509.

"The which request to them granted, the jousts began," Hall noted.

*Ibid.*, 511.

The two sides, apparently now fighting a group tourney with swords, eventually had to be forcibly separated – "which was not done without great pain."

Thomas and Thornley, *Great Chronicle of London*, 343.

The decision (as recalled many years later by one of those present) was to "bring him up in all pleasure, for otherwise he should grow too hard among his subjects as the King his father did; and that agreement was kept."

Ellis, *Original letters*, ser. 3, vol. 3, 370.

... he rest of the time was spent in hunting, hawking and shooting."1

Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 515.

At one stage, professional gamblers – Frenchmen and Lombards brought in "by certain crafty persons" who found him an easy touch – had to be barred from court.

*Ibid.*, 520.

... claimed in their own defense to "have played in the company of... [many noblemen] in England."

National Archives, SP 1/9,f.221. L&P, 1-2, 3567.

Henry admitted that he even found the business of letter writing "somewhat tedious and painful."

L&P, 3, 1.

He would read through his own correspondence during Mass – which must have perplexed the more intensely religious Catherine.

Weir, *King and Court*, 134.

In her mother's chapel punishments were meted out to those who were untidy, inattentive or giggled during Mass. Queen Isabel paid such close attention that she even jotted down her chaplains' mistakes when pronouncing their Latin and corrected them later.

Fernández de Córdova Miralles, *La Corte de Isabel I*, 289– 90.

... "all the matters and causes of this realm... be they of never so little substance."

L&P, 1 (Brewer's original one-part ed., 1862), xxxi and note 490.

She was the daughter of a woman who employed 450 staff to keep her hunting estates ready and whose father took

Footnotes to *Catherine of Aragon: Henry's Spanish Wife* by Giles Tremlett, Faber and Faber, London, 2010.

120 falconers out on a single day's hunt.

Fernández de Oviedo, *Libro*, 134 footnote (Univ. de Valencia ed.).

"The King my Lord adores her, and her Highness him."

CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 7.

"King Henry loved the queen his wife greatly... stating publicly in French that his Highness was happy because he was owner of such a beautiful angel and that he had found himself a flower."<sup>19</sup>

Real Academia de Historia, MS 9-4674, (Veruela). Transcript and Spanish translation in possession of the author.

Someone who knew the secret cried out "God Save the King!"

Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 513.

The king and one of his favorite opponents, Charles Brandon, "bore themselves so bravely that the spectators fancied themselves witnessing a joust between Hector and Achilles," the nuncio, Francesco Chiericato, wrote on that occasion.

Paul, *Catherine of Aragon*, 42- 43. Starkey, *Six Wives*, 164.

... so that the show was most beautiful," said one foreign witness at another later joust.

Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII*, vol. 1, 4, citing Giustinian, *Four years*, 81.

Catherine nearly became a sporting widow in 1524 after Henry suffered one of his more serious jousting accidents when he left his visor up on a new suit of armor.

Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 674.

She was "abashed, as well [much] for the strange sight, as also for their sudden coming."

*Ibid.*, 513.

The latest Spanish envoy Luis Caroz noted, in May, that Henry "amuses himself almost every day with running the ring, and with jousts and tournaments on foot."

National Archives, PRO 31/11/5, f133. CSP Spain, 2, 45.

The orders of crimson and damask cloth of gold from a Spanish merchant and of silks and satins may also have been destined for Catherine's use.

L&P, 2-2, 1442, 1445, 1451.

"With the first child it is requisite for women to take more care of themselves than in subsequent pregnancies," he said.

National Archives, PRO 31/11/5, f76. CSP Spain, 2, 28.

He soon ordered up, for his "most dearest wife, the Queen," the materials needed to dress "the cradle of estate within our nursery."

L&P, 1-1, 394.

... Catherine's own minstrels played and a lord of misrule oversaw the court's fun at Richmond.

L&P, 2-2, 1444.

... another sister, Anne, who was deemed to be carrying on a "love intrigue" with Henry's jousting friend William Compton.

CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 8.

"She by no means conceals her ill-will toward Compton, and the King is very sorry for it," said Caroz.

*Ibid.*

Her self-appointed gatekeeper, Friar Diego, claimed that the miscarriage occurred "without any other pain except that one knee pained her the night before."

CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 7.

Caroz was amazed at the resultant shambles, with Catherine formally going into confinement at Greenwich to prepare for childbirth.

Footnotes to *Catherine of Aragon: Henry's Spanish Wife* by Giles Tremlett, Faber and Faber, London, 2010.

CSP Spain, Supplement 1, 8.

"Someone had told me that five months after the pregnancy was made public she was menstruating and, even though this occurs in a few pregnant women, these are so few that I was worried things were going wrong," he said. Ibid.

"She had desired to gladden the King and the people with a prince," said the envoy. Ibid.

The whole affair is made murkier, however, by the fact that Catherine finally wrote to her father in May claiming that she had only just miscarried.

National Archives, PRO 31/11/5, f119. CSP Spain, 2, 43.

... the men and women who were mixed up with the public affairs of three or four hundred years ago can bear much close examination without their characters being more or less lowered in our estimation," sniffed the historian Gustav Bergenroth after finally being shown the letters in 1868.

CSP Spain Supplement, 1, xiii.

He had also ordered up furnishings "for the use of our nursery, God willing." L&P, 1-1 381, 395.

She begs him "not to be upset" with her, "for it was God's doing." National Archives, PRO 31/11/5, f119. CSP Spain, 2, 43.

**Chapter 20 – AN HEIR**

footnotes to pages 172-175

The men could do nothing except pray that the mysterious goings-on behind the closed doors produced a healthy child.

Grose, *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. 1, 304– 5. Anon., *Ordinances*, 125.

... the floor “must be laid with carpets over and over.”

Grose, *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. 1, 304– 5.

The bed was where Catherine, possibly with one or more of her closer companions flopped beside her, could relax and sleep as she awaited childbirth.

Grose, *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. 1, 304– 5. Anon. *Wardrobe Stuff*, 30– 36.

Among the treasures Catherine stored away in later years were a cradle’s tester canopy, its long red and blue sarcenet curtains and a baby’s counterpane of crimson velvet with yellow cloth of gold.

Anon., *Ordinances*, 127. Grose, *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. 1, 336– 37. Anon. *Wardrobe Stuff*, 30– 36. L&P, 1-1, 381, 395.

... three smocks of “fine Holland cloth” decorated around the collar in gold or silk that were also kept in her wardrobe for “whatte time she laye in child bedde.” A round mantle of crimson velvet furred with ermine was at hand to keep her both warm and regal.

Anon., *Ordinances*, 125– 26. Anon. *Wardrobe Stuff*, 31, 40

Henry knew all this, too, and set the gentlemen of his chapel “praying for the Queen’s good deliverance.”

L&P, 2-2, 1449. L&P, 1-1, 465, 670, 674, 885. Anon., *Ordinances*, 125.

**Chapter 21 - MOTHERHOOD**

footnotes to pages 176-180

The "exceeding cost" made it the third most expensive spectacle of Henry's long reign, after his father's funeral and the deluge of ostentation that would later be known as the Field of Cloth of Gold.

Thomas and Thornley, *Great Chronicle of London*, 374.

... A gold castle rose from the centre, with a gentleman at the gate making a garland of roses."

Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 517.

The score check for the tournament shows that Valiant Desire won the day, with Catherine awarding him the prize for "best doer."

Starkey and Doran, *Man and Monarch*, 69.

This he followed with a "lowly obeisance" to Catherine before leaving the field and later being spotted in her tent "kissing... her in a most loving manner."

Thomas and Thornley, *Great Chronicle of London*, 370. Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 517- 18.

One sailor managed to pocket seven gold *H*'s and *K*'s, which he later sold to a goldsmith for three pounds, nine shillings and eight pence— a small fortune for a workingman.

Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 518- 19. L&P, 2-2, 1449, 1495.

A physician was also meant to "stand over her every meal."

L&P, 1-1, 670. Anon., *Ordinances*, 127.

"The Queen, like a natural woman, made much lamentation," said Hall.

Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 519.

## Chapter 22 – BEDROOM POLITICS

footnotes to pages 181-188

... one ambassador was advised not to offer his condolences “as it would only revive the king’s grief.”  
L&P, 1-1, 734.

He insulted Louis XII’s envoys in public and when someone in his council wrote a conciliatory letter of friendship to him, Henry was furious.  
CSP Venice, 1, 942-3. CSP Venice, 2, 11.

Her father wrote soon after her marriage telling her that Spain and England now had “identical” interests.  
CSP Spain, 2, 22.

He wrote gushing letters to Ferdinand, swearing to behave like a dutiful son.  
CSP Spain, 2, 23.

“While I live, the French will never dare do such a thing,” he boasted.  
National Archives, PRO 31/11/5, f71- 72. CSP Spain, 2, 27.

These may have been early drafts of a treaty signed the following year.  
Archivo de Simancas, Patronato Real, leg. 54, doc. 104, f279R. CSP Spain, 2, 28, 36, 39.

His counselors, some of whom were considered “Frenchmen at heart” by suspicious Spaniards, told him it was too dangerous for the king to go to war without an heir. He should wait until he had a son.  
National Archives, PRO 31/11/5, f130. CSP Spain, 2, 36, 44.

This should have been easy but, as Caroz observed, the playful king “does not much like to occupy himself with business.”  
CSP Spain, 2, 44.

When Caroz finally put it to Henry that it was time to sign the alliance, the young king reacted with “great joy” and visible “emotion” at being able “to serve” Ferdinand.  
National Archives, PRO 31/11/5, f128. CSP Spain, 2, 44.

“Should the king of England be disinclined to undertake anything to prevent the tyranny of France, then try to get the queen of England to persuade him,” he commanded Caroz.  
National Archives, PRO 31/11/5, f144. CSP Spain, 2, 50.

Even then, another year passed before Henry signed up to war with France.  
CSP Spain, 2, 53, 56, 58, 59.

“The king and queen rejoice at the good tidings they have received respecting the victory in Africa,” Caroz wrote.  
National Archives, PRO 31/11/5, f133. CSP Spain, 2, 45.

... his “noble voyage with a great army against the Moors and Infidels, enemies of Christ’s faith.”  
L&P, 1-1, 730, 734.

“Thus the King’s money goeth away in every corner,” commented one observer.  
L&P, 1-1, 880.

Henry and Ferdinand eventually agreed to invade Aquitaine (“which province belongs by right to the King of England”) together in the spring of 1512.  
CSP Spain, 2, 59.

“The greatest lack of victuals here is of beer,”<sup>16</sup> observed John Stile, Henry’s ambassador to Ferdinand.  
L&P, 1 (Brewer’s original one-part ed., 1862), xl.

The fiasco was the fault of “the King of Aragon’s slackness,” he said.  
Fiddes, *Collections*, 8.

Footnotes to *Catherine of Aragon: Henry's Spanish Wife* by Giles Tremlett, Faber and Faber, London, 2010.

"By his policy and long drifts he attaineth many things to other men's pains," he remarked.  
L&P, 1 (Brewer's original one-part ed., 1862), xli.

... her husband had vowed to destroy "the schismatic French king" even if Ferdinand abandoned him.  
CSP Venice, 2, 203.

"The King wants war, the council does not, the queen does," a Venetian observed.  
Sanuto, *Diarii*, vol. 15, 462.

"The king says that in the Spring he will attack the French," another Venetian reported. "The Queen is very warm for this undertaking."  
Sanuto, *Diarii*, vol. 15, 461- 62.

"She wants the Signory to send one, having heard that France is building two bastard gallies," he added.  
Ibid.

"Sir, I pray you, recommend me to the Queen's noble grace; and I know well I need not pray her to pray for our good speed."  
L&P, 1-1, 1748.

"He embraced her and kissed her in public, treating her with care and affection," one member of the delegation, Hernando López, recalled later.  
Real Academia de Historia, MS 9-4674, (Veruela). Transcript and Spanish translation in possession of the author.

The goldsmith who worked on them, William Holland, complained he would go out of business if he had to devote himself continually to such a time-consuming task.  
L&P, 1-1, 1549.

## Chapter 23 – WAR

footnotes to pages 189-199

A small council was left behind to advise her.

National Archives, C 82/393. L&P, 1-2, 2055 (46/47/60). Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 539.

"They have as much artillery as would suffice for the taking of Hell," said one Venetian.

