

Queenly Poverty: the justified impoverishment of Elizabeth Woodville and Katherine of Aragon

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Abstract: In late medieval Christendom, images of the Queen of Heaven did not admit much of Mary's humble earthly life; the Virgin reigned in glory, swathed in the richest cloths and crowned with bejewelled golden coronets. This was a direct reflection of contemporary expectations and imaginings of the lives of royal consorts: to be the Queen of England was to live in a Heaven upon Earth. Magnificent luxury, the finest clothes, delicate meats, and flower strewn pathways were the stuff of royal lives. The reality was of course different. England may have been one of the richer European nations, but it was easy for circumstances, political enemies, and even husbands to cast English Queens into straightened circumstances.

Impoverishment was a useful punishment to impose upon women who "had it all". Not only did it imply some sort of fault, but it also conveyed the transfer of power from her hands to another's. Yet, it was also a status which was self-imposed by some Queens, to express protest, submission or fear. This article will compare the periods of penury of Queen Elizabeth Woodville, spouse to Edward IV, and those of the first wife of her grandson, Henry VIII—Katherine of Aragon. The two women make useful comparisons: Elizabeth Woodville was accused of rising from a relatively humble Northamptonshire manor house, to usurp the position which some commentators felt should be rightfully occupied by a foreign princess. Her ascent was accompanied by the perceived distribution of wealth and position to her large family. In contrast, Katherine of Aragon's status and immense dowry gave legitimacy to the fledgling Tudor dynasty, but she spent a large part of her life in England alone, isolated from Spanish support.

There are few images of these Queens during their impoverishment; poverty and patronage do not often coincide. Instead the article will examine the mainly textual representations of their destitution, drawing on diplomatic and personal correspondence, contemporary chronicles, and the accounts of sixteenth century 'historians', these writings based on eyewitness reports. Focusing on poverty resulting from political, economic, and religious circumstances, it will ask how the Queens' judges justified their privation. Equally, how did the Queens' represent, and react to their hardship? Finally, the article will seek to briefly contextualise their hardship: when contemporaries spoke of poverty, what did this really mean in comparison to the wealth of happier consorts, noblewomen and burgesses?

Mots clés : Tudor, reines d'Angleterre, pauvreté, appauvrissement, Woodville, Aragon, Henry VIII, sanctuaire, Richard III, Chapuys

The political crises of the fifteenth century placed a succession of Queens of England into unusual, if not unprecedented hardship. Henry V's widow, Katherine of Valois, was punished for her second marriage to her equerry Owen Tudor by honourable disgrace at Bermondsey Abbey. The pro-Lancastrian London Chronicler recorded that in 1472 her daughter-in-law, Margaret of Anjou, was "sent home to hir awne Cuntre wyth a small Company, and thus endid the Inestymable welth & prosperyte of this [...] noblest and best

born woman off alle Crysyn pryncessys.”¹ Without wealth, she was powerless and anonymous; indeed “No records exist of her funeral. It is possible that no one troubled to write one”.² Margaret and Katherine’s sorry later lives were justified by their enemies as retribution for their sin; lust, and unwomanly ambition forfeited their right to royal ease.

Dramatic impoverishment was not an experience that royal brides expected to have to support when they married into the English royal family. Yet, Margaret and Katherine were not the only women to suffer in this way. This article will chronicle the experiences of the elective penury of Queen Elizabeth Woodville (1437-1492), wife of Edward IV, and deliberate impoverishment of Katherine of Aragon (1485-1536), first wife of Henry VIII. Both women, widowed when young, are more well-known for their misfortunes. However, whilst Katherine of Aragon’s reaction to her dwindling wealth is well documented, there is no direct *verbatim* evidence from Elizabeth regarding her plight. Her attitudes must be surmised from contemporary and retrospective chronicles.

Actual physical representations of these women when poor are rare. However, poverty was not a bar to patronage. During her second period of self-imposed poverty Woodville may have continued the Yorkist dynasty’s patronage of Caxton.³ Whilst Katherine’s face after 1532 is now known to us, she was painted as a young widow by Michiel Sittow, with fashionable hood, pearl trimmed velvet robe, jewelled gold collar, and dense gold chain. Her claims to be a political and financial non-entity at this time should be treated carefully.⁴

Comparison of their backgrounds suggests a different fiscal education. Elizabeth Woodville’s grasping reputation rests upon her enemies’ slander. For the Earl of Warwick, Elizabeth had enchanted the young King Edward IV into marriage, and was herself nothing but the widowed daughter of Lancastrian gentry. Once queen, she and the other “chyldyr of the said lord Ryver [were] hugely exaltd and sett in grete honour, [...]” monopolising the offices and wealth that should have been reserved for the high nobility.⁵ In this view, her impoverishment was a worthy punishment, and a return to the natural balance of fortune, place and order. Of course, this is a blunt picture. Woodville, through her mother Jacquetta of Luxembourg, was kinswoman to Europe’s rulers. Yet, unlike other queens of England, she had had telling experience of controlling her own household, and under her hand wages diminished.⁶ Whilst her family expanded, she managed a larger household than Margaret of Anjou’s, doing so on rents of £4541, as opposed to Margaret’s annual budget (1452-1453)

¹ Anonymous, *The London Chronicle, Edwardi Quartii* 1471-1472, f. 194r.

² Lisa Hilton, *Queens Consort England’s Medieval Queens*, London, Phoenix, 2008, p. 439.

³ The connections between Caxton, the Woodvilles and the Yorkist court are exemplified in the MS illumination to Lambeth Palace Library, London, Ms 265 f.VI v Edward IV, with Elizabeth Woodville, Edward V and Richard, Duke of Gloucester, later Richard III, from the “Dictes of Philosophers”, c. 1477 (vellum), English School, (15th century).

⁴ Michiel Sittow, *Katherine of Aragon*, Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, c.1503/4.

⁵ Anonymous, *The London Chronicle*, 1464, f.174v.

⁶ Arlene Okerlund, *Elizabeth England’s Slandered Queen*, Stroud, The History Press, 2006, p. 69.

of approximately £7651.⁷ Accusations that she helped her family profit from high office and fortuitous marriage have been discredited: this was as much Edward IV employing capable individuals, and knitting the nobility together, as Elizabeth seeking to boost her own links with older families.

