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"TO BE USEFUL IN WHAT I DO":
THE RELIGIOUS LEGACY OF QUEEN KATERYN PARR, 1513?-1548

by

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A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University
of New York

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I	
Introduction.....	1
CHAPTER II	
"Truly as God is My God".....	20
CHAPTER III	
"Kateryn the Quene-regent, K.P.".....	65
CHAPTER IV	
Kateryn Parr as Reformer:	
"Lead and Turn Me Where Thou Wilt".....	107
CHAPTER V	
Kateryn Parr as Writer and Patron:	
"Encouraged, Boldened, and Stirred".....	160
CHAPTER VI	
"Your Humble, True, and Loving Wife".....	208
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	228

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>APC</u>	<u>Acts of the Privy Council</u>
BL	British Library (British Museum)
Bod.	Bodleian Library, Oxford University
CCC	Corpus Christi College MS Collection, Cambridge University
<u>CPR</u>	<u>Calendar of Patent Rolls, Records Commission, 1901-1972</u>
<u>CSP:Dom</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reigns of Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, 1547-1580, Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Records Office, Robert Lemon, ed., 1856</u>
<u>CSP:Edward VI</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Edward VI, 1547-1553, Preserved in the Public Record Office, rev. ed., C.S. Knighton, ed., HMSO, 1992</u>
<u>CSP:For</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office, W. B. Turnbull, ed., 1861-1867</u>
<u>CSP:Spain</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs, Preserved Principally in the Archives of Simiancas, G.A. Bergeroth et al., eds., 1868</u>
<u>DNB</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography</u>
HLRO	House of Lords Record Office
<u>HLQ</u>	<u>Huntington Library Quarterly</u>
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
<u>HO</u>	<u>A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, made in Divers Reigns, Society of Antiquaries, 1790</u>

<u>HP</u>	<u>The Hamilton Papers: Letters and Papers Illustrating the Political Relations of England and Scotland in the XVI Century</u> , Joseph Bain, eds. 2 vols., 1890-92
<u>LP</u>	<u>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII</u> , J. Gardiner and R. H. Brodie, eds., 1862-1910
PCC	Prerogative Court of Canterbury
PRO	Public Records Office
<u>RQ</u>	<u>Renaissance Quarterly</u>
RSTC	<u>Revised Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640</u>
STC	<u>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640</u>
SP	<u>State Papers During the Reign of Henry VIII</u> , Records Commission, 1830-1852
<u>TCWAAS</u>	<u>Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society</u>
VCH	<u>Victoria County Histories</u>

CHRONOLOGY

- 1487 The Parr family leave their ancestral home, Kendal Castle, for Harrowden Hall, Northamptonshire.
- 1500 Parr family continuously at court after this date.
- 1509 Accession of Henry VIII (22 Apr.); m. to Katherine of Aragon (11 June).
- 1512/1513 Kateryn Parr b. Blackfriars, London. [possibly in Northamptonshire]
- 1516 Princess Mary b. (18 Feb.).
- 1517 Death of Thomas Parr (11 Nov.).
- 1523 Negotiations broken for marriage between Kateryn Parr and Lord Scrope.
- 1529 Kateryn Parr m. Edward Borough of Gainsborough, Lincolnshire.
- 1531 Henry VIII acknowledged as Supreme Head of the Church (11 Feb.); Queen Katherine banished from court (14 July).
- 1532 Death of Maud Green Parr.
- 1533 Henry VIII secretly m. Anne Boleyn (25 Jan.); Princess Elizabeth b. (7 Sept.).
- 1533 Death of Edward Borough.
- 1534 Kateryn Parr m. John Neville, Lord Latimer of Snape Hall, Yorkshire.
- 1534 Lord Latimer summoned to Parliament to pass the Act of Succession.
- 1536 Death of Katherine of Aragon (7 Jan.).
- 1536 Execution of Anne Boleyn (19 May); Henry VIII m. Jane Seymour.

- 1536/1537 Riot at Lincolnshire begins the "Pilgrimage Grace," (Oct. 1536-Mar. 1537); Lord Latimer taken hostage a few weeks later.
- 1536 Amnesty declared and Lord Latimer flees to appeal to the king; Kateryn Parr and her stepchildren taken hostage by the rebels. (Dec.)
- 1537 Kateryn Parr and Lord Latimer in residence at Charterhouse, their London home.
- 1537 Edward VI b. (12 Oct.); Jane Seymour d. (24 Oct.).
- 1540 Henry VIII m. Anne of Cleves (6 Jan.); marriage annulled (9 July); Henry VIII m. Katherine Howard (28 July).
- 1540 Kateryn Parr intercedes with Henry VIII for George Throckmorton.
- 1542 Execution of Katherine Howard (13 Feb.).
- 1543 Thomas Seymour returns to court after diplomatic mission in Nuremburg and courts Kateryn Parr (Jan.).
- 1543 Henry VIII purchases gifts for Lady Latimer (Feb. 16).
- 1543 Death of John Neville, Lord Latimer (2 Mar.).
- 1543 Archbishop Cranmer grants a special license for the marriage of Kateryn Parr and the king (10 July).
- 1543 Kateryn Parr m. Henry VIII, in the Queen's Closet, Hampton Court (12 July); Windsor burnings, plague returns to London.
- 1544 Henry VIII's siege against the French at Boulogne; Kateryn Parr appointed queen-regent (14 July-30 Sept.).
- 1545 Publication of Kateryn Parr's Prayers and meditatcions.
- 1545-46 Kateryn Parr subjected to attempts to have her prosecuted for heresy at the instigation of conservative religious leaders.

- 1547 Death of Henry VIII (Jan. 28); Kateryn retires to her dower manors and begins an affair with Thomas Seymour.
- 1547 Kateryn Parr secretly m. Thomas Seymour (February-April?); marriage made public in June.
- 1547 Publication of Lamentacion...of a synner.
- 1547 Kateryn Parr, resident in Chelsea, becomes pregnant by Thomas Seymour to their mutual delight (Dec.). Shortly thereafter Princess Elizabeth moves to Chelsea and a scandal develops involving Seymour.
- 1548 Lady Jane Grey becomes the ward of Thomas Seymour.
- 1548 Princess Elizabeth leaves Chelsea (May).
- 1548 Six months pregnant, Kateryn Parr moves to Hanworth to avoid summer plagues; on June 13 moves with Lady Jane Grey to her husband's estate, Sudeley Castle, to await the birth.
- 1548 Mary Seymour b. (30 Aug.).
- 1548 Kateryn Parr dictates her will (5 Sept.).
- 1548 Death of Kateryn Parr of puerperal fever (7 Sept.).
- 1548 Burial of Kateryn Parr, Lady Jane Grey is chief mourner (8 Sept.).
- 1549 Thomas Seymour committed to the Tower (Jan.).
- 1549 Death of Thomas Seymour, beheaded on Tower Hill 20 Mar.) Lady Mary Seymour disinherited.
- 1552 After Somerset's fall, inheritance of Mary Seymour restored.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

As queen of England, Kateryn Parr¹ adopted the motto, "To Be Useful In What I Do," and when she died in her mid-thirties, she left behind a legacy that was personal, political, educational, and most particularly, religious. Though notable as the only one of Henry VIII's consorts to survive him, Kateryn was also one of only two of his consorts with the character and the ability to make a lasting contribution to English life. Just as Katherine of Aragon, Henry VIII's first queen, furthered her religious beliefs, promoted education, and acted as queen-regent for her husband, so did his last queen, Kateryn Parr, support her own religious views, further education, act as queen-regent for her husband, while at the same time encouraging harmony within the king's

¹. There are at least four different ways to spell Kateryn Parr's first name. The National Union Catalogue spells it "Catharine," while the DNB prefers "Catherine." On her portrait, found in the National Portrait Gallery, London, the name is spelled, "Katharine." She signed her own name "Kateryn," hence my decision to use this spelling throughout this study. For other persons with the same name, I have used the spelling found in the source cited. Kateryn Parr continued the use of her family surname throughout her lifetime, and as queen used the initials "KP" after her signature. Generally, throughout this manuscript, modernized versions of sixteenth-century documents in English are the author's.

household. Remarkably, to date no critical and documented biography of Kateryn Parr exists.²

This dissertation will argue that Kateryn Parr's chief motivation was her religious faith, and it was these beliefs that infused all her actions -- personal, political, and intellectual. Her effectiveness in furthering the reform³

². There are two recent biographies of Kateryn Parr that are largely undocumented, see Brenda Kemeys and Joyce Raggatt, The Queen Who Survived: the Life of Katherine Parr (London: Adelphi Press, 1993), and Anthony Martienssen, Queen Katherine Parr (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973). Kemeys and Raggatt have a bibliography at the back of the book which lists manuscript material. In his preface Martienssen is clear that his book was intended for the general public, rather than a scholarly audience, hence his omission of reference notes and bibliography. Other than this book, biographical work on Kateryn Parr is confined to chapters in larger works, or short monographs. The first major scholarly study on the life of Kateryn Parr was part of Agnes Strickland's, Lives of the Queens of England. From the Norman Conquest, 6 vols. (London: Bell and Daldy, 1872), II, 390-473; The most recent chapters on Kateryn Parr include, Pearl Hogrefe, Women of Action in Tudor England: Nine Biographical Sketches (Ames: Iowa State University, 1977), chapter 8; Alison Weir, The Six Wives of Henry VIII (New York: Ballantine Books, 1991), chapters 16, 17; and, Karen Lindsay, Divorced, Beheaded, Survived: A Feminist reinterpretation of the Wives of Henry VIII (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1995), chapter 9. Two short monographs, published near Kateryn Parr's ancestral home in Kendal are M.A. Gordon, Life of Queen Katherine Parr (Kendal: Titus Wilson and Son, Ltd., 1951/2?); and, Keith Snowden, Katherine Parr Our Northern Queen (Pickering: Castleden Publications, 1994). For an unpublished study of Kateryn Parr's Household, see Dakota L. Hamilton, "The Household of Queen Katherine Parr" (Ph.d. diss., Oxford University, 1992). An article of note is Susan E. James, "Queen Kateryn Parr (1512-1548)," TCWAAS 88 (1988): 107-19; by the same author see The Making of a Queen: The Life and Times of Queen Kateryn Parr and Sir William Parr, Marquess of Northampton (Bangor Press: FORTHCOMING).

³. Throughout this study I will use the terms "conservative" and "reform" to distinguish between the two religious positions at the court of Henry VIII during the time Kateryn Parr was queen. "Conservative" here refers to those

cause, both through direct action, and indirectly, through her educational efforts, suggests the importance of her role in the development of English Christianity. Though in recent years a few scholars have examined aspects of her writings, no author as yet has examined the entirety of Kateryn Parr's life and work from the perspective of her religious belief. The purpose of this study is to examine Kateryn Parr's religious legacy within her own context, and to evaluate her contributions as a religious figure in the history of English Christianity. This study will argue that within the purview of her limited authority, Kateryn Parr had an important impact on the development of English Christianity in her own day, as well as in the reigns of future Tudor monarchs. For the purposes of this study, the significance of Kateryn Parr to the history of England in general, and to English Christianity, in particular, will be examined from several perspectives: the context of her own education and upbringing, her work to further the religion of the reformers, but chiefly outside her formal role as queen; her actions, writings, and patronage as queen consort; and lastly, her personal religious influence as a member of the royal household. While these

who followed the personal lead of the king in religious matters, and who were opposed to radical doctrinal change. "Reform" refers to those who supported the position of the king, but who also favored moderate to radical adjustments in doctrine and practice. Here "Catholic" refers to Roman Catholicism.

areas overlap in time and in motivation, they are separated somewhat for purposes of discussion.

While a large amount of primary source material related to this study is available, there are fewer extant manuscript sources for Kateryn Parr than there are for other queens of England. More than a hundred years ago, Agnes Strickland, author of the multi-volume, Lives of the Queens of England, suggested that the lack of sources related to Kateryn Parr's early life could be attributed to the search conducted shortly after her death, by her fourth husband Thomas Seymour. Seymour brought suit to recover jewels Kateryn wore as queen, claiming that they were her personal property. During the search for this evidence, records of her early life, or life as queen may have been destroyed, either carelessly or intentionally. Strickland also claimed that any letters Kateryn wrote to her sister Anne, wife of the Earl of Pembroke and mistress of Wilton House, may have been destroyed by fire with that property and all its contents in 1647.⁴ Anthony Martienssen suggested that since Kateryn Parr was never arrested, her papers were never seized, hence the lack of a central collection of manuscript materials.⁵

Historians have differed greatly in their estimates of the religious legacy of Kateryn Parr; the woman some

⁴. Strickland, II, 464-65; VCH, Wiltshire (London, 1962), VI, 6.

⁵. Martienssen, preface, ix.

considered the "nursing mother of the Reformation."⁶ According to John Foxe, Kateryn Parr was "a deep student of the Holy Writ," who constantly exhorted the king to finish the religious reforms that he started:

...that as he had to the glory of God and his eternal flames begun a good and Godly work in banishing that monstrous idol of Rome, so he would thoroughly perfect and finish the thing, cleansing and purging his Church of England clean from the dregs thereof, wherein as yet remaineth great superstition.

Most scholars have mentioned Kateryn Parr's personal piety or have hinted at her religious influence, but have not developed their arguments as a major focus of their work. Still other scholars have decried what they have perceived as inflated accounts of the importance of her religious role and influence on Henry VIII. Yet, what all serious scholars of the Henrician era seem to agree upon is that the key to understanding the figure of Kateryn Parr was her religious faith, and how that faith informed her public and private roles.

Agnes Strickland wrote one of the earliest and most extensive scholarly accounts of the life of Kateryn Parr, and placed Parr's religious legacy at the forefront of her interpretation:

Katherine Parr was the first Protestant queen of England. She was the only one among the consorts of Henry

⁶. John Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, 3 vols. (London, 1721), II, i, 200.

⁷. John Foxe, The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe, 4th ed. ed., Josiah Pratt, 8 vols. (London, 1877), V, 554.

VIII who, in the sincerity of an honest heart, embraced the doctrine of the Reformation, and imperilled her crown and her life in support of her principles.⁸

While it has been argued that Strickland ignored the possibility that Anne Boleyn was, in fact, the first "Protestant" queen of England,⁹ perhaps the more important aspect of her message was the depth of Kateryn Parr's religious commitment. Strickland was also quick to mention that while Kateryn Parr labored for "those of her own religion," she wisely abstained from affiliating with either party, particularly while the king was alive.¹⁰

More recent historians than Strickland have also commented on the importance of Kateryn Parr to the reform cause. Forty years ago when Conyers Read named the two objectives of the Henrician religious settlement -- "to establish the royal supremacy over the English church," and "to maintain an orthodox position within the church on all matters of creed and ritual" -- he added: "The Protestant position had been definitely strengthened by the sympathy and covert support of Catherine Parr."¹¹

Conyers Read contended that Kateryn Parr was quite rightly regarded as one of the strongest advocates for further

⁸. Strickland, II, 390.

⁹. See Maria Dowling, "Anne Boleyn and Reform," Journal of Ecclesiastical History 35 (1984), 30-46.

¹⁰. Strickland, II, 438.

¹¹. Conyers Read, Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth (New York: Jonathan Cape, 1955), 38-39.

reform of the English church in close proximity to the king. Further, Read was one of the first scholars in this century to suggest that her work, The Lamentacion of a synner, published after Henry VIII's death, deserved more attention than it has received. "In short, it came about as close to an endorsement of the position of the Reformers as the wife of Henry VIII could safely come."¹²

Throughout the last thirty years there have been two main views regarding Kateryn Parr's religious legacy. The first view was initiated by James McConica in his book, English Humanists and Reformation Politics.¹³ Following the lead of Conyers Read, McConica characterized Kateryn Parr as "a noble lady of irenic temperament with a sincere attachment to humanist learning...In preparing the world inherited by the generation which was to come, her influence during Henry's last years was probably decisive."¹⁴

McConica characterized Kateryn Parr as a "moderate Protestant," with a great love of learning and scholarship influenced by the Christian humanism of Erasmus. After the death of her second husband her London home became a gathering place, according to McConica, for reform-minded thinkers such as Miles Coverdale, Hugh Latimer, and John Parkhurst. This

¹². Read, 40.

¹³. See James McConica, English Humanists and Reformation Politics (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).

¹⁴. McConica, English Humanists, 201.

circle of reformers continued after Kateryn became queen, when according to McConica, Kateryn Parr used her unique position to unite the estranged royal children in the spirit of the "learned pietism in which all three were freely engaged."¹⁵

McConica reasoned that Kateryn Parr's patronage and appointment of Cambridge humanist scholars, coupled with her reorganization of the royal nursery, served to greatly enhance her influence both at court and within the Tudor dynasty on the whole.¹⁶ He argued that while Kateryn Parr's "Protestantism" was "little more than a general patronage of reform which embraced the moderate Protestantism of men like Coverdale," her influence on Henry VIII's children was of key importance to her legacy as a religious figure.¹⁷ Further, McConica viewed Kateryn Parr's own religious writings, as well as those works she sponsored as patron, as evidence of her contribution to the development of the last phase of Henry VIII's religious policy. He wrote:

The perpetuation of Erasmian patronage at such a high level in these critical final years of Henry VIII's reign was a momentous influence on both court and letters as the attack on the Queen herself testified. And Catherine Parr's decision to sponsor a complete translation of the Paraphrases of Erasmus is the most appropriate symbol of the link which she forged with the religious settlement of the early years of Edward's VI's reign.¹⁸

¹⁵. McConica, English Humanists, 215.

¹⁶. McConica, English Humanists, 119-20.

¹⁷. McConica, English Humanists, 229-30.

¹⁸. McConica, English Humanists, 234

McConica's arguments regarding the nature and extent of Kateryn Parr's religious legacy have been often repeated by historians.¹⁹ J.J. Scarisbrick compared Kateryn Parr's influence and humanist circle to that of Katherine of Aragon.²⁰ William Haugaard agreed with McConica's arguments to the extent that Kateryn Parr was the "creative force" which brought together the reform-minded scholars who significantly influenced the reigns of Edward VI, Elizabeth I, and to a lesser extent, Mary I.²¹ However, Haugaard argued that there is no evidence to support McConica's assertion that Kateryn Parr operated any type of "Protestant salon" before she became queen, or that she even knew Coverdale, Latimer, or Parkhurst.

¹⁹. The following list is not exhaustive, but suggests the extent to which scholars have followed McConica's interpretation of the religious influence of Kateryn Parr. (Only those authors offering slightly different or additional interpretations will be further discussed in this chapter.) See J.J. Scarisbrick, Henry VIII (London: Methuen, 1968), 457; William P. Haugaard, "Katherine Parr: The Religious Convictions of a Renaissance Queen," RQ 22, no. 4 (1969), 346-47, 348-49; Minna F. Weinstein, "Queen's Power: the Case of Katherine Parr," History Today 26 (December 1976), 788-95; Susan E. James, "The Parrs of Kendal, 1370-1571" (Ph.d. diss., Cambridge University, 1977), 349; G. R. Elton, Reform and Reformation (London: Routledge, 1977), 318; John King, "Patronage and Piety: The Influence of Catherine Parr," in Silent But for the Word, ed. Margaret P. Hannay (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1985), 51-57; Janel Mueller, "A Tudor Queen Finds Voice: Katherine Parr's Lamentation of a Sinner," in The Historical Renaissance: New Essays on Tudor and Stuart Literature and Culture, eds. Heather Dubrow and Richard Strier (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 16, 31; John Guy, Tudor England (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 318.

²⁰. Scarisbrick, 457.

²¹. Haugaard, 350-52.

Rather, Haugaard argued that Kateryn Parr's reform convictions took shape after she became queen.²²

Haugaard concluded his study of Kateryn Parr's religious contributions with the assertion that she was a minor, though important, figure in the religious life of sixteenth-century England. He argued that the key to Kateryn's importance was her sense of moderation and stability. Her ability to be sympathetic to the message of the reformers, while at the same time conforming outwardly to the traditional rites of the church, suggested to Haugaard that Kateryn Parr believed it was prudent to wait for changes she desired until national leaders saw fit to introduce them. Further, Haugaard asserted that the long-term influence of Kateryn Parr's religious legacy can best be seen from the perspective of the religious policy of Elizabeth I, where "the acceptance of reformation doctrine, a distaste for theological bickering, and the wholehearted acceptance of conformity in the furtherance of peace and unity," were instilled in her through her stepmother, Kateryn Parr.²³

More recently and more forcefully than McConica or Haugaard, scholars John N. King and Susan E. James claim the importance of Kateryn Parr's religious legacy.

²². Ibid.

²³. Haugaard, 359. For a similar view of Kateryn Parr's gift for moderation, see Hogrefe, 205-6.

King argued that Parr's key role was as a patron of religious works. He stated that Parr and the "group of powerful women" of her aristocratic circle introduced a "profound innovation" through "patronage of devotional manuals and theological translations...."²⁴ King stated that not only was Kateryn Parr an important religious influence, she was part of a radical shift in the conduct of mid-sixteenth-century aristocratic women. Kateryn Parr and other women patrons like her, were influential because of their active support for reformist writers, preachers, and translators, and because they directed the education of most of the aristocracy. "Under the influence of Catherine Parr, women began to play an unprecedented role in the development of learning and the institution of a Protestant religious settlement."²⁵ Similarly, Janel Mueller, in her study of Kateryn Parr's religious writings, suggests that her work was among "the rarer literary achievements of early English Protestantism."²⁶

In the same vein, Susan E. James' argued that Kateryn Parr was "a staunch supporter of English reformed religion and the new learning," who became an active patron of translations

²⁴. King, 43.

²⁵. King, 59-60.

²⁶ Janel Mueller, "A Tudor Queen Finds Voice," 42; also, by the same author, "Devotion as Difference: Intertextuality in Queen Katherine Parr's Prayers or Meditations," HLQ 53, no. 3 (Summer 1990): 171-97.

in order to make English language Bibles available to a greater public. Despite subjection to a "barrage of persecutions and attempts to have her prosecuted for heresy" by enemies at court, Kateryn Parr managed to mollify the king and save her own life.²⁷

James' extensive work on the Parr family has helped to provide a context from which to interpret Kateryn's religious influence as a vibrant and learned woman, far beyond her dull and pious stereotypical persona. James has argued that Kateryn Parr was "energetic and intelligent....And her mind was constantly active, with a curious questioning cast to it."²⁸ James' examination of Kateryn Parr's devotional writings suggested that their significance lies in the manner they represented the religious consciousness of a Protestant-oriented, educated, sixteenth-century woman. "As a spokesperson for her circle, Kateryn Parr's devotional works are important and their grace and sincerity reflect the attractiveness of the mind that drew that circle to her."²⁹ After Kateryn Parr's death, argued James, her devotional works proved to be a useful to the Protestant faction who "found in

²⁷. James, "Queen Kateryn Parr," 113.

²⁸. James, "Queen Kateryn Parr," 113.

²⁹. Susan E. James, "The Devotional Writings of Queen Catherine Parr," TCWAAS 82 (1982), 138.

them a politically useful tool to spread, at least among their own kind, the religious doctrine of the new age."³⁰

The wide acceptance of McConica's arguments had eclipsed an article written in 1959 by C. Fenno Hoffman which called into question Kateryn Parr's significance as a religious figure.³¹ Hoffman argued that Kateryn Parr was in fact a "learned Tudor lady who was primarily neither an artist nor a scholar."³² While her education was excellent for a woman in her age, stated Hoffman, it fell far short of "humanist ideals."³³ Further, Hoffman suggested that while Kateryn Parr encouraged a certain amount of freedom of opinion within her household in regard to religion, "there is no evidence that she would have encouraged an opinion she regarded as unorthodox or individualistic."³⁴

Hoffman found Kateryn Parr's religious convictions to be unintellectual, prudent, basically conservative in nature, and driven by a strong sense of personal responsibility. For Kateryn Parr, Hoffman believed, religion became "a set of spiritual facts that gave meaning to politics, scholarship and

³⁰. James, "The Devotional Writings of Queen Catherine Parr," 138.

³¹. See C. Fenno Hoffman, Jr., "Catherine Parr as a Woman of Letters," HLQ 23 (1959), 349-67.

³². Hoffman, 349.

³³. Hoffman, 351.

³⁴. Hoffman, 356.

personal relations."³⁵ Homan concluded that Kateryn Parr's most important contributions were her support of Cambridge University, and of the Paraphrases of Erasmus. After these accomplishments he ranked her authorship of an authentic "confession" (The Lamentacion of a synner), and her role in the education of the royal children.³⁶

Hoffman's article appeared to have made little impact on the historiography of the religious legacy of Kateryn Parr, at least until the work of Maria Dowling. Dowling is in the forefront of the second view of Kateryn Parr's religious legacy, and believes that it would be erroneous to consider her a chief advocate for reform at the court of Henry VIII.³⁷ Dowling stated that John Foxes' account of Kateryn Parr's "trouble on account of the Gospel," has distorted her role during the later years of Henry VIII's reign.³⁸ Further, she resolutely disagreed with McConica's arguments and stated that his claims regarding Kateryn Parr's religious influence are exaggerated.³⁹

³⁵. Hoffman, 362, 367.

³⁶. Hoffman, 367.

³⁷. See Maria Dowling, Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII (London: Croon Helm, 1986); and, "The Gospel and the Court: Reformation Under Henry VIII," in Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England, eds. Peter Lake and Maria Dowling (London: Croon Helm, 1987), 36-77.

³⁸. Dowling, Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII, 66.

³⁹. Dowling, Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII, 73, n.83.

While Dowling agreed that Kateryn Parr was a pious woman, she argues that piety is different from tangible influence. In reality, states Dowling, Kateryn had little influence over the king, and was powerless to prevent atrocities such as the Windsor heresy hunt. Further, her reputation for erudition not only has been exaggerated: in reality, she displayed an anti-intellectual streak. What advanced education Kateryn Parr did have, argues Dowling, she achieved as an adult.⁴⁰

Dowling takes particular issue with what she calls the "myth of the royal nursery."⁴¹ That is, the position put forth by McConica and others that part of Kateryn Parr's religious influence was due to her role as a prominent figure in the education of the royal children. Dowling stated that not only did the royal children not live together most of the time, but when they did, they had separate tutors. She firmly argues that it was highly unlikely the king would delegate the education of his beloved heir to someone else. Further, even if the royal children did live together, Dowling stated that Kateryn Parr was not qualified to teach them much anyway.⁴²

For Dowling, Kateryn Parr's significance was not as a religious figure, but in the manner she promoted culture at

⁴⁰. Dowling, Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII, 67, 235.

⁴¹. For a discussion of the myth of the royal nursery see, Maria Dowling, "Scholarship, Politics and the Court of Henry VIII" (Ph.d diss. London University, 1981), 247ff; also, Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII, 211, 235; 'The Gospel and the Court,' 62.

⁴². Ibid.

court. According to Dowling, Kateryn Parr was not a humanist princess the way Katherine of Aragon was; however, she was an important figure in relation to education because her adult interest in learning raised a new awareness of the relevance of study to women. "Thus by the end of the reign study had become acceptable -- and even fashionable -- for women, as the adult education of Kateryn Parr testifies."⁴³

Dowling's arguments have been accepted by some scholars in the field. In 1991, G.R. Elton referred to Kateryn Parr as "a mild and moderately sensible woman, much given to matrimony," but believed that "she scarcely merits the somewhat sanctimonious praise bestowed on her by the reformers and often echoed since."⁴⁴ Two years later, Christopher Haigh stated that Kateryn Parr's "Protestant commitment has been antedated and exaggerated."⁴⁵ Haigh agreed with Dowling about the "myth of the royal nursery," and stated that it was the king's friend Anthony Denny who probably chose the tutors for the royal children.⁴⁶ Further, Haigh argued that the course of reform in the English church had less to do with influential personages, such as Kateryn Parr, than with the

⁴³. Dowling, Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII, 241-42.

⁴⁴. G.R. Elton, England Under the Tudors, 3rd ed. (London: Routledge, 1991), 195.

⁴⁵. Christopher Haigh, English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society Under the Tudors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 161.

⁴⁶. Haigh, 161-62; 312, n. 38.

timing of Henry VIII's death. "If Henry would have died in September 1546, when conservatives were still in the ascendent and reformers had their back to the stake," writes Haigh, "English history would have been very different....There would have been no second Reformation under Edward; rather, there would have been an Edwardian, not a Marian reaction."⁴⁷

In an unpublished doctoral dissertation, Dakota Hamilton took issue with both McConica's and Dowling's views on the religious legacy of Kateryn Parr. Hamilton found that McConica's arguments regarding Kateryn Parr's religious contributions were too expansive, and that Dowling's literal interpretation of the royal nursery, and the queen's own education were too limiting. Hamilton agreed with Dowling that Kateryn Parr probably did not have an education comparable to the royal children, and therefore probably did not have much to do with Prince Edward's education. However, Hamilton also asserted that in her own day, Kateryn Parr certainly had the status of a learned woman.⁴⁸

Hamilton studied Kateryn Parr from within the context of her own household, as distinct from the king. Like other aristocratic women of her time, argued Hamilton, Kateryn Parr spent most of her time with the women of her household, and like them actively promoted the interests of her family, friends, and the members of her household. "The activities of

⁴⁷. Haigh, 166.

⁴⁸. Hamilton, 313-19.

this Tudor queen-consort were very much like those of the average aristocratic woman, and a study of Kateryn Parr is also a study of women at the Tudor court."⁴⁹

Hamilton asserted that Kateryn Parr's religious legacy should also be analyzed from the context of her extended household. Kateryn and the women of her household did not have much direct political influence, yet they became unwittingly political figures through their religious activities. Hamilton suggested that it was the women of Kateryn Parr's household who encouraged, and perhaps introduced her to reform doctrines, though none of them gave full vent to their religious beliefs until the reign of Edward VI.⁵⁰

This study will focus on Kateryn Parr's religious legacy through an examination of her education, her family and religious background, her sense of religious vocation as a wife and as queen, her exercise of her public role, her role within the royal household, as well as her specifically religious activities of writing and patronage of reform-oriented works. Kateryn Parr's own writings and letters, as well as manuscript and published primary sources relating to her family members, her religious circle, and her contemporaries at court, will be utilized in this study, as will state papers, and manuscript materials on the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I. Though Kateryn

⁴⁹. Hamilton, 411.

⁵⁰. Hamilton, 278-332.

Parr's place in history was assured with her marriage to Henry VIII, this study will further investigate major events of her life from the perspective of her religious context.

Kateryn Parr followed a destiny that led from an ambitious family, through revolution and violence, to the crown of England. To her contemporaries, Kateryn Parr was a kind, intelligent, devout woman, whose deeds touched many, and whose legacy extended to the reigns of Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I. For Kateryn Parr, her writings were a source of solace in an uncertain world, and an expression of her religious faith and a sanctuary, a reassurance that beyond the dangers of this world lay the never-ending mercy of God. Further, her life and work are an example of what a well-born, humanist-educated, reform-oriented woman felt and believed in the mid-sixteenth century. Her experiences and contributions are significant because they illustrate the consciousness of a circle whose influence, in part, redirected the religious course of England.

CHAPTER II

"Truly as God is My God"

Kateryn Parr and her family were associated with the court of Henry VIII long before she became queen in 1543. Indeed, she may have even known the king from the time that she was born. Both Henry VIII, and his father Henry VII, expected their courtiers to participate in court functions, and it became increasingly important throughout their reigns for the members of leading families to be in attendance. The Parr family were part of this move to court, and were a permanent part of court life by 1500.¹

Kateryn Parr was the eldest child of Sir Thomas Parr, and his wife Matilda "Maud" Green (Grene), and was born in Blackfriars, London in 1513.² She was the descendant on both

¹. James, "The Parrs of Kendal," 178-80.

². The birth dates of many Tudor personages are conjectural, and Kateryn Parr is no exception. The DNB lists her birth date as 1512, as does James, "Queen Kateryn Parr," 107. James also suggested that Kateryn Parr was born on the family estate in Northamptonshire. The DNB specifically disagreed with Strickland, 391, who lists Kateryn's birthdate as 1513, and argued that she miscalculated a date referring to a year in the reign of Henry VIII, and thereby erroneously came up with the birthdate of 1513. Like several other early biographers, Strickland believed that Kateryn was born at Kendal Castle. Also, Gordon, 1. However, as James argued in "The Parrs of Kendal," the cold bleakness of the borderlands,

sides of well-to-do gentry families, and in the case of the Parrs, a family of aristocratic pretensions. Though the Parrs spent most of their time at court, they maintained a house in Blackfriars, London, as well as Harrowden Hall in Northamptonshire.³

as well as the inevitable Scottish raids, made Kendal Castle unappealing to the Parrs, and they ceased to live there after 1487. From then on the family took up residence in Northamptonshire and at court, while the male members of the family occasionally ventured northward to supervise the family estates. My argument for London as Kateryn Parr's birthplace is based on the fact that the family was almost continuously at court after 1500, and that her parents' wills indicate that they not only had a house at Blackfriars, but were buried in the church there, see PRO, PROB, 11/4 f29LH-f30LH; 11/12 f85LH-f87LH; also, N. H. Nicholas, Testamenta vetusa (London, 1926), 548-9; and, J.G. Nichols and John Bruce, Wills from Doctor's Commons (London: Camden Society, 1863), 9-20. Further, my argument for Kateryn Parr's birthdate as 1513 is supported by a wardrobe bill for the Maundy services dated 1544: thirty-one poor women were to receive livery cloth, each woman representing one year of the queen's life, see PRO, E101/423/12, f.6v. For a similar argument, see Hamilton, 9.

³. See Susan E. James, "Sir Thomas Parr (1407-1461)," TCWAAS 81 (1981), 15-25. For more extensive studies by the same author related to the ambition and alliances of the Parrs, see James, "The Parrs of Kendal," and "The Making of a Queen," FORTHCOMING. Dr. James' helpful assistance with this study is appreciated. Also, VCH, Northamptonshire (London, 1962), IV, 77-78. For a synopsis of Parr genealogy, see George Duckett, "The Parrs of Kendal Castle," TCWAAS, old ser. 2 (1976), 186-96. Though it appears that Kateryn Parr spent little, if any time at Kendal Castle, sources in the town are of importance to any study of her life. The Kendal Library holds a variety of local studies related to the Parrs. Ms. Jackie Fay, Local Studies Librarian has been extremely helpful. The Kendal Museum holds a nineteenth-century engraving of Kateryn Parr, and houses an exhibit devoted to the Parrs. The Mayor's Parlour, Kendal Town Hall, holds the original copy of Kateryn Parr's prayer book, bound in a silver casing and stamped with a hall mark. The author wishes to thank Mr. Percy Duff, Town Treasurer, for permission to view the prayer book. For a facsimile of this prayer book, see Queen Katherine Parr's Book of Prayers, ed. G. E. Pallant-Sidaway (Kendal: Kendal Parish Church, 1980).

Kateryn's father, Thomas Parr, was the eldest son of his family, and a close friend of the young Henry VIII. Thomas Parr first met the royal family when he was introduced by his stepfather to Henry VII's mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort. At the funeral of Henry VII, Thomas and his brother William served as squires of the body. Similarly, Thomas Parr had long-standing connections with Katherine of Aragon. His mother, Elizabeth Vaux, was one of the ladies who received Katherine upon her arrival from Spain.⁴

Thomas Parr was created a knight at the time of Henry VIII's coronation in 1509, and in 1510 was made a knight of the body.⁵ Around the time of Kateryn's birth in 1513, Thomas Parr accompanied the king during the war with France, and was nominated, but not elected, knight of the garter in 1514.⁶ While at court, Thomas Parr was a master of wards and comptroller in the king's household. At the age of thirty, Thomas married a thirteen-year old heiress -- Maud Green -- who was appointed lady-in-waiting to Queen Katherine of Aragon. Maud Parr remained devoted to Katherine, and was in the queen's service from at least 1519 when she is first

⁴. James, "The Parrs of Kendal," 212. For the connections between the Parrs and Margaret Beaufort, see Michael K. Jones and Malcolm G. Underwood, The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 115-25.

⁵. LP, I, i, 20, 81, 604.

⁶. LP, I, ii, 2053, 2838.

recorded, and probably before, until the day of her own death in 1531 or 1532.⁷

The first child Lady Parr bore Sir Thomas in 1513, a girl, was named "Kateryn" after the queen. Given Maud Parr's close association with the queen, it is possible that Katherine of Aragon stood as one of Kateryn Parr's godmothers.⁸ Though many godparents at the time undoubtedly employed a spiritual role in relation to their godchildren, they were also frequently chosen for their status and their relationship to the child's family. It is probable that an ambitious family such as the Parrs, who were also at court, would ask the queen to stand as godmother for personal reasons, as well as the prestige that accompanied the honor.

⁷. LP, III, i, 491. For Maud Green Parr's ancestry, see James, "The Parrs of Kendal," 186-90. For Lady Parr's life at court and her closeness to Queen Katherine of Aragon, see Snowden, 2; Strickland, 390-94; Martienssen, 5-7. The date of Maud Parr's death is disputed. James, "The Parrs of Kendal," 277, stated that Lady Parr died on December 1, 1531. Nichols and Bruce, Wills From Doctor's Commons, 9, in their introduction to her will, stated that Maud Parr died on September 1, 1532. Either way, she did not die in May 1529, the date of her will, see PRO, PROB 11/12 f85LH-f87LH. The will includes information on personal mementos Maud Parr received from the queen, and had in her possession at the time of her death, including some prayer beads, and pictures of the king and queen. Maud Parr was still alive in November 1530, see LP, IV, iii, 675.

⁸. BL, Cotton MS Tiberius, VIII, f100b; LP, II, 1490; Scarisbrick, 18; James, "Queen Kateryn Parr," 107-8.

Naming Kateryn after the queen was a further way to establish the family's relationship with the royal family.⁹

When Thomas Parr died in November 1517, he left behind a twenty-two-year-old widow and three small children -- Kateryn, William, and Anne. In his will, Thomas Parr provided eight hundred pounds for his daughters' marriage portions, to be divided between them. Kateryn's brother William was given, besides the bulk of the estate, a great gold chain given to Thomas Parr by the king and worth one hundred and forty pounds. Executors of the estate included Kateryn's uncle, Sir William Parr, and Cuthbert Tunstal, then bishop of Durham. Maud Parr was either another executor, or an overseer of the will.¹⁰ Unlike many sixteenth-century widows, Maud Parr never married again. She remained at court as a lady-in-waiting, and apparently devoted the rest of her life to educating her children and securing suitable marriage partners for them.¹¹

⁹. On the role of godparents in the sixteenth century, see David Cressy, Birth, Marriage and Death: Ritual, religion, and the Life Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 156-63; and, Olwen Hufton, The Prospect Before Her: A History of Women in Western Europe, 1500-1800 (New York: Knopf, 1996), 72-73.

