

## **The Royal Progress and Anne Boleyn's Visit to Winchester in 1535**

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### **Summary**

This article reviews the surviving contemporary documents which show that Anne Boleyn not only visited Winchester in September 1535 but will also suggest that she committed 'infidelity' with her musician Mark Smeaton. This was one accusation that led to her execution in 1536 and could have occurred while she was staying at Wolvesey, Bishop Stephen Gardiner's Palace in Winchester, "in lodgings above the King's".

The above conclusions are based on three surviving facts. Firstly, that Anne miscarried of a male child of about 15 weeks on 29 January 1536, coincidentally the day of Catherine of Aragon's funeral. She would have conceived around the end of September 1535 and hence probably while she was in Winchester. Secondly, that Anne confessed to Sir William Kingston, before her trial and while she was in the Tower of London, that Mark Smeaton had visited her in her chamber while she was in Winchester and her "lodgings were above the King's". Lastly, that Mark Smeaton was the only one of those accused of having committed 'infidelity' with Anne who confessed, all of the others vehemently denied any such charges. Mark may have been forced to confess by torture, although the evidence is conflicting on this point.

Much has been written about Anne Boleyn, including (Thomson1964), (Scarbrick1997), (Ives2005), (Lipscomb2009) and (Bernard2011). Transcripts in modern English of most of the contemporary documents or Calendars of them have been collected and published by Elizabeth Norton, (Norton2011), though some of these perpetuate dubious transcripts made by previous researchers.

Most importantly, George Bernard in his recent book has presented a new and possibly controversial analysis of the contemporary documents. He concludes that, contrary to previous thinking, it was not Anne who refused to consummate her relationship with Henry VIII until he was divorced from Catherine of Aragon and they were married, it was more likely that Henry was the reluctant partner. Henry wanted the new marriage to be lawful and any offspring, especially the hoped for male heir, to be legitimate. Bernard also concludes that Anne probably did commit 'infidelities' with other men and that the allegations made against her in 1536, though fabricated in detail, were substantially true.

In this article the author will go further than Bernard. Firstly, Henry VIII was consumed by the necessity to produce a male heir to ensure the continuation of the Tudor dynasty, founded by his father after the defeat of Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth. Consequently, it would have been very clear to Anne Boleyn that it was expected that she produce the male heir that Catherine of Aragon had failed to provide.

Secondly, Anne and her brother, Lord Rochford, had intimated that Henry VIII was 'impotent', a fact that Henry had alluded to. But he still laid the failure to produce male offspring squarely at his wife's door.

Thirdly, perhaps Henry's attention had started to shift from Anne soon after Elizabeth's birth and Jane Seymour would certainly have entered the frame during the royal progress of 1535, if not before. Jane had been a maid-of-honour to Catherine of Aragon and later to Anne Boleyn, with whom she shared a great-grandmother. Henry and Anne had stayed at Wolf Hall, the home of Jane and her family, for five days in early September 1535 and Henry's attention would have been focussed on Jane.

Perhaps Anne found herself in a quandary, especially after her first pregnancy had produced Elizabeth on 7 September 1533, not the male heir Henry had wanted. What was Anne to do? With the evidence that Henry was enamoured of Jane one possibility was that Anne decided to have 'affairs' with the sole objective of becoming pregnant, especially if Henry really was 'impotent'; better to produce a male heir by another man than none by Henry. A male heir would have rescued her marriage to Henry back from Jane, at least in Anne's eyes.

The foregoing must be considered speculative but it is plausible and fits the meagre evidence which survives. Nevertheless, this article does conclude that Anne and Mark Smeaton probably did commit adultery while she was staying at Wolvesey Palace in Winchester in late September 1535.

## Previous Visits to Winchester by Anne Boleyn and King Henry VIII

Anne Boleyn had married Henry VIII possibly twice, the first time perhaps in secret in mid-November 1532 and the second time on 25 January 1533. She had started to receive the attention of Henry VIII around Easter 1526 but there is no record of her having visited Winchester before she was Queen. Her first, and most probably her only, visit was in September 1535 when she accompanied Henry VIII on the Royal Progress.

However, Henry VIII had visited Winchester on three occasions before the Royal Progress in 1535: first as Prince of Wales when he dined with King Philip of Castille and Bishop Richard Fox at Wolvesey Palace on 30 January 1506; second on 24-25 June 1522 when he dined in the Great Hall with the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, who was en-route from London to depart from Southampton; and third from 14 to 20 August 1526 during a Royal Progress, see (Brodie).

## Winchester and the whereabouts of King Henry VIII in 1535

Henry VIII had been on his Royal Progress since July 1535 and arrived in Winchester on Saturday 11 September. Table 1 shows a summary of the whereabouts of the Royal Household during this time. These are based upon the accounts of Sir William Powlett, the comptroller, which exist for the period from 1 October 1534 to 30 September 1535 (1). Unfortunately the accounts of the Royal Household for the following year, and hence for October 1535, have not survived.

The planned itinerary for this Royal Progress survives (3) and it was in general adhered to, see Table 2 and Figure 2. The plans were already known by at the latest 16 June as stated by Sir John Duddeley writing to Lord Lisle (2):

..... the King's Highness with all your friends in the Court are merry and in good health. And his Grace lieth now at Windsor, and so goeth forwards his progress from thence the 6th day of July towards Bristol .....

However, changes to it were made out of necessity, thus it was originally planned to start the first stage from Windsor to Reading on 6 July, but the execution of Sir Thomas More delayed the departure by three days. Later, an outbreak of the plague meant that Bristol was not visited.

But a more major change occurred when the King returned to Winchester from Bishop's Waltham on Saturday 25 September rather than returning to London. This was to complete unfinished business related to the Reformation, see (Collins2010) for more details. This affected the remainder of the itinerary and instead of arriving back in Windsor on 1 October the King made unplanned visits to [Sout]hampton, Porchester, Portsmouth, Salisbury, Clarendon, The Vyne, Old Basing and Bramshill Manor, amongst other places. The Royal Progress in October can only be traced approximately using letters and Royal warrants but it was about 25 October before Henry and his Household finally returned to Windsor, see Table 3.

It is interesting to speculate how letters and documents were sent and received when the King was on a Royal Progress. Fortunately, Sir Brian Tuke, Treasurer of the Chamber, writing to Lord Lisle on 4 August 1535, describes the postal system which was in place, (4):

..... wherever the King is posts are laid from London to his Grace, and there are always ordinary posts between London and Dover .....

It must be emphasized that it is not a guarantee that Henry would always be in the same place as the Royal Household. Letters written by Henry and referring to Henry survive and are more reliable as to his whereabouts; the earliest ones dating from his time in Winchester were written on 15 September by Henry VIII himself (7) and by John Atkynson, a priest, (8). The latter refers to Holy Rood's eve which was Monday 13 September.

..... The King is merry and at Winchester, whereof Monday last past, the Holy Rood's eve, Thomas Fezgaret was brought to the Court .....

Based upon St Mary's College Bursars Accounts, Henry was actually staying at Wolvesey Palace on 26 September, the Winchester residence of Bishop Stephen Gardiner, (11):

..... And in 2 oxen, 10 sheep and 12 capons gifts to the Lord King his being at Wolvesey the 26<sup>th</sup> day of September for having his favour in the causes concerning the College .....

On 25 September Eustace Chapuys, the Ambassador to the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, wrote from London that, (12):

*Ce roy estant arrive a vinchestre, ou il se treuve a present, il fait inventariser [sic, inventoriser?] le tresor de leglise du quel il print certaines licornes fort belles et riches et une grande croix dor enrichie dexcellente pierrerie.*

This king has arrived at Winchester, where he is to be found at present, he made an inventory of the treasure of the Church from which he took certain very fine and rich *licornes* and a large cross of gold enriched with marvellous stones.

A *licorne* was French for a unicorn; the word derives via the medieval Italian *alicorno* from the Latin *unicornis*. In this case it is used for a unicorn's horn but was probably the tusk of a narwhal. The inventory of Henry VIII's possessions taken after his death contains a number of 'unicorn horns' used as staffs, see (Starkey1998).

The above is the author's translation and differs from the translation in (12) which is:

On his arrival at Winchester, where he is now holding his court, this King had an inventory taken of the treasure in its cathedral church, and appropriated to himself certain very fine and rich "licornes," besides a large gold cross set with precious stones.

This is just one example of where the original source, in this case a letter written in French, differs from secondary sources which purport to transcribe or translate that original source.

The whereabouts of the Royal Household is known on a daily basis, see Table 1. These accounts show that the Household moved from Winchester to Hampton on 30 September, the last entry in those accounts, but based upon other documents the last date Henry is known to have been in Winchester is 1 October. On that day he wrote to Philip Melanchthon, the Dutch Reformer and friend of Martin Luther, see (19). He is next to be found in Southampton on 4 October writing to the Count Palatine about the mission on which he had sent Bishop Edward Fox while the latter and Henry were both in Winchester, see (22).

James Hawksworth writing to Lord Lisle from Darby's Tower on 27 September confirms that the Royal Progress returned from Bishop's Waltham to Winchester on 26 September (14), one day after the Royal Household had moved back, see Table 1:

..... the 26 day of this month the King's Grace removed from Waltham to Winchester. The Thursday next after his Grace comes to Hampton and yet it is not known how long he lies there. And from thence he comes to Portsmouth, and it is not known whether that he will come to the Castle [Porchester] or not .....

### **The route of the Royal Progress after King Henry VIII finally left Winchester**

A number of letters can be used to reconstruct the route taken by the Royal Progress during October. Thus, Richard Towris, writing to Lord Lisle on 28 September from Portsmouth, describes the proposed route that the Court would take after it left Winchester, (16):

..... the French ambassadors be as yet at the Court and that the King's Grace this day sennight [seven nights i.e. 5 October] will be at the *Harry Grace Dieu*, and at night at the Castle of Porchester, and from thence to Hampton, and so to Salisbury and Clarendon ..... Your lordship and my lady hath been wished for at Subberton with divers of the Court when the King lay at Waltham, for some nights divers gentlemen could have no lodging for money.

Sir Anthony Wyndesore writing to Lord Lisle on 9 October from East Meon confirms that the King was in Hampshire from 10 September to 19 October, (27):

..... My lord, mine attendance hath been such upon the King's Grace since he came into Hampshire, insomuch I could have no leisure to write to your lordship nor to my Lady, for his Grace hath been and proposeth to be in Hampshire from about the 10th day of September till the 19th day of October, except 4 days that his Grace lieth in Salisbury, and so returneth into Hampshire again; and so intendeth to be at Windsor upon All Hallow Even. And his Grace was at Portsmouth and Porchester, howbeit I was not there, for I was commanded that time to ride and cause the weirs to be plucked down upon the rivers through the whole shire. The King's Grace and the Queen's Grace were very merry in Hampshire, thanking be our Lord. ....

Sir William Poulet, the Comptroller of the Royal Household, wrote to Thomas Cromwell from Salisbury on 9 October. He discusses Princess Elizabeth being sent to Langley, where the Royal Progress had visited earlier, and the ambassadors mentioned are Bishops Stephen Gardiner and Edward Fox, who were to go to France and Germany respectively, (28):

The King having considered the letter to Cromwell from lady Brian and other of the Princess's officers, has determined that she shall be weaned with all diligence, and that Langley shall be put in readiness. Sends letters to them, and one from the Queen to lady Brian. The King desires the commissions for the despatch of the ambassadors to be shortly sped, and Cromwell to return to him.

Sir William Poulet wrote again to Thomas Cromwell from his house at Basing on 16 October describing the revised route that the Court would take back to Windsor because of the deaths from illness, possibly an outbreak of the plague, at Shalford and Farnham, (31):

The King, for the death of [at] Shalford three-quarters of a mile from Guildford, and of four persons at Farnham, has changed his giests and will be at my poor house of Basing on Tuesday and Wednesday, and on Thursday night at Mr. Seymour's place at Elvetham; at Hertfordbridge on Friday; Saturday and Sunday at Easthampstede, and Monday to Windsor..

