

Four Weddings and a Conspiracy: The Life, Times and Loves of Lady Katherine Gordon

Part 2

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A Continental Visit and Two Royal Marriages

On 8 May 1500 King Henry, his queen and court sailed from Greenwich to Calais for an historic meeting with the Archduke Philip. The queen was accompanied by fifty ladies, including Lady Katherine who was ranked as fifth in the queen's retinue and who now made the personal acquaintance of one of her late husband's foreign supporters and whose father had been so determined to secure Warbeck's release back in 1497.¹ The meeting between Philip and the English king, queen and court took place at the church of St Peter's, a league from Calais on 9 June. No suitable royal abode was available so the church was transformed for the event and divided by rich cloths of arras into 'diverse' chambers. The Lady Chapel became the duke's chamber, the upper part of which was laid with carpets strewn with roses and lavender. A 'secret place' was created behind the altar with scarlet cloths embroidered with the king's arms and crest. The quire was hung with blue arras decorated with golden fleur de lys and the vestry became the council chamber. The queen's chamber was to the south of the high altar with a 'travers of red saracenet and the little vestry became her secret chamber'. The belfry housed the cellarer, the pantry staff, the confectioner and other catering departments together with the 'littelle house besidis the stepulle.' The banquet served to the king, queen and archduke included baked venison, fat English oxon, more 'kyddes' than the chronicler had ever seen before, spiced cakes and wafers, cherries (seven horse loads), greenginger, strawberries, sugar and cream, The wine flowed, beer was available 'for them that wil drynke' as well as two hogsheads of 'ypocras'. What remained of the feast was given to the local peasants the following day. The archduke enjoyed his meeting with the king and spent an hour and a half in his company and gallantly kissed the queen and her ladies. The entire journey and entertainment cost King Henry £1,589 12s 10d.²

Almost two years after the execution of Warbeck, Princess Katherine of

Aragon finally arrived in England to marry Arthur, Prince of Wales. Queen Elizabeth watched the great pageant of the Spanish princess's arrival from a merchant's chamber at the Standard in Cheapside and the following afternoon she met her future daughter-in-law at Baynards Castle where 'dauncying and disports, thei passed the season full conveniently' with the queen's ladies in attendance.³ On Sunday 14 November 1501 the young couple married at St Paul's Cathedral and the king and queen gave full stage to the prince and princess and withdrew to a closet above the consistory to watch the ceremony and 'wold make non opyn show nor appearaunce that day'. Lady Katherine's feelings can only be imagined at this time. This marriage was the culmination of King Henry's negotiations with the Spanish sovereigns, and part of the price had been the lives of those two young men, Warbeck and Warwick. Although she may have had little taste for the festivities, Lady Katherine's duties probably ensured her attendance, particularly on the Tuesday when the king and queen entertained the newly weds at Baynards Castle. The entire court, accompanied by the mayor, alderman and crafts of the city, then travelled to Westminster in barges. On the Thursday, a tourney was set up 'in the great and large voyde space before Westminster Hall and the Paleis', and the queen attended with 'all her goodly company of ladies'. The next day the queen, Margaret Beaufort, the young princesses and a 'company of freshe ladies and gentlwomen of the court and realme' attended a magnificent banquet in Westminster Hall where arras draped the walls.⁴

The next royal wedding directly involved Lady Katherine. On 24 January 1502 the marriage treaty of King James IV and Princess Margaret Tudor was concluded at Richmond and on the following morning the proxy ceremony took place with Lady Katherine's brother-in-law, the earl of Bothwell, deputising for his royal master.⁵ This may have been the second time Lady Katherine met with Bothwell in England, as he had been part of the embassy negotiating the marriage that had visited King Henry in October the previous year.⁶ The marriage was attended by the immediate royal family, with the exception of the prince and princess of Wales, now established in their own court at Ludlow. Also attending were ambassadors and envoys from Scotland, Spain, France and Venice, the pope's 'Orator' and 'Collector', 'diverse other Strangers', the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of Winchester, Chester, Rochester and Norwich, twenty lords temporal, twenty-eight banneretts and knights and eighteen ladies including Lady Katherine. All had assembled in the chapel at Richmond and they now moved to the adjacent royal lodging and ascending to the queen's great chamber the official part of the 'fyancells' took place including declarations from both Bothwell and the young princess.⁷ With the formalities complete a fanfare was sounded, the minstrells loudly played in

the 'best and most joyfullest manner'. The king then dined with his senior Scottish guests and three of his subjects and the queen took her daughter by the hand and they dined together 'at one messe covered'. In the afternoon a tournament took place followed by supper and a 'notable banquet'. Four days later the festivities ended with another tournament and a supper after which the Scots were presented with gifts from the king and Bothwell received a cupboard 'of great Valewe' containing several objects made of gold and silver.

Lady Katherine was probably the only resident noble Scot at the court during this period and her rank was recognised at the proxy marriage where she was given precedence over many of the queen's English ladies. There was, however, at least one other Scot of a lower order attached to the court. A 'fool' who first appears in 1495 and for the next seven years receives occasional payments from King Henry, the last being for 10s in March 1502.⁸ Payments to a Scottish rymmer were made in December 1501 and again at the time of the proxy marriage. The latter, possibly the poet William Dunbar, received £6 13s 4d.⁹

Death of a Prince and a Queen's Progress

The queen's court, as well, as the king's, was constantly on the move, travelling from one royal palace to another. The only extant household accounts of Queen Elizabeth cover the period from March 1502 until her death the following February and they provide a detailed itinerary of the queen, and her household which, of course, included Lady Katherine. During this period she regularly received a salary of 6s 8d a quarter.¹⁰ On the 2 April 1502 Prince Arthur died suddenly at Ludlow and a few days later the news of his death reached the king and queen at Greenwich where they comforted each other on their loss.¹¹ Totally dependant upon King Henry for financial support, it was necessary for the great wardrobe to supply her with a suitable mourning costume. On 23 April Lady Katherine was furnished with materials for a new outfit which included six yards of black velvet and three and a quarter yards of black cloth for a gown, trimmed with an ell (forty-five inches) of crimson satin and some black bukram. She was also given eight yards of tawny chamlet, a fine wool or silk and wool cloth, for a kirtle (outer petticoat) and an unspecified amount of linen cloth. To complete the ensemble a black velvet bonnet was supplied together with two frontlets (a band worn on the forehead) one of crimson and one of black velvet, an ell of sarcenet (a soft silk lining) for a tippet, a piece of Cyprus (fine silk) for a neckerchief, and two ells of black kersey (light woollen cloth) for hose as well as sufficient money, unspecified, 'as shall suffice for making the stuf aforesaid'.¹²

Apart from a short visit to the Tower, the queen and her ladies stayed at Greenwich until they moved to Richmond on 19 May. Less than a month later

the queen and her court were at Windsor and on 19 July at Woodstock she was taken ill, perhaps as a result of her latest pregnancy.¹³ By early August she had recovered and moved to the hunting lodge at Langley, Oxfordshire, before beginning a progress to Wales visiting Monmouth and Raglan. The queen made her way to Chepstow where she met Sir Walter Herbert who presented her with a goshawk.¹⁴ Sir Walter's wife, Anne Stafford, was a cousin of the queen and his sister-in-law, Margaret Cradock, was the daughter, by his first wife, of Matthew Cradock, one of Lady Katherine's future husbands.¹⁵

The queen and her household left Chepstow on 28 August, crossed the river Severn and by 29 August were established at Berkeley Castle. The purpose of this royal progress to Wales is not recorded but it was perhaps a pilgrimage to the principality by the bereaved mother.¹⁶ In view of her earlier illness and condition it was also perhaps a foolhardy excursion that would cost the queen dearly. By 16 September the party had returned to Langley where the queen rested for almost three weeks before travelling on to Minster Lovell and arriving at Abingdon Abbey on 9 October. This was certainly a prophetic visit for Lady Katherine, as the manors and lands she was to receive later in the decade were situated nearby. Moving southwards, a stop was made at Ewelme, where the party indulged in a little dicing before travelling to Easthampstead, Windsor, Richmond and arriving at Westminster on 28 October. After these journeyings the queen needed her funds to be replenished and she immediately applied for some cash. £10 was granted on 31 October and a further payment of £10 was made on the 1 November 'to the Quenes purs at Westminster by thands of my Lady Gurdon'.¹⁷

On 12 November Lady Katherine was again provided with materials for clothes paid for by the exchequer. These appear to be grander than the previous outfit as the black gown required eleven yards of satin and was to be 'furred with minks of her own store', three and a half yards of cloth for a black gown to be furred with lettewys poudred and pured mynevere inside'. The kirtle was of black damask and there was nine yards of chamlet for a cloak. The accessories included a crimson velvet bonnet, a black velvet frontlet and a tawney satin frontlet, all three items bought from Jane Lok, silkwoman, at a total cost of £1 16s 8d, together with black and dark tawney tippetts (possibly for the long veils hanging down behind the headdress) and silk kerchief. Several lengths of linen of various quality were given for smocks, kerchiefs and a pair of body sheets. The total cost was £16 12s 0d.¹⁸

The queen and her household remained in one or other of the royal London residences for the remainder of the year before celebrating Christmas at Richmond. As a young and beautiful woman no doubt Lady Katherine enjoyed wearing her new clothes in the gaiety of the seasonal festivities. Had

the time come to put the past behind her and to enjoy her new life amongst England's royalty and nobility or was she about to suffer another set-back?

The Death of Queen Elizabeth of York

Queen Elizabeth left Richmond by barge on 26 January for the Tower of London where she planned to have her confinement. The birth took place on 2 February. On Saturday 11 February 1503, her thirty-seventh birthday, Queen Elizabeth died. The infant princess did not long survive her mother. The following day the king ordered that his wife should be buried in Westminster Abbey, sent Sir Charles Somerset and Sir Richard Guildford to comfort the queen's household, and then he withdrew to grieve. He did not attend the funeral, due to protocol.

Lady Katherine, as one of the queen's ladies, would have been with her mistress at the Tower for the confinement. Throughout the Sunday following the queen's death she would have heard the bells tolling from the London churches as masses were said and dirges were sung in the capital and beyond.¹⁹ During the day the queen's body was embalmed and placed in a lead coffin which was covered with a black and white velvet cloth embellished with a white damask cross. The coffin was taken in a torchlight procession from the queen's chamber to the simple and beautiful Norman chapel of St John in the White Tower. Here the stone interior was warmed with burning tapers but shadowed by the black cloth 'furnished with scochins of her arms' that hung from the windows. The principal mourner in this procession was Lady Elizabeth Stafford, the queen's cousin and daughter of the duke of Buckingham executed by Richard III. She was followed by the queen's ladies who walked two by two and wore 'sadd and simplest clothing', on their heads 'thredden kierchiefs hanging on their shoulers and close under their chins'. They continued to wear this garb until their funeral garments were completed.