Sanuto, *Diarii*, vol. 16, 456, vol. 15, 530. Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 539. Scarisbrick, *Henry the Eighth*, 32, 35.

... write to me of the king's health and what he intendeth to do, for when ye be so near our enemies I shall be never in rest."

Ellis, *Original letters*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 79– 80.

It had been "the cause of the Church" she now claimed that inspired them to invade France.

Ibid.

This he claimed to have done because "while out hunting he caught a severe and highly dangerous cold which attacked the chest and brought on a fever."

National Archives, PRO 31/11/5, f248. CSP Spain, 2, 111.

"The king of England... neither gives help in the form of men or in money, nor does he offer to," he complained.

Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, leg. 54, doc. 110, f307. CSP Spain, 2, 118.

Henry had had enough. There had been "a promise on your part to attack the French," he told Ferdinand, begging him as "a good father" not to break his word.

Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, leg. 54, doc. 74. National Archives, PRO 31/11/5, ff 278– 79. CSP Spain, 2, 125.

"When Henry was informed of Ferdinand's truce with Louis he fell into the most violent rage," reported the Florentine ambassador in France.

National Archives, PRO 31/14/129, f37. CSP Venice, 2, 248, 255.

"I trust to God that the King shall come home shortly with as great a victory as any prince in the world; and this I pray God send him without need of any other prince," she wrote to Wolsey.

Ellis, *Original letters*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 80.

When Henry besieged the French town of Théroouanne, she wrote again to Wolsey saying that she had been severely "troubled to hear [how] so near the king was to the siege."

Ellis, *Original letters*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 82– 83.

She also wrote to her former sister-in-law Margaret of Austria, who was now regent of the Netherlands, begging her to send a doctor to be at hand for her husband.

L&P, 1-2, 2138.

Her hope now, she told Wolsey, was that "with his good counsel, his Grace [Henry] shall not adventure himself so much as I was afraid of before."

Ellis, *Original letters*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 83– 85.

In mid-August 1513 she wrote lightheartedly to Wolsey asking him to tell Henry that "all his subjects be very glad, I thank God, to be busy with the Scots, for they take it for [a] pastime."

Ellis, *Original letters*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 83.

... to arm and equip them for war and to station, prepare and lead them."

National Archives, C 82/393.

"News from the Borders show that the King of Scots means war," she said. There was no time for dallying. She ordered them to answer within fifteen days.

L&P, 1-2, 2143.

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"I provided for him right well, and that shall he well know."

L&P, 1-2, 2157. Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 545.

"My heart is very good to it," she said excitedly in a letter to Wolsey signed nine days before James led his army of up to thirty thousand men across the River Tweed.

Ellis, *Original letters*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 83.

... she had boasted that her husband "would conquer and annihilate the Kingdom of Scotland, according to the fashion in which the Catholic King [her father, Ferdinand] treated the king of Navarre."

CSP Venice, 2, 203.

They would "have their goods seized and their persons banished under penalty of their lives."

Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. 13, 4434. L&P, 1-1, 2226, 2330/3/i.

Perhaps, she suggested to Wolsey, those so busy in France— where campaigning included the odd break when Henry entertained his allies with his dancing and playing of the lute, gitteron pipe and cornet— might pray to God "to send us as good luck against the Scots as the King hath there."

Ellis, *Original letters*, ser. 3, vol. 1, 152– 54. L&P, 1-1, 2226. L&P, 2-2, 1462.

These included two "standards of the lion crowned imperial according to my lord's [Henry's] standards and pattern."

L&P, 1-2, 2243.

Catherine began to move north with a body of troops variously described as "a great power" or a "numerous force." Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 545. CSP Venice, 2, 340.

At this time she also ordered up a golden "headpiece with crown,"<sup>23</sup> and had both a light sallet helmet and a rounded, broad-brimmed shapewe helmet (rather like an armored sun hat) especially garnished— presumably with gold or jewels.

L&P, 2-2, 1462.

There is no record of her being seen in armor, but there are ordnance records for guns that went "northward with the Queen's grace."

L&P, 1-2, 2831(9).

"Our Queen also took the field against the Scots with a numerous force 100 miles from here," reported a London-based Venetian who had obviously taken Catherine to his heart.

Sanuto, *Diarii*, vol. 17, 201– 4. CSP Spain, 2, 340.

England, she warned, "was surrounded by enemies and, worse still, neighbours, who wanted to destroy it, trying to oppress us against all rights and justice."

Anghiera, *Opus Epistolarum*, DXXVII. L&P, 1, 2299.

"It is no dream that ye are to fight a mighty people," she said, according to the story as it was told more than a century later.

Drummond, *History of Scotland*, 143– 44.

"Fired by these words, the nobles marched against the Scots... and defeated, humiliated and massacred them," he said.

Anghiera, *Opus Epistolarum*, DXXVII.

"This battle hath been to your grace and all your realm the greatest honour that could be, and more than ye should win all the crown of France," she said.

Ellis, *Original letters*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 88– 90. Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 564.

She also sent Henry a document taken off a Scot showing "such things as the French king sent to the said King of Scots to make war against you."

Ellis, *Original letters*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 88– 90. Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 564.

... "it was no great thing for one armed man to capture another like that Frenchman he had sent, but that she was

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sending him three Scots who had been taken by one woman alone.”

Sanuto, *Diarii*, vol. 17, 163, 233–34. CSP Venice, 2, 328.

## Chapter 24 – AND PEACE

footnotes to pages 200-208

Catherine's officers on the border, meanwhile, were ordered to "advertise [advise] the Queen of all occurrences."

L&P, 1-2, 2279, 2323.

The captured Scottish beer, which the bishop said had been drunk "by our folks to their great refreshing," had presumably run out.

L&P, 1-2, 2283.

Henry also did his bit to improve relations by begging the pope for permission to bury James IV at St. Paul's, even though the latter had been excommunicated for breaking a papally sanctioned treaty of non-aggression with England. CSP Spain, 2, 137.

... there was special mention of the ten thousand or more families of the Flodden dead whose "wives are widows and desolate and their daughters maidens being heirs to them."

Perry, *Sisters to the King*, 105.

"When you look in you would say it is the abode of saints, so brilliantly does it shine on all sides with gems, gold and silver," wrote the Dutch humanist Erasmus after he visited the shrine that same year.

<http://www.walsingham.org.uk/romancatholic/history.html>.

A special mass, with Henry's choristers – who had made the trip with him – singing a Te Deum, was celebrated in a luxurious pavilion tent of gold and purple.

Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 564. L&P, 1, 2391.

He rushed eagerly home to Catherine, riding "in post" to Richmond "where was such a loving meeting that every creature rejoiced."

Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 567.

"His appearance has changed, he does not have the same ease in listening, he does not have the same mildness," explained Peter Martyr.

Anghiera, *Opus Epistolarum* DXXIX.

The English, he claimed richly, could not be trusted.

CSP Spain, 2, 148, 154, 155.

... he loved nothing worse than to be constrained to do anything contrary to his royal will and pleasure" is how Wolsey's gentleman usher, George Cavendish, summed up his master's assessment of Henry.

Cavendish, *Life and death*, 39–42.

The chronicler Edward Hall in his entry for this, the fifth year of Henry's reign, observed that "this man was born in Ipswich, and was a good philosopher, very eloquent and full of wit, but for pride, covetous[ness] and ambition he excelled all others, as you shall hear."

Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 567.

Or, as Cavendish himself put it, "Fortune smiled so upon him, but to what end she brought him you shall hear after. Therefore let all men to whom fortune extends her grace, not trust too much to her fickle favour."

Cavendish, *Life and death*, 40.

England remained on a war footing over the winter to the immense irritation of that crotchety Dutchman Erasmus. Allen, Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum* vol. 1, 551, 552, letter 288. L&P, 1-2, 2724. Nichols, *Epistles of Erasmus*, 121.

Wolsey had, in Henry's own words, "laboured and sweated" for a deal with France.

L&P, 1-2, 3140.

"Going through town strange words are said to him."

CSP Venice, 2, 500. National Archives, PRO 31/14/129, f62.

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By that December, as a heavily pregnant Catherine once more went into confinement, Ferdinand's ambassador Caroz complained that she was ignoring him completely.  
CSP Spain 2, 201.

"You can see how [little] use I can make of the Queen in my negotiations."  
National Archives, PRO 31/11/5, f458, 480. Molins, *Crónica*, 468-70. CSP Spain, 2, 201.

A mysterious letter from Catherine, he believed, prevented that from happening.  
National Archives, PRO 31/11/5, f458, 480. Molins, *Crónica*, 468-70. CSP Spain, 2, 201.

He was ready to "send a good and honourable personage to be there against the Queen's deliverance."  
L&P, 1-2, 3332, 3333, 3416.

"Her husband was upbraiding the innocent Queen with the desertion of her father, and held against her his anger and complaints." Grief, he believed, had driven her to miscarry.  
Anghiera, *Opus Epistolarum*, DXLIV. CSP Venice, 2, 555. L&P, 1-2, 3581.

## Chapter 25 - DAUGHTERS

footnotes to pages 209-216

The small troop of minstrels, drummer boys, torchbearers and masked lords and ladies made their way to the far side of the courtyard of the waterside palace at Greenwich heading toward the queen's chambers.

Thurley, *Royal Palaces*, 34, plans 3 and 4.

Costumes had been sewn from the hundreds of yards of satin, silk and velvet ordered up for the mummers, minstrels and choirboys.

L&P, 2-2, 1500- 2. Thurley, *Royal Palaces*, 34, plans 3 and 4.

... a game that was considered to be in "the manner of Italy."

Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 526.

... had covered their faces and necks with yellow "visors" of soft sarcenet silk.

L&P, 2-2: 1501- 5. Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 580.

"This strange apparel pleased much every person, and in especial the Queen," Hall reported.

Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 580- 81.

... wild-men, all apparelled in green moss... with ugly weapons and terrible visages."

Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 580. L&P, 2-2: 1501

A few weeks later at least one of Catherine's own yeomen was involved in organizing a play for Candlemas, February 2.

L&P, 2-2: 1466.

... the Spaniards who visited her two years earlier went on to claim at the hearing in Zaragoza, no doubt fired by patriotic zeal, that she was "as beautiful as a second Helen [of Troy]."

Real Academia de Historia, MS 9-4674, (Veruela). Transcript and Spanish translation in possession of the author.

She must have become pregnant in May but the news does not seem to have become common knowledge until October or November.

L&P, 2-1, 285, 807, 890, 1198. CSP Venice, 679.

Henry eventually forgave them this gross impertinence and the French Queen, as she became known, joined the court, lodging with Catherine on "the Queen's side."

L&P, 4, 1939.

... the chronicler Hall felt it necessary to distinguish Catherine from Henry's sisters by referring to her as "the queen his bedfellow."

Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 602. CSP Venice, 2, 661.

This "pleased her more than I can tell you; and she commenced talking to me about Spanish affairs and about her mother, making me all possible civil speeches," he said.

L&P, 2-1, 410, 411.

... Whereupon he opened the front of his doublet, and placing his hand on his thigh said, 'Look here; and I have also a good calf to my leg.' "

Ibid.

The vessel, carrying up to 207 artillery pieces and powered by 120 oars, was three times the size of Venice's best galleys.

CSP Venice, 2, 659, 662. L&P, 2, 1086, 1113.

The French were so worried by the ship that Wolsey eventually told their ambassador it had not been built to attack them but simply "to give pleasure and pastime to the queen and the queen Mary his sister."

L&P, 2, xlix.

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Their relationship had suffered, Ferdinand claimed, partly because of “the common law of all earthly things, which deteriorate in the course of time, and partly a want of clearness in earlier treaties.”

CSP Spain, 2, 215, 229, 234.

He now knew that Ferdinand’s “ardent love” was “sincere” and so had “wiped from his mind” all the disagreeable things that had passed between them.

Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, leg. 55, doc. 20. National Archives, PRO 31/11/5, f474. CSP, 2, 231. L&P, 2, (appendix) 1524, note 4.

While privately expressing his mistrust of Ferdinand, he also signed a treaty of “harmony and friendship” with him in October 1515 that stated that all “injuries, offences” and losses were to be forgotten and forgiven.

Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, leg. 55, doc. 4. CSP Spain, 2, 229. CSP Venice, 2, 665.