The young Katherine of Aragon's understanding of money was probably less practical. Her mother, Isabella of Castile, educated her daughters to value Heaven's kingdom, rather than earthly riches. Katherine believed in wifely obedience and duty, yet, at the end of her life her refusal to accept her husband's will led to her impoverishment. Katherine's most recent biographer Giles Tremlett summarises her thus: "In Katherine's mind, perpetual glory always sounded better than temporal honour – whatever the price to be paid."⁸ Katherine tended to rely for money management on the men in her life – or fall into crisis. Ironically, it was her male protectors, Henry VII and Henry VIII, who impoverished her.

Both women enjoyed royal luxury, yet comparative evidence suggests that their household expenses were entirely typical [Table 1].

Table 1: Household / personal budgets⁹

Woman/ dates of rule	Allowance for Queenly Household	Allowance for individual household
Margaret of Anjou 1445-1461, 1470-1471	£7 651,00	
Elizabeth Woodville 1464-1483	£4,500.00 (1466-67) i.e. £375/ month	700 marks (1484) <i>apx</i> £466 400 marks (1489-90) £266 12s 16d £400 (1490)
Margaret of York (princess)		400 marks (1465-1468)/ £266 12s 16d/year
Elizabeth of York 1486-1503	£3585 19s 10 1/2d (Mar 1502-Feb 1503) ¹⁰	200 marks (1484)/ £133 6s 8d/year ¹¹
Katherine of Aragon 1509-1536	£4000 (1510-1525)	£300/month (1501) / £3600/yr £83 6s 6d/month (1502-1507)/£1000/yr

⁷ David Baldwin, *Elizabeth Woodville Mother of the Princes in the Tower*, Stroud, The History Press, 2010, p. 66; A. R. Myers, "The Household of Queen Elizabeth Woodville 1466-7", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 1 (1967-8), p. 207-35, p. 443-81.

⁸ Giles Tremlett, *Katherine of Aragon Henry's Spanish Queen*, London, Faber & Faber, 2010, p. 82.

⁹ This table contains very rough comparisons, based on the idea that there was little inflation in the period (see LSE research <http://www2.lse.ac.uk/economicHistory/Research/Late%20Medieval%20Financial%20Market/datasheets/data-sheetindex.aspx>, accessed 7 March 2013), and the calculations that a) in 1486 200 marks = £133 6s 8d, David Baldwin, p.103 b) c.1501 £1000/year = £133,000 in 2012, Giles Tremlett, p.118.

¹⁰ Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York, ed. Nicholas Harris Nicolas, London, 1830, accessed <http://www.r3.org/bookcase/wardrobe/ward1.html>, 4 March 2013.

¹¹ R. Horrox and P. W. Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

Witnesses commented on the extravagance of Elizabeth's life and her arrogant bearing during ceremonial.¹² However, this merely reflects the Burgundian etiquette being installed at the English court, and was in no way indicative of Elizabeth's personal tastes. Not to consume conspicuously would have undermined her authority, and have been seized upon by her enemies as evidence of "lower" tastes. Katherine of Aragon was in her own estimation queen for 27 years (1509-1536), and spent 23 of these living in luxury. During her marriage to Henry VIII, Katherine had an annual spend of about £4000, but this was not all spectacular consumption as presents, alms and rewards represented about a quarter of this sum. As widow and queen she looked after her household, giving gifts of religious books, clothing and dowries to her ladies: this was the more typical model of queenly household management.

But what happened when these incomes were taken away from Elizabeth and Katherine? How was their impoverishment managed and justified by those who deprived them of wealth? And how did the two women react? Elizabeth Woodville sought sanctuary and its relative poverty at Westminster Abbey, first in 1470-71, and again in 1483-84, and finished as a widowed boarder at Bermondsey Abbey, her estates removed by Act of Parliament. Was Woodville a woman who embraced religious poverty from devotion? Katherine's first widowhood from 1502-1509 was characterised by a traumatic diminution of resources. Later, after her refusal to acknowledge the invalidity of her marriage to Henry VIII, the king refused to maintain her at court. However, was this simple punishment? This essay will explore how Katherine's impoverishment became woven into a diplomatic game where the queen perhaps exaggerated her difficulties in her equation of martyrdom with poverty.

Elective poverty?

In 1470 Elizabeth Woodville, 8 months pregnant, her mother and three infant daughters fled to the undefended Westminster Abbey from the splendid royal suite at the "welle vetelede and fortified [...] Tower of London; their flight was about self-preservation against sudden regime change.¹³ She sent Abbot Thomas Milling to the Mayor and Aldermen urging them not to provoke Warwick's men "to despoil and kill her".¹⁴ Warwick ordered that "no manne, of what degree or condicioun so ever he bee, presume, atempte or be soo hardy to defowle or destrouble the churchis or holy places or seintewaries of Westmynster... Ne vexee, troble, spoyle, robbe, indamage or hurte any mynister, servaunte, inhabitante or soioernante withinne the seide hoole places in thaire bodyes or goodis movablis or unmovablis... upon peyne of detthe".¹⁵ Even as a deposed former queen she had too much political value to not be treated honourably and her property respected. Indeed, it has been suggested that in

¹² Account of Gabriel Tetzl, *The Travels of Leo of Rozmital*, M. Letts, ed. and trans., Hakluyt Society, Cambridge, 1957, p. 45-8.

¹³ John Warkworth, *A Chronicle of the First Thirteen Years of the Reign of King Edward the Fourth*, James Orchard Halliwell, ed., London, Camden Society, 1839, VI, p.13

¹⁴ David Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p. 43 n. 9.

¹⁵ M. L. Kekewich *et al.*, ed., *The Politics of Fifteenth Century England: John Vale's book*, Stroud, Sutton Publishing Ltd., 1995, p. 220-2.

exchange for relative poverty, the abbey gave Elizabeth political agency. It empowered her to dictate her own safety, and to some extent, ensure the survival of the Yorkist dynasty.¹⁶

In terms of poverty, this was not an abject lifestyle. Sympathetic historians such as Cora Scofield and Arlene Okelund have made much of the squalid surroundings of medieval sanctuary, whilst the historical novelist Philippa Gregory has Elizabeth living in a damp undercroft.¹⁷ However, Elizabeth would not have had a great deal of contact with the criminals who also sought protection within the abbey's precincts, nor with the services which sprang up to provide for them. Rather than lodgings in the Sanctuary's Thieving Lane, she resided in the abbot's fine household at Cheyneygates Manor (Fig. 1).¹⁸



Figure 1. Westminster Abbey

The court between the cloister and the east Deanery range at Westminster Abbey. The Deanery is also known as Cheyneygates.