John Hussee writing to Lady Lisle on 19 October from London confirms that the King was at Porchester, (33):

... The King's Highness hath been at Porchester, and the house shall be repaired and the saltpetre new bounden .....

Sir William Poulet wrote yet again to Thomas Cromwell from his house at Basing on 21 October saying where the latter should go to meet the King, (34):

On my reporting to the King your intention to come to his Grace at Easthampstead, he ordered me to say that if any causes required haste, you should repair to him at Easthampstead, where your lodging should be made. If not, you had better come to Windsor.

### Winchester and the whereabouts of Anne Boleyn in 1535

It was not just Henry but also Anne Boleyn who enjoyed her time in Winchester; thus Sir Richard Graynefield writing to Lord Lisle on 2 October says that, (18):

The King and the Queen is merry and hawks daily and likes Winchester and that quarter and praises it much.

The same letter states that, the King was planning to travel by ship to Porchester on the 4 October, but whether this included Anne Boleyn is not stated:

The saying is that the King intends on Monday to go to Porchester in your ship.

Several more letters, containing references to Anne and Henry being together, survive for the period of the Royal Progress as follows:

The Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Audeley usually wished the King and Queen good health in his letters to Thomas Cromwell. In the following written from his house at Christchurch in London on 7 August he refers to 'their progress' (5):

..... Heartily praying you to make the most humble recommendations to the King's Majesty, and to the Queen's Grace, beseeching Jesus to send them both good health in their progress .....

In a subsequent letter, written on 9 September from Colchester, Sir Thomas Audeley thanked Cromwell for the good news of the 'mirth and good health' of the King and Queen, (6):

..... Right heartily thanking you for the good news that you by your letters have from time to time signified unto me of the mirth and good health of the King's highness and the Queen's grace. To whose graces I desire you to have me most humbly recommended .....

The following letter was written anonymously from Winchester on 15 September, but the writer was probably a French Ambassador to England, writing to the wife of Henry II, King of Navarre. She was Marguerite of Angouleme, the sister of King Francis I of France. Based upon the text, the letter possibly referred to King Henry and Queen Anne at an earlier date and a different place. The original is in French and is endorsed: *Double de la lettre escripte à la Reyne de Navarre*, (9):

Madame, the first time I saw the king and queen of England, I made your recommendations to them, and they were glad to hear of your recovered health. The Queen said that her greatest wish, next to

having a son, is to see you again. Of this I would have informed you by M. de Morette, but for the uncertainty of your coming to Court, as I feared that my letters after having passed through several hands might be little agreeable to you. Thus I did not dare to write to you until, by letters from your lieutenant general de Berry, I heard of your arrival .....

George Taylor was the Receiver General of Queen Anne Boleyn and thus his reference to 'my lady' in the following letter to Lady Lisle refers to Anne Boleyn. He states that Anne was with the King during all of the progress. The Royal Household was at Bishop's Waltham from 16 to 26 September, which dates this letter to 20 September 1535 (10):

Madame I humbly recommend me unto your good ladyship thanking you for both your kind letters. But I am sorry that I was not at the court when your present of puettes came to my lady but of truth my lady accepted them very well and gave you great thanks for them. And furthermore I have delivered to my lady the bow you sent her by this bearer. Which she did greatly esteem and commanded a string to be set on it and sayed it but it was somewhat too big. .... and whereas you write .... whether my lady go with the King's Grace this progress .... of truth she doth go with his Grace all this time..... from Waltham this Monday.

"Sayed" means tested, as in assayed.

Sir William Fitzwilliam writing to Lord Lisle from Southampton on 4 October refers to 'recommendations' he passed from Lady Lisle, whom he amusingly refers to as 'my Lady your bedfellow', to Queen Anne (23):

..... I have made your humble recommendations as well unto the King's Highness as to the Queen's Grace ..... I have made my Lady your bedfellow's humble recommendations unto the Queen's Grace, who I assure you right well and thankfully accepted the same .....

From Bishop John Vesey of Exeter to Sir Thomas Arundell on 6 October from Shaftesbury, (26):

..... upon Friday last I were with the Kings majesty who and the Queen with all other nobles of the court were in good health and merry our Lord God continue the same .....

### **The Path of the Royal Progress after Winchester**

The Royal Progress left Winchester on 30 September, though one letter from Henry VIII is dated at Winchester on 1 October; perhaps the Royal Household went ahead with the King following a day or so later. Several letters allude to changes in the 'giests' or itinerary with several more stating that the King was in certain places and sometimes giving the dates. All of these have been summarised in Table 3 from which it can be seen that some itinerary dates contradict. Thus:

Sir Anthony Wyndesore writing on 9 October, confirms that the King and Queen liked Hampshire, and states that they will return to Windsor by 31 October, All Hallows Eve (27):

..... My lord, mine attendance hath been such upon the King's Grace since he came into Hampshire, insomuch I could have no leisure to write to your lordship nor to my Lady, for his Grace hath been and proposeth to be in Hampshire from about the 10th day of September till the 19th day of October, except 4 days that his Grace lieth in Salisbury, and so returneth into Hampshire again; and so intendeth to be at Windsor upon All Hallow Even. And his Grace was at Portsmouth and Porchester; howbeit I was not there, for I was commanded that time to ride and cause the weirs to be plucked down upon the rivers through the whole shire. The King's Grace and the Queen's Grace were merry in Hampshire, thanking be our Lord .....

From John, Lord Audeley to Thomas Cromwell on 10 October from Salisbury, (29):

..... my trust is that the King's highness and the Queen's grace hath been meetly well content with their poor lodging in my rude house .....

Sir Francis Bryan, writing from Lord Sandys Manor of the Vyne on 19 October, details the changed final stops of the royal progress in his letter to Thomas Cromwell. Sir William Paulet was Comptroller of the Royal Household and his main residence was at Basing. Bramshill House was owned by Henry VIII from 1517 and was used as a base for hunting; it was given to Sir William Paulet during the reign of Edward VI (32):

..... advertisyng you further that the King's Grace with the Quene as this day doth remove from the Vyne to Maister Comptrollers house and ther doth tarye untill Thursdays, and thanne to Bramsell and

ther all that nyght and on the Fryday to Esthamsted, and ther doth tarye untill Tuysdaye and from thense to Wyndesore and there doth remayne duryng his pleasure .....

From William Lord Sandys to Thomas Cromwell on 22 October from the Vyne, (35):

Pleaseth it you to be advertised that the King's highness and the Queen's grace came hither to my poor house Friday last passed the 15th day of this month, and here continued until Tuesday then next ensuing .....

Henry VIII resided at John Audeley's house in Salisbury and stopped at Clarendon, one of his hunting lodges; perhaps from which the 'Clarendon Way' was named. From there he travelled to the Vyne, Lord Lisle's manor. The King would therefore have passed close to Winchester a third time and could, conceivably, have stayed there for a third time and perhaps with Anne Boleyn. The average and maximum distances travelled between residences was 12 and 17 miles today, yet from Clarendon to the Vyne was 38 miles; thus a stop at Winchester, almost half way between would have been usual.

### Royal Household Accounts

Accounts for the Royal Household and for Anne Boleyn survive separately for the year up to 30 September 1535 and shed an interesting light on income and expenditure, see Table 1 and Figure 1.

The daily expenditure remained at the levels from before the Royal Progress started until Winchester was reached and over £106 was spent on Friday 17 September 1535. This was one day before Jean Dinteville arrived from Francis I with a papal letter and two days before three Bishops were consecrated in Winchester Cathedral.

Household accounts survive for Anne Boleyn's household, for the year from 29 September 1534 to 29 September 1535. These were compiled by George Taylor, her receiver general, and on the outside cover refer to the "late Queen Anne", and were thus compiled after her execution in May 1536, (17):

A book of accounts declared by George Tailour Receiver General for the Late Queen Anne.

A book of accounts declared by George Tayllour Esquire Receiver General unto the Lady Anne Queen of England and of France and Lady of Ireland as well her lands in England as in Wales for one whole year ended at the Feast of St Michael the Archangel the 27<sup>th</sup> year of King Henry VIII

Anne's receipts were £6,381 8s. 9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d. and expenditure £6,348 12s. 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. She received over £2,500 into her 'coffers', almost twice the amount of money than was spent from there; a factor of about 500 can be used to convert to the modern day equivalent. Her 'coffers' thus received over £1 million during the financial period, perhaps boosted by gifts she received while on the Royal Progress.

### Anne Boleyn admits that Mark Smeaton visited her Chamber in Winchester

In 1536 Anne Boleyn was charged with intimacy with, amongst others, Mark Smeaton, who was a musician to her society. In the Tower of London after her arrest on 3 May 1536 it was reported to Thomas Cromwell by Sir William Kynngston, the Constable of the Tower, what Anne had been saying, (24).

The original letter was available to (Strype1733 I) but it was subsequently damaged by fire in 1731 and (Cavendish/Singer II 1825) used Strype's work to fill in the lacunae of the damaged text, shown below within angular brackets. The following is a new transcript by the author from the original letter with additions from (Strype1733 I), (Cavendish/Singer II 1825) and (Ellis1825 I II) shown within square brackets (a translation of the complete letter is to be found at the end of this article):

To Master Secretary ..... and then said <[Mistress Stoner Mark]> is the worst cherished of any in <[the house for he]> <w>ears irons she said that was <[because he was no]> <[gen]>telman but he was never in <m[y chamber but at Winchester and]> <[there]> she sent for him to pl<[ay on the virginals]> <[for there my]> lodging wa<s [above the King's]>

For I never spoke with him since but upon Saturday before May day and then I found him standing in the round window in my Chamber of Presence and I asked why he was so sad and he answered and said it was no matter and then she said you may not look to have me speak to you as I should do to a noble man because you be an inferior <pe>rson no no madam a look sufficed me and thus fare you well ..... William Kynngston

A virginal was an early keyboard instrument resembling a spinet and set in a box.

Anne clearly wanted to acknowledge that Mark Smeaton had been in her chamber, though only to play music. However, why did she need to say that her lodgings were above the King's? Was it to emphasise that she was living very close to the King and therefore could not have been 'intimate' with Mark Smeaton? Was it to counter the later confession of Mark Smeaton that he had been 'intimate' with Anne? Or, more likely, was it to counter any possible revelations at her trial by the ladies of her chamber who could have witnessed Mark Smeaton entering her chamber? Unless further evidence is forthcoming we shall never know for certain. Nevertheless, Anne does acknowledge that he was in her chamber and that fact has never before been linked with her pregnancy as will be discussed below.

### Anne Boleyn and Mark Smeaton - Confessions and Allegations

Anne Boleyn was variously called "la Ana," "the Concubine," and "la Manceba" by ambassador Eustace Chapuys and others associated with the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, who was the nephew of the former Queen, Catherine of Aragon. In the following extracts the specific references to Mark Smeaton have been highlighted in red.

Eustace Chapuys writing to the Holy Roman Emperor on 2 May 1536 from London specifically mentions Anne's adultery with a spinet-player of her chamber, (38):

.... [Queen Anne Boleyn] who has actually been brought from Greenwich to this city under the escort of the duke of Norfolk, and of the two chamberlains - that of the Kingdom, and that of the Royal Chamber - and allowed only four maid-servants in attendance. The reason for all this, as the rumour goes, is, that she [Queen Anne Boleyn] has for a length of time lived in adultery with a spinet-player of her chamber, who has this very morning been confined to the Tower, as well as Mr. Norris, this king's principal and most favoured groom-in-waiting, for not having revealed what he knew of the said adulterous connexion. Rochefort, the brother, was likewise sent to the Tower six hours before .....