“A small amount of the one makes them overbearing while a small amount of the other casts them down.”

Biblioteca Nacional, MS 1490, ff 402- 4. National Archives, PRO 31/11/5, f480. CSP Spain, 2, 238.

... “wilfully shortened the days of his life, always in fair weather or foul labouring in hawking and hunting, following more the counsel of his falconers than of his physicians.”

L&P, 2, cxxxi.

“The Queen has given birth to a lively little daughter,” Ammonius wrote to Erasmus.

Nichols, *Epistles of Erasmus*, vol. 2, letter 377.

... never had this entire kingdom ever so anxiously desired anything as it did a prince, it appearing to every one that the State would be safe should his Majesty leave an heir male, whereas, without a prince, they are of a contrary opinion.”

Giustinian, *Four years*, vol. 2, 240, Oct. 31, 1515. CSP Venice, 2, 690, 691.

**Chapter 26 – A MATCH FOR MARY**

footnotes to pages 217-226

“With great pleasure, we give our royal word,” she vowed, presumably through clenched teeth.

CSP Venice, 1085, 1088. Giustinian, *Four years*, vol. 2, 226. L&P, 2, 4480– 81. State Papers, 1, 2. National Archives, PRO 31/8/137, f113– 17.

A few months earlier a doting Henry had shown her off to some visiting ambassadors (one of whom thought more honor was accorded her “than to the Queen herself”).

L&P, 2, cci.

Ambassadors were obliged to kiss her small hand while Henry boasted, “*Ista puella nunquam plorat.*” This girl never cries.

CSP Venice, 2, 1287. Prescott, *Mary Tudor*, 28.

“Are you the Dauphin of France? If you are, I wish to kiss you,” she reportedly said.

CSP Venice, 2, 1088.

“We sat down to a most sumptuous supper, the like of which, I fancy, was never given by Cleopatra or Caligula,” observed one guest who was amazed by the huge silver and gold vases displayed by the increasingly wealthy Cardinal Wolsey.

Dillon, *Performance and Spectacle*, 212. L&P, 2, preface, clxi.

Catherine, in an advanced state of pregnancy again, used this as an excuse for retiring early, while Henry and her sister-in-law Mary led the dancing.

CSP Venice, 2, 1088. Dillon, *Performance and Spectacle*, 212. L&P, 2, clxi– ii.

Catherine’s lively and cultured maid of honor, Elizabeth Blount, danced with them.

L&P, 2, 1514– 15, preface, clxii.

The bill from Greenwich on October 7 shows that the party got through 10 carcasses of beef, 17 hogs, pigs and porkers, 56 mutton, some 500 chickens and capons as well as numerous swans, cranes, larks, geese, pigeons, peacocks and peachicks.

L&P, 2, 1514– 18.

It was all washed down with 3 tuns and 2 pipes of wine and 6 tuns and 7 hogsheads of ale— 1,000 gallons of wine and almost twice as much ale.

L&P, 2, clxiii.

“The ceremonial was too magnificent for description,” Bonivet wrote home.

L&P, 2, clxi– iii.

Her husband, as usual, joined in “doing marvellous things, both in dancing and jumping, proving himself, as he in truth is, indefatigable.”

L&P, 2, 3455, 3462.

“To the King of Spain I have given the pomegranate, because it is round, and he in like manner is well-nigh lord of the whole world.”

CSP Venice, 2, 1088.

The sender, who was her nephew Charles’s treasurer general of the Indies, regretted being unable to send her a parrot as he thought it might not survive the English climate.

L&P, 2, 3871.

“The Queen did meet with his Grace at his chamber door, and showed unto him, for his welcome home, her belly something great, declaring openly that she was quick with child,” one of Henry’s staff happily noted.

National Archives, SP 1/16, f318. State Papers, 1, 2. L&P, 2, 4288.

On her entry into the city she was greeted by great demonstrations of popularity that inspired the archbishop of

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Canterbury to wax lyrical about how she was a shining example of all the greatest virtues of her sex.  
Fiddes, *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, 167– 69. Fiddes, *Collections*, 28. L&P, 2, 1543, appendix, note 46.

Given her own exaggerated dalliances with asceticism it is not surprising that Catherine felt drawn to England's solitary, severe and reclusive anchorites – adding at least two to her list of regular alms payments.  
L&P, 3, 429. L&P 4-3, 6121

The gifts, as her late mother-in-law's accounts showed, could include such simple fare as cakes and quails or rabbits and bunches of roses.  
Nicolas, *Privy Purse Expenses*, ci.

"I think the prayers of a friend the most acceptable," Catherine wrote inside one admirer's Book of Hours, "and because I take you for one of mine... I pray you remember me in yours."  
Duffy, *Marking the hours*, 52.

Her popularity, however, had received its most dramatic boost in May 1517 thanks to her key role in the turbulent events that came to be known as Evil May Day.  
L&P, 2, 3259.

The rioters also "overpowered the forces of the Lord Mayor and aldermen and compelled them to open the jails and release the prisoners."  
L&P, 2, ccxix and notes 3204, 3259. CSP Venice, 887.

Their executioners "showed no mercy but extreme cruelty to the poor younglings."  
Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 590. Starkey, *Six Wives*, 163.

"At the city gates one sees nothing but gibbets and the quarters of these wretches so that it is horrible to pass near them," reported one visitor.  
L&P, 2, 3259.

"Mercy!" they cried out loud, imagining they were all heading straight for the gallows.  
L&P, 2, 3259. Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 591. CSP Venice, 887.

He reported that with tears in her eyes and on bended knees it was Catherine who obtained their pardon.  
Paul, *Catherine of Aragon*, 42– 43. Starkey, *Six Wives*, 164. CSP Venice, 2, 887. L&P, 2, ccxxi– x.

... how they jumped for joy, making such signs of rejoicing as became people who had escaped from extreme peril," observed one eyewitness.  
L&P, 2, ccxxi, note 3259.

A huge crowd, deemed either "innumerable" or of "15,000," had gathered to watch the event. Catherine's standing among them can only have soared.  
L&P, 2, 3259. CSP Venice, 2, 887.

... infected houses were obliged to stay in, hang wisps of straw on their doors and, if they ventured out, to carry white sticks so others could keep away from them.  
L&P, 2, 3781, 4125 and ccxi.

"God grant she may give birth to a son, so that, having an heir male, the king may not be hindered from embarking, if necessary, on any great undertaking," said the Venetian ambassador, Giustinian.  
L&P, 2, 4529, 4398. CSP Venice, 1093.

In the summer of 1518 both were stricken by panic, with Henry especially worried once his wife was pregnant.  
L&P, 2, 4279. Ellis, *Original letters*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 125.

... though she be no prophet, yet she would lose her finger if some inconvenience should not ensue unto the king's person if he should at this time repass towards London."  
L&P, 2, 4060.

He wrote to Wolsey, telling him of the pregnancy, which was "the chief cause why I am so loathe to repair London

ward.”

L&P, 2, 4279. Ellis, *Original letters*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 125.

Both begged Wolsey, who was still at his post, to escape from London and seek the solace and protection of fresh air.

L&P, 2, 4054, 4124.

Henry admitted at this time that the pregnancy was not “an ensured thing” but something of which he had “great hope and likelihood.”

L&P, 2, 4279. Ellis, *Original letters*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 125.

... the sole fear of this kingdom being that it may pass into the power of the French through this marriage.”

L&P, 2, 4568.

**Chapter 27 – MY SISTER'S SON**

footnotes to pages 227-237

Her younger husband cut a more dashing figure, though a Frenchman noted that he too was now getting “a little bit fat.”

Giustinian, *Four years*, vol. 2, 313. CSP Venice, 2, 1287. L&P, 3, lxxvi.

... Englishwomen had no true rivals, “the visage of England, which have always had the prize” should triumph once more.

L&P, 3, 698.

“The queen of England, as a Spaniard, is gratified at the success of her nephew,” he added.

L&P, 3, 371, 402, 407.

“I have here afore time known [that] when the king's grace hath worn long his beard, that the Queen hath daily made him great instance, and desired him to put it off for her sake.”

L&P, 3, xxxiii and note 514.

“I knew well that there could not be a more virtuous or wise princess anywhere than the queen my mistress was, having none other joy or comfort in this world but to do and follow all that she may think to stand with the king's pleasure.”

L&P, 3, 721.

“There is no doubt that the French interview is against the will of the queen and of all the nobles,” one of Charles's envoys claimed.

L&P, 3, li- iii and note 728.

“If I had a drop of French blood in me, I would cut myself open and get rid of it.”

CSP Venice, 3, 108.

“The Cardinal is the man who rules both the King and the entire kingdom,” an Italian observed around this time.

Giustinian, *Four years*, vol. 2, 314.

“Well, I am very glad that aff airs are in such good order, and I think all will go well,” he said.

L&P, 3, 689.

“You will speak to us another day,”<sup>10</sup> she confidently told the ambassadors when they left her chambers.

L&P, 3, xlviii and note 689.

... it were too marvellous ingratitude to refuse the same,” he said.

L&P, 3, 735.

“We have been told of the effort and will that you have put into arranging these meetings,” he said.

*Monumenta Habsburgica*, 173.

“Great joy made the people of England to see the emperor,” agreed Hall.

Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 604. L&P, 3, 838.

The sight of her nephew was too much for the normally composed Catherine. “She embraced him tenderly,” a witness recorded.

National Archives, PRO 31/14/139, f226. CSP Venice, 3, 50.

But Charles also had “much more in his head than appears in his face.”

Hayward, *Dress at the Court*, 20– 23. Mignet, *El Emperador Carlos V*, 35.

“Spanish to God, Italian to women, French to men and German to my horse.”

Hayward, *Dress at the Court*, 20.

There were “13 yards of cloth of silver raised with damask gold” to make a single gown.

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Hayward, *Dress at the Court*, 178.

Some played the part so brilliantly that they "could not have been bettered," according to a delighted Venetian witness.

CSP Venice, 3, 50.

A specially paneled cabin had been built for Catherine with glazed windows bearing her arms and a set of "a dozen joined stools" for her ladies and guests to perch on.

L&P, 3, 1009.

An early model of a green coat for her guard "which she did not like" was rejected.

L&P, 3, 852.

Observers noticed, too, that she was wearing her headdress in the "Spanish fashion," with the tress of hair hanging down over her shoulders.

CSP Venice, 3, 85, 94.

Witnesses to its glory included the drunken "vagabonds, ploughmen, labourers... wagoners and beggars" who, according to Hall, lay about in heaps and the "knight and ladies" who were forced to sleep out on straw and hay.

Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 620.

"They hate each other cordially."

Scarisbrick, *Henry the Eighth*, 79. CSP Venice, 3, 119.

## Chapter 28 – INFERTILITY AND INFIDELITY

footnotes to pages 238-248

"I remember your mother, a most wise woman, said to me... that she preferred moderate and steady fortune to great ups and downs of rough and smooth," he told her daughter, Mary, in a book written for her in 1524, a year after he arrived in England.

Vives and Foster, *On Education*, lxxx.

The aim, he said, should be to teach them the importance of "justice, piety, fortitude, temperance, learning, clemency, mercy and love of humankind."

Fantazzi, *Education of a Christian Woman*, 270– 72.

"Specially the daughter should be handled without any cherishing. For cherishing marreth sons, but it utterly destroyeth daughters."

Vives and Watson, *Tudor school-boy life*, 9. Prescott, *Mary Tudor*, 26.

The English version was reprinted eight times during the sixteenth century, suggesting it offered an idea that had found both its time and its place.

Fantazzi, *Education of a Christian Woman*, 2, 76, 78. Prescott, *Mary Tudor*, 33. Fernández Suárez, "Luis Vives," 148.

"Our age has seen the four daughters of Queen Isabel... each of them well accomplished," recalled Vives.

Fantazzi, *Education of a Christian Woman*, 70.

In a world where ideas of women's inferiority had ruled so absolutely, it was a small revolution.

Fantazzi, *Education of a Christian Woman*, 2. Fernández Suárez, "Luis Vives" 149– 52.

For Erasmus and others, indeed, the fact that Catherine and women like Sir Thomas More's clever daughters joined in debates "afore the King's grace" was truly remarkable.

Watson, *El gran valenciano*, 68, quote is from John Palsgrave.

"Who would not wish," asked Erasmus, "to live in such a court as hers?"

