## Impact case study (REF3b)



**Institution:** University of Southampton

Unit of Assessment: 30 History

Title of case study: 30-02 Henry VIII: Dressed to Impress

#### 1. Summary of the impact

In expanding our understanding of how Henry VIII used clothes to fashion his image, this research has had a cultural impact nationally and internationally, while producing economic benefits for the British heritage industry and Hampton Court Palace in particular. It has helped to alter the practices of curators, designers, costume interpreters, and education officers in historic houses and beyond. Key outcomes were published to coincide with the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Henry VIII's accession, thus benefiting from and contributing to, the large-scale public interest in the Tudors.

### 2. Underpinning research

Textiles were at the heart of 16<sup>th</sup> century English society and Henry VIII's clothing has provided Professor Maria Hayward, Lecturer and Reader, at the University of Southampton's Textile Conservation Centre (1999-2007) and Department of History (since), with an innovative way of analysing political, religious, cultural and economic questions in a national and European context. Hayward's core research has been archival, carried out in combination with object-based research focusing on textiles, jewellery and armour. The main phase of research, from 2002 to the present, explored Henry VIII's wardrobe in all its dimensions. It involved a transcription of key texts as well as comprehensive historical analysis, resulting in two major monographs [3.1, 3.3], two edited volumes [3.5, 3.6], and 17 articles in academic journals and edited volumes [3.2, 3.4].

Although Henry VIII's reign is a notoriously well-worked subject, there was a significant amount of written evidence relating to his clothing and that of his court that had never been analysed systematically when this project began. Evidence was especially drawn from the Great Wardrobe accounts, wardrobe warrants and inventories, and was interpreted by juxtaposing material from narrative sources, paintings, drawings and surviving garments. Principal areas for consideration included the cut and construction of garments, materials and colours, the function of livery and the hierarchy of dress, and the network of craftsmen and merchants employed at the Tudor court. Hayward also studied evidence about the ephemeral garments made for jousts and revels, for ceremonial wear, and as gifts for weddings or for diplomatic occasions.

One specific focus of the research since 2008 was towards the re-creation of Henry VIII's crown. Through studying detailed inventories written by servants and visual representations from the time (the portrait of Charles I by Mytens in 1631), it was possible to identify the construction of the crown, specifically focusing on the cap of maintenance, a symbol of royal authority and vital for keeping the crown on the royal head. Other key findings ranged from the mundane (who washed Henry VIII's shirts) to the spectacular (the enormous cost). As a result, major new interpretative directions have been mapped out both for dress history and Tudor history. For example, Hayward demonstrated how Henry VIII used textiles and clothing to fashion himself and his court as the equal of his French and Spanish rivals (Francis I and Charles V). Colour and material of clothing worn at the Tudor court was expressive of rank, age, and identity (e.g. Catherine of Aragon wore Spanish dress on occasion to promote Spanish interests). It could also be perceived as a challenge to royal authority (e.g. by Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, accused of disloyalty because of his taste for Italian silks and French fashion). The financial investment in clothing and textiles was very high, demonstrating why it was central to expressions of royal magnificence. In addition, this research provides insights into Henry VIII's religious beliefs by his continuing to wear purple on the principal religious feastdays. Clothing, which touched on all facets of the king's life, offers new readings of the significance of his reign.



#### 3. References to the research

## Outputs

- 3.1 \*M. Hayward, Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII (Leeds, 2007). [RAE 2008]
- 3.2 M. Hayward, 'Crimson, scarlet, murrey and carnation: Red at the court of Henry VIII', *Textile History*, 38/2 (2007), pp. 135-150. [refereed journal]
- 3.3 \*M. Hayward, *Rich Apparel: Clothing and the Law in Henry VIII's England* (Farnham, 2009). [REF output].
- 3.4 M. Hayward, 'Male headwear at the courts of Henry VIII and Edward VI', in G. Riello and P. McNeil (eds), *The Fashion History Reader: Global Perspectives* (London, 2010), pp. 114-131. Previously published in *Costume*, 36 (2002), pp. 1-17.
- 3.5 \*M. Hayward (ed.), *The Great Wardrobe Accounts of Henry VII and Henry VIII*, London Record Society (London, 2012).
- 3.6 M. Hayward and P. Ward (eds), *The Inventory of King Henry VIII: vol. 2 Textiles and Dress* (Turnhout: Brepols for the Society of Antiquaries, 2012). The first of three volumes of essays under the general editorship of David Starkey.