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Yet, there was hardship. She lost her liberty, her access to money, and the servants and accoutrements of her life as queen of England. She was dependent upon the hospitality of the abbot and the goodwill of the government for her continued stay in sanctuary. Although her husband was amongst his “capitall enemies [...]”, Warwick’s government paid Lady Scrope £10 to attend on the pregnant queen, and she was allowed to receive gifts, including the half

¹⁶ Laura Oliver, “*She Should Have More if She Were Ruled and Guided by Them*”: Elizabeth Woodville and Margery Kempe, *Female Agency in Late Medieval England*, MA thesis, Baylor University, 2012, p. 60.

¹⁷ Cora Scofield, “Elizabeth Woodville in the Sanctuary at Westminster, 1470”, *English Historical Review* 24 (1909), p. 90-1; Arlene Okerlund, *op. cit.*, p. 119-120; Philippa Gregory, *The White Queen*, London, Simon & Schuster, 2009.

¹⁸ John Goodall, “Monastic Splendour”, *Country Life*, January 6th 2010, p. 37-44.

a beef and two muttuns per week for her household from John Gould, a London butcher.¹⁹ A poor woman was engaged to help her, in addition to her physician and a midwife who she had brought into sanctuary with her.²⁰

Despite previous muttering about the queen's avarice, in 1470 the chroniclers have almost nothing negative to say about Elizabeth's flight "secretly oute of the toure in to sanctuary at Westmynster, [...] and ther sche abode styll in grete trowble".²¹ In Fleetwood's fragmentary history she "sojourned at Westmynstar, asswringe hir parson only the great fraunchis of that holy place, in right great trowble, sorow, and hevines, whiche she sustayned with all manar pacience that belonged to eny creature, and as constantly as hathe bene sene at any tyme of so highe estate to endure".²² The ordeal of giving birth to Edward V here, rather than in a palace, reflected on her goodness and feminine virtue, Croyland reporting that it allowed the derivation of "some hope and consolation for such persons as remained faithful in their allegiance to Edward".²³

In 1483 attitudes to the queen's return to Westminster took on an altogether different hue. Gloucester's regime imposed financial hardship upon Elizabeth and she and her children were dependent upon the hospitality of Abbot John Esteney. The costs of supporting the queen fell upon the religious community, and her dower lands and rents were confiscated by 1484's Parliament.²⁴ The "noble church of the monks of Westminster, and all the neighbouring parts, assumed the appearance of a castle and fortress, while the men of the greatest austerity were appointed by King Richard to act as the keepers thereof".²⁵ For the chroniclers, the queen merited her return to poverty: she had transgressed her femininity by engaging in factionalism. Whilst Croyland presents her as a (still womanly) appeaser who "most beneficently tried to extinguish every spark of murmuring and disturbance" in the councils, at the same time, she was the leader of a powerful Woodville faction whom Hastings, her previous friend feared.²⁶ For Fabyan, she had "allye" and "affinitie", and Richard of Gloucester was motivated "for feare of the quenes bloud".²⁷ He asked the North for help "ayanst the Quiene, hir blode adherentts & affinities".²⁸ Ideas about Woodville clan power and acquisitiveness were clearly resurgent, and used to justify Elizabeth's separation from the political nation. However, many also perceived that "the Protector [Richard of

¹⁹ David Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p. 43, n. 12.

²⁰ Arlene Okerlund, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

²¹ John Warkworth, *op. cit.*, 1470-71, p. 13.

²² "History of the arrival of Edward IV in England, and the final recovery of his kingdoms from Henry VI, A.D. 1471" *Proclamations, Letters and Other Contemporary Documents Relating to the Reign of Edward the Fourth*, London, James Bohn, 1845, p. 60.

²³ *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland with the Continuations by Peter of Blois and anonymous writers*, Henry T. Riley, trans., London, Henry G. Bohn, 1854, p. 463.

²⁴ *Excerpta Historica, or Illustrations of English History*, London, Samuel Bentley, 1831, p. 16.

²⁵ *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland, op. cit.*, p. 491.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 483, p. 487.

²⁷ Robert Fabyan, *The New Chronicles of England and France*, II (1482-85), London, 1559, p. 513, p. 515.

²⁸ Letter of Richard III to Lord Nevill of Raby, 11 June 1483 in P.W. Hammond & A.F. Sutton, *Richard III. The Road to Bosworth Field*, London, Constable, 1985 p. 103-4.

Gloucester] did not, with a sufficient degree of considerateness, take measure for the preservation of the dignity and safety of the Queen.”²⁹

The only positive contemporary representation of Elizabeth in sanctuary comes from Caxton’s prologue to the 1484 edition of *The Book of the Tower*.³⁰ The relationship between the Yorkist dynasty and Caxton was well-established: in his prologue to *The Book of the Tower*, a “boke which is comen to my handes by the request desyre of an anonymous noble lady which hath brought forth many noble fayr dougters which ben vertuously nourished lerned [...]”, he praises his learned patroness, deemed to be Elizabeth Woodville, “for very ziele and love that she hath alwey had to her fayr children[...]”. Poverty generally prohibited patronage. Caxton’s anonymous dedication suggests a depth of political commitment: Elizabeth was not without political agency, for his prologues were read by a very small, yet influential sector of the political elite at home and abroad.³¹

It is obvious why Richard of Gloucester would want to destroy Elizabeth, declaring her marriage invalid, her children bastards, and infamously fearing his withered arm “veryly procedeth in me from that sorceres Elyzabeth the quene, who with hir witchcraft hath so enchandyd me that by thanoyance thereof I am dissolvdyd.”³² Yet, this legend – and much which blackens Elizabeth – belongs to historians writing under the Tudors. Indeed, it was not Richard III who permanently impoverished Elizabeth, nor misrepresented her, for once she released Elizabeth of York from sanctuary, Richard restored Elizabeth Woodville’s title, and accorded her an annual allowance of 700 marks a year: this was a modest sum in comparison to her queenly £4541, but it was the most she would have for the rest of her life.³³

Elizabeth’s position under Henry VII has been debated; did he honour her or impoverish her? Thomas More’s account of 1513 suggests that she deserved poverty: he emphasises Elizabeth’s avarice and weakness, for when she left for sanctuary “there was much heaviness, rumble, haste and business, carriage and conveyance of her stuff into sanctuary – chests, coffers, packs, fardelles, trusses, all on men’s backs, no man unoccupied, some lading, some going, some discharging, some coming for more, some breaking down the walls to bring in the next way, and some yet drew to them that holp to carry a wrong way. The queen herself sat alone alowe on the rushes, all desolate and dismayed [...]”.³⁴ More’s Richard equates

²⁹ *Ingulph’s Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland*, *op. cit.*, p. 488.