Watson, *Renascence Education of Women*, 9.

He called her "a unique example in our age... who, with a distaste for the things of no account that women love, devotes a good part of her day to holy reading."

Fantazzi, *Education of a Christian Woman*, 45.

A visiting Frenchman found the girl "thin, sparse and small" but "admirable by reason of her great and uncommon mental endowments."

CSP Venice, 4, 105.

"After we had saluted the princess, Catherine continued to question me no less sweetly and prudently about your majesty and there was much pleasant conversation," one ambassador reported.

CSP Spain, Supplement 2: 71. National Archives, PRO 31/18/1, ff 202.

"She began to speak of you with such good and honest words that it was her greatest desire was to see you here," he reported.

National Archives, PRO 31/18/1, f211. CSP Spain, Supplement 2: 73– 74.

... "he asked the queen's blessing... that is the fashion of Spain, between aunt and nephew."

Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 635.

"While the king and the Emperor looked on the letter, a sudden noise arose amongst both their subjects that it was a letter of defiance, sent to them both by the French king."

Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 636.

Mary's engagement to Charles was still in place three years later when she must have sat for a miniature portrait by the painter Lucas Horenbout, wearing a brooch boldly bearing her fiancé's title, "The Emperour."

National Portrait Gallery, see <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait.php?>

Footnotes to *Catherine of Aragon: Henry's Spanish Wife* by Giles Tremlett, Faber and Faber, London, 2010.

firstRun=true&Text=npg6453&search=sp&rNo=0

In one she wears a gable headdress and rich, spotted ermine over the sleeves of her black gown.

[http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/e/ec/Horenbout\\_](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/e/ec/Horenbout_)

[Catherine of Aragon with a monkey.jpg/107px-Horenbout Catherine of Aragon with a monkey.jpg](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/e/ec/Horenbout_).

The second Horenbout miniature – emblazoned with the Latin words “Queen Catherine his wife” – was one of many signs of that.

Starkey, *A European Court*, 91.

“The truly good woman, through obedience to her husband, will hold sway, and she who always lived in obedience to her husband will command great authority over him,” he said.

Fantazzi, *Education of a Christian Woman*, 294.

He even dreamed of asserting “his ancient right and title to the crown of France.”

Scarbrick, *Henry the Eighth*, 130, citing Rogers, *Correspondence of Sir Thomas More*, 300. L&P, 3, 3485.

“It was much better to promise little and perform faithfully than to promise much and fail in part.”

National Archives, PRO 31/18/1, f578. CSP Spain, Supplement 2: 185.

... I beg your majesty to keep this communication of the queen’s secret; it would be regrettable if it came to the ears of certain English.”

National Archives, PRO 31/18/1, f1075 and 1077. CSP Spain, Supplement 2: p325.

“Indeed, I have often noticed that the cardinal [Wolsey] was very restless whenever I talked to her, and often interrupted our conversation.”

National Archives, PRO 31/18/1, f1341. CSP Spain, Supplement 2: 411.

“The Queen’s grace [Catherine] said that she was glad the Spaniards had yet done somewhat [well] in Italy.”

Ellis, *Original letters*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 254. L&P, 4, 882.

“Love and consanguinity demand that we should write to each other more often.”

Whitelock, *Mary Tudor*, 30, citing CSP Spain, 3, 60.

“Your grace’s plainliness is not so well taken as it is worthy; wherefor it were as good to give them good words for good words, keeping secret your thoughts as they do,” they told him.

L&P, 4 1379– 80. Ellis, *Original letters*, ser. 3, vol. 2, 13.

Early in 1525, for example, she “very lovingly, both in words and countenance, did enquire of your... good health,” according to one of Wolsey’s regular correspondents at court.

Ellis, *Original letters*, ser. 3, vol. 2, 47.

The time was nearly over, however, in which Henry could write to Wolsey saying that “the queen my wife hath desired me to make her most hearty recommendations to you, as to him that she loveth very well.”

Ellis, *Original letters*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 270.

... she had declared her preference for “the saddest of lots” over “flattering fortune.”

Erasmus, *Correspondance*, vol. 7, 402.

## Chapter 29 – BASTARD

footnotes to pages 249-256

“And not just during the period of these last indiscretions but also before,” the Duke of Norfolk would say later, praising her forbearance, “the king having continually been inclined to amorous intrigues.”  
CSP Spain, 4-2, 1077.

Foreign ambassadors saw it as a harsh public reprimand to which she had no option but to “suffer patiently.”  
Sanuto, *Diarii*, vol. 39, 217.

Jealousy was a sign of “hearty love” Wolsey once claimed. It had a destructive history, however, in her own family.  
L&P, 4-1, 1240.

Jealousy, he warned, was “a relentless and uncontrollable tyranny.”  
Fantazzi, *Education of a Christian Woman*, 230.

... human laws do not require the same chastity of a man as they do of a woman.”  
Fantazzi, *Education of a Christian Woman*, 232.

With one of Henry’s later, and more damaging, mistresses, she was praised for the fact that “with wisdom and great patience [she] dissimulated the same.”  
Cavendish, *Life and death*, 65.

They made the young duke write to Wolsey to thank him for a sudden change in status that had been, in great part, “by the means and good favour of your grace.”  
Ellis, *Original letters*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 267.

The train of wagons sent after her was piled high with everything a princess could need, from pots and pans to a “chest with the irons for keeping the prisoners.”  
Prescott, *Mary Tudor*, 35.

“The long absence of the King and you troubleth me,” she admitted to Mary.  
Ellis, *Original letters*, ser. 1, vol. 2, 19– 20.

“As for your writing in Latin I am glad that ye shall change from me to master Featherstone, for that shall do you much good, to learn by him to write right,” she wrote in a tender letter of regret disguised as encouragement.  
L&P, 4, 1519.

One of her ladies was so upset by the change that she “departed the Court for no other reason than that she would no longer betray her mistress.”  
Scarisbrick, *Henry the Eighth*, 151. Tyndale, *Expositions and notes*, 1, 454.

There were rumors that with a marriage to Charles now impossible Henry and Wolsey planned to marry Mary to the now-widowed French king.  
CSP Spain, 3-2, 36.

Catherine was not happy.  
CSP Spain, 3-2, 37.

His mother was a “most terrible woman,” who would treat her daughter-in-law as a serving wench— or so one potential rival for the French king’s hand was told.  
CSP Venice, 3, 1066.

“You shall have audience another time.”  
CSP Spain, 3-2, 37.

This, Mendoza agreed, would only “add further damage to what might be said about her.”  
Ibid.

**Chapter 30 – DIVORCE: THE KING'S SECRET MATTER**

footnotes to pages 257-265

If anyone of Wolsey's servants did put their ear to the door, the Latin phrases drifting through would have shocked them to the core.

L&P, 4, 3140.

Officially it was Gabriel de Grammont, the French bishop of Tarbes, who first asked whether Henry's marriage was really valid.

L&P, 4, 3231.

... there grew such a secret love between them that at length they were engaged."

Cavendish, *Life and death*, 59.

He had already written, in one of a series of seventeen ardent letters, that he had "been now above one whole year struck with the dart of love."

Starkey, *Six Wives*, 282.

The mysterious words "declare ie nose" – "declare I dare not" – were also embroidered.

Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 707.

This may be why he later warned that with Henry it was best to "be well advised and assured what matter ye put in his head for ye shall never pull it out again."

Cavendish, *Life and death*, 225.

"There was dancing and M. de Touraine, on the king's command, danced with Madame the Princess, and the king with Mistress Boulan [Boleyn] who was brought up in France with the late queen," ...

Ives, *Life and Death of Anne Boleyn*, 88.

Catherine was, he declared, "a perfect Griselda"

Cavendish, *Life and death*, 65.

"My lady Anne, you have good hap to stop at a king, but you are not like others, you will have all or none,"<sup>9</sup> Catherine supposedly quipped.

Ives, *Life and Death of Anne Boleyn*, 100.

This was the king's "secret matter" or his "great and secret affair."

L&P, 4, 3311, 3283.

"She sees that they do not tell her the truth in these and other matters," Mendoza had already observed...

Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII*, vol. 2, 201.

"Spanish ladies spy well," commented the now one-eyed Francis Bryan on a later, separate occasion.

L&P, 7, 248.

"The 'good' Legate [Wolsey], to put the seal on his iniquities, is working on getting the Queen unmarried and she is so fearful that she dare not speak to me about it," he tells the emperor Charles in a letter written that day.

CSP Spain, 3-2, 193.

... all her hope rests, after God, on your Imperial highness."

L&P, 4, cclxxvii.

But should he persist on pursuing the course he has begun, some great popular disturbance must ensue; for the Queen is much beloved in this kingdom," Mendoza wrote.

Ibid.

## Chapter 31 - VIRGINITY

footnotes to pages 266-274

She had shown him no opposition. Nor, however, had she acquiesced.  
CSP Spain, 3-2, 276. L&P, 4, cclxxix.

"They cannot believe that he will ever carry so wicked a project into effect."  
L&P, 4, cclxxix.

One of Henry's own ambassadors later agreed, telling an Italian in Paris that "the queen was as beloved as if she had been of the blood royal of England."  
L&P, 4, ccxxi, citing CSP Venice, 4, 393.

"Everyone feels so strongly about what is being said about setting the Queen aside, both for her sake and because the princess would end up as a bastard," said Mendoza...  
National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/1, f243. CSP Spain, 3-2, 113.

That explains why he counseled Henry to treat Catherine "gently and doulcely [sweetly] while the maneuvering to dispose of her was being carried out.  
State Papers, 1, 194.

Wolsey was beside himself when he heard that Catherine had been, as he put it to Henry, "affirming that your brother did never know her carnally."  
Ibid.

"I have no more in me than what appears outwardly, and that I shall not be able to fathom his designs."  
CSP Spain, 1, 551National Archives, PRO 31/11/4.

"These were the worst points [against the divorce] that could be imagined," Wolsey admitted. State Papers, 1, 194.

He told some of the country's senior bishops that Catherine had now "broken with your Grace [Henry] thereof, after a very displeasent manner, saying, that by my procurement and setting forth a divorce was purposed between her and your highness."  
L&P, 4, 3231.

"By her manner, behaviour, words, and messages, [she] hath published, divulged and opened the same," said Wolsey.  
State Papers, 1, 196. L&P, 4, cclxviiand note 3231.

... Catherine was "being suspicious, and casting further doubts than was meant or intended."  
Ibid.

... that the queen was behaving in a "perilous and dangerous" fashion.  
Ibid.

Henry, who had started it all, was to be turned into the victim who needed saving from the "pensive and dolorous life" into which he had been enslaved by the revelation that his marriage was invalid.  
Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, vol. 6, 19.

"I take God to record that there is nothing earthly that I covet so much as the advancing thereof," he replied.  
State Papers, 1, 194.

"The King's highness does perceive that the Queen is the only cause of the man's going to Spain," Henry's secretary, Richard Knight, wrote to Wolsey.  
L&P, 4, 3256.

There was also "good countenance, much better than was, in my opinion, less suspicion, or little."  
L&P, 4, 3302.

Footnotes to *Catherine of Aragon: Henry's Spanish Wife* by Giles Tremlett, Faber and Faber, London, 2010.

... We cannot desert the Queen, our good aunt, in her troubles, and intend doing all we can in her favour," Charles wrote to Mendoza as he sent Felipez back with a letter to his aunt.

National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/1, ff 254- 55. CSP Spain, 3-2 , 131.

**Chapter 32 – DISEASE**

footnotes to pages 275-280

“There are secret reasons, which cannot be committed to writing,” he confided. “Certain diseases in the Queen defying all remedy, for which, as well as for other causes, the King will never again live with her as a wife.”

Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, vol. 4, 55. L&P, 4, 3644.

Both the pope and Catherine herself must also realize that the queen’s body was something that Henry – as the king later instructed his ambassadors to tell Clement – “is utterly resolved and determined never to use.”

L&P, 4, 4977.

What she desired had already been shown to be “both by God’s law and man’s law... justly condemned.”

Fiddes, *Collections*, 171– 72.

It would not be long, in fact, before she was also being accused of not making herself available to him in bed (while confusing reports would also emerge that Henry had been knocking on her chamber door again).

Pocock, *Rec ords*, 1, 212. L&P, 4, 2096.

“There was never lover more desirous of the sight of his lady than I am of your most noble and royal person,” he wrote.