The transcripts made by Dr. Gustav Bergenroth from the State Papers in the Public Archives at Simancas and private collections in Spain, and in the public archives of Paris and Brussels, were intended as material for a History of the reign of Emperor Charles V. In one of these is confirmation that Mark Smeaton and Queen Anne were accused of committing adultery, (39):

..... queen, had been put in the Tower for adultery with an organist of her chamber, and the King's most private "sommelier de corps." Her brother is imprisoned for not giving information of her crime .....

Roland Bulkeley writing to Sir Richard Bulkeley, also on 2 May 1536, stated that, (40):

..... The Queen is in the Tower, with the earl of Wiltshire, lord Rochford, Mr. Norres, one master Markes, one of the King's privy chamber, and sundry ladies. The cause is high treason, that is to say, "that maister Norres shulde have a do wythe the Queyne, and Markes and the other acsesari to the sayme. The arre lyke to suffyre, all ther morre is the pitte."

Sir Edward Baynton writing to the Treasurer, Sir William FitzWilliam from Greenwich, (25):

..... There is much communication that no man will confess anything against her, but only Marke of any actual thing. It would, in my foolish conceit, much touch the King's honor if it should no further appear. .... Greenwich.

Sir John Duddeley writing to Lady Lisle on 10 May 1536 from Calais, (41):

..... Today Mr. Norres, Mr. Weston, William a Brearton, Markes, and lord Rocheforde were indicted, and on Friday they will be arraigned at Westminster. The Queen herself will be condemned by Parliament .....

The papal nuncio to France, Rodolfo Pio di Carpi, the Bishop of Faenza, writing to Ambrosius de Recalcatis [Ambrogio], the Papal Secretary, on 10 May 1536 from Sury le Comtat in France [Da Suoyeu], (42):

News came yesterday from England that the King had caused to be arrested the Queen, her father, mother, brother, and an organist with whom she had been too intimate .....

The *Baga de Secretis* records of the trial of Smeaton, Norris, Bryerton and Weston state that, (43):

..... Record of the sessions holden Friday after three weeks of Easter 28 Hen. VIII ..... Noreys, Bryerton, Weston, and Smeton were brought up in the custody of the constable of the Tower, when Smeton pleaded guilty of violation and carnal knowledge of the Queen, and put himself in the King's mercy. Noreys, Bryerton, and Weston pleaded not guilty. The jury return a verdict of Guilty, and that

they have no lands, goods, or chattels ..... Judgment against all four as in cases of treason; execution to be at Tyburn .....

Sir John Russell writing to Lord Lisle on 12 May 1536 from Westminster, (44):

..... Today Mr. Norres and such other as you know are cast, and the Queen shall go to her judgment on Monday next .....

John Hussee writing to Lord Lisle on 12 May 1536 from London, (45):

..... Today Mr. Norrys, Weston, Bryerton, and Markes have been arraigned, and are judged to be drawn, hanged, and quartered. They shall die tomorrow or Monday. Anne the queen, and her brother, shall be arraigned in the Tower, some think tomorrow, but on Monday at furthest, and that they will suffer there immediately "for divers considerations, which are not yet known." Mr. Payge and Mr. W[y]at are in the Tower, but it is thought without danger of life, though Mr. Payge is banished the King's court for ever. ....

Thomas Cromwell wrote to Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Sir John Wallop on 14 May 1536 from The Rolls; this is considered an 'official' version of events (46):

.....The Queen's incontinent living was so rank and common that the ladies of her privy chamber could not conceal it. It came to the ears of some of the Council, who told his Majesty, although with great fear, as the case enforced. Certain persons of the privy chamber and others of her side were examined, and the matter appeared so evident that, besides that crime, "there brake out a certain conspiracy of the King's death, which extended so far that all we that had the examination of it quaked at the danger his Grace was in, and on our knees gave him (God ?) laud and praise that he had preserved him so long from it." Certain men were committed to the Tower, viz., Marks and Norris and the Queen's brother; then she herself was apprehended and committed to the same place; after her Sir Francis Weston and William Brereton. Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Marks are already condemned to death, having been arraigned at Westminster on Friday last. The Queen and her brother are to be arraigned tomorrow, and will undoubtedly go the same way .....

The *Baga de Secretis* records of the trial of Queen Anne Boleyn and George Boleyn, Lord Rochford, state that, (47):

Record of pleas held at the Tower of London before Thomas Duke of Norfolk, treasurer and earl marshal, lord high steward, citing:

.....

(7.) Indictment found at Westminster on Wednesday next after three weeks of Easter, 28 Hen. VIII. .... that whereas queen Anne has been the wife of Henry VIII. for three years and more, she, despising her marriage, and entertaining malice against the King, and following daily her frail and carnal lust, did falsely and traitorously procure by base conversations and kisses, touchings, gifts, and other infamous incitations, divers of the King's daily and familiar servants to be her adulterers and concubines, so that several of the King's servants yielded to her vile provocations; viz., on 6th Oct. 25 Hen. VIII., at Westminster, and divers days before and after, she procured, by sweet words, kisses, touches, and otherwise, Hen. Noreys, of Westminster, gentle man of the privy chamber, to violate her, by reason whereof he did so at Westminster on the 12th Oct. 25 Hen. VIII.; and they had illicit intercourse at various other times, both before and after, sometimes by his procurement, and sometimes by that of the Queen. Also the Queen, 2 Nov. 27 Hen. VIII. and several times before and after, at Westminster, procured and incited her own natural brother, Geo. Boleyn, lord Rocheford, gentleman of the privy chamber, to violate her, alluring him with her tongue in the said George's mouth, and the said George's tongue in hers, and also with kisses, presents, and jewels; whereby he, despising the commands of God, and all human laws, 5 Nov. 27 Hen. VIII., violated and carnally knew the said Queen, his own sister, at Westminster; which he also did on divers other days before and after at the same place, sometimes by his own procurement and sometimes by the Queen's. Also the Queen, 3 Dec. 25 Hen. VIII., and divers days before and after, at Westminster, procured one Will. Bryerton, late of Westminster, gentleman of the privy chamber, to violate her, whereby he did so on 8 Dec. 25 Hen. VIII., at Hampton Court, in the parish of Lytel Hampton, and on several other days before and after, sometimes by his own procurement and sometimes by the Queen's. Also the Queen, 8 May 26 Hen. VIII., and at other times before and since, procured Sir Fras. Weston, of Westminster, gentleman of the privy chamber, &c., whereby he did so on the 20 May, &c. Also the Queen, 12 April 26 Hen. VIII., and divers days before and since, at Westminster, procured Mark Smeton, groom of the privy chamber, to violate her, whereby he did so; at Westminster, 26 April 27 Hen. VIII.

Moreover, the said lord Rocheford, Norreys, Bryerton, Weston, and Smeton, being thus inflamed with carnal love of the Queen, and having become very jealous of each other, gave her secret gifts and pledges while carrying on this illicit intercourse; and the Queen, on her part, could not endure any of them to converse with any other woman, without showing great displeasure; and on the 27 Nov. 27 Hen. VIII., and other days before and after, at Westminster, she gave them great gifts to encourage them in their crimes. And further the said Queen and these other traitors, 31 Oct. 27 Hen. VIII., at Westminster, conspired the death and destruction of the King, the Queen often saying she would marry one of them as soon as the King died, and affirming that she would never love the King in her heart. And the King having a short time since become aware of the said abominable crimes and treasons against himself, took such inward displeasure and heaviness, especially from his said Queen's malice and adultery, that certain harms and perils have befallen his royal body.

And thus the said Queen and the other traitors aforesaid have committed their treasons in contempt of the Crown, and of the issue and heirs of the said King and Queen.

(8.) Record of indictment and process before Baldewyn, Luke, and others, in co. Kent.

The indictment found at Deptford, on Thursday, 11 May 28 Hen. VIII., is precisely similar in character to the Middlesex indictment, except as regards times and places; viz., that the Queen at Estgrenewyche, 12 Nov. 25 Hen. VIII., and divers days before and since, allured one Hen. Noreys, late of Est Grenewyche, to violate her, whereby he did so on the 19 Nov., &c.; that on 22 Dec. 27 Hen. VIII., and divers other days, at Eltham, she allured Geo. Boleyn, lord Rocheford, &c., whereby he did so, 29 Dec., &c.; that on the 16 Nov. 25 Hen. VIII., and divers, &c., at Est Grenewyche, she allured one Will. Bryerton, late of Est Grenewyche, &c., whereby he did so, 27 Nov., &c.; that on the 6 June 26 Hen. VIII., &c., at Est Grenewyche, she allured Sir Fras. Weston, &c., whereby he did so, 20 June, &c.; that on the 13 May 26 Hen. VIII. &c., at Est Grenewyche, she allured Mark Smeton, &c., whereby he did so, 19 May 26 Hen. VIII.

And further that the said Boleyn, &c. grew jealous of each other; and the Queen, to encourage them, at Eltham, 31 Dec. 27 Hen. VIII., and divers times before and since, made them presents, &c.; that the Queen and the others, 8 Jan. 27 Hen. VIII., conspired the King's death, &c., and that she promised to marry one of the traitors whenever the King was dead, affirming she would never love him, &c.

And afterwards, Monday, 15 May, queen Anne comes to the bar before the Lord High Steward in the Tower, in the custody of Sir Will. Kingston, pleads not guilty, and puts herself on her peers; whereupon the said duke of Suffolk, marquis of Exeter, and other peers, are charged by the High Steward to say the truth; and being examined from the lowest peer to the highest, each of them severally saith that she is guilty.

Judgment:—To be taken to prison in the Tower, and then, at the King's command, to the Green within the Tower, and there to be burned or beheaded as shall please the King.

The same day, lord Rocheford is brought before the High Steward in the custody of Sir Will. Kingston, and pleads not guilty. The peers are charged, with the exception of the earl of Northumberland, who was suddenly taken ill, and each of them severally saith that he is guilty.

Judgment:—To be taken to prison in the Tower, and then drawn through the city of London, to the gallows at Tyburn, &c., as usual in high treason.

The Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, writing to his Ambassador, Eustace Chapuys, on 15 May 1536 from Pontremolo in Italy, (48):

..... Hannaert has written to Granvelle on the 9th that he had just heard that the king of England's concubine had been surprised in bed with the King's organist .....

Eustace Chapuys, the Ambassador to the Holy Roman Emperor, writing to Charles V on 19 May 1536, (49):

..... On the 12th inst. Master Norris, first chamberlain to this king, Master Obouston (Weaston) who used to sleep in the King's chamber, Master Bruton (Brereton), the gentleman in waiting, about whom I wrote to Your Majesty by my secretary, were condemned as traitors, and sentenced to death. Of these, only the last-named confessed having slept with the concubine on three different occasions; all the others were sentenced on mere presumption or on very slight grounds, without legal proof or valid confession. [\*] On the 15th the concubine herself and her brother (George), were tried by a tribunal composed of the principal lords of the kingdom, and convicted of treason, the duke of Norfolk presiding over it and reading the sentence to the culprits. I am told that the earl of Wiltshire wished also to be present at the trial [of his daughter and son], as he had been at that of the other four. Neither the concubine nor her brother were taken to Westminster as the other criminals had been; they were tried

within the Tower, and yet the trial was far from being kept secret, for upwards of 2,000 people were present .....

*[\*] Au xiie de ce mois furent condampnez comme traitrez maistre noris premier sommelier de corps de ce roy, maistre obouston que souloit coucher avec le dict roy, maistre bruton gentilhomme, dont par mon homme eseripulz a vostre maieste, et ce na este que le dict varlet qua confesse sestre trouvee avec la putain et coucubyne du dict roy par trois fois. Les autres ont este condampnez par presumption et aucuns indices, sans preuve ne confession valide."*

Anthony Pykeryng writing to Lady Lisle on 19 May 1536 from London, (51):

..... On the 17th instant lord Rochford, Master Norrys, Master Weston, Master Brwerton, and Markes of the Privy Chamber were put to death on Tower Hill. Today the Queen was put to death within the Tower in the presence of a thousand people

John Hussee writing to Lord Lisle on 19 May 1536 from London, (52):

..... Lord Rocheford, Mr. Norrys, Bruriton, Weston, and Markes suffered with the axe on the scaffold at Tower Hill on Wednesday the 17th, and died very charitably. The Queen suffered with sword this day within the Tower, upon a new scaffold, and died boldly. ....