³⁰ *The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton*, W. J. B. Crotch, ed., London, Oxford University Press, 1927/28, p. 86-87.

³¹ Louise Gill, “William Caxton and the Revolution of 1483”, *English Historical Review* 445 (vol. CXII), Feb. 1997, p. 105-118.

³² Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, Books 23-25, London, J. B. Nichols, 1846, p. 180. Of course, the recent discovery of Richard III’s skeleton has shown that although hunchbacked, he did not have a withered arm, suggesting that this was another Tudor invention.

³³ R. Horrox and P. W. Hammond, *British Library Harleian Manuscript 433*, 4 vols., Stroud, Sutton Publishing Ltd., 1979-83, vol. III, p. 190. She was released into the custody of John Nesfield, but it is unknown where to.

³⁴ Thomas More, *The History of King Richard III & Selections from the English & Latin Poems*, Richard S. Sylvester, ed., New Haven, London, Yale University Press, 1976, p. 22.

Elizabeth's sin with the poverty of sanctuary "as though God and Saint Peter were the patrons of ungracious living."³⁵

But why would the Tudors suggest their ancestress deserved poverty? The balance of recent historical opinion suggests, in fact an initially amicable, respectful relationship between King Henry VII and the Queen Dowager. However, Tudor propagandists explained her retirement as punishment for this "busy, negotiating woman", who had reconciled with Richard III, and possibly supported Margaret of York's attempts to return her "nephew" to the throne.³⁶ For Francis Bacon, writing a century later, Elizabeth was so tainted with treason "it was thought almost dangerous to visit her, or to see her".³⁷ Thus, it is arguable that these texts covered Henry VII's deliberate impoverishment of his mother-in-law, which led to her registration as a boarder at Bermondsey Abbey in 1487, whilst his own mother, Margaret Beaufort assumed the status of Queen Mother.

If the blackening was dramatic, and largely retrospective, her impoverishment under Henry VII was a subtle transition from giving, to confiscation. Whether she acquiesced in this process, or was coerced, is not known. Even though Woodville had conspired with Beaufort for Henry VII's succession, as a member of a previous non-Tudor regime her goods had been forfeit to the new government. In his first Parliament of 14 November 1485 Henry restored her to her title as Queen Dowager "as if noe acte of Parliament had been made ayenst ne touching her [...]", simultaneously restoring Elizabeth of York's legitimacy.³⁸ In March 1486, following Henry VII's marriage to her daughter in January, the dowager queen received annuities and a life interest in property in satisfaction of her dower.³⁹ This, however, was the apex of her return to wealth after sanctuary.

Shortly after the Lambert Simnel rebellion of 1487, Henry VII declared that "of late by thadvise of the lords and other nobles of our counsaill for divers consideraciouns us and theym moevyng (we) have seased unto our hands all honors, castelles, manoirs (etc.) late assigned unto Queene Elizabeth...and..have assigned (them) unto our derrest wif the queen".⁴⁰ Bacon, underlining Henry VII's avarice says this was a "close council, without any legal proceeding, upon far-fetched pretences", and stripped Woodville of her due assets.⁴¹ However, for Livia Visser-Fuchs this just maintained "the tradition that the Queen Consort received her principal income from Lancastrian properties", and indeed, Laura Oliver argues that Henry restored to Woodville her "estate, dignity, preeminence, and name".⁴² In this

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

³⁶ Polydore Vergil, *op. cit.*, p. 18-19.

³⁷ Francis Bacon, *The History of the Reign of King Henry VII: and Selected Works*, Rev. J. Rawson Lumby, ed., Cambridge University Press, 1902, p. 29.

³⁸ W. Campbell, ed., *Materials for the History of the Reign of Henry VII*, London, Rolls Series, 2 volumes, (1873-77), vol. I, p. 121

³⁹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 347-50; David Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p. 109; J. Strachey *et al*, ed., *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, 6 vols (1767-77), vi, p. 228-9.

⁴⁰ W. Campbell, ed., *op. cit.*, II, p. 148.

⁴¹ Francis Bacon, *op. cit.*, p. 24

⁴² Sutton *et al*, "The 'Retirement' of Elizabeth Woodville, and her Sons", *The Ricardian* II, 1999, p. 563, cited in Arlene Okerlund, *op. cit.*, p. 247; Laura Oliver, p. 73.

view, her retirement from court in 1487 was part of a deliberate decision by Elizabeth to protect and transfer her possessions to her daughter. As with her time in sanctuary, her own downgrading of her fiscal status protected the future of her descendants.

Without Elizabeth's words, it is hard to know why she left Westminster for Bermondsey and a humbler lifestyle. Was it from ill-health, "an elective choice to follow the tradition of pious queenship" or punishment?⁴³ Throughout her life Elizabeth's piety seems deep and entirely conventional, but this does not rule out conventual retirement; for Okerlund it "may have exactly fulfilled Elizabeth's emotional and psychological needs after fifty years of few triumphs and many tragedies": Anne Sutton and Visser-Fuchs note that it was "probably by her own wish".⁴⁴ It was a retreat which conformed with a thrifty woman whose life was only lavish when ceremony required. She had already signed a lease on Cheyneygates in 1486, so clearly intended to retire from court. That Bermondsey was Cluniac, rather than Elizabeth's preferred Carthusian, is explained by her friendship with its abbot, John de Marlow.⁴⁵

However, rejecting both Elizabeth's guilt and piety, David Baldwin argues that it was "unthinkable for someone in the Queen Dowager's position to willingly reduce herself to relative poverty".⁴⁶ Instead, politely honourable to his "dere Moder Quene Elizabeth", Henry VII's actions reduced her independence and political will, and set the precedent for his later treatment of Katherine of Aragon. In 1487 she was given a reduced annuity of 400 marks "in compensation of her dowry" (then increased to £400).⁴⁷ It is unclear how much of Elizabeth's money was taken by the Abbot of Bermondsey, and it was obviously inadequate for she relied on gifts from Henry VII's purse, such as the 50 marks at Christmas 1490 "ayenst the fest of Cristemas next commyng (to) oure right dere and right welbeloved quene Elizabeth", whilst her annuity fell into arrears by 1490.⁴⁸ Grandmother to two Tudor heirs, she was nonetheless excluded from court, her role taken by Margaret Beaufort, and her lands by the Tudor dynasty. She was to be forgotten because she was poor; poverty had protected her in 1470, but isolated and disenfranchised her after 1483.