Ives, *Life and Death of Anne Boleyn*, 109.

‘Where else should the cardinal come? Tell him to come here, where the king is.’ ”

CSP Spain, 3-2, 224. L&P, 4, cccx– xi.

Mendoza shrewdly drew two conclusions: first, that the king’s new love “seems to entertain no great affection for the cardinal” and, second, that this treatment was “indicative of the king’s displeasure.”

Ibid.

... I promise you that not only shall the name be given you, but that also I will take you for my only mistress, rejecting from thought and affection all others save yourself.”

Ives, *Life and Death of Anne Boleyn*, 84– 85. L&P, 4, 3218.

... she thought Henry “speaketh these words in mirth to prove [test] me, without intent of defiling your princely self, who I find thinks nothing less than of such wickedness which would justly procure the hatred of God and of your good queen against us.”

Ives, *Life and Death of Anne Boleyn*, 85, citing British Library Sloane MS 2495, f3.

Wishing myself [specially an evening] in my sweetheart’s arms, whose pretty duckies [breasts] I trust shortly to kiss,”<sup>10</sup> is how he signed off one of his letters.

Bernard, *King’s Reformation*, 7. Starkey, *Six Wives*, 340.

**Chapter 33 - NEVER WITH THE MOTHER**

footnotes to pages 281-285

"Never with the mother," he said.  
L&P, 12-2, 952.

The dispensation, it was suggested, should allow him to marry a woman who might "be related... in the first degree of affinity, arising from what ever licit or illicit intercourse."  
Kelly, *Matrimonial trials*, 42- 43, 47.

... be the grounds on which the king's desire is founded."  
L&P, 4, cccxxxviiiand 3913n.

Luther's heresy would spread, he added, and Wolsey's own life would be in danger.  
L&P, 4, 2113, 2120, 3912.

Henry sent her a doctor and said that he would willingly give up his own health to cure hers, especially as he now feared "still longer being harassed by enemy, Absence."  
Henry VIII, *Love Letters*, 22.

"Every morning as soon as he cometh from the Queen he asketh whether I hear anything from your Grace," Sir Thomas Heneage wrote to Wolsey after the latter had retired to his magnificent new palace at Hampton Court.  
L&P, 4, ccclxxviand 4486n.

They both also confessed daily, just in case the sweat should get them.  
L&P, 4, 4409, 4429, 4542. Woolgar, *Senses*, 265.

"The king is in so deeply that God alone can get him out of it," commented the French ambassador.  
L&P, 4, 4649.

... the pope had been fooled into thinking that not only the people of England were in favor of the divorce, but that both she and her nephew were too.  
CSP Spain, 3-2, 562.

... she would just have to place her trust in three things: in God, in her nephew Charles, and in a group that was genuinely unhappy about the way she was being treated – the people of England.  
CSP Spain, 3-2, 550.

**Chapter 34 – GOD AND MY NEPHEW**

footnotes to pages 286-290

Then Wolsey told him that Catherine herself was on her way. She wanted to confess.  
L&P, 4, 4875.

The pope, Campeggio told Catherine, “counselled her, confiding much in her prudence, that, rather than press it to trial, she should of herself take some other course, which would give general satisfaction, and greatly benefit herself.”  
Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum*, 572–74. L&P, 4, 4858.

“She had heard we were to persuade her to enter some religion [by joining an order of nuns],”  
Campeggio wrote back to Rome.  
Ibid.

“I enforced these arguments by example of a queen of France who did the same and is still honoured by God and that kingdom.”  
Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum*, 573–74, L&P, 4, ccccxiv and note 4858.

“Imagine my condition when, besides indisposition of the body, I suffer from such infinite agitation of the mind,”  
he wrote.  
Ibid.

“I know very well that if the judges are impartial, and I am granted a hearing, my cause is gained, for no judge will be found unjust enough to condemn me.”  
CSP Spain, 3-2, 586.

... that she would always remain of that opinion, and that she would never change it.”  
Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum*, 574. L&P, 4, ccccxvi.

“In it consists the whole of the Queen’s right,” Mendoza reported excitedly.  
National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/1, ff 377. CSP Spain, 3-2, 592.

**Chapter 35 – THE PEOPLE’S QUEEN**

footnotes to pages 291-298

She must have victory, they called out; otherwise England itself would go to ruin.  
CSP Spain, 3-2, 586.

She had been deliberately “showing herself” to the people, he claimed.  
Pocock, *Records*, 1, 212. L&P, 4, 4981.

“We will bring him to the seaside, and there will put him into a boat, in the which shall be bored four great holes, and the holes shall be stopped with pins,” he said.  
L&P, 4, 4310.

... should now write against it, surely I should be stoned of them to death, or else have such a slander and obloquy raised upon me, that I had rather to die a thousand times,” he said.  
L&P, 4, 3234.

Even in far-off Flanders, one Englishman reported, the so-called great matter was considered “sufficient to cause the stones to come out of the streets to cry vengeance upon us.”  
L&P, 4, 4725.

“Whoever spoke against the marriage was of the common people abhorred and reproved.”  
Hall, *Hall’s Chronicle*, 754.

He feared, however, that he and Catherine “live together abominably and detestably in open adultery.”  
Ibid.

Such was his love of Catherine, he claimed, that “if I were to marry again, if the marriage might be good, I would surely choose her above all other women.”  
Ibid., 754– 55.

“I think he used these terms: ‘That there was never a head so dignified but that he would make it fly.’ ”  
L&P, 4, 4942.

“It was a strange sight,” reported Hall. “Some sighed and said nothing. Others were sorry to the hear the king so troubled in his conscience. Others that favoured the Queen [ were] much sorrowed that this matter was now opened.”  
Hall, *Hall’s Chronicle*, 755.

“Nor, to see them together, could anyone have told there was anything the matter. To this hour they have the same bed and the same table.”  
L&P, 4, 4851.

... no other weapon now remains except the tongue. In the country, also, a great and continual watch is kept up.”  
L&P, 4 intro., cccci– iiiand note 5016.

Should anything happen to either of them, she would pay— even if she were not involved. The result would be “your grace’s utter undoing and destruction.”  
Pocock, *Records*, 1, 212.

“This has made the king very fierce,” Mendoza reported. “But, believe me, his fear is greater than his rage, however great that is.”  
CSP Spain, 3-2, 600.

He was not scared of her, he said, but was not so sure about her servants— especially the Spaniards.  
CSP Spain, 3-2, 586, 592, 600.

“The queen showed to them no manner of countenance and made no great joy of nothing, her mind was so troubled,” said Hall.  
Hall, *Hall’s Chronicle*, 756.

Footnotes to *Catherine of Aragon: Henry's Spanish Wife* by Giles Tremlett, Faber and Faber, London, 2010.

“The king persists more than ever in his desire to marry this lady, kissing her and treating her in public as though she were his wife,” he noted.

Ives, *Life and Death of Anne Boleyn*, 113. Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII*, vol. 2, 486.

**Chapter 36 – SPIES AND DISGUISES**

footnotes to pages 299-306

He must appear “in disguise and as secretly as possible.”  
National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/1, f377. CSP Spain, 3-2, 592 and 600.

“She warns Your Majesty never to let the original leave your hands, because she knows these people will work hard and try anything to get hold of it.”  
National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/1, f377. CSP Spain, 3-2, 592 and 600.

“They eat and sleep together,” he said.  
CSP Spain, 3-2, 600.

“Surely he loved her as well as any Prince might love his wife, and she him again, and therefore it was a great pity that their marriage was not good.”  
Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 756.

As these last reasons were not explicit, they were impossible to argue against – even if, confusingly, the document also stated that she and Arthur had consummated their marriage.

Scarisbrick, *Henry the Eighth*, 182, citing Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, vol. 4, 610. L&P, 4, 4977, 5376. Kelly, *Matrimonial trials*, 64. Starkey, *Six Wives*, 227.

... the original, were his men to get hold of it, should be subjected to minute scrutiny.  
L&P, 4, 5376.

If she did not diligently set about the “attaining [obtaining] of the said original”  
L&P, 4, 5155.

“The king has made the queen swear that she will do all she can to procure it, for which purpose she has been made to write a letter and protestation against her will,” Mendoza told Charles...  
L&P, 4, ccccxvii. CSP Spain, 3-2, 614.

“The first thing we beg your Majesty is that you do not give us the brief even though the Queen implores you to in her letter,” he said.  
National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/2, f268. L&P, 4, 5154.

“Your highness can be certain that I am taking as good care of this business of yours, as of any other that I deal with, and that I will continue to do so,” he said.  
National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/1, ff 388– 89. CSP Spain, 3-2, 674. CSP Spain, 4, 54.

Even if Henry did not order her secretly assassinated she should “beware of herbs,” as his servants might poison her anyway.  
CSP Spain, 3-2, 664.

“And that if they should resort to poison, the Emperor was the sort of person who would seek to avenge it.”  
CSP Spain, 3-2, 664.

“He would, for the wealth of Christendom, the Queen were in her grave,” Henry’s ambassadors reported.  
L&P, 4, 5518.

By June 16, two days before she was due to appear in court, the paperwork had been drawn up and at least some of it was already on its way.

Kelly, *Matrimonial trials*, 75, 79– 80, 135– 36. CSP Spain, 4, 44, 132, 133, 154. Pocock, *Records*, vol. 1, 219, vol. 2, 609. L&P, 4, 5695, 5702.

“This was the strangest and newest sight and device that ever was read or heard of in any history or chronicle in any region,” said Wolsey’s gentleman-usher, George Cavendish, “that a King and Queen should... appear in court like common persons.”  
Cavendish, *Life and death*, 111.

**Chapter 37 – DEFIANCE**

footnotes to pages 307-312

“Catherine, Queen of England, come into the court!” said the crier.  
Cavendish, *Life and death*, 113. Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 756. CSP Venice, 4, 482.

It was not just unprecedented in England, they decided, but in the Christian world.  
Cavendish, *Life and death*, 111. CSP Spain, 3-2, 131. National Archives, PRO  
31/18/2/1, f254, 255.

In Rome, when asked about the divorce, he sometimes gave way to bouts of weeping or simply declared that he wished he were dead.  
L&P, 4, 5762. CSP Spain, 4, 87.

“She recommended herself to their good prayers, with other Spanish tricks.”  
L&P, 4, cccclxxiv and 5702. Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 757. Ehses, *Römische Dokumente*, 104– 6. Kelly, *Matrimonial trials*, 79– 81.

“I can well excuse you,” replied Henry. “Indeed ye have been rather against me.”  
Cavendish, *Life and death*, 116.

... her phrases were broken and, presumably, accented in Spanish.  
Ibid., 114.

... I have here no assured friends, and much less impartial counsel.”  
Ibid., 114.

... who thought then the marriage between you and me good and lawful.”  
Ibid., 114– 15.

Henry had tried to raise her up twice, but she had remained stubbornly down.  
Ehses, *Römische Dokumente*, 108– 9.

“On, on,” she said. “It makes no matter, for it is no impartial court for me, therefore I will not tarry. Go on.” And so she strode out, never to return.  
Cavendish, *Life and death*, 115– 16.

**Chapter 38 – GHOSTLY ADVICE**

footnotes to pages 313-318

“To the which ye have all agreed by writing under all your seals, which I have here to be shown,” he said, brandishing a document weighed down by the heavy wax seals of England’s bishops.  
Cavendish, *Life and death*, 118– 19.

In the same letter he observed that not everybody had been bullied into taking the king’s side, though it was clearly dangerous to oppose him openly.  
Kelly, *Matrimonial trials*, 83. L&P, 4, 3232.

Some witnesses also remembered Arthur’s calling for ale and boasting about the thirsty work of having been “in the midst of Spain” that night.  
L&P, 4 5774– 78. Cavendish, *Life and death*, 119– 20.

Even Henry’s counsel eventually suggested that the absolute truth of the matter might never be known.  
Cavendish, *Life and death*, 119– 20.

... or attempting some outrage like that of Herod?”  
L&P, 4, cccclxxxiii.

... for this man being adverse to it, the entire kingdom will not permit the queen to suffer wrong,” he wrote in gushing Italian.  
Laemmer, *Monumenta Vaticana*, 33. L&P, 4, 5734.

The French ambassador rated Fisher “one of the best and most holy divines in England.”  
L&P, 4, page ccclxxix and 5741n.