¹⁰. Missing words in Thomas Parr's will leave Maud Parr's exact function uncertain. PRO, PROB 11/4 f29LH-f30LH; also, N. H. Nicholas, Testamenta vetusta, for the complete text of Sir Thomas Parr's will, 548-9; also, Martiensen, 37. For a discussion of Cuthbert Tunstal's role in Kateryn Parr's marriage negotiations, see Snowden, 8-11. For records related to Cuthbert Tunstal's episcopate, see the University Library Archives and Special Collections, Durham University.

¹¹. Scholars at the time, such as Erasmus, urged young widows to remarry quickly, lest they fall into sin; see Erika Rummel, Erasmus on Women (Toronto: University of Toronto

The Parr children were praised for their erudition and learning, and Kateryn's brother William eventually went to Cambridge. While some scholars have noted that Kateryn Parr's education was not extensive, available documentary evidence does suggest that during childhood she received an excellent education for a girl of her family background, and that she continued to educate herself throughout life.¹² There is also circumstantial evidence suggesting the possibility that the young Kateryn Parr and Princess Mary were schooled together at court with the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives as their tutor.¹³

Press, 1996), 185-229; However, the rate of remarriage for widows depended on their financial resources and the number of children they had to support; see Anne Laurence, Women in England, 1500-1760: A Social History (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1994), 55-56. For an account of the authority gained by widows upon the death of their husbands, see Heather Dubrow, "The Message from Marcade: Parental Deaths in Tudor and Stuart England," in Attending to Women in Early Modern England, eds. Betty S. Travitsky and Adele F. Seeff (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994), 153.

¹². See Suzanne W. Hull, Chaste, Silent and Obedient: English Books For Women, 1475-1640 (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1982), 103. Also, James, "The Devotional Writings of Queen Kateryn Parr," 135-36; Hamilton, 311-12; Hoffman, 349-67; Dowling, Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII, 236, and "The Gospel and The Court," 61; also, in the same vein as Dowling see, David Loades, Henry VIII and His Queens (Stroud: Sutton Press, 1994), 135.

¹³. Several scholars suggested that Kateryn Parr and Princess Mary were schooled together for a time at court; however there is no documentary evidence to support the conjecture. Garrett Mattingly, Catherine of Aragon (New York: BOMC, 1941), 183, 186-89, in his discussion of Princess Mary's education suggested that her mother formed a school for children of noble families at court. Martienssen, 21, takes this point a step further and asserts that Kateryn and Mary were schooled together with Vives as their teacher. It is true that Vives came to England in about 1523, and that he was paid by the king and queen, and prepared books to facilitate the

In the sixteenth century a woman's religious life was closely connected to her educational background; thus careful consideration of Kateryn Parr's educational background is crucial to any study of her religious legacy. The Christian humanists who influenced educational methods during the reign of Henry VIII appealed particularly to literate, urban audiences. Though women in England were latecomers to humanism, continental courts were centers of humanist activity. The humanists' goal was the reappraisal of religious and secular thinking through examination of Scripture, patristic texts, and "acceptable" pagan classics. Christian humanists called for a return to the fundamental classical and biblical tongues, some often also advocated the translation of texts into the vernacular in order to reach a broader audience. With the emphasis on classical tongues, came an admiration for and imitation of the oratorical style of the

princess' education. Susan E. James, "Queen Kateryn Parr," 108 argued that while Kateryn have spent some time at court as a child, and may have been tutored by Vives, it is more likely that most of her early years were spent in Northamptonshire, see "Queen Kateryn Parr," 108. For a discussion of educating girls in noble houses see Hufton, 68. Most recently, Janel Mueller, "Introductory Note," in Kateryn Parr, vol. 3, The Early Modern English Woman: A Facsimile Library of Essential Works. Part I: printed Writings, 1500-1640, eds. Betty S. Travitsky and Patrick Cullen (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), ix, reaffirmed the idea that Kateryn was educated with Princess Mary and "under the tutelage of Juan Luis Vives, the children in the royal nursery were trained in Latin and the core texts of Christian humanism." On Vives and women's education, see Gloria Kaufman, "Juan Luis Vives on the Education of Women," Signs 3/4 (Summer 1978), 891-96; and, Margaret L. King, Women of the Renaissance (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 164-66.

ancient Greeks and Romans. Though humanists did not, by and large, advocate the same level of education for women as for men, their influence did have the effect of raising educational standards for women.¹⁴

Although there is no direct documentary evidence that Kateryn Parr knew any Greek,¹⁵ there is documentary evidence to suggest that all three Parr children were schooled in Latin.¹⁶ If in fact Kateryn was taught for a time by Vives,

¹⁴. Dowling, Humanism in the Court of Henry VIII, introduction; James McConica, Erasmus (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1-17.

¹⁵. The sources which have stated that Kateryn Parr knew Greek are secondary, for example, Stype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, I, i, 621; Strickland, 303; Snowden, 2. However, there is an indirect connection that can be documented. Lady Jane Grey was a member of Kateryn's household during the queen's marriage to Thomas Seymour, and the girl did have lessons with the queen. It can be documented that Lady Jane knew Greek; whether she and the queen did any work in Greek is a matter of conjecture, see CSP: Edward VI, 794.

¹⁶. Though Kateryn obviously had some familiarity with Latin, as suggested by personal letters to and from her in Latin, and her involvement with the translation of the Paraphrase of Erasmus, there is disagreement concerning when she obtained this knowledge. Hoffman, 349-67, argued that a letter she received from Prince Edward, praising her progress "in Latina lingua et bonis literis," suggests she had little instruction in Latin in her early years. Dowling suggested the same literal reading of Edward's letter, see, Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII, 236, and "The Gospel and The Court," 61. However, given that Edward was only nine-years-old at the time, Kateryn may have been trying to encourage him by telling him about her own study of the language. We do know that Kateryn ordered Latin primers around the same time she was involved in the translation of the Paraphrase, see, PRO, Aug. Office Misc. Books 161, 69, 46; and, Frances B. Rose-Troup, "Two Book Bills of Katherine Parr," The Library 3rd ser. 2 (1911), 40-48. It seems likely that Kateryn may have had some knowledge of Latin in her youth, but felt the need to refine her skills later as an adult while working on the major translation project. Her letter to the University of Cambridge

she would have had to have known Latin; the scholar wrote and taught in the language. In terms of documentary evidence, correspondence in Latin between Anne Parr Herbert, Kateryn's sister, and Roger Ascham indicated that Anne lent him a Latin volume of Cicero, and stated that education in the Parr family was modeled on Thomas More's household.¹⁷ Further, there is evidence that in early 1547 Ascham wrote to Kateryn herself, complimented her on her learning, and requested her support for the new Parliament.¹⁸ It seems reasonable to suggest that if Ascham intended to compliment Kateryn on her learning, that he would not do so in a language that she did not understand.

Additional evidence of Kateryn Parr's knowledge of Latin can be found in manuscript copies of letters in Latin from Prince Edward to Kateryn.¹⁹ There is also an extant letter in Latin from Kateryn to Princess Mary, which appears to be in her own hand.²⁰ While the evidence indicates that Kateryn Parr had knowledge of Latin, exaggerated modesty in a letter to the

indicated that while she understood Latin, she preferred to communicate in the vernacular, see note 21.

¹⁷. The Whole Works of Roger Ascham, ed. J. A. Giles (London, 1865), I, i, 41-42.

¹⁸. The Whole Works of Roger Ascham, I, i, 111-12.

¹⁹. For example, Bod., MS Smith 31; BL, Harleian MS, 5087, 9.

²⁰. BL, Cotton MS Vespasian F. III, art 37. Given the context of this letter to Princess Mary, it is probably that it is from 1547, and not 1544, as dated.

University of Cambridge suggested that she preferred to communicate in the vernacular:

Your letters I have received...and as they be Latinly written (which is so signified unto me by those that be learned in the Latin tongue), so I know you could have uttered your desires and opinions familiarly in our vulgar tongue, aptest for my intelligence.²¹

The point of Kateryn's letter to the Cambridge scholars was to exhort them to remain steadfast to Christian truths. Within the same letter she used a Latin quotation with full knowledge of its context:

...for this Latin lesson I am taught to say of St. Paul, Non me pudet evangelii, to the setting forth whereof (I trust) universally...you will apply,...that Cambridge may be accounted rather an university of divine philosophy than of natural and moral, as Athens was.²²

Kateryn Parr also knew French and Italian. In her mother's household, Kateryn was almost certainly exposed to French at an early age.²³ An inventory taken after her last husband Thomas Seymour's death, indicated that among her personal effects were two copies of the New Testament in French, an Italian book, and a Latin primer.²⁴ There is also a devotional poem written in French of somewhat questionable

²¹. CCC MS 206, Cambridge University; also printed in Letters of the Queens of England, ed. Anne Crawford (Phoenix Mill: Allan Sutton, 1994), 220-21.

²². Ibid.

²³. LP, III, ii, 3649.

²⁴. Society of Antiquaries MS 129, pt A, f. 219v; PRO, E315/161, no. 69; Rose-Troup, 44.

origin attributed to Kateryn Parr.²⁵ Further, records indicate that Kateryn owned an Italian volume of Petrarch published in Venice in 1534. This volume, bound in velvet with Kateryn's arms and quarterings on the cover, was later found in the library of Edward VI.²⁶

Kateryn also received several gifts from her royal stepchildren which suggested both her educational background in languages, and her interest in devotional literature. She received an English translation of one of her favorite French works, Marguerite of Navarre's The Miroir or glasse of the synnefull soule, completed by Princess Elizabeth in 1544 when she was eleven-years-old. Elizabeth had dedicated the translation to her stepmother as a gift.²⁷ In the same year, the princess also wrote to her stepmother in Italian.²⁸ The next year, Elizabeth embroidered another gift volume for her stepmother. This time it included English prayers selected by Kateryn which Elizabeth translated into Latin, French and Italian.²⁹ Princess Mary prepared a similar volume of prayers

²⁵. Cecil Papers, Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, 314, f.v.19. While the poem is attributed to Kateryn Parr, the script and style do not correspond with her other known works.

²⁶. J.G. Nichols, ed., Literary Remains of Edward VI (London, 1857), I, cccxxvi; Hoffman, 352; Haugaard, 347.

²⁷. Bod., MS Cherry 36.

²⁸. See BL, Cotton MS Otho CX, f.231.

²⁹. For a description of this work see, Agnes Strickland, The Life of Queen Elizabeth (London: Everyman, 1906), 15; Haugaard, 347.

translated into the same languages for Kateryn as a New Year's gift.³⁰

While Kateryn Parr's educational background has been criticized because she did not receive the same level of humanist-inspired training as Katherine of Aragon, Princess Elizabeth, Prince Edward,³¹ or by extension, Princess Mary, these better educated personages were born royal, whereas Kateryn Parr was not. Certainly, royal children had educational advantages beyond those of even other upper-class families, including the services of some of the best scholars in the land as tutors. Kateryn's knowledge of Latin, and possibly Greek, suggests that like other girls in wealthy and well-connected families, she was tutored at least to some degree. She was obviously taught to both read and write in several languages, in an age when male hostility to educated women was common, and not all girls who were taught to read were necessarily taught to write. Kateryn was praised for her needlework, and it can also be assumed that like other girls she was taught the arts of housewifery.³² However, one apocryphal story suggested that housewifery was not Kateryn's

³⁰. Strickland, Lives of the Queens of England, ii, 413.

³¹. For a critique of Kateryn Parr's education see Dowling, Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII, 236-36. These arguments are repeated in Loades, 135.

³². King, Women of the Renaissance, 166-68, 185-85; Laurence, 167; also, for a general discussion of girls' education see Dorothy Gardiner, An English Girlhood at School: A Study of Women's Education Through Twelve Centuries (London: Oxford University Press, 1929).

priority. It was said that when Kateryn's mother, Maud Parr, called her daughter to finish her work, she received the response, "my hands are ordained to touch crowns and scepters, and not spindles and needles."³³

When examining the educational background of Kateryn Parr, it should be considered that religious education was the most important subject taught to girls and young women, as well as the focus and purpose of all other educational efforts. For Kateryn Parr and her contemporaries, the primary purpose of women's education was to inculcate them with the moral values and practical skills to enable them to be pious and honorable wives and mothers. Like other girls and young women of her time, Kateryn was educated so that she would be able to provide spiritual leadership within her household.³⁴ These educational priorities and religious values, probably learned in childhood, took firm hold within her character and formed the basis for the manner in which she exercised religious leadership within the royal household as a wife, a stepmother, and as a queen.

In the sixteenth-century, few schools were available in England for girls, and most like Kateryn Parr were educated at home, or sent to another upper-class household to be

³³. Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, II, i, 206; also quoted in Strickland, 393.

³⁴. King, Women of the Renaissance, 164; Laurence, 167.

educated.³⁵ In the case of Kateryn Parr, the most obvious choices were for her to remain in London where both her parents had functions at court, or for her to go to stay with relatives in Northamptonshire. If Kateryn Parr spent much of her childhood at court, then it seems more probable that she was tutored with Princess Mary, even though Mary was three years younger, or at least benefitted in part from the educational opportunities offered there.³⁶ William Parr was educated in the royal household with Henry VIII's illegitimate son, the duke of Richmond.³⁷ Maud Parr spent a great deal of energy grooming her daughters Kateryn and Anne to become successful marriage partners, so it is probable that she wanted them educated in the manner considered appropriate for noble circles. Though we have little documentary evidence of Maud Parr's religious beliefs, her will suggested that she was the patron of a number of religious houses, among them the

³⁵. Laurence, 167; King, Women of the Renaissance, 168-72.

³⁶. James, "Queen Kateryn Parr," 108, argued that while Kateryn Parr could have been educated at court, she probably spent much of her childhood in the north at her uncle William's home. Lord Parr of Horton "had a house full of girls." James suggested that this probably is the case because of Kateryn's close friendship with her cousin Maud, William Parr's daughter. However, it is just as likely that Kateryn got to know Maud at court. Maud Parr's ambition for her children could have very well induced her to keep her children around court circles. There also remains the possibility that Kateryn could have been educated at each place for a time, because girls were shifted around. For example, Lady Jane Grey was sent for a time to Kateryn's household after she married Thomas Seymour, see CSP: Edward VI, 157, 158.

³⁷. Nichols, Literary Remains of Edward VI, I, xii.

Friars Observant and the Blackfriars, in whose London church she was buried next to her husband. While her will revealed her closeness to Katherine of Aragon through various gifts received by the queen, the document also suggested that Maud had a possible leaning toward reform beliefs: she bequeathed her soul to almighty God, and omitted mention of the Virgin and the saints.³⁸

Comments made by Kateryn Parr's sister, Anne Parr Herbert, also shed some light on her educational background and religious legacy. Herbert commented to Roger Ascham that the Parrs educated their children according to the model of Thomas More's household.³⁹ Anne Parr Herbert had little to gain by intentionally misleading Ascham. Further, evidence suggests that Parr family friend Cuthbert Tunstal, a bishop and an important advisor to Maud Parr on many matters after Thomas Parr's death, was also closely associated with Thomas More's school.⁴⁰

Thomas More was called to the bar in 1501, when the Parrs began their life at court, and began his public life with the accession of Henry VIII in 1509. After holding a number of offices, in 1529 he was appointed Lord Chancellor to succeed

³⁸. PRO, PROB 11/12 f85LH-f87LH; Nichols and Bruce, Wills from Doctors Commons, 9-20.

³⁹. See note 17.

⁴⁰. Reynolds, The Field is Won: The Life and Death of St. Thomas More (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1968), 165-66.

Cardinal Wolsey. A lifelong classics scholar, Thomas More carefully supervised the education of his three daughters, his son, his grandchildren, his wards, and other children entrusted to his care. His house in Chelsea was a center of intellectual life, and it was there that he was host to Erasmus, the most renowned scholar of his age. Both men strongly supported the idea of the importance of scholarship for the formation of the Christian life. As Erasmus wrote about More's educational efforts, "His house was a school during his lifetime."⁴¹

Erasmus' thoughts on women's education were liberal, given the standards of his time. Though the roles he assigned to women in his treatises, The Institution of Marriage and The Christian Widow, are conventional, he departed from tradition and aligned himself with reformers when he placed a high value on marriage. While his writings on education were focused on boys, he did eventually believe in the value of education for both male and female children. As a man with limited experience with women, he tended to value women's education as a means to protect virtue, rather than for self-improvement. By his own admission, Erasmus did not always see the value of a liberal education for women; rather, he conformed to the conventional beliefs of his day. But Thomas More's daughters convinced him to the contrary:

⁴¹. Reynolds, The Field is Won, 142-68. Erasmus quoted in Reynolds, 158. For Erasmus' background, see James McConica, Erasmus (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Scarcely any mortal man was not under the conviction that, for the female sex, education had nothing to offer in the way of either virtue or reputation. Nor was I myself in the old days completely free of this opinion; but More has quite put it out of my head....⁴²

Similarly, there was a connection between Thomas More and Juan Luis Vives. Both believed in the importance of exposing pupils to the fathers of the early church: Augustine, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Basil, and others. Elements of the Latin Fathers, of course, formed a major part of the theology of the medieval church, but those with an education inspired by humanism looked at these writers from a new perspective in a new religious climate. As one scholar has noted: "The reintroduction of the early fathers of the Latin Church to the laity was perhaps the most crucial aspect of the humanist contribution to the Reformation."⁴³ As we have seen, the benefits of humanist education were not limited to men, and women like Kateryn Parr, considered the guardians of moral virtue of the next generation, as well as intelligent beings in their own right, were also acquainted with early Christian writings.

Vives was called upon by Katherine of Aragon to design a program of study for Princess Mary. His manual of instruction was published in London in 1541 under the title A Very

⁴². Collected Works of Erasmus (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 112-5; King, 181; Rummel, 8-10.

⁴³. Patricia Cole Swenson, "'Noble Hunters of the Romish Fox': Religious Reform at the Tudor Court, 1543-1564" (Ph.d. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1981), 17.

Frutefulle and Pleasant Boke called the Instruction of a Christian Woman. The manual was designed as a parallel to Erasmus' Enchiridion for a Christian Prince, and was designed for noble women who would be responsible for the early education of noble boys.⁴⁴ Vives believed that the education of women should be directed toward different goals than the education of men. For instance, he did not believe that women should be taught rhetorical skills, but rather develop wisdom "to purify their minds and lift them above the facile and trifling."⁴⁵ Besides early Christian writers, Vives recommended that Mary, and those who were schooled with her, also learn Scripture, and study classical writers such as Plato, Cicero, and Seneca. Among additional works suggested, Vives recommended the Paraphrases of the Gospels by Erasmus -- a work published under Kateryn Parr's patronage as queen. Vives also recommended that women learn French, Italian and Spanish. Education in music -- such as the lute or virginals -- was encouraged, but dancing was not. Further, Vives' scheme stressed the need for Mary to be schooled with other pupils.

⁴⁴. Juan Luis Vives, A Very Fruteful and Pleasant Boke called the Instruction for a Christian Woman... (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1541). STC 24856; also, original Latin version as reprinted in Selected Works of Juan Luis Vives, Vol. 6: De institutione christiana foeminae. Leiden, New York: Brill, 1996: 3-67.

⁴⁵. Vives, A Very Fruteful and Pleasant Boke, 9.

That recommendation makes plausible the hypothesis of Kateryn Parr's entry into the royal schoolroom.⁴⁶

As part of Vives' educational plan for Princess Mary that was sponsored by Katherine of Aragon, and possibly shared to an extent by Kateryn Parr, one of the books suggested was More's Utopia.⁴⁷ In Hyde's translation of The Instruction of a Christian Woman, published at More's urging, Vives pays

tribute to his encouragement of women's education: Now if a man may be suffered among queens to speak of more mean folks, I reckon among this sort the daughters of Sir Thomas More, whom their father, not content only to have them good and chaster, would also they should be well learned, supposing that by that means they should be more truly and surely chaste....⁴⁸

Latin was at the center of Thomas More's educational program, but there was also Greek, logic, philosophy, theology, mathematics, and astronomy. No documentary evidence suggests that Kateryn Parr was taught this variety of subjects. However, evidence does suggest that like More's daughters, Kateryn was taught to value education as a means to protect her virtue, and as a support for her expected vocation as wife and mother.⁴⁹ While More subscribed to the Pauline

⁴⁶. For further discussion of Vives, see Swenson, 31-34.

⁴⁷. Foster Watson, Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women (London, 1912), 17.

⁴⁸. Vives, Juan Luis. Instruction of a Christian Woman, trans. Richard Hyde (London, 1529), introduction.

⁴⁹. Kateryn Parr's vocation as a wife will be more fully explored in Chapter III. Throughout the extant correspondence between Kateryn and her husbands Henry VIII and Thomas Seymour, she was conscious of God acting in her life. For example, Kateryn Parr to Thomas Seymour (1547), Dent-

view of male and female roles, as was the accepted belief among his contemporaries, those assumptions did not justify an inferior education for girls and young women. On marriage, More wrote:

The holy sacrament of marriage was begun by God in Paradise and he there instituted it to signify the conjunction between himself and man's soul, and the conjunction between Christ and his Church. Yet in that coupling of matrimony (if they couple him) he coupleth himself also to their souls,...and with that grace,...he helpeth them to make their marriage honorable and their bed undefiled. And with that grace also he helpeth them toward the good education and bringing up of such children as shall come between them.⁵⁰

It was within the context of these prevailing attitudes and beliefs about marriage that Kateryn Parr entered into her first and subsequent marriages. During the sixteenth century, the cycles of birth and death were closely joined, and the outward patterns of Kateryn's life in many ways mirrored the lives of her contemporaries.

Overall, women lived longer than men during the sixteenth century; the average life expectancy at birth for women and men together was between thirty-two and forty years. Women were more than four times likely than men to die during the first ten years of marriage, and twice as likely during the second ten years. Thereafter, women tended to live longer than men. Generally, if a woman survived her first pregnancy, as well as pregnancy in her late thirties or early forties, there

Brocklehurst MS, Sudeley Castle and Gloucestershire Record Office.

⁵⁰. Quoted in Reynolds, 174.

was a reasonable expectation that she could live until the age of sixty. However, it should also be remembered that throughout the sixteenth century there were also periods of "mortality crises," or periods of increased mortality due to epidemics or food shortages that affected all classes to some degree, though to a lesser extent families in aristocratic circles.⁵¹

Marriage was crucial to the identity and social status of women such as Kateryn Parr and her contemporaries. In families similar to the Parrs, a great deal of attention was paid to all aspects of arranging suitable marriages for their children, including the courtship, dowry, portion, and settlement.⁵² Marriage was a legal contract, a religious commitment, as well as a public and private relationship. While it has been estimated that only one-third of all women were married at any given time, it can also be said that marriage had a symbolic importance beyond its actual incidence within the population. For the two-thirds of all women who were either widowed or never married, poverty was often a serious concern.⁵³ Only nine to fourteen percent of households

⁵¹. Laurence, 28.

⁵². Laurence, 41; Hufton, 13, 63, 67-69, 109-22.

⁵³. Laurence, 55.

were headed by a woman, as was the case of Maud Parr, who remained a widow.⁵⁴

Nunneries were an option for women from wealthy families. However, there were only approximately two thousand nuns in England in 1500, and with the number of religious vocations falling, the religious life was not widely considered an option. The small number of nuns, along with the dissolution of the monasteries in 1536-1539 probably had a limited impact on the number of unmarried women.⁵⁵

During Kateryn Parr's lifetime, members of upper class families married younger and had more children than those on lower economic levels.⁵⁶ Under canon law, the earliest at which a couple could be married was age twelve for a girl and age fourteen for a boy. Marriages contracted at these early ages -- which as we will see was the case for Kateryn Parr and her brother William -- were largely secured for the

⁵⁴. Laurence, 56. On the remarriage patterns of widows, see Barbara J. Todd, "The Remarrying Widow: A Stereotype Reconsidered," in Women in English Society, 1500-1800, ed. Mary Prior (London: Methuen, 1985); and, Hufton, 221-28.

⁵⁵. Laurence, 55.

⁵⁶. Laurence, 59. Laurence argued that the overall characteristics of marriage in early modern England conform to the "Western European Marriage Pattern." That is, late age at first marriage (26 for women and 28 for men); a small difference in age between the two parties; a high rate of persons who never married; and a fairly low birth rate, see Laurence, 31-36. Yet she also indicated that these patterns were not indicative of royal and noble families, and the Parrs certainly travelled in aristocratic circles. Also, see Hufton, 13-14.

purposes of dynastic unions, titles, and property.⁵⁷ Couples married at such early ages did not always begin their married lives immediately, but remained within their family households until they were sexually mature and their parents agreed it was time for them to consummate the marriage. Scholars have suggested that the mean age of menarche in early modern England was approximately fourteen. Since the onset of menarche is influenced by nutrition and body weight, girls from upper-class families such as the Parrs tended to mature sexually at an earlier age.⁵⁸

Scholars of the history of marriage within the social and economic context of early modern England, have suggested that sometime between the years 1500 and 1800 that young people gained a greater say over the selection of their marriage partners. Lawrence Stone argued that during these years the "patriarchal" family gave way to the affective "family," thus giving young people more influence over the choice of a marriage partner.⁵⁹ Alan MacFarlane argued that marriages for love became the norm during the centuries from 1300 to 1840

⁵⁷. Laurence, 45.

⁵⁸. Peter Laslett, "Age at Menarche in Europe Since the Eighteenth Century," Journal of Interdisciplinary History 2 (1971/1972); P. Crawford, "Attitudes to Menstruation in Seventeenth-Century England," Past and Present 91 (1981); Cressy, 254; Laurence, 61-62.

⁵⁹. Lawrence Stone, Family, Sex and Marriage, 1500-1800 (London: Pelican, 1979), 254; Also, Hufton, 108-113.

because of a growth of "individualism."⁶⁰ The merits of both these arguments have been debated, as has the question of, if in fact the choice of marriage partners became freer, when this change occurred.

A young woman from an ambitious family living in the sixteenth century was unlikely to have had free choice of a husband. In the case of Kateryn Parr, she appears to have had little to say in the selection of her husbands until her fourth and last marriage to Thomas Seymour. (By the time Kateryn chose Seymour she was over thirty and the dowager queen of England.) As Kateryn Parr's father was dead, the negotiations for Kateryn's first marriage were handled by her mother, with the assistance of family friends. Her two subsequent marriages appear to have been much influenced through family pressures. It is not known whether Kateryn had any input in the deliberations, nor should it be assumed that her family set out intentionally to vex her. Rather, evidence suggests that Maud Parr acted assiduously to provide for her children the most advantageous marriages possible; settlements that would secure for them, their future children, and the Parr family, status and safeguards for the uncertainties ahead.

Due to the paucity of potential marriage partners at court, Maud Parr looked northward and began negotiations in

⁶⁰. Alan MacFarlane, Marriage and Love in England: Modes of Reproduction, 1300-1840 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), 160-62.

1523, when Kateryn was ten, for a marriage between her daughter and Lord Scrope. Though the Scropes were an important family, including one queen, one Prince of Wales, a cardinal, and three archbishops in their lineage, the family had some financial setbacks. While the Parrs were wealthier than Lord Scrope, Kateryn's dowry was not very impressive. Maud's efforts to secure a marriage between her son William and the daughter of the Earl of Essex depleted her available funds for her daughters' dowries. Even the intervention of Cuthbert Tunstal failed to conclude the matter on a favorable note, and negotiations were cancelled in 1524.⁶¹

Maud Parr's second attempt in 1529 to secure a husband for her daughter was more successful, and Kateryn married a young man in his twenties named Edward Borough, the son of Lord Borough of Gainsborough in Lincolnshire. Though there is no documentary evidence of the courtship, it was a serious business in the sixteenth century; a time when Kateryn and her husband-to-be prepared to become a couple, and property negotiations, as well as negotiations of future status, relationships, and privileges occurred. Kateryn was about sixteen at the time of the marriage, which occurred in the

⁶¹. LP, III, i, 3178, 3210, 3264, 3649; IV, i, 162, 189. Letters between Maud Parr and Lord Scrope are reprinted in Strickland, 394-96; Martienssen, 29-36; for commentary, see Snowden, 3; James, "Queen Kateryn Parr," 108. William Parr's marriage to Anne Burchier, the daughter of the Earl of Essex was a disaster that ended in divorce, see Bod. Rawlinson MS A112/66b,67b, CSP:Edward VI, 41; also, Susan E. James, "A Tudor Divorce: The Marital History of William Parr, Marquess of Northampton," TCWAAS 20 (1990), 199-204.

month of May, thereby avoiding the liturgical seasons of Lent and Advent. Contrary to popular legend, Kateryn Parr was not sent north to marry a man many years her senior, although this undoubtedly did happen to other girls in her circle. Until recently, historians have confused Kateryn's first husband with his grandfather Edward Borough, who was much older and kept prisoner at home due to his insanity. Kateryn's first husband did not outlive his father. He served briefly as a justice of the peace before his death in April 1533, shortly after Henry VIII married Anne Boleyn. Kateryn and Edward had no children, and Edward Borough's younger brother William succeeded him to the title, becoming Lord Borough in 1550.⁶²

While the match between Kateryn Parr and Edward Borough was not a particularly distinguished one, the Boroughs were well-respected, connected to Maud Parr's mother's family, and had a long history of service to the crown.⁶³ In the early days of their marriage, Kateryn and her sickly husband lived like many young couples in an extended household, along with his father and mad grandfather. The couple then moved on their own to the manor of Kirton in Lindsey for a short time before

⁶². LP, V, i, 1694; VI, 419; XII, ii, 187; Complete Peerage, eds. Vicary, Gibbs et al. (London, 1910-1929), II, 423. For the date of the marriage, see Maud Parr's will, PRO, PROB 11/12 f85LH-f87LH. For marriage and the church seasons, see Laurence, 45. For information on the Boroughs, see James, "Queen Kateryn Parr," 108-9. James' research distinguished the identity of Edward Borough, Kateryn Parr's husband, from his grandfather. Also, Martienssen, 36. On courtship, see Cressy, 233-36; 280-81.

⁶³. Snowden, 4; James, "Queen Kateryn Parr," 108.

Edward's death.⁶⁴ Susan James suggested that it was during this first marriage that Kateryn learned the nursing skills which were so useful to her as queen.⁶⁵

For a young woman like Kateryn Parr, marriage came with profound changes and new obligations. Marriage was Kateryn's passage into the adult social world, and separated her from the world of daughters and unmarried women. The role of Kateryn's husband was to govern their household; her role, in turn, was to govern those beneath her. As a married woman, Kateryn was accountable to a higher degree of moral and religious obligation than a single person. She was expected to maintain her own honor, as well as the respectability of her household. Married couples in Kateryn's day were expected to attend church regularly, and were expected to uphold the integrity of both families. In time, Kateryn was expected to assume the responsibilities of a large household, including children, wards, relatives, and servants.⁶⁶

Like her contemporaries from landed families, Kateryn Parr was considered an important link in the transmission of titles and property. Her marriage settlement was not just

⁶⁴. LP, V, i, 1694; Strickland, 396-7; Snowden 4-5; James, "Queen Kateryn Parr," 109. There is a Holbein portrait in the Royal Collection which may depict Kateryn as "Lady Borough," see Weir, The Six Wives of Henry VIII, 494-95 and K.T. Parker, The Drawings of Hans Holbein in the Collection of Her Majesty The Queen at Windsor Castle (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, n.d.), 47-48.

⁶⁵. James, "Queen Kateryn Parr," 109.

⁶⁶. Cressy, 286-94.

between Kateryn and her future husband, but between different generations and branches of both families. Maud Parr was undoubtedly concerned that her daughter's marriage settlement would provide for her during the marriage, as well as provide for the succession of their property should the male line fail. Since most marriages at the time were relatively brief -- on the average less than twenty years -- and since about one-third of all marriages were remarriages, Maud Parr and her advisors needed to draw up a contract to provide for a complex set of possible future scenarios. The possibility of Kateryn's husband's death needed to be considered, as did her possible remarriage, and the security of any children or stepchildren. In a family such as the Parrs, there may have also been an effort to exclude any stepchildren or other relatives of Kateryn's future husband from inheriting any family property, should she die childless.⁶⁷

Like most contracts, Kateryn Parr's marriage settlement was required to conform to certain standards. Kateryn was entitled to one-third of her deceased husband's estate, or her dower. Her dower was a charge against her husband's estate, and not connected to any property she brought to the marriage. Kateryn would be entitled to the dower for her lifetime, regardless of the wishes of the heir to the property. There was also probably a marriage portion, or property that passed automatically to Kateryn's husband in the event of their

⁶⁷. Laurence, 46, 51, 230-31.

marriage. This property was not technically Kateryn's, but it was given with the understanding that she would be cared for in the event of her husband's death. It would also be common for a woman like Kateryn to receive in lieu of a dower, a jointure, or an annuity, sometimes with part of an estate, which would become hers in the event of her husband's death. Jointures were more commonly linked to strict settlement, by which estates were attached to a title. Though more common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, jointures were found in the sixteenth century, as was the case with Kateryn Parr.⁶⁸

Beyond the legal side of marriage in the sixteenth century, there were also the personal and religious aspects. Overall, it is the private aspects of sixteenth-century marriages that are more difficult for historians to document, yet this side of marriage is important to capture if we are to have a balanced picture of the experience. Even though Kateryn Parr was the "most-married" queen of England, we have no documentary evidence of her own feelings about her two husbands before she married Henry VIII in 1543. Kateryn Parr spent most of her life as a wife, and undoubtedly grew in her understanding of this role from the time she was a girl until her last marriage in her thirties. Still, Kateryn Parr's writings show that she was not only an extremely opinionated

⁶⁸. For an explanation of marriage settlements in general, see Laurence, 230-35. For an example of a jointure related to Kateryn Parr, see the Act of the Ramification of the Jointure of Queen Katherine, HLRO, 35 Henry VIII, no. 20.

woman, but that her religious devotion and strong sense of duty formed important aspects of her character. As her writings suggest, her understanding of the responsibilities of marriage were also influenced by these aspects of her character.⁶⁹

In Kateryn Parr's religious milieu, every event in the human life cycle was accompanied by religious rituals. The events of birth, marriage and death were scripted through an interconnecting set of social mores and religious rituals. Baptisms, marriages, and funerals served as points of contact between families and community, and conveyed religious teaching through sermons. For the young Kateryn Parr, such events shaped the religious and social framework of most of her private life. As her own religious beliefs began to change during the course of her life, it is important to recognize that Kateryn, as well as those around her, continued to rely on the religious rituals of baptisms, marriages and funerals.⁷⁰

During Kateryn Parr's life-time it was the general belief that marriage belonged to God, and therefore it should be

⁶⁹. For example, Katherine Parr, the Lamentacion of a synner, in The Early Modern Englishwoman: A Facsimile Library of Essential Works, Betty S. Travitsky and Patrick Cullen, eds. pt. 1, vol. 3, fascim. of 1548 edition by Edward Whitchurch, STC 4828 (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), chapter 11.

⁷⁰. Cressy, 1-2.

celebrated within the context of the church.⁷¹ It was commonly held that the main purposes for marriage was the procreation of children, protection against sin, and lastly, the care and companionship of the parties.⁷² Banns were published in advance of a marriage, and a public ceremony was considered important to ensure the inheritance of property.⁷³ Though the belief in marriage as a sacrament was changing, it is likely that Kateryn Parr and most of her contemporaries still regarded it as a life-time commitment. Annulment and separation were rare and expensive procedures, with divorce only possible for those who had the means to afford a private act of Parliament.⁷⁴

After her first husband's death, it is unknown where Kateryn Parr lived before her remarriage. With an uncle and brother at court, it is possible that she returned there, and it has been suggested that while at court she continued her studies with Juan Luis Vives.⁷⁵ There is also a tradition that

⁷¹. Laurence, 294-95.

⁷². Laurence, 41, 294-97; Hufton, 177-78.

⁷³. Laurence, 42.

⁷⁴. For the sacramental character of marriage, see Cressy, 294-97. In 1542, Kateryn Parr's brother was granted a divorce, (after an ecclesiastical annulment,) based on his wife's adultery, see Bod. Rawlinson MS A112/66b, 67b; CSP, EDWARD VI, 721 James, "A Tudor Divorce." Kateryn's sister Anne had a happier marriage, and eventually became the countess of Pembroke.

⁷⁵. Snowden, 6-8.

she went to live at Sizergh Castle with distant kin.⁷⁶ As a twenty-year-old widow with a limited income, Kateryn Parr was in a difficult situation. Both of her parents were dead, and she had no children to bring her a portion of her father-in-law's estate. With the pragmatism of her mother, and possibly due to pressure exerted by Cuthbert Tunstal, who was also a friend of her second husband, Kateryn married again in 1534, a year after her first husband's death.⁷⁷

Kateryn's second husband was the twice-widowed John Neville, Lord Latimer, who lived at Snape Hall, Yorkshire.⁷⁸ The Nevilles were a prominent northern family who claimed descent from William of Normandy and the Plantagenets, so that the marriage improved Kateryn's social status. Although Lord Latimer, like Kateryn's first husband Edward Borough, has also been described as a senile old man, he was actually born in 1490; and when he died in 1542 or 1543, he was only about fifty-two years old. With this second marriage Kateryn was put in charge of a large household, and given her first experience as a stepmother. Lord Latimer had two children, John and Margaret, from a previous marriage. Kateryn was never very

⁷⁶. Strickland, 397.

⁷⁷. Snowden, 9-11; Strickland, 397-405; James, "Queen Kateryn Parr, 109-110.