Imposed poverty?

When the 15 year old Spanish princess Katherine of Aragon married her first husband, Arthur Tudor, at St Paul's Cathedral on 14 November 1501, it was performed with "true magnificence, in regard of cost, shew and order".⁴⁹ The display trumpeted Tudor England's magnificence, but also the Spanish wealth represented by the marriage: the pre-ambles to the

⁴³ Lisa Hilton, *op. cit.*, p. 476.

⁴⁴ Arlene Okerlund, *op. cit.*, p. 250; Ann Sutton, Livia Visser-Fuchs, *The Royal Funerals of the House of York at Windsor*, London, Richard III Society, p. 66, n. 499.

⁴⁵ A. Crawford, "The piety of late medieval English queens", C. M. Barron and C. Harper-Bill, eds., *The Church in pre-Reformation Society: Essays in Honour of F. R. H. Du Boulay*, Woodbridge, Boydell, 1985, p. 51.

⁴⁶ David Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

⁴⁷ Christine Weighman, *Margaret of York the Diabolical Duchess*, Stroud, Amberley, 2009, p. 52 shows this was the same as Margaret of York received from 1465-68; the grant for life in W. Campbell, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 347-350.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, II, p. 555.

⁴⁹ *Calendar of State Papers*, Spain hereafter CSP Spain, I, 249.

wedding ceremony was the public declaration of the details of Katherine's dowry of "two hundred thousand ducats, wherof one hundred thousand were payable ten days after the solemnization and the other hundred thousand at two payments annual, but part of it to be in jewels or plate".⁵⁰ When her Spanish attendants departed after the wedding, Henry VII offered her further jewellery to "increase her gladness, mitigate sorrow, refresh and comfort the spirits [...]".⁵¹ In 1501, Katherine was a rich princess; Henry VII advanced her £300 a month to cover her wedding expenses – the equivalent of around £40,000/month by 2012.⁵²

Arthur's premature death on 2 April 1502 transformed Katherine into a dowager Princess of Wales, a vulnerable and unprecedented role. The money that had been invested in her by Henry VII and her parents, Ferdinand and Isabella, meant that neither party wanted her return to Spain. Thomas Penn argues that Katherine herself was desperate to stay in England and to resume the status, income and independence of an English princess, and negotiations to betroth her to Prince Henry soon began between her father, Ferdinand of Aragon and Henry VII.⁵³ Instead of renewing the contract, "these two Princes, being Princes of great policy and profound judgement, stood a great time looking upon one another's fortunes" and imposed upon her what she felt to be an impoverished, embarrassing limbo for seven years.⁵⁴

Katherine's hardship repeated the principles developed by Henry VII towards Elizabeth Woodville. Impoverishing a female royal was best coupled with isolation from the court, and thus from power; if poor, Katherine's father might send the balance of her dowry. Yet, this was a delicate process and Henry VII could not afford to lose his Spanish ally. For the greater part of 1502-1507 Katherine lived at Durham House (Fig. 2), far from Whitehall, Richmond, Eltham or Greenwich, where she was visited by the Spanish ambassador, de Puebla, who she blamed for her household problems.⁵⁵ His reports show that whilst Katherine was in difficulty, much of this was due to her own inability to manage her affairs. However, this was made worse by Henry VII's casual indifference to Spanish matters.⁵⁶ Was Katherine making much of only a slightly reduced position in life?

⁵⁰ Francis Bacon, *op. cit.*, p. 187; Sydney Anglo, "The London Pageants for the Reception of Katharine of Aragon: November 1501", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 26, 1963, p. 53-89.

⁵¹ Giles Tremlett, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁵³ Thomas Penn, *Winter King*, London, Penguin Books, 2011, p. 115.

⁵⁴ Francis Bacon, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

⁵⁵ See CSP Spain, I, 448.

⁵⁶ See CSP Spain, I, 400.

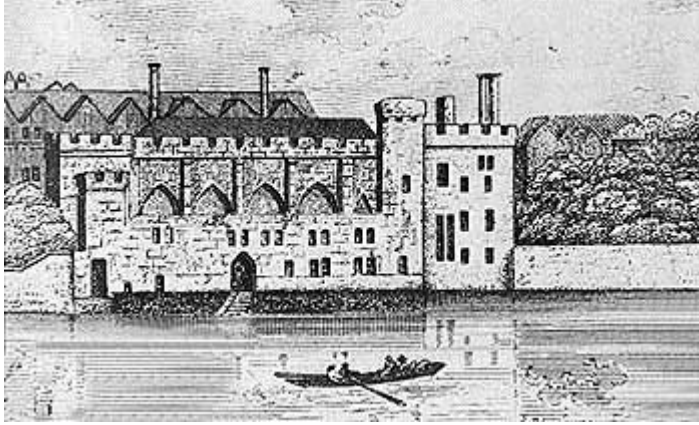


Figure 2. View of Durham House, London

From Thomas Allen, *History and Antiquities of London* vol. 4 (1837), p. 246.

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In theory, the “Dowager Princess of Wales” was meant to have funded her household from her third of her dower properties’ income, agreed in her 1501 marriage contract, and the reduced, yet nonetheless lavish allowance of £83 6s 6d/month, or £1,000 a year she received from the king after 1501.⁵⁷ Yet the balance of her dowry was not forthcoming from Spain, so Henry did not feel obliged to pay Katherine’s dower, despite her mother’s insistence that “the King is bound to provide for the Princess all that may be necessary for her, and even more if she should desire it”.⁵⁸ Her father suggested that her difficulties were self-made, urging “that in all these things she should be very comformable and pay much respect & obedience to the king of England... by this means he will love her and do more for her”.⁵⁹ But Katherine’s wealth, and not her welfare was at stake for Henry VII, and he gained a favourable new marriage contract in June 1503.⁶⁰ To celebrate, he authorised an extra payment of £100 to Katherine, adding “for this time only” in the margin of the account book.⁶¹ In 1504, as he sought a new wife – perhaps one of her own sisters – he even began to offer Katherine presents.⁶² He paid £300 “to defray all the expenses of the household of the Princess of Wales during the months of July, August, and September” 1504: Katherine could, “he said, keep whatever was leftover having paid her expenses.”⁶³ However, after four years as fiancée to an adolescent, her betrothal was half-heartedly repudiated in 1507, Henry VII explaining that the prince was at liberty as Ferdinand had not sent her dowry.⁶⁴

Katherine could neither fathom that a princess could be used thus, nor cut her spending to her means. She had been raised to be generous; her impulse to do this was all the stronger

⁵⁷ Giles Tremlett, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

⁵⁸ CSP Spain, I, 323.

