This book is a study of the marrying of Anne of Cleves to King Henry VIII. It contains fascinating material – including 'demonic' interference and sexual politics at court – which differs from the usual stereotyped accounts of Anne. It also provides a rich new context of royal courtship rituals, and a startling account of the king's failure to consummate his marriage.

Henry's decision to ally himself with this German noblewoman in 1540 was in part a reaction to the Franco-Imperial treaty mediated by Pope Paul III, who renewed a suspended bull of excommunication against Henry in the hope of isolating England diplomatically. The subsequent marriage procedures, from the advent of negotiations and the portrait of Anne by Hans Holbein the Younger to Henry's Rochester greeting of Anne – in disguise – and the Greenwich nuptials, followed usual royal protocol. However, the king's sexual incapacity, which prevented the consummation of the marriage, culminated in the fall and subsequent execution of Thomas Cromwell and his client Lord Hungerford, who were both tarred with the brush of sexual heresy.

RETHA M. WARNICKE is Professor of History, Arizona State University, Tempe. Her previous publications include *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn: Family Politics at the Court of Henry VIII* (1989), which was a History Book Club selection, *Women of the English Renaissance and Reformation* (1983), a *Choice Magazine* selection, and *William Lambarde: Elizabethan Antiquary* (1973). Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-77037-8 - The Marrying of Anne of Cleves: Royal Protocol in Early Modern England Retha M. Warnicke Frontmatter <u>More information</u>

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THE MARRYING OF ANNE OF CLEVES

Royal protocol in early modern England

RETHA M. WARNICKE





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That I embarked upon research on the early Tudor court is largely due to the guidance of Sir Geoffrey Elton, Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge University, whom I met for the first time in 1984. After reading my book, *Women of the English Renaissance and Reformation* (Greenwood Press, 1983), and a manuscript on Anne Boleyn's age (later published in *Historical Journal*), which emerged from the book on Englishwomen, he suggested that I continue to research the life of Anne Boleyn. I was at once concerned and Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-77037-8 - The Marrying of Anne of Cleves: Royal Protocol in Early Modern England Retha M. Warnicke Frontmatter More information

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pleased. I had not heretofore considered doing further research on her, for I was then pursuing a collaborative effort on Jacobean women's funeral sermons with Bettie Anne Doebler of the English Department at Arizona State. I was pleased, however, that he considered my scholarly abilities equal to such a task and finally accepted his advice. *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn: Family Politics at the Court of Henry VIII* was the result.

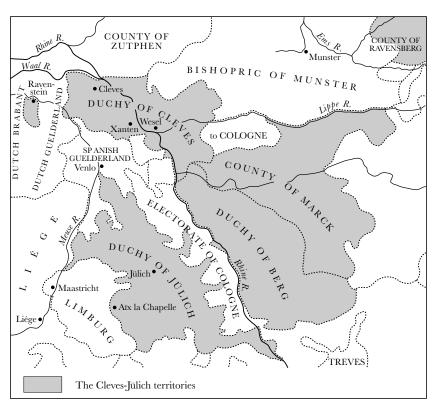
This present study grew out of that book. While involved in its research, I became aware of how inaccurately religious and secular rituals had been interpreted. The most obvious example was the ubiquitous speculation on why Henry VIII had failed to attend his daughter Elizabeth's christening. His absence was dictated by religious protocol, of course, and not by his disappointment that she was a daughter rather than the son he had been expecting. This awareness led me to examine Henry's greeting of Anne of Cleves at Rochester and then to embark upon a larger study of royal protocol in the courtship and marrying process.

My first findings on this research were offered at a workshop funded by the Arizona State Graduate College and by the Arizona Humanities Council in 1989. Also participating in the workshop were Elton with his former student Norman Jones of Utah State, A. J. Slavin of the University of Louisville and also visiting professor at Arizona State with his former student Joseph Block of California Polytechnic at Pomona, and two of my Ph.D. students, William Penberthy and John Wagner. I recall how attentive Elton was to the papers of the graduate students and how appreciative they were for his interest and helpful comments.

He later read and critiqued a revised version of my paper on Henry's greeting of Anne of Cleves, which thanks to Michael Moore, appeared in *Albion* in the winter of 1996. Unfortunately, my term as department chair (1992–98) and some smaller research ventures, including a few additional essays on Anne Boleyn, delayed the completion of *The Marrying of Anne of Cleves: Royal Protocol in Early Modern England*. Because it was only after his death in December 1994 that I began to examine Anne's divorce and Cromwell's fall, I shall never know whether Elton would have been able to validate my version of those tragic events, but I do hope he would have repeated what he said about my "Sexual Heresy" thesis in the book on Anne

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Boleyn, that it is a "fresh and original approach." In the last decade of his distinguished career, he had decided that analyses of court politics must take into consideration themes from women's history, the history of sexuality, and family history. It is to his memory and his deep commitment to the advancement of historical studies that I dedicate this book. Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-77037-8 - The Marrying of Anne of Cleves: Royal Protocol in Early Modern England Retha M. Warnicke Frontmatter More information



Cleves territories, early seventeenth century Charles H. Carter, *The secret diplomacy of the Habsburgs* (Columbia Press, New York, 1964)