⁷⁸. The North Yorkshire County Record Office, County Hall, Northallerton, holds a small collection of fifteenth and sixteenth-century records for Snape Hall. The records do not provide personal information on Kateryn Parr when she was Lady Latimer, but relate to the estate accounts, see Ref.ZAL1/2.

close to her stepson John Neville, who was not very close to his family in general, but Margaret and Kateryn became devoted to each other.⁷⁹

Lord Latimer was described as a quiet and unambitious man, who was also a staunch Roman Catholic. Little is known of the early years of Kateryn's life as Lady Latimer, but the political climate was an intense one. In the same year Kateryn married Lord Latimer, he was summoned to Parliament to pass the bill naming the king as "the only supreme head of the Church of England." Lord Latimer much preferred life on his estates in the north, and would have stayed there if he had not been summoned by the king. Latimer was reluctant to participate in the business at hand, but witnessed the cost paid by those who resisted. The following year, in 1535, John Fisher and Thomas More were executed. The next year, Lord Latimer sought to excuse himself from Parliament during Anne Boleyn's trial. He wrote to Cromwell requesting an excuse, citing estate problems, and saying that he found the whole business of Parliament too painful to attend. Not only was Cromwell furious because Lord Latimer missed the trial, he was angry because the letter arrived late. Cromwell's retaliation was to order both Lord and Lady Latimer to London by June 8,

⁷⁹. James, "Queen Kateryn Parr," 109; Martiensen, 58-96;

1536 when Parliament was to assemble to proclaim Jane Seymour queen.⁸⁰

In the district where Lord and Lady Latimer had their estates there were signs of rebellion from those who still resented the king's setting aside of Queen Katherine and executing her most vocal supporters, including her confessor. Queen Katherine was an old friend of the Parr family, and her situation may have concerned Kateryn. There was also the affair of Elizabeth Barton, the "Nun of Kent," who won notoriety with her prophecies and who began to speak openly against the royal divorce. Barton was hanged in 1534, along with those who used her in their campaign against the king. Some of Lord Latimer's kinsmen were arrested and questioned in the affair, but were not executed. Further, Cromwell attempted to incriminate family friend Cuthbert Tunstal by searching through the bishop's papers. Though the plan was unsuccessful the threat was obvious.⁸¹

Whatever peace may have reigned in the Latimer household dramatically changed on October 1, 1536 when Yorkshire exploded. A riot broke out in Lincolnshire over the new controversial government policy of suppressing the monasteries. The riot quickly grew into a major uprising, later to be known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, and the government feared that it was the beginning of a religious

⁸⁰. Snowden, 14-16.

⁸¹. Snowden, 12-14.

civil war. The rebels, under the leadership of Robert Aske, wanted a return to the old religion. The new religious policies were seen as very threatening to the way of life in the north of England. There was considerable loyalty in the region for the monasteries, which served as inns and hospitals, as well as for the families that founded them. Further, the Ten Articles, with the subsequent elimination of four sacraments, were of great concern to poorer, local, clergy who were worried about their livelihood.⁸²

The conflict escalated quickly. By October 4, The Earl of Shrewsbury wrote that three thousand rebels were threatening Lord Borough of Gainsborough, Kateryn Parr's former father-in-law.⁸³ A few weeks later, Kateryn watched as her husband, Lord Latimer was taken from their home and held hostage.⁸⁴ By late November 1536, Aske was using Lord Latimer -- voluntarily or not, no one was certain -- as his spokesman. The king believed

⁸². For a discussion of Lord Latimer's character, see Snowden 8-13, and Strickland, 399-401; Martienssen, 58-60. For the Pilgrimage of Grace, see Eamon Duffy, The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 379-423; Stuart E. Prall, Church and State in Tudor and Stuart England (Arlington Heights: Harlan Davidson, 1983), 34-41; Martienssen, chapter 6; Snowden, 12-26; James, "Queen Kateryn Parr," 110-111. For recent studies of the Pilgrimage of Grace, see M.L. Bush, The Pilgrimage of Grace: A Study of Rebel Armies of October 1536 (Manchester: Manchester University Press; New York: St. Martin's, 1996); Scott Michael Harrison, The Pilgrimage of Grace in the Lake Counties, 1536-67 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1981).

⁸³. LP, XI, 536.

⁸⁴. LP, XI, 729.

that Latimer's actions were treasonous and wrote to the Duke of Norfolk, his general in the north: "We desire you to use all good means with Lord Latimer...to induce [him]...to condemn that villain Aske and submit...to our clemency."⁸⁵

An amnesty was announced in late November of that year, and Lord Latimer fled to the south to plead to the king for his life, leaving Kateryn and his children at home and unprotected.⁸⁶ The rebels felt betrayed by Latimer's actions, and while he was away attacked his home, and took Kateryn and the children hostage. The rebels dispatched a message in January 1537 to Lord Latimer ordering him either to come home or forfeit his estate and family.⁸⁷ The danger of the situation was evident in Lord Latimer's letter to the Lord Admiral:

...I learn that the commons of Richmondshire, grieved at my coming up, have entered my house at Snape and will destroy it if I come not home shortly. It I do not please them I know not what they will do with my body and goods, wife and children....⁸⁸

Although exactly how he did it is unknown, Latimer persuaded the rebels to leave his home and family alone. By January 1537, however, the defeat of Aske and his army brought trials and executions. Not enough evidence was available to

⁸⁵. LP, XI, 1174.

⁸⁶. LP, XI, 1206, 1217(19)

⁸⁷. LP, XII, 169-173.

⁸⁸. LP, XII, i, 173.

indict Lord Latimer for treason: yet he spent his remaining years bribing a government official to secure his freedom.⁸⁹ One historian argued that the only reason Lord Latimer escaped the events of the Pilgrimage of Grace with his life, was that his wife's brother William Parr, and her brother-in-law, William Herbert, were close advisors to the king, and saved his life.⁹⁰

It has been suggested that during the time Kateryn Parr was Lady Latimer, she interceded on the behalf of Sir George Throckmorton, and thereby contributed to the downfall of Thomas Cromwell. George Thockmorton was married to Kateryn's aunt, and was kept in the Tower by Cromwell for over two years without a trial on the pretext that he would not swear to the supremacy of the king. Cromwell reputedly desired his lands, and since Throckmorton's brother Michael served as under-secretary to Cardinal Pole, the accusation was a serious one.⁹¹

Kateryn and her husband also felt threatened by Cromwell. With the assistance of Cuthbert Tunstal, and armed with information concerning bribes Cromwell had accepted from Lord Latimer and Sir Richard Rich to gain Throckmorton's release,

⁸⁹. BL, Cotton MS, Vespasian, Fxiii, 236, f. 131.

⁹⁰. Snowden, 23.

⁹¹. In 1530, Henry VIII, anxious to secure his help over his divorce, offered him the See's of York or Winchester, but Pole refused both. In 1534-6 Pole wrote Pro Ecclesiasticae Unitatis Defensione, censuring the King's conduct.

Kateryn went to the king without Cromwell's knowledge. After this interview, Henry sent for Rich who testified that Cromwell boasted about his ability to control the king. Henry was furious and ordered Cromwell's arrest. Not only did the king release Throckmorton, but Henry admired Lady Latimer's conviction, and he began to see her in a new and favorable light.⁹²

How exactly the events surrounding the Pilgrimage of Grace and its aftermath affected Kateryn Parr is not known. She probably feared for her life on more than one occasion, and could not have escaped the trauma emotionally unscathed. The violent threats to her stepchildren and the members of her household, as well her husband's disregard for their safety, could have hardly been less than deeply disturbing. From this period on, Kateryn spent more time in London at her home in Charterhouse Yard and at court. Some scholars have suggested that it was during this period in London that Kateryn, by now completely out of sympathy with her husband's conservative religious views, began to gather at Charterhouse a circle of "new religionists" for theological and philosophical debate.⁹³

Although her return to the intellectual life at court and

⁹². Strickland, 405-5; Martienssen, 97-121. Martienssen gives a complete, though undocumented, account of Katherine's interview with the King to secure Throckmorton's release, and incriminate Cromwell.

⁹³. See, Haugaard, 349-50; and James, "Queen Kateryn Parr," 111. McConica, English Humanists, 215, argued that Katherine did not begin to meet with followers of the new religion until after Lord Latimer's death.

the subsequent exposure to religious discourse was probably stimulating to Kateryn Parr, there is little evidence to suggest that she adopted her beliefs in reform religion directly after her experiences in the Pilgrimage of Grace. It seems more likely that her conversion was a gradual one that may have begun while she was married to Lord Latimer, but that grew in depth of conviction after her marriage to the king. There is no suggestion that her outward religious observance during her marriage to Lord Latimer was anything but conservative and conventional. Moreover, if Kateryn was seen by the king as a possible marriage partner, she could not have been perceived as reform-minded before their marriage.⁹⁴ While Hugh Latimer, Miles Coverdale, and John Parkhurst were among those who met at Kateryn's London home, it is improbable that she met any of them before 1543, especially since the house was not granted until August 1542.⁹⁵ At the time she was in London with Lord Latimer, Hugh Latimer was forbidden by the king to come within ten miles of London, and Miles Coverdale left England in 1540 and did not return until after Henry VIII's death. Also, a recent reinterpretation of John

⁹⁴. Dairmaid MacCulloch, Thomas Cranmer: A Life (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 326-27; hamilton, 310.

⁹⁵. LP, XVII, 714(18).

Parkhurst's work has argued that he was never part of Kateryn's household, even when she was queen.⁹⁶

By March 1542, the court of Henry VIII was returning to life just as the king was recovering from the trauma of the events related to the execution of Katherine Howard the month before. Though shocked by his wife's infidelities, the king recovered from her death much more quickly than he did the death of his beloved Jane Seymour. Not only was there little incentive for the council to find the king a new consort, it was very dangerous for those who found him the wrong one. The Katherine Howard scenario was not to be repeated: A new statute made it treason for anyone to conceal the indiscretions of a future bride of the king. The statute was so far-reaching that it even covered the act of introducing the king to an inappropriate woman.⁹⁷ There was also less incentive to find the king a marriage partner as his health began to decline, and it became evident that Henry VIII would probably not beget more children.⁹⁸

⁹⁶. A.F. Chester, Hugh Latimer: Apostle to the English (New York, 1978), 155; Barrett L. Beer, "A Note on Queen Catherine Parr's Almoner," HLO 25, no. 4 (1961), 347; John Parkhurst, The Letter Book of John Parkhurst, ed. Ralph Holbrooke, vol. 43 (Norfolk Record Society, 1974/75), 21; Hamilton, 310.

⁹⁷. HLRO, 33 Henry VIII, c.2; Statutes of the Realm, ed. A. Luders et al. (London: Records Commission, 1810-28), III, 859.

⁹⁸. Loades, 133.

While in London, Kateryn Parr had an opportunity to renew friendships at court. Kateryn was reunited with Princess Mary at a time when she was estranged from her father. Given Mary's unwavering Roman Catholicism, as well as Lord Latimer's own dubious relationship with the king, the friendship could have been a risk for Kateryn. Yet as early as February 1543, Kateryn was close enough to both Mary and the king to be ordering clothing for the princess.⁹⁹ Kateryn may have realized that Henry's interest in her extended beyond their "cousinly" relationship. Henry was sending gifts to the Lady Latimer, even before her husband's death, and she and her sister Anne were at court with both Mary and Elizabeth by the spring of 1543.¹⁰⁰

At the same time Kateryn was renewing her relationships within the royal family, Kateryn met Thomas Seymour through her sister Anne, and fell in love with him. Seymour was the brother of the late Queen Jane. Kateryn's husband, Lord Latimer, had never fully recovered from the events of the Pilgrimage of Grace, and died in March 1543. Kateryn thought she would wait a decent interval after her husband's death and then hoped to marry Seymour. She was deeply in love with him and had her heart set on marrying him. As she wrote to him five years later:

⁹⁹. LP, XVIII, i, 886.

¹⁰⁰. PRO, SP 1/117, fols. 123-125; LP, XVIII, i, 443, 740.

I would not have you think that this mine honest goodwill towards you to proceed of any sudden motion of passion; for, as truly as God is my God, my mind was fully bent, the other time I was at liberty, to marry you before any man I know....It were long to write all the process of this matter; if I live, I shall declare it to you myself.¹⁰¹

However, Kateryn Parr felt compelled to postpone marriage to Thomas Seymour. Henry VIII made his desire known that he wished to marry her. To Henry, the mature and devout Lady Latimer seemed as far in character as possible from the young and flighty Katherine Howard. Though the Parrs were an ambitious family, they were not politically aligned with the Howards, the family the king held responsible for his marriages to Anne Boleyn and Katherine Howard. Kateryn's piety and learning, her spotless reputation, her sense of absolute duty, and her pleasant looks, made her eminently suitable as a wife. Kateryn herself was deeply dismayed. Better, she supposedly exclaimed, to be a mistress than his wife! As for Thomas Seymour, the king sent him away as an ambassador to the court of the regent of the Netherlands in Brussels. Considering Henry VIII's proposal of marriage a command, her letter to her brother describing the impending nuptials as "the greatest joy and comfort that could happen" may reflect more of Kateryn's sense of duty and her allegiance to her family than her genuine happiness at the prospect of marriage

¹⁰¹. Dent-Brocklehurst MS, Sudeley Castle; photostat, Gloucestershire Record Office, Gloucestershire; reprinted in Letters of the Queens of England, ed. Anne Crawford, 222.

to a man who had already had executed two of his consorts.¹⁰²

Archbishop Cranmer issued a license on July 10, 1543, permitting the marriage ceremony between Kateryn Parr and Henry VIII to be performed at any church, chapel, or oratory in the kingdom without the asking of banns. Two days later, the couple were married in a public ceremony in the "Quynes Pryevry Closet" at Hampton Court. Cranmer did not perform the ceremony as was customary for the archbishop of Canterbury -- the wedding occurred at a time when the king was distancing himself from the archbishop; the honors instead went to Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester.¹⁰³

Though Kateryn brought no natural children to the marriage, she became a stepmother for the second time to Henry VIII's three children -- Mary, aged twenty-seven; Elizabeth, aged ten; and Edward, aged six. Henry's daughters Mary and Elizabeth were among the wedding guests; as were some of the women who became part of Kateryn's household. Lady Mary Douglas, the daughter of Henry's sister Margaret by her second husband attended the wedding, as did Katherine Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk, Kateryn's sister, Anne Parr Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, Lady Anne Dudley, and, Anne, Countess of Hertford. Princess Mary was the bridesmaid; she received two

¹⁰². PRO, SP 1/179 f 76. On Seymour's appointment, see Weir, 493.

¹⁰³. PRO, E30/1572, nos. 5, 6; LP, XVIII, 873, 854, 1472. For the relationship between Henry VIII and Cranmer at this time, see MacCulloch, 313-14.

gold bracelets set with rubies and twenty-five pounds as a gift from the bride.¹⁰⁴

William Parr, the bride's brother, was not at Kateryn's wedding to the king. Yet Kateryn was aware that William and her other relations were likely to benefit from her elevation to the throne, perhaps more than she would. As early as March 1543, at the same time as Lord Latimer's death, William Parr began to receive honors and offices from the king, and in April of the same year was elected to the Order of the Garter.¹⁰⁵ While she was close to her brother, Kateryn knew that her marriage to the king was of particular benefit to William when she wrote : "[You are] the person to have most cause to rejoice."¹⁰⁶

Kateryn Parr's religious legacy began with her family and education, and the study of her life highlights the circumstances of Tudor women at court. Born during a time of increased educational opportunities for women, Kateryn was literate in not just English, but also Latin and other languages. Her education was designed to give her the skills eventually to administer a large estate and to act as the spiritual leader of her household. Kateryn's marriages were as much an alliance between families as they were a religious contract between individuals, and all involved were expected

¹⁰⁴. Ibid.

¹⁰⁵. James, "The Parrs of Kendal," 303-4.

¹⁰⁶. LP, XVIII, i, 918.

to benefit in some way. The extent to which Kateryn excelled in her studies and sense of religious duty greatly shaped her character, and informed her religious legacy.

CHAPTER III:

"Kateryn the Quene-Regent, K.P"

The marriage of Henry VIII to Kateryn Parr on July 12, 1543, was an international event celebrated throughout the kingdom as well as on the continent. While Kateryn's own feelings about her marriage to the king were understandably mixed, she entered into the commitment in the belief that she was called to the marriage by God, and agreed to it, at least in part, because she saw it as her religious destiny. Shortly after the marriage, Kateryn wrote to her brother William Parr that it "pleased God to incline the king to take her as his wife."¹ On another occasion several years later, Kateryn commented on her marriage to the king in a letter to Thomas Seymour:

Howbeit, God withstood my will therein most vehemently for a time, and, through his grace and goodness, made that possible which seemed to me most impossible; that was, made me renounce utterly mine own will, and to follow his will most willingly.²

¹. Catalogue of the Henry Huth Library, I (London, 1880), 696; LP, XVIII, i, 918.

². Dent-Brocklehurst MS Collection, Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire; photostat, Gloucestershire Record Office; reprinted in Crawford, 222.

Reaction to the marriage was, of course, overwhelmingly favorable. Sir Thomas Wriothesley, the lord chancellor, and always one to keep pace with the political currents at court, wrote immediately to the queen's brother William Parr in order to praise his sister.³ At the same time Wriothesley wrote to the Duke of Suffolk and described Kateryn Parr as,

...a woman, in my judgement, for certain virtue, wisdom, and gentleness, most meet for his Highness. And sure I am that his majesty had never a wife more agreeable to his heart than she is. The Lord grant them long life and much joy together.⁴

Though Wriothesley's comments may have been inspired by self-seeking motives, many of his contemporaries agreed with him. In August 1543, Edmund Havel wrote to Lord Russell of his happiness at the king's marriage to "so prudent, beautiful and virtuous a lady as is by universal fame reported."⁵ Havel also commented on Kateryn Parr's popularity when he wrote to congratulate the king on his marriage to the queen "of whose praises here is public fame."⁶ In another letter addressed to Kateryn Parr's brother William, Ralph Sadler wrote that the marriage was an occasion for rejoicing, not only for the king himself, "but also for the real and inestimable benefits and comfort which thereby shall ensure to the whole realm,...."⁷

³. PRO, SP/180, 84; LP, XVIII, 919.

⁴. PRO, SP/180, 84; LP, XVIII, i, 894.

⁵. LP, XVIII, ii, 38.

⁶. LP, XVIII, ii, 37.

⁷. CSP:Domestic, V, 23.

Although he was later to refer to Kateryn Parr as a heretic, Eustace Chapuys, the Imperial ambassador, was charmed by the new queen, appreciated her obvious kindnesses to Princess Mary, and wrote the emperor that the new queen was "praised for her virtue."⁸ Kateryn's popular reputation for virtue and piety was echoed in December 1543 by Francis Goldsmith:

God has so formed her mind for pious studies that she considers everything of small value compared to Christ. Her rare goodness has made every day like Sunday, a thing hitherto unheard of, especially in a royal palace. Her piety cherishes the religion, long since⁹ introduced, not without great labor, to the palace....

The only recorded negative comment about Kateryn Parr at the time of her marriage to Henry VIII was made by Anne of Cleves, the king's fourth wife. According to Chapuys, Anne was so hurt and humiliated by the marriage that she was ready to give up her comfortable pension and property in England and return to her mother in Germany. The source of Anne's complaint was supposedly that Kateryn Parr was "by no means as handsome as herself" and besides, "there is no hope of her having children, considering that she has been twice a widow and has bourne none from either of her deceased husbands."¹⁰

As stated previously, it was Kateryn Parr's immediate family who had the most cause to rejoice over her marriage to the king. Not only did her brother William Parr gain favors at

⁸. CSP:Spain, VI, ii, 436; LP, VIII, i, 875.

⁹. BL, Lansdowne MS 97, 43; LP, XVIII, ii, 531.

¹⁰. CSP:Spain, VI, ii, 189; LP, XVIII, i, 954.

court, her uncle, another Sir William Parr, fared even better by gathering a number of offices, including that of Lord Chamberlain of the queen's household. His wife Mary became one of the queen's ladies. Shortly after the royal marriage in December 1543, Kateryn's uncle William was created Baron Parr of Horton, and later became one of her chief advisors during her regency.¹¹

Although Kateryn Parr's sister Anne Herbert lived at court since the 1530s, her position and that of her husband William were advanced in 1543 when her sister became queen. Anne was appointed one of the queen's ladies, and along with her husband received several land grants. William Herbert was knighted in the same year, probably as a direct result of his sister-in-law's marriage.¹² In addition, more distant relatives of Kateryn Parr benefitted from her new stature as well. Her widowed cousin, Maud Lane, received a large grant just days after the royal marriage, and four Throckmorton cousins were promoted to portionment.¹³

However, while those close to Kateryn Parr and Henry VIII celebrated their good fortune, for others the marriage began on a more somber note. Only three days after the ceremony, the

¹¹. PRO, SP 1/189, 227b; LP, XVII, ii, 516; XIX, i, 171(75), 864(2); XX, i, 1336(70); James, "The Parrs of Kendal," 341; Hamilton, 128-29.

¹². LP, XVIII, i, 623(71); XIX, i, 80(15).

¹³. LP XVIII, I, 981(88); Eric Ives, Anne Boleyn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 154-57.

plague broke out in London.¹⁴ Once Kateryn's household was organized, the couple departed for Windsor where Henry celebrated his marriage by burning three heretics in the Great Park. As one observer wrote: "For in July he married the widow of a nobleman named Latimer; and he is always want to celebrate his nuptials by some wickedness of this kind."¹⁵

To appreciate Kateryn Parr's legacy as queen of England, her role and actions must be examined against the political and religious setting in which she came into prominence. The fall of Thomas Cromwell brought a change in the king's religious course, marked by increasing religious conservatism as court rivalries and factions fought to take advantage of ideological shifts. At the same time, convoluted foreign alliances advocated by Henry to prevent defeat by powers aided by Rome, contributed to a large degree for his switch in religious policy.¹⁶ Both these factors contributed to an atmosphere of religious restraint, even repression, at court.

The legal dimensions of religious repression were made possible by the anti-heresy statute, the Act of The Six Articles, approved by the king in 1538. The act remained in force for the remainder of Henry VIII's reign -- including the

¹⁴. LP, XVIII, i, 886.

¹⁵. LP, XVIII, ii, 219.

¹⁶. Patricia Cole Swenson, "'Noble Hunters of the Romish Fox': Religious reform at the Tudor Court, 1543-1564" (Ph.d. diss. University of California, Berkeley, 1981), 51-53; 60-61.

entire period that Kateryn Parr was queen -- always available for implementation against heretics should the need arise. The act was conservative on all points, including the Real Presence and the celibacy of the clergy, and made it possible for ecclesiastical courts to try heresy cases without a jury.¹⁷

By May 1543, two months before his marriage to Kateryn Parr, the king's position as the one in total control of church doctrine and government was solidified by the publication of The King's Book, a work that replaced Cranmer's earlier The Bishop's Book.¹⁸ In the same month, Parliament passed an Act for the Advancement of True Religion in which unofficial translations of the Bible were condemned, and Bible reading curtailed: nobility might read to themselves or with their families, but common people were forbidden to read the Bible altogether.¹⁹ During that same year, eight printers were imprisoned for publishing unlawful books, and twenty joiners were jailed for performing a play on Sunday. Also, officials

¹⁷. Holgreffe, Women of Action in Tudor England, 183.

¹⁸. Henry VIII, The King's Book or a Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for Any Christian Man, 1543 (London: SPCK, 1932; rpt. 29 May 1543 edition by Thomas Berthelet, London.). RSTC 5168.

¹⁹. 34 and 35 Henry VIII, c. 1; A.G. Dickens, The English Reformation (New York: Schocken Books, 1964), 213-14; Hamilton, 319-20.

of the city of London conducted a search for those who ate flesh during Lent.²⁰

Though Kateryn had experienced the realities of religious repression during the Pilgrimage of Grace, through her experience of life at court it can be suggested that she learned that not even the queen was beyond prosecution. It was within this context that she began her role as queen, and where she eventually became converted to the reform cause. Though she would not have had difficulty with the king's religious position at the start of her marriage, she disagreed with him significantly by the time of his death.

As the queen of England, Kateryn Parr became, as did her predecessors, a primary focus for court rivalries and religious factions. Her personal disposition and upbringing at court prepared her for her new position and tasks, both official and self-appointed. Kateryn's parents spent many years at court, and she was almost literally raised there, so she was well informed of the skills needed to survive in that environment.

In terms of the political realities of court life, Kateryn Parr remained in the background from the time of her marriage until her regency in 1544. To be sure, Kateryn's survival when so many of Henry's other queens had failed, was dependent on her ability to discern when to influence, to act, or, prudently, to submit.

²⁰. APC, I, 131-32; LP, XVIII, i, 383.

Kateryn Parr took very seriously the duty of a queen to assist those in need, and the evidence suggested that she worked actively behind the scenes to assist friends, family, servants, and others who appealed to her. For example, Kateryn gave her support to the Earl of Hertford's suit to the king to gain control of the borough of Great Bedwyn.²¹ Though Henry's views on the matter were not documented, "the king in his Grace said he marvelled that she [the queen] would speak therein."²² However, given that the earl was granted the borough, Henry could not have been too disturbed by the suit.²³

Kateryn also intervened for the earl's wife, Lady Hertford, while her husband was in Scotland on a dangerous mission. Kateryn was able to speak to the king on her behalf, and informed Lady Hertford about when her husband would be recalled.²⁴ Always concerned with those at court, Kateryn comforted Lady Wriothesley on the death of her only son, and assured her that the boy was in heaven and a "meet and

²¹. HMC, Report of the Manuscripts of the Most Honorable the Marquess of Bath at Longleat, vol. IV, Seymour Papers, 1532-1686 (London: HMSO, 1968), 96.

²². HMC, Seymour Papers, 97.

²³. S.T. Bindoff, ed. The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1509-1558, 3 vols. (London, 1982), I, 223.

²⁴. HMC, Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honorable Marquess of Salisbury (London: HMSO, 1883), I, 42; LP, XIX, i, 620.

pleasant sacrifice for Christ."²⁵ In another case, Kateryn assisted Henry Webbe, a gentleman usher in her privy chamber who had not received the full property he was promised from the king.²⁶ Kateryn also advocated for more common people, and appealed to the king to grant Edward Abecke an annuity of twenty marks when he had been displaced from his parish.²⁷

During her first year as queen, Kateryn Parr was still learning her role. However, her months as regent in 1544 gave her confidence, as well as practical experience in how to influence political matters. Kateryn Parr's contributions as queen were characterized by discretion, judgement, initiative, and creativity. Also, she became very valuable to the king, and spent much time nursing him. Kateryn was the only one that Henry allowed to dress his ulcerated leg.

Kateryn Parr enjoyed many aspects of her high position and its privileges. She inherited many staff from the king's previous wives, and had a household of nearly one hundred persons. As queen, Kateryn had her own chancellor, master of the horse, almoner, four chaplains, a physician, ladies of the queen's chamber, gentlewomen of the privy chamber, maid of honor, and other servants. Kateryn Parr understood the need to dress for her role and bought clothing in rich fabrics, patronized the Dutch jeweller, Peter Richardson, kept two

²⁵. Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, II, ii, 339-40.

²⁶. BM, Cotton MS Vespasian, F iii, 38; LP, XIX, i, 967.

²⁷. LP, XIX, i, 840.

dwarf jesters, pet parrots, an impressive flight of falcons, a stable of greyhounds, and had a passion for shoes -- she purchased nearly fifty pair in one year. Fond of hunting, Kateryn set out on horseback to hunt for deer with her crossbow and sent venison as gifts to friends. She was also fond of music and was a graceful dancer. She was "disposed to mirth in company," and had included in her household both a company of Italian musicians and one of players.²⁸

Upon her marriage to the king, Kateryn Parr became one of the wealthiest women in England. Although left financially comfortable by her second husband, Kateryn inherited 139 manors in twenty-three counties within the week she married Henry VIII, most of which also belonged to her predecessors.²⁹ While Kateryn was unable to manage her extensive properties herself, she acted as a wealthy landowner, and when given the opportunity made decisions regarding the disposition of her properties and servants.³⁰

As queen, Kateryn Parr was a complex personality with a formidable presence. Extant portraits of Kateryn show an

²⁸. BL, Lansdowne MS 2, 36; PRO, LC 2/2, 43-46; E 315/161/89, 104, 153, 171, 178, 185, 198, 201, 206; E 101/423/12, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8; E 101/424/4; SP 1/177, 123-25; SP 1/217, 54; SP 1/195, 177, 179, 179, 181, 182, 183; Society of Antiquaries, MS 129, pt. A, 178-185; HO, 167-70; LP, XXI, i, 645, 677, ii, 688; Hamilton, 13-14.

²⁹. BL, Additional MS 1494; PRO 1/157, 21; LP, I, i, 94 (35,42); VII, 419(25,26); XV, 20, 21, 144(2); XVI, 503(25,26); XIX, i, 141(65,76), 1036(32,34); Hamilton, 140-62.

³⁰. Hamilton, 162.

elegant woman with keen eyes and a determined expression.³¹
 A contemporary description of Kateryn Parr in 1544 depicted a woman aware of her position and role:

[The Queen] wore an underskirt, showing in front, of cloth of gold and a sleeved overdress of brocade lined with crimson velvet and the train was two yards long. She wore hanging from the neck two crosses and a jewel of very magnificent diamonds, and she wore a great number of splendid diamonds in her headdress.³²

The greatest boost to Kateryn Parr's prestige as queen -- perhaps greater than any of the actual political power involved -- came when she served as queen-regent from July until the end of September 1544 when Henry VIII was on a campaign in France. The appointment was evidence of the faith the king put in her judgement and discretion. The only precedent to this action under Henry VIII was when Kateryn's namesake, Katherine of Aragon, was given a similar honor in 1513. While other queens of England served as regent either by usurpation or by the consent of the sovereign, only Kateryn Parr was solemnly conferred with the style and title and signed herself as such, "Kateryn the Quene-Regent, K.P." At

³¹. Two portraits of Kateryn Parr are located in the main gallery of the National Portrait Gallery, London; NPG 4618 by an unknown artist, formerly attributed to William Scrots, and NPG 4451, attributed to Master John, previously entitled "Lady Jane Grey." The latter was painted in about 1545, and recently re-identified as Kateryn Parr by Susan E. James, see "Lady Jane Grey or Queen Kateryn Parr?" Burlington Magazine, 138 (January 1996), 20-24. Additional less reliable portraits of Kateryn Parr are on file in the gallery's Heinz Archive and Library. An additional portrait of Kateryn Parr, possibly as Lady Borough, is located in the Collection of Her Majesty The Queen at Windsor Castle.

³². BL, Additional MS 8219, 114.

the same time he named Kateryn as regent, the king outlined Prince Edward's education with Richard Cox and John Cheke as tutors.³³ Obviously, Kateryn was in favor with the king in 1544, and in fact he believed enough in her abilities to leave both his realm and his son in her capable hands during his absence.

In the areas of politics and diplomacy, Kateryn proved more compliant to Henry VIII's direction than she was in religious matters. Instead of proclaiming Kateryn regent himself, as he did with Katherine of Aragon, Henry had the council confirm her appointment as regent, and he gave her a special council to assist her in governing the kingdom in his absence. Included in Kateryn Parr's council were Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Wriothesley, lord chancellor, Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Westminster, William Petre, secretary, and the Earl of Hertford; the latter was to serve if needed as captain of her armies. (Though Kateryn may have managed without him -- he seems to have been at Boulogne when it was captured.) Cranmer and Petre were to remain with the queen at all times. The council was a balanced one; Wriothesley always followed the directives of the king, while Cranmer and Hertford were reformist in orientation, and Petre and Thirlby were conservatives. In addition, Kateryn's uncle, Lord Parr of Horton, though not an official member of the

³³. PRO, SP 1/189, 226; SP 1/190, 154; HLRO, 36 Henry VIII, c.8; LP, XIX, 864, 889; Strickland, 417.

council, was to be "used in council with them for all such matters as concern the realm."³⁴

While Kateryn Parr did not have to deal with problems of the magnitude of the ones Katherine of Aragon faced when she organized forces for the battle of Flodden, the record shows that she ruled in a variety of difficult situations, including a threatened invasion from the French via Scotland, the disposition of prisoners, and the capture of a Scottish ship. Her last official act as regent was to declare a public day of thanksgiving for the king's safe return.³⁵ As someone who had experienced the horrors of war herself, Kateryn Parr was certainly aware of the dangers facing both the king and herself. The religious dimensions of Kateryn's regency are evident in a prayer she wrote "for men to face entering into battle," and published in 1545:

O Almighty King and Lord of Hosts! which by thy angels thereunto appointed dost minister both war and peace, who didst give David both courage and strength,...with his sling to set upon ad overthrow the great giant Goliath, our cause being just, and being enforced to enter into war and battle, we most humbly beseech thee,...turn the hearts of our enemies to the desire of peace, that not Christian blood be spilt. Or else grant, O Lord, that, with small effusion of blood and little damage of innocents, we may to thy glory obtain victory; and that the wars being soon ended, we may all, with one heart and mind knit together in concord....³⁶

³⁴. PRO, SP 1/189, 128, 226-229.

³⁵. PRO, SP 1/189 f 266, SP 1/190 f 154, SP 1/190 f 221, SP 1/191 f 166; BL, Lansdowne MS 1236, 9; also see LP, XIX, i, 864ff.

³⁶. Katherine Parr, Prayers or medytacions, ed. Travitsky and Cullen, n.p.; also reprinted in Strickland, 418.

In order to analyze Kateryn Parr's role as queen-regent, it is important to assess her political context. In 1544, Henry VIII was in a politically difficult position. He was committed to a war with France at the same time that Scotland was posing a serious threat to England. An Anglo-Imperial treaty of 1543 determined that an assault against France was to be coordinated with the forces of Charles V and to be in the field no later than June 20, 1544. However, throughout late 1543 and into the early months of 1544, most of the king's energies were turned northward and not to war with France.³⁷

In November 1542, the Scots faced a humiliating defeat by the English at Solway Moss. Over a thousand Scottish prisoners were captured, many of them noble, and remained in the hands of the English. King James V died shortly after the battle, leaving his infant daughter, Mary, queen of Scots, as his heir. Henry had hoped to eventually bring Scotland under English domination through a marriage between his son, Prince Edward and Mary. Some of the Scottish prisoners were bribed to support the marriage, but never kept their promises. Nevertheless, in July 1543 the Treaty of Greenwich was drawn-up and it was tentatively agreed that Edward should marry Mary.³⁸

³⁷. Scarisbrick, 440-41.

³⁸. Scarisbrick, 428-29; 434-36; 439-42; Gordon Donaldson, Scotland: James V-James VII (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1965), 59-60; 64, 67-68.

After the death of James V, Henry VIII supported the faction of the Earl of Arran, who ruled as governor in the name of the infant queen and who gave the impression that he favored closer ties with England. Although Henry never technically ratified the Treaty of Greenwich, he was outraged when the Scottish parliament instead renounced all ties with England and renewed their alliance with France. Unwilling to divide his forces during a summer campaign in France and leave England open to attack from the north, Henry dispatched the Earl of Hertford with orders to sack Leith and destroy Edinburgh.³⁹

Most historians of the Tudor period offer few insights into Kateryn Parr's regency.⁴⁰ Only recently have historians suggested that the period was notable. For instance, Dakota Hamilton, in an unpublished doctoral dissertation, argued extensively that Kateryn was more than a figure-head, and that suggestions that the period was uneventful are incorrect.⁴¹ Pearl Hogrefe wrote that the queen-regent was a "good executive" who dealt with a variety of problems "without

³⁹. Scarisbrick, 443-45; Donaldson, 69-70.

⁴⁰. For example, Scarisbrick, 448, 494; Jasper Ridley, Henry VIII (Constable: London, 1984), 383-84; S.T. Bindoff, Tudor England (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985); G.R. Elton, England Under the Tudors (London: Routledge, 1991); A.F. Pollard, Henry VIII (London: Routledge, 1970); Loades, Henry VIII and His Queens, 150.

⁴¹. Hamilton, 179. Also see Strickland, 418-22. For an undocumented narrative of Kateryn Parr's regency, see Martiensen, 175-84.

strain."⁴² Susan James suggested that Henry's choice of Kateryn as regent was a signal not only of the couple's happiness, but a great honor for the queen.⁴³

While the period of her regency extended for only three months, Kateryn Parr acted as more than a figurehead. She ruled deliberately and decisively over a wide range of problems. In spite of the king's desire to the contrary, the Scottish situation was far from resolved when he set sail for France. During Kateryn Parr's regency, a Scottish ship was captured carrying important documents for France, the raid into Scotland continued, and both these activities resulted in a large number of prisoners, many of whom were plagued by starvation and disease. Scottish border lords continued to remain fractious, and decisions needed to be made over the disposition of French nationals resident in England. Domestically, the queen coped with land disputes, and protected the court from plague. There was also a serious theft at court at the time, and without the clemency requested by the queen and the council, the young man who robbed one of the queen's maids could have lost his life.⁴⁴ Additionally, throughout the entire period Kateryn and the council were challenged with the daunting task of providing enough money

⁴². Hogrefe, Women of Action in Tudor England, 199.

⁴³. James, "Queen Kateryn Parr," 113-14.

⁴⁴. LP, XIX, ii, 324.

and supplies to finance both the campaigns in France and in the north.⁴⁵

Documentation covering the period of Kateryn Parr's regency suggests that the queen took governing seriously and was consulted on all issues. The eleven extant letters written by Kateryn during the period all indicate the extent of her involvement in the affairs of the realm.⁴⁶ The only case of record that Kateryn did not entertain during her regency was a complaint filed by the Earl of Cumberland claiming the rights to John Norton's forest. Cumberland was informed that his complaint was filed at a bad time.⁴⁷

During one of the more important events of her regency, Kateryn Parr wrote to the king the following analysis of the contents of letters to the French royal family captured on a Scottish ship in July 1544:

Pleaseth your majesty to be advertised, this afternoon were bought to me letters from your majesty's lieutenant of the north, declaring the apprehension of a Scottish ship...being sent with divers letters and credence towards the French king and others in France....And because I thought this taking of them, with the interception of the said letters to be of much importance

⁴⁵. BL, Additional MSS, 32,655, 93, 98, 100; PRO, SP 1/190, 221; LP, XIX, i, 904, 910, 931, 936, 937, 945; XIX, ii, 15, 16, 210, 246.

⁴⁶. BL, Additional MS 32,655, 127-28 (HP, 288, 315); Additional MS, 39b (LP, XIX, ii, 58); Cotton MS Vespasian F III, 38 (LP, XIX, i, 967); Lansdowne MS 1234, 14 (Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, II, ii 331-32); PRO, SP 1/190, 155, 156, 221 (LP, XIX, i, 980, 1019); SP 1/191, 52-53, 166 (LP, XIX, ii, 136). Several of the letters written by Kateryn Parr during her regency are reprinted in Crawford, 215-19.

⁴⁷. LP, XIX, i, 937.

for the advancement of your majesty' affairs, ordained (I doubt not) of God, as well as to the intent your Highness might thereby certainly understand the crafty dealing and juggling of the nation. I have presently such of the letters as, upon view of the same, appeared of importance to your majesty.⁴⁸

Kateryn Parr's letters to Henry VIII during the regency period were full of anxiety for his safety, and concerned with informing the king about the health of the royal children, particularly Prince Edward. Just before Henry set sail for France, there was considerable anxiety about his health, though in retrospect the campaign left the king in better spirits than he had been in years. Kateryn's letters to her husband also suggested that she saw her role as queen-regent as an extension of her vocation as a wife. One letter dated July 1544 in which Kateryn expressed her longing to see the king "so much desired and beloved by me," also suggested her religious interpretation of her position:

I make like account with your majesty as I do with God for his benefits and gifts heaped upon me daily, acknowledging myself a great debtor to him, not being able to recompense the least of his benefits; in which I am certain and sure to die,⁴⁹ yet I hope in his gracious acceptation of my goodwill.