A nightly vigil was established with at least four gentlewomen watching over the coffin and supported by two men at arms and six grooms. In the morning they were relieved by six ladies who 'continuelly did knele abouts the corps' whilst prayers were read. Meanwhile in the queen's great chamber her sister Lady Katherine, the countess of Devon had arrived and assumed the role of chief mourner. She was joined by the earls of Surrey and Essex and with other ladies and gentlemen of the court listened to the requiem mass. This party then went to St John's chapel where the six ladies in the choir moved aside to give 'roome to there betters'. The vigil continued with a sung mass. This performance was repeated every night and day until Wednesday 22 February when the queen's body was taken in solemn procession to Westminster. Preceded by the male nobility, the mayor of London, officers of the late queen's

household and clergy, the hearse was placed on a 'chaire', and was followed by eight ladies of honour including the countess of Devon and Lady Elizabeth Stafford who were mounted on palfreys 'traped and embelled' with black velvet. Each horse was led by a footman and in turn they were followed by the second carriage conveying four ladies followed by another eight ladies. Lady Katherine was in the third carriage with the Ladies Fitzwalter, Mountjoy and Bray and they were followed by another twenty-one ladies of the queen's household.

The procession made its way westwards where it must have seemed that most of the citizens of London turned out to watch and even contingents of foreign merchants honoured the memory of the dead queen by appearing in black or carrying torches. It was estimated that between Mark Lane and Temple Bar there were some 3,000 to 5,000 torches set along the streets. A group of thirty-seven virgins, dressed in white, wearing white and green chaplets and holding lighted tapers, met the procession and in Cheapside the mayoress provided a similar group. Passing the great memorial to another deceased queen at Charing Cross, the procession arrived at the graveyard of St Margaret's, Westminster. The senior mourners retired to the queen's great chamber for supper whilst a 'goodly watch of Ladies and Gentlewomen, knights, Esquires' with twenty-four torch bearers stayed with the coffin which had been placed in the Abbey. At midnight when 'mattens were done' prayers were led by the prior and at 7 a.m. the final ceremonies began. The last act to be performed by the queen's ladies was to lay thirty-seven palls over her coffin. Lady Katherine received the fourth pall from a gentleman usher at the choir door, walked to the foot of the coffin, made an obeisance, kissed the pall and laid it over the coffin. After the sermon and a mass the ladies departed and Elizabeth of York was finally laid to rest.

'Late of the Household of Henry VII'

For the next six years nothing certain is known of Lady Katherine's life at court though there are three references to her in the records that provide clues as to her activities. The first is from the great wardrobe accounts.²⁰ It details the expenses of Margaret Tudor in preparation for her departure to Scotland in June 1503 and includes the cost of Lady Katherine's clothing already described and additional items supplied after the death of the queen, amounting to £3 11s 10d. These included a lined black worsted kirtle, lining for a mantle, two pieces of fine 'Paris' and 'carsey', i.e. kersey, for hose. In the warrant she is referred to as 'our wellbeloved dame Katherine Gordon'.²¹ The second reference is an entry in the patent rolls on the interment of King Henry in 1509 when Lady Katherine is described as a lady attending the princess of Castile.²² The third

reference is from the pardon roll of 10 August 1509 when Lady Katherine is described as 'late of the household of Henry VII, daughter of George, late Earl of Huntly in Scotland'.²³

Following the death of Queen Elizabeth, Lady Katherine probably spent time with the young Queen of Scotland who was due to leave for her new home in June. Aged just fourteen, Margaret Tudor was facing a traumatic period in her life, coping with the loss of a parent and preparing for marriage in a strange country with a man more than twice her age. Lady Katherine was qualified on several counts to comfort and advise Margaret. As one of the deceased queen's ladies she would have been a familiar figure to the princess, she wasn't old enough to intimidate the girl but most important of all she knew the bridegroom, the court, the customs and the country. Perhaps she was able to help allay some of the young queen's fears and provide reassurance on what lay ahead. Margaret Tudor's friendship with members of Lady Katherine's family was cemented in 1506 when the earl of Bothwell and Margaret, the wife of Alexander, Earl of Huntly became godparents to her son Prince James. The question of whether Lady Katherine accompanied Margaret on her progress north cannot be confirmed. Certainly there was no mention of her in the account of the journey made by Somerset Herald. However, although the account is detailed it does not systematically list all Margaret's companions and attendants so it cannot be discounted that Lady Katherine was in the party.²⁴ Suggestions have been made that Lady Katherine was little more than a prisoner at the Tudor court and not allowed to visit or return to Scotland.²⁵ This has emanated from the wording in grants to Lady Katherine when she was given certain manors for life on the proviso she did not go to Scotland or other outward parts without special licence.²⁶ Although the proviso may have had a sinister connotation, the more likely explanation is rather more prosaic. Simply, the English crown was prepared to support Lady Katherine as long as she chose to live in England, but if she returned to her native land then the need to provide support was no longer necessary and the manors would revert to the crown. It is unlikely Lady Katherine would have had any independent means in Scotland. Her father had died in 1501 and shortly afterwards her mother remarried.²⁷ There was no home for Lady Katherine to return to in Scotland, unless as a pensioner or widowed relation. The prospect of being a pensioner of the king of England may well have seemed to be a brighter and more rewarding prospect. It would appear that Lady Katherine was a pragmatic young woman who could not allow too many misgivings towards the English monarch, following her husband's execution, to interfere with her future. Her decision to remain in England, could also have been influenced, if she had, as already speculated, a young family being fostered somewhere in England or Wales.

Whether or not Lady Katherine did return to Scotland for a brief period, it is highly probable that she would have attended King Henry and Princess Margaret when they left Richmond on 24 June and travelled to Margaret Beaufort's home at Collyweston in Northamptonshire, arriving on 5 July. Described as one of the 'last great court progresses' with 'the entire court present' the king spent three weeks at his mother's home before saying a final farewell to his eldest daughter.²⁸ Memories of her late husband may have been rekindled during Lady Katherine's possible sojourn at Collyweston. On 16 July the son and heir of the earl of Kildare, a former supporter of Warbeck, was married in Lady Margaret's chapel. Gerald Fitzgerald had been kept in England as a hostage for his father's good behaviour but following his marriage the king now deemed it appropriate that he was allowed to return to Ireland.²⁹ Lady Katherine would also have been enjoying the hospitality of someone who had helped her friend, the Lady Cecily Welles, daughter of Edward IV. The latter, now the widow of the king's kinsman, had married Thomas Kyme of Lincolnshire the previous year without royal approval and as a consequence had been exiled from court. The couple spent some time at Collyweston with Margaret Beaufort who had interceded with the King and obtained a settlement for the Lady Cecily of part of the Welles estate.³⁰

Although described as one of the widowed princess of Wales' ladies in 1509, there is little to suggest that Lady Katherine or any other of the princess's English ladies spent much time with her. At the beginning of her widowhood, Katherine of Aragon moved between three residences, one at Croydon, Aragon House opposite Twickenham Church, and Durham House in the Strand.³¹ Her household appeared to consist solely of Spaniards led by the duenna Donna Elvira. What seems more likely is that Lady Katherine, as part of the king's household, would have been assigned to whatever sub section of the court the king saw fit, possibly the household of his younger daughter, Princess Mary.

An event which united the princesses of King Henry's court, and presumably, their ladies, was the unexpected arrival of Katherine of Aragon's sister, Juana, now Queen of Castile, and her husband the Archduke Philip, at Melcombe, Dorset, on 17 January 1506.³² The couple, en route to Spain, had been forced to land in England due to bad weather and were the guests of King Henry for three months, spending part of the time at Windsor. Philip arrived at the castle ahead of his wife and met his sister-in-law Katherine and the Princess Mary. The princesses indulged themselves in dancing and the latter entertained the court with her performance on the lute and clavichord. Ten days later, on 10 February, Queen Juana arrived but the following day the Princesses Katherine and Mary, together with their entourages, were both sent to Richmond to resume their normal routine.³³ As the king's daughter no doubt

the Princess Mary's existence was comfortable enough, but King Henry proved parsimonious with regard to his daughter-in-law. He expected her father, King Ferdinand, to maintain her and her household whilst he merely provided her lodgings. After 1506 this comprised of 'some outbuildings at Greenwich, the rooms over the stables at Richmond and a decaying manor house at Fulham'.³⁴ Perhaps even this was a welcome change after the years of isolation at Durham House. Nevertheless both princesses and their ladies, may have found life dull at the court of this ageing and widowed king.

The final great court pageant of King Henry's reign was the spousals of Princess Mary to Juana and Philip's son, Charles, in December 1507, a match negotiated by the groom's grandfather, Maximilian, following the premature death of Philip on 25 September 1506. Lord Berghes stood proxy for the young archduke and Peter Carmeliano, King Henry's Latin secretary, recorded the festivities:

And whyther also came my saide lady Marye Pryncesse of Castile and the Pryncesse of Wales, accompanied with a goodly numbere of fayre Ladyes. Howe well horsed and harneissed, howe richly appoynted were the said lordes and knyghtes, with pavylyons, trappers, bardes, and other ornamentes and appareyll of goldsmyth werk, cloth of golde, silke and other ryche garnysynge, and with belles of silver and many diverse devises.

He continued 'and many goodly sportes passed the tyme of the day, and at night sumptuous bankettes were made ... there was no cuppe, salt ne layer but it was of fyne golde, ne yet noo plate of vessayll but it was gilte'.³⁵ The marriage, however, was not to take place.

Lady Katherine regularly received a salary from the crown for her services and an entry in December 1506, for a payment due on Lady's Day (25 March) 1507, indicates her salary had been increased to £20 per half year but for the next twenty-one months no further payments was made.³⁶ The resumption of payments began on 31 August 1508 when a sum was paid to Lady Katherine upon presentation of her bill and was followed on 11 October by payment of her half year's wages due at Michelmas just past at a one-off rate of £33 6s 8d.³⁷ This may have been a kind of bonus or recompense for loss of wages as for the remainder of the reign she was paid £20 per half year. So where could Lady Katherine have gone? In view of her bequest to the daughter of the Lady Cecily in her will and a possible friendly relationship between Lady Katherine and Edward IV's daughter it can be suggested that she visited and nursed Cecily during her last illness. The princess died on the Isle of Wight in August 1507 leaving two young children and again it is possible to speculate that Lady

Katherine spent time with them during this difficult period. Her own maternal career, if it existed, had been interrupted and she may have welcomed the opportunity to comfort and console her friend's children before returning to her duties at court around March 1508. By this time King Henry was ailing and he was taken seriously ill the following March. Lady Katherine appears to have been close to Henry during his final months as on 25 March 1509 she received 18s 8d for four 'painted clothis for the kinges grace' and had already received 20s the previous December for 'stuff bought for the king'.³⁸ Henry lingered until 21 April when he died at his favourite palace of Richmond. Two weeks before his death, during the Easter celebrations, he granted to Lady Katherine for life, the manors of Fyfield, Philbertis (East Hanney), Longwittenham, and Eaton, in the county of Berkshire, the annual income of which amounted to over £166.³⁹ King Henry sensed there might not be a place for her in the new king's court and so he made permanent provision for her future.