⁵⁹ CSP Spain, I, 11 June 1505, 431.

⁶⁰ CSP Spain, I, 364.

⁶¹ Thomas Penn, *op. cit.*, p. 115 citing BL Add.MS 59899 f.18.

⁶² Giles Tremlett, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

⁶³ CSP Spain, I, 395.

⁶⁴ Giles Tremlett, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

when she had so few friends and could not speak English. De Puebla reported that “The Princess is very liberal and there are many people who would like to strip her of her silver and jewels”, suggesting she was exploited by those who should have cared for her.⁶⁵ However, the truth is that in 1505 “Katherine was not yet financially embarrassed, and Henry continued to pay her monthly expenses”.⁶⁶ Yet, when her *duena* Dona Elvira departed in 1505, Katherine’s household was absorbed into Henry’s own where she lost control of her own money and became dependent on the king; by 1508 the new ambassador, Fuensalida, reported that Henry VII offered Katherine “the most hapless life a woman ever had [...]”.⁶⁷

Katherine took a very direct approach to raising funds, and was not at all ashamed of trumpeting her poverty. She told her father that she would soon be forced to sell plate, and then that she had been forced to do so, writing “I am debt in London and this not for extravagant things, nor yet for relieving my own people, who greatly need it, but only for food”.⁶⁸ “That which troubles me most is to see my servants & maidens so at a loss, and that they have not wherewith to get clothes”.⁶⁹ Awaiting a response, she told her father that she had approached Henry, to no avail: “The King of England, my Lord; will not cause them [the. debts] to be satisfied, although I myself spoke to him, & all those of his council, & that with tears”.⁷⁰ She then tried to shame Ferdinand, for Henry VII “said that he is not obliged to give me anything, and that even the food he gives me is of his goodwill; because your highness has not kept promise with him in the money of my marriage portion”.⁷¹ The greater her impecunity, the more dramatic her descriptions: “I have nothing for chemises... I was all but naked; for since I departed thence [Spain] I have nothing except two new dresses, for till now those I brought from thence have lasted me, although now I have nothing but the dresses of brocade”.⁷²

Katherine’s response to difficulty was to heighten the drama, and rely on men to alleviate her plight; yet her perception of what it meant to be poor was probably not shared by all. However, diplomats shared her perception of Henry VII’s callous ill-will, and Spanish shame. Henry VII told de Puebla that “I was the cause why he has lost 100,000 *scudos* of the marriage portion [...] The words which came from his mouth were vipers [...]”.⁷³ For Juan Lopez, “the poverty of the Princess reflects dishonour on his [Ferdinand’s], and on the late Queen’s name. If she had been alive, she would not have suffered it, even if the Princess had not been her daughter. It is the duty of a King to succour a young Princess who is living in a foreign land without protection, and exposed to such dangers as the Princess of Wales”.⁷⁴

⁶⁵ CSP Spain, I, 439.

⁶⁶ Thomas Penn, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

⁶⁷ Giles Tremlett, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

⁶⁸ A. F. Pollard, *The Reign of Henry VII from Contemporary Sources*, London, New York, Longmans, 1913, p. 286.

⁶⁹ CSP, Spain, I, 448.

⁷⁰ A. F. Pollard, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ CSP Spain I, 438.

⁷⁴ CSP Spain I 84.

Her financial salvation arrived when Henry VIII acceded to the throne in 1509, and married her.

Katherine's second experience of "impoverishment" from 1532-1536 was more maturely handled, but her gift for drama remained. Yet, it is difficult to disentangle her reactions to hardship, from defence of her beliefs, and from what she claimed was fear for her own life and that of her child, for suffering was the pre-cursor to martyrdom.⁷⁵ She embraced her relative poverty – and even manipulated it – with "a smile on her countenance".⁷⁶ It was proof of her righteousness in the divorce case, for she believed "the soul is more precious than worldly goods".⁷⁷ Instead of whining complaint to her male relatives, she now changed her rhetoric to that of the selfless sufferer, bearing her troubles for the sake of English peace. Her father had died in 1516; her new correspondent was her all powerful nephew, Charles V.

Much of our information about Katherine's hardship at this time comes through the "tremendous and involved" despatches of the Spanish ambassador, Eustace Chapuys.⁷⁸ Sympathetic to Katherine, it may be "he was writing what Catherine felt but dared not say openly"; however, as G. W. Bernard notes, it was also in Chapuys' interest to exaggeratedly represent her suffering to his master as Charles V was perhaps the only man who could protect Princess Mary and her mother, and the "danger, if there were danger... was Chapuys' own creation".⁷⁹ At the same time, we do not have many other contemporary records of Katherine, as Henry VIII strictly controlled access to her. Those men periodically sent to compel her to agree to a divorce were the king's intimates, and unlikely to pass comment on the hardship of her confinement.

Henry VIII's tussle with Katherine of Aragon to obtain a divorce is a well-known story, as is her refusal to acknowledge that she had lost her virginity to Prince Arthur thirty years before. As her intransigence stiffened, Henry responded by imposing upon his one-time companion gradually harsher material deprivation: if she insisted she was "his, she was his to punish".⁸⁰ This was always tempered in comparison to the callous neglect that his father had imposed on Katherine. Henry VIII's own vanity seems to have balked at reducing the glory of the English crown, even for a Princess Dowager. He ended up punishing himself and his own purse. In 1533 it cost him over 40,000 ducats a year to maintain Katherine and Anne in queenly style – a situation it is hard to envisage his father embarking upon.⁸¹

⁷⁵ CSP Spain V, ii 210.

⁷⁶ CSP Venice 4, 682.