“To say, affirm, and with forcible reasons demonstrate to them that this marriage of the king and queen can be dissolved by no power, human or Divine, and for this opinion he declared he would even lay down his life.”  
Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum*, 585. L&P, 4 5732.

The Spanish ambassador, her great ally Mendoza, had guessed from the start that these were Campeggio’s instructions.  
CSP Spain, 3, 550, 562.

### Chapter 39 – CARNAL COPULATION

footnotes to pages 319-324

"If you had been as well chafed as I have been within this hour, you would say it were very hot."  
Cavendish, *Life and death*, 121.

The barge was gotten ready once more and, after picking up Campeggio— who must have been muttering similar curses in Italian— made its way back to Bridewell.  
Ibid.

... I fear nothing that you can say or allege against me, but I would that all the world should both hear and see it. Therefore, I pray you, speak your minds openly."  
Ibid., 122.

... And as for your counsel, I will not refuse but be glad to hear."  
Ibid., 123.

A weeping Pope Clement told the English ambassadors in Rome the following day that he could not deny her request.  
L&P, 4, 5761.

... one tipstaff bearing a message from Charles's ambassadors to Henry's was deemed fortunate to have escaped without a broken head.  
CSP Spain, 4, 3.

Clement knew he had condemned him to personal ruin and, possibly, death.  
L&P, 4, 5761, 5785.

"The queen is miserable because, despite having taken all the medicines prescribed for her as a patient, she sees no relief at hand," Mendoza reported. "It pains her to see that, by these actions, she has irritated her husband still more while seeing no improvement in her condition."  
British Library, Add. MS. 28578 f410. CSP Spain, 4, 83.

"I will adjourn this court for this time, according to the order of the court in Rome," he told the chamber.  
Cavendish, *Life and death*, 124– 25. Kelly, *Matrimonial trials*, 127– 28.

"Now I see that the old said saw is true, that there was never Legate nor Cardinal that did good in England," he said, slamming his hand down on the table.  
Cavendish, *Life and death*, 124– 25. Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 758.

**Chapter 40 - THE LULL**

footnotes to pages 325-339

"As to his visiting her in her apartments and partaking of her bed, [he said] she ought to know that he was not her legitimate husband," her nephew's new ambassador, Eustace Chapuys, reported after seeing Catherine.  
CSP Spain, 4, 224.

"If you give me permission to procure counsel's opinion in this matter, I do not hesitate to say that for each doctor or lawyer who might decide in your favour and against me, I shall find one thousand to declare that the marriage is good and indissoluble."  
CSP Spain, 4, 224. L&P, 6, 351. Kelly, *Matrimonial trials*, 205.

Eventually Henry gave up, turned around and stormed off.  
CSP Spain, 4, 224. L&P, 4-3, 6121. Starkey, *Six Wives*, 248- 54.

"But alas! Farewell to my time and youth spent to no purpose at all."  
CSP Spain, 4, 224, 352.

This was the hope she clung to in the year and a half after her victory at Blackfriars.  
National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/1, ff 786- 88. CSP Spain, 4, 345, 548.

"He is so blinded by his love for the lady that he sees nothing else but the means of having her," Chapuys commented.  
CSP Spain, 4, 25.

"The king is so much bent upon it [the divorce] that I do not think anyone but God could turn him aside," he said.  
National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/1, f522. CSP Spain, 4, 249.

"Nothing was wanting to the feast except for a priest to give the nuptial ring and pronounce the benediction," he said.  
CSP Spain, 4, 232.

Two men were reported to have been slapped in jail for the crime of "commenting" on it.  
CSP Spain, 4, 302.

Much of her bile was saved for Wolsey, who called her "the night-crow."  
Cavendish, *Life and death*, 177.

"There are, however, matters upon which I dare not, surrounded as I am, speak to you in detail," she confided.  
CSP Spain, 4, 160

"All the rest have no influence except what it pleases the Lady [Anne] to allow them," added Du Bellay.  
Le Grand, *Preuves*, vol. 3, 377- 78. L&P, 4-3, 6019. Ives, *Life and Death of Anne Boleyn*, 126. Scheurer, *Correspondance*, 104-06.

At one stage he had even urged her side on to "bold and immediate action" in reply to Henry's own maneuvers.  
CSP Spain, 4, 270, 366, 368, 509. L&P, 4, 6720. State Papers, 7, 212.

That "weighty" business, Cavendish confirmed, was none other than "the matter newly begun between him and good Queen Catherine."  
Cavendish, *Life and death*, 224.

She used the sort of "high words" that the most senior ladies in the land could never recall coming out of Catherine's mouth.  
CSP Spain, 4, 460. L&P, 5, 216.

... the duchess later sent Catherine a gift of some poultry together with a secret message hidden inside an orange – a rare token of support – and then pledged allegiance to her.  
CSP Spain, 4, 507, 509.

Footnotes to *Catherine of Aragon: Henry's Spanish Wife* by Giles Tremlett, Faber and Faber, London, 2010.

Although the King himself acknowledged that this had been done by his order, she said many things to the bearer in the King's presence, vowing that she would have him punished severely."

National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/1, ff 607- 10. CSP Spain, 4, 354.

Henry, the ambassador observed, did not seem to bear her "ill-will" even though, when they talked, she was given to making him listen to her vigorous defense of their marriage.

National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/1, ff 607- 10. CSP Spain, 4, 354.

... two of Catherine's most intimate friends had already been sent home on Anne's command.

National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/1, ff 607- 10. CSP Spain, 4, 354.

Catherine soon complained that she was no longer up-to-date with what was going on.

CSP Spain, 4, 422.

"The lady [Anne Boleyn] was at a little window in the king's chamber that looked onto the gallery where we were, from where she could see and listen to us," he said.

National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/1, f667- 68. CSP Spain, 4, 492.

Henry denied there had been either violence or coercion.

CSP Spain, 4, 270, 290.

... or an upcoming meeting of Parliament – where she imagined the divorce might be pushed through anyway – sent her into tearful paroxysms of anxiety.

CSP Spain, 4, 160, 249, 460, 548.

He even claimed to recognize "by the words with which it had been written... that it was of the style and language of the Queen."

National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/1, f563. CSP Spain, 4, 265, 364. L&P, 4, 6408, 6521- 22, 6557, 6635, 6772, 6780.

The next she chivvied her attorneys in Rome, appealed directly to the pope or secretly encouraged an unnamed ally to preach her cause in the courts of the German princes.

CSP Spain, 4, 257, 303, 322, 354, 396.

Charles told his brother Ferdinand to avoid a war in Germany early on in 1530 because they might have to fight one with England over their aunt.

CSP Spain, 4, 245.

"Will he make war on us?"

CSP Spain, 4, 290.

They stirred the pot of trouble as vigorously as they could, seeing an opportunity for themselves as arbiters.

CSP Spain, 4, 452.

"Some days ago the pope in private offer'd to me this proposal," reported Henry's representative in Rome, Gregory Casale, "that your majesty might have a dispensation to have two wives."

L&P, 4, 6627, app. 261.

Arthur had also displayed his "erect and inflamed member" to his friends and complained that although he and Catherine were having sex he was not getting nearly enough.

State Papers, 7, 308- 9. Kelly, *Matrimonial trials*, 61, 153. L&P, 4, 4685. L&P, 5, 327. Fiddes, *Collections*, 172.

"The king said he was such a young lad that he had not known how to ascertain the truth of it," his representative at the Vatican, Gregorio Casale, explained.

Kelly, *Matrimonial trials*, 61, 137, 139, 140, 144- 45. CSP Spain, Supplement 2, 450. CSP Spain, 4, 384.

Catherine and Chapuys, meanwhile, sought witnesses to prove her virginity.

Kelly, *Matrimonial trials*, 149.

The latter eventually found four witnesses in England alone, though their testimonies were later deemed not to have

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been sworn in the correct manner.

L&P, 5, 340, 485, 492. Kelly, *Matrimonial trials*, 148.

Even Fray Diego, the young confessor who had been the object of Catharine's youthful passion and had left England in disgrace, was to be tracked down.

CSP Spain, 4, 570- 77.

Records show that witnesses were interrogated across Spain.

CSP Spain, 4-1, xxiii, 570- 77. L&P, 5, 492, 516, 866.

In the meanwhile, she claimed, the pope himself was torturing her by letting it all drag on.

CSP Spain, 4, 548.

Even from the bottom of hell she would shout so loud that God could not fail to hear her complaints against him.

CSP Spain, 4, 548.

## Chapter 41 – POISON

footnotes to pages 351-360

He had simply thought it was a powerful laxative. It had seemed like a good joke.

Dowling, *Fisher of Men*, 142. Kesselring, "Acte for Poysoning," 894.

Wolsey, too, had used almost exactly the same phrase when he began to feel the sting of Henry's displeasure.

CSP Spain, 4, 739: 175. Cavendish, *Life and death*, 177. Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII*, vol. 2, 419.

... she behaved as though she had gained paradise.

CSP Spain, 4, 635.

... Chapuys observed she was now "braver than a lioness."

CSP Spain, 4, 584.

... she thought Henry was either planning to marry Anne without waiting for a decision from Rome or was plotting to bully Parliament into granting him permission that January.

CSP Spain, 4, 584, 590.

He fretted and lost sleep as each papal order wounded his kingly pride.

CSP Spain, 4, 598.

... it might be that his divines had counselled him to cry for the relief of his conscience."

CSP Spain, 4, 608.

As such, he was "not only prince and king, but set on such a pinnacle of dignity that we know no superior on earth" and was doubly protected from the Roman courts.

State Papers, 7, 261- 62. L&P, 4, 6667.

Her father was among a group of senior counselors who told the papal nuncio, according to Chapuys, that "they cared neither for the Pope or for Popes in this kingdom."

CSP Spain, 4, 445; Ives, *Life and Death of Anne Boleyn*, 133.

"I am resolved to have him whatsoever might become of me," Boleyn replied.

Ives, *Life and Death of Anne Boleyn*, 145. CSP Spain, 4, 547.

Henry had even complained to her husband about Boleyn's abrasiveness, she said, adding that Catherine had never spoken to him like that.

L&P, 5, 216. CSP Spain, 4, 720.

Catherine bit her tongue and replied that she would never abandon her husband for her daughter.

CSP Spain, 4, 720.

"It must be owned that the Devil and no other must have been the originator and promoter of this wretched scheme," he said.

CSP Spain, 4, 720.

"I care not a fig for all his excommunications. Let him follow his own at Rome. I will do here what I think best."

CSP Spain, 4, 739: 170.

Others, still, were on her side.

CSP Spain, 4, 739.

... "the cause of great troubles and scandals throughout the kingdom, by which all those present, their children, and the rest of their posterity might be thrown into great danger and confusion."

CSP Spain, 4, 739: 171- 72.

"Had you experienced one half of the hard days and nights I have passed since the commencement of this wretched business you would not consider it too hasty or precipitate on my part to wish for, and try to procure, the sentence," she

said.

CSP Spain, 4, 739: 174.

She had been astonished, she told them, to be surrounded by so many powerful men.

CSP Spain, 4, 739.

... the Marquess of Dorset was also temporarily banished from court, allegedly for creating trouble in Cornwall – though Catherine suspected his banishment was really due to his support for her.

CSP Spain, 4, 739, 765.

“It is now necessary to provide the whole aff air by other means.”

CSP Spain, 4, 739.

But the affairs of princes be not ordered by the common people, nor it were not convenient that all things were opened to them.”

Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 781.

**Chapter 42 – ALONE**

footnotes to pages 351-360

... the right of punishing her for the rudeness with which she has treated – and is daily treating – me belongs exclusively to me,” he said.

CSP Spain, 4, 952.

She was sad without him, but knew it was for him to order and for her to obey.

CSP Spain, 4, 775: 221– 22.

He poured scorn on her nephew, the emperor, and ordered her to stop sending him messengers.

CSP Spain, 4, 775: 221– 22.

Her daughter, to make things worse, was sent away to Richmond.

CSP Spain, 4, 778.

It was enough to kill ten people, she insisted.

CSP Spain, 4, 772, 819, 860.

“Her Majesty is not of tall stature, rather small. If not handsome, she is not ugly; she is somewhat stout and has always a smile on her countenance.”

Sanuto, *Diarii*, vol. 54, 590.