King Henry's body was taken from Richmond to St Paul's and then to Westminster Abbey where it was interred. The English ladies of the princess of Castile, besides Lady Katherine, were the countess of Devon, Lady Fitzwalter, Elizabeth, the Countess of Kent, Lady Anne Percy, Lady Verney, and Lady Marston. They each received a 'mantelette' and 'kercheffe' for the period of mourning but did not attend the obsequies.⁴⁰

It is not possible to conclude this chapter of Lady Katherine's life without examining her relationship with King Henry VII. That he met his obligations as her host over a period of almost fourteen years, and latterly very generously, cannot be denied. Whether or not this was a result of a benevolent affection, regret for having reduced her to widowhood, physical attraction, or a combination of all three, it is not possible to establish. There has been some speculation and one contemporary suggestion of impropriety by King Henry is found in Adam Abell's vernacular history *Roit or Quheill of Tyme* that covered early Scottish history down to the reign of James IV. He suggests that 'This Lady Margarit [sic] oftnermerst remains in company of King Hare and sum menit at yai wer mariet'. Other contemporary sources which suggested a close relationship are reported by Gainsford, who wrote that King Henry:

rejoiced in this adventure, ... Some say, fancied her for himself, and kept her near unto him as his choicest Delight; yea, so doated on her Perfections, that he forgot all Things, but the contentment which he received by her, insomuch that many dared libel against him.⁴¹

It is not possible to discount completely the possibility of an intimate relationship, especially considering that King Henry was only forty-six years old when his queen died. He appears to have been a loving husband and it should not be

overlooked that Prince Arthur was an eight-month baby. Although dynastic marriages were considered during the remainder of his reign he never remarried. King Henry's appreciation of Lady Katherine's beauty was recorded universally, but his decision to place her in his wife's household was made before they met for the first time in Exeter. It is perhaps understandable for the king to be captivated by the charm and beauty of the young Lady Katherine, and perhaps he saw an opportunity of gratifying his desire after the death of his wife. What, however, of Lady Katherine's reactions to such advances? Undeniably King Henry was responsible for the death of Warbeck and she could have been aware of the rumours of the king's complicity in both the June 1498 escape and the ultimate conspiracy that condemned Warbeck. Over the years, however, the love and loyalty she bore her husband, and which she is generally credited with, could have been forgotten. His desertion of his army in Devon, his confession of imposture at Exeter, his escape from Westminster and his involvement in the foolhardy Tower conspiracy may have frustrated her and led her to question Warbeck's actions. This could have insidiously destroyed or reduced the love and memories she bore her young and handsome husband. Almost certainly Warbeck would have felt emasculated. He had a beautiful young wife with whom he was not allowed to co-habit and he had to stand by as the king provided her with both the necessities and luxuries of life. On 30 April 1498, just weeks before Warbeck's escape from Westminster, Henry presented his 'right dear and well-beloved the Lady Kateryn Gordon' sufficient tawny medley and black velvet for a gown together incidental materials to complete a court ensemble.⁴² Her apparent security at the Tudor court and the support of the royal family over a period of years may have led to a softening of any negative attitude towards King Henry and certainly it appears they had some kind of friendship towards the end of his life. Alternatively, there is the unpalatable possibility that she was coerced into a relationship by means of her concern for her 'family'. However, whether Lady Katherine succumbed to or parried advances by King Henry, or simply enjoyed a platonic or companionable relationship will remain a matter of speculation.

A New Beginning

Katherine of Aragon had been betrothed to Prince Henry, now King Henry VIII, as early as 25 June 1504, but at the time of her father-in-law's death she was uncertain that the contract would be completed. Young Henry, whether following a dying wish of his father, or eager to exercise his own decisiveness, took the initiative and married his brother's widow on 11 June 1509 at Greenwich.⁴³ With her fortunes transformed, the new queen's household, which had comprised forty-four persons in April, was now increased to 160.⁴⁴

There were eight ladies-in-waiting, all the daughters of dukes or wives of earls, and beneath them the ladies of the bedchamber and the maids-of-honour. No reference has been found to Lady Katherine belonging to this household, only Lady Anne Percy seems to have been retained from earlier service. Perhaps young King Henry's aversion to all things Scottish may have influenced an exclusion of Lady Katherine. Her whereabouts for the next three years can only be speculated upon.⁴⁵ Curiously, sometime in 1510, she was impersonated by 'a fair woman' in Scotland who was received with 'cordiality by the friends of the [late] earl of Huntly' and 'her claim to be his daughter does not seem to have been disputed'. When she approached the king of Scotland her confidence in her ability to carry off the masquerade wavered and she confessed to the deception and was 'dismissed from the country'.⁴⁶

Lady Katherine probably remained at court for a year or so as the grants for her estates were not drawn up until 2 June and delivered to Knole to receive the Great Seal on 8 August 1510; although she had received two payments totalling £83 6s 8d for her half year rents on 30 June.⁴⁷ These are the only recorded payments of revenues from her newly acquired estates so it can be presumed they were still being administered by the crown and that it was only in the second half of 1510 that Lady Katherine herself took control. The grants, however, were not made until she became an English subject: denization papers were prepared on 25 April and delivered to Westminster on 4 May.⁴⁸ In later life she was to live permanently at Fyfield, and perhaps time was spent in 1510 at the fine manor house, where she could enjoy her new independence. Situated seven and a half miles south-west of Oxford and five miles west of Abingdon, the village and lands covered some 1600 acres. The church, dedicated to St Nicholas, had been rebuilt in the fourteenth century. To the south of the church and manor was the chantry house built in the 1440s from the bequest of a former lord of the manor, Sir John Golafre.⁴⁹ It is now the White Hart public house and its architectural features include a very fine roof. The most southerly of Lady Katherine's manors, Philbertis, in East Hanney within Wantage Hundred, was situated on the eastern edge of the flat alluvial plain known as the Vale of the White Horse, and almost four miles from Fyfield. In his *Itinerary* Leland wrote of his journey to the village:

It is eight miles from Oxford to East Hanney. For the first five miles the terrain is hilly with much woodland and fertile corn lands, but the last three miles are across flat, low-lying ground which is marshy in places.⁵⁰

Garford, which she was to be granted in 1517, lay between these two manors on the River Ock.

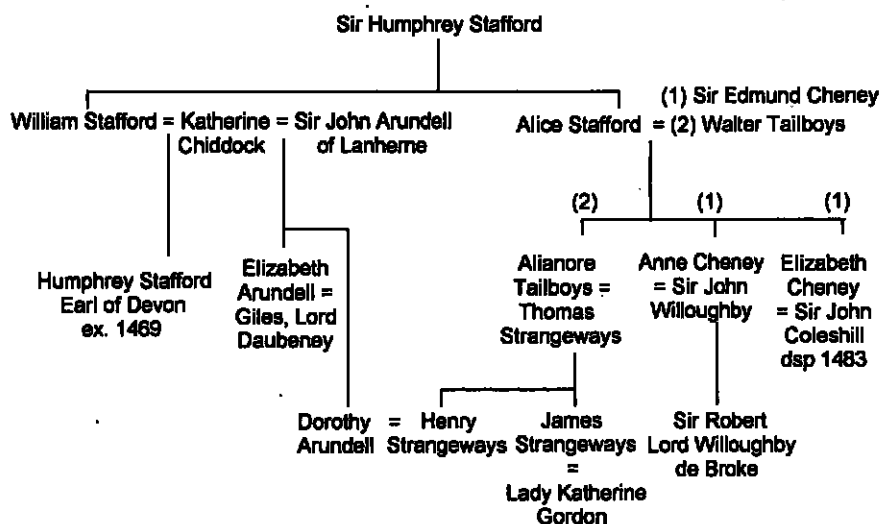
Lady Katherine's other manors, Eaton (three and half miles north-east of Fyfield) and Long Wittenham (nine miles to the south-east) were sufficiently distant for her to have considered employing a steward to manage the lands and ensure the income was collected and the manorial lands farmed. Fyfield, which appears to be the principal of Lady Katherine's manors, lay close the main London-Gloucester-South Wales road that passed through nearby Marcham and, therefore, in all likelihood, through Frilford, another manor Lady Katherine was to gain in 1517. The main route from Wantage to Oxford passed East Hanney and a mile east of Fyfield.⁵¹ Abingdon, Farringdon, Wantage, Hendred and Wallingford were the nearby market towns, the first and last being the largest.⁵² The crops grown in the area were mainly barley as well as wheat, beans and peas. Turnips may have been grown at Fyfield due to its lighter soil. Livestock was mainly cattle with some sheep though rarely more than twenty to a farm. A few pigs may have been kept and a horse or two.⁵³ Whether Lady Katherine enjoyed visiting the market towns, the 'focus of rural life', can only be speculated upon.⁵⁴ Once established in this rural community, no doubt she entered into local society.

Lady Katherine's gentry neighbours included the Eyston family of East Hendred, who also held the manor of Seymour's Court in West Hanney. Another wealthy householder and local gentleman of Hanney was Oliver Wellysbourne, with goods worth £60 in 1522. In 1545 he was to acquire Long Hanney and he died in 1555. His brother, John Wellysbourne, would become the temporary keeper of Abingdon Abbey in 1538 after its dissolution. John Yate, merchant, and a member of the Yate family of nearby Lyford, was lord of the manor of Andrews Court in West Hanney, worth £10 a year, acquired from John Fettiplace in 1511. Three members of the Fettiplace family served as commissioners of the peace during Lady Katherine's time in Berkshire, including William Fettiplace of North Denchworth and earlier members of the family had been in the wool trade. William's steward in the village of Chylrey was a William Huls, whose relative could have been the Phillipa Huls, who was Lady Katherine's servant and named in her will. John Fettiplace, esquire, held lands in East Hanney worth £4 6s 8d. Lady Katherine's own lands in the village were valued at £20 in 1522. The Manor of Erles Court stretched across both East and West Hanney and was in the hands of George Herle but passed to his brother Thomas in 1512 who was succeeded by his son John in 1521. The Manor of Southbury was now in the hands of Thomas Unton who had married the manor's heiress, Elizabeth Younge. Other lands in these two villages were held by the church, for example, Sheen Priory in East Hanney, with Sir Thomas Lovell, Henry VII's treasurer of the household, acting as its steward. Prior's Court in East Hanney was held by New College, Oxford.⁵⁵

The nearby religious foundations were the priory at Marcham, Abingdon Abbey and Godstow Priory close to Oxford. Long Wittenham lay just two miles west of Dorchester Abbey and the nearest royal establishment was the hunting lodge at Ewelme. Thomas Rowland, alias Pentecost, was the abbot at Abingdon and his steward, John Audlett, if not immediately familiar to Lady Katherine was certainly to become involved in her affairs in the 1530s. The Abbey held the manor of Marcham, two miles south-east of Fyfield.⁵⁶

Although her new status undoubtedly took Lady Katherine away from the court she certainly retained links with it. On 15 February 1511 Lady Katherine's companion for over ten years, Lady Anne Percy, married William Fitzalan, son and heir of the earl of Arundel. The bridegroom's sister, Margaret, had been married to John de la Pole who had once, ironically, held Fyfield. He laid aside his own claim to the throne and supported the pretender known as Lambert Simnel in 1487.⁵⁷ Lady Katherine possibly attended Lady Anne's nuptials and was certainly preparing for her own. Probably between February and June 1511 and certainly no later than November 1512, Lady Katherine married her second husband, James Strangeways, a gentleman usher of the chamber.⁵⁸ Strangeways was the youngest son of Thomas Strangeways of Stinsford, Dorset, and Melton, Somerset. James' mother was Alianore Tailboys, daughter of Walter Tailboys of Newton Kyme in Yorkshire and Alice

The West Country connections of James Strangeways



Stafford, aunt of Sir Humphrey Stafford, the attainted earl of Devon. Humphrey Stafford's half-sister was Elizabeth, Lady Daubeney, who had been one of Queen Elizabeth's ladies, and therefore acquainted with Lady Katherine. Alianore's half-nephew was the admiral Sir Robert Willoughby de Broke. Thus Strangeways had interesting west country family connections, some of whom had played a part in the defeat of Perkin Warbeck in 1497.