⁷⁷ *Sp Chron*, p. 16

⁷⁸ *Chronicle of King Henry VIII of England: Being a contemporary record of some of the principal events of the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, Written in Spanish by an unknown hand*, Tr. Martin A. Sharp Hume, London, G. Bell and sons, 1889, p. 49.

⁷⁹ G. W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation*, London, New York, Yale University Press, 2005, p. 81-2; J. A. Froude, *The Divorce of Catherine of Aragon: the Story as told by the Imperial Ambassadors Resident at the Court of Henry VIII*, London, New York, Longmans, 1893, p. 414.

⁸⁰ Giles Tremlett, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

⁸¹ Giles Tremlett, *op. cit.*, p. 379, based on LPFD VI, 918.

Initially, Katherine's intransigence was punished by the king refusing her access to his person. They last dined together on 3 May 1531 when she angered Henry by asking to see her daughter, Mary. On 14 July, Henry departed on progress in the company of Anne Boleyn. Katherine was left "alone" at Windsor in the company of 30 ladies in waiting and 170 servants. Henry then ordered that the Princess Dowager was to move to The More, a house in Hampshire which had formerly belonged to Cardinal Wolsey. This was the start of a gradual downgrading of her household: at The More, a Venetian, Mario Savorgnano, observed that as she dined "she [only] had some thirty maids of honour standing round the table, & about fifty who performed its service. Her Court consists of about 200 persons, but she is not so much visited as heretofore, on account of the King."⁸²

In May 1532, when the Papacy issued a brief in support of Katherine, she became less and less a free agent and "more and more a prisoner under house arrest, in (relatively) remote regions".⁸³ She was moved to Bishop's Hatfield: in response, Katherine replied "she was not about to learn how to keep her own house".⁸⁴ She acquiesced in the move to Amptill in Bedfordshire, then in July 1533 to Buckden in Cambridgeshire. However, in December 1533, when the duke of Suffolk was sent to force her consent to the divorce, and to remove her to damp Fotheringhay or marshy Somersham, Katherine, ever theatrical, appeared before him in her shift – the costume of a poor martyr – claiming that such a pestilential house would be her death from damp.⁸⁵ She then locked herself in her room and refused to come out, except to hear Mass. Suffolk sacked many of her staff, imprisoned her confessor Thomas Abel and in May 1534 eventually enforced her move to Kimbolton, another dryer house in the Fens which was "well kept, and abundantly provided with food, though, as the Queen informs me, not for her present household, which consists only of five or six [...]"⁸⁶

In fact, "Life at Kimbolton was the life of an ordinary well-appointed English country house... if she had not more state about her, it was by her own choice".⁸⁷ Katherine insisted that her food be cooked before her on her chamber's fire to safeguard against poison, and refused the entry of newly appointed servants.⁸⁸ It was in her interest and policy to conflate the image of poverty with threats to her life, and to create the idea of a willing martyr: "I am as Job, waiting for the day when I must go sue for alms for the love of God".⁸⁹ Henry tried again to secure her consent to a divorce, with the bribe of elegant retirement if she would accept the divorce; if she would accept the righteousness of his theological argument, he would restore her to her place in God's ordered society. She refused, and over the next eighteen months continued to proclaim her poverty to Spanish ears, however comfortable

⁸² CSP Venice IV, 682.

⁸³ G. W. Bernard, *op. cit.*, p.80.

⁸⁴ Giles Tremlett, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

⁸⁵ G. W. Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 76, PRO 31/18/2/1 fos. 1031v-1033v, CSP Sp IV, ii, 1164, p. 889-95, LPFD VI 1558

⁸⁶ Sp Cal. V, i, 75.

⁸⁷ Divorce, p. 421.

⁸⁸ J. S. Brewer, J. Gairdner, R. H. Brodie, eds., *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, London, 1862-1932, 21 vols. Hereafter LPFD, VII, 83.

⁸⁹ LPFD VIII, 514.

the reality. The Imperial ambassador claimed that “the Queen has not left her room for two years... she has not a ducat to spend, and of all her old servants, only her confessor, physician, and apothecary have been left”.⁹⁰

The more distant Katherine was from court, the more vulnerable her material possessions became. She welcomed this as a boost to the righteousness of her cause, declaring she would be a beggar but she would still be queen. Henry responded by taking away symbols of her queenship. This she met with greater intransigence, and publicly avowed worry for his soul, couched in the language of religious concern. When Henry requested the jewels and plate of the queens of England, including the “string of pearls larger than chick-peas” she responded pertly “I can not present the king with my jewels as he desires, inasmuch as when, on a late occasion; I, according to the custom of this kingdom, presented him with a New Year’s gift, he warned me to refrain from such presents in future”.⁹¹ She added a moral element, arguing “Besides which it is very annoying & offensive to me, and I would consider it a sin and a load upon my conscience if I were persuaded to give up my jewels for such a wicked purpose as that of ornamenting a person who is the scandal of Christendom, and is bringing vituperation and infamy upon the King”.⁹² Likewise, she refused to hand over a royal Christening cloth in August 1533 for Anne Boleyn’s baby arguing “that it has not pleased God she should be so ill advised as to grant any favour in a case so horrible and abominable.”⁹³ She was left with a small gold crucifix, fitting jewellery for a martyr, and emphasised her own righteousness by continuing to touch for scrofula – as a queen of England.⁹⁴

Legacies

At her death on 7 January 1536, the world believed Katherine to be poor.⁹⁵ Whilst she had not lived in poverty, she had been deprived of a queen’s material goods, but in comparison to Elizabeth Woodville, she was rich [Table 2].

⁹⁰ CSP Spain, V, i, 242.

⁹¹ *Chronicle of King Henry VIII*, p. 13; Bernard p. 78, PRO SP1/78 fo. 141, LP VI 1009, PRO SP 1/78 fo.169, LP VI 1041.

⁹² CSP Spain IV, ii, 1004.

⁹³ LPFD, VI, 918.