Kateryn Parr's comparison of the king with God was in accord with her own sense of vocation as queen and wife. For Kateryn, Henry VIII was not only God's representative on

⁴⁸. PRO, SP 1/190, 221; LP, XIX, i, 1019.

⁴⁹. BL, Lansdowne MS 1236, 14; Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, II, ii, 331-32.

earth, but was also as her husband, the divinely ordered head of their family.

One surviving letter from Henry VIII to Kateryn Parr illustrated the extent to which he had taken her into his confidence. Throughout the dictated text, the king directed Kateryn to share with the council detailed information forwarded to Charles V regarding peace with France, reimbursement for war damages, and the duchies of Normandy, Aquitaine and Guyenne. He also told Kateryn that the emperor was likely to reject French proposals. Further, Henry gave Kateryn the authority to appoint additional ladies to her chamber to replace those who were ill. After Henry delegated these matters to Kateryn, he closed with a narrative of his own circumstances:

...we begin three batteries, and have three mines going, besides one which hath done his execution in shaking and tearing off one of the greatest bulwarks. No more to you at this time, sweetheart, but for lack of time and great occupation of business, saving we pray you to give in our name our hearty blessings to all our children,....⁵⁰

During Kateryn Parr's regency, all letters sent to London from the Earl of Shrewsbury, lord lieutenant of the north, were sent directly to the queen, while the king's council in France sent communications to the council with the queen. Though her council undoubtedly did much of the work of government, it was clear that the queen was to be consulted on

⁵⁰. BL, Cotton MS Caligula E IV, 56; LP, XIX, ii, 201; reprinted in James Halliwell, Letters of the Kings of England (London: Henry Colburn, 1846-48), 394-95.

most matters. Many of the letters sent from the council in London clearly stated Kateryn's directives.⁵¹ Kateryn was also clear that she was directly answerable only to the king, and not to various councilors. In one letter, sent to the council in 1544, Kateryn explained this accountability:

And forasmuch as, touching the other contents of your said letters, we have presently written at length unto my said lord, the King's majesty, we forbear to repeat the same unto you, not doubting but that his highness will communicate the same unto you accordingly.⁵²

Obviously the threat of invasion from Scotland remained a constant concern to Kateryn Parr during her regency. While the king's strategy of multiple raids implemented before he sailed for France lessened the possibility of an invasion, the threat remained. The dowager-queen of Scotland, Marie de Guise, made a request for a twenty-day cessation of war, which really only heightened suspicion in England. On July 30, 1544, at the direction of Kateryn Parr, the council ordered the Earl of Shrewsbury to refuse the dowager-queen's request on the basis that it was not in the interest of the king.⁵³ Further, England began another series of raids to forestall Scottish military action.⁵⁴ The raids were conducted by the wardens of the arches, and Kateryn Parr's correspondence with them

⁵¹. For example, LP, XIX, i, 1014.

⁵². PRO, SP 1/190, 156; LP, XIX, i, 980, 981.

⁵³. PRO, SP 1/190, 213; LP, XIX, i, 1014.

⁵⁴. HP, 286; LP, XIX, i, 304, 313, 318, 326, 327, 945; ii, 33, 50, 154, 191, 274, 284.

indicated her sense of responsibility as regent, as well as her sense of military strategy. In one letter dated September 1544, Kateryn commanded that the men who conducted the raids be thanked, and that they continue in their "accustomed diligence in this behalf accordingly, especially now in the time of their [Scotland's] harvest so as their corn may be wasted as much as may be."⁵⁵

The Scottish raids were also executed on the sea, and in one incident previously mentioned, a casket of letters intended for the French royal family was confiscated, along with some important prisoners, among them two "notable enemies of England," the Laird of Frynyherst and his son.⁵⁶ Soon the issue of accommodation for the many Scottish prisoners became a concern for Kateryn Parr and the council. Kateryn eventually wrote the king to request permission to repair Bernard Castle in order to house the prisoners, otherwise many would have died from disease and starvation.⁵⁷

Besides the conditions of prisoners, during her regency Kateryn Parr coped with the security issues presented by French nationals in England. One of the five proclamations Kateryn Parr issued as queen-regent was in July 1544 and was directed toward French nationals. The proclamation commanded

⁵⁵. BL, Additional MS 32,655, 127, 128, 168; HP, 288, 315.

⁵⁶. PRO, SP 1/190, 221; LP, XIX, i, 1019; reprinted in Crawford, 217-18; HP, 286; LP, XIX, i, 945.

⁵⁷. PRO, SP 1/190, 89; HP, 284; LP, i, 931-943.

that those who had applied to become denizens to report to the lord chancellor to confirm their status; other French residents were to leave the realm.⁵⁸ While exceptions were eventually made for French residents who were old or infirm, or who wished to remain in England, there were reasons to take action.⁵⁹ French ships harassed fishing vessels along the English coast, and in August 1544, it was reported that forty small boats with French crews were captured along the coast of Sussex and the Isle of Wight.⁶⁰

Kateryn Parr's ability as an executive was perhaps most tested by the constant need to procure supplies for the war effort. Ten thousand shovels and spades were requested by the king and transported to France between July and September 1544.⁶¹ By September 1544 the king's armies were running out of gunpowder, and Henry requested a new supply with haste. In response, Kateryn ordered Thomas Arundel to transport whatever gunpowder could be found.⁶² During the same month, the king's council further requested additional troops, although they

⁵⁸. Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, eds., Tudor Royal Proclamations, vol I. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964-69), I, 336-37, no. 204; LP XIX, i, 936.

⁵⁹. PRO, SP 1/192, 16, 17, 45, 82; LP, XIX, ii, 185, 202, 231, 302.

⁶⁰. PRO, SP 1/192, 82; LP, XIX, ii, 127, 231.

⁶¹. PRO, SP 1/190, 158 (LP, XIX, i, 981); SP 1/191, 52 (LP, ii, 258); SP 1/192, 18 (LP 1/192, ii, 187).

⁶². PRO, SP 1/192, 18, 45; LP, XIX, ii, 187, 194, 202, 258.

later changed their mind and requested that the troops be held in readiness instead.⁶³ Moreover, Kateryn and her council were expected to keep pace with the many financial transactions of the war, including payroll costs, and were forced to extract loans from wealthy subjects.⁶⁴ At the same time, a continuous supply of food, weapons, and wages were supplied to Shrewsbury for the troops in the north of England.⁶⁵

Perhaps the best indication of Kateryn Parr's authority as queen-regent is found in a letter written by the lord chancellor in September 1544. Wriothesley had just made the decision to send additional troops to France by sea after the receipt of an emergency message from Lord Lisle, the lord admiral and William Paget of the king's council. After he made the arrangements, he wrote,

...wherein if I have not taken the best ways, I shall beseech the king's highness most humbly to pardon me, and for that in our letters we use her gracious name and authority before the letters come into our hands. Surely me thought it was not meet to lose so much time as to send to our king, and tarry than answer back again before doing any thing.⁶⁶

From this letter it appears that members of the council were accustomed to getting Kateryn's approval on major decisions. Most probably, the council drafted responses and

⁶³. PRO, SP 1/192, 45; LP, XIX, ii, 202, 228, 253, 280.

⁶⁴. For example, see PRO 1/192, 16, 17, 58; LP, XIX, ii, 185, 192, 212.

⁶⁵. PRO, SP 1/192, 82; LP, XIX, ii, 127, 231.

⁶⁶. PRO, SP 1/192, 187.

then circulated them to the queen for her approval. Though Wriothesley determined that the situation needed immediate attention, and while he did not anticipate reprisals from the queen, he was also prepared to take responsibility for his unilateral action. Further, though most of the correspondence from the king's council in France went to London via the council with the queen, at times they wrote to Kateryn directly.⁶⁷

Another important source for Kateryn Parr's regency are royal proclamations written during the time. While several of the proclamations appear to have been issued at the direction of the king, they all were issued by the queen and carry her signature.⁶⁸ However, Kateryn Parr clearly issued on her own a proclamation dated September 18, 1544, restricting access to the court in London because of the plague. The proclamation was issued as an attempt to protect the royal children, especially Prince Edward, from the disease. In the text of the proclamation, Kateryn Parr asserted herself as "general regent of the realm in the King's majesty's court," and "straightly chargeth and commandeth," that persons from plague infected areas stay away from court "upon pain of her grace's

⁶⁷. For example, PRO, SP 1/190, 156; 1/191, 52; LP, XIX, i, 980, ii, 35.

⁶⁸. Hughes and Larkin, Tudor Proclamations, 336-40, nos. 234, 235, 236, 238.

indignation and further punishment at her highness' pleasure."⁶⁹

Because of the relatively large quantity of sources related to Kateryn Parr's regency, there is a temptation to look upon the correspondence for indications of her religious motivations, or more specifically for the suggestion that she used her position to advance reform ideals. Though she did on occasion act independently during her regency, for the most part Kateryn acted by conscientiously doing what was expected of her. Though for someone with no previous experience in government, Kateryn acted unusually well and with a high level of competence, she did not use her time as queen-regent as a period of innovation. It would have been imprudent for her to attempt to do so. After all, she was regent for only three months. However, the fact that she did not overtly advance reform religion during the king's absence did not preclude her subtle patronage of it. Walter Bucler, an ardent reformer, served Kateryn Parr as her secretary throughout this period, and in the following year served the king -- it has been suggested at the queen's suggestion -- as an emissary to reform princes in Germany.⁷⁰ Similarly, Kateryn's growing bias toward the reformers can be seen in Henry's decision to renovate Prince Edward's education at the same time he set up

⁶⁹. Hughes and Larkin, Tudor Proclamations, I, 339, no. 237.

⁷⁰. CSP:Spain, VIII, 89; LP, XX, i, 971; XXI, i, 272.

the regency.⁷¹ Though Kateryn did not use her regency to promote overtly her religious interests, she did learn during the period how to exert her influence. After her regency, Kateryn developed and adhered to her own areas of expertise, and it was through these interests that she promoted her religious beliefs.

Kateryn Parr's interest in higher learning was one of the areas she developed after her regency that was related to her religious interests. Always concerned with educational matters, Kateryn Parr used her position as queen to plead with the king for the University of Cambridge. The financial strain of the expensive campaign in France during 1544 left the king on the verge of bankruptcy. He was forced to debase the currency and extracted additional forced loans and heavy subsidies from his reluctant subjects. In 1545, Parliament met the king's need for money with the Chantries Act. Under the act, the abolition of the chantries gave the king the power to dissolve any institution at either of the universities and seize its possession, thereby putting at his disposal "the revenues of all the hospitals and colleges in England."⁷²

⁷¹. PRO, SP 1/189, 226; LP, XIX, i, 864, 889.

⁷². HLRO, 37 Henry VIII, c. 14; A. Luders et al., Statutes of the Realm; Jane A. E. Dawson, "The Foundation of Christ Church Oxford and Trinity College Cambridge in 1546," Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research 57, no. 136 (1984), 208-11. Dawson argued that Henry VIII may have been more of an advocate for education than he is typically given credit, especially if his entire reign is considered rather than just the last two years.

Henry VIII was not always considered a friend to education. The severity of the threat to the universities, together with the knowledge of the queen's devotion to learning, impelled university officials to write to Kateryn Parr in desperation, to request her protection, and to ask her to appeal their case to the king.⁷³ In her reply of February 1546, Kateryn Parr wrote of the king's response:

Upon the confidence of which your accomplishment of my expectation, zeal and request, I (according to your desires) have attempted my lord the king for the establishment of your livelihood and possessions, in which (notwithstanding his majesty's property and interest, through the consent of the high court of parliament), his highness being such a patron of learning doth tender you so much, that he would rather advance learning and erect new occasion thereof than confound your ancient and godly institutions;...

In the same letter, Kateryn Parr described herself as a studious person, and asked those she addressed to continue to further the study of the classics, but to also give a secure place to Christian learning.⁷⁵

While Kateryn Parr may have been flattering the king when she referred to him as "a patron of good learning," Henry's response to her plea marked a radical change in royal policy toward the university. Later in the same year, Kateryn Parr

⁷³. LP, XX. i. 203, 204.

⁷⁴. CCC 206; draft, Lansdowne 1236, 11; LP, XXI, i, 279; reprinted in Strype, Ecclesiastical memorials, II, i, 207-8, 337-8; Strickland, 427, Crawford, 220.

⁷⁵. Ibid.

received other letters from Matthew Parker, requesting her assistance for Stoke College, of which she was patron.⁷⁶

One of the results of Kateryn Parr's intervention was a commission appointed to examine the finances of all the colleges. When the examination was complete, it was found that the colleges scarcely had enough income to pay their essential expenses. After examining these results, the king expressed his admiration for the colleges' ability to exist on so few resources. Not only did Henry refuse to press the colleges further, but in December 1546, only a few weeks before his death, he issued letters patent for a "college of literature, sciences, philosophy, good arts and sacred theology," thereby securing the foundation for what became Trinity College.⁷⁷

Never before had Henry VIII given any great sum to education. It has been argued that this change in royal policy toward the universities was attributable to the reformers at court, specifically Queen Kateryn Parr and other humanists who worked in the households of Prince Edward and Princess Elizabeth. Those reformers who were enlisted to assist the universities all had ties to the queen or were brought to court by her, including Anthony Denny, Richard Cox, John Cheke, Richard Taverner, and Kateryn's physician, Dr. Wendy.⁷⁸

⁷⁶. CCC 108, 114.

⁷⁷. James B. Mullinger, The University of Cambridge...1535 to the Accession of Charles I (Cambridge 1884), 78-86.

⁷⁸. Dawson, 212-13.

During and after her regency, Kateryn Parr also played a role in diplomatic efforts, and greeted foreign diplomats and visitors. In 1544, Kateryn made a favorable impression on the Duke of Najera from Spain. The duke extolled her virtues, praised her as a pious woman, found her "lively and pleasing in appearance," magnificently dressed, and wearing rich jewels.⁷⁹

Eustace Chapuys, and the Imperial ambassadors who were his successors, formed fairly close relationships with the queen. Though Chapuys praised Kateryn's kind treatment of Princess Mary, he also believed that the queen's actions had political overtones. Certainly, the ambassador guessed correctly that the queen was sympathetic to the reformers.⁸⁰

Kateryn Parr wisely included Princess Mary in meetings with dignitaries from Spain, as well as from other Roman Catholic countries. When Mary was present Chapuys always had favorable things to say about Queen Kateryn, though in his other letters he still referred to her as a heretic. Chapuys praised "the favor she showed to Lady Mary," and Kateryn's responded that "what she did for Lady Mary was less than she would like to do and was only her duty in every respect."⁸¹ Further, Kateryn promised the ambassador to do nothing that

⁷⁹. BL, Additional MS 8219, 114; LP, XIX, i, 118; CSP: Spain, VII, i, 39; Frederic Madden, "Narrative of the Visit of the Duke of Najera...", Archaeologia 23 (1831), 353.

⁸⁰. CSP: Spain, VI, ii, 183, 205; LP, VIII, i, 39, 875.

⁸¹. CSP: Spain, VIII, 2; LP, XX, i, 7.

might prevent the growth of friendship between the two countries, and she hoped there would be no dissension.⁸²

In May 1545, Kateryn allowed Chapuys a private interview with Princess Mary before he retired from court -- an honor clearly not expected by the grateful ambassador. On the day of the interview, Chapuys passed by the queen's apartments on his way to see the king. Kateryn, accompanied by four or five women of her chamber and Princess Mary, hurried across the garden so quickly to greet him that the frail ambassador hardly had time to rise to his feet. Kateryn expressed her sorrow at Chapuys' departure, and emphasized at length the extent of the king's good will toward Charles V, as well as his hope for continued good relations between the two countries. At this point, Chapuys requested permission to salute the princess, and Kateryn pulled back to allow them privacy. The interview was brief in order not to keep the queen waiting. Afterwards, Kateryn expressed her goodwill to Mary of Hungary, the emperor's sister and his regent in the Netherlands.⁸³

Though the interview Kateryn granted between Chapuys and Princess Mary was a nice gesture, the occasion was more than a social exchange. Most likely, the king was using his wife as yet another way to express his commitment to an alliance with Charles V.

⁸². Ibid.

⁸³. CSP: Spain, VIII, 51; LP, XX, i, 689.

Although scrupulously careful to maintain the most cordial of relationships with Chapuys and his successors, Kateryn's reputation on the continent eventually became that of a political intriguer. Before her marriage to the king, Kateryn Parr had little experience in international affairs, and the rumors later contributed to problems for her at home.

In June 1545, the Imperial ambassador wrote to Charles V of rumors that Kateryn had sent her secretary to Germany to solicit support for a league with Lutheran princes. The emperor later responded to this report by noting that "inquiries have been made here about the Queen of England's secretary mentioned by you as negotiating with the Protestants, but nothing can be discovered about him."⁸⁴

Spanish interest in Kateryn Parr continued to the extent that in February 1546, Chapuys' replacement Van der Delft reported to Charles V of rumors of a possible royal divorce, and that the Duchess of Suffolk would be the next queen:

Some attribute it [rumors of divorce] to the sterility of the present Queen, while others say that there will be no change during the present war, Madame Suffolk is much talked about and in great favor; but the king shows no alteration in his demeanor to the Queen, although she is said to be angered at the rumor.⁸⁵

By the end of 1546, Van der Delft reported on further difficulties within the royal household. During Christmas the king was said to be "deeply engaged" and "much perplexed,"

⁸⁴. CSP: Spain, VIII, 89.

⁸⁵. CSP: Spain, VIII, 205; LP, XX, i, 289.

over the investigation of the Duke of Norfolk and his son, the Earl of Surrey. The king remained in London during the holiday while Kateryn went to Greenwich, an "innovation for them to be thus separated during the festivities."⁸⁶ However, the real concern may have been the decline in the king's health, rather than political matters. A January 1547 despatch revealed that neither Kateryn nor Princess Mary were allowed to see the king.⁸⁷ In the same month, Chapuys wrote from Louvain of his fear that the king was beginning to favor the reformers because it was known that the queen was "infected by the sect" by some of her ladies, which "she would not be likely to favor, at least openly, unless she knew the king's feeling...."⁸⁸ These diplomatic despatches are but one indication of the pressures on Kateryn Parr from 1546 until the king's death.

From the perspective of religion, the marriage of Kateryn Parr to the king first appeared as a conservative victory. There is no evidence to suggest that at the time of her marriage to the king that Kateryn was anything other than conservative and orthodox in her religious beliefs.⁸⁹ Her persecution during the Pilgrimage of Grace suggested that at least Cromwell believed that both Kateryn and her husband Lord

⁸⁶. CSP: Spain, VIII, 370, 371; LP, XXI, ii, 605, 606.

⁸⁷. LP, XXI, ii, 684.

⁸⁸. CSP: Spain, VIII, 386; LP, XXI, ii, 756.

⁸⁹. See MacCulloch, 126-27.

Latimer were Roman Catholic. Moreover, her continuing friendship with Princess Mary, as well as her relation to the pro-Roman Catholic Throckmortons, would suggest comfort with religious conservatism.

In 1543, it was likely that Kateryn Parr agreed with most of what was contained in The King's Book, as well as the Act for the Advancement of True Religion. Moreover, her religious observance was conventional. In the queen's household, three offices were conducted daily, and all members were expected to attend at least one of them unless ailing or on official business. Besides the Sabbath, the queen also attended additional services on Holy Days.⁹⁰ Moreover, given the conservatism of the queen's official chaplains, it is likely that her outward religious practice remained conservative throughout her marriage to the king.⁹¹

While her public religious observance remained conservative and conventional, sometime between her marriage in 1543 and the publication of her work The Lamentacion of...a synner... in 1547, Kateryn Parr became a reformer.⁹² Her process of conversion from a conservative to a reformer was most likely a gradual one. Kateryn herself attributed her

⁹⁰. PRO 315/161, 51, 92.

⁹¹. For a discussion of Kateryn Parr's chaplains' religious background, see Hamilton 280-84; 321-23.

⁹². Katherine [Kateryn] Parr, The Lamentacion...of a synner... (London: Edward Whitchurch, 1547, 1548, 1563). RSTC 4827-29. Reel no. 29.

conversion to the reading of Scripture.⁹³ A prayerbook belonging to Kateryn when she was queen, and printed by Thomas Berthelet sometime after 1541, is covered with scriptural verses written in the queen's own hand.⁹⁴ Most likely, the year 1544 marked a gradual shift in the queen's religious beliefs, that culminated by the end of 1546 when Kateryn Parr and the women of her household were taking an active role in religious affairs. In 1544, the year of her regency, Kateryn Parr was beginning to develop a more critical, personal faith. A year later in 1545, Kateryn Parr published her devotional work, Prayers or medytacions.⁹⁵ Though the book was non-controversial, signs in the prayers suggested that Kateryn's faith was turning toward the reformers. By 1546, the perceived unorthodox nature of the religious beliefs of the queen and her ladies almost proved to be their downfall.

From 1546 until Henry VIII's death in 1547, Kateryn Parr was subjected to a barrage of attempts to have her prosecuted for heresy. As previously stated, rumors circulated throughout the court -- rumors about a new queen, of the present queen's death, and of the Duchess of Suffolk supplanting the queen --

⁹³. Katherine Parr, The Lamentacion...of a synner Reprint, The Harleian Miscellany (London: Robert Dutton, 1808), I, 288.

⁹⁴. Dent-Brocklehurst Collection, Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire; for a description of the prayerbook, see E. Charlton, "Devotional Tracts Belonging to Queen Katherine Parr," Notes and Queries 44 (1850), 212.

⁹⁵. Katherine Parr, Prayers or medytacions.... (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1545). RSTC 4818-26. Reels nos. 30, 61, 1726).

all of which were deeply disturbing to Kateryn Parr. Although Henry typically enjoyed his wife's intelligence and their conversations on religious affairs, as he grew more infirm he also grew more impatient with his opinionated wife. During these enormously difficult years, Kateryn's most powerful ally was Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury and a respected figure among the reformers. Fortunately for Kateryn Parr, the archbishop was a canny politician, had been accused of heresy himself a few years before, and was a formidable match for Gardiner and Wriothesley.⁹⁶

Negative information about Kateryn Parr was circulating outside the court as well. In 1546, Stephen Vaughan wrote Wriothesley and Paget to report rumors that the king would take a new wife, but he did not know the cause of the gossip.⁹⁷ In the same year three men were arrested for "dangerous prophecies" that "we should have a new queen," and that "the queen ...should not long reign."⁹⁸ Other persecutions were present as well. Lord Thomas Howard was arrested for disputing sermons preached in court and "other talk in the Queen's chamber."⁹⁹

⁹⁶. James, "Queen Kateryn Parr," 115; Loades, Henry VIII and His Queens, 144-45.

⁹⁷. PRO, SP 1/215, 17; LP, XXI, i, 346.

⁹⁸. LP, XXI, ii, 1027.

⁹⁹. LP, XXI, i, 759.

Fears about the possible heresy of Kateryn Parr were raised at the very time when Henry VIII, after the adoption of The Six Articles in 1539, was trying to maintain orthodoxy in ritual and theology.¹⁰⁰ Although she had the reputation of a devout and pious woman, Kateryn did have her detractors at court.¹⁰¹ Both Gardiner and Wriothesley were alarmed enough by her religious convictions to attempt to have her removed. It has been suggested that the attacks on Kateryn Parr in 1546 were not against her personally, but rather an attempt to undermine the reformers at court through the most vulnerable members, namely the queen and her ladies.¹⁰²

However, had Kateryn Parr been considered ineffective in promoting her religious beliefs, it is improbable that she would have been the subject of two plots against her in one year, possibly in order to thwart the religious course to which Prince Edward was exposed. One of these attempts was made by Gardiner and Wriothesley against the queen herself, while the other was an attempt to implicate Kateryn Parr and

¹⁰⁰. For a discussion of the substance of the Six Articles, see A. F. Pollard, Henry VIII (London: Routledge 1970), 313.

¹⁰¹. For various accounts of religiously motivated plots against Kateryn Parr at court, see Strickland, 177-86. Also, Josiah Pratt, ed., Acts and Monuments (London, 1877), V, 544-60.

¹⁰². Dowling, Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII, 67.

some of the ladies of her household through the condemned heretic, Anne Askew.¹⁰³

Anne Askew was first brought before the privy council to defend her religious beliefs in March 1545. Her main connection with Kateryn Parr was that the queen gave her some books when she was received at court. If indeed Kateryn and the women of her court were involved with Askew, they would have looked far more radical than the evidence suggests. To suggest that Kateryn was a patron of Anne Askew would mean that the queen knowingly harbored a known radical. Unlike Askew, Kateryn Parr never sought martyrdom. Rather, when faced with life threatening danger, Kateryn chose to submit, and thereby extended her influence for a longer time.¹⁰⁴

Though Anne Askew was originally charged with heresy, her personal religious beliefs quickly became a secondary concern. John Foxe confirmed that the racking of Anne Askew after she was condemned was designed as an attempt to get evidence against other ladies at court. The conservatives were probably hoping to charge at least the Countess of Hertford and Lady Denny with heresy, thereby incriminating their husbands, who were members of the privy council, as well. By extension, if

¹⁰³. Though "Askew" is the most popular spelling of Anne's surname, the name of record is spelled "Ayscough," see MacCulloch, 354.

¹⁰⁴. On the relationship between Kateryn Parr and Anne Askew, see Hamilton, 391; Travitsky, The Paradise of Women, 167-73; and, Elaine V. Beilin, Redeeming Eve: Women Writers of the English Renaissance (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 356-36.

the queen's ladies were found guilty, so must the queen be found guilty as the one responsible for the religious activities of her household. When Askew was put on the rack in an effort to force her to name her patrons, the names of the Countess of Hertford, Lady Denny, as well as the Duchess of Suffolk, the Countess of Sussex, and Lady Fitz-William were suggested during the ordeal. William Parr, as a member of the privy council, was in a difficult position during the Askew case because it was he, along with John Dudley, who were charged with questioning Askew on the rack. Even under torture, Askew refused to implicate any of the women in her affairs.¹⁰⁵ Had Gardiner's plot been successful, argued one source, there may have been a seventh wife for Henry VIII, as well as a religious course less sympathetic to the reformers during reign of Edward VI.¹⁰⁶

The second plot to have the queen arrested for heresy was devised primarily by Gardiner, with assistance by Wriothesley. Prior to 1546, Henry consistently put his trust in Kateryn's loyalty and intelligence, and there is no evidence that he found her religious views heretical, or he would have surely capitalized on the rumors circulating at court. However,

¹⁰⁵. Foxe, Acts and Monuments, ed. Pratt, V, 537-50; Charles Wriothesley, A Chronicle of England, 9 (Camden Society, 1875), 167; Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, VI, i, 597-98; Maynard Smith, Henry VIII and the Reformation (New York: Macmillan, 1948), 219-22; Hamilton, 381-404; Strickland, 177-286.

¹⁰⁶. MacCulloch, 394.

Gardiner was aware that the king was beginning to find Kateryn's religious opinions too advanced, and had hoped to gain Henry's support to entrap the queen.

According to John Foxe, the king and queen, with Gardiner present, were discussing the fact that the king had licensed an English translation of the Bible and had then suppressed it. Kateryn and the king frequently discussed religious matters, even though his temper was short when he was in physical pain. Foxe reported that the king became angered when the queen urged him to purge once and for all the Church of England from the "great superstition." An argument ensued, and Kateryn eventually left the room. Having witnessed these events, Gardiner proceeded to fill Henry's mind with fears of Kateryn's religious views, and urged him to authorize a search of the queen's rooms for evidence of heresy. Apparently with the king's tacit approval, Gardiner also moved to draw up articles of heresy against Kateryn Parr. Warned of the plot by a sympathetic servant, Kateryn became ill with fright. Her wailing grew so intense it echoed throughout the palace, and the king had himself carried to her bedside.¹⁰⁷

The next day, Kateryn recovered enough to go to the king, where she apologized for seeming to disagree with him on religious matters. Aware of the danger of her position, Kateryn forestalled the plot by throwing herself on Henry's

¹⁰⁷. Pratt, Acts and Monuments, V, 535-61; James A. Muller, Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction (New York: MacMillan, 1926), 138-39.

mercy, by submitting to his wisdom in all things, and by claiming that she only argued religion within him to help him forget his pain. She managed to convince Henry that she believed he was always right, and that she had only meant to divert his mind from his suffering.¹⁰⁸

Henry's famous response to his Kateryn Parr, "And is it even so, sweetheart, and tended your argument to no worse end? Then perfect friends we are now as ever at any time heretofore," leaves open the question of his own motives in the plot.¹⁰⁹ Interestingly, in one of Kateryn's prayerbooks from the 1540s there is a verse written in the King's hand to his wife, the last verse of which is: "You will be clear of my suspysion."¹¹⁰

Perhaps, as it has been suggested, Henry was not angered so much by Kateryn's deviation from orthodoxy as he was by her independence of mind!¹¹¹ Even more dangerous for Kateryn Parr, the king may have suspected her as part of a plot to introduce reforms that conflicted with his own more conservative theological convictions.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸. Foxe, Acts and Monuments, 553-6.

¹⁰⁹. Foxe, Acts and Monuments, 559-60.

¹¹⁰. Dent-Brocklehurst Collection, Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire; Charlton, 212.

¹¹¹. McConica, English Humanists, 226.

¹¹². Haugaard, 352.

After Kateryn was restored to her husband's favor, Wriothesley came to them with a group of men to arrest her. Henry called him a "beast, fool, knave," and ordered him to leave. Henry never forgave Gardiner for his actions: whether due exclusively to anger against Gardiner for his role in the plot against Kateryn, or for other reasons, the king had Gardiner removed from the council, and omitted him from his list of executors.¹¹³

Kateryn Parr' role as queen expanded from the time of her marriage in 1543 until the king's death in 1547. Though she possessed little political power, Kateryn gained indirect influence upon the king and the court. Kateryn Parr survived by virtue of her intelligence and tact, as well as by her ability to assess the dangers she faced daily. Kateryn's personal growth as queen paralleled her religious growth during the period. Though at the beginning of her marriage Kateryn adhered to the more conservative religious views of her day, between 1544 and 1546 the queen's religious beliefs underwent a gradual transition to a reform position. Publicly supported by the king until 1546, Kateryn was allowed to follow her religious beliefs openly after submitting to the king's will. A moderate, Kateryn was careful to remain within the limits of Henry's tolerance, but with an acute understanding of the ambiguity and flexibility of his own religious position. These same characteristics later guided

¹¹³. Muller, 138-39.

Kateryn Parr in her more consciously religious endeavors, as well as in her relationships within her household and with her royal stepchildren.

CHAPTER IV:

Kateryn Parr as Reformer:

"Lead and Turn Me Where Thou Wilt"

Beginning in 1544 and continuing throughout the remainder of the reign of Henry VIII, Kateryn Parr became a focal point for the movement for reformed religion at court. Combining her religious and intellectual interests, with her unparalleled social prestige, Kateryn Parr, along with members of the royal households, acted consciously as an agent of reform religion, and effectively exploited the avenues of influence at her disposal. Kateryn was effective within the context of several roles -- as a patron of learning, as a concerned stepmother to the royal children, and as a contributor in her own right to humanist and reform dialogue at court and beyond. Her promotion of reform religion at court, though limited to Henry VIII's reign, provided a protective climate that allowed the fledgling movement to expand into successive reigns.

After his initial break with the Pope, Henry VIII officially maintained a religious orthodoxy consistent with Roman Catholicism in all matters of doctrine; essentially only the location of church leadership was changed. "Lutheran" innovations had no official place in Henry's religious

program. However, Henry's other concerns and causes often demanded doctrinal shifts. His primary and overriding concern remained the continuation of the Tudor dynasty, and, concomitantly, the place of England as a major power. Consequently, the council of state Henry chose for his young son included a number of military and naval officers. Though unquestionably devout, Henry VIII was willing to sacrifice his personal religious preferences as the political situation dictated.¹ For instance, on one hand, it seemed that the king made a conscious decision in favor of reform religion for his son.² On the other hand, it has been argued that if Henry had lived an additional six months, the situation would have been reversed.³ The inconsistency of Henry VIII's religious policy had profound implications, and contributed to the rise of lay theologians at court.

Henry VIII's intentions for the English church have long been the subject of historical conjecture. Although he proclaimed himself the Supreme Head of the church, his actions were often ambiguous, and his true religious sentiments unrevealed, with no consistent religious policy developed. While many of the more intellectual members of the court were

¹. Scarisbrick, 384-43.

². W.K. Jordan, Edward VI. The Young King: The Protectorship of the Duke of Somerset (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1968, 1970), I, 41.

³. L.B. Smith, "Henry VIII and the Protestant Triumph," American Historical Review 71 (1966), 1241.

attracted to reform ideas, they, like Kateryn Parr, were also loyal subjects who wished to follow the lead of the king after the break with Rome. Henry's ambiguity on religious matters caused an inner tension within the ranks of the reform-minded at court who were freed from the constraints of the "old religion," but at the same time not directed in a coherent reform effort. During the 1540s, most of the women and men at court who were engaged in the reform effort were moderates who had no desire to incur the king's wrath or suffer an ignominious death for their cause. Inspired by humanist learning, increased access to scriptural study, and the writings of continental reformers, the reform-minded who surrounded Kateryn Parr evolved religious positions of their own, and began to base their activities upon their newly formed theology. Because many of these court reformers were also charged with the leadership of the realm, they were in an unprecedented position to advance reform thought.⁴

It is important to mention here that the term "Parr circle" -- often used to refer to those reformers who were related to the queen -- is somewhat misleading. Many of the persons considered part of this circle of reformers, such as the Duchess of Suffolk, Sir Anthony Denny, or the Countess of Hertford, had a variety of roles at court and engaged in reform activities that were not dependent on Kateryn Parr.

⁴. Swenson, 1-3; H. Maynard Smith, 215-19; Jasper Ridley, Henry VIII, 404; Scarisbrick, 384-23.

However, Kateryn was the focal point of the group, by virtue of her position as queen, and she was also part of a larger contingent of supporters of the New Faith. Though connected to each other by their religious interests and activities, the members of the Parr circle were also members of other political and social groupings at court.⁵ Further, even within the religious framework of the Parr circle, there was a considerable variation in religious belief. For instance, the more radical enthusiasm for reform espoused by the Duchess of Suffolk significantly surpassed the king's more conservative position, as well as the more moderate reform position of Kateryn Parr.⁶

Kateryn Parr and the circle of reform thinkers at court formed an important link between the professed conservative religion of Henry VIII's last years, and the more aggressive reform of the reign of Edward VI. The question of whether or not Kateryn Parr was "Protestant," as discussed by scholars, depends upon the definition of the term in the period in which she lived. In actuality, the term is better avoided until later in the century when its meaning was clarified. What Kateryn Parr and her associates believed was that they were supporting the king's religious program, vague though it was. They desired that the king continue forward in the reforms

⁵. For references to the "Parr circle," see McConica, English Humanists, 200-34; Haugaard, 351-53; Swenson, 17-18.

⁶. Ibid.

which he initiated, and which they believed political pressures prevented him from pursuing further. However, it is important to recognize that while the court reformers professed belief in the king's religious policies, by the end of the reign they went beyond Henry VIII's stated position, and in fact helped to prepare the way for a new era.⁷

There were many theological and intellectual crosscurrents in sixteenth-century England which encouraged lay men and women, like Kateryn Parr, to become involved in religious speculation. Though Kateryn and the members of her circle were learned, most of them were not trained theologians. This factor, along with the lack of a consistent religious policy, promoted a religious environment where Kateryn Parr and others engaged in religious speculation could develop their own religious convictions by drawing on a variety of sources. Though some of the women in Kateryn's household had served other queens, each one who remained was her personal choice, and all were drawn from those classes which were traditionally politically active and known for learned, pious women. These groups or "clusters" of women served as the mechanism for passing knowledge from one generation of Tudor women to another, and were paralleled in the French and Hapsburg courts. Undoubtedly, these women were charged with the domestic duties of the household, but they also provided the companionship required for a queen.

⁷. Swenson, 2-3.

Conversely, the women in Kateryn's household gained a degree of personal influence through their close proximity to the queen. Although the women of Kateryn's household were not her official advisors, they were active in politics to the extent that they were in a position to influence her informally, and therefore their patronage was actively sought.⁸

The importance of the Lollard movement to the reform movement in England, as well as its contribution to lay participation in the formation of religious trends has been discussed at length by historians.⁹ Aspects of the Lollard movement were attractive to the laity at all levels of society, including the gentry and the aristocracy. The translation of the Bible by Wycliff's followers into English was the only one available until 1526, and its availability, however proscribed, encouraged scriptural study by the laity. The study of scripture by the laity inevitably raised theological questions. Given the movement's followers in England, it is possible that Kateryn Parr and her circle may have been influenced by the Lollards. For the first thirty

⁸. For a discussion of the role of women in queens households, see Charlotte Merton, "The Women Who Served Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth" (Ph.d diss., Cambridge University, 1992); also, Gerda Lerner, The Creation of Feminist Consciousness: from the Middle Ages to 1870 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 226-27.

⁹. For example, Dickens, 23-37; Claire Cross, Church and People, 1450-1660: the Triumph of the Laity in the English Church (New York: Humanities Press, 1976), 14-16; William A. Clebsch, England's Earliest Protestants, 1520-1535 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), 4.

years of its existence in England, the Lollard movement had a substantial following among the aristocracy with court connections. Further, Lollardy made a contribution to reform during Henry VIII's reign by providing an on-going tradition of dissent within English Christianity, as well as a vital link to continental reformers.¹⁰

By the time Kateryn Parr became queen, humanism was a central element in the formation of reform-minded courtiers. Humanism first became influential in England via the circles of Thomas More, Desiderius Erasmus, Richard Hyde, and Juan Luis Vives. Their thinking on women was influenced and sponsored by Katherine of Aragon. Katherine's own love of learning and religious piety inspired Vives' educational program for the princess Mary. Similarly, changes in the educational program of women inspired by Italian humanists were brought to England via Spain through Katherine's sponsorship of Vives.¹¹

Though humanists and reformers advocated women's education from a religious perspective, and while their orientation toward pious, learned women was similar, their intellectual foci had dissimilarities. Though they were not separated into two mutually exclusive groups, humanists focused on the rediscovery and study of classical and early Christian writings in an attempt to reconcile Greek and Roman

¹⁰. Cross, 21-28; Swenson, 15.