The Strangeways family originally came from Yorkshire and care needs to be taken that Strangeways is not confused with his knighted cousin James. Strangeways father, Thomas, died in 1484 and was buried in the abbey church of Abbotsbury. It is not known when James was born but his sister was married to Henry Champneys, esquire, before 20 January 1483 and his brothers Henry and Thomas died respectively in 1504 and c. 1512. On 15 July 1506 Champneys gave a messuage and lands in Frome to the three younger Strangeways brothers, Thomas, John and James, who were all described as gentleman.⁵⁹ Alianore Strangeways, who was an heiress in her own right, held several manors including Sutton Malet in Somerset together with property in Enmer and Puryfurneaux.⁶⁰ She was active in ensuring her property rights and with her half-sister, Lady Elizabeth Coleshill, and her half-nephew, Sir Robert Willoughby de Broke, petitioned Henry VII in 1485 for the return of several manors in Staffordshire and Worcestershire that been seized by the crown following the attainder of Humphrey Stafford, Earl of Devon and which it was claimed should have descended to the petitioners on the death of Stafford.⁶¹ Alianore made her will on 11 February 1500 and left James, along with his brothers Thomas and John, 30 marks each. She died on 2 April 1502 and was buried beside her husband at Abbotsbury.⁶²

In addition to the money that James received from his mother's estate he also inherited lands and tenements in Salisbury, in other parts of Wiltshire and 'within the realm of England', worth £20 a year and had an annuity of £12 that he 'held by patent'.⁶³ As a gentleman with some private means he obtained the office of gentleman usher in the household of King Henry VIII. Strangeways does not appear to have been a member of the late king's household, although his cousin by marriage was the king's chamberlain, Giles, Lord Daubeney, the head of the household above stairs. Strangeways' appointment was made during the term in office of Daubeney's successor, Sir Charles Somerset. The appointment took place during a period of change in the household. Henry VIII's style of kingship was very different from his father who had retreated from the court into the confines of his secret chamber. Henry VIII's style has been described as one of 'participation' and 'intimacy' with 'good fellowship, boon companions, friends and favourites' as opposed to his fathers 'distance' and 'splendid isolation'. The chamber was now filled, not just with

the servants of the crown, but with the new men with whom Henry surrounded himself.⁶⁴

The role of gentleman usher, of which there were four, meant considerable attendance upon the king in his chamber. The chamber was the collective name for the king's suite of rooms, where he lived and transacted business, which at the beginning of the Tudor dynasty comprised of the great chamber, the presence chamber and the king's bedroom known as the secret or privy chamber. Essentially the gentlemen ushers would ensure the efficient running of the chamber and in effect they deputised for the chamberlain. They would assign lower members of the household to their duties, as well as deal with the king's messengers. The gentleman usher would be on duty by eight or nine o'clock and would supervise arrangements regarding the serving of meals, ensuring everything was done with 'dew order' and 'to keep silence' as well as overseeing the service of refreshments to guests between meals. It was also the usher's responsibilities to seat 'strangers' in accordance with their rank and arrange for them to be served by a sewer. The ushers were also responsible for maintaining records of the expenses of the chamber which were submitted daily to the 'Countinghouse' and to supervise the use and distribution of all food and drink, wood and wax in the chamber. No detail was too small for the gentleman usher's attention as he ensured that young pages did not wipe their hands on any of the materials in the chamber and guests did not commit *lèse-majesté* by standing under the cloth of estate or lean on the king's bed. Before retiring for the night the gentleman usher, at eight o'clock, would collect the king's bread, wine, towels, water, wax, pricket and light and with a squire of the body take these items to the bedchamber.

When the king moved to a new residence, be it his own or as a guest of one of his subjects, a gentleman usher would ride ahead of the royal party and organise the allocation of lodgings, not just for the king but the entire household. The gentleman usher would secure the keys to the king's apartments and was responsible for returning them at the end of the visit. On the king's arrival the gentleman usher would direct or 'usher' the king to his lodgings. The ushers remuneration was about £20 per annum together with a daily allowance. A rota system operated which controlled not only the days any particular Gentleman Usher would be on duty but covering the period in which he would be available for duty at court. Gentleman ushers were drawn from the gentry and some would require leave from the court to attend to their own affairs, as in the case of Strangeways where, after his marriage, he would hold other local royal appointments, such as commissioner of the peace. The post was certainly no sinecure. It was a hands-on role requiring the incumbent to have a good knowledge of court etiquette and protocol, procedure and

precedence, with skills of diplomacy and man-management as well as an eye for detail and a good recall of names and faces. If successful in the role, and there is no evidence to suggest otherwise, this perhaps gives an indication of the character of Strangeways: sharp, energetic and in control.⁶⁵

Strangeways may have been a rather extravagant man. In 1512 he was listed, with others, as being outlawed for their debts unless they 'content their duties [debts] within one month'.⁶⁶ Strangeways is mentioned as being under obligations, with Robert Marshall, on 1 November 1509 and the following year received a loan from the king of £66 13s 4d.⁶⁷ Perhaps his need for money accounted for his marriage to the moderately wealthy Lady Katherine and to his participation in the forthcoming military campaign.

Conflict

The early life of the newly married couple was somewhat unsettled. Henry VIII was preparing to invade France. In October 1511 the Holy League had been signed in Rome. The papal states, Spain and England had once again allied themselves against France. During the winter of 1511–12 the English prepared for the invasion, which took place, without kingly leadership, in April 1512. James Strangeways provided men for the king's army and was to serve overseas himself as a captain.⁶⁸ On 30 April 1512 Strangeways applied 'for writs free of fine' that were signed by Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset, who would lead the expedition, and during the next month Strangeways busied himself in supplying ordinance, gunpowder, bows, arrows and bowstrings to the master of ordinance, Sir Henry Willoughby.⁶⁹

The objective of the campaign was to regain the lost duchy of Aquitaine but England's ally, King Ferdinand, was only interested in annexing Navarre and once this was achieved he promptly failed to support his son-in-law's now beleaguered army in Fuentarrabia. After four months on enemy soil the army returned to England a 'half-mutinuous shambles'.⁷⁰

On his return to England, a legal problem troubled Strangeways and his wife. On 28 September 1512 Lady Katherine surrendered her earlier grant of lands in Berkshire on the grounds that 'the king is informed that it is not valid in law'. There is no indication as to what the impediment might have been although there is a reference to the lands, excluding Philbertis, having being forfeited by John, Earl of Lincoln. The lands were immediately re-granted to both Strangeways and Lady Katherine jointly, together with an additional parcel of sixty acres of meadow in the parish of [North] More in Oxfordshire. The proviso of not travelling to Scotland or other foreign parts without a licence was once again inserted into the grant.⁷¹ More, although in another county, was adjacent to Fyfield and suggests Lady Katherine may have kept a good sized herd of cattle.

The following year, undeterred by the perfidious actions of Ferdinand, the young King Henry energetically solicited the support of Emperor Maximilian and an expanded Holy League was created at Malines in April 1513. King Henry now prepared for a second invasion of France together with Pope Julius II, Ferdinand and Maximilian. Before Henry embarked for France, however, he suffered a set back as once again Ferdinand let him down and concluded his own peace with France. Nevertheless, the would-be-conqueror transported his land army across the channel in June and King Henry himself arrived in Calais on the thirtieth. Queen Katherine had been named as Regent in the King's absence. As a precautionary and cautionary measure, before his departure, Henry had executed Edmund de la Pole, brother of the attainted John, Earl of Lincoln and Richard de la Pole, currently serving with the French army and known as *The White Rose*. Strangeways did not supply men nor was he named as a captain on this expedition. It is possible he accompanied the king as part of his household but that cannot be assumed. Hardships had prevailed on the previous campaign and perhaps Strangeways now suffered some physical disability.

As was to happen over four hundred years later, a phoney war was conducted in northern France. The only military action to take place in France in 1513 was a skirmish that became known as the battle of the Spurs, enacted without King Henry, though he made much of the event.⁷² The real battle of 1513 was to take place less than a month later, not on the Continent, but on the English-Scottish border at Flodden. Despite the marriage of Margaret Tudor to James IV, relations between England and Scotland had been slowly deteriorating and both Henry VII and James IV had remained suspicious of each other, the former always concerned at the prospect of a renewal of the 'auld alliance' between Scotland and France. In 1508 Henry was sufficiently worried to send the young Thomas Wolsey 'a royal servant in the early stages of what was to develop into a spectacular career, to try to forestall the making of a Franco-Scottish treaty'. Councillors present at the meeting between James IV and Wolsey included Lady Katherine's brother-in-law, Bothwell, and her stepfather Andrew, Lord Grey. The English embassy was not a success and was followed by one from France led by Bernard Stewart, Lord of Aubigny, which was cordially received although a formal renewal of the traditional alliance did not immediately take place.⁷³ The perennial border squabbles did nothing to improve relations between England and Scotland but the death of the first Tudor king in April 1509 briefly alleviated any tension and James renewed the treaty of Perpetual Peace with England in June 1509. This was perhaps little more than a 'wait and see' strategy whilst the older king assessed the character of the younger. James didn't have to wait very long. On succeeding to the

throne Henry expressed his wish of attacking France immediately after his coronation'.⁷⁴ As King Henry negotiated with France's enemies and formed the Holy League, King James renewed the 'auld alliance' in 1512 and in the summer of following year sent the Scottish fleet to France.