John Hussee writing to Lady Lisle on 19 May 1536 from London (George Taylor was Anne Boleyn's receiver general), (53):

..... "The late Queen suffered this day in the Tower, who died boldly; and also her brother, Mr. Noreys, Bruirton, Weston, and Markes suffered the 17th day of this instant upon Tower Hill; all which died charitably. God take them to his mercy if it be his pleasure. Mr. Paige and young Wyat are in the Tower. What shall become of them God best knoweth."

George Taylor is merry, but he and the rest of his late master's servants are at liberty to serve where they please; however, the King has retained some of them

Dr Pedro Ortiz writing to Isabella, the Empress of Charles V, on 23 May 1536 from Rome, (54):

..... No letters have arrived from Eustace Chapuis, but the queen of Hungary writes that the king of England has imprisoned his mistress in the Tower. Other letters state that in order to have a son who might be attributed to the King, she committed adultery with a singer who taught her to play on instruments. Others say it was with her brother. The King has sent them to the Tower with her father, mother, and other relations .....

The papal nuncio to France, Rodolfo Pio di Carpi, the Bishop of Faenza, writing to Ambrosius de Recalcatis [Ambrogio], the Papal Secretary, on 24 May 1536 from Lyons [Da Leone] in France, (55):

According to information from England, received by the King yesterday, on the 15th inst. the Queen was degraded, and the following day was to be executed, - either burnt or beheaded; but first her brother, four gentlemen, and an organist, with whom she had misconducted herself, were to be quartered in her presence. It is not true that her father and mother were imprisoned, but the former, being on the Council, was present at his daughter's sentence. All was done in the presence of the French ambassador only. .... The discovery was owing to words spoken by the organist from jealousy of others. ....

John Hannaert, Viscount of Lombeke, the Ambassador of the Holy Roman Emperor in France, writing to Charles V on 26 May 1536 from Lyon sur le Rhone [De Leon Solarrona], (56):

There is news from England that the so-called Queen was found in bed with her organist, and taken to prison. It is proved that she had criminal intercourse (hazia el maleficio a si mismo) with her brother and others, and that the daughter supposed to be hers was taken from a poor man. The English ambassador says that she and her brother are condemned to be burnt, and a valet (camarero) of the King's, who was very intimate with him, and three others, to be beheaded, for conspiring the death of the King .....

A poem composed in London on 2 June 1536 describes the life of Anne Boleyn, (57); this substantially agrees with Thomas Cromwell's 'official' version of events, see above, (46) and (Bernard2011), pg.127:

..... A lord of the Privy Council seeing clear evidence that his sister loved certain persons with a dishonorable love, admonished her fraternally. She acknowledged her offence, but said it was little in her case in comparison with that of the Queen, as he might ascertain from Mark [Smeaton], declaring that she was guilty of incest with her own brother. The brother did not know what to do on this intelligence, and took counsel with two friends of the King, with whom he went to the King himself

and one reported it in the name of all three. .... But Mark was then in prison and was forced to answer the accusation against him. Without being tortured he deliberately said that the Queen had three times yielded to his passion. .... They next went to Norris, Waston, and Barton, who all likewise refused to confess, except Mark, who had done so already .....

Dr Pedro Ortiz writing to Isabella, the Empress of Charles V, on 2 June 1536 from Rome, (58):

..... The King's mistress had six lovers, one being her own brother. Another, a musician, seeing that he was less favoured, discovered the fact to the King, first asking for pardon and his life. Now they are all taken it is found to be true. Her father, who was innocent, approved her condemnation. She was sentenced, first to be degraded from being Queen, then beheaded and burnt, seeing the others suffer the same death, with the exception of the one who revealed the crime. It was proved at the trial that she had behaved in this way before the conception of the child which the King thought to be his. It is intended to declare the child not to be the King's. .... Rome, 2 June 1536.

John Hannaert, Viscount of Lombeke, the Ambassador of the Holy Roman Emperor in France, writing to the Empress on 2 June 1536 from Lyon sur le Rhone [De Leon Solarrona], (59):

..... Ana de Bolan has been sent to the Tower with her brother "el conde de Sefort" (Rochford), and three other gentlemen of the King's chamber, named Norris, Wasten, and Breton, and an organist. On the 16th they were publicly beheaded for adultery with the Queen and conspiracy against the King. The Queen's head and body were taken to a church in the Tower, accompanied by four ladies. The other bodies were quartered. ....

Translation of a letter from a Portuguese gentleman to a friend in Lisbon, describing the execution of Anne Boleyn on Friday 19th May and of Lord Rochford, Brereton, Norris, Smeton, and Weston on Wednesday 17th May with a report of their speeches on the scaffold, (60).

### **Anne Boleyn miscarries 29 January 1536**

Anne had miscarried on 29 January 1536, the same day as the funeral for the ex-Queen Catherine of Aragon, as is described in Charles Wriothesley, the Windsor Herald's Chronicle of England, (36):

This year also, three days before Candlemas Queen Anne was brought abed and delivered of a man child as it was said afore her time for she said that she had reckoned herself at that time but fifteen weeks gone with child ; it was said she took a fright, for the King ran that time at the ring and had a fall from his horse, but he had no hurt; and she took such a fright withal that it caused her to fall in travail and so was delivered afore her full time, which was a great discomfort to all this realm.

This was also reported by Eustace Chapuys, the Ambassador to the Holy Roman Emperor on 17 February, though it is possible that the above relied on the following report, (37):

On the same day that the Queen was buried this King's concubine miscarried of a child, who had the appearance of a male about three months and a half old, at which miscarriage the King has certainly shown great disappointment and sorrow. The concubine herself has since attempted to throw all the blame on the duke of Norfolk, whom she hates, pretending that her mishap was entirely owing to the shock she received when, six days before, he (the Duke) came to announce to her the King's fall from his horse. But the King knows very well that it was not that, for his accident was announced to her in a manner not to create alarm; besides which, when she heard of it, she seemed quite indifferent to it. Upon the whole, the general opinion is that the concubine's miscarriage was entirely owing to defective constitution, and her utter inability to bear male children; whilst others imagine that the fear of the King treating her as he treated his late Queen, which is not unlikely, considering his behaviour towards a damsel of the Court, named Miss Seymour, to whom he has latterly made very valuable presents [\*] is the oral cause of it all. The Princess' governess, her daughters, and a niece of hers, have greatly mourned over the concubine's miscarriage, never ceasing to interrogate one of the Princess' most familiar maids in waiting on the subject, and asking whether their mistress had been informed of Anne's miscarriage, for if she had, as was most likely, they still would not for the world that she knew the rest of the affair and its causes, thereby intending to say that there was fear of the King's taking another wife. [\*\*]

[\*] *Veü mesmement le trayn et trayn et termes qu'ilz avec une demoiselle de court, nommee maistresse Semel, a la quelle selon que dient plusieurs il a fait ces iours de grans presens.*

[\*\*] *Et nont cesse dintcroger une demoiselle quest la plus familiere de la pricesse si la mesme princesse [ne] scauroit point les dictes nouvelles de lauortement, et que cella pouvoit elle scavoir, mais quelles ne voudroient pour nens quellu sçeut le surplus, veuillant dire de ce quil y avoit craincte que ce roy ne print une autre femme.*

In the Calendar précis of this letter the words **male about three months and a half old** have been changed, as follows, and shows the danger of relying on a précis:

**On the day of the interment the Concubine had an abortion which seemed to be a male child which she had not borne 3½ months, at which the King has shown great distress.**

In a French poem written by Lancelot de Carles, a member of the French Embassy in London, on 2 June 1536, reference is made to Anne's miscarriage (57). This account, even though a poem, is close to the official account of Anne's life written by Cromwell:

*Son ventre plain et son fruit advanca  
Et enfanta ung beau filz avant terme,  
Qui nasquit mort don't versa mainte lerne*

Her full belly brought forth its fruit  
she gave birth prematurely to a handsome son  
who was stillborn over which she shed many tears

A letter enclosed with another written by Eustace Chapuys to Charles V is shown as an English translation from a French translation of a copy of an English original in the Calendar entry, (37). Eustace Chapuys claims that it was a letter from Anne Boleyn to her Aunt, Anne Shelton, Princess Elizabeth's governess, which had been obtained by Chapuys:

..... a letter which the King's concubine wrote to her aunt, McShelton, the Princess' governess, shortly before she miscarried .....

Mrs. Shelton, my pleasure is that you do not further move the lady Mary to be towards the King's Grace otherwise than it pleases herself. What I have done has been more for charity than for anything the King or I care what road she takes, or whether she will change her purpose, **for if I have a son, as I hope shortly**, I know what will happen to her; and therefore, considering the Word of God, to do good to one's enemy, I wished to warn her before hand, because I have daily experience that the King's wisdom is such as not to esteem her repentance of her rudeness and unnatural obstinacy when she has no choice. By the law of God and of the King, she ought clearly to acknowledge her error and evil conscience if her blind affection had not so blinded her eyes that she will see nothing but what pleases herself. Mrs. Shelton, I beg you not to think to do me any pleasure by turning her from any of her wilful courses, because she could not do me [good] or evil; and do your duty about her according to the King's command, as I am assured you do, "*et le devez estre aussi (qu. assuré?) que me trouverez vre. bonne dame quil ne (qu. quelle?) chose quelle face.*"

Finally, in her book on contemporary documents written by and about Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth Norton (Norton2011) says that after her marriage to Sir William Stafford in 1534 which caused Mary to be banished from court for marrying 'beneath' her, (61):

..... Anne eventually forgave her sister [Mary Stafford], bringing her back to court to attend her final pregnancy .....

However, the author has been unable to find any contemporary reference to support this assertion.

### **When did Anne Boleyn conceive ?**

In the above case, if we assume that medieval women counted their pregnancy to have started from the day they missed their menstruation, then to calculate the date of conception, two weeks should be added to the 15 weeks stated by Anne when she miscarried on 29 January 1536. Thus conception would have occurred in a two week period either side of 2 October 1535.

Also it is possible to determine the sex of a foetus by external examination from about 13 weeks which agrees with her statement that it was a 'man child.' However, if a foetus dies in the womb before the miscarriage occurs then this can affect the appearance of the foetus and may explain reports that the "foetus was deformed", see (Bernard2011), pp.128-130.

The author would like to thank Roy Weller a Guide at Winchester Cathedral and also Emeritus Professor of Neuropathology and his colleagues at the University of Southampton for their advice on these obstetric questions.

The date of one week either side of 2 October overlaps with the time that Anne Boleyn was in Winchester at Wolvesey Palace, namely from 25 to 30 September. As discussed above this was also the time that Mark Smeaton was in her chamber !

Sir John Dewhurst has analysed the actual and possible pregnancies of Anne Boleyn, see (Dewhurst 1984) for the details. But he, like all other historians who have written about Anne Boleyn, has never calculated the dates of conception.