¹¹. Travitsky, The Paradise of Women, 6-7.

sources with the Church Fathers. Reformers were primarily interested in the reappraisal of biblical materials. While reformers tended to use more biblical imagery as role models for contemporary women, humanists tended to have a greater appreciation for the value of intellectual pursuit on the part of women.¹²

Kateryn Parr and her associates who were educated under the influences of Vives, More, and Erasmus, had the type of education which provided a framework for the activities of the reformers. For Kateryn Parr, as well as others influenced by humanists at court, religion and education were inseparable, and while there were some notable exceptions, their education encouraged the questioning of religious traditions. In England the ruling classes educated their children in the spirit of the "New Learning" closely associated with northern Christian humanism. Before the 1520s, it has been argued that the English aristocracy was largely unlettered, but the situation shifted dramatically with the impact of humanist education by the 1550s.¹³ While hardly a humanist, Henry VIII considered himself an intellectual, and enjoyed theological debate. Whether or not he was personally attracted to humanists, by 1531 he was willing to employ them for his own ends.¹⁴

¹². Travitsky, The Paradise of Women, 6-7.

¹³. J.H. Hexter, "The Education of the Aristocracy in the Renaissance," The Journal of Modern History 22, no 1 (March 1950), 1-4. Also, Dickens, 59-67.

¹⁴. Swenson, 34, 48.

The fact that humanists also advocated the education of women undoubtedly influenced the community of women of Kateryn Parr's household who also served as her reform circle at court. Though by and large humanists did not advocate political or social equality between men and women, their belief that women should be educated as future mothers and as the custodians of morality brought women a new intellectual status. The thinking of English humanists concerning women's status and education was most helpful to women who like Kateryn Parr were of the upper classes. While the humanists did not specifically intend to restrict their ideas to the privileged classes, they developed no program for schooling common people.¹⁵ Other than the queen herself, the women of Kateryn Parr's circle were all from the upper classes, including ladies-in-waiting, various attendants, and the wives of court officials, all of whom were also in an important position to affect court life and policy. Reformer Nicholas Udall, later associated with Kateryn Parr's literary projects, wrote:

...now in this gracious and blissful time of knowledge, in which it hath pleased God Almighty to reveal and show abroad the light of his most holy gospel, what a number is there of holy women, especially here in this realm of England; yea, and how many in the years of tender virginity not only as well seem, and as familiarly traded in the Latin and Greek tongue, as in their own mother's language; but also in all kind of literature and the arts, made exact, studied and exercised, and in the holy scripture and theology so ripe, that they are able...to

¹⁵. Travitsky, The Paradise of Women, 6-7.

translate the vulgar tongue, for the public instruction and edifying of the unlearned multitude....¹⁶

Those on the conservative side of the religious question at court were also patrons of humanist thinkers. Besides his connections with the circle of Thomas More, Erasmus also had connections with Parr family friend, Cuthbert Tunstal, John Fisher, and others. English royalty supported humanist thought through the patronage of Henry VIII, his grandmother Margaret Beaufort, Katherine of Aragon, and Princess Mary, all without accepting reform beliefs. Katherine of Aragon and her patronage of Vives and More was a forerunner of Kateryn Parr's support of Cheke, Ascham, and Udall. As queen, Katherine of Aragon supported humanists because of her own learning, piety, and interest in the education of her daughter Mary. Katherine was educated by her mother, Isabella of Castile, who instilled in her a love of learning, and a zeal for the education of daughters through personal attention and excellent tutors.¹⁷ Between 1523 and 1538, seven works by English humanists were dedicated to Katherine of Aragon in praise of her piety and learning.¹⁸

Through their association with humanist learning via Erasmus, Vives, and More, Kateryn Parr's circle gained

¹⁶. Quoted in "The Writings of Katherine Parr," British Reformers III (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1842), 173.

¹⁷. Travitsky, The Paradise of Women, 6.

¹⁸. Watson, 1-11.

religious enthusiasm with a zeal for education aimed at pious, learned women. In a letter to one of the tutors of his household, Thomas More stated the foundation of education for women:

Since erudition in women is a new thing and a reproach to the sloth of men, many will gladly assail it, and impute to learning what is really the fault of nature, thinking from the vices of the learned to get their own ignorance esteemed as virtue....Not to speak of the rest, Jerome and Augustine not only exhorted excellent matrons and honorable virgins to study, but also, in order to assist them, diligently explained the abstruse meaning of the Scriptures, and wrote for tender girls letters replete with so much erudition that nowadays old men who call themselves doctors of sacred literature can scarcely read them correctly, much less understand them.¹⁹

Through their praise for the institution of marriage, and their stress on the home as a school of faith, part of the legacy of English humanists was the enhancement of the moral status of married women. Also, through the emphasis on the importance of the religious education of children, they elevated the role of motherhood. From a historical perspective, much of the role of women in English society contemporary with Kateryn Parr became centered in the role of woman as mother, especially since there was little or no interest in changing the subordinate legal status of women, or in extending their sphere into public life.²⁰

¹⁹. Quoted in Elizabeth Rogers, ed. and trans., Saint Thomas More: Selected Letters (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), 103-4.

²⁰. Travitsky, Paradise of Women, 9.

To the foundations of Lollardy and Christian humanism the introduction of reformed thought from the continent, particularly the teachings of Martin Luther and John Calvin, added impetus to the furtherance of reform religion in England during the period when Kateryn Parr was queen. Luther's teachings were introduced and passed on to the laity in England through the clergy.²¹ His teachings on justification by faith had a strong appeal to those persons who had discomfort with the concept that forgiveness could be obtained through sacramental confession and repentance.²² The principle of justification by faith eventually became an important part of Kateryn Parr's religious belief, as well as the belief of members of her circle. "And yet it is not false, that, by faith only, I am sure to be justified."²³ Reformers at court found Luther's teachings reassuring and humane, as well as in harmony with the teachings of early Christian writers. Certainly, the emphasis on justification by faith surfaced early in Kateryn Parr's writings, for example when she wrote:

²¹. For the introduction of Luther to the laity, see Swenson, 36.

²². Steven Ozment, "Luther and the Late Middle Ages: The Formation of Reformation Thought," in Transition and Revolution: Problems and Issues of European Renaissance and Reformation History, ed. Donald Kingdon (Minneapolis: Burgess Publishing Company, 1974), 128; Dickens, 68-70.

²³. Katherine [Kateryn] Parr, The Lamentacion of a synner, The Harleian Miscellany (London: Robert Dutton, 1808), 1, 295. Note: Original and facsimilie editions of The Lamentacion...os a synner are without page numbers, therefore quotations have been cross-referenced with the edition above.

"Thy creature I am, and in thy hands, lead and turn me where thou wilt... Grant me above all things that I may rest in thee, and finally quiet and pacify my heart in thee."²⁴

Similarly, the teachings of John Calvin were known in England by the reign of Edward VI, and there are indications that his writings or variations thereof appeared at court by the time of Kateryn Parr. A popular treatise by the title of the Benefit of Christ's Death, was available in England in Italian by 1543, and at least three chapters appear to be a direct translation of portions of the Institutes by Calvin. A familiarity with the writings of Calvin or the Benefit emerged in Kateryn's Parr's writings published after the king's death.²⁵

These various intellectual influences surfaced throughout the religious activities of Kateryn Parr and her reform circle at court. Though not all the reformers at court espoused the same beliefs, reform religion established itself at court during the years Kateryn Parr was queen. Initially, Kateryn Parr and her circle were all linked through humanist learning, which then formed the basis of their reform thought. All

²⁴. Katherine Parr, Prayers or medytacions..., eds. Travitsky and Cullen, n.p.

²⁵. Roland Bainton, Women of the Reformation in England and France (Boston: Beacon Press, 1973), 168-69. McConica has noted a similarity in the references found in Kateryn Parr's The Lamentacion...of a synner, and passages in the Benefit; see, McConica, English Humanists, 7-8. It is likely that Kateryn had access to an Italian edition of the work; the earliest known English translation was not available until 1548. See Swenson, 83.

accepted justification by faith, and therefore that salvation was not earned but was a gift from God through the sacrifice of Christ. Additionally, Kateryn Parr and the reformers at court believed that the Holy Scriptures were the sole authority for Christian belief and practice, as well as a means for direct communication with God. They believed themselves to be members of the priesthood of all believers with an obligation to pursue theological study. For these members of the priesthood of all believers, their Christian vocation was their work at court. Just as Kateryn Parr believed that her Christian vocation was to be Henry VIII's wife and queen, so did those of her circle believe that their vocation was to be enacted both within their families and in the world of secular power and influence. Beyond these basic areas of agreement, Kateryn Parr and the other reformers at court never developed specific doctrinal positions. This flexibility in religious development not only allowed them to survive during a period in which The Six Articles were a threat, but also gave them the latitude to develop their own personal theology.²⁶

Other than the intellectual influences common to the reformers at court, Kateryn Parr learned from several individuals who were integral to the development of her personal faith. The chief architect of her education was her mother, Maud Parr, who based on the model of Katherine of

²⁶. Swenson, 12-50.

Aragon and Isabella of Castile, ensured the finest education available for all her children. With the status of a learned woman in her own right, Maud Parr gained the reputation at court of a parent who was concerned with education. Lord Dacre, in a letter to his son-in-law Lord Scrope during marriage negotiations with the Parrs commented that the young husband-to-be should remain in the household of Lady Parr for the benefit of his education.²⁷

Another major influence in the religious development of Kateryn Parr was the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer. After his long vindication during the winter of 1543-44, Cranmer was restored to formal authority and continued to have influence on the development of religious policy. Beginning in 1544, Cranmer and the queen were in constant contact both due to political necessity and to personal preference. It was not uncommon for women writers and intellectuals like Kateryn Parr to have the support of a male mentor who gave them encouragement and criticism for their work. Although these mentors were often male relatives, none of the men related to Kateryn, including her husband, shared her evolving religious belief. Indeed, Kateryn learned that religious debate with her husband could prove costly to her safety. Cranmer often travelled with the queen, and at times was resident in her

²⁷. Quoted in Strickland, 394-95.

household.²⁸ Barred from the wedding of Kateryn Parr and the king, Cranmer still received the gift of a buck from the queen afterwards.²⁹

One biographer of the archbishop argues that while there is little doubt that Cranmer had a hand in the development of Kateryn Parr's religious beliefs during the last years of the king's reign, there remains a curious lack of documentation regarding their relationship, almost to the extent to suggest deliberate discretion.³⁰ Nonetheless, Cranmer's influence can be found in Kateryn's definitions of basic terms, such as faith, justification, remission, and merit, as well as in the liturgical format of her prayers.³¹

As stated earlier, Kateryn Parr's "conversion" to reform religion was part of a gradual process that began around the year 1544 with her regency, and was probably completed by the middle of 1546. Kateryn's daily interaction with members of her household was an important part of her conversion process, and an examination of their religious beliefs is important to an understanding of the queen's religious evolution.

²⁸. Jasper Ridley, Thomas Cranmer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 248; for a discussion of male mentors and women writers and intellectuals, see Gerda Lerner, the Creation of Feminist Consciousness: from the Middle Ages to 1870, 223-26.

²⁹. PRO E315/161, 206.

³⁰. MacCulloch, 313-14; 326-27.

³¹. Janel Mueller, "A Tudor Queen Finds Voice," 27-31.

Like other women of her stature, Kateryn Parr spent most of her time among the women of her household, and it was probably this group of women who were the most influential to her religious development as queen. Among Kateryn's contemporaries in England and on the continent, communities of women in convents, in households, and in the imagination, were instrumental in the shaping of women's intellectual pursuits. Among the ladies of her household, Kateryn found a group of women with backgrounds and education similar to her own. Although the ladies of the queen's household had specific duties and state functions, their primary purpose was to attend the queen and keep her company. The long hours that Kateryn Parr and the women of her household passed together provided many opportunities for discussions concerning the issues of the day. Thus, this group of women, plus a number of congenial male courtiers, formed Kateryn Parr's circle of reformers. While Kateryn Parr's circle enjoyed the many privileges of court life, they all were also subject to its dangers, including charges of heresy.

Importantly, a significant proportion of the twenty-six women within the queen's household had converted to the New faith by the 1540s.³² Lady Elizabeth Cawarden, Katherine Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk, Anne Seymour, Countess of Hertford and later Duchess of Somerset, Lady Joan Denny, Lady

³². Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, I, i, 598; Annals, II, ii.

Anne Herbert, Lady Elizabeth Tyrwhit, Lady Maud Lane, Lady Jane Lisle, and Frances Brandon, Marchioness of Dorset, all were connected to the reformers.³³ Although their connections to reform literature will be discussed in the next chapter, it is important to mention here that some of these women were sympathetic to the reform cause to the extent that they became major patrons and benefactors of the reform movement.

In 1543 Lady Elizabeth Cawarden, along with her husband Sir Thomas and others connected with the king's privy chamber were indicted for violating The Six Articles. The charges were later dropped because of the perjury of the accuser, and all involved were pardoned. Still, the Cawardens reform sympathies remain probable, and both were strong supporters of Edward VI.³⁴

The plots against Kateryn Parr in 1546 identified other women reformers within the queen's household, and put them at risk for their lives. The plots implicated the Duchess of Suffolk, the Countess of Hertford, and Ladies Denny, Herbert, Lane, and Tyrwhit. Most of these women were at court for a number of years, certainly before Kateryn became queen. By the

³³. Hamilton, 295.

³⁴. LP, XX, i, 336, 465(28); Foxe, Acts and Monuments, V, 495-96; McConica, English Humanists, 221-22; Dowling, Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII, 65; Bindoff, The House of Commons, I, 599-602.

king's death, they were joined by Lady Lisle, Lady Lane and the Marchioness of Dorset.³⁵

The most committed of the women of Kateryn Parr's household to the reform cause was perhaps Katherine Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk. Katherine was previously her husband's ward, but married him when she was fourteen in 1533 -- an arrangement that caused some scandal at court.³⁶ While there is no suggestion that she was an advocate for reform before entering the queen's household, she became an outspoken advocate while associated with Kateryn Parr. While Kateryn chose to exert her influence in the direction of reform more indirectly, the duchess was much more forthright in her expression of support for the reformers. To some at court her activities and opinions were so blatant that the king's continued fondness for her caused much comment and resentment.³⁷ Significantly, some of the men who stood surety on behalf of the wardship of the Duchess of Suffolk's son, included William Herbert and Anthony Denny -- both husbands of the queen's ladies and committed reformers.³⁸

The bond between Kateryn Parr and Katherine Brandon was a close one. The Imperial ambassador observed that it was the Duchess of Suffolk, along with Lady Lisle and the Countess of

³⁵. Hamilton, 296-97.

³⁶. LP, IV, iii, 5336(12), 5508.

³⁷. Swenson, 116.

³⁸. Hamilton, 296-97.

Hertford, who encouraged Kateryn Parr in her sympathies for the reformers.³⁹ The two were in close communication, and there is evidence that the duchess and Kateryn spoke at length on religious matters. As Kateryn wrote in 1547: "I can say nothing but as my lady of Suffolk sayeth, God is a marvelous man."⁴⁰ Katherine Brandon was a confidant of the queen for the rest of Kateryn Parr's life; it was the duchess who helped secure the publication of The Lamentacion in 1547. After Kateryn Parr's death and Thomas Seymour's imprisonment, their infant daughter was consigned to the Duchess of Suffolk's care.⁴¹ Though the duchess remained very active in reform causes during Edward VI's reign, she fled to the continent on Mary's accession.⁴²

Besides the Duchess of Suffolk, Lady Joan Denny was a firm reformer, who perhaps instilled the beliefs in her husband.⁴³ Sir Anthony Denny was a patron of scholarly works and a humanist educator, as well as a loyal supporter of Cranmer's during the plots against him in 1543. Denny maintained close contact with Cranmer and royal tutors Roger

³⁹. CSP: Spain, VIII, 36; LP, XXI, ii, 756.

⁴⁰. Dent-Brocklehurst Ms Collection, Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire; photostat in Gloucestershire Record Office; reprinted in Dent, Annals of Winchcombe and Sudeley, 163.

⁴¹. PRO, SP 10/8, 35; CSP: Edward VI, 332.

⁴². Hamilton, 108.

⁴³. Hamilton, 237-38.

Ascham, John Cheke, and Richard Cox.⁴⁴ Singled out by Foxe for his commitment to reform, Anthony Denny was a favorite of the king's and held a variety of court offices, and was eventually appointed to the privy council.⁴⁵ Both Dennys actively provided for persecuted reformers in Devonshire.⁴⁶ Joan Denny's interest in religious discourse was confirmed by her chaplain, William Hughe, who dedicated a work to her in 1546.⁴⁷

Kateryn Parr also had a close friendship with Lady Elizabeth Tyrwhit, an ardent reformer whose husband Robert had been instrumental in the suppression of the Pilgrimage of Grace.⁴⁸ Though not a trained theologian, Elizabeth Tyrwhit had the reputation of a proficient scriptural scholar for a woman of her period.⁴⁹ She remained in Kateryn's household until the queen's death.

Another one of the women in Kateryn Parr's household, was Frances Brandon, Marchioness of Dorset. Frances was the

⁴⁴. Ridley, Thomas Cranmer, 242; Dowling, Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII, 64.

⁴⁵. BL, Harleian MS 293, 111, 112, 113; LP, XIX, ii, 234; XXI, i, 1537(4); XXI, ii, 634(5); Bindoff, The House of Commons, II, 27-28; Foxe, Acts and Monuments, ed. Pratt, V, 605.

⁴⁶. Swenson, 113.

⁴⁷. William Hughe, A swete consolation, and the second boke of the troubled mans medicine (London: John Hifende, 1546) RSTC 1390.

⁴⁸. Swenson, 114.

⁴⁹. Hamilton, 332.

daughter of the Duke of Suffolk and Mary Tudor, the king's sister, as well as the widow of Louis XII of France.⁵⁰ The Marchioness of Dorset's interest in reform religion can be verified by the education of her daughter, Lady Jane Grey.⁵¹

Kateryn Parr's sister, Lady Anne Herbert shared her sister's educational background and was a strong supporter of her religious beliefs. Anne was a lady-in-waiting to several of Henry VIII's queens. She witnessed her sister's marriage to the king, and her husband was knighted for the occasion.⁵² Anne shared her sister's enthusiasm for reform religion and was mentioned in several dedications written by reformers. Anne's husband was also a favorite of the king, and was the chief gentleman of the privy chamber during the last year of the king's life.⁵³

Another relative in the household, Lady Maud Lane, a widow and first cousin to the queen was the daughter of Lord Parr of Horton. Maud served Kateryn throughout the 1540s. Though little is known of her religious beliefs, she was in the household by the queen's choice, and her family was known to be at least sympathetic, if not enthusiastic, about reform religion.⁵⁴

⁵⁰. Hamilton, 88-89.

⁵¹. Hamilton, 298.

⁵². PRO E30/1472, 5; LP XVIII, i, 873.

⁵³. BL, Harleian MS 293, 111; LP, XXI, ii, 634.

⁵⁴. Hamilton, 95.

Anne Seymour, Countess of Hertford, later Duchess of Somerset, was another of the ladies in Kateryn Parr's household, though the queen was never particularly fond of her. Anne was at court from the time of Katherine of Aragon and married Edward Seymour just a few years before the family gained status when Queen Jane Seymour gave birth to the heir apparent.⁵⁵ Kateryn was not the only person who found her tedious; apparently, Anne Seymour never tired of reminding courtiers that she was a descendant of Edward III.⁵⁶ Difficult relations continued between Anne and the queen until Kateryn's death. Still, Anne was known for her strong support for reform religion; she granted positions in her household to at least three reformist authors.⁵⁷

Besides personal religious conviction, there were political reasons to support the reformers at court, as some began to position themselves for the next reign. While Henry VIII's religious position remained unclear, he did allow mild reforms to proceed slowly until the end of his reign. In May 1544, an English translation of the Litany was published that

⁵⁵. LP, XII, ii, 1008(22).

⁵⁶. John Gough Nichols, "Anne Duchess of Somerset," Gentleman's Magazine 23 (April 1845), 371-81.

⁵⁷. John N. King, "Patronage and Piety: The Influence of Catherine Parr," in Silent But for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, And Writers of Religious Works, ed. Margaret P. Hannay (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1985), 53.

de-emphasized the role of the saints.⁵⁸ At the same time, Cranmer began work on a modification of the Mass which was almost complete by the time of the king's death.⁵⁹ In 1546, Henry told the French ambassador that he was considering the abolition of the Mass in favor of a Communion Service.⁶⁰ And perhaps most importantly for Kateryn Parr, the king organized his son's education around reform scholars.

Political reasons for support of the reformers are evident among some of the women in Kateryn Parr's household. For instance, the countess of Hertford's allegiance to the reformers was closely tied to her husband's desire to be named protector for Edward VI.⁶¹ Similarly, Lady Lisle, who remained in the background during Henry VIII's reign, was concerned with supporting her husband's political and religious position at the end of the reign, just as the Marchioness of Dorset was interested in doing the same for her daughter Lady Jane Grey.⁶²

While some of the women of Kateryn's household clearly advocated reform religion for reasons other than personal conviction, whatever their motivation, these women played an active role in religious life, and were an important source of

⁵⁸. Scarisbrick, 422.

⁵⁹. Dickens, The English Reformation, 212.

⁶⁰. Foxe, Acts and Monuments, ed. Pratt, V, 562-3.

⁶¹. Hamilton, 302.

⁶². Hamilton, 303-4.

encouragement for Kateryn Parr. The importance of Kateryn's circle of women is magnified when the religious beliefs of her officials are examined. Obviously, the religious officials in the queen's household must first be suspected as the source of Kateryn Parr's reform position, yet there is little evidence to suggest they fulfilled this role. Kateryn's religious officials included an almoner, four chaplains, and a clerk of the closet.

The queen's almoner was George Day, appointed bishop of Winchester in 1543.⁶³ Day was a distinguished Cambridge scholar, as well as a patron of John Cheke.⁶⁴ Despite his early association with John Fisher, Day had been appointed provost of King's College, Cambridge with the approval of both Henry VIII and Cromwell in 1538.⁶⁵ By 1540, Day had been appointed confessor and almoner to Anne of Cleves.⁶⁶ Though documentation on Day is fragmentary, he was probably a mild conservative. He later opposed the reforms introduced during the reign of Edward VI and was deprived of his see.⁶⁷ Day

⁶³. HO, 167; Barrett L. Beer, "A Note of Queen Catherine Parr's Almoner," in HLO 25, no. 4 (1961), 348; also, Hamilton, 280-81.

⁶⁴. Beer, 348.

⁶⁵. Dowling, Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII, 98; McConica, English Humanists, 5.

⁶⁶. BL, Additional MS 45,716, 15.

⁶⁷. Jordan, Edward VI. Threshold of Power, II, 349-50.

surfaces again during the reign of queen Mary as the preacher of her coronation sermon.⁶⁸

The amount of background information available on Kateryn Parr's official chaplains varies. At the time of the king's death, Kateryn had four chaplains; Dr. Mallet, Mr. Pekyns. (Perkins?), Mr. Layton, and Mr. Reynolds.⁶⁹ Pekyns and Reynolds also served Anne of Cleves.⁷⁰ Layton was probably Edward Leighton, who was the king's clerk of the closet from 1538 until 1544.⁷¹ Whether or not he eventually transferred to Kateryn Parr's household is not known.

Perhaps the most information is available on Dr. Mallet. He was probably also a chaplain to Katherine Howard.⁷² Francis Mallet was promoted by Cromwell to master of Michaelhouse, Cambridge in the 1530s.⁷³ It was also through Cromwell's influence that Mallet began work on a new liturgy in 1538.⁷⁴ It is unclear when Mallet entered Kateryn Parr's service, however after the king's death he entered the service of Princess Mary. It was through Mary's household that he became involved with the translation of the Paraphrases of Erasmus,

⁶⁸. Beer, 348.

⁶⁹. PRO, LC 2/2, 45.

⁷⁰. BL, Additional MS 45,716, 15.

⁷¹. Hamilton, 281-82.

⁷². PRO SP 1/157, 13; LP, XV, 21.

⁷³. Dowling, Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII, 91.

⁷⁴. Ridley, Thomas Cranmer, 160.

though the project was sponsored by Kateryn Parr.⁷⁵ In 1551, Mallet was examined by Edward VI's council, and accused of conducting the now forbidden "Henrican Mass," and committed to the Tower.⁷⁶ Apparently Mallet's participation in the Paraphrases project does not suggest that he was a reformer, and he was viewed as too conservative by Edward VI's government.

How close the relationships actually were between Kateryn Parr and the religious officials of her household is difficult to determine. However, it seems probable that she had frequent contact with her clerk of the closet, William Harper. Unlike her other religious officials, Harper does not appear in the households of Kateryn's predecessors. When he joined Kateryn's household is unclear: however, he was a fellow of New College from 1503 until 1527.⁷⁷ Harper's position required that he act as an attendant and messenger for the queen, as well as a private chaplain on her journeys.⁷⁸

As clerk of the closet, Harper supplied the queen with books, and was responsible for her altar plate and linens. He

⁷⁵. BL, Cotton MS Vespasian FIII 35, 29; copy Bod. Smith MS 68, 53; reprinted in Crawford, 219; Travitsky, The Paradise of Women, 78; McConica, English Humanists, 231; Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorial, II, ii, 330-31.

⁷⁶. APC, 1550-52, 267.

⁷⁷. Rose-Troup, 45-6.

⁷⁸. Rose-Troup, 48.

also supplied Kateryn with herbs, flowers, and transported her closet items when she travelled.⁷⁹ Although it is difficult to confirm Harper's exact religious views, in 1553, as a vicar in Essex he was prosecuted for popish practices.⁸⁰

While it would seem logical to assume that Kateryn Parr's religious officials had a direct influence on her religious position, it appears that where data is obtainable, these men were more conservative than reform oriented.

Other men in Kateryn Parr's household included her uncle and Lord Chamberlain, Sir William Parr of Horton. Parr was a vigorous supporter of the king's religious policies in 1530, and participated in the dissolution of the monasteries.⁸¹ Parr seemed content to follow the king's lead on religious matters, rather than engage in doctrinal debates. While he supported his niece the queen at court, he appeared to be more interested in the status of the Parr family than in religious matters.⁸² Hence Lord Parr was probably not an important religious influence on Kateryn Parr. Similarly, Sir Thomas Arundel served as Kateryn Parr's lord chancellor, but his

⁷⁹. PRO, E316/161, 46, 69, 96, 151, 152, 202; Rose-Troup, 46-48.

⁸⁰. Rose-Troup, 46.

⁸¹. James, "The Parrs of Kendal," 258; Hamilton, 287-88.

⁸². Hamilton, 288.

contact with her seemed limited to official matters, and he remained outside religious matters in the 1540s.⁸³

Further household officials to Kateryn Parr included three vice-chamberlains. The first, Sir Edward Baynton, served four of Henry's previous queens, and had obvious reform sympathies.⁸⁴ However, Baynton died after only a year in the queen's service.⁸⁵ Sir Edmund Walsingham was the next vice-chamberlain. Little is known of his religious background other than that he was kind to both conservatives and reformers when he served as constable of the Tower.⁸⁶ Much more is known about the next vice-chamberlain, Sir Anthony Cope, who was a close friend and associate of the queen. Cope was a renowned humanist scholar from Oriel College, Oxford. In his dedication to his A Godly Meditacion on XX select Psalmes of David, Cope implied that he and Kateryn Parr shared a similar belief in reform religion.⁸⁷ However, it is unclear whether Cope became associated with the queen before or after the king's death.⁸⁸

⁸³. Bindoff, The House of Commons, I, 332; Hamilton, 29.

⁸⁴. Dowling, Humanism in the of the Age of Henry VIII, 45; Bindoff, The House of Commons, I, 401-2.

⁸⁵. PRO, E30/1472, 5; LP, XVIII, i, 873; Bindoff, I, 403.

⁸⁶. Bindoff, The House of Commons, III, 539.

⁸⁷. Sir Anthony Cope, A Godly Meditacion on XX select Psalmes of David (London, 1547), RSTC 5717, introduction X, xii, xiii.

⁸⁸. Dowling, Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII, 237; Hamilton, 291.

One other official in Kateryn Parr's household was her master of the house and later lord steward, Sir Robert Tyrwhit. Tyrwhit and his wife Lady Elizabeth Tyrwhit were both committed reformers.⁸⁹ Similarly, Kateryn's personal physician, Robert Huick was a committed reformer. Huick's religious beliefs got him expelled as the principal of St. Alban's Hall, Oxford, though he eventually completed his medical studies at Cambridge. Huick described his conversion to the New Faith in 1532 "as the veil which was lifted off Moses' eyes."⁹⁰ Huick came to the queen's household in 1543, served her until her death, and was a witness to her oral will. While he was in royal service during the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth I, not surprisingly, he was not a member of Queen Mary's household.⁹¹

With the exception of the few household officials with reform sympathies, it appears unlikely that her officers were instrumental in shaping Kateryn Parr's reform beliefs. True, the queen was an independent thinker with the education to support her religious inquiries. However, it seems that what support and encouragement Kateryn Parr received for her religious position needed to come from the women of her household, rather than her officials.

⁸⁹. Samuel Haynes, ed., A Collection of State papers...1542-1572 (London, 1740), 104; Hamilton, 292.

⁹⁰. LP, XII, i, 212.

⁹¹. Bindoff, The House of Commons, II, 404-5; Emma Dent, Annals of Winchcombe and Sudeley (London: John Murray, 1877).

The last major area of Kateryn Parr's influence as a reformer was within the royal household itself, in her role as a wife and stepmother to a family of complicated Tudors. Though technically not members of the queen's household -- the royal children each had households of their own -- Mary, Elizabeth and Edward were in different ways an extension of Kateryn Parr's circle of influence, regardless of whether they were at court or in their own establishments. It was Kateryn's talent for diplomacy that knit together a family of such varied, explosive, and conflicting temperaments.

Though an adult when Kateryn Parr married her father, Princess Mary remained close to her throughout the marriage, and lived most of the time attached to the queen's household. Neither Elizabeth nor Edward saw as much of Kateryn as Mary did, mostly because they either lived in their own establishments or shared a separate household, yet they met together frequently during major festivals, or when there was a threat of the plague. Within the royal family, physical proximity between family members mattered less than the relative harmony of the relationships. Henry VIII's children and Kateryn Parr shared frequent correspondence, and were aware of each other's itineraries and activities. Kateryn treated the two younger children as if they were her own, often shielding them from their father's mercurial temper. Elizabeth and Edward had no rivals for Kateryn's affections;

she was childless and the two Neville stepchildren were already adults.⁹²

Further, Kateryn Parr's personal care for Henry VIII not only eased his physical suffering, but probably prevented him from making impulsive and disastrous decisions while under the stress of chronic pain. Always a large man, Henry's excesses took a physical toll by the time he married Kateryn, to the extent that at the end of his life four men found it difficult to lift him. Though various diagnoses have been made concerning Henry's symptoms -- from acute osteomyelitis, to an aggravated varicose ulcer, to the complications of syphilis -- the fact remains that Kateryn Parr spent many hours with him as the only one he would allow to nurse his leg, and talk to him to distract him from his physical suffering.⁹³

Similarly, the contributions Kateryn made to her royal stepchildren -- persons at times alienated from their father and from each other -- influenced them as individuals and as future monarchs. An examination of Kateryn's correspondence shows clearly that she assumed responsibility for the care of Henry's children, and was particularly concerned about the health of the heir, Prince Edward. She frequently closed letters to the king with a report on the prince's well-being,

⁹². CSP: Spain, VIII, 370-371; LP, XIX, ii, 4, 246; Nichols, Literary Remains, I, cxiii; Loades, Henry VIII and His Queens, 142-43.

⁹³. Scarisbrick, 484-86.

noting that "the rest of the king's majesty my lord's children were well."⁹⁴

Moreover, Kateryn united Henry VIII's children emotionally through affection, but also intellectually and religiously by cultivating the learned humanism that engaged all three royal offspring in varying ways. Her devotion and expertise as a stepmother was lauded by Margaret Neville, Kateryn's ward and stepdaughter who died in 1545. At the time of her death, Neville appointed the queen her heir since he was 'never able to render to her Grace sufficient thanks for the godly education and tender love...',⁹⁵ she received from Kateryn.

Kateryn Parr was the first person who took an interest in all three of Henry VIII's children, and to attempt to reunite them with the king and as a family. Prince Edward never knew his mother, Jane Seymour, who died a few days after his birth. Princess Elizabeth was less than three years old when her mother, Anne Boleyn, was executed, and spent her infancy and childhood away from court. Princess Mary was separated from her mother, Katherine of Aragon, when she was about nine years old and sent to Ludlow Castle. Except for a secret meeting in 1531, Mary did not see her mother alive again. After a bitter submission to her father in 1536, Mary was allowed back at

⁹⁴. For example, BL, Additional MS 27,402, 39b; LP, XIX, ii, 58; PRO, SP 1/190, 155, 221; LP, XIX, i, 1019; SP 1/191, 53, 166; LP, XIX, ii, 58.

⁹⁵. Quoted in Weir, The Six Wives of Henry VIII, 513.

court for special occasions, along with Elizabeth. Both princesses were at court with Kateryn when she married their father, and Mary served as bridesmaid.⁹⁶ The fact that two of the king's children were at court together was a rare enough occurrence to inspire a comment from Lord Lisle.⁹⁷ Kateryn Parr's influence not only supported Henry's children, it developed in the king a more positive attitude toward them, and he began to refer to them for the first time as his "dearest children."⁹⁸

In January 1544, about six months after Kateryn Parr married the king, Parliament passed an act of succession that settled on Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, in the order named, and gave the king the right to alter the succession by his last will and testament. Whether the action was at Kateryn's request or not, the king accepted the terms of it in regard to his children; if they failed to leave heirs, Henry altered the succession from the Stuart line (from his oldest sister Margaret) to the Suffolk line (from his younger sister Mary). Officially, it was stressed that any offspring of Kateryn and the king would take precedence in the succession over both Mary and Elizabeth, but in practice this was recognized as unlikely. Gossip about a Duke of York died away, and Kateryn

⁹⁶. PRO, E30/1572, 5, 6; LP, XVIII, i, 873.

⁹⁷. PRO, SP 11/179, 76; LP XVIII, i, 740.

⁹⁸. For example, LP, XIX, ii, 201.

never went through an official coronation ceremony.⁹⁹ In this respect, Kateryn Parr was fortunate. She never had to suffer the agonizing wait for pregnancy and its outcome as did her predecessors. Though no direct evidence states that Kateryn Parr influenced Henry's decision to include all his children in the succession, her efforts to reunite them suggests that she was partly responsible for this outcome.

As Princess Mary was an adult when her father married for the last time, Kateryn Parr was not really in a position to contribute to her religious or personal development, but instead made every effort to make her life more agreeable. Kateryn was only a few years older than Mary, really more her contemporary than a parent, so she related to her as an older sister. Her efforts to befriend Mary date from before Kateryn's marriage to the king at the time of her return to London as Lady Latimer. The two also had childhood ties: Kateryn's mother was a lady-in-waiting to Mary's mother, Katherine of Aragon. The queen's strength of character is evident in the manner in which Kateryn took the trouble to reach out to Princess Mary, even though she was often rejected and out-of-favor with her father.

⁹⁹. HLRO, 35 Henry VIII, c. 1; PRO, E23/4, 1; Luders et al., Statutes of the Realm, III, 955-58; Ridley, Henry VIII, 410-11; Scarisbrick, 488-94.

By February 1543, Kateryn was advising Mary on her wardrobe and was ordering clothes for her.¹⁰⁰ Kateryn and Mary frequently exchanged gifts. As a New Year's gift for the queen, Mary prepared an embroidered book of prayers in several languages; on another occasion, she presented her stepmother with a purse.¹⁰¹ Kateryn gave Mary several gifts of money, personal items such as night gowns and silver cloth, along with several pieces of jewelry encrusted with rubies and pearls.¹⁰² At the same time, Kateryn encouraged the "conservative humanist and pietist group" that formed around Mary to continue to meet, though they were more religiously conservative than the queen's own circle.¹⁰³ That Mary personally had important links with the queen's household is evident from the number of gifts she received from the queen's ladies, as well as the number of them that asked Mary to stand as godmother to their children.¹⁰⁴

In 1543, Princess Mary was twenty-seven-years-old, and her unmarried state made her an anomaly. There was really no place at court for the unmarried daughter of a king. Mary's

¹⁰⁰. PRO, SP 1/177, 124; LP, XVIII, i, 443; James, "Queen Kateryn Parr," 111.

¹⁰¹. Martienssen, 161-62.

¹⁰². PRO, E101/423, 12, 7; 315/161, 210; Frederick Madden, Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary (London, 1831), 21, 91, 137.

¹⁰³. McConica, English Humanists, 157; Haugaard, 348-49.

¹⁰⁴. Hamilton, 268-73.

single state was chiefly the result of her indeterminate status within the royal household. Although she was the first lady of the land, the cloud of bastardy hung over her. While intermittent negotiations continued for her hand in marriage while the king was alive, no husband was found for her, even after she was restored to the order of succession. With no income of her own, Mary really had no choice but to live in the queen's household, with a few personal chamber servants. This situation caused Mary great distress, and she believed that as long as her father lived she would remain "...only the Lady Mary, the most unhappy lady in Christendom."¹⁰⁵

Although Princess Mary had an ambivalent status at home, she had powerful European connections. Eustace Chapuys quickly realized that Kateryn Parr posed no threat to the princess.¹⁰⁶ Chapuys was well aware that this was not always the case. Anne Boleyn made several threats to Mary, and Katherine Howard attempted to have Mary's maids dismissed because they showed more deference to Jane Seymour and Anne of Cleves than to herself.¹⁰⁷ Consequently, Charles V through his ambassadors continued to check on Mary's progress, and commended Kateryn Parr for her efforts.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵. LP, XVII, 371; Loades, Henry VIII and His Queens, 142.

¹⁰⁶. CSP: Spain, VI, ii, 183; LP, XVIII, i, 875.

¹⁰⁷. CSP: Spain, VI, i, 143; LP, XVI, 341.

¹⁰⁸. CSP: Spain, VII, ii, 39, 205; LP, XVIII, ii, 39, XIX, i, 118.