Maintaining his image as a chivalric prince, King James delivered an ultimatum to King Henry at Théroutanne on 11 August that he should be recognised as Henry's heir in England if the latter died childless. The Scottish herald was summarily dismissed. On 22 August James crossed the river Tweed at Coldstream and after raising Wark Castle proceeded to Norham Castle which fell to the Scots a few days later. Meanwhile the earl of Surrey, who had been based at Pontefract, quickly moved north and reached Newcastle on 30 August. Surrey offered battle on 9 September, but was concerned when his intelligence informed him that King James and his army were securely camped on Flodden Hill. The experienced earl knew that a frontal attack would be dangerous so he outflanked the Scots army, bearing down on them from the north, thus preventing an easy retreat back to Scotland. King James may have never intended to fight a pitched battle on this campaign and he might have been satisfied with the usual sieges and raids that were part of the pattern of border warfare. After eighteen days in England he was still only about five miles from the border but he had a large, well equipped and provisioned army so he agreed to Surrey's challenge and the battle was joined on the agreed day. When King James saw Surrey's army to the north he left the safety of Flodden Hill and marched two miles to take Branxton Hill before it was reached by the English. Late in the afternoon of 9 September the battle began but King James made a fatal mistake in relying on the use of pikes to defeat the enemy. Normally employed against cavalry, the pikes proved cumbersome on the wet and marshy ground and the Scots suffered an appalling defeat at the hands of the English billmen. James was killed and became, like his contemporary King Richard III, the last king of his country to die on the field of battle. Alongside their king, two fifths of the peerage and an estimated 10,000 Scots perished.⁷⁵

The day Lady Katherine heard the news of the Battle must have been one of the darkest of her life. Now an English subject, her loyalties would have been severely tested. On a personal level, she suffered losses. Her former king, who had sanctioned and probably arranged her first marriage, was dead. Lady Katherine's eldest brother, now the earl of Huntly, was the only participating earl to survive the battle, but their brother William perished, as did their cousin William Hay, Earl of Erroll. Other fatal casualties closely related to Lady Katherine included two nephews, Adam Hepburn, who had succeeded his father Patrick as earl of Bothwell in 1508, and a son of her sister Elizabeth, Countess Mariscal, both of whom she would have known as young children

before she left Scotland. Among the intricate network of her extended family, Lady Katherine lost Gordon, Seton, Stewart, Hay, Crichton and Keith cousins.⁷⁶ King James' mutilated body was recovered from the battlefield and taken to the church at nearby Branxton and then to Berwick where it was embalmed. From Berwick it was taken south to the Carthusian monastery at Sheen, where it lay for many months unburied. As the Scottish king had died an excommunicate King Henry obtained permission from the pope to allow the interment of King James, which it was proposed should be in St Paul's Cathedral.⁷⁷

Lady Katherine and Strangeways probably spent their time between the court and their Berkshire estates where he acted as a justice of the peace for Berkshire. The court would travel between the royal palaces in the summer months and members of the household who had estates of their own to manage would return to them and re-join the king and court for the winter months in and around the capital. Strangeways appears to have had an affinity with Southwark where he and his wife set up a chantry in the monastic church of St Mary Overy, now Southwark Cathedral, in memory of their parents.⁷⁸ Strangeways' appointment as a JP for Berkshire brought him into local government. His duties were concentrated on conserving the peace, enforcing statutes with authority to punish wrong-doers and bind them over. Difficult cases were reserved for the judges and amercements to the king.

Although re-appointed a justice of the peace on 8 May 1515, Strangeways name was omitted from the list on 4 December 1515.⁷⁹ Just under a year later on 30 November 1516 he made his will. As one of the witnesses was John Hothom of St Thomas Hospital, it is probable that Strangeways had returned to Southwark during his last illness. He died shortly afterwards, requesting to be buried before the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary at St Mary Overy behind the high altar.⁸⁰ His will was proved on 9 January 1517. Apart from his religious bequests and money for his servant, William Sholson, the remainder of his estate, after payment of his debts, was left to his 'dere beloved wife', Lady Katherine, who was also appointed the executrix. Over twenty years later, she was still concerned about settling Strangeways' affairs. In her own will, Lady Katherine requested that her present husband, Christopher Ashton, carried out the 'true performance and full executing of the testaments and last Wills of my forsaide husbands ... and that the Detts of them and every of them the rather may be pformed satisfied and paid'.⁸¹

Another Beginning

Lady Katherine's second widowhood did not last as long as her first. Whilst she was contemplating a third matrimonial venture, she was granted by the

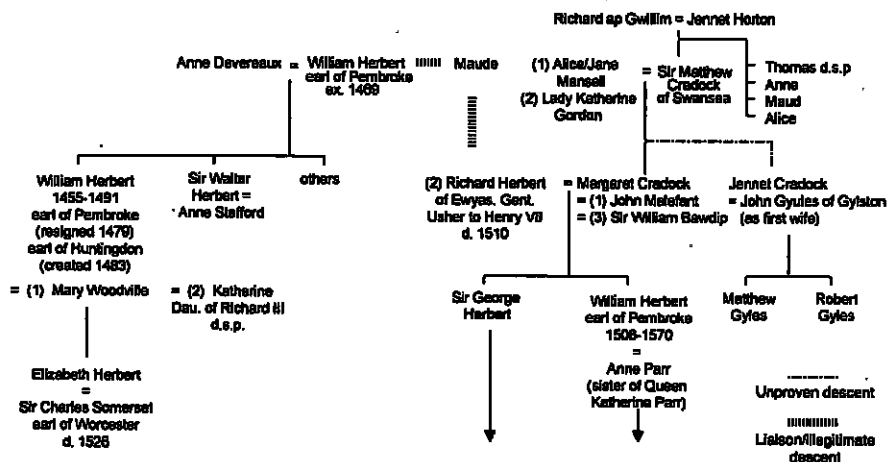
king, on 23 June 1517, the manors of Fryllforde and Garford, close to her existing demesne in Berkshire, 'with issues' from the time of her original grants in 1509.⁸² In addition to her lands Lady Katherine was materially comfortable with sufficient wealth to acquire fine articles to enhance her lifestyle. She owned silver pots, cups, goblets, jugs, a salt, pottage dish as well as a holy water stock and cover and holy water sprinkler. To adorn herself Lady Katherine had a sizeable jewellery store which included gold chains, one worth £40, a gold cross studded with diamonds and pearls, a diamond and pearl fleur de lis, a gold jewel with a sapphire, garnet and pearls, a gold heart-shaped brooch with a diamond fleur-de-lis and a pearl, decorated with an image of the Blessed Virgin Mary as well as beads, brooches and pomanders.⁸³ The nobility and beauty of Lady Katherine alone would have meant that she would not have been short of suitors but she may have been guided by someone at court who was promoting her interests, and possibly the latest grant of land was made to increase her eligibility as a wife. Such a person would have been a courtier, who had the king's ear and knew Lady Katherine. There is one obvious candidate, the king's chamberlain, Charles Somerset, Earl of Worcester. Lady Katherine would have known Worcester from the period immediately after the death of Queen Elizabeth of York and as Strangeways' superior in the king's household. Her shortly-to-be third husband was closely connected to the earl. Within a month of acquiring Fryllforde and Garford, Lady Katherine married the Welshman, Matthew Cradock, and on 24 July she was granted a licence to dwell in Wales, 'notwithstanding' the earlier patents of 1510 and 1513.⁸⁴ Cradock was Worcester's deputy in Glamorgan and they were distantly connected by marriage. Cradock's son-in-law, Richard Herbert of Ewyas, had been a gentleman usher to Henry VII so Lady Katherine may have been acquainted with the family for some considerable time. After his marriage, but before 24 April 1519, Cradock was knighted but the circumstances of his elevation are unknown and it is a matter of speculation whether this was the result of his loyal service to the crown, a complement to his new wife or a combination of both.⁸⁵

Cradock, like his predecessor, was a royal servant and was born before 1460 and possibly as early as 1450.⁸⁶ At an early age he entered the service of the Herbert family and in 1478 he was deputy to the steward of the lordship of Haverford, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, the future son-in-law of Richard III.⁸⁷ Cradock then became a captain of a ship of war of the realm, mastered by Matthew Petit, and embarked on an act of piracy, at the instigation of William Guyon and Maurice Abeyon of Ilfracombe in Devon. On 10 May 1483, Cradock attacked a Breton vessel, called *le Julyan*, whilst she was lying at anchor off Ilfracombe. The vessel had been hired by merchants of

Bridgwater to carry a cargo from 'Luxburn' in Portugal to their home town. The master and part owner of the ship, Hervy Mathewe, together with Nicholas Flemyng, complained that the cargo of 'gold, harness, wine, cords, manganels, habiliments and other stuff to the value of 50 marks' had been stolen. Not content with this theft, Cradock then ransomed Mathewe and Flemyng for £50, compelling them to surrender their ship to the merchants of Bridgwater, in order to raise the necessary cash. The complaint, made on 5 June 1483, called for the arrest of the offenders and for restitution to be made, but the timing was inappropriate and no record appears to have survived of Cradock's prosecution.⁸⁸ Cradock resumed his naval career in the 1512 campaign against France, once again indulging in piracy. He crossed the channel and sailed up the Seine to Rouen where it was alleged he captured and robbed the merchant Nicholas de la Chesnaye and his partners of goods worth 22,000 livres. On 8 June in Blois letters of marque and reprisal were issued to de la Chesnaye to recover his goods 'spoiled by Mathew Cradot, Englishman'.⁸⁹ The following year, however, Cradock's naval skills were put to a more legitimate cause when he was named as a member of Worcester's retinue, and captain of an eponymous ship with a portage of 240 tons. Cradock had charge of the chamberlain's own retinue of a hundred men plus a hundred mariners. Later Cradock and his men were transferred to the command of Lord Lisle.⁹⁰ Following the campaign, in January 1514 Cradock received from the crown £271 13s 4d to pay men for rigging the *Mary Cradock* and the *Anthony Cradock*, sister ships of the *Matthew*. A further £113 12s 8d was paid to Cradock's deputy and captain of the *Mary Cradock*, his first wife's nephew, Sir Rice Mansell.⁹¹ Cradock's interest in naval matters was not restricted to the war, and in the butler's accounts for the port of Bristol for 1515 there is an entry of £19 for wine from the vessel *Burgavenny*, of which he was master.⁹² After the posturing of young King Henry in continental politics Cradock returned to Wales.