### **Conclusion**

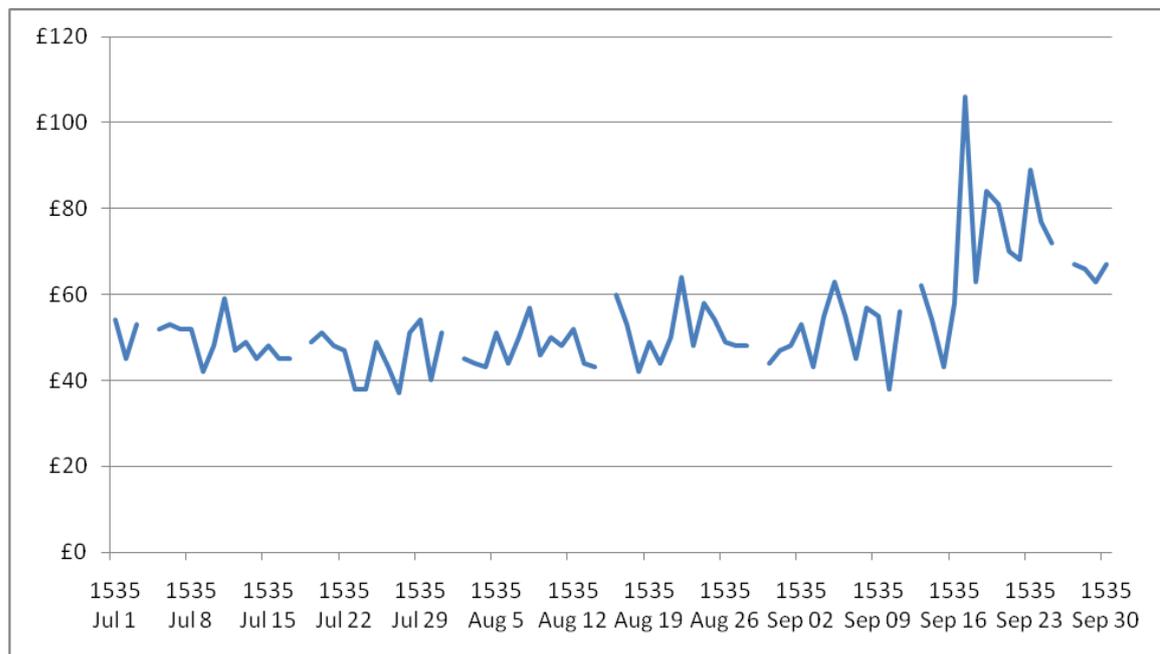
It is left to the reader to decide as to whether Anne Boleyn and Mark Smeaton really did commit adultery in Winchester. The evidence is circumstantial but does fit the hypothesis; let us hope that more definitive contemporary accounts are hidden in an archive waiting to be discovered and able to prove or disprove it.

**Table 1 - Royal Household Residence and Expenditure, see (1)**

Date	Day	Residence	Daily Expenditure
1535 May 15 - Jun 3	Saturday to Thursday	Greenwich	
1535 Jun 4	Friday	Greenwich to Waltham	
1535 Jun 5 - Jun 7	Saturday to Monday	Waltham	
1535 Jun 8	Tuesday	Waltham to Westminster	
1535 Jun 9	Wednesday	Westminster	
1535 Jun 10	Thursday	Westminster to Hanworth	
1535 Jun 11	Friday	Hanworth	
1535 Jun 12	Saturday	Hanworth to Windsor	
1535 Jun 13 - Jul 8	Sunday to Thursday	Windsor	Jul 1 - £54 15s. 3d. Jul 2 - £45 17s. 8½d. Jul 3 - £53 8s. 2½d. Jul 4 - unreadable Jul 5 - £52 19s. Jul 6 - £53 15s. 11d. Jul 7 - £52 1s. 3½d. Jul 8 - £52 1s. 3d.
1535 Jul 9	Friday	Windsor to Reading	Jul 9 - £42 11s. 4½d.
1535 Jul 10 - Jul 11	Saturday to Sunday	Reading	Jul 10 - £48 8s. ¾d. Jul 11 - £59 13s. 8¾d.
1535 Jul 12	Monday	Reading to Ewelme	Jul 12 - £47 4s. 1¾d.
1535 Jul 13	Tuesday	Ewelme	Jul 13 - £49 11s. 2¼d.
1535 Jul 14	Wednesday	Ewelme to Abingdon	Jul 14 - £45 6s. 11¾d.
1535 Jul 15	Thursday	Abingdon	Jul 15 - £48 8s. 8¾d.
1535 Jul 16	Friday	Abingdon to Langley	Jul 16 - £45 8s. 7¾d.
1535 Jul 17 - Jul 20	Saturday to Tuesday	Langley	Jul 17 - £45 8s. ¾d. Jul 18 - unreadable Jul 19 - £49 Jul 20 - £51 18s.
1535 Jul 21	Wednesday	Langley to Winchcombe	Jul 21 - £48 11 s.
1535 Jul 22 - Jul 25	Thursday to Sunday	Winchcombe	Jul 22 - £47 3s. 5¼d. Jul 23 - £38 11s. ¾d. Jul 24 - £38 12s. 1¾d. Jul 25 - £49 13s. 4¼d.
1535 Jul 26	Monday	Winchcombe to Tewkesbury	Jul 26 - £43 9s. 11¾d.
1535 Jul 27 - Jul 30	Tuesday to Friday	Tewkesbury	Jul 27 - £37 8s. 6¾d. Jul 28 - £51 14s. 6¾d. Jul 29 - £54 7s. 2¼d. Jul 30 - £40 11s. 10¼d.
1535 Jul 31	Saturday	Tewkesbury to Gloucester	Jul 31 - £51 4s. 7¾d.
1535 Aug 1 - Aug 5	Sunday to Thursday	Gloucester	Aug 1 - unreadable Aug 2 - £45 Aug 3 - £44 4s. Aug 4 - £43 4s. Aug 5 - £51 11s. 8¾d.
1535 Aug 6	Friday	Gloucester to Stanley	Aug 6 - £44 0s. 5¼d.
1535 Aug 7	Saturday	Stanley to Barkeley Herons	Aug 7 - £50 19s. 2¼d.
1535 Aug 8 - Aug 13	Sunday to Friday	Barkeley Herons	Aug 8 - £57 10s. 3¾d. Aug 9 - £46 19s. ¼d. Aug 10 - £50 13s. 6½d. Aug 11 - £48 8s. 9d. Aug 12 - £52 3s. 2½d. Aug 13 - £44 1s. 8½d.
1535 Aug 14	Saturday	Barkeley Herons to Thornbury	Aug 14 - £43 2s. 11d.
1535 Aug 15 - Aug 24	Sunday to next Tuesday	Thornbury	Aug 15 - unreadable Aug 16 - £60 12s. Aug 17 - £53 15s. Aug 18 - £42 19s. Aug 19 - £49 3s. 2d. Aug 20 - £44 9s. 3d. Aug 21 - £50 2s. 3½d. Aug 22 - £64 15s. 9d. Aug 23 - £48 15s. 1½d. Aug 24 - £58 8s. 8d.

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1535 Aug 25	Wednesday	Thornbury to Sodbury	Aug 25 - £54 2s. 5½d.
1535 Aug 26	Thursday	Sodbury	Aug 26 - £49 12s. 8d.
1535 Aug 27	Friday	Sodbury to Bromham	Aug 27 - £48 6s. 11½d.
1535 Aug 28 to Sep 2	Saturday to Thursday	Bromham	Aug 28 - £48 3s. 0d. Aug 29 - unreadable Aug 30 - £44 Aug 31 - £47 8s. Sep 1 - £48 19s. Sep 2 - £53 8s. 7½d.
1535 Sep 3	Friday	Bromham to Wolf Hall	Sep 3 - £43 4s. 5d.
1535 Sep 4 - Sep 8	Saturday to Wednesday	Wolf Hall	Sep 4 - £55 4s. 6½d. Sep 5 - £63 15s. 4d. Sep 6 - £55 4s. 3d. Sep 7 - £45 1s. 2½d. Sep 8 - £57 18s. 0d.
1535 Sep 9	Thursday	Wolf Hall to Thruxton	Sep 9 - £55 14s. 2d.
1535 Sep 10	Friday	Thruxton	Sep 10 - £38 8s. 4½d.
1535 Sep 11	Saturday	Thruxton to Winchester	Sep 11 - £56 8s. 5d.
1535 Sep 12 - Sep 15	Sunday to Wednesday	Winchester	Sep 12 - unreadable Sep 13 - £62 Sep 14 - £54 14s. 6¾d. Sep 15 - £43 14s. 6½d.
1535 Sep 16	Thursday	Winchester to Bishops Waltham	Sep 16 - £58 8s. 2d.
1535 Sep 17 - Sep 24	Friday to Friday	Bishops Waltham	Sep 17 - £106 10s. 1½d. Sep 18 - £63 15s. 6d. Sep 19 - £84 8s. 4½d. Sep 20 - £81 7s. 7½d. Sep 21 - £70 1s. 9d. Sep 22 - £68 19s. 3d. Sep 23 - £89 12s. 3d. Sep 24 - £77 0s. 2d.
1535 Sep 25	Saturday	Bishops Waltham to Winchester	Sep 25 - £72 5s. 7d.
1535 Sep 26 - Sep 29	Sunday to Wednesday	Winchester	Sep 26 - unreadable Sep 27 - £67 Sep 28 - £66 7s. 8½d. Sep 29 - £63 3s. 4d.
1535 Sep 30	Thursday	Winchester to Hampton	Sep 30 - £67 5s. 3d.



**Figure 1 - Royal Household Daily Expenditure during the Royal Progress**

The missing values are because the document is unreadable in certain places due to water damage.

**Table 2 - The Plan for Henry VIII's Progress - July to October 1535, see (3)**

Date	Day	Residence	Days	Miles	Miles Today
1535 Jul 5	Monday	Windsor to Reading		12	15.6
1535 Jul 6 - Jul 7	Tuesday to Wednesday	Reading	3		
1535 Jul 8	Thursday	Reading to Ewelme		10	12.0
1535 Jul 9	Friday	Ewelme	2		
1535 Jul 10	Saturday	Ewelme to Abingdon		8	10.0
1535 Jul 11 - Jul 12	Sunday to Monday	Abingdon	3		
1535 Jul 13	Tuesday	Abingdon to Langley		12	16.7
1535 Jul 14 - Jul 16	Wednesday to Friday	Langley	4		
1535 Jul 17	Saturday	Langley to <b>Sydley</b>		14	17.2
1535 Jul 18 - Jul 22	Sunday to Thursday	<b>Sydley</b>	6		
1535 Jul 23	Friday	<b>Sydley</b> to Tewkesbury		7	9.9
1535 Jul 24 - Jul 26	Saturday to Monday	Tewkesbury	4		
1535 Jul 27	Tuesday	Tewkesbury to Gloucester		7	9.0
1535 Jul 28 - Aug 1	Wednesday to Sunday	Gloucester	6		
1535 Aug 2	Monday	Gloucester to Barkeley Herons		15	15.4
1535 Aug 3 - Aug 8	Tuesday to Sunday	Barkeley Herons	7		
1535 Aug 9	Monday	Barkeley Herons to Thornbury		5	5.7
1535 Aug 10 - Aug 16	Tuesday to Monday	Thornbury	8		
1535 Aug 17	Tuesday	Thornbury to <b>Bristol</b>		10	9.6
1535 Aug 18 - Aug 20	Wednesday to Friday	<b>Bristol</b>	4		
1535 Aug 21	Saturday	<b>Bristol</b> to <b>Acton</b>		7	6.6
1535 Aug 22	Sunday	<b>Acton (Master Poyntz Place)</b>	2		
1535 Aug 23	Monday	<b>Acton</b> to <b>Master Walshes</b>		6	5.0
1535 Aug 24 - Aug 25	Tuesday to Wednesday	<b>Master Walshes</b>	3		
1535 Aug 26	Thursday	<b>Master Walshes</b> to Bromham		12	17.2
1535 Aug 27 to Sep 1	Friday to Wednesday	Bromham	7		
1535 Sep 2	Thursday	Bromham to Wolf Hall		<10>	16.2
1535 Sep 3 - Sep 6	Friday to Monday	Wolf Hall	5		
1535 Sep 7	Tuesday	Wolf Hall to Thruxton		12	13.6
1535 Sep 8 - Sep 9	Wednesday to Thursday	Thruxton	3		
1535 Sep 10	Friday	Thruxton to <b>Priors Hurstbourne</b>		8	9.3
1535 Sep 10	Friday night	<b>Priors Hurstbourne</b>	2		
1535 Sep 11	Saturday	<b>Priors Hurstbourne</b> to Winchester		10	10.9
1535 Sep 12 - Sep 15	Sunday to Wednesday	Winchester	5		
1535 Sep 16	Thursday	Winchester to Bishops Waltham		7	8.7
1535 Sep 17 - Sep 21	Friday to Tuesday	Bishops Waltham	6		
1535 Sep 22	Wednesday	Bishops Waltham to <b>Alresford</b>		7	10.2
1535 Sep 22	Wednesday night	<b>Alresford</b>	1		
1535 Sep 23	Thursday	<b>Alresford</b> to <b>Alton</b> (dinner) to <b>Farnham</b>		<12>	17.9
1535 Sep 24 - Sep 26	Friday to Sunday	<b>Farnham</b>	4		
1535 Sep 27	Monday	<b>Farnham</b> to Easthampstead		6	12.9
1535 Sep 28 - Sep 30	Tuesday to Thursday	Easthampstead	blank		
1535 Oct 1	Friday	Easthampstead to Windsor			9.4

The number of 'Days' specified in the original document includes the previous night after travelling to the residence. The number of 'Miles' seems to be less than we would reckon today as shown in 'Miles Today' which is an 'as the crow flies' calculation and hence a minimum distance.