“That way her misfortune would be immediately notorious to all the world.”

L&P, 5, 416. CSP Spain, 4, 788.

By the time she had finished there was barely a dry eye in the room.

CSP Spain, 4, 808.

If her daughter had to become a martyr too, that would be God’s will – and her husband’s.

National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/1, f689. CSP Spain, 4, 833.

“At The More, without my husband, without having off ended him in any way.”

L&P, 5, 582. CSP Spain, 4, 860, citing British Library, add. MS. 28584, f148.

“All men said there was no mirth in that Christmas because the queen and the ladies were absent,” he reported.

Hall, *Hall’s Chronicle*, 784.

“The Lady Anne Boleyn was so much in the king’s favour that the common people which knew not the King’s true intent said and thought that the absence of the Queen was only for her sake, which was not true,” he said.

*Ibid.*, 788.

The friars privately told Chapuys that they, too, were willing to die for Catherine.

CSP Spain, 4, 428. L&P, 5, 941.

The loose-tongued prior also claimed that the next time the king’s fool performed one his favorite tricks by falling off the back of his horse, he should explain that Henry, too, was set for a fall.

L&P, 5, 1209.

... the Queen being so loved and respected, the people already commence murmuring; and were the faction to produce a leader... it is certain that the nation would take up arms for the Queen.”

Falier, *Relazione* 26 in Albèri, *Relazioni*.

... the people are opposed to it; nor during the present Queen’s life will they have anyother Queen in the kingdom.”

Sanuto, *Diarii*, vol. 54, 590.

... bastardising the Lady Mary, the king’s only child, and diverse other inconveniences.”

Hall, *Hall’s Chronicle*, 788. Scarisbrick, *Henry the Eighth*, 328. L&P, 5, 989. CSP Spain, 4, 948.

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Other English ambassadors also privately recognized that justice was on Catherine's side.  
CSP Spain, 4, 384, 880.

Chapuys was soon claiming that several high people had secretly told him that should the pope pass sentence declaring Catherine's marriage valid they would ensure (presumably by force of arms) that the sentence was obeyed.  
L&P, 5, 1109. CSP Spain, 4, 962.

This may well have been because he and Boleyn were preparing to meet the king of France in an attempt to win his support for their plans.  
L&P, 5, 1202. CSP Spain, 4, 980.

When he returned south, perhaps to assuage Anne, he called in the officials involved in coronation protocol. It was time, he said, to begin preparations for Anne's big day.  
L&P, 5, 1202. CSP Spain, 4, 980.

**Chapter 43 - THE QUEEN'S JEWELS**

footnotes to pages 361-367

Catherine blamed the woman who was stealing her husband away for "bringing vituperation and infamy upon the king, through his taking her with him to such a meeting across the Channel."

CSP Spain, 4, 1003: 524.

This contained something she considered far more valuable than any shiny gem— a sliver of the cross on which Jesus Christ died.

L&P, 10, 351. Hayward, *Dress at the Court*, 205.

A cowed Henry confined himself to swapping pleasantries with his own daughter.

CSP Spain, 4, 1003. L&P, 5, 1370.

... he hates Spanish dress, since it makes him see a devil."

Hamy, *Entrevue de François Premier*, ix– xii. L&P, 5, 1187. Starkey, *Six Wives*, 457.

"She wants it done here, in the place where other queens have customarily been married and crowned," he reported.

CSP Spain, 4, 1003: 527.

"I do intend [God willing], this afternoon, when my Lord hath dined, to ride to London and so to the court, where I will either make or mar," he said.

Cavendish, *Life and death*, 141– 42.

This explicitly described Henry as the "only head, sovereign lord, protector and defender" of the church.

Bray, *Documents*, 56.

She urged him, also, to tell the pope "to kill the second Turk, which is the business of my Lord the king and I."

Manchester, *Court and Society*, vol. 1, 175. L&P, 5, 1520.

"There was never man came more unwillingly to a bishoprick than I did to that," he claimed later.

Cox, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters*, 216.

**Chapter 44 – SECRETS AND LIES**

footnotes to pages 368-373

The ceremony had been performed by none other than Thomas Cranmer, the archbishop elect of Canterbury, in front of her parents, brother and two intimate friends – or so he had been told.

CSP Spain, 4, 1503.

The queen, he insisted, must be informed.

CSP Spain, 4, 1503.

Then, Chapuys was convinced, he would act.

CSP Spain, 4, 1503.

... she exclaimed that “for the last three days she had had such an incredibly ferocious desire to eat apples, as she had never felt before, and that the king had said to her that it was a sign that she was with child.”

Prescott, *Mary Tudor*, 49.

“Am I not a man like other men? Am I not? Am I not?” he retorted.

CSP Spain, 4, 1061. Ives, *Life and Death of Anne Boleyn*, 191.

Then, with much apologizing, bowing and muttering about disagreeable duties, they left.

CSP Spain, 4, 1061.

But she would always call herself Queen Catherine.

CSP Spain, 4, 1061: 643.

“The Marchioness Anne went to high mass with the King, as Queen, and with all the pomp of a Queen, clad in cloth of gold, and laden with the richest jewels,” an Italian in London reported.

CSP Venice, 4, vxii, 870.

They excitedly tore Catherine’s arms off her royal barge.

CSP Spain, 4, 1077. L&P, 6, 508, 566.

The whole thing, said Chapuys, was turning into a nightmare.

CSP Spain, 4, 1061.

Even Henry and his counselors wanted to know. Would Charles, they asked Chapuys, now make war?

L&P, 6, 1191. CSP Spain, 4, 1076.

The “rude and ignorant common people,” he claimed, wanted the matter settled.

State Papers, 1, p390. L&P 6, 327.

Then he added, just in case there was still any doubt, that he himself no longer recognized any “superior on the earth.”

State Papers 1: 393. L&P, 6, 332.

“They fear that if the affair were managed here, the people would not refrain from speaking of it, and perhaps from rioting,” said Chapuys.

National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/1, f861. CSP Spain, 4, 1062.

Anything that might make it look as though she recognized the English court could be used against her there.

CSP Spain, 4, 1063. L&P, 6, 391.

“Speak as little of this matter as ye may,” he begged Cromwell.

L&P, 6, 496.

**Chapter 45 - THAT WHORE**

footnotes to pages 374-377

Then he uttered words of treason. "The king," he said, "should not be king."  
Pocock, *Records*, vol. 2, 567.

Some even stated that Charles himself, or Catherine's sister Juana la Loca, had a better claim.  
CSP Spain, 4, 1161: 883- 84. L&P, 6, 1528.

"She thinks that she would be irredeemably damned if she took any path that led to war," Chapuys reported.  
CSP Spain, 4, 1063.

"What I ask for from His Holiness is not war," she said. "I would rather die than be the cause of it."  
National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/1, f689. CSP Spain, 4, 833.

"I perceive that there is secret confederacies," one of Cromwell's allies wrote when Abel disappeared out of sight.  
L&P, 6, 842.

A month later Cromwell's ally, the new lord chancellor Sir Thomas Audley, duly reported that two friars accused of uttering seditious words had, indeed, confessed.  
L&P, 6, 887 and 945.

... which muttering and secret grudge within this realm, I think, doth not a little embolden the King's adversaries without the realm."  
L&P, 6, 738.

They were also to stop their wives talking disparagingly about Anne Boleyn – though this was recognized to be the most difficult command to enforce.  
CSP Spain, 4, 1062. L&P, 6, 391.

"When these women had thus been punished, they fortified their saying still, to die in the quarrel [arguing] for Queen Catherine's sake."  
Kingsford, "A London Chronicle," 1- 17.

"When the Tower [of London] is white and another place green, then shall be burned two or three bishops and a queen; and after all this be passed we shall have a merry world."  
L&P, 6, 923, app. 10.

## Chapter 46 - A "BASTARD" DAUGHTER

footnotes to pages 378-388

"She firmly persisted in the contrary, protesting . . . how she came to the King a clean maid, for [without] any bodily knowledge of Prince Arthur and thereupon was crowned and anointed Queen and had by the King lawful issue and no bastard."

State Papers, 1, 397- 404.

*"Maledictus homo qui negligit famam suam,"* she said.

State Papers, 1, 397- 404.

"God and nature wronged [Catherine] in not making her a man," he observed.

National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/1, f918. CSP Spain, 4, 1100.

... all parties will know that in so doing he has had due regard not only to her quality and birth, but likewise to the Emperor," Cromwell said.

CSP Spain, 4, 1107.

Others effectively offered to take up arms, tearfully crying out that they were ready to die for her – or so Chapuys claimed.

CSP Spain, 4, 1107.

Both the French ambassador and gossips in Flanders also thought Henry's intention was that she should be "reputed for a bastard."

L&P, 6, 171, 902.

It was all further proof of her "perversity and wickedness," he wrote to Charles.

CSP Spain, 4, 1100.

"God forbid that I should ever be so badly advised as to give help, assistance, or favour, directly or indirectly, in a case so horrible and abominable as this," she said.

CSP Spain, 4, 1107.

If Mary were to avoid off ending God, of course, she would have to stand by the decisions of Rome and act as though her parents were still married.

L&P, 6, 1126. Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, vol. 5, 363.

"If I agreed to the contrary, I should off end God," she said, repeating Catherine's exact words.

Prescott, *Mary Tudor*, 57. L&P, 6, 1207.

"All those present wept hot tears," reported Chapuys.

CSP Spain, 4, 1133 and 1137.

Mary was told to learn her lines of protest by heart, repeating them daily to others, so that no one would think she had gone of her own free will.

CSP Spain, 4, 1144.

"That is the title which belongs to me by right, and to no one else," she said.

CSP Spain, 4, 1161.

"Which I hope to God will be for her and me a meritorious act as we shall suffer for the sake of truth, trusting that – even if the whole world abandons us – we shall not lose the joy and pleasures of the other."

National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/1, f689. CSP Spain, 4, 833.

... that I may, without His Grace's displeasure, be discharged from the post of Chamberlain [to Catherine]."

State Papers, 1, 408. L&P, 6, 1252.

Others warned that she should lock her door carefully at night because Henry and Boleyn wanted to plant evidence

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– of anything from adultery to plotting rebellion – that they could use to accuse her of treason.  
CSP Spain, 4, 1164–65. L&P, 6, 1510.

Salinas told Chapuys that before setting out in mid-December, Suffolk had taken mass and prayed that some accident would happen to prevent him reaching Buckden.  
CSP Spain, 4, 1164.

... utterly refusing not only the name of Princess Dowager, and her moving to Somersham, because of her health; but, also, refusing utterly to move to any other place."  
State Papers, 1, 415.

It would be committing perjury, they argued, as they had already sworn allegiance to her as queen.  
State Papers, 1, 405.

A menacing crowd of Cambridgeshire villagers looked on, "weeping and cursing to see such cruelty."  
National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/1, f1035. L&P, 6, 1571. CSP Spain, 4, 1165.

"If you wish to take me with you," the Spanish voice at the other end of the hole said, "you must break down the door." L&P, 6, 1571. CSP Spain, 4, 1165.

**Chapter 47 – HANG, DRAW, QUARTER**

footnotes to pages 389-399

The cardinals unanimously flung out Henry's old divorce request, declaring the marriage "valid and canonical."  
Kelly, *Matrimonial trials*, 169.

Never mind that many now worried the sentence might drive Henry to have her killed.  
L&P, 7, 367 and 370. CSP Spain, 5-1, 29: 89.

Her status as a martyr, should that happen, was guaranteed.  
L&P, 7, 367.

"I am afraid that I have committed a great sin, for the Queen may suffer death by it," he declared after the sentence was finally passed.  
CSP Spain, 5-1, 29: 89.

Catherine, it added, "shall be from henceforth called and reputed only dowager to Prince Arthur, and not queen."  
Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative*, 232– 36.

"Under this manner, by false visions and revelations of the nun, hath grown the great sticking, staying, and delaying of this the King's Grace's [new] marriage," the preacher declared.

L. E. Whatmore, "The Sermon against the Holy Maid of Kent and her Adherents, delivered at Paul's Cross, November the 23rd, 1533, and at Canterbury, December the 7th," *English Historical Review* 58 (1943): 468.

What they really wanted, he said, was "the death of the queen."  
CSP Spain, 5-1, 19, 26.