Scholarship was a strong bond between Princess Mary and Kateryn Parr, and at least initially, the religious positions between the two of them were not all that far apart. Both were brought up in the humanist tradition, and were perhaps schooled together for a time. Like Kateryn Parr and her father, Mary had a deep love for Christian discourse. Only when it came to doctrinal matters such as the justification by faith or attacks on the sacraments did Mary draw the line, and Kateryn concealed her private convictions in this regard until after Henry VIII's death.¹⁰⁹

Kateryn Parr was the person chiefly possible for encouraging Princess Mary to translate Erasmus' Paraphrase of the Gospel of St. John for publication. (Mary later suppressed her own work after she became queen.) Mary's participation in the project suggested her admiration for the queen, as well as her scholarly ability and interest in the writings of Erasmus. The translation was published under the name of Nicholas Udall, master of Eton, under the sponsorship of Kateryn Parr. While Udall was known for his reform beliefs, Mary proceeded with enthusiasm until illness stopped her work, and she handed the remainder of it to Francis Mallet to complete. Still, Udall paid tribute to the princess in his preface. Though published under a different name, Kateryn clearly desired the princess to consider using her own:

¹⁰⁹. Loades, Henry VIII and His Queens, 142.

Now since, as I have heard, the finishing touch (as far as the translation is concerned) is given by Mallet to Erasmus' work upon John, and nought now remains but that proper care and vigilance should be taken in revising, I entreat you to send over to me this very excellent work, now amended by Mallet, or some of your people, that it may be committed to the press in due time; and further, to signify where you wish it to go forth to the world (most auspiciously) under your name, as the production of an unknown writer. To which work you will, in my opinion, do a real injury, if you refuse to let it go down to posterity under the auspices of your own name, since you have undertaken so much labor in accurately translating it for the great good of the public, and would have undertaken still greater, (as is well known) of the health of your body permitted.¹¹⁰

Kateryn Parr's intellectual influence probably had the greatest impact out of all of Henry VIII's children on Princess Elizabeth, whose humanistic education paralleled that of her brother Prince Edward. To Elizabeth, Kateryn Parr was an affectionate stepmother and intellectual mentor from the time of her marriage to the king until her death.¹¹¹ After her mother's execution in 1536, Elizabeth was declared a bastard and raised by a series of governesses. She spent most of her childhood in houses north of London, and only rarely saw her father.¹¹² Princess Mary originally doted on her little half-sister, but the relationship grew more strained as

¹¹⁰. BL, Cotton MS Vespasian, FIII, 35, 29; copy in Bod. MS Smith 68, 53; reprinted in Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, II, ii, 330-31; McConica, English Humanists, 231; Crawford, 219.

¹¹¹. For a discussion of Katherine Parr's influence on Elizabeth, see Haugaard, 347-48; John King, "Patronage and Piety," 51.

¹¹². Weir, The Children of Henry the VIII (New York: Ballantine Books), 69.

Elizabeth grew older. Not only did Mary have a hard time putting aside her suffering and that of her mother at the hands of Anne Boleyn, she was troubled by Elizabeth's reform faith.¹¹³ After the king's death, Elizabeth was committed to the queen's household by the privy council, and remained there until her relationship with Kateryn's fourth husband, Thomas Seymour, became untenable.

The earliest extant letter written by Elizabeth (in Italian, dated in July 1544) was addressed to Kateryn Parr. Exiled after Kateryn's marriage to the king for some unknown dispute with her father, Elizabeth contacted Kateryn while Henry was in France. Kateryn assured the girl that she was working on a reconciliation between her husband and his daughter. Elizabeth wrote to thank Kateryn, begging her to continue to intercede on her behalf to the king:

Inimical fortune, envious of all good and ever revolving human affairs, has deprived me for a whole year of your illustrious presence,...And in my exile, I well know that the clemency of your highness has had as much care and solicitude for my health as the king's majesty himself. By which I am not only bound to serve you, but also to revere you with filial love, since I understand that your most illustrious highness has not forgotten me every time you have written to the king's majesty, which, indeed, it was my duty to have requested from you. For heretofore I have not dared to write him. Wherefore I now most humbly pray your most excellent highness, that when you write to his majesty, you will condescend to recommend me to him....¹¹⁴

¹¹³. Weir, The Children of Henry VIII, 12-13.

¹¹⁴. Bod. MS Smith 68, 49; copy, BL, Cotton MS Otho CX 231; LP, XXI, i, 1020.

Thanks to Kateryn Parr's intercession with the king, the rift between Elizabeth and her father was healed, and she was welcomed back at court later that year.

At the end of the year, Elizabeth made a New Year's gift for the queen -- her own translation from the French of The Mirror of the Sinful Soul by Marguerite of Navarre. Elizabeth included with her translation an elaborate embroidered cover, also her own work, with the queen's initials in the center. The labor of love was addressed to "the most noble and virtuous queen by her humble daughter."¹¹⁵

Elizabeth was only eleven-years-old when she did the translation, and requested that "no other (but your highness only) shall read it or see it, lest my faults be known of many."¹¹⁶ Her intellectual respect for the queen was evident when Elizabeth asked Kateryn to "rub out, polish and mend (or else cause to mend) the words (or rather the order of my writing) that which I know, in many places, to be rude, ad nothing as it should be."¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵. Bod. MS Cherry 36 is the translation from French by Princess Elizabeth, 1544, entitled The Miroir or glasse of the synnefull soule, and it includes a dedication (fols. 1-4) to Queen Kateryn; reprinted in Percy W. Ames, ed., The Mirror of the Sinful Soul, trans. Princess Elizabeth (London, 1897), 3-45. Also, see Beilin, 67-72; Haugaard, 347-49; and, Weir, the Children of Henry VIII, 10-11, for discussion of Elizabeth's translation.

¹¹⁶. Ibid. Dedication reprinted in Travitsky, The Paradise of Women, 76-77.

¹¹⁷. Ibid.

Marquerite of Navarre's text was a major link between the humanism in the courts of England and France. Although the text is pre-reform, it was later used as an example of Elizabeth's Protestant zeal.¹¹⁸ Like Kateryn Parr, Marquerite was married to a king whose religious views were more conservative than her own at the same time she became the center of an intellectual circle at court that encouraged and protected reformers. As was the case with Elizabeth I, it was Marquerite of Navarre's daughter, Jeanne, who openly espoused reform beliefs on her accession to the throne.¹¹⁹

Later that same year, Elizabeth translated a selection of Kateryn's prayers into Latin, French, and Italian, and dedicated the manuscript to the king. About the same time, Elizabeth also translated Erasmus' Dialogue on Faith from Latin into French, as a gift for her father.¹²⁰ Educated by reformers, Elizabeth was undoubtedly influenced by them, but she was also aware of Kateryn Parr's influence and religious beliefs. In 1547, she translated yet another work for Kateryn,

¹¹⁸. John King, "Patronage and Piety," 51.

¹¹⁹. Lerner, The Creation of Feminist Consciousness, 229.

¹²⁰. BL, Royal Manuscripts, Princess Elizabeth, Prayers and medytacions; also, McConica, English Humanists, 201. Though the manuscript of Elizabeth's translation of Dialogus fidei has disappeared, the comments of visitors to the Whitehall Library saw it and prove it existed. For reference to the manuscript's disappearance, see Pearl Hogrefe, Women of Action in Tudor England, 204. For a discussion of Elizabeth's scholarship see, Edward Arber, ed., Roger Ascham's The Schoolmaster (London, 1870), 67; J.A. Giles, The Whole Works of Roger Ascham (London, 1865), I, Pt. 1, lxi-lxiv.

this time the Doctrine of the Christian Life from The Institutes of the Christian Religion by John Calvin.¹²¹

Elizabeth flourished under Kateryn Parr's direction, and the queen arranged for the princess the equivalent of a "man's education."¹²² Kateryn was also responsible for the appointment in 1544 of William Grindal as a tutor for Elizabeth. Grindal was a favorite of Roger Ascham's, a fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, and called "the greatest Grecian of them all." Grindal remained Elizabeth's tutor until his death from the plague in 1548. After Grindal's death, Elizabeth was determined to have Roger Ascham as her tutor, and although Kateryn would have preferred another candidate, she yielded to the girl's wishes. Ascham remained Elizabeth's tutor until an unknown conflict caused his departure in 1549.¹²³

By appointing tutors of the highest calibre for Elizabeth, and by encouraging her love of learning, Kateryn Parr contributed to the future monarch's life-long love of scholarship and culture. Like her stepmother, Elizabeth learned to keep her own counsel in religious matters when it was prudent to do so. While she embraced the views of the Cambridge reformers that Kateryn Parr chose as her teachers, Elizabeth was discreet about her personal convictions. From

¹²¹. Weir, The Children of Henry VIII, 10.

¹²². King, Women of the Renaissance, 209-11.

¹²³. Lawrence V. Ryan, Roger Ascham (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1963): Grindal as tutor, 42, 102-3; Ascham as tutor, 102, 112, 216-17, 223-24.

the example of Kateryn Parr, Elizabeth may have learned the value of a certain amount of caution when it came to religion. As a result, Elizabeth could never be accused of religious fanaticism, and in fact, was reluctant to be involved in theological disputes.

While concerned with the selection of appropriate tutors for Princess Elizabeth, Kateryn Parr was also charged with the education of Prince Edward. Over the past twenty years there have been two main views of Kateryn Parr's involvement in Prince Edward's education.

The first view was put forward by James McConica. McConica argued that Kateryn's involvement in Edward's education during the last years of Henry VIII's reign was decisive.¹²⁴ Although McConica did not discuss Kateryn's own standard of learning, he implied that she was considered a learned woman within the context of a court with high standards for royal ladies.¹²⁵ Further, McConica and others found that Kateryn Parr was responsible for the reorganization of the royal school, as well as the appointment of Edward's tutors.¹²⁶ McConica and one of Kateryn Parr's biographers credited her with the appointment of Richard Cox.¹²⁷ Other

¹²⁴. McConica, English Humanists, 201, 215-17.

¹²⁵. Ibid.

¹²⁶. McConica, English Humanists, 212-14; Scarisbrick, 457, Martienssen, 172-73.

¹²⁷. McConica, English Humanists, 212-14; Martienssen, 172-73.

appointments credited to Kateryn Parr include John Belmaine, a French tutor with reform views, and Roger Ascham, as tutor to Elizabeth.¹²⁸

The alternative view to McConica's was argued by Maria Dowling, who asserted that not only was Kateryn Parr unqualified to oversee Edward's education, but that the king would have made the educational decisions for his precious heir himself. Further, Edward was not schooled in a "royal nursery," as such, but in a separate household with separate tutors.¹²⁹

While both arguments have been widely quoted, it seems most likely that Kateryn Parr played an important role in her stepchildren's education, even if some of the final decisions, particular in regard to the prince, were made by the king. Kateryn Parr's education was probably not as extensive as her stepchildren's, but then again she was not born royal. However, the letters between Kateryn and Henry's offspring suggest how she in fact continued to encourage them to excel in scholarship, even as their efforts exceeded her own. As a woman with a humanist-inspired education herself, Kateryn Parr would have taken very seriously her role as custodian of the education of future leaders of the realm. It is what she was trained to do.

¹²⁸. McConica, English Humanists, 215; Jordan, Edward VI. The Young King, I, 42.

¹²⁹. Dowling, Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII, 60-63.

If Kateryn Parr was not responsible for the educational arrangements of her stepchildren, who then was responsible? Previous to Kateryn Parr's arrival, Cromwell and Cranmer organized Edward's household, but only Cranmer could still be involved.¹³⁰ By the time of the reorganization of the royal schoolroom, the only person other than the queen who would have been a likely candidate was Cranmer, who was a close associate of hers anyway. That is, unless the king wanted to turn over his son's education to Gardiner, which he obviously did not. It therefore seems likely that the tutors were selected by Kateryn Parr in consultation with Cranmer.¹³¹

Edward was six-years-old when Kateryn Parr married his father, and he began his formal education while she was his stepmother. Though the extent of Kateryn's involvement in Edward's education has been debated, it should be noted that for all of Henry VIII's conservative theological convictions, he entrusted the education of his heir to adherents of the New Faith. In fact, Henry's assumption that Kateryn would be involved with Edward's education was implied when he gave instructions for his son's education at the same time he appointed Kateryn regent.¹³² Under the initial organization of Cromwell, and later Kateryn and Cranmer, Prince Edward's

¹³⁰. McConica, English Humanists, 213.

¹³¹. For a similar argument, see Swenson, 105.

¹³². PRO, SP 1/189, 227-29; LP, XIX, i, 864; ii, 1035(78).

educational establishment was perhaps one of the last major contributions of the Henrician settlement.¹³³

When Kateryn Parr became queen, Prince Edward was already an extremely precocious and solemn child; so humorless that he was known to have laughed out loud only once in his life.¹³⁴ As he grew older, Edward grew distrustful and prim, and he could turn cold and forbidding. Most of the affection Edward received before Kateryn Parr became his stepmother came from his sisters. Mary adored Edward when he was small, but friction developed between them on religious issues as he grew older. Elizabeth was only four years older than Edward, and encouraged his intellectual pursuits. The loss of their mothers at a young age was a bond between them. Over-protected from his anxious father since birth, Edward was isolated from most of court life and from human affection. Henry treasured his only son and heir, but he had a distant relationship with all his children. While she arrived too late to reverse much of Edward's early childhood, as the only mother he ever had, Kateryn Parr attempted to ease Edward's isolation.¹³⁵

Kateryn Parr and the humanist educators of her circle expanded Edward's educational establishment, and made it an intellectual center of the court. Following the humanist model, some boys from noble families were selected to be

¹³³. McConica, English Humanists, 213.

¹³⁴. Weir, The Children of Henry VIII, 15.

¹³⁵. Weir, The Children of Henry VIII, 12-16.

tutored alongside Edward. The tutors were among the most celebrated intellectuals of the day. Initially, Richard Cox was appointed to tutor the prince, and later, Kateryn Parr brought in John Cheke and Anthony Cooke "for the better education of the prince."¹³⁶

The appointments of Cheke and Cooke were applauded by scholars of the day. A brilliant scholar from St. John's College, Cambridge, John Cheke published a translation of the homilies of John Chrysostom, and had been appointed the first regius professor of Greek in 1540. Anthony Cooke, probably a Cambridge graduate, was linked through his wife Anne to the queen's circle. Cooke designed the educational program for his own children on the model of the Thomas More household. Though Cooke's religious views were austere and his demeanor humorless he was completely dedicated to education, including the education of women. It was obviously Cooke's success with his own children that recommended him to Kateryn Parr: His daughters had the reputation as some of the most learned women in England. Once Cheke and Cooke were appointed, they added modern languages, philosophy, and liberal arts, to the prince's curriculum, in addition to his classical studies.¹³⁷ Through her support of scholars who were reform sympathizers,

¹³⁶. Weir, The Six Wives of Henry VIII, 505.

¹³⁷. For a discussion of Edward's tutors, see J.G. Nichols, ed., Literary Remains, II, 209-10; Ryan, 102-8.; Swenson, 120-31. For a discussion of the royal school, see McConica, English Humanists, 213-18.

Kateryn Parr influenced not only Edward's personal faith, but religious thought in England into his reign.

The letters of Prince Edward to Kateryn when he was six to ten years old suggested their mutual affection, though couched in conventional terms, and convey her sense of responsibility for his training. While Edward was sometimes allowed at court, and at other times shared a household with Elizabeth, from the time he was six years old he ceased to be "brought up among the women," and was the center of his own household.¹³⁸ When Kateryn Parr became his stepmother, Edward began to enjoy for the first time some sense of family life, and greatly missed them when separated from them within his own household.¹³⁹ "It is some comfort in my grief," he wrote to Elizabeth, "that my chamberlain tells me I may hope to visit you soon if nothing happens to either of us in the meantime."¹⁴⁰ Hence, the letters between Kateryn Parr and her stepchildren, as well as the letters they exchanged, became an important source of family life.

In much of his correspondence to Kateryn Parr, Edward mentioned her encouragement for his studies, and thanked her

¹³⁸. Nichols, Literary Remains, I, cxiii.

¹³⁹. For example, see BL, Harleian MS 5087, 22; Nichols, Literary Remains, I, XXVIII, 26.

¹⁴⁰. BL, Harleian MS 5087, 26; Halliwell, II, 21; Nichols, Literary Remains, I, xxxvi, 31; Weir, The Children of Henry VIII, 17.

for her acceptance of his "rude" letters.¹⁴¹ Apparently, Edward wrote Katernyn, "illustrious queen and beloved mother," fairly often with "hearty thanks for your loving kindness to me and my sister, your obsequious son."¹⁴² In a letter to Princess Mary, his affection for Katernyn and his sister was evident when Edward claimed that his "affection ever holds the chief place in my heart both for you and my dearest mother."¹⁴³ In another letter, Edward explained that he had not written earlier because he wished to improve "in correctness first," and that her desire for his improvement "in all genteel accomplishment and piety" was "a token of your signal and everlasting love toward me." He continued:

And this love you have manifested for me by many kindnesses, and especially by this New-Year's gift, which you have lately sent me, wherein the king's majesty's image and your own is contained, expressed to the life. For it delighteth me much to gaze upon your likenesses, though absent, whom, with the greatest pleasure, I would see present; and to whom I am bound by nature as well as duty.¹⁴⁴

Edward's serious nature was evident in a letter he wrote to Katernyn Parr complaining about the behavior of his thirty year old sister:

¹⁴¹. For example, BL, Cotton MS Nero C X, 4; Halliwell, II, 4; Nichols, Literary Remains, I, XIV, 13.

¹⁴². BL, Cotton MS Vespasian F III, 18; Harleian MS 5087, 7; copies, Bod., MS Smith 31; Halliwell, II, 9; Nichols, Literary Remains, VI, XIII, 12.

¹⁴³. Bod. MS Rawlinson A112, 66, 67.

¹⁴⁴. Ibid.

...dearest mother, the only true consolation is from Heaven, and the only real love is the love of God. preserve, therefore, I pray you, my dear sister Mary, from all the wiles and enchantments of the evil one; and beseech her no longer to attend to foreign dances and merriments which do not become a most Christian princess...."¹⁴⁵

Scholars have commented on the great similarity between the handwriting of Kateryn Parr and Prince Edward, as further evidence of her role in his education.¹⁴⁶ Though Kateryn continued to refine her writing style into adulthood, Edward's exceptional education caused him to comment on her labors:

...I perceive that you have given your attention to the Roman characters, so that my preceptor could not be persuaded but that your secretary wrote them, till he observed your name written equally well....I hear, too, that your highness is progressing in the Latin tongue and in the Belles Lettres, wherefore I feel no little joy, for letters are lasting; but other things seem to perish. Literature also conduces to virtuous conduct, but ignorance therefore leads to vice....Every thing comes from God, is good; learning comes from God, therefore learning is good."¹⁴⁷

Besides her educational role with Henry VIII's children, Kateryn Parr was also a mentor to Lady Jane Grey. Jane became a ward of Kateryn's fourth husband, Thomas Seymour, and was sent to Kateryn's care for educational purposes. Because of Jane's royal lineage -- she was the granddaughter of Mary Tudor, Henry VIII's sister -- her ambitious parents were determined to give her an education fit for a princess, and

¹⁴⁵. Bod. MS Rawlinson 112, 66, 67; Halliwell, II, 8-9; Nichols, Literary Remains, I, X, 9.

¹⁴⁶. For example, Strickland, 413.

¹⁴⁷. BL, Harleian MS 5987, 9; Halliwell, II, 12-13; Nichols, Literary Remains, I, XVII, 16.

possibly arrange a marriage between their daughter and Edward VI. Like Edward, Jane was strong-willed, precocious, and an intellectual snob. Beaten at home, Jane did not have a happy childhood; reputedly, her only happiness was with her tutors, and later with Kateryn Parr. Jane Grey held firm reform convictions, and while deeply influenced by her tutors, she was sent to Kateryn Parr to "temper" her convictions, but not "quench her ardor."¹⁴⁸

Lady Jane Grey's correspondence with Bullinger in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew is evidence not only of her superior education, but of the relationship between learned noble women in England and the continental reformers.¹⁴⁹ Jane Grey eventually reigned as queen for only nine days, but she made a deep impact in her death, and became a symbol of the reform cause.¹⁵⁰

Evidence suggests that Kateryn Parr also involved the reformers of her household in the education of the royal children. Joan Denny participated in the education of Elizabeth, though her exact role is unknown.¹⁵¹ In addition to religious opinions that were in agreement with the queen's, Joan possessed a humanist-inspired education in her own right.

¹⁴⁸. Bainton, 181-83.

¹⁴⁹. PRO, SP 10/5, 5, 6; CSP: Edward VI, 157-158; John King, "Patronage and Piety," 52.

¹⁵⁰. Bainton, 181.

¹⁵¹. John Strype, The History of the Life and Acts of Edmund Grindal, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1821), I, 5.

Not only was she an intellectual, but she was considered the most cultured and beautiful woman at court. Sources indicate that as a girl Princess Elizabeth spent a great deal of time at Cheshunt, the Denny family seat.¹⁵² Another member of the queen's household, Elizabeth Tyrwhit, was a governess to Elizabeth and composed prayers for the princess. She may have also assisted in the printing of the Wycliff Bible which was presented to Edward VI.¹⁵³

Kateryn Parr's interest in reform religion peaked after 1544 and continued throughout her lifetime. When it came to religion, Kateryn Parr and the women of her household took an active interest beyond the indirect influence they held in other court affairs and at times, unwittingly, became political figures. The fact that Henry himself decided that his son and heir would be taught by reformers probably contributed to some of the interest in the New Faith at court. However, there can be no doubt that Kateryn Parr and a number of the women of her household, as well as courtiers related to them, held a firm and sincere commitment to further the reform cause at court and beyond. Kateryn Parr herself may have been partially motivated by political reasons. She played a key role, after all, in the education of the king's children, which varied according to their ages and roles, but which also figured into the religious settlement of future reigns.

¹⁵². Swenson, 113-14.

¹⁵³. Swenson, 114.

CHAPTER V:

Katelyn Parr as Writer and Patron:
"Encouraged, Boldened, and Stirred"

The emphasis on learning encouraged by humanism, paved the way for the breakthrough of the printing press and the literary patronage that flourished during the 1540s. The names of Katelyn Parr and the women of her household who promoted reform religion were cited in many dedications, treatises, and political tracts of the period.

Under the influence of Katelyn Parr, the women of her household, along with an extended circle of court reformers, began to play an unprecedented role in learning and the promulgation of the New Faith throughout the realm. It has been argued that, "The Reformation, with its emphasis on individual salvation and the reading of scripture, was...the single most important influence on women writers," who added to the hugh volume of works bearing witness to the reform faith.¹ The work of Katelyn Parr and the women of her circle as authors, editors, translators, patrons, and educators in noble households, was motivated by both a sense of responsibility for the religious faith of their readers, as

¹. Beilin, xxi.

well as the changing political climate at court in the last years of the reign of Henry VIII.

Where Kateryn Parr differed from many of her contemporaries, was that she was the first woman to write in English with the intention of influencing public opinion.² Kateryn Parr was, according to one source, "studiously diligent in acquiring knowledge, as well of other disciplines, as also of the holy Scriptures....She was mighty studious to promote the glory of God, and of the holy Gospel."³

As was the case with Kateryn Parr's other roles and activities, she regarded her literary efforts as an expression of her religious faith. It is important to note that Kateryn Parr's learned royal predecessors were Catholic. Thus, the publication of her treatise, The Lamentacion...of a synner in 1547, signified the beginning of English women's learning in the reform tradition.⁴ Kateryn Parr was one of only three English women writers to publish a statement of faith, and one of eight to have published at all between the years 1486 and 1548.⁵ Characteristically, one of Kateryn's primary motivations was the desire to assist other Christians:

². Travitsky, The Paradise of Women, 38.

³. Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, I, i, 203.

⁴, Katherine [Kateryn] Parr, The Lamentacion...of a synner... (London: Edward Whitchurch, 1547), RSTC 4827-29; Margaret King, Women of the Renaissance, 209; John King, "Patronage and Piety," 59-60.

⁵. Margaret King, Women of the Renaissance, 209.

...by the hate I owe to sin, who hath reigned in me, partly by the love I owe to all Christians, whom I am content to edify, even with the example of my own shame,...to confess and declare to the world, how ingrate, negligent, unkind, and stubborn, I have been to God my Creator.⁶

By the time Kateryn Parr became queen of England in 1543, there were several royal precedents for the various literary roles in which she was to excel. Katherine of Aragon, a committed Catholic, was also an extensive patron of humanist learning; Anne Boleyn had been a strong supporter of the New Faith.⁷ That English queens should exercise influence as royal patrons was not unique to the Tudors; such women stretched in a relatively unbroken line to Anne of Bohemia, the wife of Richard II. The tradition of royal patronage by Tudor queens was begun by Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII, who was not only a patron of the printing press, but also of religious works, religious houses, and Cambridge University⁸

Kateryn Parr's royal contemporaries on the continent included Marguerite of Navarre, sister of Francis I, and a strong proponent of learning and reform religion. Her most important work, The Mirror of the Sinful Soule, was an inspiration to Kateryn and was translated for her into English

⁶. Parr, The Lamentacion ...of a synner, sig. A 1.

⁷. Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, I, i, 430; Swenson, 64065; also, Maria Dowling, "Anne Boleyn and Reform," Journal of Ecclesiastical History 35 (1984), 30-46.

⁸. Swenson, 63-64; also James and Underwood, The King's Mother, 202-250.

as a gift from Princess Elizabeth.⁹ Further, some of the male reformers, such as John Bale, promoted an expanded role for women outside of the home based on the model of the primitive church: "In the primitive church [especially St. Jerome's time] was it great praise unto women to be learned in the Scriptures, ...godly women, both in the old law and the new, were learned in the Scriptures and made utterance of them unto the glory of God...."¹⁰

Kateryn Parr and her circle of reformers promoted reform based on their interpretation of the revelations of scripture and early Christian writers. Though Kateryn and her circle were learned, they were not trained theologians, and for the most part their work did not concentrate on the theological nuances which history has distinguished between the thought of Luther, Calvin, or Zwingli, nor their teachings as modified by their followers. Rather, Kateryn Parr's own works remain more of a personal statement of faith, as well as a synthesis of continental reformers, medieval mysticism, and Christian humanism. The influences of continental reformers such as Luther and Calvin, as well as Catholics such as Catherine of Siena and Erasmus are evident throughout her work.¹¹

⁹. Bod., MS Cherry 36; Ames, ed. The Mirror of the Sinful Soule.

¹⁰. John Bale, Selected Works of John Bale, D.D., ed. Henry Christmas (Parker Society, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1849), 156.

¹¹. Swenson, 76-77.

Kateryn Parr's first literary effort was a translation of the psalms published by the king's printer, Thomas Berthelet, in Latin in April 1544, and in English in May 1544. As a translation, rather than as an original work, the collection was published anonymously. Almost all editions of Kateryn's later work, Prayers or medytacions published after 1556 contain an additional work originally entitled Psalmes or Prayers taken out of Holy Scripture.¹² Kateryn's prayers and these psalms were frequently bound together and entitled The King's Psalmes and Queen's Praiers, without any source of authorship given.

While Kateryn Parr's translation of the psalms was published anonymously, there are good grounds for proposing her as the translator. Kateryn's deep interest in translating religious works from Latin into English would support such a project, even if she was reluctant to have her name mentioned as translator. A book bill from 1544 for "a primer for her grace in Latin and English with epistles and gospels unbounded," suggests that Kateryn was working on Latin to English translation at the time and may have been encouraged to publish the results.¹³ It was the kind of project that the

¹². Katherine [Kateryn] Parr, Prayers or medytacions (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1545). RSCT 4818-26. The first joint edition was Thomas Berthelet's issue dated November 6, 1545: Psalmes or Prayer taken out of Holy Scripture (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1545); also, see The Queen's Praiers (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1568)

¹³. PRO, Aug Office Misc Book 161, 69.

king would have supported, and Strype later credited the translation of the psalms to the queen.¹⁴

Further, Nicholas Udall's dedication to the English edition of the Paraphrases of Erasmus referred to the queen's "composing and setting forth many goodly Psalms and diverse and other contemplative meditations."¹⁵ Obviously, Kateryn's associates knew about the work: Book bills sent to the queen indicated that she purchased fourteen copies of "a book of psalm prayers covered in white on gilt and leather," from Thomas Berthelet. Kateryn's patronage of Berthelet reinforces her personal connection with the book, and the copies may have been gifts for household members.¹⁶

Kateryn Parr's first work under her own name was Prayers or medytacions, published twice in 1545 and eight or nine times through 1559. There were at least seventeen editions of the book published by 1640.¹⁷ With Prayers or medytacions, Kateryn hoped to supplement the English Litany then circulated by the king and Archbishop Cranmer with an English book for

¹⁴. Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, II, i, 204ff.

¹⁵. Nicholas Udall, ed. The First Tome or Volume of the Paraphrase of Erasmus (London: Edward Whitchurch, 1549), C 1.

¹⁶. PRO, Aug. Office Misc. Book 161, art. 46; Rose-Troup, 40-48; James, "The Devotional Writings of Queen Katherine Parr," 137. James suggested that the translation of the Psalms may have started as a Latin exercise, and Kateryn was then encouraged to publish it. Because the work began as an exercise, and not original work, reasons James, Kateryn preferred to publish anonymously.

¹⁷. Travitsky and Cullen, "Katherine Parr," III, xi.

private devotion. Cranmer's Litany was the first work of royally sanctioned reform devotional literature designed for a large and literate audience. Both works emphasize the spiritual equality of all souls before God, and uphold the universal themes of sin, human frailty, and dependence on God.¹⁸

Historian Natalie Davis has stressed that there were two psychological factors important to women authors between 1400 and 1820: a sense of connection with public life; and, assurance of an audience.¹⁹ In line with this observation, Kateryn Parr's decision to publish Prayers or medytacions came immediately after her period as regent, when she worked most closely with Cranmer, who actively encouraged her religious activities.²⁰

The aim of the Prayers or medytacions, a compilation of prayers from various sources, was described as "stirring the mind unto heavenly meditacions," and the prayers were "collected out of holy works by...Kateryn, Queen of England,

¹⁸. Janel Mueller, "Devotion as Difference: Intertextuality in Queen Katherine Parr's Prayers or Meditations (1545)," Huntington Library Quarterly 53, no. 3 (Summer 1990), 174-77.

¹⁹. Natalie Z. Davis, "Gender and Genre: Women as Historical Writers, 1400-1820," in Patricia H. Labalme, ed., Beyond Their Sex: Learned Women of the European Past (New York: New York University Press, 1980), 154.

²⁰. Mueller, "Devotion as Difference," 177. For an overview of the publication of Kateryn Parr's books, see Beilin, 72-75. For excerpts from Parr's writings, see Betty Travitsky, ed., The Paradise of Women, 37-41.

France, and Ireland."²¹ As she compiled the sixty-four page work, Kateryn edited chapter 4 and chapters 16 through 54 in book III of Richard Whitford's translation of the Imitation of Christ by Thomas à Kempis, with small modifications.²²

Other than the many printed editions of Prayers or medytacions, there is one edition in Kateryn Parr's own hand, which belongs to the town of Kendal. This particular edition was intended for the daughters of Sir Brian Tuke, secretary to Henry VIII, who died in 1545.²³

The content of Kateryn Parr's Prayers or medytacions is divided into two sections. The first is a meditation on the psalms arranged in 228 short verses. The second section includes five prayers, two of which appear to be Kateryn Parr's own work. Both original prayers are related to Kateryn

²¹. Parr, Prayers or medytacions...., preface.

²². Mueller, "Devotion as Difference," 175, 194 n.17 ; Hoffman, 354. Mueller affirms the earlier finding of Hoffman regarding the portions of the Imitation of Christ edited by Kateryn Parr for Prayers or Medytacions. Mueller argued convincingly that recent works on Parr ignored Hoffman's finding and cite the incorrect sections of Thomas à Kempis' work.

²³. The Mayor's Parlour at Kendal Town Hall holds a manuscript copy of Katherine Parr's Prayers or medytacions. The book is written on parchment, measured 6 cms by 4cms, and is 1.5 cms thick. The book is bound in a silver casing, stamped on the spine with what may be a sixteenth-century hallmark. The text is incomplete, missing the last fifty-nine verses of the published versions. Also, see Janel Mueller, "Devotion as Difference," 190-91. Mueller argued the manuscript copy of Prayers or medytacions in Kendal Town Hall, is an abbreviated version of the printed text, intended for woman friends. In it Kateryn removed most of the male pronouns, and altered the ending. For information on Tuke, see DNB.

Parr's regency and the war with France, and are entitled "A prayer for a king," and "A prayer for a man entering into battle." The remaining prayers include two taken from the psalms, and an extended version of the Lord's Prayer. The queen compiled the book to set forth her own personal prayers for a wider audience, "wherein the mind is stirred patiently to suffer all afflictions here, to set at naught the vain prosperity of the world, and always to long for the everlasting felicity...."²⁴ Very little of Prayers or medytacions appears to be Kateryn Parr's original work; the main body of the text is largely derivative. She removed extracts from original works, edited them, or added to them according to her own personal spirituality.²⁵

Theologically, Prayers or medytacions marks a shift in Parr's thinking toward reform oriented doctrine that was more fully developed in The Lamentacion...of a synner. Within this work Parr emphasizes the justification by faith: "To thy mercy I do appeal, saying no man may be justified, nor appear righteous in thy sight, if thou examine him after justice."²⁶ She also adopts a sense of grace as a gift from God and empowerer of the soul reminiscent of Luther: "O Lord, all

²⁴. Parr, Prayers or medytacions, eds, Travitsky and Cullen, xv; Hamilton, 362-63; Philippa Tudor, "Changing Private Belief and Practice in English Devotional Literature" (Ph.d. diss. Oxford University, 1984), 66-67.

²⁵. Ibid.

²⁶. Parr, Prayers or medytacions, viii.

gifts and virtues that any man hath in body or soul,...be thy gifts, and come of thee, and not of our self,..."²⁷ Further, Parr refers to predestination when she writes, "When shalt thou be all in all and when shall I be with thee in thy kingdom that thou hast ordered for thine elect people from the beginning?"²⁸

Though Prayers or medytacions was compiled before Kateryn became wholly committed to the reform cause, elements in the text suggest the evolution of her thought: she omitted all mention of the saints, as well as prayers for the dead.²⁹ Also, throughout the text Kateryn emphasizes the need for a personal relationship with God, with no intermediaries.³⁰

A further influence in Prayers or medytacions is that of medieval mysticism, particularly the writings of Catherine of Siena. Though Parr leans more in the direction of the reformers in terms of doctrine, her passionate personal relationship with God found as in the intensity of her language is more similar to medieval mysticism than the rationalistic tones of Erasmus or More. As Kateryn Parr wrote: "Grant me above all things that I may rest in thee, and

²⁷. Parr, Prayers or medytacions..., Bi.

²⁸. Parr, Prayers or medytacions, Ci.

²⁹. See Haugaard, 355.

³⁰. Hamilton, 364-65.

finally quiet and pacify my soul in thee."³¹ Similarly, she wrote, "...send for the hot flames of thy love to burn and consume the hot fantasies of my mind."³²

Similarities between the writings of Kateryn Parr and Marguerite of Navarre have been suggested by scholars, and are recognizable within Prayers or medytacions.³³ The following passage from Prayers or medytacions is illustrative of Kateryn Parr's connection with the mystical tradition similar to Marguerite of Navarre:

O lord Jesus, most loving spouse, who shall give me wings of perfect love, that I may fly up from these earthly miseries, and rest in thee? O when shall I ascend to thee, and see and feel how sweet thou art? When shall I wholly gather myself in thee, so perfectly that I shall not, for thy love, feel myself, but thee only, above myself and above all worldly things; that thou mayest vouchsafe to visit me in such wise as thou doest visit thy most faithful lovers.³⁴

Although Kateryn Parr never claimed the theme of spiritual union with God to the extent of Marguerite of Navarre, the personal intensity of her spirituality is evident throughout Prayers or medytacions, a work described by one

³¹. Parr, "Writings of Katherine Parr," in British Reformers, III, 118. Note: because original and facsimile editions of Prayers or medytacions do not contain page numbers, quotations are cited from the British Reformers reprint.

³². Parr, "Writings of Katherine Parr," British Reformers, III, 196.

³³. Bainton, Women of the Reformation, 165, 179; Swenson, 80.

³⁴. Parr, "Writings of Katherine Parr," British Reformers, III, 190.

scholar as a "moving example of medieval spiritualism shot through with touches of Erasmus."³⁵ The Mirror of the Sinful Soule was considered heretical by some of Kateryn Parr's contemporaries, particularly for its omission of any mention of the saints or purgatory. The work might have been condemned had it not been saved by Marguerite's brother, the French king. Still, the work certainly influenced Kateryn Parr, as evidenced by the fact that she received a translation of it as a gift from her stepdaughter.³⁶

Besides the many who read Prayers or medytacions to assist in their private devotions, it also was used as a supplement to Bible study. Moreover, the volume was published in an inexpensive format in order to attract a popular readership.³⁷ Overall, Prayers or medytacions was considered a relatively non-controversial devotional work, though it did anticipate Kateryn Parr's later work. The more devotional nature of the work assured its acceptance by Henry VIII. Not only was it frequently combined with The King's Psalmes, Princess Elizabeth gave a handmade translation of Prayers or medytacions in French, Italian and Latin for her father as a New Year's gift in 1546.³⁸

³⁵. Swenson, 81.

³⁶. Bod. MS Cherry 36; Ames, The Mirror of the Sinful Soule, is a facsimile of Elizabeth's translation.

³⁷. John King, "Patronage and Piety," 47-48.

³⁸. BL, Royal MS 7 DX.

By the time of Henry VIII's death, Kateryn Parr disagreed with the king on at least two essential points: justification by faith alone, which he firmly rejected, and the need for the availability of the English Bible for the common people, the efficacy of which the king doubted. Kateryn was made aware by the events of 1546 that contradicting her husband in religious matters could cost her her life; thus it was not until after his death that she asserted her more reformist positions in print.

Kateryn Parr's second book, The Lamentacion ... of a synner, was published in November 1547, nine months after Henry VIII's death, though it probably was written while the king was alive and circulated at court in manuscript form.³⁹ The argument that Kateryn Parr composed the work before the king's death is supported by the myriad of events that happened almost immediately thereafter -- the king's funeral, Edward VI's accession and coronation, the establishment of the queen's dower household, her marriage to Thomas Seymour -- all of which would make it difficult for the queen to complete a manuscript in a relatively short time frame. The book was published again in 1548, was suppressed under Queen Mary, but was printed twice during the reign of Elizabeth I, in 1563 and 1582.⁴⁰

³⁹. Katherine [Kateryn] Parr, The Lamentacion...of a synner... (London: Edward Whitchurch 1547).

⁴⁰. Susan E. James, "The Devotional Writings of Queen Catherine Parr," 136; Haugaard, 358.