In 1489 Cradock had married Alice or Jane, daughter of Philip Mansel.⁹³ The couple had a daughter, Margaret, who married, as her second husband, Sir Richard Herbert of Ewias, the illegitimate brother of Cradock's patron, William Herbert, and their younger son, William, became earl of Pembroke in 1551.⁹⁴ On 6 March 1486 Cradock was granted for life the office of constable of the castle of Caerphilly in South Wales.⁹⁵ On 7 July 1491 Cradock, together with Thomas, Bishop of Hereford, was commissioned to raise money within the lordship of *Bisshop Castell* for the forthcoming war against France and he was named in another commission for

The Family of Sir Mathew Cradock and his Relationship to the Herbert Earls of Pembroke



the same purpose, his fellow commissioners being Jasper, Duke of Bedford and Sir Morgan Kidwelly.⁹⁶ It has been suggested that Cradock was appointed steward of Gower in 1491, a post he held for only a year but regained in 1497.⁹⁷ In 1492 Cradock became the deputy of Sir Charles Somerset, the future earl of Worcester. In the same year Somerset married into the Herbert family, his wife being Elizabeth, daughter of the former earl of Pembroke by his first wife Mary Woodville. In 1496 Somerset leased the lordship of Glamorgan from King Henry for seven years during the minority of Prince Henry upon whom the lordship had been conferred following the death of Jasper Tudor. Somerset's chief agent at that time is identified as Cradock whom it was noted was 'content to kepe the olde composicion betwene the lordshippes of Glamorgan, Neuporte and Brekenok, yn to tyme that comunicacion be hadde betwene the councelles of my lord of Yorke and my lorde of Bukyngham for full determination of the same'.⁹⁸ Cradock's career was in the ascendancy. 'Office after office with increasing authority fell to his lot'.⁹⁹ In 1506 Henry VII granted the lordship of Glamorgan to Somerset, whom he had just created baron Herbert, and as his deputy, Cradock now assumed control of the county during Somerset's frequent absences although he was described as of London, Swansea and Sudeley in some debtor proceedings.¹⁰⁰ On 27 April 1514 Cradock and Somerset, now the earl of Worcester, were commanded to sit on a commission of oyer and terminer that was to assemble at Cardiff on 18 July, and

in June the former was cited as a feoffee for the latter and his son Henry Herbert.¹⁰¹

Lady Katherine presumably left for Wales immediately after receiving royal permission to travel there and moved into her new home at New Place in Swansea. Cradock had built himself a large house on the corner of present day Temple Street and Goat Street, close to the Castle. The property included an orchard, gardens and stable, and was bordered on the south side by a 'wall walk over arcading leading to an octagonal tower, seemingly part of earlier town or castle defences'. The exterior of the building was dressed stone and an etching of the ruins made during its demolition in 1840 show an entrance porch reached by an arched doorway surmounted by a square architrave. The manor was of the end-hall type, where the porch led straight into the cross passage at the end of the hall with service rooms to the right reached through three arched doorways. Above the service rooms was 'a great chamber open to the roof'. The south end of the passage led to a four-storied south wing and above the passage was a gallery. The hall was about forty-foot in length, and had two rows of tall, round arched windows, numbering six in each row. Further lighting came from two large mullioned and transomed windows in the west and east walls of the hall. On the north-east corner of the hall was a three storey tower, reached by an archway next to the hearth or fireplace, and with it's own stair turret behind the hearth's chimney. The tower may well have been used by Lady Katherine for her own apartments as the accommodation was both secure and private.¹⁰²

Whilst Lady Katherine settled into her domestic duties and became familiar with her new environment, Cradock continued with his administrative routine. Typical work included enquiring into whether or not the fishery of the weir of Koelion 'held to farm by Charles, Earl of Worcester, be in the lordship of Uske and Gaerlion', receiving fees and wages amounting to £18 4s 6d from Sir Robert James, porter of Cardiff Castle and £20 in 1526 as the receiver of Glamorgan and Morgannock. On 19 November 1520 a William Vaughan was indicted as an accessory to murder in Brecknock and was sent by Cradock to the star chamber. The previous April Cradock and others had entered into a recognisance of 500 marks for the appearance of Vaughan before Cardinal Wolsey.¹⁰³ This was in fact a period of lawlessness in South Wales exacerbated by the partial suspension of the great sessions previously held every three or five years and concerned with such crimes as 'felonies, rebellions, trespasses, and misprisions'. The short term benefits of the suspension were soon diminished as lawlessness increased and kept the likes of Cradock busy maintaining order but by 1521 the star chamber decreed the sessions were to be held regularly.¹⁰⁴

Disputes regarding other types of courts which could be convened continued and in 1524 Worcester's tenants in the lordships of Gower and Kilvey accused Cradock of 'seeking unlawfully to extort a sum of 300 marks, as a fine for redeeming the sessions in eyre in the lordships'. The complaint was made to Wolsey on the grounds the sessions were illegal, and protests were made about the wrongful imprisonment of William ap Rees Lloyd and others in Swansea Castle between 3 and 12 May. Cradock responded to the question of the legality of holding the sessions and stated that the tenants had agreed amongst themselves to a redemption of the eyre and would pay 300 marks to the earl. A similar dispute had arisen in 1500 and had been found in favour of Worcester. Based on this precedent, the plaintiffs lost their case.¹⁰⁵ The incidence of such actions and disputes has led to the belief that Worcester's absence and lack of direct control 'made it impossible for him efficiently to supervise the conduct of his deputies and subordinates ... the consequence was extortion and exploitation, and this in its turn produced resentment and unrest' throughout his lordship.¹⁰⁶ Certainly there were instances of corruption and Cradock's elder grandson, George Herbert, Worcester's deputy in Gower, 'was accused of many of these offences'.¹⁰⁷ In order to centralise royal authority King Henry decided to establish, in 1525, his infant daughter, Mary, in the principality and strengthen the council of Wales charging it to keep 'Good Order, Quiet and Tranquility of the Country'.¹⁰⁸ In 1526 Cradock was required to make an inventory of the harness at Cardiff and deliver it to the Princess' council before August.¹⁰⁹ The experiment did not prove successful and by 1528 the princess' household had been dismissed.¹¹⁰

Local quarrels were also a feature of Welsh life and Cradock was connected with one of the most famous which culminated in Oxwich in 1557, when alleged 'blood-letting, rape and murder' were described in graphic detail during the ensuing lawsuit.¹¹¹ This was between Cradock's grandson, now Sir George Herbert, and his first wife's family, the Mansells. The feud, however, may have begun as early as 1520 with the murder of Cradock's former mother-in-law, Edith Mansell, and the common ancestor of the disputants.¹¹² It would also appear that Cradock himself was engaged in a feud with Rhys ap Sion, and several references are made to it in the writings of the bard, Iorwerth Fynglwd. Fynglwd, according to a tradition, was regarded as very 'warm on the side of Henry the Seventh, while Sir Mathew Cradock was equally warm against him, and on the side of the one whom he believed to be the true heir of the crown — the one who is nick-named Perkin Warbeck'.¹¹³ In view of Cradock's association with the Tudor establishment the story appears far fetched but several coincidences make it worth recording. The first is obvious, Cradock's marriage to Warbeck's widow. The second is Cradock's probable acquaintance with two

of the aunts of Richard, Duke of York, Warbeck's alter ego. Mary Woodville, wife of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and later of Huntingdon, and Katherine Woodville, widow of the duke of Buckingham, executed in 1483, and wife of Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford. The third coincidence is a possible acquaintance with the alleged murderer of the Yorkist princes, Sir James Tyrell. Tyrell held lands in Wales and Richard III had appointed him governor of Glamorgan on 24 January 1485.¹¹⁴ Tyrell also received the lieutenancy of Guisnes from King Richard which he retained under Henry VII together with lands in Wales. On 26 February 1488 Tyrell took revenue out of the Guisnes coffers and as a consequence the king seized lands and tenements in Cogan Pill which were occupied by Cradock and valued at £5 6s 8d. It is also perhaps worth noting that Edward, Duke of Buckingham, whose father Henry was another suspect for the murder of the princes, held lands in close proximity to those of Worcester. The final coincidence is the apparent settlement of the family of Richard Perkins in Wales and in particular, John Perkins who lived in Reynoldson, just eleven miles west of Swansea.

Cradock and Lady Katherine may well have spent some time on his various estates within south Wales. He held the lordship of Torre within the lordship of Pembroke and in 1524 he acquired the lease of the lordship of Dynaspows in Glamorgan which had belonged to the late duke of Bedford. He had other interests in Glamorgan, Morgan, Pembroke and Gower and he held the 'fair manor place' of Cogan Pill, another end hall building, that might have been built by Cradock though the surviving arms above the door are those Sir George Herbert.¹¹⁵ Lady Katherine may well have become familiar with the Welsh countryside. Gower and the Vale of Glamorgan were physically compact regions and their villages had 'all the outward signs of English nucleation — greens with square-towered churches overlooking their castles or manor houses, parish pounds, forges and mills.' Pembrokeshire, Glamorgan, Morgan and Gower were pastoral stock-rearing uplands and in the Vale of Glamorgan there was rich farming, described by Sir Edward Mansell, a correspondent of William Camden, as the 'garden of Wales'.¹¹⁶ As a landowner with naval connections, Cradock may have exported some of his produce which would have included butter, cheese, wool, and skins and possibly linen and cloth.¹¹⁷ For entertainment the couple may have enjoyed the 'highly sophisticated form of poetry in strict metre' that the Welsh bards wrote and sang and which was the notable aspect of Welsh culture although how much of this literature could be appreciated by Lady Katherine is open to speculation. 'The celebrated Iorwerth Fynglwed composed at least two poems relating to Cradock, one whilst he was supposedly imprisoned by Cradock and another seeking to be reconciled to him.'¹¹⁸ Another poem, by Rhys Brydydd, addressed

to Cradock praises him for his patronage of the bards, his valour and his hospitality.¹¹⁹

In January 1529 Cradock made his will and on 14 June 1531 he added a codicil.¹²⁰ He had already begun to relinquish some of his responsibilities, as in January 1528 he is described as the 'late general receiver for Glamorgan and Morgannock'.¹²¹ Cradock had held office during a difficult period of Welsh history and whilst he may have had a maverick approach to some of his duties he could look back over his career with satisfaction. 'In his official capacity he is said to have wielded tremendous power in South Wales'.¹²² Sir Matthew and his family were part of a burgeoning class in Wales, which culminated in his grandson William's elevation to the peerage in 1551. Cradock died between 14 June and 16 August 1531 and was buried in St Anne's Chapel which he had 'caused to be newly builded' in the parish church of Swansea dedicated to St Mary. The tomb bore the effigies of Cradock and Lady Katherine and was badly damaged by enemy action in the last war and is no longer in situ. Fortunately it was described in some detail in the nineteenth century. The figures of Sir Matthew and Lady Katherine are recumbent, he in armour and she in the dress of the period. 'His head reposes on a helmet, the crest of which is a Boar couchant; her pillow is supported by an angel on each side. Their feet rest on two Boars — one of them holds in his mouth a portion of the lady's train'.¹²³

The will and codicil are lengthy documents and of interest, not only for the detailed inventories, but as an indication of the regard Cradock had for his wife, who was named executrix, and a possible coolness in his relations with his daughter. Lady Katherine received all bedding and household items from his Swansea home, and silver and plate minutely detailed. There was a gold chain worth £60 and a considerable quantity of silver plate weighing over seven hundred and fifty ounces and included basins, ewers, bowls, salts, goblets, spoons, candlesticks and two silver gilt standing cups weighing 73 ounces together. The most significant aspect of the will, however, was the payment of 500 marks (£333 6s 8d) to Lady Katherine that had been promised to her by Cradock on their marriage and which indicates she had negotiated a detailed settlement to preserve her own rights. In addition the will specified that Lady Katherine was to retain all that had been her property on the day of their marriage as well as 'all other her rings, pearls and jewels which she hath or shall have at my decease'. Lady Katherine, 'during her life', was also to be well provided for with land and livestock. Cradock left her his interests in the farm 'Corners' for its remaining term together with twenty-six cows and a bull, his dairy in Gower called 'Forest Bagham' with thirty cows and a bull, his best 'ambling horses with all their apparal' and the manors of Dynas Powes and Lanhedarn (near Cardiff), worth fifty marks per annum, and finally his

Swansea home, New Place, together with lands and tenements in the county or lordship of Gower to a value of £20 per annum.