⁹⁴ LPFD, VIII, 428; Giles Tremlett, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

⁹⁵ Giles Tremlett, *op. cit.*, p. 424

Table 2: Legacies and Funeral expenses

Woman/ date of death	Funeral	Testament
Margaret of Anjou Queen Dowager d.1482	Unknown expenses, interred in Angers Cathedral.	“My will is . . . that the few goods which God and he [Louis XI] have given and lent to me be used for this purpose and for the paying of my debts as much to my poor servants . . . as to other creditors to whom I am indebted. . . . And should my few goods be insufficient to do this, as I believe they are . . . I implore the said lord, the King, to meet and pay the outstanding debts as the sole heir of the wealth which I inherited through my father and my mother and my other relations and ancestors [.]” ⁹⁶
Anne Neville Queen Consort d. 1485	Buried “at Westminster, with no less honors than befitted the interment of a queen”. ⁹⁷ Expense unknown.	-
Elizabeth Woodville Queen Dowager d.1492	Buried at Windsor with Edward IV. By her express wish it is a humble funeral, attended by her family and several attendants.	“No wordely goodes to do the Quene’s Grace, my derest daughter, a pleaser with, nether to reward any of my children.” ⁹⁸
Elizabeth of York Queen Consort d.1503	Lavish funeral at Westminster, buried in Westminster’s Lady Chapel, under a Torrigiani Bronze.	-
Margaret Beaufort Queen Mother d.1509	Buried in Westminster’s Lady Chapel, under a Torrigiani Bronze. Funeral costs £1021.	£14, 274
Katherine of Aragon Queen Consort/ Dowager Princess of Wales d.1536	Honourable, but not “Queenly” funeral, which included an effigy, the attendants included three mutes, nobles, four knights to bear a canopy over the effigy, a nightly watch, chariot, pall, “The chief mourner on horseback, her horse trapped with black velvet to follow immediately the corpse,” banners and scutcheons, cloth for 30 ladies and gentlemen mourners. ⁹⁹	At least £320 + furs, and a year’s salary for her staff, and dowry for 3 women. ¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Testament of 2 August 1482, J. J. Bagley, *Margaret of Anjou, Queen of England*, London, Herbert Jenkins, 1948, np: As her heir, Louis XI claimed all her dogs left in England for “this is all I shall get [...]”, Cora Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth*, London, New York, Longmans, Green & Co, 1923.

⁹⁷ *Ingulph’s Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland, op. cit.*, p. 499.

⁹⁸ See *A Collection of all the Wills*, p. 350-1.

⁹⁹ LPFD, X, 39.

Indeed, Katherine was wealthier than was thought, for when an inventory was taken her “jailer”, Sir Edmund Bedyngfeld, reported it contained “much more than we could see or know before”.¹⁰¹ She had learnt from Henry VII how to manipulate ideas of poverty and abandonment. Defiantly, she did not make an official will “knowing that according to English law a wife cannot make no will while her husband survives”.¹⁰² Instead, “she caused a physician to write a note of her last wishes [desiring] the king to let her have the goods she holds of him in gold & silver and the money due to her in time past”.¹⁰³ She left at least £320 in legacies to her servants and ordered “That ornaments be made of my gowns for the convent ...and the furs of the same I give to my daughter”.¹⁰⁴ Henry, demanded that he be allowed to inspect the furs first, sequestered her plate and refused to pay the legacies; guards were put at Kimbolton’s gate to prevent her belongings being taken from him. However, having denied her status as wife, he was trapped by the law: Richard Rich begged “him to consider that the Lady Dowager was a ‘sole’ woman having full authority by law to dispose of her goods” adding he thought the king “cannot seize her goods [unless]... by other means”.¹⁰⁵ Privately, he wrote to Cromwell that he thought “it would not be honourable to take the things given in her lifetime”.¹⁰⁶

The Princess of Spain was buried on 29 January as a Dowager Princess of Wales, rather than as a queen of England, at the Benedictine Peterborough Abbey. She had desired to be buried in a convent of Observant Friars, but as Cromwell explained to Chapuys “there remained no convent of Observants in England”.¹⁰⁷ Was this another of Katherine’s provocations of her husband? At her death, Henry VIII seems to have more honoured her; she proved no further threat to him, yet Spain did. His financial punishment of her ended, and in fact, whilst he did not send the royal hearse (for she was not a queen) he “ordered all his grandees to go thither, and that she should be buried very sumptuously”.¹⁰⁸ Her alleged poverty did not show as her hearse was accompanied by mourners, lights, a funeral effigy, thirty ladies, liveried nobles and 300 masses said for her soul in one day.¹⁰⁹ Chapuys, of course, did not think it a seemly burial, but compared to those of some of her successors amongst Henry’s wives, it was most honourable.

In contrast Elizabeth Woodville’s death and burial proves how far Henry VII had ruined his mother-in-law; whether it was part of a programme to ruin all Woodvilles is another debate.¹¹⁰ When Elizabeth made her will in 1492, she had “no wordely goodes to do the Quene’s Grace, my derest doughter, a pleaser with, nether to reward any of my children

¹⁰⁰ LPFD, X, 40.

¹⁰¹ LPFD X, 41.

¹⁰² LPFD X, 141.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*; LPFD, X, 40.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ LPFD, X, 128.

¹⁰⁶ LPFD, X, 151.

¹⁰⁷ LPFD X, 141.

¹⁰⁸ Sp. Chr p. 52.

¹⁰⁹ LPFD, X, 39.

¹¹⁰ Arlene Okerlund, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

according to my hart and mynde [...]” All that she had, “smale stufe and goodes” was “to be disposed truly in the contentac’on of my dettes”.¹¹¹ She died on 8 June 1492, and her funeral took place at Windsor Castle, to where she was transferred at night, her body placed in a simple wooden coffin.¹¹² It was attended by her surviving children, saving the pregnant Elizabeth of York. Dorset paid for alms. “Ther was nothyng done solempmy for her savyng a low horse such as they use for the comyn people with iiij wooden candlestikks aboute it.... (with) a dozen dyvers olde men holdyng old torches and torches endes”.¹¹³ It is possible she elected for a humble funeral from piety. However, poverty removed any other option. Few great noblewomen “thought money and their faith incompatible”, as Margaret Beaufort’s will proves.¹¹⁴ Finally, when the king could have honoured Woodville, he chose not to.

¹¹¹ *A Collection of all the Wills, now known to be extant, of the Kings and Queens of England, Princes 1 Princesses of Wales, and every branch of the Blood Royal, from the reign of William the Conqueror, to that of Henry the Seventh, exclusive*, London, J. Nichols, 1780, p. 350-1.

¹¹² Ann Sutton, Livia Visser-Fuchs, *op. cit.*, p. 73 citing BL MS Arundel 26 f.29v.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ David Baldwin, p. 126.