#### **Grants**

- M. Hayward, E.Welch and L. Miller, AHRC Research Network, Early Modern Dress and Textiles (applied 2007), awarded £24,195. The final report received the top rating of 'satisfactory' in 2010.
- 2. M. Hayward, *Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII*, British Academy Small Award (2004-05), £5000.
- 3. M. Hayward, Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII, AHRB Small Award (2003-04), £5000.

#### 4. Details of the impact

There is intense public interest in all things Tudor and Hayward's research has actively engaged with this. Through working with Hampton Court Palace, Henry VIII's clothes were drawn to the attention of a number of targeted user groups including curators, educators, and journalists as well as local historical societies. As a result, the impact is ongoing and has made a distinct contribution to the public education and understanding of Tudor history, with economic benefit for the museums and societies identified below. The key beneficiaires are in four main areas:

## (a) Heritage

Hampton Court Palace (HCP) in October 2012 revealed to the public a new re-creation of Henry VIII's imperial crown and the cap of maintenance worn inside. Hayward worked in collaboration with HCP curator, Dr Kent Rawlinson [5.1], the interpretation manager Aileen Peirce, and costumed interpreters in historic buildings (e.g. Past Pleasures), on a project which resulted in the permanent re-organization of the HCP chapel where the crown is displayed. This now makes the visitors engage with how the chapel was used and how far Henry VIII's break with Rome affected royal worship and ceremonial there. The crown was the centrepiece of HCP's October 2012 half-term marketing campaign and it was heavily advertised via posters, leaflets and online publicity. There were crown-making activities and a live interpretation programme designed to entertain family visitors; children participated in dancing and a play at the end of the day when 'the King' processed to the Great Hall in the crown. By June 2013 Aileen Peirce observed that, "the crown is still going down extremely well with visitors:" since October 2012 more than 300,000 paying visitors had seen the crown (at £17.60 per ticket) [5.2]. The video 'The Making of Henry VIII's Crown' featuring an interview with Hayward is on the HCP website under 'palace highlights' and on Youtube where it has generated over 4,000 hits.

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Smaller projects at HCP used Hayward's research into what early modern kings (Henry VIII, Charles I, Charles II) wore to play tennis: in 2013 this was incorporated into the re-display of the real tennis court. In 2009 she was also part of the advisory committee discussing the representation of the 'Tudor Route' (Henry VIII's half of the palace), including the new warders' uniform modelled on the livery of Henry VIII's yeomen of the Guard.

Costumed interpretation has become increasingly popular as a means of making British historic houses accessible to visitors. A further impact of Hayward's research can be demonstrated by a request from a National Trust volunteer at Little Morton Hall, Cheshire, who wanted advice on fabric, colour and trimming in order to re-create the clothing worn by Tudor gentry children. On completion of her project, she reported the clothes made had been "received very well.....*Rich Apparel* was invaluable in my research." [5.3]

## (b) Wider cultural impact

Three examples demonstrate the wider impact of the research. *Rich Apparel* is one of a number of texts used for courses on Tudor clothing at the School of Historical Dress in London. Historical accuracy is central to the tailoring skills taught at the School. This has had an impact on individuals ranging from passionate amateur to skilled tailor, and the research is contributing to an on-going investigation into Tudor cut and construction [5.4]. The novelist H. M. Castor cited Hayward's publications as crucial in making her novel *VIII* (2012), aimed at teenagers and young adults, as accurate, compelling and attractive as possible (rated at 4.5 on Amazon); novels of this type actively seek to encourage younger readers to explore Henry VIII's reign. An article by Hayward in the *Revue de l'Art* on the French influence on Tudor fashion has also led to Hayward acting as a key research consultant to '*Les Vrais Tudors*' (16 March-19 July 2015). This innovative exhibition will present English Renaissance art to a European audience and so widen the debate about the cultural interaction between England and the continent in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The exhibition is a joint venture by the National Portrait Gallery, London, and the Réunion des Musées Nationaux – Grand Palais, Paris.