Cradock, however, anticipated problems between his wife and his family. The will makes provision for the manors of Dynas Powes and Lanhedarn to 'be seized to the use of my said Wife and of her heirs and assigns for ever' if George or his heirs fail to make available New Place and the associated lands and tenements for Lady Katherine to occupy and enjoy during her lifetime 'without let or interruption'. Cradock left his daughter manor lands and tenements in the counties of Glamorgan and Morgan, Pembroke and Gower amounting to twenty marks a year and a further £20 in the codicil. There was also a proviso that she did not challenge her father's will. The ultimate heir of Cradock's estate was his elder grandson, George Herbert, who in addition to receiving his mother and step-grandmother's property after their deaths was bequeathed most of the remaining lands, goods and chattels.¹²⁴ Lady Katherine apparently lingered in Wales for only a short while before returning to England, despite the provisions made by Cradock for her to continue to live in his mansion and eventually to be buried beside him. Obviously relations with her in-laws were sufficiently strained and suggests that she did encounter problems with her Welsh inheritance. These problems, whatever they might have been, perhaps account for the antipathy of her future and final husband towards Cradock's younger grandson William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. The elder grandson, George, although a loyal servant to the crown, had a bad and violent reputation in south Wales and Lady Katherine may have thought it expedient to distance herself from him and his activities.¹²⁵

To be concluded

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Samuel Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, London 1831, p. 124. J.A. Buchon, ed., *Chroniques de Jean Molinet 1476-1506*, Paris 1827-8, vol. 5, pp. 130-32. I am indebted to Ann Wroe for drawing my attention to the latter source.
2. John Gough Nichols, ed., *The Chronicles of Calais in the reign of Henry VII and Henry VIII to the year 1540*, London 1846, published by the Camden Society, pp. 49-51.
3. Francis Grose and Thomals Astle, eds., *The Antiquarian Repertory*, 4 vols, London 1807-1809, vol. 2, pp. 277-302.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Joseph Bain, ed., *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland A.D. 1108-1509*, 4 vols, Edinburgh 1881-1888, vol. 4 (1357-1509), pp. 336-37.
6. G.E. Cokayne, *Complete Peerage*, 13 vols, London 1910-59, reprinted 6 vols, Gloucester 1987, vol. 1 (vol. 2), p. 238.
7. For Somerset Herald's full account of the proxy marriage and the Queen of Scotland's progress and marriage to King James see *Leland's Collectanea De Rebus Britannicis* (ed. by T. Hearne), 6 vols, London 1774, vol. 4, pp. 258-300.

8. Sydney Angelo, 'The Court Festivals of Henry VII: A Study based upon the Account Books of John Heron Treasurer of the Chamber', reprinted in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. 43, no. 1, September 1960, pp. 29–38.
9. *Ibid.* Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, (see n. 1), p. 126.
10. PRO, E101/415/3, ff. 6, 16, 21, 32, 38, 48, 57, 66, 77, 89, 99, 104. Her wages can be compared to those of Lady Anne Percy who was receiving 36s 8d a quarter.
11. S. B. Chrimes, *Henry VII*, London 1984 (reprint), p. 303.
12. Bain, *Calendar of Scottish Documents*, (see n. 5), vol. 4, p. 338.
13. According to the report of Arthur's death to the King and Queen, Elizabeth had said 'God had left him yet a fayre Prince, two fayre Princesses and that God is where he was, and we are both young ynoughe.... Then the King thanked her for her good comfort'. Henry took Elizabeth at her word and she conceived about a month after the death of Prince Arthur. Chrimes, *Henry VII*, (see n. 11), p. 303.
14. Barrie Williams, 'Elizabeth of York's Last Journey', *The Ricardian*, vol. 8, March 1988, p. 18.
15. N.H. Nicholas, *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, London 1830, facsimile edition, London 1972, p. 43.
16. King Henry never returned to Wales after landing there in 1485 and marching to Bosworth. Chrimes, *Henry VII*, (see n. 11), p. 257.
17. Nicholas, *Privy Purse Expenses*, (see n. 15), p. 54.
18. Bain, *Calendar of Scottish Documents*, (see n. 5), vol. 4, pp. 338, 419–21.
19. The account of the vigil and funeral of Queen Elizabeth is taken from Grose and Astle, *Antiquarian Repertory*, (see n. 3), vol. 4, pp. 654–63.
20. Bain, *Calendar of Scottish Documents*, (see n. 5), vol. 4, pp. 347, 419–21, 424.
21. PRO, E101/415/7, no. 133.
22. J.S. Brewer, James Gairdner and R.H. Brodie, eds., *Letters and Papers, Foreign & Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509–1547*, 21 vols, London 1862–1932, vol. 1, part 1, p. 16.
23. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 247.
24. In the summary of Lytton's *Comptus* the expenses for Lady Katherine's garments are included with references to 'robes, beds, litters, horse-harness, &c. for the Queen of Scotland, her attendants, ladies, footmen, minstrels, and others, accompanying her to Scotland'. Bain, *Calendar of Scottish Documents*, (see n. 5), vol. 4, p. 347.
25. Diana Kleyn, *Richard of England*, Oxford 1990, p. 160.
26. Brewer etc., *Letters and Papers*, (see n. 22), vol. 1, p. 329. It should also be noted that it was customary for subjects to apply for a licence to travel abroad.
27. The will of the earl of Huntly is not extant, therefore, it is unknown whether Lady Katherine would have benefited from his estate.
28. Michael K. Jones and Malcolm G. Underwood, *The King's Mother*, Cambridge 1992, p. 84.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 84–85.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 134–35.
31. Agnes Strickland, *Lives of Queens of England*, vol. 2, London 1885, p. 474.
32. Chrimes, *Henry VII*, (see n. 11), p. 289.
33. Strickland, *Queens of England*, vol 2, (see n. 31), p. 481.
34. Garrett Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon*, London 1942, p. 73.
35. James Gairdner, ed., *The Spousells of the Princess Mary to Charles Prince of Castile*, Camden Society New Series, vol. 53 1895, (Camden Miscellany, vol. 9), pp. 28–30.
36. PRO, E36/214, pp. 119, 203, 284, 292. Lady Katherine was now on a par with Lady Anne Percy who received the same amount.
37. PRO, E36/214, pp. 284, 292.
38. PRO, E36/214, pp. 329, 305.
39. The grant reads 'from Easter 24 Henry VII' presumably making it the wish of Henry

- VII although confirmation was drawn up at Greenwich on 2 June 1510 by Henry VIII. Brewer etc., *Letters and Papers*, (see n. 22), vol. 1, p. 329.
40. Hearne, *Leland's Re Rebus*, (see n. 7), vol. 4, pp. 303–09.
 41. National Library of Scotland MS 1746 f. 112v (ink foliation by the author and not the pencil foliation by the Library). Abell was born circa 1475, he was a canon of Inchaffray and then moved to the Abbey at Jedburgh and his account of the reign of James IV, written in 1533, is 'the first of any length to survive'. Norman Macdougall, *James IV*, Edinburgh 1989, pp. 295–96. Thomas Gainsford, *The true and wonderful history of Perkin Warbeck*, from Harleian Miscellany, vol. 6, 1745, p. 545.
 42. PRO, E404/82.
 43. J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, London 1968, p. 12.
 44. Neville Williams, *Henry VIII and his Court*, London 1971, p. 131.
 45. Henry's tutor, the poet John Skelton, was notoriously anti-scottish and his influence with the young prince may have stimulated Henry's own dislike of the Scots.
 46. I.A. Taylor, *Life and Death of James IV*, London 1913, p. 118 from Jhone Lesley's *History of Scotland*.
 47. Brewer etc., *Letters and Papers*, (see n. 22), vol. 2, part 2, p. 1446. PRO, E36/215, ff. 62–63.
 48. Brewer etc., *Letters and Papers*, (see n. 22), vol. 1, part 1, p. 289.
 49. The small medieval hall was restored by its present owners, St John's College, Oxford in 1963.
 50. John Chandler, *John Leland's Itinerary: Travelling Tudor England*, Stroud 1993, p. 35.
 51. Margaret Yates, *Continuity and change in rural society c. 1400–1600: West Hanney and Shaw (Berkshire) and their region*, unpublished PhD thesis, Manchester College Oxford 1997, p. 127.
 52. Joan Thirsk, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol. 4 (1500–1600), Cambridge 1967, p. 473.
 53. Joan Thirsk, *England's Agricultural Regions and Agrarian History 1500–1750*, Basingstoke 1987, p. 32. Thirsk, *Agrarian History*, (see n. 52), vol. 4, p. 66.
 54. Thirsk, *Agrarian History*, (see n. 52), vol. 4, p. 488.
 55. Yates, *Continuity and change*, (see no. 51), pp. 124, 165. W. Harry Rylands, ed., *Visitations of Berkshire vol. 1*, Harleian Society, vol. 56, 1907, p. 26. Transcribed and introduced by Lis Garnish, *The 1502 Muster Roll for West Berkshire*, Oxford 1988, pp. 125–31. *Victoria County History of Berkshire*, 4 vols, London 1906–15, vol. 4, pp. 285–88 and 355. Brewer etc., *Letters and Papers*, (see n. 22), vol. 1, p. 1534. The Returns of the Muster Roll for 1522 for the Wantage Hundred have survived and much of the information on land holdings in East and West Hanney was found in this source. Unfortunately the returns of the Ock Hundred which included Lady Katherine's manors of Fyfield, Frilford and Garford did not survive. William Fettiplace, esq., was one of the four commissioners charged with compiling the Muster Roll.
 56. *Victoria County History of Berkshire*, (see n. 55), vol. 4, p. 359.
 57. Brewer etc., *Letters and Papers*, (see n. 22), vol. 1, p. 523.
 58. Strangeways was appointed a Commissioner of the Peace for Berkshire on 18 June 1511 (early appointments that year, which did not include Strangeways, were made on 10 February). Strangeways had only a tenuous connection with Berkshire and his appointment was presumably made following his marriage to Lady Katherine who held land in the county. Brewer etc., *Letters and Papers*, (see n. 22), vol. 1, p. 1534.
 59. *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem Henry VII*, 3 vols, London 1898–1955, vol. 3 (1955), p. 191.
 60. PRO, PCC, Logge 21. I am grateful to the Wills Project Transcription team for pre publication access to this will which was transcribed and translated by Brian Longfellow. *Inquisitions Post Mortem*, (see n. 59), vol. 2 (1915), pp. 50, 249–50, 202–03.
 61. William Campbell, *Materials Illustrative of the Reign of Henry VII from original docu-*