"They threatened her expressly with the punishments contained in the act, making it clear that this included death," an indignant Chapuys reported.  
CSP Spain, 5-1, 60. State Papers, 1, 421.

Henry's envoys, once again, beat a cowardly retreat.  
CSP Spain, 5-1, 60.

"Do not try to lead me away from these torments, by which I hope to achieve eternal happiness."  
Camm, *Lives of the English Martyrs*, 200– 201.

"You will receive an eternal reward."  
Ibid.

Several years earlier, when it had not seemed so likely, she had already mused to the pope that "it would be a pleasure to suffer [martyrdom] for the truth."  
National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/1, f689. CSP Spain, 4, 833.

"I shall not fail [in this task] until death, as otherwise I should imperil my soul, and I hope to God the Princess will do the same, as a good daughter should do," she told her nephew.  
Huth Library, *Catalogue*, vol. 5, 1695.

The psychosis of persecution, however, was founded on brutal reality and in August 1534 Chapuys reported that the Observants had been expelled en masse from their monasteries.  
CSP Spain, 5-1, 86.

She demanded he study his conscience, change his attitude and be more affectionate to his aunt and her daughter.  
Huth Library, *Catalogue*, vol. 5, 1693– 95. CSP Spain, 5-1, 252.

"Other remedies are now needed," was the message she passed on via Chapuys in May 1534, once the sentence was received.  
L&P, 7, 662. CSP Spain 5-1, 57.

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The princess, she decided, was "to show her teeth" to Henry.  
National Archives, PRO 31/18/3/1, f66. CSP Spain, 5-1, 32.

She vowed to "bring down the pride of this unruly Spanish bloodline."  
CSP Spain, 5-1, 22. L&P, 7, 286.

On one occasion she had to be manhandled into a litter after she refused to go, as part of Elizabeth's entourage, from one house to another.  
CSP Spain, 5-1, 32. L&P, 7, 393.

In the meantime, he said, Boleyn had ordered her aunt Anne Shelton (Elizabeth's governess) to "box her ears like the cursed bastard that she is."  
CSP Spain, 5-1, 10.

If she refused to swear the oath, she added, the king had said he would chop her head off.  
CSP Spain, 5-1, 45: 129. L&P, 7, 530.

... Mary told him the king had said that "as she was breaking the laws of the kingdom he would make her loose her head."  
CSP Spain, 5-1, 45. L&P, 7, 530.

He insisted that Mary be allowed to soften her line.  
CSP Spain, 5-1, 32, 68, 86.

She was "handsome and plump."  
National Archives, PRO 31/18/3/1, ff 143- 44. CSP Spain, 5-1, 102.

"She says she is quite ready for paradise, expects this and is not bothered," Chapuys had already observed that summer.  
National Archives, PRO 31/18/3/1, f104. CSP Spain, 5-1, 68.

"I hope that I shall see you not very long hence," is the sentiment attributed to her by the author of the Forrest letters, "when the storms of this life shall be over, and I shall be taken to the calm life of the blessed."  
Camm, *Lives of the English Martyrs*, 201.

## Chapter 48 – PRISONER

footnotes to pages 400-406

He wanted every tradesman, apprentice or washerwoman in London to know that the emperor's ambassador was on his way to visit their banished and incarcerated queen.

CSP Spain, 5-1, 75.

This show was, he had second-guessed, what Catherine herself had envisaged when – without ever explaining why – she repeatedly begged him to visit.

CSP Spain, 5-1, 75.

It was, he admitted, “the desired effect.”

National Archives, PRO 31/17/3/1, f115. CSP Spain, 5-1, 75.

This, by now, was made up of northerners who Chapuys – with typical metropolitan prejudice – thought more suited to grubby warfare than sophisticated serving.

CSP Spain 4, 1164: 892.

“The little she eats in her anguish is prepared by her chamberwomen, and her room is used as a kitchen for lack of a proper place.”

National Archives, PRO 31/18/3/1, f8. CSP Spain, 5-1, 4.

A decent wine, she thought, was simply better for her health.

CSP Spain, 5-1, 26.

He tried, instead, to put Chapuys off with a cheap joke about how “women cannot be trusted.”

CSP Spain, 5-1, 68.

... That is why I again pray and entreat you for God's sake to be careful and guarded in your speech.”

CSP Spain, 5-1, 19.

“Cromwell's words are good, but his deeds are bad, and his will and intent incomparably worse,” he remarked in one of his regular dispatches to the emperor.

National Archives, PRO 31/18/3/1, f78. CSP Spain, 5-1, 45.

... in every place they entered it seemed as though a prince was arriving,” a Spanish chronicler recalled more than a decade later.

Molins, *Crónica*, 62. Hume, *Chronicle of King Henry VIII*, 47.

Chapuys wanted the king, above all, to know he was on his way.

CSP Spain, 5-2, 71.

Chapuys refused to acknowledge the order, saying he needed it in writing.

CSP Spain, 5-1, 75.

... what, ostensibly, was meant to be a journey that ended at the shrine at Walsingham.

CSP Spain, 5-1, 75.

... they took with them a very funny young fellow who had been brought by the Ambassador, and who was dressed as a fool, and had a padlock dangling from his hood,” said the chronicler.

Molins, *Crónica*, 63.

## Chapter 49 – THE TERROR

footnotes to pages 407-416

It must have been the alcohol talking, or the devil, she told the abbot of Bury and other judges who listened to her explanations.

L&P, 8, 196.

They were a madman's words, he admitted later. The drink, once more, was to blame.

L&P, 9, 74.

The people, ambassadors observed, sided with Catherine against Anne Boleyn.

L&P, 9, 566.

The accusations were enough to land them in trouble, what ever they really said.

L&P, 8, 254. L&P, 9 136, 408, 1066, 1067.

"Because if I care for her with my own hands by the advice of my and other physicians and God wished to take her from this world my heart will be at peace, otherwise at pain."

National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/2, f276. CSP Spain, 5-1, 134.

"She can come... to the bed where I sleep and I will watch over her when necessary."

National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/2, f276. CSP Spain, 5-1, 134.

"The times do not permit me to go about making visits and, even if I wanted to, I do not have the means," she wrote.

National Archives, SP 1/85, f157. L&P, 7, 1126. L&P, 8, 328. Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon*, 297.

"They are at present in such fear that there is neither small nor great who dare speak or grumble in any way. But when the time comes everyone will declare himself."

L&P, 7, xxiii, 539.

Even her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, was heard calling her "a great whore" after one bruising encounter. Henry and Cromwell looked on anxiously.

CSP Spain, 5-1, 122.

Asked exactly who supported him, Reynolds defiantly replied, "All good men of the kingdom."

L&P, 8, 661.

He had also been told that Henry was the mother of Mary Boleyn's child, had "violated" most women at court and had a bevy "of maidens over one of his chambers at Farnham while he was with the old lord of Winchester."

L&P, 8, xxix and notes 567, 609 and 656.

"In their modesty, look, colour and speech no sign of human weakness was observed," it says.

Camm, *Lives of The English Martyrs*, 17. L&P, 8, 661.

... John Fisher, Sir Thomas More, Catherine's faithful priest Thomas Abel and her daughter's old Latin teacher, Richard Featherstone, had all been given a six-week deadline to swear the oaths or pay the consequences.

L&P, 8, 666.

"I do nobody harm, I say no harm, I think no harm, but wish everybody good. And if this be not enough to keep a man alive in good faith I [have] not long to live."

Rogers, ed., *Correspondence of Sir Thomas More*, 533.

... Dr. Ortiz, who had long been urging the emperor's wife, Isabella, to collect her aunt's letters as future relics of a holy martyr.<sup>15</sup> British Library, Add. MS. 28587, f320. CSP Spain, 5-1, 169. L&P, 5, 1642.

The offer of the oath was like "a sword with two edges," said More.

L&P, 8, 814.

He reportedly threatened to "send the bishop's head to Rome" in order to have the cardinal's red hat placed on it.

Footnotes to *Catherine of Aragon: Henry's Spanish Wife* by Giles Tremlett, Faber and Faber, London, 2010.

National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/2, f95. CSP Spain, 5-1, 174.

"I know well that the reason why you have condemned me is because I have never been willing to consent to the king's second marriage," he said when sentence was passed.

L&P, 8, 996.

"What harm or danger could there be in the Princess dying just now... would the emperor have reason to regret her death?" he asked at one stage.

CSP Spain, 5-1, 142.

"I am determined, without doubt, to die in this kingdom," she had said when making her offer to stand as surety for Mary.

National Archives, SP1/85, f157. L&P, 7, 1126.

... and waiting to see whether God will inspire the said king of England to bow or some good opportunity may arise to compel him by force."

National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/2, f272. L&P, 8, 272.

"He is the strangest man in the world," he added. "But I must put up with him, it is no time to lose friends."

L&P, 8, 837.

"The ill-will of the King of England to the Queen and Princess is cruel and horrible," he said.

L&P, 9, xxxiii and note 1035.

"I write to your holiness frankly to discharge my conscience as one who expects death along with my daughter."

National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/2, f291- 92. L&P, 9, 587, 588.

... If there is war, people will rebel."

L&P, 9, 566. Camusat, *Meslanges historiques*, f195.

"Even if he lost his crown, he would not forbear to carry his purpose into effect."

CSP Spain, 5-1, 105. L&P, 9, xxxi and notes 776 and 861.

## Chapter 50 – DEATH AND CONSCIENCE

footnotes to pages 417-423

“She has recovered and is now well,” Chapuys wrote on December 13.  
National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/2, 138. CSP Spain 5-1, 238: 585.

She warned the latter that if the pope did not act now against Henry, he would be handing England to “the devil, who, till now, is half-tied.”  
CSP Spain, 5-1, 237.

If no one listened now, it was not for want of trying.  
National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/2, f303. L&P, 9, 966. L&P, 9, note 964 and xxxii.

As if to confirm his optimism, news arrived that Catherine really was now very badly ill.  
CSP Spain, 5-1, 246: 600.

News of Catherine’s illness had traveled swiftly and Salinas “thought never to see the princess again.”  
L&P, 10, 28.

“In all my suffering, she is the only one who gives me consolation,” Catherine had said two decades earlier.  
National Archives, PRO 31/11/5, f480. CSP Spain, 2, 238.

“And since that time we never saw her, neither any letters of her license [to come here],” reported the house’s befuddled steward, Sir Edmund Bedingfield.  
L&P, 10, 28.

The peace of Christendom depended on it, he said. After a short while she sent them all away, claiming to be tired.  
National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/2, f105. CSP Spain, 5-2, 3.

They were his only source of information about what happened inside that mysterious chamber into which Catherine had disappeared so long before.  
L&P, 10, 28. National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/2, f105. CSP Spain, 5-2, 3.

Chapuys stretched the truth to calm a sick woman’s worries, claiming that the pope was now so enraged by the executions that he was determined to act against Henry.  
CSP Spain, 5-2, 3.

She might have “doubts and scruples” but, he said, she could have done nothing else.  
National Archives, PRO 31/18/2/2, f105. CSP Spain, 5-2, 3.

“That same eve ning I saw her laugh two or three times and half an hour after I left her, she wanted to amuse herself with one of my people, who entertained her,” he said.  
CSP Spain, 5-2, 3.

... Llandaff forgot he had promised Chapuys that he would extract a deathbed vow to settle for posterity the issue that had dominated much of her final years - whether she had remained a virgin while married to Arthur.  
L&P, 10, 142.

She signed a request to Henry specifying what she wanted done with her goods and saying that she wished to be buried in a chapel belonging to her beloved Observant Friars.  
CSP Spain, 5-2, 9: 16.

**AFTERWORD**

footnotes to pages 424-428

The embalmer charged with preparing her corpse “found all the internal organs as healthy and normal as possible, with the exception of the heart, which was quite black and hideous to look at.”

L&P, 10, 21.

A secondary melanotic sarcoma was almost certainly to blame.

Scarbrick, *Henry the Eighth*, 334.

“Thank God, we are now free from any fear of war,” Henry reportedly proclaimed.

CSP Spain, 5-2, 9.

... “the most virtuous woman I have ever known and the highest hearted, but too quick to trust that others were like herself, and too slow to do a little ill that much good might come of it.”

Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon*, 310, citing a letter to Guignone Dupuys on August 6, 1555, at Archives de la Ville d’Annecy, Liasse GG 198, no. 11.