As an original composition, The Lamentacion...of a synner was without parallel among works by Tudor women who devoted much of their literary efforts to translations and compilations.⁴¹ Moreover, The Lamentacion...of a synner stands out not only for its early date as a reform work by a woman, but on its focus as a work devoted to teaching the faithful how to live rather than how to die as a Christian. Though not the first of Kateryn Parr's written works, it was the one most frequently mentioned by reformers because of its explicitly reform content. Kateryn Parr's status as a queen enhanced the acceptance of her work, and probably made it easier for other women writers to publish their work.⁴²

One scholar recently praised The Lamentacion...of a synner as "one of the gems of Tudor devotional literature," comparable to the Chansons spirituelles of Marguerite of Navarre or the Rime religiose of Vittoria Colonna.⁴³ Yet another scholar observed the resemblance between The Lamentacion...of a synner and Benedetto Luchino's the Benefit of Christ's Death, first published in Italy in 1543.⁴⁴ While it has been more recently argued that Kateryn Parr could not have had access to Luchino's work while preparing her book, it is likely that they were both influenced by the same northern

⁴¹. Mueller, "A Tudor Queen Finds Voice," 16-17.

⁴². Beilin, Redeeming Eve, 74.

⁴³. Bainton, Women of the Reformation, 165.

⁴⁴. McConica, English Humanists, 256.

reformers through private reading or visiting preachers.⁴⁵

The Lamentacion...of a Synner was written at the behest of Kateryn's brother, William Parr, the Marquess of Northampton, and her close friend, William Cecil, and "set forth and put in print at the instant desire of the right gracious lady" Katherine Brandon, the Duchess of Suffolk. The preface to the book was written and signed by Cecil, where he praised Kateryn by name and emphasized her change in religion:

Here mayest thou see one, if the kind may move thee, a woman; if degree may provoke thee, a woman of high estate, by birth made noble, by marriage most noble...an excellent queen;...refusing the world wherein she was lost, to obtain heaven, wherein she may be saved; abhorring sin, which made her bound to receive grace, whereby she may be free;...forsaking ignorance, whereby she may see; removing superstition, wherein she was smothered, to embrace true religion, wherein she may revive.⁴⁶

Cecil's preface suggests that Kateryn wrote the work primarily for an audience of noble women: "...to all ladies of estate, I wish an earnest mind, to follow our queen in virtue,...that they might once appear to prefer God before the world, and be honorable in religion,...."⁴⁷

The Lamentacion...of a synner was written in the form of a confession, and was a meditation on Kateryn Parr's own

⁴⁵. Tudor, "Changing Private Belief," 72-73, 84-85, 87-88.

⁴⁶. Katherine [Kateryn] Parr, The Lamentacion...of a synner, The Harleian Miscellany, I, 287-88.

⁴⁷. Parr, The Lamentacion...of a synner, Harleian Miscellany, I, 288.

religious beliefs. Throughout, Parr is concerned with the equality of all souls before God. The three-part work opens with an accounts of Kateryn's conversion; she then moves to a discussion of her struggle with the justification by faith; and lastly, moves to a meditation on Christ's Passion. Rather than as a physical object, Parr sees the crucifix as a symbol of how the faithful can know Christ.⁴⁸ Her theology as outlined in the "Schoole of the Crosse" is bound to scripture, yet devoid of any of the liturgical or sacramental images of her day. For Kateryn Parr, the cross was the meeting point of the faithful between private devotion and public faith:

...it hath pleased God, that the infirmitie and adversities do remain to the sight of the world; but the children of God are, by Christ, made so strong, righteous, whole, and sound, the passions of the flesh are medicines of the soul; for all matter of things worke to their commoditie and profite; for they, in spirit, feele, that God, their Father, doth governe them, and disposeth all things for their benefit; therefore they feel themselves sure. In persecution, they are quiet and peacefull; in trouble, they are without weerness, feares, anxieties, suspicions, miseries; and, finallie, all the good and evill of the world worketh to their commoditie.⁴⁹

Kateryn Parr's familiarity with scripture is evident throughout The Lamentacion...of a synner, and it appears on every page of the text. Throughout the work, Kateryn denounced the pope and all vain superstition; approved justification by

⁴⁸. Parr, The Lamentacion of a synner, Harleian Miscellany, I, 292-93; 293-95; 295-313.

⁴⁹. Parr, The Lamentacion...of a synner, Harleian Miscellany, I, 299; also, Mueller, "A Tudor Queen Finds Voice," 37.

faith alone, but pleaded for continued good works; and, promoted moderation and decried religious extremism as the cause of dissension. Kateryn urged her readers not to push for further reforms within the church, but to reconstitute their lives based in God's love. As was the case with Prayers or medytacions, Parr also paraphrased the work of both Thomas à Kempis and Marguerite of Navarre; The Imitation of Christ and The Mirror of the Sinful Soul are paraphrased frequently throughout The Lamentacion...of a synner.⁵⁰

By 1547, it was standard practice for reformist authors to rail against the pope, and Kateryn Parr was no exception as she repudiated the "tyrrany" of the Bishop of Rome.⁵¹ As part of her confession, Kateryn bewailed her sinfulness, as well as how she "worshipped visible idols, and images made of mens hands, believing, by them, to have gotten to heaven."⁵² She also castigated herself for the way "the blood of Christ was not reputed, by me sufficient for to wash me from the filth of my sins;...but I sought for such riffraff, as the Bishop of Rome hath planted, in his tyranny and kingdom...to receive full remission of my sins."⁵³ Beset with what she felt was

⁵⁰. James, "The Devotional Writings of Queen Kateryn Parr," 136; Haugaard, 358; Bainton, 165-66.

⁵¹. Parr, The Lamentacion...of a synner, Harleian Miscellany, I, 290; Tudor, "Changing Private Belief," 74-75; Hoffman, 358; Hamilton, 372.

⁵². Parr, The Lamentacion...of a synner, The Harleian Miscellany, I, 290.

⁵³. Ibid.

triviality and ignorance, Kateryn Parr counted herself among "the most wicked and miserable sinners of the world," because of her contrariness to Christ.⁵⁴ Kateryn also compared Henry VIII to a new Moses poised against the "captivity and bondage" of the Pharaoh pope, and thereby implied that he initiated a process of reform:

But our Moses, a most godly, wise governor and king hath delivered us out of captivity and bondage of Pharaoh. I mean by this Moses King Henry the eight,....through the excellent grace of god, meet to be an other expressed verity of Moses again Pharaoh. And I mean by all this Pharaoh the bishop of Rome, who hath been and is a greater persecutor of all true Christians, than ever was Pharaoh, of the children of Israel.⁵⁵

In The Lamentacion...of a synner, Kateryn Parr firmly asserted her belief in the doctrine of justification by faith alone. "By this faith I am assured, and, by this assurance, I feel the remission of my sins."⁵⁶ This belief was firmly rejected by Henry VIII in The King's Book in 1543. Kateryn was "encouraged, boldened, and stirred" by the gift of faith in Christ because "he promiseth, and bindeth himself by his word, to give good and beneficial gifts to all them that ask him with true faith,...for faith is the foundation and ground of

⁵⁴. Ibid.

⁵⁵. Parr, The Lamentacion...of a synner, Harleian Miscellany, I, 302-3; reprinted in John King, "Patronage and Piety," 50; Travitsky, Paradise of Women, 40.

⁵⁶. Parr, the Lamentacion...of a synner, Harleian Miscellany, I, 294.

all gifts.⁵⁷ In support of her position, Kateryn quoted Paul, "we be justified by faith in Christ, and not by deeds of the law, for, if righteousness came by the law, then Christ died in vain."⁵⁸ Kateryn believed that Paul envisioned not a "dead, humane, and historical faith, gotten by human industry; but a supernatural faith that worketh by charity."⁵⁹ Yet, she firmly believed in the importance of good works: "This dignity of faith is no derogation to good works, for, out of this faith spring all good works,...."⁶⁰

The influences of both Augustine and Luther are echoed in Kateryn Parr's statements on grace:

I never knew mine own wickedness, neither lamented for my sins truly, until the time God inspired me with his grace, that I looked in this book; then I began to see perfectly that mine own power and strength could not help me, and that I was in the Lord's hand, even as the clay is in the potters hand.⁶¹

References to predestination, reminiscent of Augustine, as well as more contemporary Calvinist interpretations of Paul, also surface throughout The Lamentacion...of a synner. "But let us know, that Christ yet fighteth in spirit, in his elect vessels, and shall fight even to the day of judgement;

⁵⁷. Parr, The Lamentacion...of synner, Harleian Miscellany, I, 294.

⁵⁸. Ibid.

⁵⁹. Ibid.

⁶⁰. Ibid.

⁶¹. Parr, The Lamentacion...of a synner, Harleian Miscellany, I, 289.

at which day shall that great enemy, death, be totally destroyed,...."⁶² Or again:

The children of God are not abashed, although the world hates them,...They are not so foolish and childish as not to give God thanks for their election, which was before the beginning of the world; for they believe most surely they are one of the chosen.⁶³

Consistent with Kateryn Parr's belief in the importance of Christian vocation, in The Lamentacion...of a synner she outlined the importance of religious conviction in the context of the secular life. Kateryn believed that "if all sorts of people would look to their own vocation,...we should not have so many eyes and cares to others faults."⁶⁴ Kateryn urged married men to care for their families "without bitterness or fierceness," while children were to honor the Ten Commandments, and servants were to conduct themselves "for the Lord's sake."⁶⁵ For women, Kateryn Parr addressed the need for them to be moral examples:

...weare such apparell, as becometh holiness, and comlie visage, with soberness;...not given to much eating of delicate meats, and drinking wine; but they teach honest things, to make the young women sober-minded;...to be

⁶². Parr, The Lamentacion...of a synner, Harleian Miscellany, I, 300. For a discussion of the possible connections between Kateryn Parr and Calvin's thought, also see, Bainton, Women of the Reformation, 167-68; Swenson, 81-82.

⁶³. Ibid.

⁶⁴. Parr, The Lamentacion...of a synner, Harleian Miscellany, I, 311-12; passage reprinted in Travitsky, The Paradise of Women, 40.

⁶⁵. Ibid.

discreet, chaste, housewifely, good,...that the word of God be not evil spoken of.⁶⁶

Further, Kateryn Parr believed that women have a specific vocation to cleave to the word of God until death, live wholesome lives in the spirit of the gospel, and teach and preach "godly lessons" wherewith "every man may walk after his vocation."⁶⁷

As a moderate reformer schooled in Christian humanism, Kateryn Parr decried religious disputes, and was concerned about their effect on the common people. "It is much lamented, the schisms, verities, contentions, and disputations,...about Christian religion, and no agreement nor concord of the same among the learned men," wrote Kateryn Parr. "There is no war so cruel and evil as this...for the poor unlearned persons remain confused."⁶⁸

Though influenced by some of Erasmus' thought, in The Lamentacion...of a synner, Kateryn Parr differed in some ways from his religious views and the composition of his work. That Kateryn Parr was familiar with Erasmus' work is verified by surviving documents which indicate that she owned at least two of his works: Enchiridon militis christiani (1503, 1518); and,

⁶⁶. Parr, The Lamentacion...of a synner, Harleian Miscellany, I, 311.

⁶⁷. Parr, The Lamentacion...of a synner, Harleian Miscellany, I, 303.

⁶⁸. Ibid.

the lesser known De praeparatione ad mortem (1534).⁶⁹ Certainly, The Lamentacion ...of a synner promotes the Erasmian emphases on Christian community, social solidarity, and the importance of Scripture as the basis for the spiritual life. However, by the 1540s the gap between the Catholic Erasmus and the reformers was widening, and Kateryn Parr was part of this trend. Kateryn rejected Erasmus' belief in virtue as a habit of the will, instead arguing that it was essentially reprobate though imputed through the justification by faith. Kateryn Parr believed that true faith and knowledge is a divine gift, while Erasmus ascribed to the notion of faith as rationally grounded true belief. Further, Kateryn regarded charity as the soul's response to the gift of faith, while Erasmus believed that the soul acquired charity and other virtues by emulating Christ. Moreover, while Kateryn Parr ascribed to the belief that conversion was entirely the work of God's grace, Erasmus' spirituality emphasized a cooperative venture between God and humankind.⁷⁰

Janel Mueller's analysis of The Lamentacion...of a synner suggests that Tyndale's influence is prevalent throughout the text, particularly in regard to the frequent use of biblical quotations, as well as the use of references to the Pauline epistles and the gospels, specifically the Gospel of Matthew

⁶⁹. PRO, E 424/12; also, Rose-Troup, 42.

⁷⁰. Mueller, "A Tudor Queen Finds Voice," 19-21.

and the Gospel of John.⁷¹ Another important influence on the text was Thomas Cranmer. Kateryn Parr's work on the justification by faith suggests close parallels with Cranmer's Homily of Salvation, printed in July 1547.⁷² Moreover, Kateryn's technical vocabulary, her terminology, her use of collect like prayers, and her syntax, also resemble Cranmer's style.⁷³

While Kateryn Parr borrowed from Cranmer's doctrinal and liturgical work, The Lamentacion...of a synner also reflects Hugh Latimer's homiletical style. We know that Kateryn was impressed enough with him to invite him to her household as a Lenten preacher. Latimer's penchant for self-reproach, as well as his vocabulary of blindness, ignorance and superstition are echoed in Kateryn's text. While she used Latimer as a key source for her work, she omitted other elements common to his preaching such as autobiographical digressions, earthy expressions, assertions of authority, and innuendos about popular figures in the realm.⁷⁴ "Only the factor of gender, as conditioned by her experience and activated in the text," argued Mueller, "is adequate to account for the...literary distance between Parr's voice and...Latimer's preaching, as well as...reformers like Tyndale, Brinkelow, Bale, and

⁷¹. Mueller, "A Tudor Queen Finds Voice," 23-27.

⁷². Mueller, "A Tudor Queen Finds Voice," 29.

⁷³. Mueller, "A Tudor Queen Finds Voice," 30-31.

⁷⁴. Mueller, "A Tudor Queen Finds Voice," 33.

others."⁷⁵ Muller concluded that The Lamentacion...of a synner was one of the "rarer literary achievements" of early English reformist writings.⁷⁶

As patrons of translations and religious works in English, Kateryn Parr, as well as the women of her household, broke with tradition by encouraging the publication of works that appealed to mixed audiences of both aristocrats and common people. These texts appealed to both women and men, and were infused with the beliefs of the New Faith. Under Kateryn's Parr's influence, women played an unprecedented role in scholarship and the development of reform religious institutions. These efforts begun under Kateryn Parr's leadership survived beyond her lifetime, and her values of "patronage and piety" were passed to succeeding generations of women.⁷⁷

Though comparatively few books were dedicated to Kateryn Parr while she was queen, those that were dedicated to her were serious religious works related to her own values. Kateryn's chamberlain Sir Anthony Cope dedicated to her, A Godly Meditation upon XX Select and Psalmes of David in 1547: "...wherein I might in some part declare my loyal and obedient heart towards you, of whose heaped goodness I have so much

⁷⁵. Mueller, "A Tudor Queen Finds Voice," 42.

⁷⁶. Ibid.

⁷⁷. John N. King, "Patronage and Piety," 43, 59-69.

tasted, that I can never be able to deserve the thousandth part, but only with my prayer and service," he wrote.⁷⁸

Anthony Cope was a humanist scholar of some repute, who dedicated his translation of Livy's The history of...Anniball and Scipio to Henry VIII in 1544. A close friend of the queen, Cope decided to dedicate the work to her after consideration of her "gracious intent and godly purpose in the reading and study of holy Scripture and the advancement of the true Word of God."⁷⁹ Cope chose the psalms because of their practical application for the Christian life, and dedicated the book to the queen out of gratitude and loyalty and to demonstrate his commitment to her through "prayer and hearty service."⁸⁰

Cope's dedication suggested a personal friendship between him and the queen, and implied strongly that they shared common religious beliefs. The end of Cope's dedication to Kateryn Parr ends with the following blessing:

...illuminate the eyes of your Grace's heart, that ye may proceed in the path of His laws, wherein you are already entered, according to the ardent desire which ye have hitherto had to attain the knowledge of them; so that ye...may ascend to the place prepared for God's elect,....⁸¹

Kateryn Parr's most ambitious translation project was published early in 1548 as The first tome or volume of the

⁷⁸. Anthony Cope, A Godly Meditacion upon XX Select Psalmes of David (London, 1542), xxvii.

⁷⁹. Ibid.

⁸⁰. Cope, A Godly Meditacion, xxvi.

⁸¹. Cope, A Godly Meditacion, xxxi.

Paraphrase of Erasmus upon the newe testement, though the process actually began much earlier, with most of the work completed by the end of 1545.⁸² Limited by Henry VIII's conservative tendencies, Kateryn's religious convictions found full expression only after his death.

The Paraphrases was commissioned by Kateryn Parr "for the helping of the ignorant multitude towards more knowledge of the holy Scriptures, and of their duty towards God and their neighbors."⁸³ According to Udall, Kateryn Parr's sponsorship of the Paraphrases allowed the people of England "with a comfortable and pleasant reading in their own mother tongue, both increase from day to day in knowledge, [and] also continually be edified in true religion, nourished in right opinions, stand in secure doctrine, and...walk in perfect innocence and integrity...."⁸⁴

Nicholas Udall, general editor of the Paraphrases, explained Kateryn Parr's process for producing the manuscript in the prefatory dedication to the work. Udall and the queen had a close relationship, and worked for several years on the manuscript. Kateryn had distributed the entire New Testament "by portions to sundry translators, to the extent that it might all at once be finished," in order to make the work

⁸². Nicholas Udall, ed., The first time or volume of the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon the newe testement (London, 1548), RSTC 2854.

⁸³. Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, II, ii, 45.

⁸⁴. Udall, ed., Paraphrases, C 2v.

available to readers as soon as possible. According to Udall, the queen worked without expecting any reward other than being commended to God in prayer.⁸⁵ Her main concern was to publish the work for the "use and commodity of such people" who hunger and thirst for God's word.⁸⁶

Nicholas Udall was the translator for the Gospel of Luke, and Thomas Key, at the suggestion of George Owen, a physician to the king, became the translator for the Gospel of Mark.⁸⁷ Kateryn Parr was responsible for securing a translator for the Gospel of Matthew, "for which all ye simple English congregation is bound to continually to praise your highness".⁸⁸ Though the Gospel of Matthew and Acts were prepared about the same time, the translations were not attributed. It has been speculated that Kateryn Parr was the translator of these books.⁸⁹ However, given Kateryn's belief that Princess Mary should have affixed her own name to her translation of the Gospel of John, it is hard to imagine that

⁸⁵. Udall, ed., Paraphrases, I, civ.

⁸⁶. Udall, ed., Paraphrases, C1.

⁸⁷. E. J. Devereux, "The Publication of the English Paraphrases of Erasmus," John Rylands Library 51 (Spring 1969), 367.

⁸⁸. Udall, ed., Paraphrases, C 2v.

⁸⁹. See, Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, II, i, 48.

Kateryn would maintain her own anonymity had she been responsible for the Gospel of Matthew and Acts.⁹⁰

In a long dedication to Kateryn Parr, located in the Paraphrases before the Gospel of John, Udall referred to the religious work being carried on by women of all classes in England:

When I consider, most gracious Queen Katherine, Dowager, the great number of noble women in ...England, not only given to the study of the humane sciences and of strange tongues, but also so thoroughly expert in holy Scriptures that they are able to compare with the best writers as well as indicting and penning of godly and fruitful treatises to the instruction and edifying whole realms of the knowledge of God, as also in translating good books out of Latin and Greek into English for the use...of such as are rude and ignorant of the said tongues, I cannot but think...the famous learned antiquity as far behind these times there cannot justly be made any comparison between them.⁹¹

Udall also observed that religious writing and devotion to scriptural study had supplemented other contemporary activities in noble homes and at court:

It is now no news in England to see young damsels in noble houses and in the courts of princes, instead of cards and other instruments of idle trifling, to have continually in their hands either psalms, homilies, and other devout meditations, or else Paul's Epistles...and as familiarly both to read or reason thereof in Greek, Latin, French, or Italian as in English.⁹²

Udall observed with satisfaction that many persons in England were engaged in the Lord's work, "some by instructing

⁹⁰. James, "The Devotional Writings of Catherine Parr," 137.

⁹¹. Udall, ed., Paraphrases, 70-71.

⁹². Ibid.

the youth, some by teaching schools, some by preaching to their simple flocks, some by godly inducing of their families, some by writing...goodly treatises...such as are willing to read, and some by translating good books out of strange tongues....Noble women and those of the lowest class join in this work."⁹³ After thanking the queen for "setting diverse meditations and causing these works to be published," Udall goes on to thank Princess Mary for her translation of the Gospel of John -- a work later completed by Francis Mallet when the princess fell ill.⁹⁴

One scholar has asserted that the translation of the Paraphrases was "undoubtedly conceived as part of the apparatus of Henry's final religious settlement."⁹⁵ However, the question remains whether he would have allowed the distribution of the Paraphrases to common people when he already denied them access to the English Bible. Yet, Katern Parr and Nicholas Udall had effectively "recruited" Erasmus' authority to their cause through the creative use of marginal notes and prefaces. Udall's interpretation of Erasmus' position on the papacy suggested that nowhere does a writer "more plainly describe...the usurped state, preeminence and pomp of the bishop of Rome than he doeth."⁹⁶ Thus, by

⁹³. Ibid.

⁹⁴. Udall, ed., Paraphrases, 72.

⁹⁵. McConica, English Humanists, 232.

⁹⁶. Udall, ed., Paraphrases, Cl.

successfully using Erasmus to justify England's position, Kateryn and Udall succeeded in having the translation placed in most of the churches in the land.⁹⁷

After Henry VIII's death, Richard Grafton, king's printer to Edward VI, issued the Injunctions for Religious Reform of July 31, 1547. These injunctions ordered all parish churches within three months to obtain a Bible in English, and within twelve months to obtain a copy of the Paraphrases, and to place them where parishioners could read them. After an additional three months, every parson, vicar, curate, priest, and stipendiary under the degree of bachelor of divinity was to obtain the New Testament in Latin and in English, and a copy of the Paraphrases for study and comparison. Since the first volume of the Paraphrases carried the publication date of January 31, 1548, the terms of the injunctions were adjusted to comply with its availability.⁹⁸

Given the publication date of the Paraphrases, it is apparent that Kateryn Parr lived to see the work in print. Had Kateryn Parr lived longer, she probably would have sponsored the second volume of the project. Ironically, after Kateryn's death, her place as sponsor for the Paraphrases was taken by Anne Seymour, the Duchess of Somerset, wife of Edward Seymour

⁹⁷. For a discussion of Udall's interpretation of Erasmus, see Swenson, 195.

⁹⁸. Hughes and Larkin, eds., Tudor Royal Proclamations I, 398, no. 287; also, see McConica, English Humanists, 240.

the Protector, and sometime rival for precedence at court.⁹⁹ Though some authors have argued in support of Kateryn Parr's patronage of the second volume of the Paraphrases, there is no evidence to suggest that she was involved in this later work whose translators were Miles Coverdale, John Olde, and Edmund Alen.¹⁰⁰

Scholars disagree about the influence of the English translation of the Paraphrase. One author suggested that Kateryn Parr "patronized the vernacular version of the book which was, next to the New Testament, the most influential single contribution of Renaissance Christianity to the English Reformation."¹⁰¹ Another view argued that Kateryn Parr's decision to translate the Paraphrases, was an important symbol of her link with the religious settlement of the early years of Edward VI.¹⁰² Yet another view concluded that since the edition of the Paraphrases sponsored by Kateryn Parr and promoted by the injunctions was not reprinted after 1552, and was seldom mentioned in the articles of visitation during

⁹⁹. Nicholas Udall, ed., The seconde tome or volume of the Paraphrase of Erasmus (London: Edward Whitchurch, 1549); For a discussion of Anne Seymour's role as a patron, see John N. King, "Patronage and Piety," 49.

¹⁰⁰. Haugaard, 348.

¹⁰¹. Haugaard, 348-49.

¹⁰². McConica, English Humanists, 234.

Elizabeth's reign, that the work had little influence on the development of religion in England.¹⁰³

Anyone with experience in parish life and the motivations of clergy may remain skeptical about the actual rate of compliance with the injunctions as ordered. However, Kateryn Parr could not have foreseen the short reign of Edward VI, nor the changes brought by the reign of Queen Mary. What the publication of the English version of the Paraphrases does suggest is the strength of Kateryn Parr's commitment to scholarship, her organizational abilities, and her desire to sponsor long-term projects that would further her religious beliefs and promote institutional change.

Besides her published works, Kateryn Parr also utilized her ability to dispense patronage in a myriad of smaller ways to support the cause of reform religion. The psalmist Thomas Sternhold received financial support from both Kateryn Parr and Anthony Denny. His metrical version of the psalms was the most popular of any ever published, with approximately six hundred editions.¹⁰⁴

Kateryn's employment of Walter Bucler as her secretary was further evidence of her patronage to reformers. Not only was Bucler associated with reformers on the continent, but he served as a link between reformers at court and reformist

¹⁰³. Devereaux, 367; Holgreffe, Women of Action in Tudor England, 194-95.

¹⁰⁴. PRO, SP 1/201, 21; LP, XX, i, 714; Swenson, 199-200.

merchant activists. Upon his return to England in 1546, Kateryn ensured that Bucler was granted a lordship in Gloucestershire.¹⁰⁵ Likewise, it was possible that Kateryn Parr was responsible for bringing the controversial reformer, Dr. Robert Huicke to court.¹⁰⁶ Matthew Parker, a reform-minded alumnus of Corpus Christi, Oxford, requested and received from the queen support for Stoke College, of which she was patron. Parker reminded the queen that her tenants were "refreshed with alms and daily instructed in God's word."¹⁰⁷ Richard Cox also enjoyed the queen's patronage when she presented him for king's chaplain for the deanery of the Cathedral Church at Oxford.¹⁰⁸

The literary activities of Kateryn Parr from 1547 onwards were paralleled by the women of her household, who with the queen's influence were actively sought as patrons of reform oriented religious works. These works were in fact an extension of Kateryn Parr's own efforts, and must be examined in order to assess their contribution to the development of reform religion in England.

Only one of the women in Kateryn Parr's household, Lady Joan Denny, received a dedication before Henry VIII's death. Joan Denny's religious commitment was evident in the

¹⁰⁵. LP, XXI, i, 650(70).

¹⁰⁶. Swenson, 201.

¹⁰⁷. CCC 108, 114; LP, XXI, i, 968.

¹⁰⁸. LP, XIX, i, 80.

dedication of a book written in 1546 by her chaplain, William Hughe, entitled, A swete consolation, and the second boke of the troubled mans medicine.¹⁰⁹ In his dedication, Hughe praised Denny's virtues, and considered her a worthy companion to the noted reformer and scholar, Sir Anthony Denny.¹¹⁰ The book was a non-controversial compilation of prayers for the terminally ill designed to assist them to "learn to die patiently, to leave the world willingly, and to go into Christ gladly."¹¹¹ While the work did not reveal Joan Denny's doctrinal views, her chaplain would not have dedicated a religious work to her without her encouragement and appreciation.

In 1549, Kateryn Parr's sister, Lady Anne Herbert, was the subject of a dedication by William Thomas in his work, The vanitee of this world.¹¹² Thomas received preferments from Anne and her husband, Sir William, and eventually became Edward VI's clerk of the privy council.¹¹³ Thomas dedicated his book to Anne Herbert "to the intent that men...through the virtuous example of women, may be provoked thereby to reform

¹⁰⁹. William Hughe, A swete consolation, and the second boke of the troubled mans medicine (London: John Herforde, 1546). RSTC 13910.

¹¹⁰. Hughe, A2v, A3v.

¹¹¹. Hughe, A4.

¹¹². William Thomas, The vantiee of this world (London: House of Berthelet, 1549). RSTC 24023.

¹¹³. DNB; Bindoff, The House of Commons, III, 441.

themselves, which no kind of admonition can persuade them to do."¹¹⁴ The work was moderately reformist, and the fact that Thomas dedicated it to Anne Herbert, rather than her husband, may suggest her greater interest in religious works. Like her sister the queen, Lady Herbert was a learned woman who shared an interest in reform religion.

Anne Seymour, Duchess of Somerset, was also in a good position to further reform religion when her husband became Lord Protector for Edward VI. From the accession of Edward VI, until her husband's arrest in 1551, the duchess was the subject of dedications in ten religious works.¹¹⁵

As previously mentioned, the Duchess of Somerset's first project was the second volume of Udall's edition of the Paraphrases of Erasmus.¹¹⁶ While the duchess was an important patron of the second volume of the Paraphrases, it is important to note that she was not as involved in the project as Kateryn Parr was in the first project, nor was she mentioned in the same way. Only those chapters translated by John Olde are dedicated to Anne, while the work in its entirety is dedicated to the new king Edward VI. Olde's dedication praised the duchess' "liberal learning, and diligence in assisting the poor," and recalled her "Christian

¹¹⁴. Thomas, A2v.

¹¹⁵. John N. King, "Patronage and Piety," 49; Hamilton, 340-49.

¹¹⁶. Udall, ed. Paraphrases, II, i.

studies and travails in the faithful furtherance and advancement of the sincere word of God."¹¹⁷ As a reward for his efforts, Olde received the vicarage of Cobington in Warwickshire.¹¹⁸

At the same time as the second volume of Udall's translation of the Paraphrases, Nicholas Lesse dedicated his translation of The minde and judgement of maister Fraunes Lambert of Avenna of the wyll of man to the Duchess of Somerset.¹¹⁹ Lesse was vehemently anti-papist, and his work railed about the abuses of Roman Catholicism, including the doctrine of transubstantiation, masses for the dead, pilgrimages, and extravagant dress.¹²⁰ Lesse was also a proponent of the doctrine of justification by faith.¹²¹ He claimed in his preface that the duchess was instrumental in circulating the work.¹²² Lesse also dedicated a 1550 translation of Augustine's A worke of the predestination of

¹¹⁷. Ibid.

¹¹⁸. Udall, ed., Paraphrases, II, iv.

¹¹⁹. Fruances Lambert, The minde and judgement if maister Fruances Lambert of Avenna of the wyll of man, trans. Nicholas Lesse (London: John Day and William Seres, [1548]), no pagination.

¹²⁰. Ibid., n.p.

¹²¹. Ibid., n.p.

¹²². Ibid., n.p.

saints, to the Duchess of Somerset.¹²³ The book was a refutation of those who doubted the doctrine of predestination. In the dedication, Lesse recognized the Duchess of Somerset as "a faithful mother of all good works."¹²⁴

Because of her status as duchess of Somerset, and wife of the Lord Protector, Anne Seymour often received dedications in religious works for other than religious reasons. Edward Courtenay, imprisoned in the tower for over twenty years, dedicated his translation of Benedetto Luchino's the Benefit of Christ's Death to the duchess in order to secure his release. Courtenay requested the duchess' "gracious good will and helping hand" to "deliver him out of his miserable captivity." His manuscript remained unpublished, and he remained in prison until the accession of Queen Mary.¹²⁵

Similarly, another unpublished work dedicated to the duchess of Somerset was Christopher Hamonde's Maxims from the Old and New Testaments.¹²⁶ Hamonde wrote little about his relationship with the duchess, but requested an audience with her to discuss an unknown "more weyghter mator."¹²⁷ It is

¹²³. Augustine, A worke of the predestination of saints, trans. Nicholas Lesse (London: widow of John Herford [1550]). RSTC 920.

¹²⁴. Augustine, A5v.

¹²⁵. Quoted in Hamilton, 343.

¹²⁶. BL, Royal MS 17 A VI.

¹²⁷. Ibid.

unknown whether Hamonde's strategy was successful and he received his audience with the duchess.

Walter Lynne, a specialist in the works of the German reformers, dedicated several books to the Duchess of Somerset. In 1549, Lynne dedicated A briefe collection of all such textes of the scripture as do declare ye happie estate of the[m] that be vyseted wyth syckness.¹²⁸ The work included two sermons by Luther. The next year, Lynne, dedicated two works to the Duchess of Somerset: The true beliefe in Christ and his sacraments, set forth in a Dialogue betwene a Christen father and his sonne; and, Henry Bullinger's biblical concordance, A brief and compendious table.¹²⁹

Walter Lynne dedicated his works to the duchess because she had "a much greater desire to see God's truth both preached and set forth in writings...then a greater number of noble men and women of this realm...."¹³⁰ Lynn knew of the duchess' religious observance, and explained in his dedication

¹²⁸. Walter Lynne, A briefe collection of all such textes of the scripture as do declare ye happie estate of the[m] that be vyseted wyth syckness. Whereunto are added two sermons by M. Luther. (London: Walter Lynne, 1549). RSTC 1549.

¹²⁹. Anonymous, The true beliefe in Christ and his sacraments, set forth in a Dialogue betwene a Christen father and his sonne, dedicated by Walter Lynne (London: Walter Lynne, 1550). RSTC 14576.; Henry Bullinger, A brief and compendious table, dedicated by Walter Lynne (London: Walter Lynne, 1550). RSTC 3015.

¹³⁰. Anonymous, The true beliefe, A2.

that her "chief daily study is in the holy Bible. Further, he wished to encourage others to follow her example."¹³¹

Mildred Cecil, the wife of Sir William Cecil, translated An Homilie or sermon of Basil the great, from Greek into English and dedicated the manuscript to the duchess in about 1550.¹³² Mildred downplayed her own scholarship, but dedicated the manuscript to the duchess in the spirit of friendship.¹³³ Another close friend of the Duchess of Somerset was her servant Thomas Becon, who wrote the last dedication she received in Edward's reign. In The flour of godly praiers, Becon referred to the duchess as "a worthy patroness both of the godly and of godliness, both of the learned and of learning."¹³⁴

After her husband's execution in 1552, Anne Seymour, Duchess of Somerset, ceased to receive dedications until the reign of Elizabeth I. However, this decision does not necessarily suggest a lessening in religious fervor, so much as it may be indicative of her loss of status.

Perhaps the most active patron who was a member of Kateryn Parr's household was Katherine Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk. The duchess was a patron of Kateryn Parr's work, The

¹³¹. Bullinger, A2, A2v.

¹³². BL, Royal MS 17 B XVIII.

¹³³. Ibid.

¹³⁴. Thomas Becon, The flour of godly praiers (London: Joan Day, 1551), RSTC 1720, no pagination.

Lamentacion...of a synner in 1547. During a thirty-year period after Kateryn Parr's death, the duchess of Suffolk was involved in the publication of thirteen different religious works.

In 1548, Nicholas Lesse published his translation of Jean L'Espine's A very fruitful & godly exposition upon the XV Psalms of David, to benefit the common people, and chose to dedicate it to the Duchess of Suffolk because of her popularity and "the ardent love and desire that your grace doth bear to the holy word of God."¹³⁵ The reformist work strongly promoted the doctrine of the justification by faith, and decried the abuses of the papacy.¹³⁶

The following year, Thomas Sone sponsored the publication of The fyrst Sermon of Mayster Hughe Latimer, and dedicated it to Katherine Brandon, duchess of Suffolk.¹³⁷ Latimer's sermon praised Edward VI for delivering the kingdom from the abuses of the papacy.¹³⁸ In the dedication, Sone cited Katherine Brandon's religious observance and "most virtuous behavior" of "holy words practiced daily."¹³⁹

¹³⁵. Jean L'Espine, A very fruitful & godly exposition upon the XV Psalms of David (London: John Day [1548]). RSTC 10429.

¹³⁶. Jean L'Espine, A5.

¹³⁷. Hugh Latimer, The fyrste Sermon of Mayster Hughe Latimer (London: John Daye and William Seres, 1549). RSTC 15271.

¹³⁸. Latimer, A4v.

¹³⁹. Latimer, A3v-A4.

Similarly, the duchess' virtue and compassion was praised in John Harrington's translation of Cicero's The booke of freendship, completed when he was in the Tower.¹⁴⁰ Harrington considered the Duchess of Suffolk "of all other most worth this small fruit of my prison's labor, as a fit patroness to honor of such a work, and a true example, in whom it is fulfilled."¹⁴¹ Harrington was freed from the Tower before his book was published, however, his comments on the duchess' compassion may suggest that she was particularly helpful to him.

The remainder of the dedications to the Duchess of Suffolk occurred during the reign of Elizabeth I. Her superior grasp of religion was the focus of A.L.'s dedication in his translation of Sermons of John Calvin.¹⁴² John Phillips wrote of the duchess' "desire to convert those who were enemies of God's word" in his dedication of A friendly Larum, or faythfull warnyngs to the true harted Subjects of England.¹⁴³ The anti-Catholic poem was a response to the papal bull that excommunicated Elizabeth I.¹⁴⁴ Phillips believed that the

¹⁴⁰. Cicero, The booke of freendship, trans. John Harrington (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1550). RSTC 5276.

¹⁴¹. Cicero, A5.

¹⁴². John Calvin, Sermons of John Calvin, trans. A.L. (London: John Day, 1560).

¹⁴³. John Phillips, A friendly larum, or faythfull warnyng to the true harted Subjects of England (London: William How[sic] for Rycharde Johnes, 1570). RSTC 19870, A2.

¹⁴⁴. Hamilton, 353.

Duchess of Suffolk was filled with "divine knowledge" and enabled to "discern falsehood from truth, light from darkness, pure religion from unwritten verities, and Gods Evangely from mens traditions."¹⁴⁵ The last dedication to the Duchess of Suffolk came in 1580 when John Field dedicated his translation of Beza's The Other parte of Christian Questions and Answers, in response to her zeal for religious truth.¹⁴⁶

Besides dedications, Katherine Brandon was associated with several other religious works. A compilation of sermons preached before the duchess entitled, Hugh Latimer's Seven Sermons made upon the Lordes Prayer, was published in 1571.¹⁴⁷ Thomas Wilson's Vita et obitus was published in 1551 in memory of the two sons the Duchess of Suffolk lost to the plague.¹⁴⁸ In addition, the duchess' coat of arms appeared on five religious works, including those of Latimer and Tyndale, between 1548 and 1549.¹⁴⁹ Overall, the Duchess of Suffolk's association with a wide variety of religious works over many years, suggests her commitment to the reform religion of

¹⁴⁵. Phillips, A2v.

¹⁴⁶. Theodore de Beza, The Other parte of Christian Questions and Answers, trans. John Field (London: Thomas Woodcocke, 1580), 2v.

¹⁴⁷. Hugh Latimer, Seven Sermons made upon the Lordes Prayer (London: John Daye, 1571). RSTC 15484.

¹⁴⁸. Thomas Wilson, Vita et obitus (London: Richard Grafton, 1551). RSTC 25816.

¹⁴⁹. Hamilton, 354-55.