- ments reserved in the Public Record Office, 2 vols., London 1873–1877, vol. 1, pp. 142–43. In addition to the lands in Staffordshire and Worcestershire, Alianore apparently acquired from Stafford's estate, the manor of Long Wittenham in Berkshire. Curiously, this manor was also granted to Lady Katherine by the crown in 1510. According to the Victoria County History of Berkshire it was sold by Alianor's grandson, Sir Giles, in 1540 to Sir John Williams of Rycote who acquired a reversionary interest in Lady Katherine's other Berkshire estates. Later it was sold to Thomas White who also acquired the manor of Fyfield. The present author, at the time of writing has been unable to reconcile these differences regarding the possession of Long Wittenham. *Victorian County History of Berkshire*, (see no. 55), vol. 4, p. 386.
62. PRO, PCC PROB11/13 Blamyr 7. No mention is made of Long Wittenham in her will.
 63. PRO, PCC PROB11/14 Holder 26.
 64. David Starkey, et al. *The English Court*, London 1987, p. 77.
 65. A.R. Myers, ed., *The Household of Edward IV: The Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478*, Manchester 1959, pp. 42 n. 4, 90–92, 114–15, 133. Grose and Astle, 'The Book of Henrie Erle of Arundell, Lord Chamberlain to King Henry VIII', *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol 2, (see n. 3), pp. 186–93.
 66. Brewer etc., *Letters and Papers*, (see n. 22), vol. 1, part 1, p. 681.
 67. *Ibid*, vol. 2, pp. 1482, 1484, 1456.
 68. *Ibid*, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 552, 554. The number of men Strangeways supplied is unknown as the original document is mutilated.
 69. Brewer etc., *Letters and Papers*, (see n. 22), vol. 1, part 2, p. 1513.
 70. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, (see n. 43), pp. 28–30.
 71. Brewer etc., *Letters and Papers*, (see n. 22), vol. 1, p. 523.
 72. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, (see n. 43), p. 34.
 73. Macdougall, *James IV*, (see n. 41), 1989, pp. 254–55.
 74. Brewer etc., *Letters and Papers*, (see n. 22), vol 1, part 1, p. 5.
 75. Macdougall, *James IV*, (see n. 41), pp. 273–76. Jane Lyell, *The Battle of Flodden Field*, (booklet available from Branxton Church), GEC, *Complete Peerage*, (see n. 6), vol. 5 (vol. 2), p. 784. The most recent estimate of the Scottish killed at Flodden is 'at least 5000 and probably as many as 7,000 – 8,000 dead.' Niall Barr, *Flodden 1513*, Stroud 2001, p.118.
 76. William K. Emond, *The Minority of King James V. 1513–1528*, unpublished PhD thesis, St. Andrew's University 1988. Appendix 1, The Flodden Death Roll, pp. 633–36.
 77. Macdougall, *James IV*, (see n. 41), p. 300. Brewer etc., *Letters and Papers*, (see n. 22), vol. 1, part 2, pp. 1047–48 and 1088. There is, however, a rather grisly postscript to this story. The burial in St. Paul's did not take place although the Pope acceded to King Henry's request. Marilyn Garabat contributed to the Society's *Ricardian Bulletin*, December 2000, pp. 51–52, a report that included John Stow's recollections of seeing King James' body at Sheen. Stow went on to report that workmen, for their amusement, hacked off the head and Queen Elizabeth's glazier, Lancelot Young took it home with him to Wood Street London but later gave it to the sexton of his parish church for burial. The whereabouts of the remains King James body appears to be as much of a mystery as that of his contemporary, Richard III.
 78. Ironically St Mary Overy was the church where James I of Scotland and Joan Beaufort were married in 1424. Their youngest daughter, Annabella, was the second wife of Lady Katherine's father, George, earl of Huntly and regarded by some historians as Lady Katherine's mother.
 79. Brewer etc., *Letters and Papers*, (see n. 22), vol. 2, pp. 202, 1247.
 80. PRO, PCC PROB11/14 Holder 26. There is no evidence today of Strangeways burial but the stone altar screen, a gift from Bishop Fox in 1520, which separates the high altar from the retro-choir, perhaps obscures any memorial.
 81. *Ibid*. PRO, PCC PROB11/27 Dyngeley 10.

82. Brewer etc., *Letters and Papers*, (see n. 22), vol. 2, part 2, p. 1082. Frylsham alias Fryllforde is about a mile and a half south-east of Fyfield and Garford is two miles south of Fyfield.
83. Rev. John Montgomery Traherne, *Historical Notices of Sir Matthew Cradock, Knt. Of Swansea*, Llandovery 1840, p. 16.
84. Brewer etc., *Letters and Papers*, (see n. 22), vol. 2, part 2, p. 1116.
85. Traherne believed he had been a knight at the time of his first marriage in 1489. In the grant of 24 July 1517 there is no reference to Cradock being a knight or in earlier documents. However, in a document dated 24 Apr 1519 he is referred to as Sir Matthew. Traherne, *Historical Notices*, (see n. 83), pp. 5–6. *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, article by Ifano Jones 'Sir Matthew Cradock and some of his contemporaries', 6th Series, vol. 9, 1919, p. 394. Brewer etc., *Letters and Papers*, (see n. 22), vol. 3, part 1, p. 68. I am once again grateful to Mr. W.R.B. Robinson who drew my attention to Cradock's status at the time of his marriage.
86. This assumption is based on an early appointment that was granted to Cradock in 1478. T.B. Pugh, *The Marcher Lordships of South Wales*, Cardiff 1963, p. 289. A more traditional, though unlikely date for his birth, 1468, can be found in The Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales, *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Glamorgan*, 4 vols, Cardiff 1982, vol. 3, part 2, p. 125.
87. Pugh, *Marcher Lordships*, (see n. 86), p. 289.
88. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III (1476–1485)*, London 1901, p. 356.
89. Brewer etc., *Letters and Papers*, (see n. 22), vol. 1, part 1, p. 520.
90. *Ibid*, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 749–51, 582.
91. *Ibid*, vol. 1, p. 785. The naming of these ships may refer to children of Mathew and his wife Alice Mansell who did not survive. Sir Rice Mansell, named two of his younger children Mary and Anthony.
92. Brewer etc., *Letters and Papers*, (see n. 22), vol. 1, part 2, p. 1393–94.
93. Traherne, *Historical Notices*, (see n. 83), pp. 5–6.
94. GEC, *Complete Peerage*, (see n. 6), vol. 10 (vol. 4), p. 405. Dugdale erroneously assigned Margaret as the daughter of Lady Katherine rather than to Cradock's first wife and the error has been compounded by later writers. A reference to another daughter has been found in one of the Welsh Visitations but her existence is not substantiated in other sources and neither is any reference made to her children in Cradock's will. Michael Powell Siddons, transcriber and editor, *Visitation by the Heralds in Wales*, London 1996 published by the Harleian Society, New Series, vol. 14, p. 56. Traherne, *Historical Notices*, (see n. 83), pp. 15–23.
95. Brewer etc., *Letters and Papers*, (see n. 22), vol. 1, part 1, p. 199.
96. *Calendar of Patent Rolls Henry VII*, 2 vols, London 1914–6, vol. 1 (1485–94), p. 353. The war began with Henry's invasion of France in October 1492 and concluded with the Treaty of Étapes on 3 November 1492.
97. Traherne, *Historical Notices*, (see n. 83), p. 6. However, these appointments are dismissed by Ifano Jones, *Arch. Camb.*, (see n. 85), pp. 397–408.
98. Pugh, *The Marcher Lordships*, (see n. 86), p. 256.
99. *Arch. Camb.*, (see n. 85), p. 397.
100. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry VII*, (see n. 96), vol. 2 (1494–1509), p. 382.
101. *Ibid*, pp. 839, 1310.
102. John Harris, C.R. Cockerell, *Ichnographica Domestica*, Architectural History, vol. 14, 1971, fig. 20a *Ancient Monuments in Glamorgan*, (see n. 86), vol 3, part 2, pp.125–28. On p. 126 there is a pictorial reconstruction of the interior of hall viewed from the balcony over the cross-passage. W.L. Morgan, *An Antiquarian Survey of East Gower*, London 1899, pp. 127–28. The etching was reproduced in Traherne's *Historical Notices*, (see n. 83). Morgan refers to a model of the house being made before its destruction and

- which in his time was in the possession of the Royal Institute of South Wales but now located in the Swansea Museum. Whilst New Place was being demolished a cache of coins was found in a brown earthenware vessel 'not unlike the shape of a large pepper pot'. Amongst the 166 coins found there were four pennies from the reign of Alexander III of Scotland (1249). Morgan, *Survey of East Gower*, p. 130.
103. Brewer etc., *Letters and Papers*, (see n. 22), vol. 3, part 2, p. 1101, vol. 3, part 1, p. 390, vol. 4, part 1, pp. 248, 872-73, vol. 3, part 1, p. 68.
 104. Hugh Thomas, *A History of Wales*, Cardiff 1972, p. 34.
 105. Pugh, *The Marcher Lordship*, (see n. 86), pp. 5-7.
 106. Thomas, *History of Wales*, (see n. 104), p. 33.
 107. Pugh, *The Marcher Lordship*, (see n. 86), p. 36.
 108. Thomas, *History of Wales*, (see n. 104), p. 37.
 109. Brewer etc., *Letters and Papers*, (see n. 22), vol. 4, part 1, p. 1044.
 110. C.A.J. Skeel, *The Council of the Marches of Wales*, London 1904, p. 152.
 111. John Speed, *The Counties of Britain*, London 1988 (introduction by Nigel Nicholson), p. 248.
 112. A garbled and unsatisfactory account of the feud is given in *Arch. Camb.*, (see n. 85), pp. 456-58.
 113. *Arch. Camb.*, (see n. 85), p. 430 quoting Taliesin's *Traethawd*.
 114. R. Horrox and P.W. Hammond, eds., *British Library Harleian Manuscript 433*, 4 vols., Upminster and London 1979-83, vol. 2, p. 197.
 115. Henry Owen, ed., 'A Calendar of the Public Records Relating to Pembroke, *Cymmrodorion Record Series No 7*, London 1911-18, vol. 3, London 1918, p. 62. *Ancient Monuments in Glamorgan*, (see n. 86), vol. 3, part 2, p. 128.
 116. Thirsk, *Agrarian History*, vol. 4, (see n. 52), pp. 128, 134, 152.
 117. H.A. Lloyd, *The Gentry of South West Wales*, Cardiff 1968, p. 84.
 118. *Ibid.*, p. 200. *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography Down to 1940*, London 1959, Cymmrodorion Society, p. 86.
 119. Traherne, *Historical Notices*, (see n. 83), p. 7. *Arch. Camb.*, (see n. 85), pp. 413-55. This amazingly rambling article challenges Traherne's assertion of only two poems addressed to Cradock and increases it to eight and they narrate the Cradock-Rhys ap Sion feud.
 120. Both the will and the codicil are transcribed and published in Traherne's *Notices*, (see n. 83), pp. 15-23. Originals PRO, PCC PROB11/13 Thower 7.
 121. Brewer etc., *Letters and Papers*, (see n. 22), vol. 4, part 2, p. 1724.
 122. *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, (see n. 118).
 123. Traherne, *Historical Notices*, (see n. 83), p. 10.
 124. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-23.
 125. For an overview on the career of Sir George Herbert, see W.R.B. Robinson, 'Sir George Herbert of Swansea (d. 1570)', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, vol. 27, ii, May 1977, pp. 303-09.