# (c) Educational

The general public have further accessed the research via public talks, web-based material and podcasts. For example, Hayward's September 2012 talk at the National Archives, 'Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn: Clothing, Courtship and Consequences', was downloaded by 2,429 people during its first week [5.5]. It has reached a wider, international, audience through its inclusion on The Anne Boleyn Files website. During the past eight years, Hayward has given over 20 invited general papers and talks aimed at reshaping perceptions of Henry VIII's reign for groups of between 30 and 150 members of the public, ranging from sixth formers to those who have retired. Different dimensions of the research appeal to specialist groups of archaeologists, textile historians and amateur historians, as demonstrated by talks to the Historical Association (2009, 2011), the Small Finds Study Group (May 2008), the City of Southampton Society (Nov 2008) and the West of England Costume Society (October 2009) [5.6]. The impact is clear from accumulated feedback. One attendee, a self-described "Tudor enthusiast" commented: "It was eye opening and very informative and [we] came away knowing a lot more than we did." [5.3]. In July 2013 Hayward took part in the first Google-Art talk organised by the Royal Collection (The Queen's Gallery, Buckingham Palace). Focusing on The Man in Red, this event formed part of the outreach for the Royal Collection's exhibition In Fine Style (2013). The Royal Collection deemed it highly successful since 250 people engaged live with the discussion, and it can be accessed on-line. It has appealed to all those with an interest in art and dress history, the feedback revealing that it attracted an audience from across Europe.

#### (d) Media

As a direct result of her research [5.7], Hayward has been actively sought as a contributor to popular television and radio programmes. These include a 2008 Canadian documentary made to

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coincide with the start of the TV drama-series *The Tudors*; a 2009 BBC Radio 4 programme on Henry VIII, the first in a series *Men in Fashion* presented by Robert Llewellyn Bowen; and a programme specially commissioned in 2009 for French television, part of a series called *Secrets of History - Henri VIII: un amor de tyran* [5.8]. Hayward's appearance on *Woman's Hour* (Radio 4) after the publication of *Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII* is permanently available on the BBC Radio 4 website. As recently as 2010, Hayward received a query from a millinery student at Kensington and Chelsea College, who, having heard the broadcast, e-mailed that "History was never my favourite subject but ... I found the project fascinating and have been inspired to explore the subject further" [5.3].

### 5. Sources to corroborate the impact

- [5.1] Dr Kent Rawlinson, Curator, Historic Royal Palaces, Hampton Court Palace, the curator in charge of the project to replicate the Tudor regalia. [Now Head of Collection, British Architectural Library, Royal Institute of British Architects].
- [5.2] Aileen Peirce, Interpretation Manager, Hampton Court, who oversaw the project and is monitoring its public impact.
- [5.3] Hayward has a select archive of public queries and comments.
- [5.4] Jenny Tiramani, Director of The School of Historical Dress, London.
- [5.5] This public talk on 13 September 2012 was podcast afterwards. It is still on the National Archives' website. It had 6,386 downloads in 2012 and 5,608 in 2013 (up to November).
- [5.6] Specialist societies include dress history groups such as MEDATS (Medieval Dress and Textiles Society: contact Dr Jane Bridgeman), and The Costume Society.
- [5.7] Reviews for *Dress at the Court* in a wide range of publications e.g. *Times Literary Supplement* (where it was described as "court history at its best"), *Textile History*, *Costume*, *Antiquaries Journal*, the *Medieval Dress and Textile Society (MEDATS) Newsletter*.
- [5.8] Hayward has recordings of both *Men in Fashion* (BBC Radio 4) and *Secrets d'Histoire Henri VIII: un amor de tyran -* part of a series hosted by Stéphan Bern, aired 13 August 2009 (France 2 Société européenne de Production).