Kateryn Parr's household, as well as the continuation of that commitment through the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth I.

Of all the women of Kateryn Parr's household, it was Lady Elizabeth Tyrwhit who followed in Kateryn Parr's footsteps as a writer and published a religious treatise of her own. In 1574, Elizabeth Tyrwhit published a collection of prayers, hymns, and meditations entitled, Morning and evening prayers, with divers psalms, himmes, and meditations.¹⁵⁰ The work became popular enough to be included in Thomas Bentley's compilation of women's writings entitled, The Monument of Matrones, which also included the works of Kateryn Parr, Marguerite of Navarre, and Elizabeth I.¹⁵¹ Elizabeth Tyrwhit's reform faith is evident in her work, particularly in her promotion of the doctrine of justification by faith alone.¹⁵² Though Tyrwhit did affirm a belief in the angels and the saints, she did reveal her reform convictions when she asked for God's grace "to be at unity, in quietness, and in charity with all thy chosen and elect people."¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰. Elizabeth Tyrwhit, Morning and evenings prayers with divers psalms, himmes, and meditations (London: H. Middleton and F.C. Bauker, 1574); reprinted in Thomas Bentley, The Monuments of Matrones: conteining seven severall Lamps of Virginitie or distinct treatises (London: H. Denham, 1592). RSTC 1892.

¹⁵¹. Ibid.

¹⁵². For example, Tyrwhit, 105, 118, 123, 130.

¹⁵³. Tyrwhit, 117.

Elizabeth Tyrwhit's "fidelity and sincerity in the religion of Christ Jesus" was praised by her "very deare" friend John Field in his dedication of Jean de L'Espine's An excellent treatise of christian righteousness, published in 1577.¹⁵⁴ Field's work was more overtly reformist than Tyrwhit's own work, though the dedication suggested that she agreed with his religious position. In terms of doctrine, Field's text reflected similar positions to those articulated by Kateryn Parr in The Lamentacion...of a synner thirty years previously. Again, the doctrine of justification by faith alone is discussed, as is the need for continued good works.¹⁵⁵ Similarly, as was the case with The Lamentacion...of a synner, Field's work is in the form of a confession, and refutes the need for an intermediary between the soul and God.¹⁵⁶

Although both Lady Lisle and Frances Brandon, Marchioness of Dorset were members of Kateryn Parr's household and sympathizers of reform religion, neither were supporters of the publication of religious works. Lady Lisle did sponsor literary works, but her patronage extended to works that were more of a scientific nature.¹⁵⁷ The Marchioness of Dorset was

¹⁵⁴. Jean de L'Espine, An excellent treatise of christian righteousness, trans. J. Fielde (London: T. Vautrollier, 1577), 3, 4-5.

¹⁵⁵. L'Espine, 7, 26-7.

¹⁵⁶. L'Espine, 57, 89-90, 110-11.

¹⁵⁷. Hamilton, 355-56.

mentioned in only one work, Thomas Wilson's Vita et obitus, in conjunction with the death of her half-brothers, the sons of the Duchess of Suffolk.¹⁵⁸

The patronage of Joan Denny, Anne Herbert, Katherine Brandon, and Elizabeth Tyrwhit revealed the depth of commitment to reform religion that grew out of Kateryn Parr's household. It also should be noted that all of these women were also endangered in the plots against the queen in 1546. If Joan Denny and Anne Herbert had lived longer -- they died in 1552 and 1553 respectively -- they may have become associated with further religious patronage in the reign of Elizabeth I, as did Katherine Brandon, and Elizabeth Tyrwhit. Elizabeth Tyrwhit was still active in the publication of religious works in the 1570s, when, like Kateryn Parr, she authored a book of religious devotions.

Among the women of Kateryn Parr's household, it was Katherine Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk, and Anne Seymour, Duchess of Somerset, who patronized religious works on the most expansive scale. The Duchess of Somerset's most active years were when her husband was Lord Protector. Though she maintained her court connections after her husband's disgrace, her interest in religious publishing dropped, perhaps because such activities were no longer politically advantageous. While

¹⁵⁸. Hamilton, 356-57.

the duchess continued to receive dedications between 1570 and 1586, she no longer actively promoted religious reform.¹⁵⁹

The zeal for reform religion that Katherine Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk, encountered in Kateryn Parr's household, became the major focus for the rest of her life. After Kateryn's death, the Duchess of Suffolk became the major transmitter for the religious activities once associated with the queen's household. Katherine escaped to the continent during Queen Mary's reign, but returned with a renewed commitment to reform religion upon Elizabeth's accession. As Katherine Brandon wrote the new Queen Elizabeth I: "...now is our season if any ever were of rejoicing."¹⁶⁰

The Duchess of Suffolk organized her household after the example of Kateryn Parr, where it became a center for reform activity. Outspoken reformers such as Latimer, Coverdale, Becon and Bucer were a part of her circle. She also assisted with the minorities in London, a haven for reformers.¹⁶¹ Additionally, the duchess supported fourteen advowsons in the diocese of Lincoln, and to at least five of them she appointed persons trained in Latin and theology.¹⁶² The Duchess of Suffolk's reputation for piety even extended into the next

¹⁵⁹. John N. King, "Patronage and Piety," 58; Hamilton, 359.

¹⁶⁰. PRO, SP 12/1, 17; CSP: Domestic, 1547-48, 120.

¹⁶¹. Hamilton, 361.

¹⁶². Hamilton, 361-62.

century; a seventeenth-century ballad and play focused on her religious life and persecution.¹⁶³

Toward the end of the reign of Henry VIII, women at court became an active force in religious activities. In particular, Kateryn Parr and the women of her household were active as writers, translators, and patrons of religious literature. Though compliant with her husband's religious positions at the time of her marriage to Henry VIII, by 1544 Kateryn Parr began an active interest in reform religion. This conversion process was in part marked by the publication of her own work, Prayers or medytacions, published in June 1545. Evidence suggests that Kateryn's conversion process was completed by 1547, when she published The Lamentacion...of a synner, a far more radical work in which she promoted the doctrine of justification by faith alone, and advocated the availability of the Bible to common people -- both principles for which the king had grave reservations. Kateryn Parr also sponsored the first volume of Udall's edition of the Paraphrases of Erasmus; a book required during the reign of Edward VI to be available in every parish.

While Kateryn Parr and the women of her household had limited influence over the political affairs of the 1540s, they had a much higher degree of lasting influence over religious affairs. While evidence suggests that Henry VIII grew increasingly sympathetic to the reform cause during the

¹⁶³. Hamilton, 362.

later years of his reign, it was not until after his death that Kateryn Parr and the women of her household gave full vent to their religious beliefs and activities. Although Kateryn Parr may not have been the sole leader of the reform cause, certainly she and her associates contributed greatly to its course under Edward VI.

CHAPTER VI:

"Your Humble, True, and Loving Wife"

Henry VIII died on January 28, 1547, and two weeks later was interred at St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The queen's enemy Stephen Gardiner offered prayers for "queen Kateryn, dowager, and the princesses Mary and Elizabeth."¹ Kateryn Parr was a widow for the third time, and in early March retired to her beloved dower manors of Hanworth and Chelsea. "Howbeit, the time is well abbreviated, by what means I know not, except the weeks be shorter at Chelsea than in other places," she wrote.² In addition to her dower, the late king's will bequeathed the queen some plate, jewels, and cash, "for the great love, obedience, chastity of life, and wisdom," Kateryn showed him as his wife.³ Kateryn Parr was a wealthy woman, and during her brief royal widowhood, resided close to those at court, as well as the king's council.

¹. PRO, SP, 10,1,18; CSP: Edward VI, 16; Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, II, ii, 305-7.

². Dent-Brocklehurst MS, Sudeley Castle; photostat, Gloucestershire Record Office; reprinted in Crawford, 221-22, and Strickland, 445-46.

³. PRO E 23/4/ 1; Society of Antiquaries, MS 129, pt. 4; LP, XXI, ii, 634.

One of those at court who renewed the relationship that he began with Kateryn Parr four years previously, was Thomas Seymour, the lord admiral. Although Seymour was dispatched to the continent when it was determined that Kateryn was to marry the king, he had returned and became the queen's lover while the court was still in mourning. During the years between Kateryn's marriage to Henry VIII and his death, Seymour had made more than one attempt at a prestigious marriage, (Anne of Cleves, Princess Mary, and Princess Elizabeth were mentioned in this context), but he apparently had no trouble convincing Kateryn Parr that he was still available for her sake.⁴ Fifteen-year-old Princess Elizabeth, who received a marriage proposal from Seymour in February 1547 within weeks of her father's death -- very close to the time he began his affair with the queen -- was particularly appalled:

...besides that neither my age nor inclination allows me to think of marriage, I never could have believed that anyone could have spoken to me of nuptials, at a time when I ought to be thinking of nothing but sorrow for the death of my father. And to him I owe so much, that I must have two years to mourn his loss....⁵

While Kateryn Parr admitted to Seymour that she had wanted to marry him for years, Seymour reportedly responded: "Love is but a frailty of the mind when 'tis not ambitioned

⁴. For Seymour's marriage plans, see CSP: Edward VI, 181, 185, 190, 191; Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, II, i, 193-200.

⁵. Quoted in Wood, iii, LXXXVIII, 191-92.

joined."⁶ Though Seymour's response was decidedly worldly, Kateryn Parr was delighted with his attentions, and characteristically responded to him through the lens of her religious faith: "It were long to write all the process of this matter; if I live, I shall declare it to you myself. I can say nothing by as my lady Suffolk saith, 'God is a marvelous man.' By her, that is yours to serve and obey during her life, Kateryn the Queen."⁷

Soon Kateryn Parr and Thomas Seymour were secretly married. Although the exact date of the marriage is unknown, it most likely occurred between early March 1547, when Kateryn moved to Chelsea, and May 1547 when it is mentioned in correspondence. However, one author claimed that as early as thirty-four days after the king's death, a written contract of marriage and rings of betrothal were exchanged between Kateryn Parr and Thomas Seymour.⁸ Like her stepdaughter, Kateryn originally bade Seymour to wait two years after the king's death before they married, but obviously relented:

My Lord, whereas you charge me with a promise, written with my own hand, to change the two years into two months, I think you have no such plain sentence written by my hand. I know not whether you be a paraphraser or not. If you be learned in that science, it is possible that you may of one word make a whole sentence, and yet

⁶. BL, Sloan MS 1523, 37; also quoted in James, "The Parrs of Kendal," 301.

⁷. Dent-Brocklehurst Collection, Sudeley Castle, photostat, Gloucestershire Record Office, Gloucestershire; reprinted, Crawford, 221-22; Strickland, 445-46.

⁸. See Strickland, 446.

not at all times alter the true meaning of the writer,⁹ as it appeareth by this you exposition upon my writing.

If Kateryn Parr shortened the waiting period for her marriage to Thomas Seymour to two months after the king's death, then the marriage would have occurred at the end of March 1547. Whether Seymour appreciated Kateryn's irony or not is unknown, however, the same letter suggested that the two had already become lovers. Kateryn wrote:

When it shall be your pleasure to repair thither, you must take some pain to come early in the morning, that you may be gone again by seven o'clock; and so I suppose you may come without suspect, I pray you let me have knowledge over-night at what hour you will come that your portress may wait at the gate in the fields for you.¹⁰

While the couple were married within two months after the king's death, they managed to keep their secret for another month or two. Not until May 1547 does Seymour mention that Kateryn had just notified her sister about her intention to marry him.¹¹ Regardless of the date of the marriage, by the end of February, Kateryn was signing herself, "By her that is, and shall be, your humble, true, and loving wife during her life."¹²

⁹. Bod., MS Ashmolean 1729, 4; reprinted, Retrospective Review, 2nd ser. (1828), i, 503-4; Strickland, 446; Crawford, 222.

¹⁰. Ibid.

¹¹. PRO, SP, 10/1 41, 42; CSP: Edward VI, 39; reprinted in Nichols, I, 44-46.

¹². Bod., MS Ashmolean 1729, 4; reprinted, Retrospective Review, 2nd ser. (1828), 503-4; Crawford, 222-23; Strickland, 446.

Kateryn Parr's affair and rushed marriage to Thomas Seymour was more than just a breach of propriety. While Henry VIII himself committed the same breach of propriety by marrying Kateryn Parr after only a brief interlude between her second husband's death and the royal marriage, the situation was a dangerous one. Had Kateryn Parr conceived so soon after the late king's death, it could have resulted in a child of questionable paternity, at least in terms of the security of the realm -- a fact not lost on Seymour's accusers during his later trial for treason.¹³

Though she served Henry VIII as regent during the war with France, Kateryn Parr was not made regent for the young Edward VI. As close as she was to the young king, it was unlikely that she would have received this honor given his youth and the duration of the office. Instead the honor was captured by Thomas Seymour's brother Edward, the Earl of Hertford, who became the Protector in March 1547, and then Duke of Somerset. The king's death was kept secret for three days until the Earl of Hertford obtained possession of his nephew, Edward VI, and produced a patent declaring himself the king's choice. In the early years of Edward VI's reign Edward Seymour became the most powerful man in England. Within a few weeks, the Duke of Somerset developed a national policy

¹³. HLRO, 2 and 3 Edward VI, c. 18; also, Nichols, I, 44-46.

outline which involved a renewal of the war with the Scots, and reforms in church practice.

After their secret marriage, Kateryn Parr and Thomas Seymour attempted to secure, through the Protector, the permission of Edward VI for the marriage. By May 1547, the relationship between Kateryn Parr and Thomas Seymour was known throughout the court, but not officially recognized. The couple already had the support of Kateryn's sister and brother-in-law, Lord and Lady Herbert, "to use their friendship to bring our purpose to pass," as well as that of the Duchess of Suffolk and other friends of the queen's circle.¹⁴ Seymour attempted to gain the approval of Princess Mary for the marriage, but she was appalled that the marriage should have occurred so soon after Henry VIII's death, and refused "to be a meddler in this matter," on the grounds that "wooing matters set apart," she was a "maid" and "nothing cunning."¹⁵

Princess Mary's objection aside, Edward VI was persuaded to give his blessing to Kateryn Parr and Thomas Seymour in June 1547. If for no other reason, he loved Kateryn and was much fonder of his wily uncle Thomas than the Protector. Kateryn and her new husband both appealed to Edward directly, and evidently the content of the king's letter to the queen was dictated by Seymour himself in order to suggest that not

¹⁴. PRO, SP 10/1, 41, 42, 43; CSP: Edward VI, 39, 40, 41.

¹⁵. Quoted in Strickland, 448-49.

only did the king give his permission for the marriage, but that it was also advocated by him:

We thank you heartily, not only for the gentle acceptation of our suit moved unto you, but also for the loving accomplishing for the same, wherein you have declared, not only a desire to gratify us, but also moved us to declare the goodwill likewise, that we bear to you in all your requests.¹⁶

The approval of Edward VI for the marriage between Kateryn Parr and Thomas Seymour did not appease the duke of Somerset, but it did make it impossible for him to take any action against them. Subsequently, conflict developed between the two Seymour brothers, as well as between Kateryn and the Duchess of Suffolk. Edward Seymour grew increasingly nervous about Edward VI's unsupervised visits with Kateryn Parr, as he was with the fact that Princess Elizabeth and Lady Jane Grey both lived in the admiral's household. Princess Mary remained unmollified, however, and urged her sister to move out of Kateryn's house and come to live with her. After her marriage to Thomas Seymour, the relationship between Kateryn Parr and Princess Mary never fully recovered the intimacy of former times. Elizabeth, however, was always more flexible and pragmatic than her sister. She liked Chelsea and had no wish to leave. Elizabeth also remained grateful to Kateryn for her many kindnesses. The princess advised Mary that the best way to proceed with the given situation was "dissimulation," because neither was "in such a condition to offer any obstacle

¹⁶. Nichols, I, XLVI, 44-47; Halliwell, II, 34-35; Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, II, i, 16.

thereto, without running heavy risk of making our own lot much worse than it is."¹⁸

While Kateryn remained fairly close to her stepson Edward, there was a shift in their relationship after he became king. Soon after Henry VIII' death he wrote Kateryn a touching letter that acknowledged the "common grief" they both shared.¹⁹ After Kateryn became involved with Seymour, she wrote Edward a curious letter, possibly to gain his favor, that professed her love for the late king. His response to her suggested the new restraints put on their relationship under the Protector, as well as her altered circumstances. Rather than a personal response, Edward encouraged Kateryn to pursue his father's memory and proceed in holy widowhood, as was her duty as a wife and subject. Interestingly, he also encouraged her study of the Holy Scriptures:

Proceed, therefore, in your virtuous course; continue to love my father,...Cease not to read and love the Scriptures, but persevere in always reading them; for in the first you show the duty of a good wife and a good subject; and in the second, the warmth of your friendship, and in the third, your piety to God....Wherefore, since you love my father, I cannot but esteem you; since you love me, I cannot but love you in return; and since you love the word of God, I do love...you with my whole heart.²⁰

¹⁸. BL, Cotton MS Otho C 10, Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, 60-61; Wood, LXXXIX, 193-95.

¹⁹. BL, Harleian MS 5087, 14; Nichols, I, XLI, 38-39; Halliwell, II, 25.

²⁰. CCC 19, 8; Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, II, i, 58-60; Halliwell, II, 33; Nichols, i, XLIV, 41-42.

For the rest of her life, Kateryn Parr bitterly complained about her treatment at the hands of the Duke and Duchess of Somerset. Apparently she resented them, and they tried to marginalize her: "This is not the first promise I have received of his [Somerset's] coming, and yet unperformed," she wrote Seymour. "I think my lady hath taught him that lesson, for it is her custom to promise many comings to her friends, and to perform none."²¹

The Protector became angry enough with Kateryn and his brother to withhold jewels that she considered hers. At the same time, a struggle for precedence went on between the Duchess of Suffolk and the dowager queen. The duchess refused to carry Kateryn's train on the grounds that as the wife of the Protector she was first lady of the land, as opposed to the wife of her husband's younger brother. On yet another occasion, the Duke of Somerset gave a lease to a tenant on one of Kateryn's favorite lands, despite her desire to hold the property herself. Kateryn wrote angrily to her husband: "My Lord, this shall be to advise you, that my Lord your brother has this afternoon made me a little warm. It is fortunate we were so much distant [from the Duke of Somerset] for I suppose I should have bitten him."³⁹

²¹. Dent Brocklehurst MS Collection, Sudeley Castle; photostat, Gloucestershire Record Office, Gloucester.

³⁹. Cecil Paper, 133/2, Hatfield House, Hertfordshire; reprinted, Haynes, 61.

In December of 1547, Kateryn became pregnant by her husband to the great joy of them both. At the time, she was in her mid-thirties, an advanced age in the sixteenth century to become a mother for the first time, and as noted by Princess Elizabeth, her health was precarious.⁴⁰ "I gave your little knave your blessing," she wrote to Seymour when she was six months pregnant, "who like an honest man stirred apace after and before...It hath stirred these three days every morning and evening so that I trust when ye come it will make you some pastime."⁴¹ Seymour, knowing the dangers of the pregnancy, wrote back concerned: "I do desire your highness to keep the little knave so lean and gaunt with your good diet and walking, that he may be so small that he may creep out of a mousehole."⁴²

In June 1548, Kateryn moved to her husband's estate of Sudeley Castle in Gloucestershire, with his ward Lady Jane, and her friend Lady Elizabeth Tyrwhit, who attended her at the birth of her child. On August 30, 1548, Kateryn gave birth to a healthy daughter who was named Mary. While Kateryn was healthy enough on September 1 to receive congratulations for the birth of "so pretty a daughter," she soon developed

⁴⁰. PRO, SP 10/2, 25; CSP: Edward VI, 67.

⁴¹. Cecil Papers 133/3, Hatfield House, Hertfordshire; reprinted. Haynes, 62.

⁴². PRO, SP 10/4, 14; CSP: Edward VI, 110.

puerperal fever.⁴³ On September 5 she made a nuncupative will, leaving all her property to her husband, and wishing that its value were a thousand times greater. About two days later Kateryn Parr died.⁴⁴

Kateryn Parr's funeral service was consistent with the reform religious beliefs that shaped her life. It was conducted by Miles Coverdale, with Jane Grey as chief mourner. At that time Jane was still a member of the household; after Kateryn's death, she remained in the household for some weeks. Kateryn Parr had the first royal funeral with reform rites. Psalms and a lesson in English were part of the service, and a Te Deum replaced the penitential requiem Mass. Kateryn Parr was buried in an unmarked grave at the chapel of Sudeley Castle. According to custom, her husband was not in attendance at the funeral.⁴⁵ Soon after Kateryn's death, Thomas Seymour,

⁴³. PRO, SP 10/5, 2; CSP: Edward VI, 151 later at Seymour's trial for high treason that on her death bed, his wife accused him of poisoning her. Seymour had no reason to wish his wife dead, and it is unlikely that she really meant it, even if she said it. Delirium is one of the symptoms of puerperal fever, and Kateryn may have accused him while delirious, only to have her accusation used later by his enemies.

⁴⁴. PRO, PROB 11/19, f143LH-f143RH; Bod. MS Ashmolean 1105, fol. 195b, is an abstract of Katherine Parr's will, copied in the seventeenth century from the original document. On nuncupative wills see, William Noye, A Tretise of the Principall Grounds and Maximes of the Lawes of this Kingdome (London, 1641), Chapter 65, 112-13.

⁴⁵. F.B. Garnett, "Queen Katherine Parr and Sudeley Castle," Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archeological Society, Kendal, 1894; also, Cornelius Nicholson, The Annals of Kendal (Kendal: T. Wilson et al., 1861), 326-330; and, Haugaard, 352; Snowden, 61-62;

who had been engaged in various nefarious activities was arrested, convicted of treason, and beheaded on March 20, 1549.⁴⁶

Before an analysis of the religious contributions made by Kateryn Parr, it is important to note that the one area where she lacked her usual good judgement was in situations involving Thomas Seymour. Her relationship with Seymour was clearly the most passionate of her life. After a series of conventional marriages, he was the only husband she chose for herself -- ambitious, charming, and dissolute though he was. Although Kateryn Parr believed it was part of her religious vocation to be a dutiful wife to Henry VIII, the postponement of her marriage to Seymour did nothing to cool her ardor for him. If anything, when she was free to marry Seymour her emotions overrode her judgement, resulting in a politically dangerous situation for them both.

While Kateryn Parr cannot be blamed for desiring some emotional happiness after a series of arranged marriages, her secret marriage so shortly after the death of Henry VIII was a serious error in judgment. She ran the risk of bearing a child with an uncertain paternity, and an equally uncertain claim on the throne. Her tendency to condone Thomas Seymour's advances toward the Princess Elizabeth when the girl was in

James, "Queen Kateryn Parr," 117-18.

⁴⁶. HLRO, 2 and 3 Edward VI c. 18; CSP: Edward VI, 177, 182, 202, 396.

her care, and who remained a member of her household by the order of the privy council, was another error that might have had serious consequences. Fortunately, Kateryn eventually realized the seriousness of the situation, and sent Elizabeth to a household of her own under the care of Sir Anthony Denny. Far from blaming Elizabeth for Seymour's behavior, Kateryn remained on friendly terms with Elizabeth.⁴⁷

Perhaps another error in judgement was Kateryn Parr's nuncupative will, leaving everything to Seymour, to the exclusion of her newborn daughter. While Kateryn, suffering as she was with fever, may have been deeply concerned with her child's future, this concern was not recorded. Although one legal expert argued that only chattels, but not lands, could be willed orally, a 1549-1550 statute passed by Parliament made it possible for Mary Seymour to inherit lands other than those her father forfeited when convicted of treason.⁴⁸

Although Mary Seymour's inheritance was eventually reinstated, the lack of clarity around the financial arrangements for the child caused her to be moved frequently

⁴⁷. CSP: Edward VI, 181, 189, 196, 197, 198; For the relationship between Thomas Seymour and Princess Elizabeth, see Martienssen, 233-36; Alison Plowden, Marriage with my Kingdom: The Courtships of Elizabeth I (New York: Stein and Day, 1977), 31-41; Carolly Erickson, The First Elizabeth (New York: Summit Books, 1983), 69-74. Though authors disagree about the extent of Seymour's harassment of Princess Elizabeth, it is generally agreed that his behavior was inappropriate.

⁴⁸. HLRO, 3 and 4 Edward VI, C.14; also, A. Luders, Statutes of the Realm, IV, Edward VI, c.14.

during her early years. Mary first went to her uncle Edward, the Lord Protector; then by the dying request of her father to Katherine Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk, but without the goods and funds that were to be hers. After numerous unanswered letters to the Duke of Somerset, the Duchess of Suffolk was forced to appeal to William Cecil to state that she was in debt because of the child and was in need of a pension. At the same time, Mary Seymour's uncle, William Parr, reported that he was unwilling to take the child without a pension either.⁴⁹

Mary Seymour eventually vanished from the record. Two traditions about her have been reported: that she died early while in the duchess' care, and that she lived to eventually marry and have a child or children.⁵⁰

Throughout this study, the religious significance of Kateryn Parr was examined from several perspectives: her early life; her vocation as the queen of England and wife of Henry VIII; her role as head of a reform household and as stepmother to the royal children; and lastly, her religious activities as a writer, translator and patron. Throughout her life, Kateryn Parr's chief motivation was her religious faith, and it was

⁴⁹. PRO, SP 10/8 no 35, complaint of Katherine Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk, to William Cecil, of maintenance of Katherine Parr's daughter, 24 July 1549; CSP: Edward VI, 332.

⁵⁰. Strickland, 466; Martienssen, 240-42; Nicholson, 326-7; Snowden, 63-64.

these beliefs that infused all her efforts -- personal, political, and intellectual.

Kateryn Parr's early life was fairly representative of aristocratic women in Tudor England. While at court, Kateryn Parr had the reputation as a learned woman within a context that set high standards for learned women. With increased educational opportunities due to the influence of humanist learning, Kateryn Parr was literate in modern and classical languages. Due to the humanist influences in her upbringing, for Kateryn Parr religion and education became inseparable. Schooled in the "old faith" by her parents and first husbands, Kateryn Parr was not moved by reform religion until her maturity.

In a family such as the Parrs, their daughter Kateryn's marriages were as much opportunities for alliances between families as they were a religious contract between individuals. After her first three marriages, Kateryn Parr accumulated considerable wealth by way of her jointures. She became an experienced property owner. Kateryn's early marriages also taught her how to be an effective nurse and stepmother -- skills which were to help her gain influence during her third marriage to Henry VIII. Kateryn Parr held a deeply religious belief in the vocation of marriage and of the duties of a Christian wife that she carried throughout her life. She viewed marriage as an essential part of her

religious vocation, and undertook each relationship from the perspective of her religious context.

Kateryn Parr's regency in 1544 marked a turning point in her career at the court of Henry VIII. Though both Kateryn and her family reaped many material rewards when she married the king in 1543, it was not until the next year when she began to develop a discrete role. During her regency, Henry VIII expected Kateryn Parr to show her commitment to the crown by exercising intelligence, diligence, and judgement in the affairs of the realm. Communications during the period indicate that Henry was not disappointed; not only was Kateryn Parr consulted on major matters, but many of the actions of the London council were made at her command. While Kateryn Parr did not seek political power overtly, she was clearly seen as a politically powerful influence on the king. During her regency, Kateryn Parr acquired not only the confidence to act as an executive, but the more protracted knowledge of how to exercise influence.

Throughout her religious activities Kateryn Parr acted with zeal and determination. At the time of her marriage to the king, Kateryn probably adhered to conservative views similar to her husband's. However, between 1544 and 1546, Kateryn Parr underwent a gradual religious conversion that was completed by 1547. The transition was underway in 1545 when she published her Prayers or medytacions. It seems unlikely that her conservative religious officials converted her.

Rather, the women of her household, along with a larger circle of reform-minded courtiers most likely influenced Kateryn Parr, though she was known as an independent thinker in her own right. Kateryn herself attributed her change of heart to a personal reading of the New Testament in English.

By 1546, Kateryn Parr's household had become a center for reform activities at court. She held frequent and spirited theological discussions with the king. Indeed, in the same year Kateryn's conservative enemies at court hatched plots against her in two attempts to charge the queen and some of her ladies with heresy. Once Kateryn Parr submitted to the king's ultimate authority, he seemed content to allow her to participate in reform activities openly. In 1547 and after her husband's death, Kateryn Parr published The Lamentacion...of a synner, a doctrinally reformist work in direct opposition to some of Henry VIII's views.

Though a sincere reformer, Kateryn Parr continued to urge moderation. Her dislike of theological bickering, and her acceptance of conformity in the furtherance of peace and unity are suggestive of her link with the Christian humanism of Erasmus. In broad general terms Erasmianism meant the subordination of form, ceremony, and complex theology; the approach to religion through individual Bible reading; and an inner change expressing itself worthy in action. Similar religious views were developed earlier in the century by More and Vives, as well as Erasmus. For Kateryn, the essentials of

the Christian religion were inner attitudes, a love of God and of humankind, and resulting worthy action. Like More, Vives, and Erasmus, Kateryn Parr resonated with the need to return to Scripture and early Christian writers, and to study and publish the true text of these sources.

Kateryn Parr accepted many of the practices of the church as she knew them including infant baptism, celibate clergy, and images of the crucifix. While she probably wanted changes, and most likely welcomed the reforms under Edward VI, she was willing to wait until further reforms could be peaceably accepted. She did not accept reformation doctrine to the extent that she was willing to become a martyr like Anne Askew or encourage disputes in the name of religion. Because of her commitment to moderation, Kateryn Parr and her associates lived to carry reform religion into later reigns.

To stimulate theological discussion and further her own religious position, Kateryn Parr organized her household for the purpose of scriptural study. Gatherings of this sort to discuss religious matters were a part of court tradition, and in forming her circle of learned aristocrats, many of them women, Kateryn was following in the footsteps of her royal predecessors Margaret Beaufort and Katherine of Aragon. As a stepmother, Kateryn Parr also took an active and loving interest in the intellectual life of her stepchildren. Though the extent of her influence varied according to each of the royal offspring, Kateryn Parr was an important source of

support for each of the future Tudor monarchs, and Princess Elizabeth, in particular, flourished under her tutelage. Moreover, a sign of the king's confidence in Kateryn Parr was her involvement in the protection and education of Prince Edward.

While Kateryn and the women of her household were not the only members of the court to figure prominently in literary pursuits, they were indicative of the extent to which lay reformers were able, especially with someone with the status of a queen, to influence the world of reform learning. The court of Henry VIII was known for its support of learning, and toward the end of his reign, he did little to halt the burgeoning interest in reform religion, as long as it was kept within flexible boundaries. Indeed, Henry VIII himself may have had some sympathy for the reformers: by the end of 1546, he certainly had chosen reform religion for his son and heir.

Through religious writing, translation, and patronage, Kateryn Parr and the women of her household extended reform religion beyond the court to local parishes. As one of the few published women writers of her era, Kateryn Parr not only promoted reform religion, but made it easier for other women authors to publish as well. Through the use of personal patronage, Kateryn Parr extended the reform cause, and inspired others to do the same. The women of Kateryn Parr's household eventually carried the reform cause into the reigns

of Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth I. Not only was Kateryn Parr a leader of reform in the last years of Henry VIII's reign, but she and her household contributed to its flourishing in the next.

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Heinz Archive and Library, National Portrait Gallery, London

There are two portraits of Kateryn Parr in the gallery's main collection:

NPG 4618, artist unknown

NPG 4451, attributed to Master John, (previously called Lady Jane Grey)

Related files and other portraits possibly of Kateryn Parr are located in the library.

Lambeth Palace, London

The palace holds a portrait of Kateryn Parr owned by the Church Commissioners, by an unknown artist of the British School. (#B57/275, Courtauld Institute of Art, London)

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Kendal Museum, Town Hall, Library, Kendal, Cumbria

The Kendal Museum holds an engraving of Kateryn Parr dating to the nineteenth century, a few items related to

Kendal Castle, her family's estate, and an exhibit related to the Parr family.

The Mayor's Parlor at Kendal Town Hall holds an original copy of Kateryn Parr's Book of Devotions. The book is written on parchment in her own hand, measuring 6cms by 4 cms, and 1.5 cms thick. The book is bound into a silver casing, stamped on the spine with what may be an early sixteenth-century hall mark.

The Kendal Library holds local history sources related to the history of the Parr family and Kendal.

Cumbria Record Office, Kendal, Cumbria

Cumbria County Council Manuscripts

Sudeley Castle, Winchcombe, Cheltenham

The Dent-Brocklehurst MS Collection of Sudeley Castle holds a letter from Kateryn Parr to her last husband, Thomas Seymour (1547). (The Gloucestershire Record Office holds a copy of this letter.) Sudeley Castle also holds several artifacts related to Kateryn Parr; including a Prayer Book, a lock of her hair, and her tomb.

Gloucestershire Record Office, Gloucester

Seymour Survey

Letter from Kateryn Parr to Thomas Seymour (1547), photostat

Hereford and Worcester County Council Record Office, St. Helen's Branch, Worcester

HWRO Ref: 705:7 BA 7335/47(ii) Survey of the manor of Shrawley assigned to Kateryn Parr, 1544-45

Durham University Library, Archives and Special Collections

Durham Diocesan Records and Durham Bishopric Estates
Records, related to the episcopate of Cuthbert Tunstal.

North Yorkshire County Record Office, County Hall, Northallerton

Reference ZAL 1/2, records for the manors of Snape and Well.

The Huntington Library, San Marino, California

The Huntington Library holds no manuscript materials related to Kateryn Parr, however, there are four printed works, including two 1548 editions of The Lamentacion... of a

synner, and two 1545 editions of Prayers or meditations.

Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington D.C.

The Folger holds several editions of Kateryn Parr's printed works, including a facsimile of the Bodleian Library copy of Prayers or meditations (1545), a microfilm of the Folger copy of the same work, and a 1548 copy of The Lamentacion of a synner. In addition, the library holds the second volume of the Paraphrases of Erasmus, dated 1549, RSTC 2854.3.

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(Note: When known, the RSTC number of a particular work, as well as the reel number, if a work is included in the "Early English Books, 1475-1640" series of UMI, Ann Arbor, Michigan. On individual works, I have retained the spelling of the author.)

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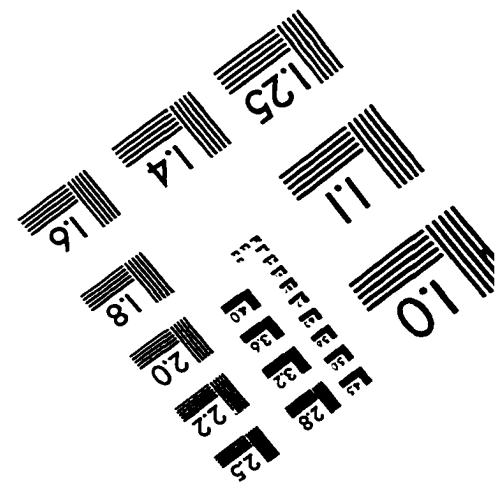
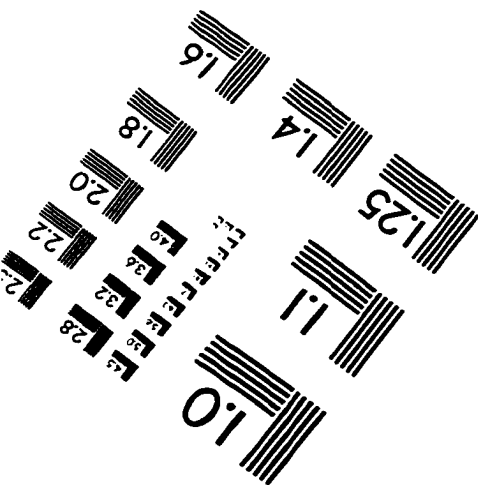
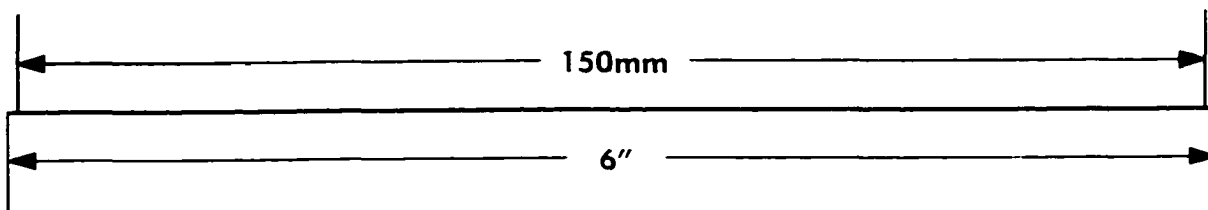
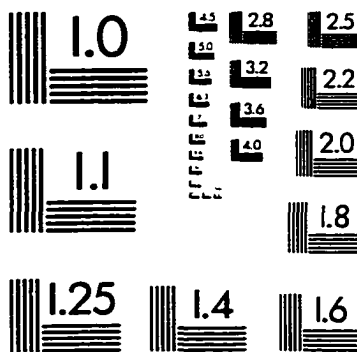
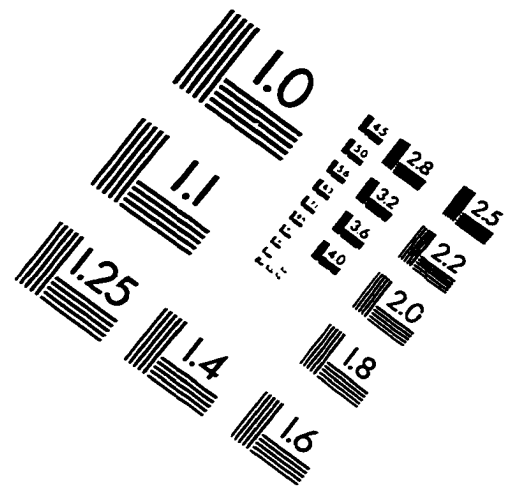
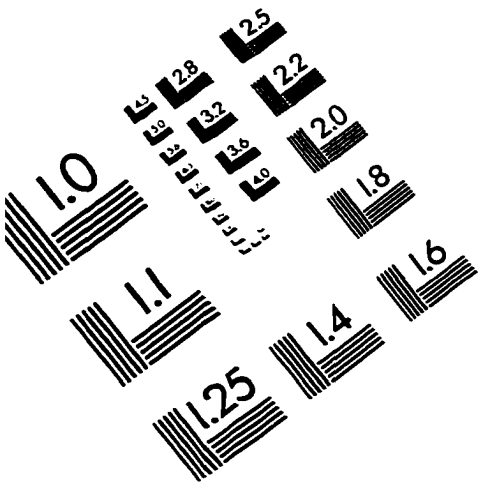
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