The Residences highlighted in red above are the differences from where the Royal Household actually stayed, see Table 1. Thus:

- **Sydley** is close to Winchcombe
- **Bristol** and [Iron] **Acton (Master Poyntz Place)** were not visited, unless the latter was *en-route*, but Stanley was visited instead; Poyntz refers to Sir Nicholas Poyntz
- **Master Walshes** was at Sodbury; Walshe refers to Sir John Walsh.
- **Priors Hurstbourne** was not visited, unless it was *en-route*
- The Royal Progress returned to Winchester from Bishops Waltham and changed significantly as is shown in Table 3, thus **Alresford**, **Alton** and **Farnham** were not visited

**Table 3 - Approximate Itinerary for the Royal Progress after it left Winchester for the Second Time**

Date	Day	Residence	Reference
1535 Sep 10		arrived in Hampshire	(27)
1535 Sep 30	Thursday	Winchester to Hampton	(1), (14)
1535 Oct 01	Friday	Winchester [King there]	(26)
1535 Oct 03	Sunday	[Sout]hampton	(20), (14)
1535 Oct 04	Monday	[Sout]hampton to Porchester by the <i>Harry Grace Dieu</i>	(16), (18), (22)
1535 Oct 05	Tuesday	Porchester	(14), (16), (27), (33)
		Portsmouth	(27)
		[Sout]hampton	(16)
including 1535 Oct 10	4 days	Salisbury	(27), (29), (33)
		Clarendon	(16)
		[Winchester was <i>en-route</i> from Clarendon to The Vyne !]	
1535 Oct 15	Friday	to The Vyne	(31), (35)
1535 Oct 16 - 18	Saturday to Monday	The Vyne	(31), (35)
1535 Oct 19	Tuesday	The Vyne to Basing	(27), (29), (30), (31), (35)
1535 Oct 20	Wednesday	Basing	(29), (30), (31)
1535 Oct 21	Thursday	Basing to Bramsell/Elvetham	(29), (30), (31)
1535 Oct 21	Thursday night	Bramsell/Elvetham	(29), (30), (31)
1535 Oct 22	Friday	Hertfordbridge	(31)
1535 Oct 22	Friday	Bramsell/Elvetham to Easthampstead	(29), (30), (31)
1535 Oct 23	Saturday	Hertfordbridge to Easthampstead	(31)
1535 Oct 24	Saturday	Easthampstead	(31)
1535 Oct 23 - Oct 25	Saturday to Monday	Easthampstead	(29)
1535 Oct 23	Saturday	Easthampstead to Windsor	(30)
1535 Oct 25	Monday	Easthampstead to Windsor	(31)
1535 Oct 26	Tuesday	Easthampstead to Windsor	(29), (31)
1535 Oct 31	Sunday	Windsor	(27)

Some of the above were letters detailing the planned itinerary in advance and in some cases contradict. This will not be resolved unless new information is forthcoming. Nevertheless, the return from Hampshire to Windsor was 'leisurely' and included several stops.

It is conceivable that Winchester could have been visited for a third time when the Royal Progress travelled from Salisbury via Clarendon Palace, one of Henry VIII's hunting lodges, to the Vyne. This would have been at some point between 10 and 15 October 1535, but no evidence survives to prove or disprove this.

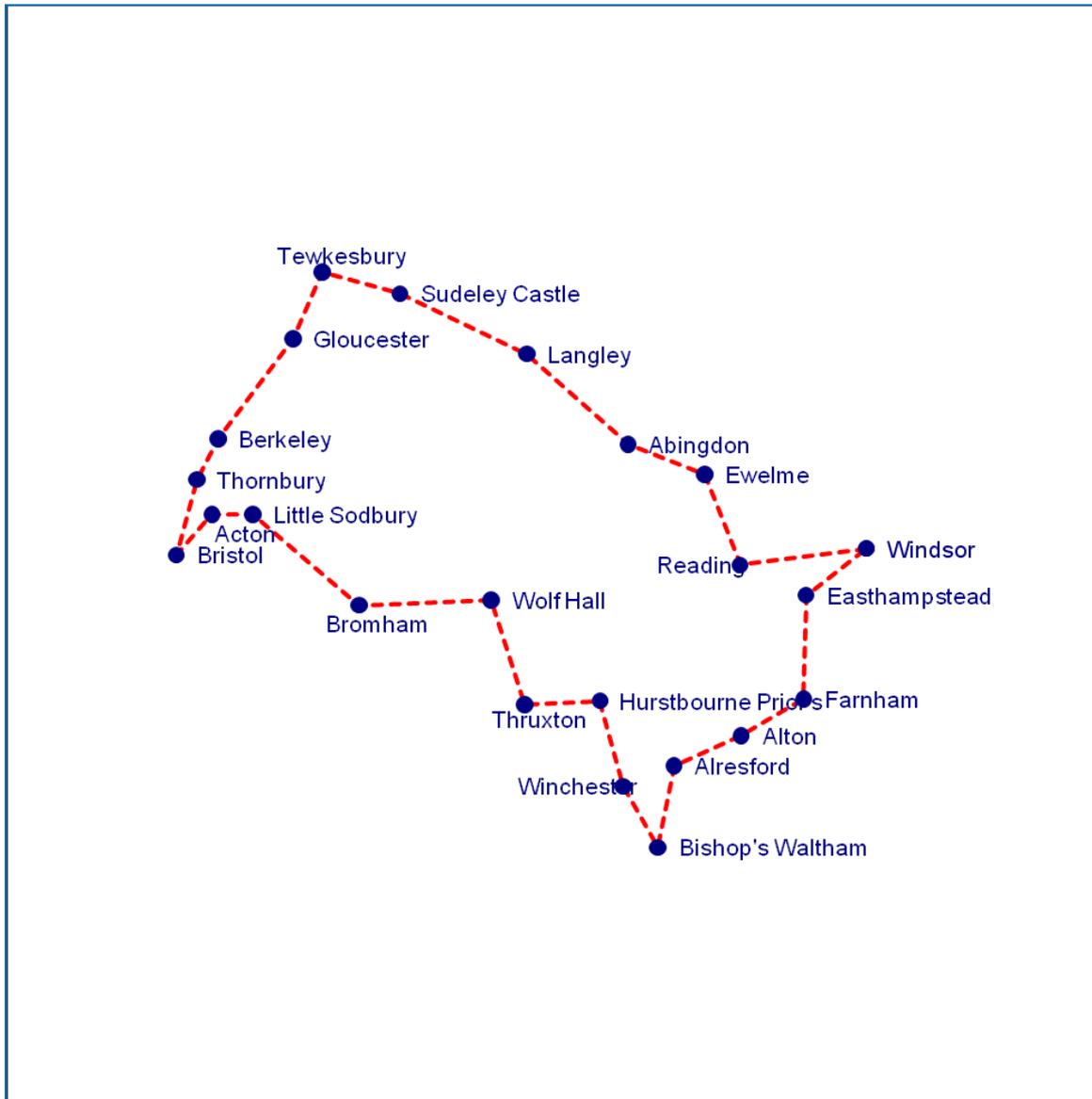


Figure 2 - The Plan for Henry VIII's Progress - July to October 1535

### **Primary Sources - Collections**

These contain Collections of individual Primary Sources, usually bound into volumes.

#### **The British Library**

(Add MS 8,715) - *Rodolfo Pio di Carpi, Bishop of Faenza, Correspondence as Papal Nuncio to France* from 1535 Feb 04 to 1537 Jun 02, The British Library, Reference, Additional MS 8,715

(Add MS 25,114) - *Original Letters and State Papers relating chiefly to the Embassy of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, to the Courts of Francis I and Charles V, 1527-1545*, The British Library, Reference Additional MS 25,114

(Add MS 28,588) - *Transcripts by Dr. Gustav Bergenroth of State Papers in the Public Archives at Simancas and private collections in Spain, and in the public archives of Paris and Brussels, intended as material for a History of the reign of Emperor Charles V*, Volume XVII, 1535 Aug to 1536 Jun, The British Library, Reference Additional MS 28,588

(Otho C X) - The British Library, Reference Cottonian MS, Otho, C, X

(Vit B XXI) - The British Library, Reference Cottonian MS, Vitellius, B, XXI

#### **The National Archives**

(KB8/8) - Special oyer and terminer roll and file Principal Defendants and Charges: *Mark Smeaton, Henry Noreys, William Bryerton, Sir Francis Weston, high treason, adultery with Queen Anne Boleyn*, 1536, The National Archives, Reference KB8/8, Court of King's Bench: Crown Side: Baga de Secretis

(KB8/9) - Roll and file of court of the lord high steward and peers Principal Defendants and Charges: *Queen Anne Boleyn, Sir George Boleyn Lord Rocheford, high treason, adultery and incest*, 1536, The National Archives, Reference KB8/9, (Safe Room document), Court of King's Bench: Crown Side: Baga de Secretis

(SP1/96) - *State Papers, Henry VIII: General Series*, Volume 96, 1535 Aug 28 to 1535 Sep 24, The National Archives, Reference SP1/96

#### **Winchester College Muniments**

*Bursars' Account Roll* - 1534 Sep 05 to 1535 Sep 03, mm.001r-008v, Winchester College Muniments, Reference 22193

### **Primary Sources - Calendars**

These contain summaries of Collections of Primary Sources.

(Brodie) - Brodie, R.H., *Henry VIII Daily Itinerary, 1509-1547*, The National Archives, Reference OBS1/1419

(LPFD IX) - Gairdner, James (Editor), *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, Volume IX, 1535 Aug 01 to 1535 Dec 31, HMSO, London, (1886)

(LPFD X) - Gairdner, James (Editor), *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, Volume X, 1536 Jan 01 to 1536 Jun 30, HMSO, London, (1887)

### **Secondary Sources**

These contain Transcripts and Translations of Primary Sources.

(Bentley1831) - Bentley, Samuel, *Excerpta Historica or Illustrations of English History*, London, (1831)

(Byrne1981) - St Clare Byrne, Muriel (Editor), *The Lisle Letters*, University of Chicago Press, London, (1981)

(Ellis I II 1824) - Ellis, Sir Henry, *Original Letters Illustrative of English History; including Numerous Royal Letters: from Autographs in the British Museum, the State Paper Office, and one or two Other Collections, with Notes and Illustrations*, First Series, First Edition, Volume II, London, (1824)

(Hamilton1875) - Hamilton, William Douglas (Editor), *A Chronicle of England During the Reigns of the Tudors: from A.D. 1485 to 1559 by Charles Wriothesley, Windsor Herald*, Volume I, The Camden Society, Volume XI, Nichols & Sons, Westminster, (1875)

(LP Spanish V I) - de Gayangos, Pascual (Editor), *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain preserved in the Archives at Simancas and Elsewhere*, Volume V, Part I, *Henry VIII, 1534-1535*, Longman & Co, London, (1886)

(LP Spanish V II) - *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain preserved in the Archives at Simancas and Elsewhere*, Volume V, Part II, *Henry VIII, 1536-Jun 1538*, Pascual de Gayangos (Editor), Longman & Co, London, (1888)

(Strype1822 I I) - Strype, John, *Ecclesiastical Memorials relating chiefly to Religion, and the Reformation of it, and the emergencies of the Church of England, under King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary I, with Large Appendixes, containing Original Papers, Records, &c*, Volume I, Part I, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, (1822)

(Strype1733 I) - Strype, John, *Ecclesiastical Memorials; Relating chiefly to Religion, and the Reformation of it, and the Emergencies of the Church of England, under King Henry VIII. King Edward VI. and Queen Mary the First, in Three Volumes*, Volume I, London, (1733), Chapter XXXVI, pp282-283, The British Library, Reference 478.i.9

- (Cavendish/Singer II 1825) - Cavendish, George, *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey and Metrical Visions from the Original Autograph Manuscript with Notes and Other Illustrations* by Singer, Samuel Weller with an Appendix *Extracts from the Life of Anne Boleigne* by George Wyatt, Volume 2, Whittingham, Chiswick, (1825)
- (Starkey1998) - Starkey, David (Editor), Ward, Philip (Assistant Editor), Hawkyard, Alasdair (Indexer), *The Inventory of King Henry VIII - Society Of Antiquaries MS 129 and British Library MS Harley 1419 - The Transcript*, Harvey Miller for the Society of Antiquaries, London, (1998), ISBN 1872501893
- (Crapelet1835) - Crapelet, Georges Adrien, *Lettres de Henry VIII à Anne Boleyn d'après les originaux de la Bibliothèque du Vatican*, Paris, (1835)

### **Tertiary Sources**

These are books and journal articles which draw on and analyse the Primary and Secondary Sources.

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- (Bernard2011) - Bernard George W., *Anne Boleyn: Fatal Attractions*, Yale University Press, London, (2011), ISBN 978-0-3001-7089-4
- (Dewhurst1984) - Dewhurst, Sir John, *The Alleged Miscarriages of Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn*, Medical History, (1984), Volume 28, pp.049-056
- (Ives2005) - Ives, Eric William, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn*, Blackwell Publishing Ltd, (2005), ISBN 978-1-4051-3463-7
- (Lipscomb2009) - Lipscomb, Suzannah, *1536: The Year that Changed Henry VIII*, Lion Hudson plc, (2009), ISBN 978-0-7459-5332-8
- (Norton2011) - Norton, Elizabeth, *Anne Boleyn: In Her Own Words & the Words of Those Who Knew Her*, Amberley, (2011), ISBN 978-1-4456-0043-7
- (Odeh2009) - Odeh, M, Granin, V, Kais, M, Ophir, E and Bornstein J, *Sonographic Fetal Sex Determination* in Obstet Gynecol Surv., (2009 January); Volume 64(1): pp.050-057
- (Scarbrick1997) - Scarbrick, J.J., *Henry VIII*, Yale University Press, London, (1997), ISBN 0-300-07158-2
- (Thomson1964) - Thomson, Patricia, *Sir Thomas Wyatt and his Background*, (1964)

### **Primary Sources - Individual Documents**

Some of these Primary Sources are found in collections these are shown within round brackets and the full reference can be found in one of the sections above.

- (1) 1534 Oct 01 to 1535 Sep 30 - Account Book of Sir William Powlett, Controller of the Household**  
 Primary - *Account Book of Sir William Powlett, Controller of the Household, 1534 Oct 01 to 1535 Sep 30*, ff.001r-036v, The National Archives, Reference E101/422/1  
 Transcript - TNA - E101-422-1 - Household Account Book - Powlett - 1534 Oct 01 to 1535 Sep 30 - Transcript
- (2) 1535 Jun 16 - Sir John Duddeley to Lord Lisle**  
 Primary - (SP3/3), Item 15, ff.016r-016v  
 Secondary - (Byrne1981), Volume 2, Chapter 3, Item 403, pg.506  
 Calendar - (LPFD VIII), Item 882, pg.349
- (3) 1535 Jul 05 - Henry VIII [Progress]**  
 Primary - (SP1/93), Item 989, ff.237r-237v  
 Transcript - TNA - SP1-093-Vol VIII-Item 989 - Henry VIII [Progress] - 1535 July 05 - Transcript
- (4) 1535 Aug 04 - Sir Brian Tuke to Lord Lisle**  
 Primary - (SP3/8), Item 11, ff.014r-014v  
 Secondary - (Byrne1981), Volume 2, Chapter 3, Item 431, pp.543-544  
 Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 27, pp.007-008
- (5) 1535 Aug 07 - Sir Thomas Audeley, Lord Chancellor, to Thomas Cromwell**  
 Primary - (SP1/95), Item 41, ff.042r-043v  
 Secondary - (State Papers I II), Item XXXIV, pp.438-439  
 Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 41, pg.011
- (6) 1535 Sep 09 - Sir Thomas Audeley to Cromwell**  
 Primary - (SP1/96), Item 310, ff.115r-115v  
 Transcript - TNA - SP1-096-Vol IX-Item 310 - Sir Thomas Audeley to Thomas Cromwell - 1535 Sep 09 - Transcript  
 Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 310, pg.104
- (7) 1535 Sep 15 - Henry VIII to Richard Rawlings - Piracy in Wales**  
 Primary - (SP1/96), ff.165r-166v

The Reformation and St Swithun's Priory: as told by the Contemporary Sources for 1535

Transcript - TNA - SP1-096-Vol IX-Item 369 - Henry VIII to Richard Rawlings - Piracy in Wales - 1535 Sep 15 -  
Transcript  
Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 369, pg.124

**(8) 1535 Sep 15 - John Atkynson, Priest, to Lord Lisle**

Primary - (SP3/2), Item 8, ff.009r-009v  
Secondary - (Byrne1981), Volume 2, Chapter 3, Item 446, pg.583  
Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 377, pp.126-127

**(9) 1535 Sep 15 - Unknown to the Queen of Navarre**

Primary - Paris Bibliotheque National, Reference MS 3014, fonds Français, pp.098-100  
Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 378, pg.127

**(10) 1535 [Sep 20] - George Taylour to Lady Lisle**

Primary - (SP3/14), Item 3, ff.002ar-002av  
Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 402, pg.133

**(11) 1534 Sep 05 to 1535 Sep 03 - Winchester College - Bursars' Account Roll**

Primary - *Bursars' Account Roll* - 1534 Sep 05 to 1535 Sep 03, mm.001r-008v, Winchester College Muniments,  
Reference 22193  
Transcript - WCM - 22193 - Computus Bursariorum - 1534 Sep 05 to 1535 Sep 03 - Transcript  
Translation - WCM - 22193 - Computus Bursariorum - 1534 Sep 05 to 1535 Sep 03 - Translation

**(12) 1535 Sep 25 - Eustace Chapuys to Charles V**

Primary - Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, England, Karton 7, Korrespondenz, Berichte, 1536  
Secondary - (LP Spanish V I), Item 205, pp.541-544  
Transcript - TNA - State Papers Spanish-Vol V-Part I-Item 205 - Chapuys to Charles V - 1535 Sep 25 - Transcript  
Translation - TNA - State Papers Spanish-Vol V-Part I-Item 205 - Chapuys to Charles V - 1535 Sep 25 - Translation  
Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 434, pp.140-141

**(13) 1535 Sep 25 - Charles Duke of Suffolk to Nicholas St Martyne**

Primary - (SP1/97), ff.006r-007v  
Transcript - TNA - SP1-097-Vol IX-Item 437 - Charles Brandon to Nicholas St Martin - 1535 Sep 25 - Transcript  
Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 437, pg.142

**(14) 1535 Sep 27 - James Hawksworth to Lord Lisle**

Primary - (SP3/4), Item 10, ff.010r-010v  
Secondary - (Byrne1981), Volume 2, Chapter 3, Item 452, pp.590-592  
Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 460, pg.150

**(15) 1535 Sep 28 - John ap Rice to Ralph Sadler**

Primary - (SP1/97), ff.056r-056v  
Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 466, pg.153

**(16) 1535 Sep 28 - Richard Towris to Lord Lisle**

Primary - (SP3/2), Item 105, ff.149r-150v  
Secondary - (Byrne1981), Volume 2, Chapter 3, Item 454, pp.593-594  
Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 467, pg.153

**(17) 1534 Sep 29 to 1535 Sep 29 - The Queen's Lands**

Primary - The Queen's Lands, The National Archives, Reference SC6/HenVIII/6680  
Calendar (LPFD IX), Item 477, pg.156

**(18) 1535 Oct 02 - Sir Richard Grayfeld to Lord Lisle**

Primary - (SP3/3), Item 112, ff.159r-160v  
Secondary - (Byrne1981), Volume 2, Chapter 3, Item 455, pp.594-595  
Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 525, pp.172-173

**(19) 1535 Oct 01 - Henry VIII to Melancthon**

Transcript - (Strype1822 I I), pp.347-348  
Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 508, pg.166

**(20) 1535 Oct 03 - Henry VIII to James V**

Primary - (SP49/4), ff.067-068  
Secondary - (State Papers V), Item 7  
Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 527, pg.174

**(21) 1535 Oct 04 - Grants in October 1535 - Cosmas Palavicinus**

Primary - (C82/703) - Item 729(10), ff.001r, Dated Southampton, 1535 Oct 04, Delivered Westminster 1535 Oct 05  
 Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 729(10), pg.247

**(22) 1535 Oct 04 - Henry VIII to the Count Palatine**

Primary - (Vit B XXI), ff.109  
 Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 532, pg.175

**(23) 1535 Oct 04 - Sir William Fitzwilliam to Lord Lisle**

Primary - (SP3/3), Item 55, ff.070r-071v  
 Secondary - (Byrne1981), Volume 2, Chapter 3, Item 456, pg.596  
 Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 535, pg.176

**(24) 1536 [May] - Sir William Kyngston to Secretary Cromwell, on Queen Anne's behaviour in Prison**

Primary - (Otho, C, X), Item 28, ff.222r-224v  
 Secondary - (Ellis1824 I II), Item CXIX, pp.056-059  
 Secondary - (Strype1733 I), Chapter XXXVI, pp.282-283  
 Secondary - (Cavendish/Singer II 1825), pp.220-223  
 Calendar - (LPFD X), Item 798, pp.337-338

**(25) 1536 [May] - Sir Edward Baynton to Mr. Treasurer [Sir William FitzWilliam]**

Primary - (Otho, C, X), Item 27, ff.209v  
 Secondary - (Ellis1824 I II), Item CXIX, pg.061  
 Secondary - (Cavendish/Singer II 1825), pg.225  
 Calendar - (LPFD X), Item 799, pg.338

**(26) 1535 Oct 06 - John Bishop of Exeter to Sir Thomas Arundell**

Primary - (SP1/97), Item 555, ff.135r-135v  
 Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 555, pg.183  
 Transcript - TNA - SP1-097-Vol IX-Item 555 - John Veysey to Thomas Arundel - 1535 Oct 06 - Transcript

**(27) 1535 Oct 09 - Sir Anthony Wyndesore to Lord Lisle**

Primary - (SP3/8), Item 82, ff.115r-115v  
 Secondary - (Byrne1981), Volume 2, Chapter 3, Item 459, pp.599-600  
 Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 571, pg.190

**(28) 1535 Oct 09 - Sir William Poulet to Thomas Cromwell**

Primary - (SP1/97), Item 568, ff.143r-144v  
 Secondary - (State Papers I II), Item XXVI, pg.426  
 Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 568, pg.189

**(29) 1535 Oct 10 - John Lord Audeley to Thomas Cromwell**

Primary - (SP1/97), Item 579, ff.152r-153v  
 Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 579, pg.192

**(30) 1535 Oct 16 - Sir William Fitzwilliam to Thomas Cromwell**

Primary - (SP1/98), Item 619, ff.014r-015v  
 Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 619, pp.209-210

**(31) 1535 [Oct 16] - Sir William Paulet to Thomas Cromwell**

Primary - (SP1/98), Item 620, ff.016r-016v  
 Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 620, pg.210

**(32) 1535 Oct 19 - Sir Francis Brian to Thomas Cromwell**

Primary - (SP1/98), Item 639, ff.037r-037v  
 Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 639, pg.215

**(33) 1535 Oct 19 - John Husee to Lady Lisle**

Primary - (SP3/5), Item 54, ff.074r-075v  
 Secondary - (Byrne1981), Volume 2, Chapter 3, Item 463, pp.604-605  
 Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 642, pg.216

**(34) 1535 [Oct 21] - Sir William Poulet to Thomas Cromwell**

Primary - (SP1/98), Item 650, ff.045r-046v  
 Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 660, pg.223

**(35) 1535 Oct 22 - William Lord Sandys to Thomas Cromwell**

Primary - (SP1/98), Item 664, ff.059r-059v  
Calendar - (LPFD IX), Item 664, pp.224-225

**(36) 1536 Jan 29 - Anne Boleyn Miscarriage**

Secondary - (Hamilton1875), pg.033

**(37) 1536 Feb 17 - Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor**

Primary - Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, England, Karton 7, Korrespondenz, Berichte, 1536, fl.031r  
Secondary - (LP Spanish V II), Item 21, pp.039-045  
Calendar - (LPFD X), Item 307(ii), pp.117-118

**(38) 1536 May 02 - Chapuys to Charles V**

Primary - Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, England, Karton 7, Korrespondenz, Berichte, 1536  
Secondary - (LP Spanish V II), Item 48, pp.107-108  
Calendar - (LPFD X), Item 782, pg.330

**(39) 1536 May 02 - Anne Boleyn**

Primary - (Add MS 28,588), ff.260r et seq  
Calendar - (LPFD X), Item 784, pg.331

**(40) 1536 May 02 - Roland Bulkeley to Sir Richard Bulkeley, Chamberlain of North Wales**

Primary - (SP1/103), Item 785, ff.218r-218v  
Calendar - (LPFD X), Item 785, pg.331

**(41) 1536 May 10 - Sir John Duddeley to Lady Lisle**

Primary - (SP3/10), Item 94  
Secondary - (Byrne1981), Volume 3, Chapter 6, Item 692, pp.358-359  
Calendar - (LPFD X), Item 837, pg.348

**(42) 1536 May 10 - Bishop of Faenza to Mons. Ambrogio**

Primary (Add MS 8715), fl.248v  
Calendar - (LPFD X), Item 838, pg.349

**(43) 1536 May 12 - Trial of Weston, Norris, and others**

Primary - (KB8/8)  
Calendar - (LPFD X), Item 848, pp.351-352

**(44) 1536 May 12 - Sir John Russell to Lord Lisle**

Primary - (SP3/7), Item 35  
Secondary - (Byrne1981), Volume 3, Chapter 6, Item 693, pg.359  
Calendar - (LPFD X), Item 854, pg.353

**(45) 1536 May 12 - John Husee to Lord Lisle**

Primary - (SP1/103), Item 855, ff.278r-278v  
Secondary - (Byrne1981), Volume 3, Chapter 6, Item 694, pp.359-360  
Calendar - (LPFD X), Item 855, pg.353

**(46) 1536 May 14 - Thomas Cromwell to Stephen Gardiner and Wallop**

Primary - (Add MS 25,114), Item 19, ff.160r-161v, *Thomas Cromwell, Secretary of State, to the Bishop of Winchester and Sir John Wallop*  
Calendar - (LPFD X), Item 873, pp.359-360

**(47) 1536 May 15 - Trial of Anne Boleyn and Lord Rocheford**

Primary - (KB8/9)  
Calendar - (LPFD X), Item 876(7,8), pp.361-363

**(48) 1536 May 15 - Charles V to Chapuys**

Primary - Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, England, Karton 7, Korrespondenz, Berichte, 1536  
Calendar - (LPFD X), Item 888, pg.370

**(49) 1536 May 19 - Chapuys to Charles V**

Primary - Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, England, Karton 7, Korrespondenz, Berichte, 1536, ff.104r-110v  
Secondary - (LP Spanish V II), Item 55, pp.122-131  
Calendar - (LPFD X), Item 908, pp.376-380

**(50) 1536 [May 16] - Anne Boleyn, Rochford, &c**

Primary - Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, England, Karton 7, Korrespondenz, Berichte, 1536  
Calendar - (LPFD X), Item 911, pp.381-382

**(51) 1536 May 19 - Antony Pykeryng to Lady Lisle**

Primary (SP3/13, Item 59)  
Secondary (Byrne1981), Volume 3, Chapter 6, Item 697, pg.365  
Calendar - (LPFD X), Item 918, pg.385

**(52) 1536 May 19 - John Husee to Lord Lisle**

Primary - (SP1/104), ff.035r-035v  
Secondary (Byrne1981), Volume 3, Chapter 6, Item 698, pp.365-366  
Calendar - (LPFD X), Item 919, pp.385-386

**(53) 1536 May 19 - John Husee to Lady Lisle**

Primary - (SP3/12), Item 60  
Secondary (Byrne1981), Volume 4, Chapter 7, Item 846, pp.047-048  
Calendar - (LPFD X), Item 920, pg.386

**(54) 1536 May 23 - Dr. Ortiz to the Empress**

Primary - (Add MS 28,588), ff.276r et seq  
Calendar - (LPFD X), Item 947, pp.395-396

**(55) 1536 May 24 - Bishop of Faenza to Mons. Ambrogio**

Primary - (Add MS 8,715), ff.252r et seq  
Calendar - (LPFD X), Item 956, pg.399

**(56) 1536 May 26 - [Hannaert] to Charles V**

Primary - (Add MS 28,588), ff.281r et seq  
Calendar - (LPFD X), Item 973, pg.403

**(57) 1536 Jun 02 - Anne Boleyn.**

Primary - de Carles, Lancelot, *Anne Boullant, Epistre contenant le process criminel fait a l'encontre de la royne Anne Bovllant d'Angleterre*, (Lyons, 1545)  
Secondary - de Carles, *Anne Boullant etc*, reprinted in Le Laboureur, J., *Memoires de Michel de Castelnaue*, 2 Volumes, Brussels, (1721)  
Secondary - de Carles, *Anne Boullant etc*, reprinted in Ascoli, G., *La Grande Bretagne devant l'opinion Francaise depuis la guerre de cent ans jusqu'a la fin du XVIe siecle*, Paris, (1927), pg.242, ll.324-326.  
Calendar - (LPFD X), Item 1036, pp.428-431

**(58) 1536 Jun 02 - Dr. Ortiz to the Empress**

Primary - (Add MS 28,588), ff.284r et seq  
Calendar - (LPFD X), Item 1043, pg.433

**(59) 1536 Jun 02 - [Hannart] to the Empress**

Primary - (Add MS 28,588), ff.286r et seq  
Calendar - (LPFD X), Item 1044, pg.433

**(60) 1536 Jun 10 - Anne Boleyn's Execution**

Secondary - (Bentley1831), pp.260-289  
Calendar - (LPFD X), Item 1107, pg.466

**(61) 1536 - Anne Boleyn asks her sister, Mary Stafford to attend her final pregnancy**

Tertiary - (Norton2011), pp150-151

**Transcript of the Primary Source in Reference (24)**

**Folio 222 [old numbering] 225 [new numbering] Recto - [Damaged by fire]**

[added from Strype1733 I]

[added from Ellis1825 I II]

[added from Cavendish/Singer II 1825 who used Strype1733 I]

1.	Anne Bullin 1536 Anne Bullen [3] 222 225 [on mounting paper]
2.	prisonar May
3.	After your departing yesterday Greneway gentleman usher came to <[me] and .....>
4.	Master Caro and Master Bryan commanded him in the King's name to my <[Lord of]>
5.	Ratchfort from my lady his wife and the message was now more <.....>
6.	see how he dyd and also she would humbly suit unto the King's high<ness .....>
7.	for her husband and so he gave her thanks and desired me to know <[t what]>
8.	time he should come affore the King's Council for I think I s<[hall not]>
9.	come forth till I come to my judgement weeping very <.....>
10.	I departed from him and when I came to the chamber the <[queen heard]>
11.	of me and sent for me and said I hear say my Lord my <[brother is]>
12.	here it is truth said I I am very glad said sh<[t that we]>
13.	both be so nigh together and I showed her here was <.....>
14.	Weston and Brerton and she made very good countenance <and .....>
15.	I also said Master Page and Wyet was mo yet then she said he ha<.....>
16.	[ouer or one] his fyst the other day and is here now but ma<.....>
17.	I shall desire you to bear a letter from me <[to Master]>
18.	secretary and then I said madam tell it me by <w[ord of mouth and I]>
19.	will do it and so gave me thanks saying I ha<[ve much marvelled]>
20.	that the King's Council comes not to me and this <[same day she]>
21.	said we should have now rain till she were <[delivered out]>
22.	of the Tower I pray you it may be shortly be<c[ause of the]>
23.	fair weather you know what I mean the Queen <[said this]>
24.	night that the King wist what he did w<[hen he put such]>
25.	two about her as my Lady Boleyn and Mistress <[Cosins for]>
26.	they could tell her nothing of my <[Lord her father nor]>
27.	nothing else but she defied them all <[but upon this my Lady Bolen]>
28.	said to her such desire as you have h<a[d to such tales]>
29.	has brought you to this and then said <[Mistress Stoner Mark]>
30.	is the worst cherished of any in <[the house for he]>
31.	<w>ears irons she said that was <[because he was no]>
32.	<[gen]>telman but he was never in <m[y chamber but at Winchester and]>
33.	<[there]> she sent for him to pl<[ay on the virginals]>
34.	<[for there my]> lodging wa<s [above the King's]>

**Folio 222 [old numbering] 225 [new numbering] Verso - [Damaged by fire]**

1.	220
2.	For I never spoke with him since but upon Saturday before May day
3.	and then I found him standing in the round window in my Chamber of
4.	Presence and I asked why he was so sad and he answered and said it was
5.	no matter and then she said you may not look to have me speak
6.	to you as I should do to a noble man because you be an inferior
7.	<pe>rson no no madam a look sufficed me and thus fare you well
8.	<[S]h>e hath asked my wife whether anybody makes their be<d>s
9.	<....[y]> wife answered and said nay I warrant you then she sai<d.....>
10.	<....y> might make baletts well now but there is non bet <.....>
11.	<.....>de that can do it yes said my wife Master Wyett by <.....>
12.	<.....> said true

13.	<.....m>y Lord my Brother will die
14.	<.....n>e I am sure this was as
15.	<.....t> down to dinner this day William Kyngston

**Folio 222<sup>x</sup> [old numbering] 226 [new numbering] Verso Sideways - [Damaged by fire]**

1.	To Master Secretary
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**Folio 222<sup>x</sup> [old numbering] 226 [new numbering] Verso - [Damaged by fire]**

1.	<.....> this day at dinner I sent Master Nores his dinner and sent hi<.....>
2.	<.....>a knave to his priest that waited upon him in the <.....>
3.	<.....>t unto him and he answered him ag<[ ]>.....>
4.	<.....n>y thing of my confession he is worthy to have<.....>
5.	<...[ ]>t I defy him and also he desireth to hav<e.....>
6.	<....[ha]>f an hour if it may be the King's pleasur<[ ]>
7.	William <Kyngston>